Remembering the Dismembered

African Human Remains and Memory Cultures in and after Repatriation

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[i] "When I die here, let my bones be returned to home." Lyrics of an Otjiherero song sung by Namibian refugees in Botswana in 1980, Namibians who had fled from the oppressive regime of apartheid South Africa (quoted by Bishop Ernst //Gamxamûb at the commemoration service for the repatriation ceremony which took place on 29th August 2018 at the Französischer Dom in Berlin).

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L’innocent ne meurt pas, il se repose.

Innocents do not die, they rest.

Epitaph scribbled on a small bit of paper in the church in Ntarama, Rwanda,
Boubacar Boris Diop, *Murambi, le livre des ossements* (78-9)
Murambi, the book of bones

"WHEN I STARTED KNOWING ABOUT THESE SKULLS…"

Mnyaka Sururu Mboro

When we come to this case, the question about human remains, for me it is a long long back history. And it is still with me. When I started knowing about these skulls, which were brought here in Germany for racial research, I had it from my grandmother.

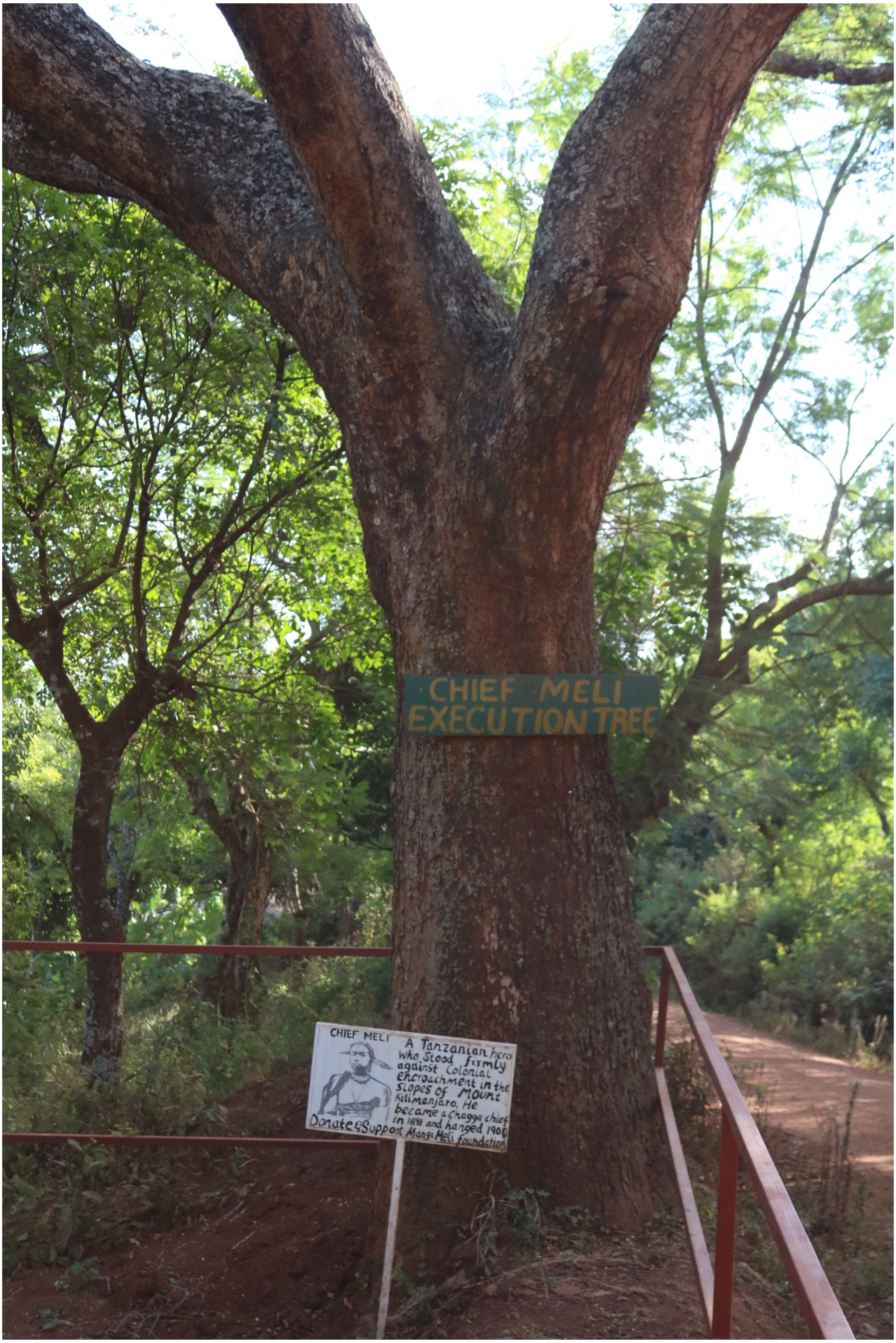
Back then, I was not even 6 years old. And you find that my grandmother, we used to gather around her in the evening time. Anyway, I always used to gather around her. The others, and even the neighbours, they could join but they didn't really. They thought it was somehow boring, because she was really always talking about past, historical things, and for children who are even not really 6, it was somehow difficult to understand. But me I understood it, I used to like it. So I was always around, and one evening, she started talking about Mangi Meli.

"Mangi" is a word in kichaga, according to the tribe I belong to. I don't like that word also. I say "tribe", but anyway... because anyway I've been here in Europe for quite a long time, and in France you don't have tribes, or even in Europe you don't have tribes. I mean, why don't they call the Bavarians a tribe? In explaining these historical things I have to search for terminologies. We don't have a kichaga word for a tribe, because we are talking about a people. We just talk about a people in Kilimanjaro and that's all. People of the Kilimanjaro area are known as Wachaga, and finish! It is not a tribe, it is Wachaga. In the Kilimanjaro area, "Mangi" is then, in northern English, "chief", or in German, "Häuptling" – diminutive of "Haupt".

So she started this evening: "Yeah, you remember? I told you all. You mustn't play around that tree or that tree there", which was not in our field. It was somewhere around where our school was. It's still there, the school, where I went to primary school, still there. I'm talking about the time when Tanzania was still Tanganyika, a British territory by then. Because the Germans lost in the First World War, and then Tanganyika fell to the British. "So, do you remember those trees? I say, you mustn't touch them or throw stones to it, or try to take their skin out with the pangas (the pangas, also called bush knives)" – because sometimes we use the skin for washing our feet, because the skin is a kind of soap. Nowadays, we just only tend to use these industrial soaps. But this stuff was good, I tell you, it was good.

So... "yeah", I said "I remember very well".

Those trees are very holy to us because a lot of people were hanged there, those ones who didn't want to obey German orders or to go to their fields, or to give their sheep or goats, or cows. So they were hanged or shot, they were hanged there. That's why. Because before she used to tell us another story. "Why shouldn't we throw stones on to it?" She would reply: "If you throw a stone to it, blood will come out". And believe it, we didn't throw a stone in it, we were not even curious to see if the blood will come out. Nowadays I'm thinking, well... but in those days, no, no, we didn't want to see the blood.


CHIEF MELI
EXECUTION TREE
CHIEF MELI
A Tanzanian hero who Stood firmly against Colonial encroachment in the slopes of Mount Killimanjaro, He became a Chagga chief in 1891 and hanged 1900
Donate & Support Mangi Meli foundation

In the village which today is known as Old Moshi – and Moshi was the main district in the German area – you found there our Mangi, who was very tough and who really did hate German colonialists before even he came to power. Why did he use to hate the Germans? The one who was a Mangi before him, his brother, known as Rindi, did cooperate very well with Germans, and here I'm talking about cooperation with Hermann von Wissmann. Just also around our village, you find another village, Kibosho, and it had also a Mangi called Sina, and this Sina didn't like to hear any word about Germans whatsoever, and when the Germans raised the Kaiser's flag there, he brought it down and burnt it. And, of course, Wissmann had to force this Mangi to obey his orders, so he came with so-called Hayati soldiers – I don't know how we should put it in English – you know, "soldiers of fortune" I think, that's the word. The Hayati were with the so-called then Deutsche Schutztruppe, which Wissmann created and formed, because he knew, if he takes people from the same area or from the same country, they will never fight against their own brothers or sisters. So you find in these Schutztruppe they were people from Mozambique, known as Shangani, just like Wachaga, and the people from South Africa, known as Zulu, Amazulu, and people from Sudan. So then he did talk to Rindi, and Rindi himself didn't like Sina, because Sina was much stronger than him, so he had an inferiority complex. So he wanted him to become conquered. Also, the winners could take goats, sheep and cows, and also girls too. So anyway, he cooperated with Wissmann to fight Sina. At the end, Sina lost the war, but Wissmann and his Schutztruppe really did suffer. Some of them were killed, and even in his book, you can learn about Sina, his tactics, and so on.

So by then Meli was here. He was looking at all these things, and he was observing them. He said: "Hey you, Rindi, just wait. When you go down from power, I'm going to take the power. And your so-called friends, I'm going to teach them manners!" So that's how come, when he came to power, he didn't even waste time, he didn't even take a week, then he started the war against the Germans. In 1901 or…, I have to check it, because my grandmother, or us, we didn't use to talk about the year in numbers: either it was raining time or it was harvesting time.

He did choose a very good season. He chose the so-called... here we say summertime, during the dry season. So anyway, of course as the others, he didn't succeed to win over the Germans. And he was caught, and he was hanged, with some six other fellows. And my grandmother used to talk this way. In fact when she was telling me this, almost tears were dropping down: "you know, he was so powerful, and we really not just only admired him, but we really loved him, because he was someone who is going against these brutal people. And, believe me, it took them more than six hours to hang him till he died!" And of course, this story is still there. Even nowadays those people who try to come after him, they are telling the same story; they are saying it even took seven hours. I knew it was six hours. And nowadays, because I know all these things, I say why it took six hours: because the Germans wanted to torture him, they wanted it to take long so that the people would learn their lesson, so that the people would not dare to go against them. That's why they put a special knot on the rope. It looks as if it is tight, but it wasn't really tight. And at the end of the six hours, then, to see whether he is dead, they shot him. Through the head. I think it is like, when anyway, Jesus Christ was sacrificed, then someone threw the spear to see whether he's really dead. So for them to see whether he's really now dead, then they shot him through the head. And that's why there is now a belief that when we go for this skull and if we find it, that could be a proof that this is supposed to be Mangi Meli's head.

So, she went on then: "They chopped off the head!" The others she didn't mention. Nowadays I would ask "what happened about the others?" But I wasn't even able to ask and I was just having my own feeling on how it happened, and I think even nowadays I always dream and talk a lot, not just only about this. I remember my mother said: "you know why always you talk at night when you're dreaming? Because you used just only to hear this story over and over with your Oma", because they didn't like each other because my grandma used to tell: "You British people you're stupid. Germans were not good but they were better than the British". And these stories, people still believe in it, here. They still believe that people back in their colonies are very proud of Germans, because they did this and this. It is not true. Why my grandmother used to say that? Because you find that when the British took over after the Germans lost in the First World War, these colonies which were under them, they were so-called mandates under the United Nations. So any time they could be free, they could have their independence. But no one knew how long it will take. So the British rulers, in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Malawi (all these were British colonies) were trying their best to take even a beans of maze to their colonies or somewhere else. Because they knew, this is not our colony, we're going to lose it anyway, anytime. So there were not even trying to put a school or a church. Germans did it, not for us, but for themselves to educate some tax collectors, and so on. But at least, for my grandmother, still they did put something. But these British, they were just only taking, taking, taking, taking, they were not even leaving anything.

But let now come back to the skull. So you find, really, that's when I started knowing about these stories of skulls. But knowing that they were brought here for racial research, I came to learn it later, way later, because even my grandmother didn't know about that. And even people in Tanzania, up until today, some of them they don't believe that. They believe it is something worse, something must be much more interesting, because when I'm trying to say why they did so, nowadays, they "aha, look here, don't start cheating us because you've been in Europe, and so on... You are telling lies. Because you're only idle, you're not doing anything to try to bring them back. And you are such telling this and this and that: 'oh they were brought there for racial research and discrimination,' and still you think that they need them still to do certain researches, which they do think they might get something out of it…" I said: "that is it", but still they don't believe. What they do believe is that, not just only Mangi but also the others, these are our own people. They should be buried according to our tradition. That's why I ask whether this is European or Christianity to store these skulls in the depots and in the shelves, in the cellar; that's why no one does believe it in Africa. There might be some very courageous, very inquisitive young people nowadays, who say: "Yeah Uncle Mboro, go on tell us, sit here". Because you find my mother – anyway she died last year, and God Bless her, she died last year and she didn't believe that these are stored in depots. She said "No those are the Christians, and that's why you don't go to the Church", because she didn't believe that a Christian can be that ... brutal, or how should I put it? I don't find a term. How should I term it?

Let me finish with my grandmother: I got a scholarship to come to Germany. By then she was still alive, in 1978, so before I left for Germany, I went, because I used to work in Dar es Salaam, that is more than 600km from our village or from our town, Moshi, so, and of course I said farewell to all, but my grandmother was very important. Anyway, I sit down. She said, "Ah you're going to Ulaya!" (Ulaya means Europe). I said: "Yeah, I'm going to Ulaya". She then said, "Ah but to Ulaya, really I would like if you were going to Germany". Because you find people, up to now at home, when they hear Europe, they just only think of England. It's like when you go to the French colonies, people like in Senegal, they're always telling of Paris, and then you find in these Anglophones, when you talk about Europe then it is England and finished, that is the case.

So of course, I said "Yes I'm going to Germany!"

"Ah? But first you said you're going to Ulaya"

I said, "Yes, Germany is Ulaya"

She said: "ok ok, anyway…" and again she went on, she started again, something like almost over 25-27 years back, a-ha, a-ha, telling me the same nice Märchen. But it's not a Märchen, it is a true story.

"So now I'm very happy, and always I was praying that you go to school, you finish up to the University and now you see, you're going to Germany. That is very nice. So now, I don't have to worry anything because you're going to bring Mangi Meli's skull…" (skull also I'm trying to skip it, I always say the head). "You're going to bring the head of Mkwa... of Mangi Meli back".

I said "Yeah, I promise you".

So you find that when I came here first, with all other problems which I had, I was always very inquisitive trying to find where these so-called skulls are, have been kept, and so on. Anyway, I landed in vain, totally in vain. So accidentally enough, when still I was going on, I was very proud talking of my grandmother, how she's proud, how she's waiting, without knowing that she's already dead, because she told all my brothers, sisters and my parents and neighbours "don't mention any word to him that I'm no longer alive. I know I'm going to die, but don't mention any word. He has to finish his task, come back with the skull of Mangi Meli". And now still I'm sitting here, talking to you. I don't even know where it is.

Berlin-Spandau, 20 Jan. 2017

INTRODUCTION: REPATRIATION, MEMORY AND POLITICS

In the outskirts of Swakopmund, where the desert meets the ocean, where street names and buildings in the city centre bear the marks of the footsteps of German colonialism in South-West Africa, where the railway tracks still attest of the apartheid segregation between whites and Blacks, a cluster of unmarked graves signals the presence of bodies of victims of the war of 1904-1908 and of General von Trotha's extermination order. The remains buried there are those of Herero and Nama people killed in the concentration camp erected near the town as early as 1904. As Festus U. Muundjua from the Ovaherero Genocide Foundation reminds to the people gathered for the three-hour long reparation march held on 31st March 2018, some of these buried bodies are headless. In the main Swakopmund concentration camp, where the wind and the cold of the coastal climate added to the inhumane detaining conditions, the dehumanisation of detainees was not only conducted through policies of internment. It went as far as severing the bodies of victims, so that their skulls could be sent to institutions in continental Europe to be studied to categorize and hierarchize human diversity, traded like objects from one collection to another, while the rest of their bodies lied with others in mass graves, one of which located here, between the mouth of the Swakop and the Riverside Allee (see Zeller, 69-78; Erichsen, 141-5).

In 2011, 2014 and 2018, some of these skulls, alongside with skeletons and scalps, were returned to Namibia by German institutions of knowledge such as universities and museums. Festus U. Muundjua therefore makes a proposal: that the repatriated skulls of Herero people be buried here, to reunite the bodies with their lost halves, to reunite scattered remains. His call is met with a loud applause from the audience. Less than a decade after the first repatriation between Germany and Namibia, the issue of where those ancestors will finally be laid at rest is still debated. Within the borders of the Namibian state, the remains of Herero and Nama victims of the genocidal violence of German soldiers are still housed at the National Museum of Namibia, waiting for a clear decision regarding their afterlives. The handover ceremonies and the Ovaherero and Nama people's demands for a recognition of their ancestors' resistance have greatly contributed to an increasing recognition of this history of genocide and its legacy worldwide. Yet, the afterlives of Herero and Nama victims – those repatriated as well as those still in the custody of museums as far as the American Museum of Natural History in New York – have also ignited political and diplomatic discussions on postcolonial justice and transnational remembrance. Are they to be left in a governmental institution, or buried in a place chosen by the descendants of victims? In a struggle for acknowledgement, apologies and reparations, what would it mean to the Herero community to re-member the dismembered bodies of their ancestors?

But first, on what grounds European anthropologists and other agents of colonialism allowed themselves to steal the bodies of Indigenous people? One of the primary motivations for museums and scientists to collect anthropological data on colonized peoples (be it human remains, religious and cultural artefacts, moulds of their physical features, photographs or voice recordings) was the need to prove scientific theories on race in the nineteenth century. Concrete measurements and analyses of skeletal features would therefore be carried out onto the body. Arthur de Gobineau's concept of racial "degeneration",[1] Henry Ling Roth's recommendation to study the "wide differences" between Europeans and Africans, or Charles Darwin's survival of the fittest[2] were theories which influenced the development of what James Clifford has called the "salvage paradigm", a widespread anthropological and ethnographic approach towards the disappearance of indigeneity and authenticity of colonised peoples at the time. In a colonial era that managed, by any means and in many disciplines, to objectify the "other" through art, political power, law and science, this paradigm defines the vain attempt to "rescue 'authenticity' out of destructive historical change" (Clifford 121; see also Stelzig & Adler). In this sense, the physical disappearance of a people is less suggested; it was rather cultural features of a pristine "other" which were endangered by the belief in automatic assimilation to Western mores and culture (see Rassool & Legassick, 10). Another belief in a supposed genetic degeneration triggered by intermingling also justified such racial scientific studies (see Gould). Alongside, but also colliding with, the mission of civilisation advocated forcefully by agents of religious colonialism (authors and missionaries), the work of collectors was to generate as much knowledge as possible about these alleged "authentic" Indigenous peoples (Laukötter 27), in the face of a supposed fading away of traditional rites, art, but also morphological features, as formerly argued by Gobineau.

Following the argument of "Indigenous evolutionary inferiority" (Turnbull, 3) leaning on what Valentin-Yves Mudimbe describes as a "diachronic line of progress" (15), a logical assumption developed in the minds of European ethnologists and anthropologists at that time which greatly pushed for expeditions and increased funding from museums and scientific institutions for the collection and recording of colonised societies. In a direct response to, and furtherance of Darwin's declaration, the ethnologist James Richard declared that due to the colonisation process, "the aboriginal nations of most parts of the world will have ceased to exist" after a century, and therefore wondered "whether anything [could] be done effectually to prevent the extermination of the aboriginal tribes" (qtd in Moses 5). In Germany, museum curators following the same interrogation believed that since "these groups are reported to be in danger of extinction anyway, science must as well rescue 'what there is to rescue'"(Lange 47).[3] From anywhere on the globe to European institutions of knowledge (e.g. the National History Museum, in London the British Museum, the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, and the Musée des Colonies among others), from agents of settler colonialism to their administrative centres (e.g. the Smithsonian Institution, the Royal Ontario Museum, the South Australian Museum, the South African Iziko Museums), a one-way trade of objects, people, bones, photos, tape recordings, moulds of faces and physical features took place (see Edwards, Gosden and Philipps). The increased demand in anthropological material thus motivated an unscrupulous "scramble for skulls" and skeletons (Laukötter, 59).[4]

It did not take long before the presence of these ancestors in European institutions of knowledge and their absence in their resting places at home incited claims for the return of their remains: less than a year after the end of German colonialism in East Africa in November 1918, Article 246 of the Versailles Treaty (as part of a section dedicated to reparations for damages caused by the First World War) stipulated that Germany should return the skull of Hehe leader Mkwawa, "which was removed from the Protectorate of German East Africa and taken to Germany". Many stories of skulls and bones stolen by colonial agents all over the world were indeed known, and passed on from one generation to another among communities aware of this macabre trade of human remains. Yet, it was only in 1954 that the British governor of Tanganyika effectively took action to fulfil this early demand for repatriation and returned Mkwawa to Uhehe (discussed in Chapter 1). Decades later, in 1990, the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) became the first legal-binding measure ensuring that Indigenous people of the United States would be legally supported in their claims for the return of their ancestors. From then on, repatriations have taken place, spearheaded by clear policies and institutional commitment in settler colonial spaces such as the U.S., Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia.

As far as ancestors from sub-Saharan Africa are concerned, several repatriations have occurred, and descendants continue to voice their claims, even if they are generally less supported by institutions and legislation from their respective countries than in the regions aforementioned. Their stories have unveiled gruesome contexts of acquisition: the skull of Xhosa King Hintsa, murdered in 1837 by a British soldier, was claimed by Nicholas Gcaleka in 1996 (see Chapter 4); a Batlhaping man who was shamelessly stuffed and exhibited in a local museum in Spain was returned to Botswana in 2000 (see Segobye; Parsons); Sarah Baartman, a Khoikhoi woman exhibited in Britain and France whose body was dissected post-mortem and whose remains had been exhibited up until the 1980s, was repatriated to the Eastern Cape in 2002 (see Chapter 3); the remains of Ovambo, Ovaherero, Damara and Nama people were returned by several German institutions to Namibia in 2011, 2014 and 2018, repatriations enmeshed in politics of working through genocide (see Chapter 2); the head of Ahanta anticolonial leader King (Nana) Otumfuo Baidoo Bonsue II, beheaded by the Dutch in 1838, was preserved in formaldehyde at Leiden University until it was repatriated in 2009 to present-day Ghana (see Popham); in 2015, President Robert Mugabe fervently expressed his wish to see the remains of freedom fighters from the first Chimurenga[5] (1896-1897) being handed over to the Zimbabwean nation by Britain's Natural History Museum (see Smith); the spirit of Khoi anticolonial leader Dawid Stuurman, deported to the penal colony of New South Wales, was repatriated in 2017 since his remains could not been found anymore (see Chapter 3). Besides, Chaga elders Isaria Meli and Mnyaka Sururu Mboro are still leading a search to find the head of Mangi Meli in German anthropological collections, a Chaga chief who was hanged in 1900 by German colonial troops (see Prologue). Finally, Inkosi ya Makosi Emmanuel Zulu Gama is still looking for the missing head of Ngoni General Songea Mbano whose grave attests to this absence: while most of it is filled with earth, a space remains empty, waiting for his head to be finally reunited with the rest of his body (cover of this book, see Chapter 5).

The bodies and spirits of these dead ancestors are a heterogeneous corpus (no pun intended). Nonetheless, the cases chosen for this book all touch upon two crucial issues: first, who enjoys authority over how the histories of those dead are remembered and by whom? Second, the question of adequate reparations for genocide, murder, and colonial violence in general. Which brings me to the power of memory and processes of remembrance. In this book, remembrance is understood as more than its customary meaning. It denotes an array of material and immaterial processes striving to re-unite what has been broken, fractured, damaged or separated by decades of physical and epistemic violence: bones, teeth, bodies, on the one hand; on the other, to reunite families, repair subject-positions, reinstate dignity and positions of authority on historical narratives, and recall claims for self-determination. Studying those processes means accepting their convoluted "poetics and politics" (Clifford & Marcus; Gilroy): first, the swirling and turbulent entanglements of German, French, British forms of colonialism, with Herero, Nama, Xhosa, Khoisan, Shona, Chaga, Hehe stories and histories. Secondly, it means examining rhetorics of nation-building and anti-colonial resistance in Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe and the actual "coloniality of power" (Quijano) which still reigns in some African independent states. It also means looking back at violent pasts in order to construct futures in which the voices of those who have been objectified, silenced or ignored as witnesses of history occupy a privileged position. Finally, it calls for efforts of 'recollection' – finding the scattered bodies still haunting the vaults of Western institutions of knowledge, a quest which also implies recognizing the cultural force of memory in this process and how it can help retrieving names, contexts, and remains. Those are stepping stones for paths geared towards mourning and acknowledgment, atonement, cooperation, reconciliation and potential reparation.[6] Just as the Caribbean has been fundamentally altered by the forces of mercantilist colonialism, the "completeness of genocide" and the Slave Trade (Benítez-Rojo, 5), the sites and communities at the heart of this study have been marked by, or have themselves changed in reaction to the violent forces of European imperialism, colonial expansion, missionary work and scientific racism. I believe that working through these histories is best done jointly, in relation (Glissant), so that the past is no longer seen as a burden, but as a tool to understand and mend the wounds that still fester.

Repatriation is here understood as a step, a moment of contact, re-uniting ancestors and descendants, but also bringing custodians and source communities together in ceremony, where epistemologies and forms of engaging with the dead might clash, but where greater knowledge on different histories and narratives of the past will emerge, where friendships might even develop. Therefore, as I hope that this study will show, processes of reconciliation and empowerment do not end as soon as ancestors return. Instead, it is thanks to their returns and the work done by their descendants that processes of remembrance arise, some occurring at the heart of communities, some reaching out towards a more global political society. This work started by asking "if these bones, if these skulls could talk, what would they say?" as John Njenga Karugia did during the *Postcolonial Justice* conference at the University of Potsdam in 2014. It continues with a willingness to hear their mediated voices in the silence of a resting place, in the demands of striking workers, in the songs sung by their descendants, in the sweat of a dancing body, or in the words of people emotionally implicated in keeping the memory of these ancestors alive.

I will unpack these ambitious claims threefold: starting with an assessment of repatriation theory, I will move to a postcolonial critique of memory studies and end this introduction by discussing the political value of the dead in cultural and artistic spheres of national remembrance. But before that, an important note on voice, language and the form chosen for this study.

Voice(s)

In order to grasp the different considerations of ancestors, and to refuse a reading of human remains as 'things', other means of letting the skulls talk are needed. To this end, the living subject is a medium in its own right. I will make use of a combination of text and sound to let space for perspectives and practices that are often hard to translate in pure words, and thus try to stretch the restrictions of academic and literary work for this purpose. Yet, to reflect on, and hold my position as researcher in check, polyphony is needed. This work has several authors, and those different voices will echo, support, counterbalance, clash with, drift away from my own, because as a Western academic, I can only lightly brush the deep emotional value of the dead and their repatriation.

Another argument for this multiplicity of voices is a wish to counterbalance visual and literary material on repatriation with a growing emphasis on the performed and the sonic. The history of racial objectification is closely linked with constructed colonial visualities. As Frances Larson reminds in her uncomfortable tribute to the so-called ‘fathers’ of disciplines such as phrenology and anthropology, the visual arrangement of exhibits and dioramas was deemed primordial by nineteenth century anthropologists, especially for purposes of spectacle. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, for instance, concluded from his personal and subjective observation that it is a “vertical scale” of visuality which “most conduces the racial character of skulls [...] and strikes the eye so distinctly at one glance” (236-7). What is more, the portrayal of colonised bodies alive and the appropriation of the voices of African people for European colonial purposes (e.g. in the case of the *Blue Book* in German South-West Africa; see Chapter 2) have fuelled narratives of objectification, denigration and perverse curiosity. Methods have been developed to circumvent the problem of exploring the colonial archive while criticizing most of its subjective “regimes of truth” (Lalu). I discount neither the method of putting emphasis on the counter-gaze in colonial photography, which has proven useful to shift the subjective visualisation towards a memory of colonialism and racism which acknowledges oppressed humanities (see e.g. Akil; Eckstein 2015; Kelly), nor Sikho Siyotula’s promising shift in departing from Southern African ways of greeting to re-instate the subjective presence of Africans in colonial writings and visualisations of their history. These are, I believe, very relevant. For my project, I rather propose that the format of a monograph, and that of written text, be shattered by interventions. It is not groundbreaking: recordings and testimonies have already been common practice in the curatorial work for exhibitions and sites of remembrance. DJs, performative artists and film directors pay tribute to their predecessors by quoting them and disrupting the rhythmic flow – and these forms are now recognised as blueprint theories for research in cultural studies (see Rose, 79; Haupt et al., 2019). The QR codes (and the adjunct URLs in footnotes) are a way to counterpoint the polished transcriptions with the original recording. Instead of opting for complicated “scientific” transcripts in which speech would be poorly conveyed by brackets and punctuation, the reader is here invited to listen to those voices and hear their messages.

Because I am concerned with not reproducing or perpetuating the racialised perspectives and legacies of modern Western physical and cultural anthropologists;[7] because I am heavily influenced by critical readings of literature, philosophy and visual culture; and because I wish the ethnographic work of this book to be polyphonic and interdisciplinary, Vincent Crapanzano's technique of juxtaposition and montage has been to a certain extent a model for this text. The multiple, 'unexpected' voices punctuating his "essay" function as discursive pauses, or rhetorical tropes. They sometimes complete one another; other times, they collide; often, they are unrelated but offer surprising comments, insights, and, more importantly, new horizons to his arguments. In Crapanzano's words, this montage aims to "shake the reader out of conceptual complacency or, worse, conventional epistemological anxiety" (2004, 3). Furthermore, he does not relinquish to admit that "the anthropologist is immediately implicated in the world in which he does his research" (ibid, 4). Arjun Appadurai observed that "the problem of voice is a problem of multiplicity as well as a problem of representation" (17). Crapanzano has suggested an ethics of delivering anthropological research by being utterly aware of the "moral and political responsibility in [the anthropologists'] constructions and representations of [their] subjects" (ibid), further putting into practice the work started in the 1980s by James Clifford, Mary Louise Pratt, and Crapanzano himself, among others (see Clifford & Marcus). From this position surmises the ethnographer's "role in unsettling the moral, as well as the cultural, presumptions of those – the general readers, students, and colleagues – to whom [their] studies are addressed" (Crapanzano, 17).

Alexander Weheliye, whose theory on the politics of the flesh has greatly influenced some of the ideas in this book (especially Chapter 5), also endorses 'fragmentary' writing styles, "to launch alternate ways of understanding our uneven planetary conditions and imagine other worlds these might make possible" (15). To paraphrase this eminent author on and against racial violence, I similarly wish those pasted reflections to "create alternate modalities" of remembering "in the interstices of the text which, while conjuring" violent pasts, "also lay claim to and make demands in the here-and-NOW" (Weheliye, 15-16).[8] He also points out that fragmentary writing helps eluding an artificial sense of exhaustiveness. Wary of the solace that scientific determinism constructs for explanatory purposes, Crapanzano chooses to dwell in self-reflection, which implies having enough courage to disengage from one's material, or even accept baffling puzzlement (see 6). I hope that I can avoid drawing quick conclusions, especially when studying local practices of remembrance, given my positionality as a European researcher, epistemologically quite remote from knowledge production in South Africa, Tanzania or Namibia. The use of multivocality in this thesis and my position as an external subject are thereby backed by such precedents of writing fragments of culture, and letting others surface by themselves. I hope my experiment with unsettling Western models of single-authorship, academic distance and dry rhetorical intelligibility will raise puzzlement and critical debates in the different environments I inhabit and, I hope, intervene on how to counter the prevalence of certain forms of expression and analysis over others.

It also aims to give back the knowledge generated by cultural studies and ethnographic research to the ones who made this research possible in the first place. The QR codes do not only take readers to the sonic source of those interventions; they also reveal a digital counterpart to this paperback in which the histories of ancestors and the contexts of remembrance are also made transparent and publicly accessible. *Remembering the Dismembered* is as much as web-project as it is a book,[i] a (web)site of memory where the language register is more adapted to non-academic audiences, and where the problematic ubiquity of English is unsettled: in some cases, translations in relevant African languages (Kiswahili and isiXhosa) will indeed be made available, because, contrary to what has been said earlier, this study is not exclusively addressed to these "general readers, students, and colleagues" (Crapanzano, 17).

A recent history of repatriation discourse

Let me now map the theory of repatriation and the core debates that animate this field. Ever since the World Archaeological Congress gave birth to the *Vermillion Accord on Human Remains* in 1989, repatriation claims and occurrences have been largely discussed in publications and books emanating from a myriad of disciplinary fields (see Gulliford; Buikstra; Herewini; Watkins; Echo-Hawk; Scarre; Roginski; Colwell). It is not the purpose of this introduction to do a literature review, but some relevant works can be quickly mentioned for their achievements.

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[i] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com

Keywords: dialogue with authorial societies and rehumanisation

The Dead and their Possessions (2002), has offered a first thorough engagement with the issue and has drawn on twenty years of experience spearheaded by the implementation of the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA).[9] Laying bare the foundations of repatriation discourse beyond the US, this book has rejected Eurocentric categorisations of Indigeneity based on visions of alleged pristine, traditional and authentic peoples (Fforde, 2002, 37). It adheres to the idea of genuine dialogue and equal partnership between researchers and Indigenous communities (Tapsell, 290), allots necessary space for the voices of concerned communities (Ayau & Tengan, 185; Palm Island), and questions the universal character of scientific 'truths' constructed by nineteenth and early twentieth century anthropological and ethnographic studies (Fforde, Hubert & Turnbull, 4). Almost a decade later, *The Long Way Home* (2010) has gone further in addressing the emotional value of repatriation, as well as foregrounding the meaning of ancestors' returns to their communities of origin for Indigenous peoples (see Atkinson; Cubillo). It has besides shed light upon the achievements and the limits of museum practice in the United Kingdom. The Human Tissue Act and the Guidance for the Care of Human Remains (2004) have been watersheds as legal and ethical guidelines addressing the sensibility of human remains collections in Britain (Bell, 32-33). Yet, major state museums in Europe have for too long relinquished from proactively reaching out towards Indigenous “authorial societies”,[10] especially in providing a full inventory of human remains from overseas (Cubillo, 26). The book finally underscored the far-reaching implications of repatriation, such as deep reconsiderations of notions of cultural property (Skrydstrup 70; Burns Coleman; Morton 99-100) and sovereignty (Skrydstrup 75). It offers a model of repatriation based on the Australian experience where the involvement of governmental local actors in provenance research, local Indigenous knowledge-bearers and researchers work in unison. Finally, the volume published by the ephemeral Berlin Charité Human Remains Project, *Sammeln, Erforschen, Zurückgeben?* (2013), has captured the controversial aspects of repatriation in German-speaking European institutions. Sadly devoid of non-European contributions, the project revealed, though, how recommendations made elsewhere were still unknown in a German academic context still grappling with colonial history. The contributions therein rather exemplify colliding discourses in European scientific circles and the quest for consensus between radical voices advocating a proactive approach dominated by cultural relativist concern for ethics, and members of the European scientific community who still regard colonial human remains as potentially useful for anatomical and museum research. Finally, it was the first volume that addressed the case of Herero and Nama ancestors.

As far as geographical spaces of repatriation are concerned, the North American, Australian and Pacific contexts have experienced intense debates since the 1980s. Concerning African experiences of repatriation, the influence of Ciraj Rassool cannot be left unmentioned. As a historian and museum professional, he was one of the leading scholars (with Martin Legassick) to unveil the presence of problematic human remains collections in South African museum repositories, to undertake research on how these were violently appropriated. More importantly, their research highlighted the distress that practices of grave-robbing caused to Indigenous Africans and voices of resistance against anthropological practice (see Rassool & Legassick, 15-18).[11] This work spearheaded disciplinary debates regarding repatriation and museum care for human remains. By looking at repatriations to South Africa as part of a broader engagement with the remains of the dead in South African politics of memory and reconciliation, Rassool has urged physical anthropology to work through and free itself from its colonial genealogy, a history that dehumanised and objectified Indigenous people (2018). As a result, new purposes for forensic science are suggested, primarily backing postcolonial and post-apartheid processes of identifying victims and recovering personhood (Rassool 2015a, 142). Ciraj Rassool adheres to a comprehensive and multidisciplinary study of colonial entanglements through the decolonial lens of 'undoing Empire' and showing how South African experience of colonialism is both that of a colonised and a coloniser. He argues

> for an understanding of empire premised upon extractive, hierarchical and stratified relations of knowledge, and founded on disciplinary rituals of expeditions, fieldwork and collecting, as well as on appropriations of corpses, body parts, skeletal remains and artefacts between continents and across borders. Empire can thus be understood productively – beyond its territorial, spatial and geopolitical conventions – as the primary epistemology of modernity expressed through its 'representational machines' and institutions (2015b, 653).

I align my approach towards international repatriations to African authorial societies with his recommendations. The histories of colonialism that emerge from these returns are all connected by those "machines" of Empire, yet they are also idiosyncratic (ibid, 658). Through comprehensive analyses of the reburial or Sarah Baartman and that of Troi and Klaas Pienaar, Rassool questioned the status of state remembrance as an epitome for "settlement of all colonial atrocity and racial museum collections" (Rassool 2015a, 137).

Thanks to his work for and on the return of Troi and Klaas Pienaar, the headword "rehumanisation" was gradually adopted in the field of provenance research, an approach towards a return of remains "as those of human beings and not museum objects" (135). Thereby, Rassool managed to provide a conceptual basis for respectful handling of ancestors in processes of repatriation. Besides, he demonstrated that, because of their global symbolic value, ancestors still partly dictate which elements of their history will stand under the spotlight in practices of remembrance. In a similar vein, I hope I can bring greater attention to the achievements of ancestors in their lifetime and in their afterlives.

Keywords: partnership and justice

This book intervenes in a shifting discourse.[12] To put it trivially, the end of the twentieth century witnessed a power struggle over the remains of the dead, putting up those eager to retain their grip on such sensitive collections against Indigenous claimants shocked and outraged by the morbid practice of curating and studying the remains of their ancestors (Fforde, Hubert & Turnbull, 5). Anxiety politics, often driven by misguided fears that one repatriation might lead to a complete draining of museum collections, have remained part of the rationale of museum discourse until today. They have proven detrimental and have generated a climate of enmity between custodians and descendants in some cases (see Bell, 29; Teschler-Nikola, 273). At the same time, the multidisciplinary nature of repatriation – a long process involving archival provenance research, caring for anatomical collections, welcoming delegations and informing the public sphere – has forced transversal dialogue involving natural scientists, the humanities, political activists, Indigenous leaders and governmental institutions. At best, it has brought about long-term positions for Indigenous curators and community work within the museum, as exemplified by Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme at the Te Papa Museum in Wellington (see Aranui).

There also have been numerous cases of repatriation which have brought Western institutions closer to authorial societies. As a productive remedy, Arawa curator Paul

Tapsell strongly advocated in 2002 for an emphasis on bi- or multilateral "partnership" rather than on "repatriation" proper. He argues that, not only do many Indigenous elders often consider repatriation as a distraction from more urgent initiatives, talking about "repatriation" also evokes rather reactive responses from museums than proactive endeavours (284). Chip Colwell argued that the international shift operating in the age of repatriation is the fact that museums change, from being "places of conquest to places of collaboration" (265). Example of such partnerships have increased ever since: the National History Museum in London has worked with Torres Strait Islanders according to their demands regarding provenance research (see Clegg, 60; Clegg & Long, 111); the Australian Research Council "Return, Reconcile, Renew" project has brought together Australian, Aotearoa New Zealand and Native American Indigenous researchers and museum professionals (Turnbull 2016); the Denver Museum and the A:shiwi A:wan & Heritage Centre have worked together for years in reconstructing the history of collections from an Indigenous, Zuni perspective (Colwell, 265); bilateral workshops financed by the German Research Foundation since 2017 have stimulated close dialogue between German researchers in the field, Aboriginal community leaders, and Australian museum professionals. On the African continent, discussions between curators, source communities and researchers have already been taking place since colonial times. Recently, the hype of restitution on international debates regarding heritage has brought about fresh outbreaks of transnational partnerships. In March 2018, a workshop at the University of Namibia in Windhoek brought together experts from southern African museums to discuss policy making to lay bare best practice after remains from other countries have been repatriated to those locales. Similarly, Morongwa Nancy Mosothwane, Senior Lecturer in Archaeology at the University of Botswana, launched a collaboration with neighbouring museums aimed at identifying human remains of southern African origin in European museums. Finally, the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory (BGAEU) signed a contract in 2017 with the Ovaherero, Mbanderu and Nama Genocides Institute (ONGI) binding them to share knowledge and opening doors to joint provenance research on the Virchow collection.[13]

Kaurna Hills (Roxley Foley) [ii]

Gumbaynggirr activist, keeper of the flame at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, speaking at the Conference "Prussian Colonial Heritage" (Berlin, 14 Oct. 2017)

Part of my mission here (in Europe), is not just to get these items back; it's to build a real relationship. Because, as much as these European institutions are talking about making their institutions less Eurocentric and decolonising their institutions, they're still coming from the positions where they think they're the only ones capable of doing it. […] But perhaps we have to look away from Europe.

The more museums and galleries are being used to nationalise their collections and create narratives of state-building, we see a need to counter this, to actually give the power of the culture to the people whose culture is in there. They can't tell stories as good as we can. And if we can truly mobilise these collections in equal partnership where we are on our own, we can break away from these institutions just being a place where tourists go. Because what good are these cultural institutions if they're not doing something to engage with their local community and provide a space of cultural reflection over what the nation is doing and the understanding of each other all across the world?

In the last forty years, since the beginnings of repatriation in settler colonies such as the USA, Australia or Aoetaroa New Zealand, agents and analysts have been interested by what returns have brought along with them, taking interest in "the work that 'repatriable' materials do before and after their return" (Kakaliouras, 212). In 2015 at a panel on DNA and Indigeneity, Cressida Fforde stated:

> Repatriation itself has achieved many things beyond the return of ancestral remains and is proving to contribute to such things as healing and wellbeing, and cultural transmission, and is being incorporated into Indigenous development approaches. Repatriation can be a counter-narrative to deficit discourse because it is all about agency – Indigenous agency. In real life, it is all about adaptability, dignity, and innovation by those seeking the return of the remains of their ancestors. (2015, 33)

[ii] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Et-nSZouNrg

Michael Pickering also wrote in 2016: "Is the return of remains an act of postcolonial justice? The simple, yet resounding, answer is 'yes'" (30). Finally, Martin Thomas has relevantly alluded to the potential moment of re-remembering colonial oppression and dehumanisation in reburial. The ceremony of laying the remains at rest in Gunbalanya, having been itself video-recorded, participates in "an extended epitaph for the deceased" (Thomas, 166). The deceased here are both those whose remains have been violated, and those who have helped to bring them back home, among them the late elder Wamud. Agency, justice and post-mortem acknowledgment are central to an ethics of repatriation. Remembrance processes therefore ought to refuse disconnections between ancestors and descendants, as well as between the historical and the political. It reminds that the anti-colonial struggles of yesterday have not quite yet disappeared in many contexts; they simply have changed.

The last, but core feature of this shifting discourse about repatriation concerns the role of governmental intervention. In 2013, Sarah Fründt mapped the conventional path that repatriation claims take on, showing that the weight of governmental institutions is non-negligible in tipping the scales for a successful return home (2013, 324-325). At the same time, state concern for Indigenous repatriation has also often been criticised for being comfortable for decision-makers. First, it can serve as a short-term gesture of restorative justice towards Indigenous communities that dodges more structural issues (Pickering 2016, 31). It also sometimes fails to engage critically with the concept of *patria*: i.e. what is the land one calls the 'home' of these ancestors and to whom does this place really belong? When one considers how issues of land rights, apologies, recognition and sovereignty are linked to some of the cases under study, repatriation can be understood as something deeper than a strict return of human remains: namely, a process *of* postcolonial justice but also *for* greater justice regarding reparation for wrongdoings and a reclaimed sovereignty, including restitution of secret/sacred objects, photographs, land, genealogies and one's authority on history (see Morton; Bradley, Adgemis & Haralampou). This book advocates for such comprehensive understanding of repatriation, one that allows delving into deep time by experiencing place, and that recognizes the postcolonial need for redemption, away from short-term national interests. I wish to question the role of the nation-state in monitoring processes of repatriation and challenge the pragmatics of this model, as the case of Herero and Nama ancestors will show.

It is indeed high time European institutions housing sensitive collections admitted that governmental players are not the only interlocutors endowed with authority on the matter. Many ancestral remains were acquired in regions that were formerly structured as colonial states, where the "rule of colonial difference" applied (Chatterjee, 18) – a discriminatory state structure that neither was, nor aspired to evolve into, a modern nation-state (e.g. Namibia was Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika). Those colonial spaces denied any previous local understanding of 'sovereign nations.' Contemporary expectations that a repatriation claim should be supported by governmental agents repeat the denial of local forms of authority in postcolonial states. Thus, common practice in repatriation continues to acknowledge ruling nationalist elites that, in some cases, have been direct products of the colonial state. Besides, it ignores any possible authority of a people over their past, in line with Partha Chatterjee's description of hierarchical listing of minor communities as subordinate to the nation (223-4). In addition, some returns have even taken place between countries that had never experienced a common history of colonisation: South Africa has never been administered by France, yet Sarah Baartman was returned by the French government. These are reasons to challenge the prevalence of state-related claims over community-based initiatives (see Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, below).

Several core questions emerge from the geographical context under study: can the return of the head of Hehe Chief Mkwawa in 1954 be inscribed as a genesis of human remains repatriation? How do "spiritual repatriations" like that of Dawid Stuurman resonate in this framework? How can ancestors be considered as participating in an aperture towards postcolonial dialogue on present political matters of representation, land dispossession and reparation? How relevant is the shift in European museum discourse for African museums, especially for those who house human remains? How can artistic engagements with "haunting legacies" (Schwab) and the "social life" (Appadurai & Kopytoff) of ancestors challenge the ways in which human remains are considered by customary agents of repatriation such as museum curators, historians, politicians and Indigenous leaders? Can those heterogeneous experiences and cases of repatriation be considered connected? If yes, how are they related?

Aftermaths and afterlives:

national, local, multidirectional and cosmopolitan memory

The return of ancestors to African people and nations will be here studied through the lens of postcolonial memory studies. There is no denying that the repatriated dead have and will have great significance for local and national actors. Some repatriations from European institutions have ended with burials (Batlhaping man, Sarah Baartman, King Otumfo Baidoo Bonsoe II, Troi and Klaas Pienaar, Dawid Stuurman). While those graves participate in local memory cultures, some returns, as for instance the ongoing negotiations between the National History Museum in London and the state of Zimbabwe,[14] might serve national politics of remembrance, fuelling the privileged status of nation-state stakeholders in practices of commemoration. Cultural particularities in burial rites and practices also challenge the alleged universality of conceptions of mourning and remembrance emanating from memory studies. The skull of Mkwawa is, for instance, openly exhibited to the public in the Mkwawa Memorial Museum in Kalenga, and buttresses a stronghold of cultural memory in Tanzania (see Chapter 1). While there is a need to accept the legal and political agency of local (and diasporic) African communities in repatriation practice (see Deutscher Museumsbund, 41; DCMS, 27), there is also enduring disregard for their own stance on the history of colonialism. In this context, mediated testimonies have occupied the public space to bypass institutional structures and make their voices heard. A closer look at the politics of remembrance will also show that repatriation and reburial are not finite:

> "it is also a means by which people – especially those who have been dispossessed – can assert their pre-eminent right to make their own decisions regarding what should happen to their ancestors' remains. In this way, they can lay claim to their own pasts and determine what should or should not be part of their cultural heritage" (Hubert & Fforde, 2).

I would even add, they can lay claim to visible presence and credence in the ethical recovery of colonial "present pasts" (Huyssen).

This book intervenes in current debates revolving around memory and commemoration. It is also explicitly concerned with histories of colonial/racist violence and genocide. The twentieth century was marked by retrospective studies of the institutionalisation of social memory practices, crystallised in temporal and spatial landmarks such as sites, memorials, streets or commemoration days in post-war colonial metropoles (see Nora; Assmann; Erll & Nünning; Rothberg, 2010) as well as in independent postsocialist states (see Sendyka). However, feminist, postcolonial and intersectional critiques have for long pointed at the limits of concepts originating from European thought and cultural productions from imperial locales and what they have to say about particular memories. The deep and borderless memorialisation of silenced deaths – those Butlerian "precarious lives" that underwent colonial oppression, sexual violence, homophobia, racist violence, displacement, or anti-migration policy – has been contextualised and inductively helped for new theorisations of collective memory that, unlike some of its predecessors, refrain from pretending to be universally applicable (see e.g. Armstrong & Crage; Osagie, 131-2; Çelik; Wanjiru & Matsubara, 2-3; Karugia, 330-1).

In recent years, artists and activists have offered powerful reflections on appalling ways in which the industry of neoliberal memory culture often disappoints, even concerning pasts which have been canonised in memory.[15] Paul Gilroy underscored how colonised subjects have developed artistic ways of engaging with violent histories that have offered one of the most powerful critique of a modernity that has enslaved, objectified and excluded them from some archives of history. Decolonial arts and perspectives indeed prioritise present and future redress and change:

> In the period after slavery, the memory of the slave experience is itself recalled and used as an additional, supplementary instrument with which to construct a distinct interpretation of modernity. Whether or not these memories invoke the remembrance of a terror which has moved beyond the grasp of ideal, grammatical speech, they point out of the present towards a utopian transformation of racial subordination (Gilroy 1993, 71).

Drawing from autobiography, philosophy, fiction, poetry and music, Gilroy allows different disciplines to join together for a greater aim: "the pressing need to get black cultural expressions, analyses, and histories taken seriously in academic circles", and "the struggle to have blacks perceived as agents, as people with cognitive capacities and even with an intellectual history" (ibid, 5-6). I recognize his work on the Black Atlantic and hope that this book can bring its shoulder to the wheel in such a politico-academic agenda.

This book has many aims. Far from being comprehensive, let me provide a short list of some of these ambitions: a) to bestow unanimous credence to repatriation of human remains in academic and museum circles, b) to foreground the vivid and informed ways of engaging with entangled histories of colonisation, genocide and objectification, and c) to apostatize reactionary and nationalist views clutching to conservative understandings of heritage which choose to turn a blind eye to the blood oozing from museum collections (to borrow a metaphor used by Bénédicte Savoy). Using memory studies and its underpinning methods enables this critique and this array of examples of artistic practices to occupy a friendly terrain that allows not only the uninhibited, upfront and honest, but also the invisible and anti-canonical. A patchwork of memory cultures also will hopefully show that there is no prevalence of a certain kind of so-called 'authentic' traditions in the memorialisation of ancestors over other practices influenced by, or entwined with modern epistemologies. It is, I believe, considerably more productive to identify the areas where cross-pollination and cross-fertilisation have occurred, so that the inevitably entangled legacies of colonialism become visible to the eyes of modern European institutions.

As a result of a widespread criticism of a culture of mnemonics and commemoration relying on bounded understandings of place, collective identity and affect, Michael Rothberg's concept of *multidirectional memory* and Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider's *cosmopolitan memory* have demonstrated the limits of nation-based solidarity and highlighted the trans-geographical added value of remembering *in relation*.

Multidirectional memory: solidarity and difference

Those two frameworks are heavily rooted in diasporic circuits of remembrance refusing competitive claims, in other words, 'memory wars' calling for greater or equal concern for one past over another one. These have been especially criticized in the context of colonial entanglements: Marouf Hasian Jr., in his comparative study of colonial camps (including those built for the internment of Hereros and Namas in German Southwest Africa), contends "comparative victimage battles" (16). He follows Dirk Moses in his call for solidarity and the search for "critical methods that allow us to take into account *both* intentionalist and functionalist ways of thinking about the 'mutual recognition of common suffering'" (ibid). Departing from W.E.B. Du Bois' and Marguerite Duras's reactions the Warsaw Ghetto, Michael Rothberg has also called for a refusal of a zero-sum logic in a public sphere driven by the competitive interests of different traumatic pasts. According to Rothberg, multidirectional practices of remembrance offer an alternative. They can be mapped on a scheme structured by two sets of opposite principles: solidarity vs. competition on the one hand; differentiation vs. equation on the other (Rothberg 2016). To Rothberg, DuBois's considered expression of solidarity and equation between the

Jewish and the African-American experiences of displacement and oppression "brings histories into relation without erasing their differences or fetishizing their uniqueness" (Rothberg 2011, 527). Marguerite Duras juxtaposed answers to her same questions, those provided by a survivor of the Warsaw ghetto and those of two Algerian workers. Thereby, Rothberg argues, she produced "a tendency to see history as relational and as woven from similar, but not identical, fabrics" (Rothberg 2011, 528).

He nonetheless later admits that not all forms of multidirectional memory are fundamentally productive: those individuals playing up competition for public interest while utterly differentiating their past to those of similar groups might produce a "sacralized version of a unique discourse" (Rothberg 2016). Rooted in parallels linking the Shoah with other violent contexts such as the West Bank or the Transatlantic Slave Trade, multidirectional memory is also highly relevant to other genocidal contexts,[16] as well as postcolonial contexts of remembrance. The entangled nature of different forms of colonial oppression and the visible traces of exploitative and settler colonialism that still affect and regulate (geo)political, cultural and linguistic spheres in postcolonial nations are fruitful terrain for multidirectionality.

Finally, trajectories emerge from histories of displacement and dismemberment. For these reasons, an informed reminder of the grim practice of severing heads of anticolonial subjects not only strongly disavows contemporary claims positing civilisation vs. barbarism; it also forces parallels to be drawn between the resistance of Mkwawa and the Wahehe, Mangi Meli and the Wachaga, Cornelius Fredericks and the Nama, King Hintsa and the amaXhosa, Mbuya Nehanda Charwe Nyakasikana and the Shona, and many others. Their remains have all travelled to Europe and back. Their histories should too.

It is important to understand the frames of multidirectional memory as adjustable and bendable. As long as no zero-sum logic envying the prevalence of some histories in the public sphere is done, multidirectional memory allows multiple ways of productive comparison. Besides, "the public articulation of collective memory by marginalized and oppositional social groups provides *resources* for other groups to articulate their own claims for recognition and justice" (Rothberg 2011, 524, emphasis mine). Does that imply that intellectual property can even be deemed irrelevant as far as memory and heritage sectors are concerned?[17] This is another issue. Still, it allows grassroots initiatives, in their particular quests for acknowledgement and redress, to 'cross-reference,' 'borrow' and use memory practices which have served other battles (Rothberg 2009, 3). Thereby, Michael Rothberg refuses to understand the public sphere as a "scarce resource" (ibid), but rather as a realm of possibility.

Besides, he maintains that claiming for the recognition and remembrance of a violent past is not the sole prerogative of descendants of victims and perpetrators: "memory of slavery and colonialism is not limited to the victims or descendants of slavery and colonialism" (2011, 524). From a postcolonial viewpoint, their voices and perspectives should nevertheless occupy the forefront. But Michael Rothberg is also highly interested in "making visible an intellectual and artistic countertradition" (ibid), which, in a hegemonic system of state-dominated narratives of memory, implies a politicised grassroots approach towards memory cultures that are generally disregarded as memory. It implies demonstrating how non-statist and non-academic subjects have greatly contributed to a multidirectional understanding of colonial entanglements. Speaking of subjects, Rothberg has recently introduced a new conceptual player in the politics of representation of memory cultures, breaking away from binary paradigms attempting to separate victims and perpetrators (see e.g. Kosicki), and furthering the possibility for solidarity in remembering: he names her the "implicated subject" (Rothberg, 2014). Individuals might indeed intervene in practices of remembrance that would not be normatively ascribed to their belonging within a certain culture. In other words, the implicated subject can be an outsider breaching the borders of collective memory by underscoring his/her own relationality to the past of "others", without appropriating its discourse, its codes, its authority. This last characteristic is of paramount importance for postcolonial contexts, as it partially excludes any voluntary or unconscious attempt to monopolise or control the ways in which a particular group shapes its collective memory in the public, mediated space.

"Memory unbound"?: Cosmopolitan memory

The sense of being implicated by remembering while not being directly, formerly associated with a given community is also one of the mainstays of 'cosmopolitan memory.' Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider argue that transnational practices of remembering the Holocaust "have the potential to become the cultural foundation for the global human rights politics" (2002, 88). They demonstrate how nationalist reactions against global circles of sympathy mirror reactionary scepticisms against the nation-state at the turn of the twentieth century (see 90). If the press had been one of the pillars of national memory at that time, “the electronic media plays an analogous role in the era of globalization” (91). This view of cosmopolitan memory rests upon a view of technological communication as *the* means to create a shared consciousness. Therefore, media events – such as events that can be to an extent ‘experienced’ through livestream broadcast – can be considered as belonging to cosmopolitan memory practices because of this digital link between the global and the local (ibid, 91-92).

Yet, such a vision of cosmopolitan memory remains limited, because it seems to relegate personal (or testimonial) accounts to restricted local environments of memory. It also promotes a view of cosmopolitan memory that should encapsulate ‘major’ forms of communication and relation, mediated by transnational networks and does not explicitly include connected practices of situated memory practiced by diasporic communities for instance. Levy and Sznaider’s emphasis on mediated “memoryscapes” forgets that not only words or videos travel in the globalised world. People do too. Exiles, diasporas, scholars, delegations, activists, all these mobile bodies involve actual encounters. As cases of repatriation show, partnerships and long-term relationships in the forms of projects, discussion, and even friendship develop. Some of the projects under study, such as the theatre plays *iMumbo Jumbo* (Chapter 4) and *Maji-Maji Flava* (Chapter 5), or the performance *Words May Not Be Found* (Chapter 2) were born out of multilateral partnerships. Another instance, the novel *The Hottentot Venus* by Canadian author Barbara Chase-Riboud, came from her interest and research in the history of Sarah Baartman, a research which implied visits to Paris, London and Cape Town and meetings with people from those countries as well as from Namibia and Sweden (319). Colonial entanglements have compelled both Europe and Africa to remember their histories together, especially histories of violence and genocide. By extension, processes of remembrance through art often (not always) imply processes of relation and re-collection, gathering bits and scraps scattered from Hoerikwaggo to the Trocadéro, from Songea to Berlin, from the Nqabara River to Inverness.

The arts, academia and the realm of museum professionals still remain elitist circles of mobile cosmopolitan bodies. Yet repatriation also involves the travels of Indigenous leaders and descendants.[18] Their quests for the return of their ancestors have traced transnational currents that carry their own Indigenous forms of memorialisation of the past that intervene in cosmopolitan circles of memory. I will strengthen this assumption by showing to what extent histories that have entered global memory – often because of their ubiquity in electronically mediated mnemonics (images, text, video, recordings) – are being taken up by *situated* forms of memory that are neither local nor national. Rather, they participate in shaping some kind of 'minor' cosmopolitan memory, centred on the movements and interventions of agents that negotiate and challenge borders and racial assemblages.

By weaving together entangled histories of violence, genocide and colonialism, by going against canonised traditions of written academic ethnography, and by allowing multiple authors to bring their informed perspectives on those histories, this book will foreground multidirectional practices of remembrance. It will also itself be part of an archive of multidirectional memory of colonialism. A multi- and interdisciplinary approach to postcolonial memory practices is essential in the age of transnational solidarity. It should include a revisit of the colonial archive and a search for intergenerational testimonies. It should not downplay the ways in which artistic interpretations have contributed to subversive revisits of colonial contexts. Pierre Nora's famous assertion that sites have been gradually replacing environments of memory has proven fallacious. Mediated forms of remembrance that used to be marginalised by memory studies have arisen, both from the potential of digital communication to grant space to individual voices in global networks and from the inclusion of non-(or even counter-)national practices into the canon.[19]

What about cultural memory?

Text and its medium – literature – have long depended on the central figure of the witness before being considered able to shape collective memory on a large scale. The central figure of a witness relating a story has occupied a pivotal position from Cicero and Quintilian's legend of Simonides Melicus to the contributions of Primo Levi, Anne Frank, Vera Brittain and Elie Wiesel (among others) in Holocaust memory (see Lachmann, 301-2; Saunders, 328). Intertextuality, dialogism, polyphony, palimpsests, adaptations, imitation and subversion are a myriad of literary tropes that have proven useful in studying the novel as a mnemonic epitome, especially in postcolonial literary studies (see Eckstein 2006, 46-

57). Jan Assman has considered such texts as part of a constructed *cultural memory*, “an externalization and objectivation of memory, which is individual and communicative, and evident in symbols such as texts, images, rituals, landmarks and other ‘lieux de mémoire’” (2010, 122). He maintains that cultural memory typically lasts 3,000 years. However, this assumption rests his evaluation of the long-lasting influence of texts from Mediterranean and Asian ‘civilizations.’ He forgets that a) this influence is ongoing and thereby cannot be yet bounded, and b) that the temporal evaluation of cultural memory cannot encompass all features he himself mapped, too often focusing on material culture and discounting the persistence of “rituals” and “landmarks”.

The wish to be able to trace cultural memory is a highly Eurocentric approach which has attempted to rationalise and delimit memory’s volatility. Conversely, the myths from Indigenous Australians’ Tjukurpa may have outlived every form of material transcription of cultural memory. This book therefore will not use *cultural memory* as a notion qualifying the different material under study. I rather aim to intertwine diverse ways of talking about the past by blurring the lines between the written and the performative, the institutional and the non-statist, fiction and factual memory. Fiction, for instance, has long been considered as a productive engagement with histories of trauma, and postcolonial literary studies have underlined the potential of fiction to capture and crystallise ubiquitous peculiarities of colonial histories such as overlaps or cross-generational legacies (tangible for instance in Ambalavaner Sivanandan’s *When Memory Dies*, Fatou Diome’s *Le Ventre de l’Atlantique* or Bernardine Evaristo’s *Soul Tourists*). Capable of conveying those troublesome histories differently, no media should be excluded from a subject-based approach to memories of colonialism.

Present pasts, and urgent pasts

Interestingly, the relationship between cinema and memory has seldom be questioned for a number of reasons: the nature of video as a recording, cinema’s ability to usher the viewer into flashback loops, as well as its obsession with picturing the past, and constructing the myths that buttress the birth and the identity of nations, especially in genres like the western, historical drama, but also science-fiction. These attributes surely blur the border between *communicative* and *cultural memory*. Films fabricate and shape countless ‘present pasts,’ to borrow Andreas Huyssen’s terminology. After decades of scholarship on memory contrasting past to present, Huyssen most prominently shattered this dichotomy at the beginning of the twenty-first century, emphasizing on the role of visual recollection in the digital age:

> Historical memory today is not what it used to be. It used to mark the relation of a community or a nation of its past, but the boundary between past and present used to be stronger and more stable than it appears to be today. Untold recent and not so recent pasts impinge upon the present though modern media of reproduction like photography, film, recorded music, and the Internet, as well as through the explosion of historical scholarship and an ever more voracious museal culture (2003, 1).

What Huyssen described in 2003 was actually not new. Photography, video and museums had existed for more than a century, and the collecting craze seemed actually greater at the turn of the twentieth century than twenty years ago. Nevertheless, Huyssen's coinage of 'present pasts' opens new avenues to a discourse on memory that had first praised the mobilisation of historical narratives of the past (ibid, 2) before contesting "the value of history" altogether (ibid, 5), or resorting to postmodern forms of "creative forgetting" to remedy to a pathologic obsession with remembering, and the hypertrophic presence of memory in the public sphere (ibid, 6). Huyssen instead embraces the paradoxes that memory cultures imply: between remembering and forgetting in the case of traumatic histories (ibid 9-10); between sacralising and fixating a given past in the historical canon, and "detemporalizing" by re-inscribing it in the present through cultures of representation (ibid 10); between the transparent, visible, spatial presence of pasts in monuments and urban palimpsests, and the "blind" and "opaque" spots in the archive (ibid). Noticing the musealisation of a near past – machines and software that become obsolete after less than ten years – and the consumption of history through profit-making cultural industries, Huyssen rather opts for a focus on situated memory practices, because only they "express a society's need for temporal anchoring" (28).

Faced with the issue of having to deal with overwhelming and increasing stocks of information, Huyssen calls for an "effort to distinguish usable pasts from disposable pasts" (29). In the German context, the edited book *Kein Platz an der Sonne* and its various contributors have shed light upon "imaginaries", political events, institutions, figures and memorials which had previously been disposed of, ignored or forgotten in the public sphere, and whose histories needed to be revived. The vast archive of colonialism is "haunting", as Margareta von Oswald argues in her study of staff dynamics at the Berlin Ethnological Museum (forthcoming). It binds together headhunting, genocidal acts, humiliation, discrimination and objectification of human bodies, and reveals a long and perverse glossing of its legacies in European national discourses. An ongoing state of neo(liberal)-coloniality has often enabled European financial capital to preserve its interests in many former colonies until today, deliberately turning a deaf ear to calls for restitution and reparations while fomenting political instability. This has convinced me to consider the colonial era as an urgent past. To wit, honest and deep implication with such histories of violence and of resistance against capitalist appropriation, scientific racism, racial violence and displacement, exposes more than a century of foreign stranglehold over the wealth of African soil and cultures. Understanding this past considerably helps comprehend political landmarks ranging from the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, the Tutsi genocide in Rwanda, demographic challenges and migration, or current debates in South Africa on land expropriation. Working inductively, similarly to Huyssen collection of essays constructing *Present Pasts* from the bottom, I look for those memory practices that make these urgent pasts and their legacies relevant for current political processes, and which render the colonial era indelible in local, national and transnational environments of memory.

Postcolonial lieux de mémoire

While Pierre Nora's simplified opposition between tradition and secular modernity seems ill-suited for postcolonial contexts, Indra Sengupta and the contributors to her book *Memory, History, and Colonialism* have proven that this tension, this "antithesis", or even this war between history (*Historie*) and memory in Nora's conceptualisation of *lieux de mémoire* yields positive outcomes in postcolonial contexts of commemoration (Assman 2009; Sengupta; Winter). The fluidity of meanings ascribed to those *lieux* and memory cultures can indeed translate into concrete social agency for minor groups striving to inscribe their particular collective memory onto a national frame of reference (Sengupta, 5). Sengupta and her contributors thus challenge the seemingly limited applicability of *lieux de mémoire*: Nora's corpus sort of restricted the term to sites that have reinforced the cohesive identity of the nation. They argued instead that memorials, monuments, buildings and places can always serve other purposes than ritualised, unbending, crystallised national commemoration performed by the state.

What is more, in the context of continuous migration (which started long before colonial rule) and forced displacement as a result of colonialism and diasporic communities in the aftermath of postcolonial independence, the dominant position of national “frameworks of memory” (Halbwachs) need be counterbalanced by recognising transnational networks of memory. In her study of Nama remembrance practices of the 1904-08 war in German Southwest Africa, Memory Biwa argues that the “lines of the map” drawn by “people across the water”[20] undergo processes of symbolic connection and physical transgression in the “afterlives of the war” (2-3). In the spirit of multidirectionality and decolonial thinking, I believe that confronting dominant mnemonic cultures with interwoven vectors of remembrance, diffuse scraps of history, and emotional engagements with the past, may allow greater – albeit perhaps less comfortable – understanding of how these violent pasts occupy public spaces and inform current discussions on apologies, justice, genocide and reconciliation.

The politics of human remains

Necro- and thanatopolitics

The nexus ‘memory of colonialism and racism’ / ‘politics of restorative justice’ invites a discussion of the relevance of colonial human remains in debates around reparation and apologies. The “political lives of dead bodies”, especially those of famous people, carry undeniable weight in discursive constructions of nationhood and participate in narratives of transformation, be it in postsocialist contexts, as Katherine Verdery has brilliantly shown, or in postcolonial ones (see Verdery, 13-21). They “animate” the study of such political transformations, especially because of their “ambiguity, multivocality, or polysemy” (ibid, 28). As far as the political potential of remembering those dead is concerned, there seems to be, on the one hand, a widespread, unchallenged acceptance that memory is automatically part of the politicized public sphere. On the other hand, there are clear differences between state commemorative practices, which are utterly political, and grassroots memory practices, that only *sometimes* translate into political movements, or radical changes in policy and public psyches.[21]

While mostly concerned with mapping the structures of power over people’s right to live or fate to die, Achille Mbembe’s *necropolitics* and Giorgio Agamben’s *thanatopolitics* offer several avenues for the inscription of human remains as subjects of contemporary political debates in the postcolony. This intervention of the dead into the lives of the living compels one to accept that the memory of the dead can influence (geo)political relations, even when the remembrance of a violent past has not yet been acknowledged or genuinely addressed.

Achille Mbembe defines necropolitics as "contemporary forms of subjugation of life to the power of death" (2003, 39). He illustrates his understanding of necropolitics with examples ranging from the enslaved individual to the suicide bomber, and touches upon the case of colonial occupation. Rooted in a furtherance of Michael Foucault's biopolitics, necropolitics are mostly dealing with the principles of sovereignty over the body, meaning "the capacity to define who matters and who does not, who is *disposable* and who is not" (Mbembe 2003, 27). But necropolitics also provide an escape from the sovereign apparatus. Achille Mbembe starts with the proverb:

> Wa syo' lukasa pebwe
> Umwime wa pita
> [He left his footprint on the stone
> He himself passed on]

He is therefore also concerned with the remnants of necropolitics, the traces left after lives have been "subjugated", or annihilated by the power of death. Remembering the visible skeletons of victims of the Rwandan genocide, Mbembe observes "the tension between the petrification of the bones and their strange coolness on one hand, and on the other, their stubborn will to mean, to signify something" (35). As Sybille Krämer similarly stated that a trace can be, among other attributes, a proof of an act of disruption when something/someone must have had the violent strength to disturb an order in order to "imprint themselves" (16), i.e. to emboss history with their presence. Of course, these arguments are made from a present moment of remembrance, of trying to elucidate a violent past from the perspective of the present. But in the case of mutilated bodies, visible wounds cannot not hint at the act of separating one limb from the whole: "their function is to keep before the eyes of the victim – and of the people around him or her – the morbid spectacle of severing" (Mbembe, 35). The absence of a totality reminds of the grave of Songea Mbano on the cover of this book (see also chapter 5). Displaced but not forgotten, the dead and their partial absence are embedded in necropolitics of the past, and thanatopolitics of the present.

In *Homo Sacer – The Camp as as Biopolitical Paradigm of the Modern* (1998), Giorgio Agamben states:

> If there is a line in every modern state marking the point at which the decision on life becomes a decision on death, and biopolitics can turn into thanatopolitics, this line no longer appears today as a stable border dividing two clearly distinct zones. This line is now in motion and gradually moving into areas other than that of political life, areas in which the sovereign is entering into an ever more intimate symbiosis not only with the jurist but also with the doctor, the scientist, the expert, and the priest. In the pages that follow, we shall try to show that certain events that are fundamental for the political history of modernity […], as well as others that seem instead to represent an incomprehensible intrusion of biologico-scientific principles into the political order (such as National Socialist eugenics and its elimination of "life that is unworthy of being lived", […]), acquire their true sense only if they are brought back to the common biopolitical (or thanatopolitical) context to which they belong (122).

Agamben identifies interventions by other disciplines (science, law, religion) into the realm of the political. These interventions can only be adequately understood if one reads them while being aware of their thanatopolitical agenda. In the case of remembering the excavated remains at the mass burial site Prestwich Place, Julian Jonker described their former exclusion from deserving post-mortem ethics of care as "a thanatopolitics by which colonial sovereignty prescribed the fate of the body even after the end of bare life" (205). In order to understand artistic interventions on colonial oppression and genocide, this means therefore *politicising* or *re-politicising* the lives of those who died invisibly. The projects under study in this book all – closely or remotely – revisit and remember the thanatopolitics of colonialism. Colonisation and objectification of non-European bodies were "fundamental events" in the history of modernity. Looking at those present practices revisiting the past implies rethinking the separating border between life and death, the line that Agamben identifies as partially mobile. In some contexts, it also calls for conceptualising colonial human remains as continuous thanatopolitical presences that accompany the living in their quest for recognition and restorative justice. For this blurry separation between life and death sometimes only seem partially compatible with contexts of knowledge where dead ancestors are very much part of social and cultural nexuses.

In further discussing the reach of thanatopolitics, Stuart J. Murray concurs that, within the schemes of state power legitimising the invisibility of the death of criminals, "some lives achieve political value while others are effaced and depoliticized" (197). Thanatopolitics thus seem to be even more closely related to the politics of the dead as understood in a strict sense of the political: those deaths and remains of the dead which were deliberately deprived from their political value have dwelt in a limbo state of latent thanatopolitics. The traces left by the dead are, however, visible imprints from the necropolitics of the colonial state, that is, the racist subjugation of the colonised. Calls for remembrance, repatriation, recognition and re-humanisation are efforts that use these *remains* to render the *living individuals* visible again. This work aspires to show how those lives are finally given back the importance that they merit, and how post-repatriation thanatopolitics help to counter both the objectification and the de-humanisation of those victims of colonial oppression.

Bones, and the flesh of racializing assemblages

In Western modern discourses on violence and the human subject, the emphasis has been put on the body as a site for systems of oppression, discipline and empowerment. The preponderance of bare life and biopolitics in analyses of racial violence has proposed interesting avenues for reflexions on the body in performance cultures, such as re-enactment, theatre, and film.[22] Recently though, Alexander G. Welehiye has shaken the foundations of critical body politics.[23] In *Habeas Viscus*, he follows the work done by Sylvia Wynter and Hortense Spillers on the development of new subjectivities from Black gendered perspectives and argues that the white dominant model of knowledge placing the human (Man) as an overarching unit of experiencing violence is flawed and should be abolished altogether. Instead, any conceptualisation of human subjectification should appear subsequent to the acknowledgement of systems of racialized and gendered hierarchisation which initially "discipline humanity into full humans, not-quite-humans and nonhumans" (Welehiye, 3). Through this process of exclusion from the realm of *habeas corpus*, the position of non-humans is determined by the flesh, "that zero degree of social conceptualization that does not escape concealment under the brush of discourse, or the reflexes of iconography" (Spillers, 67). As Smaran Dayal rightfully points out, Weheliye, in contrast to Spillers, does not understand the flesh as voiceless; the suffering of non-humans can be heard for those who care to hear (see 894-5):

> The particular assemblage of humanity under purview here is habeas viscus, which, in contrast to bare life, insists on the importance of miniscule movements, glimmers of hope, scraps of food, the interrupted dreams of freedom found in those spaces deemed devoid of full human life (Guantánamo Bay, internment camps, maximum security prisons, Indian reservations, concentration camps, slave plantations, or colonial outposts, for instance). Beyond the dominion of the law, biopolitics, and bare life they represent alternative critical, political, and poetic assemblages that are often hushed in these debates. Habeas viscus accents how race becomes pinioned to human physiology, exposing how the politicization of the biological always already represents a racializing assemblage (Weheliye, 12).

The memory practices under study in this book participate in bringing to the fore some of those fleshy utterances, those "dreams of freedom". Located around or after processes of repatriation, they comment on processes of dehumanisation, displacement and on the return of those ancestors home. Their common aim: countering the dominant 'hieroglyphics of the flesh' which dwell even in death through the dehumanisation of human remains on the basis of their object-value for disciplines such as anatomy or physical anthropology. Many Black or colonised subjects have had to suffer from racializing assemblages in life and afterlife. For, as Weheliye has brilliantly shown with the unscrupulous exploitation of Henrietta Lacks's immortal cell line for the cure of cancer (see also Nikolova), "the twin phantoms of racialization and property relations unsettle the promise of a subepidermal and cellular humanity as an absolute biological substance" (80). The truth of undeniable commonalities between human beings has indeed been seriously jeopardised by racial constructions in law and scientific discourse. Therefore, narratives, texts and performances remembering the lives and afterlives of colonised subjects re-politicise those living bodies, and emphasise on the social relevance of human remains in the postcolonial present, providing new enfleshments. They foreground the flesh, that "ethereal social (after) life of bare existence" (Weheliye, 72), which, in this context, indicates political and poetic engagements with the dead and their legacies.

"Human remains in society" and visual culture

In 2017, a seminal volume addressing the legacy of human remains in postcolonial politics of remembrance was published: *Human Remains in Society*. Edited by Jean-Marc Dreyfus and Elisabeth Anstett, it touches upon a series of problems that I also wish to address. In the introduction, the editors legitimately identify fluctuating meanings ascribed to the dead and their significance for visual culture, which, in the age of enmeshed and ubiquitous private and public media discourses, become harder to pinpoint.

Further, they interrogate the ethics of such visual representations:

> The documentaries and works of fiction force us not only to think about the degree to which the dead are objectified, and even the very possibility of the continued existence of an 'individual subject' in the face of mass killing, but also to consider the rights the dead retain over the use of their image and, finally, the extent to which images help to spread and legitimise voyeurism and complacency towards violence. These are all issues that international law and the various national legislations around the world are still reluctant to address (Dreyfus & Anstett, 8-9).

I concur with this assessment and additionally believe that artistic practices of remembrance dealing with colonial violence can also provide deep reconsideration of the relevance of international and national frameworks, for institutional discourses often seek to mould the peculiar status of colonial human remains into procedures that are unsuited to the multiple historical contexts and epistemologies into which those are embedded. The dead are indeed endowed with powerful symbolism and have inspired and influenced contemporary artistic representations of colonial violence, a kind of thanato-aesthetics. Conveying the voices of ancestors through art helps addressing the following questions: what is historical factualness? Who should speak for the dead? How can the colonial archive share or relinquish its position of authority? The intrinsic corporeality of human remains has found echo in corporeal memory cultures such as performance art and theatre, producing aesthetics of remembrance addressing the violation of colonized bodies, such as headhunting, enslavement or objectification (see my discussion of *Maji Maji Flava* in chapter 5).

Jean-Marc Dreyfus and Elisabeth Anstett remain careful and acknowledge the problems of instrumentalisation and commodification of the dead. The dangerous flipside of necropolitics is the development of a dual necro-economy. First, a "moral economy is established through the selective assignment of defined statuses to individuals or groups (spokesperson, victim, survivor, sons and daughters of…) that result in the production and accumulation of symbolic capital" (9). At the same time, the dead become instrumentalised in a "monetised and globalised" necro-economy, as in the case of "dark tourism" (ibid). While I subscribe to both these observations, it also seems dangerous to interpret the importance of human remains for their descendants and the communities to which they belonged as "symbolic capital"; for it tends to once again equates calls for restorative justice with actual discourses of commodification claiming the value of human remains for scientific and museal agendas. "These varied statuses sometimes give rise to conflicts of appropriation or legitimacy, shedding light on the eminently political nature of the unique form of goods that are human remains", the editors contend (9). Clearly positioned for a growing acknowledgement of the epistemologies of the dead as social agents, this project will always shun from equating conflicting discourses when those touch upon postcolonial and neo-colonial contexts. It will instead endeavour to refuse any kind of objectification through language by upholding the terminology and the perspective of those who know best about how to talk about their ancestors.

Mnyaka Sururu Mboro [iii]

We, the offspring of those ancestors who are here [in Europe], we are the ones who have the right. For instance, I am having the right to demand Mangi Meli's skull of Wachaga because I am Mchaga. It is our right and it belongs to Chaga people. It is not a national property, because when we talk about Tanzanians, we are talking about a nation, and this nation belongs to various groups of people, and there are more than 120 of these various groups in Tanzania: we have Wamasai, we have Wachaga, we have Wahehe, and so on. And these are the governments which we had before. The colonial powers came in and started drawing their own borders as they deemed fit. The Wachaga, they had their own land – this Kilimanjaro land – that was our government. This government represents me as Mchaga, so I am demanding Mangi Meli back.

And now let us come to the national government. The national government can support us, can assist us, we do appreciate it with both hands. But if they don't do that, we are there, we will do it. In Tanzania, that's how our parliament works: in the case of the dinosaur bones, there are some who are members of the ruling party but they come from this area where the dinosaur comes from.[iv] Therefore, they side with the opposition demanding the dinosaur back. They are not in the opposition in the parliament, but they are still demanding it back. Those ones who don't belong to that area, it is not their homework, and it's not theirs!

[iii] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/mangi-meli/#offspring

[iv] For more information on the request for the return of fossils, see Tarli, 2016.

> So now, if we return to the colonial borders, I would like to ask the Germans: when they were there as colonial rulers, with whom did they use to work together? They used to work with these chiefs, didn’t they? And we, the offspring of these chiefs, we are demanding the remains back. I mean, I also do condemn the Tanzanian government for not putting weight on repatriation claims. It is the same matter with the Hereros and Namas. The German and Namibian governments don’t want to involve them in the negotiation table on reparations and apologies. They say: "oh, we are working with the government". But not with the Herero and the Namas. But who are the victims? Not the Ovambos!
>
> In Kilimanjaro we had several chiefs according to divisions, from that plain to the slopes of the mountain: here you have this chief, there you have this chief… they were around five. The Germans, they only negotiated with two of them. Where Carl Peters used to stay, he had Chief Mareale there as a good friend (who even brought this woman, Jagodjo, who was later hanged by Peters).[v] And when Peters came to start making so-called local treaties, he used to go to these groups of people, to their chiefs, their leaders. These were our governments and they had a structure, and although these governments do not exist today, we cannot say that these governments are the Tanzanian government. Of course we do belong to the Tanzanian government, but these chiefdoms are still there, and regarding what happened during that time, we have the right to demand restitution, or to bring someone to court.

The issue of the nation-state in repatriation and remembrance

The tension between categories such as “nation” and “community” will be strongly challenged bit by bit through this work. After the first return of ancestors to Namibia in 2011, Larissa Förster examined which different perspectives contended behind the “heroes’ welcome” given to the remains (see Förster 2013b). The Ovaherero and Nama’s initial refusal for a burial on Heroes’ Acre in Windhoek was, for instance, a clear statement against any “cooptation of the skulls” by advocates of nation-building in Namibia (Förster 2013a). The government’s position, which morphed from that of a facilitator in repatriation, to being a privileged addressee in diplomatic talks on apologies and reparations, has exacerbated internal tensions between representatives of the Ovaherero and Nama communities and the Ovambo majority (see Restorative Justice after Genocide; de Wolff). Since 2011, the Herero and Nama delegations in Berlin reclaimed their dead by making thanatopolitical use of the skulls' visual clout in public displays for their political demands, such as in demonstrations, on t-shirts on in pictures online (see Förster 2013a, 432). Remembering the 1904-08 genocides in an exclusively bilateral context – German-Namibian – is reductive. Their work for the recognition of their ancestors' struggle and deaths calls upon new forms of conceptualising the *inter-national*. Narratives of memory are not essentially guided or regulated by agents of the nation-state. They travel across borders. Histories of oppression and the legacies of racist thought cannot be integrated in strictly national models of collective memory, nor in a compromise-friendly discourse on a shared past between former colonial metropoles and independent postcolonial states.

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[v] For more information on Carl Peters’ brutal hangings in the Kilimanjaro region, see Perras, 197-200.

In all different cases of repatriation examined in this book, a common denominator to the study of practices of remembrance is the dialectics between the role of the nation-state in repatriation and memory and the authority of local Indigenous perspectives on these histories. Be it in Tanzania (Chapter 1 & 5), Namibia (Chapter 2), or South Africa (Chapter 3 & 4), the cases under study chisel cracks in the "container of the nation-state", an agent of memory that often intervenes in repatriation processes in order to reassert its hegemonic position on heritage and history, and continues to marginalise narratives put forward by traditional authorities or direct descendants.

This project aims at questioning this position. It has been developed through close partnership with the work of NGOs such as Berlin Postkolonial, the Alliance "No Amnesty on Genocide" or the Iringa-based organisation Fahari Yetu. Many people intervening in the book are members of such structures, such as Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, Serafino Liduino or Ida Hoffman. The development of this research went hand in hand with my participation in their struggles, lending my time and skills to help them shake established positions of power in geopolitical and cultural spheres. Finally, even if the book is complete, the website still makes future partnership possible. Besides Mkwawa, the Ovaherero and Nama, Sarah Baartman, Dawid Stuurman, King Hintsa or Songea Mbano, many stories of displaced ancestors and possible repatriation are still to be told.

Notes:

1 In his *Essay sur l'Inégalité des Races*, Gobineau argued that "the man of a decadent time, the degenerate man properly so called, is a different being, from the racial point of view, from the heroes of the great ages" (25). He stated in another chapter that races were a fixed concept which permanently categorises the Earth's population in derivations of three "primitive" stocks, and that although "these stocks have now vanished, [..] they never succeeded in losing their characteristic features except under the powerful influence of the crossing of blood (133). These features – "the shape and the proportion of the limbs, the structure of the skull, the internal conformation of the body, the nature of the capillary system, the colour of the skin, and the like" – had therefore remained visible as tokens of his theory of the primitive stocks (ibid). A physical anthropological reading of Gobineau in the late nineteenth century would have endeavoured to support or refute his assumptions by providing anatomic research comparing such features. Gobineau himself hinted at such methods when he reviewed Morton and Carus's comparison of the sizes of different skulls from individuals of diverse skin colours, criticizing the limited application of such study due to a small amount of data (256 skulls examined) (ibid 111). On top of that, Gobineau viewed degeneration as an ineluctable result of the migrations and mixing of populations resulting from increased exchange between civilisations and miscegenation between people. Therefore, if such research were to be carried out, it had to be carried out as soon as possible on individuals that had had the least contact with other civilisations.

2 While in Australia, Darwin noted that "wherever the European has trod, death seems to pursue the aboriginal [...] The varieties of man seem to act on each other; in the same way as different species of animals the stronger always extirpating the weaker" (459). This statement obviously bears two implications; the observation of deliberate genocide on the one hand, and an appeal to a potential process of natural selection on the other. Both have proved influential in shaping a British colonial consciousness embracing soft and hard Social Darwinism, and these have spread to other European countries, as illustrated by Aryan and Teutonic anthropological theories (Barkan 16-18). As Weaver has put it, "colonialism has always posited indigenous societies as dying or dead" (228).

3 Original German text: "Diese Gruppen seien überhaupt vopm Aussterben bedroht, weshalb nun die Wissenschaft retten müssen, was zu retten ist".

4 I am restricting this part to a short description of the zeitgeist in the 19th and early twentieth century. For more detailed accounts on the development of craniology, phrenology, anthropology and evolutionary racism since the 18th century, see Gould (whole book); also Fründt, 9-15; Kühnast; Harrison, 51-55; Roginski; Larson; Kössler, 2018. On the conditions of acquisition of human remains during the colonial era, see Simpson 171-182; Rassool & Legassick; Harrison, 55-81; Turnbull, 2015.

5 "Chimurenga", a Shona word for "fight" or "struggle". This term is used to describe the phases of the Zimbabwean decolonisation. The first Chimurenga stands for the uprising of 1896 in South Rhodesia against the British for land ownership and agricultural opportunities, the second for the guerilla war which broke out in 1966 and ultimately lead to the independence of modern Zimbabwe. In the beginning of the twenty-first century, the term was again taken on to describe the successive land reforms aimed at giving back land ownership to indigenous people and thus confiscating and redistributing the large colonial acquisition.

6 Here I draw on Lars Eckstein's piece on the 2014 German-Australian restitution ceremony and the ways in which German-Australian colonial entanglements are remembered in Patrick White's novel *Voss*. In "Recollecting Bones", Eckstein weaves the myth of Simonides and its allegorical significance for memory as *vis* (cultural practice) and *ars* (technology) together with the repatriation of Indigenous Australians. Underlining the fundamental limits of Western scientific conceptualisations of memory structured around time and technology, Eckstein emphasises the potential of place as a mnemonic agent for his argument and as a core notion in Indigenous cosmogonies in Australia. Jumping from Athens to Berlin, to the Great Sandy Desert, Eckstein dismisses the claim by some anthropologists that memory should be timely bounded by a given number of generations, and reminds of the search for the bones of nineteenth century German explorer Ludwig Leichhardt in recollections of German-Australian colonial history.

7 Already in 1988 did Arjun Appadurai introduced positionality in the fields of anthropology and ethnography. In "Place and Voice in Anthropological Theory", he unveiled how anthropologists construct

"culturally defined locations" which are not exempt from power positions. He further asserted that "[s]uch named locations, which often come to be identified with the groups that inhabit them, constitute the landscape of anthropology, in which the privileged locus is the often unnamed location of the ethnographer. Ethnography thus reflects the circumstantial encounter of the voluntarily displaced anthropologist and the involuntarily localized 'other'" (16). In a German scientific context, Katharina Schramm follows up on Appadurai and retraces the colonial history of the discipline of ethnography, debunking altogether positionalities claiming distance, objectivity, and purportedly oblivious to power relations. She sides with James Clifford and George Marcus's idea of "writing culture," namely making the process of interaction in ethnographic practice visible through writing by allowing a plurality of perspectives, to which she adds bell hooks's injunction against the voiceless "absent presence" of racialized subjects (Schramm, 467-9).

8 Welehiye's original statement regarding his stylistic inspiration from a number of manifestos reads: "As politico-theoretical reflections, these declarations of interdependence create alternate modalities of freedom in the interstices of the text which, while conjuring anterior futures also lay claim to and make demands in the here-and-NOW" (15-16).

9 The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act was adopted by Congress in 1990. It is the founding legislation supporting repatriation and reburial of Indigenous human remains in the US. For more ample discussion on this bill, see Chari & Lavallee; also Colwell.

10 In this study, this term will be preferred to 'source communities' or 'origin societies,' a term which emerged from ethnographic research at the anthropological museum at the University of Zurich and which has been characterised by Larissa Förster as "a thought-provoking attempt to grant authorial rights to the origin societies, at least on the linguistic-symbolic level" (2018).

11 Ciraj Rassool and Martin Legassik found reactions by San people to the grave-robbing undertaken by Austrian anthropologist Rudolf Pöch in southern Africa. They quote a San woman called Old Katje: "Since I heard that my relatives' bodies were taken and cooked I am sick from sorrow and I will not recover fro the shock for a long time. I wept for days" (qtd in Rassool & Legassick, 15).

12 Beyond the scope of this book, yet closely related to a growing support for repatriation, is the reconsideration of secret and sacred objects in European and American ethnographic collections (see Pickering, 2016, 37). European anthropologists have indeed also made use of colonial power structures to rob, buy, or exchange cultural artefacts – some of them of inestimable value – to nourish the collecting crave of museums. Recent debates on the colonial legacies of ethnographic collections have sometimes mirrored some of the battlegrounds on ancestral remains: regarding, for instance, the inadequacy between a Western culture of exhibition and several Indigenous systems of knowledge advocating concealment; or the false assumptions Western scientific discourse makes on objects that are decontextualised, their meaningfulness being utterly contingent on genuine interaction with members of their respective communities. At the same time, in this context, some European institutions retain an unfavourable look on processes of repatriation, loan or partnership. For instance, the Gweagal Shield – one of the first artefacts being collected on Australian soil by Europeans no sooner than during Cook's landing at Botany Bay in 1770, on display at the British Museum with little explanation as to how symbolic this shield is for the invasion of so-called terra nullius – has been claimed by a grassroots Aboriginal campaign for its return. And this is only one of many instances of confrontational politics (see the website First Contact 1770, campaign for the repatriation of the Gweagal Shield). Recently, the Eurafrican endeavour led by Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy to inventorize colonial collections at the Musée du Quai Branly has called for more spontaneous and communal politics of restitution, reparation, remembrance and knowledge production (Sarr & Savoy). As far as decolonial practices of curating sensitive collections are concerned, the National Museum of Australia has adapted its methods of caring for human remains and secret/sacred/private objects to the knowledge protection that Aboriginal cultures ask for. In its repositories, access to sensitive collections is monitored, e.g. in terms of gender, elderliness and experience. Nevertheless, this remains an exception to the ways in which anthropological and ethnographic collections are cared for in museums and institutions.

13 Private communication with Bernhardt Heeb and Barbara Teßmann, members of the BGAEU, 01.02.2017.

14 In August 2015, on the national memorial site Heroes' Acre in Harare, president Robert Mugabe fervently expressed his wish to see the remains of freedom fighters from the first Chimurenga (1896-1897) being

handed over to the Zimbabwean nation by Britain's Natural History Museum (Smith, 2015). This issue might even prove to become a watershed for museum practice in Zimbabwe: in this context, Tapuwa Mubaya argued for a critical reflection on the fact that some museums in Zimbabwe still house human remains despite the contradiction between such scientific practice and local epistemologies of care for ancestors and their afterlives.

15 For instance, Jes Benstock's documentary *The Holocaust Tourist* (2005) and Shahak Shapira's *Yolocaust* project (2016) have denounced individual smears on places of remembrance and, indirectly, questioned how Holocaust memory is constructed and embedded in systems of fame and visibility through social networking, subject to mercantile tourism and profit-making, and victim of pervasive distance and disregard to history, place and commemoration. In the United Kingdom, in 2011, Toyin Agbetu heavily criticized the manner in which the promise of a healthy commemorative endeavour for the bicentenary of the abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in 2007 had been hijacked by British institutional museum discourse on Maafa: these institutions had refused any participation of Black and Afro-British actors in shaping this landmark in Britain's postcolonial cultural memory (see Agbetu, 71-72).

16 For multidirectional memory in the context of post-genocide Rwanda, see Maurer-Prager, 2017.

17 As an example, the National Museum of Australia built by Ashton Raggatt and McDougall was accused to be a copy of Daniel Libeskind's design for the Jewish Museum in Berlin (see Sudjic).

18 In October 2017, for the conference "Prussian Colonial Heritage" organised by Berlin Postkolonial, Chief Zulu Gama of the Wangoni came to Berlin and related the murder of his elders by the German colonial troops during the Maji-Maji War, 1905-07 (see Chapter 5). Such an emotional intervention took place again in Berlin in October 2018, during the event Shared History – German-Tanzanian Colonial History and Memory organised by Tanzania Network. Mangi Meli's direct descendant, Isaria Meli, came for the first time to Europe to tell the story of the murder of his great-grandfather.

19 Toni Morrison's *Beloved* or Ambalavaner Sivanandan's *When Memory Dies* are just two of many novels which have undoubtedly been integrated in the realm of memory cultures (see Assman A. 2008, 106; Mallot 2012; Kotecki 2013, 19-20).

20 Here, Memory Biwa quotes Gaob Simon Kooper from his statement during the 1904-08 war after he fled with the !Khara-khoen community to Botswana: 'people across the water drawing lines on their maps' (Biwa, 2). Gaob Simon Kooper's statement can be retrieved at the National Archives of South Africa, Prime Minister's Office (PMO) 214, Letter to the Resident Commissioner, Mafikeng, from the Assistent Resident Magistrate, Reitfontein, 10 February 1908.

21 Ray Andrew Ghoshal relies on a set of contextual environments, both past and present, that influence the emergence of commemorations and their ultimate translatability into political movements (332). To him the opportunity to translate memory of a given violence past into compelling political action is determined by:

1) the "commemorative capacity", the current readiness – sometimes better described as the urgency – tangible in the space available for change in social structures and in the potential mobilisation of affected communities. For instance, the responses to the release of Rachid Bouchareb's film Indigènes (Days of Glory) in 2006, pushing the French government to align war pensions of former North African soldiers with that of French veterans, illustrate how some the relevance of a work of art remembering past injustice can empower a given group to force decision-makers to face the urgency of the matter.

2) the "moral valence" (Jansen, in Ghoshal, 333) of the ancestors. While Ghoshal seems to accept Jansen's argument that the moral significance of past heroes – in his case, those remembered by Zapatistas and Sandinistas – can be assessed in positive, negative or both terms (Jansen calls it "neutral/ambivalent"), I wish to distinguish between the Western archive's depiction of the dead and their local significance (Jansen, 963). Jansen hints at the question of 'owning' former heroes, but does so with a troubling, uncritical acceptance of a Manichean, bounded opposition between forces of history, the "protagonists" and the "antagonists" (ibid). Ghoshal, shackled by a quantitative/qualitative methodology of analysing the impact of memory practices of racial lynchings, accepts these dialectics of competitive memory without even touching upon the gap between constructing heroes vs. constructing victims, or occupying the archive vs. being erased from history books proper, which would have been

utterly relevant to his context of racial violence. 3) the "ascribed significance" of an event in its political context.

While I have little criticism of those characteristics, which might be helpful to map how the political embeddedness of memory practices varies from one case to another, I strongly disapprove of Ghoshal's method to assess grassroots commemorative movement of racial violence depending on their success. He ascribes success depending on criteria such as the scale of "physical commemoration," "public participation" and "government support," thus contributing to the ongoing marginalisation and belittling of initiatives that might remain independent, limited, restrictive or simply short-term. While I sometimes allude to features such as "moral valence" or "commemorative capacity" in this work, I refuse any hierarchical and competitive presentation of mnemonic practices that have too often highlighted state-related projects of commemoration in detriment to grassroots or artistic projects excluded from the canon of collective memory.

22 For a reflection on cinema and the representation of bare life, see for instance Anca Parvulescu's study of Guiseppe Tornatore' film *The Unknown Woman* (79-90).

23 When one deals with histories of dehumanisation, genocide and objectification of the human body for material culture, the theoretical avenue usually taken is the one paved with the cobblestones 'bare life,' 'biopolitics,' and 'thanatopolitics.' Weheliye is however concerned with the problematic universality of such concepts, mostly arising from the work of European thinkers Giorgio Agamben and Michel Foucault. He is wary of their neglect of pre-existing racializing assemblages and their auxiliary forms of racism (see Weheliye, 53-62); these have indeed served European projects of colonisation and have utterly foreshadowed the Slave Trade, the implementation of disciplinary structures such as the camp or the plantation, the enactment of genocidal policies and, by extension, the construction of homo sacer and the authoritative right to make live and that of letting die. I agree with Weheliye's critique of this dominant belief in the prior applicability of biopolitics and bare life, and cannot not concur that a genuine recognition of, and fight against, oppressive racializing assemblages must be the point of departure of any study of colonial contexts, since bio- and thanatopolitical oppressive systems – such as concentration camps, frontier wars, freak shows or even modern museums at this point – function in keeping with a hierarchisation of "permanent fixtures on and in the human body" which produces the construction of differences on a socio-political level (Weheliye, 71). Racialising assemblages have indeed functioned as subordinating theories for centuries and it is this genealogy of flesh, more often coupled with the application of structural racism than not, which offers the most complete explanation for the emergence of extreme forms of body objectification (e.g. headhunting, the 'scramble for skulls' and the study of human remains along the grain of racial anthropology). These assemblages have evolved, for sure; yet they continue to shape processes of remembering and working through colonial histories by fragmenting the memory of colonialism along conceptual boundaries (e.g. empires, states, regions, eras, exceptions) that cloak, eclipse, or sometimes rub out their ubiquitous presence which constitutes the essence of colonial entanglements.

Chapter 1

SKULL AND TOOTH AS TROPHIES OF WAR

REMAINS AND SITES OF MTWA MKWAWA'S ANTI-COLONIAL RESISTANCE

It is a story spanning over more than a century, a famous one in Tanzania and beyond: the story of Mkwavinyika Munyigumba Mwamunyiga, or Mtwa Mkwawa,[1] leader of the Wahehe from the 1880s until his death in 1898. It includes a demand for the repatriation of his skull expressed for the first time in the Versailles Treaty of 1919, the actual repatriation that took place in 1954 from Bremen (Germany) to Kalenga (Uhehe, now Tanzania), and the handover of his tooth in 2015. It is a story with many gaps and unanswered questions regarding his death and the authenticity of these relics. It has haunted literature on repatriation, many authors being still wary of tackling the intricate entanglements involving German colonial rule (1884-1918), British colonial rule (1918-1961), local knowledge and traditional headship, spiritual beliefs in ancestral powers, and the magnitude that Mkwawa's aura has had until today. Together with Serafino Liduino, descendant of Mkwawa's bodyguard Mwangimba, I will provide a general account of the events that led to Mkwawa's death.[2] Then, I will try to gauge the significance of the repatriation claim and the return of the skull in 1954 in a genealogy of repatriation, before showing how Mkwawa occupies a central position in local and national memory practices. Liduino will recall the events of Mkwawa's death from a Hehe perspective, unveil further questions on the historical events, and express a number of demands to the German government for coming to terms with this colonial history. Finally, the return of Mkwawa's tooth and the continued presence of Hehe remains in German collections – including his brother's – will be addressed.

Mtwa Mkwawa was the son of Munyigumba of the Muyinga dynasty, owing its legacy to the chiefs of Ng'uluhe. His mother SeNgimba was married to Munyigumba when the latter took over the chiefdom of Ilole (see Redmayne, 424). When his father died, Mkwawa had to go into exile because a usurper, Mwambambe, took over the chieftaincy. To protect her son and prevent Mwambambe to obtain from her Muyingumba's war medicine by force, SeNgimba chose to drown herself in the Ruaha river. This site has been known as Kikongoma ever since, a place where the river disappears under boulders, and where the Sapi family, official descendants of Mkwawa, have put up signs to protect the place from litter and prevent the taking of pictures. Supported in his claim by many Wahehe, Mkwawa returned to Uhehe and Mwambambe was compelled to flee to gather forces in a neighbouring chiefdom. In the early 1880s, they fought for the last time at Ilundamatwe, which earned its name as "the place where many heads are piled up" after this battle (Redmayne, 414). Mwambambe was killed and Mkwawa was finally unchallenged in his rightful claim as a Mtwa ("leader").

He is described as a brilliant military and diplomatic tactician, and a fierce leader who did not hesitate to executed foes or subordinates if they represented a threat to his authority, and chop off the ears of the wives who cheated on him[3] (see Redmayne, 433). One of his nicknames was indeed "Mahinya" – the slaughterer. He expanded the Hehe kingdom towards the northeast, up to Kilosa where the Germans had built an administrative station (see Bührer, 218). He accumulated wealth and arms in trading with Arab and Swahili traders and remained an unchallenged ruler in Uhehe.

In 1890, the first clash between the Hehe and the German colonial troops occurred, when the Germans and the Wagogo engaged together in an expedition against Wahehe villages, plundering and burning them down. After several failed attempts of distanced diplomatic resolution between Mkwawa and the German governor Julius von Soden, the Germans decided to organise a so-called "punitive expedition" in Uhehe, which was led by Commander von Zelewski (see Redmayne, 418; Baer & Schröter, 50-1). On 17th August 1891, the military caravan was marching towards Lugalo, when the Wahehe surprised them and inflicted unprecedented damage to German and askari[4] troops. The Commander, three other German officers and six Non-Commissioned Officers were killed; 250 soldiers under their command died. On the Wahehe side, estimates from German sources vary between 200 (see Tom von Prince, 72) and 700 casualties (see Tettenborn, 437). In any case, the battle of Lugalo is widely considered to have led to a Hehe victory, not only because it hit the headlines in the German colonial press and gave Mkwawa a fierce reputation in the colonial metropole (see Baer & Schröter, 53), but also because Hehe history remembers that Mkwawa himself forbade mourning for those Hehe soldiers who had fallen (see Redmayne, 420).

From then on, the relationship between the Germans and the Wahehe went fiery, alternating between outright war, indirect negotiations and tactical alliances with neighbouring nations. Three years later, Governor Friedrich von Schele led an army to siege and attack the stronghold of Mkwawa's rule in Uhehe. On 30th October 1894, the colonial troops stormed the tall and thick brick walls of the fort in Kalenga, forcing the Wahehe to abandon the fort. Some escaped, some surrendered. For Mtwa Mkwawa, this marked the beginning of four years of flight, hiding in the bush. For his people, it meant famine and oppression, resulting from a "war of annihilation" (*Vernichtungskrieg* or -*kampf*) waged by German colonial troops, as the following Governor Eduard von Liebert or Magdalene von Prince termed it (Liebert, 33; Prince, 157). Michael Pesek has not shunned from speaking about a "genocidal will of destruction", and ventures that about 100,000 Wahehe lost their lives in the whole campaign led against their people (2009, 163). Thomas Morlang refrained from describing the war as genocide since the Germans did not pursue the extermination of the Wahehe after Mkwawa's death. He argues nonetheless that the German military campaign in this war paved the way for General Lothar von Trotha's belief that Africans had respect only for physical violence (97), and his subsequent genocidal policy against the Herero and Nama in South West Africa (see Chapter 2). Scorching the earth and the crops, attacking small villages to capture women and children, these tactics led from the Iringa station by Lieutenant Tom von Prince[5] compelled many of the Mtwa's followers to surrender in the following years. Prince indeed planned to rally as many Wahehe as possible to his cause against Mkwawa's resistance during this prolonged period of conflict. For this purpose, he recognized Mkwawa's brother Mpangile as the rightful "sultan" in late 1896. Nonetheless, he had him tried for treason and hanged him on 21 February 1897.

During this period, the colonial troops could hardly rely on intelligence distilled by local Wahehe, even though many of those had officially plead allegiance to the German leadership. Despite repetitive expeditions led by the *Schutztruppen* in Uhehe, the Mtwa had slipped several times out of the hands of the military. He could rely on the support of Hehe informants for monitoring the troops' positions, some even from within the German station in Iringa. On the surrounding hills, a huge rock hanging over the city bears the name Gangilonga, meaning "he who is in a stone". This lookout had been an excellent spot for Mkwawa to observe the tos and fros in and around the colonial station. In 1898 though, after four years of exile in the bush, the fate of the Mtwa ended in a brutal fashion.

Mkwawa's death and the mutilation of his body

Serafino Liduino [i]

Here [in Mlambalasi] there were two bodyguards. Means there were three people around here: Mkwawa, this guy Ngimba and another, someone… Mkwawa alimtuma yule bodyguard kwenda kuokota kuni, lakini huyu alijua kwamba Mkwawa anataka kujiua, kwa hiyo aliomba amwe yeye kwanza halafu Mkwawa ajiue baadaye. Akiimanisha kwamba atangulie huko, akamwandaliye sehemu ya kufikia. Huyu Mwangimba alipigwa risasi ya kichwa na Mkwawa. […] Na na na… kikosi cha Wajerumani, sasa kinakuja na kilikutana na Lifumika, yule bodyguard aliyeenda kuokota kuni. Kwa hiyo walikuta maiti mbili. Wakamwuliza Lifumika, Mkwawa ni yupi? Akasema ni huyu… Tom von Prince (sic!) akaipiga maiti risasi nyingine; to make sure hataamka tena. Akataka kichwa akakipeleka boma. […]

Kwa masimulizi ya sasa ya babu zetu. Ni kwamba Lifumika alinyosha kidole kumwelekea Mwangimba. Na aliyekuwa amekufa pale ni mwingine, siyo Mkwawa, siyo Mkwawa hata kidogo. Mkwawa alikuwa ameondoka. Mkwawa alikuwa ameenda sehemu nyingine. Hiyo, hiyo ndiyo story ya Mababu. Lakini pia tunatakiwa kujiuliza maswali mengi, baada ya Wajerumani kuiangusha ile ngome, ile ngome kule Kalenga Mkwawa alitunzwa na

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[i] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/mkwawa/#deathmkwawamwangimba

Wahehe for three years. Akiwa akizungunka kote Kalenga, anatunzwa… you think the last time mtu anaweza akaonyesha kwamba ni huyo? That is the question.

Translation by Mnyaka Sururu Mboro

Here [in Mlambalasi] there were two bodyguards. Means there were three people around here: Mkwawa, this guy Ngimba and another, someone… *Mkwawa sent the bodyguard to fetch firewood, but he knew that Mkwawa wanted to kill himself, so he asked to be shot first before Mkwawa kills himself. The bodyguard told him that he would then get to the afterlife first, and prepare the place for Mkwawa. Mwangimba was then shot in the head by Mkwawa. […] The German squadron, now came and met Lifumika, the bodyguard who went to collect the wood. So they found two dead bodies. They asked, "Which one is Mkwawa?" He showed which one … Tom von Prince (sic!, Merkl) then shot the corpse, to make sure he would not wake up again. He demanded the head to be cut off and took it to the Boma. […]*

In stories told by our ancestors, Lifumika pointed his finger towards Mwangimba. And the one lying dead there next to him was even another, not Mkwawa, not Mkwawa at all. Mkwawa had left. He had gone elsewhere. Well, that's the story of the ancestors. But we also have to ask ourselves many questions. Because after the Germans have attacked the fortress in Kalenga, somehow, Mkwawa was kept safe by the Wahehe for three years. Wandering around, he was cared for… "you think the last time", someone would show the Germans who he really is? That is the question.

Sergeant Major Johann Merkl relates that on 19th July 1898, accompanied by Omacha Adam Ibrahim, Msagira Mtaki and Askaris Said Ali I and Said Borelli, his patrol were following a trail left by Mkwawa and his bodyguards near Pawaga, when they captured a young Mhehe who maintained he was one of Mkwawa's *majumbe* (headmen). After what Merkl describes as "energetic persuasion", a term which might rather be interpreted as 'torture', the youngster admitted that the Mtwa was not far, sick and spitting blood (Merkl, qtd in Prince, 181). The German officer recounts that, after a half-hour march following the boy's indications, they heard a shot. He narrates how he removed his shoes and crawled towards some rising smoke before seeing two bodies lying down. With his

patrol, they shot at the body identified as Mkwawa's by the *jumbe*, and realised that the Mtwa had already shot himself.

Serafino Liduino (conversation with Jan Kuever)[ii]

SL: …kwa sababu kitu kingine Jan Kuever, ni kitu cha kujifunza. Wajerumani wameandika kabise kwamba, baada ya kumsoma Mkwawa kwa miaka mingi, wakagundua kwamba ana aikili nyingi. Angeweza kutawala Deutsch East-Afrika yote. Ndiyo; kwa hiyo wakatuma waje wamkate ilikuwa maana yake ukiangalia ile picha ilikuwa imepigwa. Kwamba kunikuwa kuna urafiki kabisa! Hiyo tuliyoiangalia inaonyesha hakukuwa na urafiki kabisa. Maana yake wangemchukua wakaondoka naye. Lakini kama mlifaulu kumpiga picha, halafu mkwamuwa. Hiyo ni dhambi. Lakini kwa masimulizi ya babu zetu, Mkwawa hakupigwa picha wala hakuna mjerumani aliyemwona Mkwawa akitembea. Hivyo, mpaka pale alipokuja kufa. Sababu story nyingine ingekuwa wajerumani walikuwa wanamjua Merkl asingewauliza wala wasingepeleka kichwa kule boma. Halafu wakatangaza kwa wahehe. Je, huyu ni Mkwawa? Kwa hiyo inaonyesha kama walikuwa wanamjua tayari, hapangekuwa na maana ya kuwauliza.

JK: Kama wangekuwa na hiyo picha kufananisha.

SL: Na kama wangekuwa walishawahi kumwona maana yake wangeulizana wao. Ya ni huyu, wasingeanza kuulizana. Kuanzia hapa waliuliza watu! Je, katiya hawa wawili nani, nani Mkwawa. Wakaonyeshwa wrong person. Halafu wakakate kile kichwa wakapeleka kule boma. Na kule boma wakaita watu… nani ni Mkwawa hapa? Wakasema ni yeye! Mkwawa walipewa vitu tofauti. Kwa sababu wangekuwa wanamjua, pasingekuwa na haja ya kuuliza. Lakini hakuna mjerumani ambaye aliwahi kuwona Mkwawa akitembea. Kuna mmoja alimwona…

JK: …kwa nyuma?

SL: Kwa nyuma na alijaribu kumpiga picha yulee. Yule nani pale?

JK: Erich Maaß

SL: Erik Maaß Alijaribu kumpiga picha akafa. Alimwua kwa mkono wake.

[ii] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/mkwawa/#incognitomkwawa

JK: Ndiyo

SL: Na kamera yake ilitu mbukizwa mtoni Ruaha.

JK: Kumbe alishambulia na kamera mkononi.

SL: Kwa sababu alikuwa na anapiga lengo, apige picha hii ina maana hakuna mtu ambaye alifanyikiwa kupiga picha ya Mkwawa. Ilo Mpangile alipigwa picha kwa sababu aliweka urafiki na wajerumani. Na hata Mpangile alikufa kwa sababu aliweka urafiki. Kwa hiyo Mkwawa akatengeneza trick ya kumwua Mpangile.

Translation by Mnyaka Sururu Mboro

SL: *... because there is something else to learn, Jan Kuever. The Germans have written passionately that, after studying Mkwawa for many years, they discovered that he was very smart. He could rule the whole of "Deutsch East-Africa". Yes, so they sent someone to take a picture of him, since they were in friendly terms. When we look back, it actually shows that there was no friendship at all, namely they would rather take him and leave, and if they succeeded in photographing him, then it meant he could be taken captive. Because that's a sin [being photographed or seen]. But according to the stories of our elders, Mkwawa was not photographed and no German even saw Mkwawa walking. And so, until he died. Because the other story would have been that the Germans knew, and Merkl would not have asked anyone to be told who Mkwawa was, or they would not have brought back his head to the Boma. There, they asked the Wahehe: is this Mkwawa? Therefore it shows that if they knew him already, there would be no point in asking them.*

JK: *If they had had a picture to match.*

SL: *And if they had ever seen him, they would have told each other, of course, they would not question one another. But instead, they asked the people! Which of these two is Mkwawa? And they were shown the wrong person. Then they cut off the head and took it to the Boma. And in the Boma they called the people... is that Mkwawa there? And they said it was him! The Wahehe were given different things. Because if they [the Germans] would have known him, there would be no need to ask. But no German had ever seen Mkwawa walking.*

Someone saw him...

JK: *... from the rear?*

SL: *From the rear and he tried to take a picture, that was... who was it?*

JK: *Erich Maaß*

> ***SL:*** *Erich Maaß. He tried to take a picture of Mkwawa and he died. Mkwawa killed him with his hand.*
> ***JK:*** *Yes*
> ***SL:*** *And his camera was caught on the river Ruaha.*
> ***JK:*** *Or he attacked with a camera in hand.*
> ***SL:*** *Just because he had a goal, take this picture. It means no one else was able to take a picture of Mkwawa. Mpangile was photographed because he made friends with the Germans. He even died because he made friends (laughs cynically). Mkwawa might have tricked Mpangile to his death.*

After Tom von Prince ordered that a photograph of Mkwawa's head should be taken, and presented it to some of his visitors (see Baer & Schröter, 193, 188), Johannes Merkl would also boast around with this trophy of war. He, who would later become one of the founding figures of the Bayerische Volkspartei (a political party founded in 1919, forebearer of the Christian Social Union in Bavaria), reportedly visited the botanist and ethnographer Emil Werth in Dar es Salaam in 1898, offering to sell the alleged remains of Mkwawa to the scientist. Werth described the contents of the box presented to him as "fragments of a skull that had been blown up by a shot in the head", and turned down the offer because such "wreck of a skull" would not be useful for his anthropological collection (3). The afterlife of Mkwawa's remains would from then on become as fragmentary as this skull, tangling up colonial politics with anthropological science, leading to the repatriation of a skull in 1954, and the repatriation of a tooth in 2015.

Because of the gaps and interrogations still pervading this story, much has been written on the fate of Mkwawa's remains. I could not pretend to unveil ground-breaking information on the matter. The reasons that justify the presence of this case as the first chapter of this book are numerous. I will present them threefold: first, the politics of the 1954 repatriation exemplify how colonial history, anti-colonial resistance, and the practice of headhunting have occupied cornerstones of European history, such as the Versailles Treaty and the interwar period. It also demonstrates that the process of repatriation has been closely related to the issue of reparations since its early stages. Secondly, revisiting the archive of anthropological science will interestingly strengthen some of the hypotheses put forward by Serafino Liduino. With greater hindsight, re-reading such discourse helps debunk the various "regimes of truth" which sought to ossify the story of Mkwawa and dehumanise Hehe people. Finally, I will address the politics of remembering Mkwawa in present-day Tanzania through the study of memorials, the Mkwawa Memorial Museum where the skull is exhibited, and the 2015 repatriation of the tooth. The paramount importance of Mkwawa's history and his legacy in local memory will be more generally confronted to the involvement of national stakeholders in those processes of remembrance.

Mkwawa in the Versailles Treaty

11th November 1918: the armistice is signed and the Great War is officially ended… in Europe. In East Africa, German troops led by General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck are still fighting. Three days later, the news of the ceasefire reaches his contingent. He would surrender on 25th November, unsettling the (Eurocentric?) date of the end of World War I, if one cares for the global character of this conflict. In Iringa, a well-tended cemetery honours European and white South African soldiers fallen during the campaigns that took place in Uhehe. German officers lie next to British ones. However, neither graves nor monuments honour the Hehe soldiers who fought with allied forces against the German *Schutztruppe* between 1914 and 1918.[6] If this 'displaced' conflict cost thousands of European colonial soldiers their lives, it affected local demography even more deeply: hundreds of thousands of African soldiers, carriers and civilians died as a direct or indirect result of World War I, some as cannon fodder for European officers, others as victims of the famine and the flu epidemic which ensued (see Pesek 2010, 123). For all this sacrifice and the unfathomable scars left in skins and social relations, African leaders remained excluded from negotiations regarding the fate of their land and their people. Not entitled to sit at European tables – neither in Berlin in 1884, nor in Versailles in 1919 – reparations and geopolitical reshuffling "about them" would be discussed "without them", to use the Herero and Nama's slogan for negotiations on reparations for the 1904-08 genocides in German South West Africa (see Chapter 2).

Yet, one claim concerning Hehe people would make it to Versailles, a result of Horace Byatt's wish to ensure peace in Uhehe under British indirect rule. Appointed administrator of British Tanganyika since 1916, Byatt indeed sent a letter to the Foreign Office in 1918, highlighting the significance of Mkwawa and the disappearance of his skull. In his thorough analysis of the politics of the 1954 repatriation, Jesse Bucher quotes the original text by Byatt:

> I now suggest that, if conditions on the conclusion of peace render it practicable to do so, an endeavor should be made to recover the head of Mkwawa with the object of returning it to this country. The recovery of the head and its subsequent internment in Mkwawa's grave would undoubtedly give the widest satisfaction among the Wahehe, who have been consistently helpful to us during the war, and would probably be appreciated in the country generally.
>
> It would also afford tangible proof in the eyes of the natives that German power has been completely broken (290).

As Bucher argues, this claim seemed motivated by a wish to display "the paternal authority of British rule" by opposing it to the brutal oppression implemented by German colonial administration (ibid). Michael Pesek also reveals that British colonial officers eagerly collected testimonies of Africans on German and askari colonial brutality as part of a process of self-definition through comparison (see forthcoming, 8). To pursue parallels with German South West Africa, this move mirrors the use of the so-called *Blue Book*, a South African report on the 1904-08 genocides, which served South African propaganda for a complete annexation of this German settler colonial space in the aftermath of World War I (see Chapter 2).

Byatt's letter would morph into one sentence: the second clause of Article 246 of the Versailles Treaty, whose presence I believe is of paramount importance for postcolonial perspectives on German colonialism and repatriation. Appearing in Section 2 "Special Provisions" of Part VIII on "Reparation", the full article stipulates:

> Within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, Germany will restore to His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz the original Koran of the Caliph Othman, which was removed from Medina by the Turkish authorities and is stated to have been presented to the ex-Emperor William II.
>
> Within the same period Germany will hand over to His Britannic Majesty's Government the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa which was removed from the Protectorate of German East Africa and taken to Germany.
>
> The delivery of the articles above referred to will be effected in such place and in such conditions as may be laid down by the Governments to which they are to be restored.

A revisit of this article, broadly contextualised in postcolonial and post-repatriation memory, has several implications.

Repatriation as reparation?

The first feature I want to highlight is its presence in the section "Reparation". This choice inscribes repatriation as a process that contributes to fixing the wrongs of the past. There are several ways to address this issue: first, let me contextualise the partakers in this process of reparatory justice; I will then introduce theoretical avenues on reparation and restitution and assess to what extent those are helpful in analysing this injunction for restitution.

Evidently, the Versailles Treaty sought justice after conflict, a war that changed the shape of European borders and the collective consciousness of the nations at war. As a treaty, it demarcates victims from perpetrators through the discursive construction of nations as partakers. The injunction to return Mkwawa's skull binds the German government as a wrongdoer and the British government as an injured party and future recipient of this reparative process. The article thereby re-asserts the privileged role of governments in facilitating repatriation. There is no explicit mention of the brutal crushing of Hehe resistance and the mutilation of Mkwawa's body. The violence of German colonial rule is less than unsaid, almost irrelevant. The article does not even promote a proper restitution of Mkwawa's remains to the concerned community: the head of Mkwawa, which was "removed from the Protectorate", shall be handed over to the British, who were neither dispossessed of it, nor even present in the territory at the time. For comparative purposes, the first part of the clause is equally flawed: the call for the return of the Uthman's Quran seeks to force Germany to hand over a foundational Islamic text it actually never possessed. On top of that, it now seems ludicrous to believe that the German government would have been able to put any pressure on the Ottoman sultanate (which at the time was busy preventing its own downfall in a war against the Turkish national movement) to return a historical item onto which it had no jurisdiction.[7] At least, it recognises the King of the Hedjaz as a political agent. The Wahehe, though, seem to have deserved no consideration on paper, despite having officially restored the Mkwawa chieftaincy with his descendants, namely the Sapi family.

What kind of reparation process is then suggested here? Current UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence, Pablo de Greiff, has listed four forms of reparation processes "under international law", two of which might shed some light on the role of repatriation in restorative justice.

The first one is "restitution". Following De Greiff, this process should strive to "reestablish the victim's *status quo ante*", as exemplified in the recognition of rights or the restitution of property (ibid). This is particularly relevant to the repatriation of cultural property and becomes tangible in the Versailles Treaty in Articles 245 to 247, which concerns works of art, administrative documents or national symbols stolen during the 1870-71 war between France and Prussia. Article 131 on the return of Chinese astronomical instruments snatched during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900-01 and kept in the Sanssouci Park in Potsdam is another example of such restitution process. In an attempt to theorise reparations as compensation for racial enslavement of Africans, the economist Walter Block has similarly considered reparation as "the forced return of stolen property" (54).

All those meaningful objects, however, were not human remains. Considerations of racialized bodies or bodily remains as property are indeed inacceptable, especially in contexts where discursive and physical dehumanisation occurred, such as the Transatlantic Slave Trade and colonial human remains. Considering repatriation of human remains as sitting under this umbrella of restitution proposed by De Greiff and Block would in fact reproduce historical processes of objectification of non-European people that crept up in capitalist considerations of Africans as workforce and theories of racial anthropology. Furthermore, the harm that German colonial rule inflicted upon Mkwawa and Hehe people cannot be undone. Repatriation of human remains cannot pretend to participate in restoring of a *status quo ante*, more so considering the fact that pre-colonial Hehe social structures had been so deeply shattered by decades of violent colonial rule.

Let me now turn towards what De Greiff has identified as "satisfaction and guarantees of non-recurrence". This broad designation encompasses diverse moral and epistemological processes of recognition:

> "verification of facts, official apologies and judicial ruling that establish the dignity and reputation of the victim, full disclosure of the truth, searching for, identifying and turning over the remains of dead and disappeared persons, along with the application of judicial or administrative sanctions for perpetrators" (452).

Resulting from important work of advocacy for the deep scars that war and human rights violations have left within societies, De Greiff's wide and diverse understanding of forms of reparation draws from diverse processes of restorative justice that have taken place until now: post-dictatorial reconciliation in Chile and Argentina, post-apartheid South Africa, the aftermath of World War II in Japan, and, of course, decades of working through the Holocaust. It is also backed by a number of (fairly) recent binding texts in international law.[8] In 1919, though, the heading "Reparation" in the Versailles Treaty probably meant a different approach to restorative justice, at least a more restrictive one. In fact, the Reparation Commission (also described in the treaty as the Inter-Allied Commission) had the primary task of evaluating the amount of reparations that Germany should pay for its responsibility in the war.[9] The term "reparation" should be here mostly understood as "compensation for damage", as stipulated in Article 232 and 233. With hindsight 20-20 and the now prevalent idea that the Versailles Treaty had fomented grudge from German society towards France, one can hardly consider the terms of this treaty as an effort towards "non-recurrence".

In spite of these points of critique, Article 225, 226, as well as Article 246 address the repatriation of the dead. The former two encouraged the construction of graves for soldiers who would be laid at rest in the countries where they had died. It also called for repatriation efforts to be undertaken whenever possible. Small reminder, the latter is the Mkwawa article. Mkwawa did not die during World War I, though. What is more, Horace Byatt's earlier openness to reburial has disappeared in the wording of the clause. The Wahehe are absent in the Treaty, and so is their wish to see the head of Mkwawa brought back to Uhehe. In contrast to what De Greiff recommended, neither "official apologies and judicial ruling that establish the dignity and reputation of the victim", nor a "full disclosure of the truth" would actually accompany the search, identification and return of the remains of Mkwawa (De Greiff, 452). De Greiff's comprehensive understanding of restorative justice tallies with the spirit of *remembrance* embraced by this book, where re-uniting bodies comes along with re-membering subject-positions, reinstating dignity and self-determination. But it appears that Article 246 of the Versailles Treaty restricts reparation for colonial violence to a plain, almost effortless handover of remains. Further, it endows the British government with total control over what is to become of Mkwawa's skull. After German colonialists sawed branches in the genealogy of Hehe leaders, successors of the re-established Muyinga dynasty were not recognized as official, authorial partakers in the treaty, even though their people actively participated in World War I. This runs counter to the profound and sincere effort that De Greiff has called for and amends once again a consideration of the Mkwawa clause as a genuine process of reparation.

Colonial violence in a landmark of European history

Article 246 raises a second issue: the weight of colonial history in major[10] landmarks of European history. One can wonder whether Byatt's knowledge of this story had resulted from mediated claims emanating from Hehe people to British officers, and might therefore consist in being a demand by proxy. In this light, the authorial position of the British government and Byatt's letter are rather evidence of British claims over Tanganyika as colonial territory, rather than being the result of demands for the return of the skull at the community level. To push the reasoning further, this official order for repatriation had no anticolonial implication; it actually supported a new era of colonial rule. Jesse Bucher has demonstrated how the 1954 repatriation and British discourse on the power of Mkwawa's remains and spirit in fact contributed to reassert indirect rule in British Tanganyika (285-6). The injunction in Article 246 can therefore neither be qualified as a process of restitution, nor as a ruling for reparatory justice. It rather exemplifies the exclusiveness of European negotiations on colonial matters.

Of course, this clause and the interest it generated have undeniably fostered reflections on the place of repatriation in processes of remembrance and recognition of colonial violence. This peculiar claim for postcolonial repatriation *avant la lettre* has offered inspirational grounds for a number of artists and authors,[11] and has thus contributed to a growing acknowledgment of Mkwawa's life story in Europe. As Rudolf Frank's 1931 novel *Der Junge, der sein Geburtstag vergaß* exemplified, the story of Mkwawa's afterlife was extrapolated. This novel originally featured the Mtwa's name in its title, but it was later changed, probably because of apparent racist language in the original title.[12] In the novel, a monologue by a German soldier uses the call for returning Mkwawa's skull as an allegory for the unkeepable promises advanced by governing powers, some promising peace, justice, or revenge, other promising culture, civilisation and humanity (Frank, 201). While the haranguing character aspires to convey a shared feeling of powerlessness between white European and African soldiers who fought for France in the trenches, this solidarity "from below" remains flawed because equative and devoid of any acknowledgement of contextual difference. The novel thereby fell short of generating multidirectional bonds of memory between the fate of European cannon fodder and colonised Africans. Moreover, it conflated the different experiences of Africans from French colonies and the Wahehe. Finally, it also erased the past and future decades of physical oppression that the colonised experienced before and after World War I, under direct or indirect rule.

Similarly, Jesse Bucher stated that the article proposed by British officials did nothing more than "normalizing, if not altogether overlooking the acts of violence that initially produced the skull" (289). Challenging the symbolism of the skull – which Bucher sees exactly as resulting from German colonial fascination for this trophy of war – Mkwawa's haunting presence in the Versailles Treaty calls for inscribing headhunting and colonial violence as a subtext in the grand narrative of Europe-centred World Wars. This seminal legal text has indeed functioned as a watershed in European history of the early 20th century. Article 246 may be evidence of a certain kind of colonial-racist hypocrisy in the discursive establishment of global humanism and the recognition of the rights of the colonised. As Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson have repeatedly argued, the discursive construction of a united Europe shares deep roots with a myriad of colonial and neo-colonial discourses which have supported the exploitation of the African continent, its people and its resources (see 5-6). Gurminder Bhambra further argued that "a truly cosmopolitan Europe would be one that took seriously its colonial histories and multicultural present; that is, one that understood its cosmopolitanism in postcolonial terms" (199). In 1961, Franz Fanon saw in the history of the European model of humanist democracy an "avalanche of murders" coupled with a "logic of equilibrium" (312-4). In paving a philosophy for post-independence processes, he advocated for a "new history of Man, a history which will have regard to the sometimes prodigious theses which Europe has put forward, but which will also not forget Europe's crimes (315). Fanon's words clearly find relevance in assessing the colonial value of the Versailles Treaty, a seminal document in the Eurocentric history of mankind, one that considered the League of Nations as a universal benevolence to the world despite its granting colonial mandates. Even though the presence of Mkwawa in this text attests of colonial recuperation of repatriation, it also stamps the visible imprint of colonial violence and headhunting in a landmark of the canonized history of Europe.

Pushing for an acknowledgement of this marginalised history, this half-article promoting repatriation, I would argue that the obstinate deliberations on financial reparations imposed upon Germany in the Versailles Treaty and the place that those have occupied both in the primary text and its secondary literature, have eclipsed the colonial character of this post-war treaty. Far from being remembered as a treaty that would have guaranteed peace and non-recurrence, it should also be considered as a consolidation and expansion of colonial power through hollow gestures of acknowledgment. The effort for repatriation is devoid of any deep and honest recognition of the anticolonial struggle led by Mkwawa. This illustrates perfectly Bhambra's accusation against the twisted politics of the European archive. The direct aftermath of the First World War brought about the creation of the League of Nations, whose mandates allowed Britain, France and South Africa to lay claim on former German colonial territories. Further, the Anglo-Belgian agreement of 1919 would cede to Belgium the regions that would later become Rwanda and Burundi. In retrospective, the fact that the name of one of the fiercest anti-colonial leaders appeared in this landmark of modern European history is reason enough to trace new trajectories in the grand narrative of 20th century Europe. Drawing vectors of multidirectional memory, I shall remind that the practice of headhunting and skull defleshment did not only take place in Uhehe, and not only in former German colonies. In the Kilimanjaro region, in Ungoni, but also on the lands of Herero, Nama, Khoi, Xhosa and Congolese people, unethical practices of collecting took place, and German, British, French, Austrian and Belgian colonial agents regardless of their nationality contributed to this "scramble for skulls". Article 246, which appears as a white discourse of benevolence and care for compensation displayed by the British government *vis-à-vis* Hehe people, rather reinforces the "rule of colonial difference" by silencing those who should be the genuine recipients of reparation (Chatterjee). Looking deeper beneath the tip of this iceberg-like clause in the Versailles Treaty reveals something that the archive of European modernity has repeatedly masked: histories of violence and body snatching that have exemplified a zeitgeist marked by the construction of "race" through hierarchizing theories of evolutionary humanism and a growing enthusiasm for eugenics.

The search for Mkwawa's skull and its repatriation in 1954

Article 246 nonetheless quickly prompted German officials to search for Mkwawa. On 20th January 1920, the Imperial Ministry for Colonial Affairs (*Reichskolonialminister*), through one of its members Johannes Gerstmeyer, wrote a letter to the director of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, Felix von Luschan, asking whether the skull of Sultan “Makaua” or “Quawa” (sic!) were part of the anthropological collection of the museum. Luschan scribbled his answer on the top of the page of Gerstmeyer’s letter. It reads:

> Responded on 23.01.20, that Quawa’s skull was not at the Museum für Völkerkunde, and that I have no reliable information on its whereabouts. It is not impossible that Mrs von Prince, born von Massow, should be informed on the matter, perhaps also Prof. F. Stuhlmann in Hamburg (E 1223/1930, my translation).[13]

Luschan’s answer speaks volumes on his knowledge of the story. He seemed aware of the death of Tom von Prince and the return of his wife in Germany. In fact, he had had correspondence with her in 1907 when she sent four skulls of Kamba people to the museum (see I/MV 739), and was also perhaps familiar with her journal from her time in Uhehe, published in 1908. Yet, he did not mention a study of the alleged skull of Mkwawa in 1900 by one of his eminent colleagues, anatomist Rudolf Virchow, which will be examined in more detail below. Martin Baer and Olaf Schröter have unearthed further correspondence which proves that more effort was undertaken to honour Article 246. A series of letters at the archives of the German foreign ministry conveys the perspectives of several witnesses through indirect speech. Magdalene von Prince, who had reportedly been consequently contacted by government officials, “affirm[ed] that Quawa’s (sic!) head was buried in Uhehe” and “cannot remember any details” (qtd in Baer and Schröter, 209). Upon hearing about the matter at hand, former paymaster at the Iringa station Joseph Kieferle proactively sent a letter to the ministry in which he assumed that the skull remained in the possession of the von Prince family (see Baer & Schröter, 187). Regardless, if anyone had known about the presence of Mkwawa’s skull in the Berlin anthropological collections at the time, it would have been Luschan. He had participated to drafting the 1896 *Instructions for Ethnographic Observation and Collection in German East-Africa* published by the Berlin Ethnological Museum, which clearly stipulated that the skeletal remains of East African individuals sent to the museum should be marked with the name of the “tribe and region with lead or ink on the bones themselves” (Direktion des Königl. Museums für Völkerkunde in Berlin, my translation). Since then, Luschan had overseen the receipt of more than a thousand human remains and tens of thousands of ethnographic objects and treasures, and diligently answered to the collectors, praising, thanking or scolding them for their work.

In the 1930s, the President of the *Kolonialgesellschaft* Paul Staudinger wrote to the director of the museum's department for African collections, mentioning a publication from 1900 in which the alleged remains of Mkwawa had been measured, studied and compared to the remains of another Hehe individual. Still, no repatriation ensued.

It was only in the 1950s that renewed interest in honouring the clause surfaced: in 1953, a wide number of German museums were directly contacted and asked about the possible presence Mkwawa's head in their collections (see Brockmeyer & Stoecker). Finally a repatriation took place in 1954, with British Governor of Tanganyika Edward Twining handing the alleged remains of the Mtwa to his descendants Adam Sapi. From the 1920s onward, British colonial rule in Tanganyika indeed sought "to reinvigorate what they [the British] saw as more 'traditional' forms of authority" (Bucher, 289). Concretely, as former governor Donald Cameron articulated it, it meant bestowing a pretence of royal power to local rulers, as it was "designed to adapt for the purposes of local government the tribal institutions" which had been or were still in place. These reinstated structures of power should then being "guided and restrained by traditions and sanctions which they have inherited, moulded and modified as they may be *on the advice of British officers and by the general control of those officers*" (Cameron, qtd in Ormsby-Gore, 283-4, italics mine). Chief Sapi Mkwawa, one of Mkwawa's sons who had been sent to Germany to study in a monastery (Redmayne, 435), was reinstated as an *akida* (not a *mtwa*) at the service of German colonial rule. The British later recognized him as the local ruler. Yet, in 1940, they deported him on grounds of high treason and replaced him with his son, Chief Adam Sapi (see Bucher, 293).

From the 1940s on, African representatives and political groups had indeed started to strongly oppose British colonial rule in East Africa, as exemplified by the growing influence of the Tanganyika African Association. Kenya even witnessed fierce and violent anticolonial opposition when, in 1952, the Mau Mau war broke out after decades of struggle that had led to the oppressive proscription of the Kenya African Union. It can be reasonably assumed that this state of affairs encouraged the then Governor of Tanganyika to spearhead a renewed search for Mkwawa's remains. Edgar Winans was the first to suggest that Twining's motives for seeking to return the head of Mkwawa were rooted in principles of indirect rule, one of its tenets being "full and official support for local rulers" who "could lead the colony into a long and fruitful association with Britain within the

Commonwealth" (237). To him, "there could hardly be a stronger legitimation for [Chief Adam Sapi] than the return of the great king's skull" (ibid). In order to reassert an endangered system of indirect rule threatened by national aspirations of independence, the return of the skull would besides rekindle traditional beliefs in ancestors and "sustain the gap between modern citizens and colonized subjects" in an era of rising aspirations to nationalist politics (Bucher, 295). In other words, by stimulating interest in what they viewed as authentic ancestral history, British colonial occupiers could justify their continued presence in East Africa, as they could further discursively rely on a narrative that promoted colonial agency in fostering development and modernization. Edward Twining therefore travelled to the Übersee-Museum in Bremen to find the alleged skull of Mkwawa, since it was known to hold (and still holds) a large collection of human remains from the German colonial era. As Jeremiah Garsha describes, he "traveled to Bremen as a private citizen on holiday to avoid any reporting linking his visit to the Treaty of Versailles" (2019, 9). After a series of comparative measurements undertaken together with a forensic anthropologist,[14] and the signing of an agreement to send ethnographic objects from Uhehe to compensate for the loss of an ancestor in the museum's collection (Bucher, 296), Twining flew back to Tanganyika. A pompous ceremony was prepared and on 19th July 1954, Twining handed over to Adam Sapi a skull that he believed to be that of Mkwawa, 56 years after the death of the Mtwa. Final proof of the colonial agenda hidden behind this repatriation, his speech on this day did not fail to ask the people of Uhehe to pledge allegiance to the newly crowned Elizabeth II (see Bucher, 296-7). In his subsequent report, this is reinforced by rejoicing at the "loyal" character of the Wahehe (Twining).

Thus, even though it has been often mentioned as a precedent that set the tones for postcolonial repatriations of human remains, the case of Mkwawa's return does not completely fit a genealogy of repatriation that wishes to foreground the wishes of descendants to see their ancestors' homecoming. Instead, the 1954 repatriation rather epitomizes to what extent repatriation has been utilized by colonial and neo-colonial agents of power to thwart genuine anti- and decolonial endeavours and refrain from engaging with the long-lasting power structures that colonial rule had instaured.

Provenance research, authenticity and empowerment

After having followed Jesse Bucher's bright analysis of the inherent colonial politics of this repatriation, let me go against his position regarding the authenticity of the skull. Bucher indeed stated that he would "avoid trying either to prove or disprove the authenticity of the skull Twining returned in 1954", given that "Twining identified Mkwawa's skull with forms of evidence that he both selected and prioritized", and that "to validate or challenge Twining's selection, [Bucher thinks], would necessitate either reinforcing or introducing new standards for measuring human skulls" (286-7). Instead, I argue that revisiting the colonial archive and its flaws in the identification of Mkwawa's remains is relevant for processes of empowerment and recognition of Mkwawa's astute tactics and the Wahehe's shrewd resistance to German colonial occupation. This can be done against the grain of racial anthropological discourse. It does not have to suggest or set any "new standards" in measuring human remains. One can simply demonstrate how anthropologists sometimes got ahead of themselves with regard to discourses on the authenticity of *several* remains that seem to have been erroneously thought to have belonged to Mtwa Mkwawa.

First, because of Mkwawa's particular approach in diplomacy: he always relied on intermediaries when having to deal with European counterparts in order to protect his own identity from foreign visitors. This might have prompted curiosity in Europeans as much as it sparked feelings of being insulted. Mkwawa's decision to remain incognito has been supported by many accounts about the Wahehe. The French explorer, Victor Giraud, who visited Uhehe in 1883, ventured that a Hehe tradition prevented chiefs from showing themselves to foreigners (131), and deplored that "Mkuanika" (sic!) denied him a meeting face to face (142). Magdalene von Prince also observed:

> Even in death has the most powerful and strongest of all African rulers denied his archenemies to glance at his actual face, a face which no European could boast of having seen: he shot himself in the head, so that he is disfigured (183, my translation).[15]

Alison Redmayne's work among the Wahehe in the sixties led her to maintain that "although he is thought to have known a few Germans by sight quite well, he always avoided meeting them" (433). Consequently, Sergeant Major Merkl could have solely relied on the young *jumbe* to identify which of the two bodies was Mkwawa's. Furthermore, this actually leaves open the (unlikely?) possibility of Mkwawa's survival after having staged his death by suicide, a theory that might be perhaps too farfetched. More plausibly, a deliberate false statement by the one Merkl described as a fifteen year-old youngster could have protected Mkwawa's body from mutilation post mortem. Many Wahehe indeed remained loyal to their Mtwa, even those the Germans captured and some who seemed to have collaborated with the colonialists. Magdalene von Prince was several times bewildered by their allegiance and protective behaviour, as the Germans often belatedly found out that the Wahehe not only knew where Mkwawa was hiding, but also actively helped him through supply of food and intelligence (see 184-5).

Retracing sources that mention the skull of Mkwawa can also help question the authority of colonial and scientific discourse, two of many "regimes of truth" which, when coordinated to discursive practices of writing and archiving history, could not only "mark out in reality that which does not exist" (Foucault, 19), but also further esteem the agents of its own archival production as agents of truth, and finally understand this archive "as merely a storehouse of documents and not an apparatus that produced and reproduced forms of subjection" (Lalu, 7). For instance, the governmental promise of a reward of 5,000 rupees for the capture of Mkwawa casts further doubt on the expedition led by Sergeant major Johann Merkl and the events related in script by him (and him only). The notice, issued on 8th April 1898, was bound to last only for four months – until 1st August of the same year. Mkwawa shot himself on 19th July, only two weeks before expiration of this prize money. Baer and Schröter ventured that this deadline is another reason for speculation over the authenticity of the head that Merkl brought back to the Iringa station (58-9).

Furthermore, the complicity between anthropological science and colonial administration has produced a conglomerate of regimes of truth which, with hindsight, have proven to be highly questionable when it comes to narratives of colonial violence and of collecting the remains of eminent African leaders (see also Chapter 4 for the case of Xhosa King Hintsa). In fact, officers and soldiers also collected ethnographic material and human remains, which they could then sell or offer to scientists who were interested. Conversely, ethnographers and anthropologists took advantage of colonial structures of oppression to acquire ethnographic material and anthropological data on Indigenous people.

Although they were instances of resistance against such voyeuristic methods, colonial structures of authority would often provide the necessary authority to support the study and appropriation of Indigenous bodies for the sake of scientific research. A telling example of such epistemological appropriation is found in Magdalene von Prince's diary, when she relates on 11th November 1897 that "Dr. Fülleborn managed to take a number of quite good photographs of *our* Wahehes […]. He used the opportunity for anthropological study and skull measurements and carried those with marvellous diligence and the best of success" (135-6, my translation, italics mine).[16] In colonial literature, diaries and first person narratives were rather aimed at a German audience in the metropole, boasting with acts of bravery and fuelling the dehumanisation of colonised people by omitting names and using collective nouns as often as possible (see e.g. Tom von Prince's account of his time as a lieutenant).[17] As an epistemic tool for the objectification of the colonised, disregard for names sometimes led to the administrative disappearance of humanity, as in the case of the pass tag in German South West Africa (see Madörin, forthcoming). These acts of deliberate unnaming mirror the disinterest of scientists in the names of the people they studied (let me remind here of Luschan's *Instructions for Ethnographic Observation and Collection in German East-Africa*). To go against the systemic objectification of colonised bodies, revisits of the colonial archive should clearly be done with an agenda for recognition and repatriation, and provide the stories that the remains tell to re-humanise the dead. As a contribution to such a task, the following paragraphs will deconstruct anthropological discourse on the remains of Mkwawa to debunk the alleged authority of the scientific "regime of truth".

Two years after Mkwawa's death, his skeletal remains would be the object of interest in Berlin's scientific circles: in 1900, in front of members of the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory (BGAEU), famous anatomist Rudolf Virchow examined a skull sent by Dr Walter Götze supposed to be Mkwawa's. Götze had plundered Hehe graves in 1899. An unknown editor of the Notifications of the BGAEU sums up the letter sent by Götze, which unfortunately got lost:

> Among the different clumps of earth of the cemetery, one of them was identified with certainty as the grave of Kwawa (sic!), the last Sultan, whose suicide had been reported at that time. Dr Götze opened it and took a skull out, whose authenticity was indubitable, according to himself (136, my translation).[18]

Virchow then starts his observations:

> The skull of Kwawa (sic!) reached my hands only after a while; I present it here. At the same time, in accordance with the testimonies of different travellers, I can say that the information regarding the gravesite is very reliable (ibid, my translation).[19]

The vagueness of these words is impressive, all the more ludicrous when put against his unabashed claims of certainty and doubtlessness. The use of the passive voice for the identification of the grave may hint at a local informant, but his or her identity or background remains unsaid. In turn, Virchow's informants are unnamed "travellers", namely visiting Europeans surely poorly acquainted with Hehe traditions of burial and sacred sites. Captain of the medical corps Dr Jan Gysbert Stierling, who was stationed in Iringa, visited the royal gravesite in Lungemba[20] in 1896 and explicitly complained in his report on the little amount of information he could drain from Hehe knowledge:

> The burial mound was also pointed out to me several times as being the authentic [Munyigumba's] one, although most of the Hehe persisted in saying that they knew nothing about it. It was, no doubt, superstitious fear which sealed their lips. Whenever I and others tried to inquire more closely into the ceremonies at the burials and so on, one heard reiterated the single obstinate reply: "I don't know". I myself was Commandant of a military post at Rungemba (sic!) for over a month, but, in spite of this, I did not succeed in getting the stiff-necked-Hehe to disclose any information (1957, 28).

Again, one witnesses preposterous claims of certainty among Germans as far as the personal feelings of Hehe people under their rule are concerned. While these apparently ignorant responses to colonial inquiry would nowadays rather be considered as resistance, or at least a way to safeguard knowledge from foreign exploitation, it occurred neither to Stierling nor to Virchow to at least doubt the authenticity of the information divulged to them. Nor could they admit that the fact that information was retained from them highly disputed their deductions. Humility was not their creed. By extension the accuracy of their descriptions of burial places they plundered and the value of their conclusions regarding the remains they stole can be strongly called into question.

To add one final layer of ridicule, drawings of the alleged skull of Mkwawa, which featured on the pages of Virchow's presentation, display a full, unbroken and well preserved skull. Virchow himself seemed fascinated by the wholeness of the teeth (140). This is a fascinating feature indeed, if one believes the description of the head by Magdalene von Prince, or Emil Werth's observations on the remains brought to him by Merkl, two sources that describe the remains as severely damaged. Evidently, Virchow was oblivious to, and surely uninterested in the circumstances of Mkwawa's death, and rushed headlong in comparing this skull with that of another Mhehe acquired earlier.[21] From the bodies found by the patrol near the rock shelter, to the head brought back to the Iringa station, to the remains allegedly dug up by Götze, to the skull examined by Virchow, to the one repatriated from Bremen to Kalenga in 1954, a quest for the authentic relic seems doomed to failure. Thanks to the nifty and cunning genius of Mkwawa himself and suspicions of Hehe intervention to protect Mkwawa's identity in death, this issue can be put aside. The politics of remembering Mkwawa and Hehe resistance to German colonial rule can be now addressed.

Remembering Mkwawa after repatriation

The Mlambalasi rock shelter

Two hours away from Iringa (by car through dirt roads) stands Mlambalasi, a rock shelter that served as a hiding place for Mkwawa and his trusted bodyguards. In 2010, archaeological excavations done by the Iringa Region Archaeological Project (IRAP) found a German rifle casing (Biitner et al., 281), probably a war booty from the 1891 victory at Lugalo, as most of the Hehe's firepower was obtained on that day. Outside the shelter, a tall monument now overlooks two graves (Fig. 1): the bigger one for Mtwa Mkwavinyika (Mkwawa), the smaller one for someone named Mwangimba (Fig. 2). Here, Serafino Liduino puts on his *mgolole*, a traditional Hehe garment for men (see Fig. 3).[22] He has come to show me the site where Mkwawa is buried. This site, tough, bears an even more special meaning to him: here, he can pay respects to his direct ancestor, lying beside the Mtwa. Mwangimba[23] was indeed one of Mkwawa's personal bodyguards and his cousin. In Hehe tradition, the Mtwa would never be buried alone; his most trusted soldiers would ask to die for him and be laid to rest next to their leader, Liduino explains.

Inaugurated by former president Julius Nyerere on the 100th anniversary of Mkwawa's death, the construction of this memorial was financed by Mkwawa's descendants through the Mkwawa Foundation. It is a site of paramount importance in a multitude of sites of remembrance (*lieu de mémoire*) in Uhehe linked to the story of Mkwawa's resistance to German colonial troops.

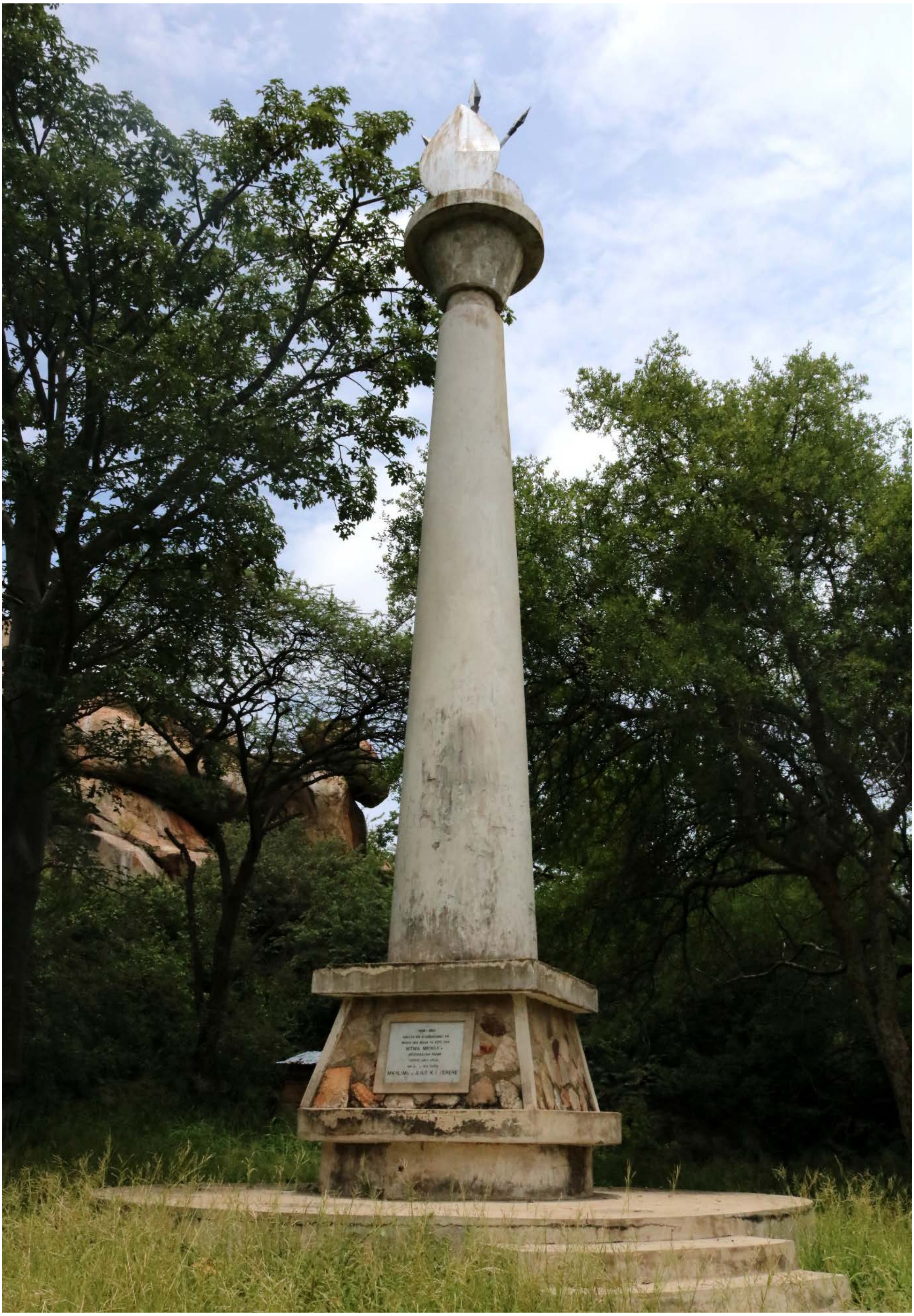


Fig. 1: The memorial near the Mlambalasi rock shelter.

The Iringa-based non-profit organisation Fahari Yetu monitors and cares for most of these places. Its museum on Hehe history and tradition, for instance, sits in the newly restored Boma, a former military hospital built in 1900 on orders from the German colonial administration. One of its project managers, Jan Kuever, drove us to Mlambalasi and translated Serafino Liduino's answers to my questions. This excursion was also his first visit to the rock shelter, which, unlike Gangilonga or the Lugalo cemetery honouring the German soldiers who died in 1891, remains very difficult to access. Located near the banks of the Little Ruaha River, among rural Gogo and Maasai settlements, the place is no longer a place of gathering, Liduino tells us. The dirt road was dammed on the occasion of the inauguration so that officials could arrive by car without mishap. Since then, time has made this path considerably less passable; it is even ill-advised to go for a drive to Mlambalasi during the rainy season.

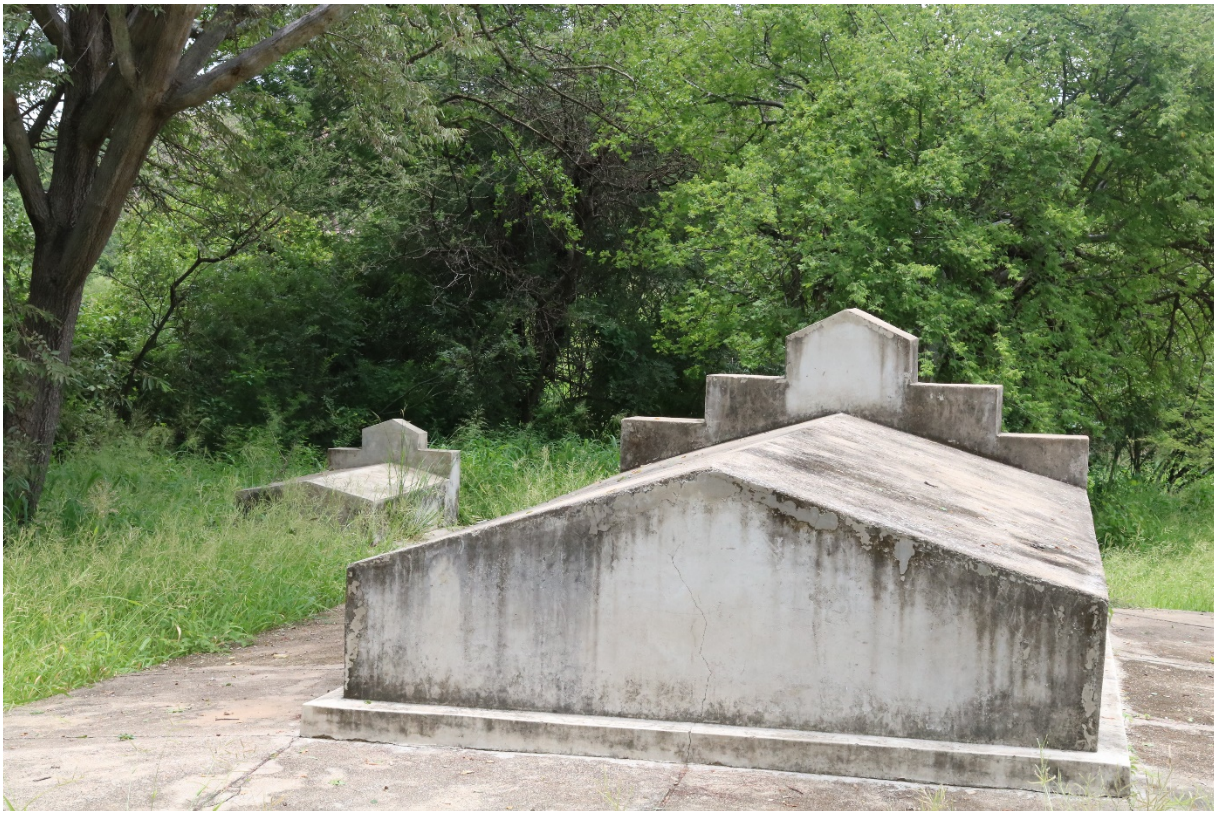
Its location far in the outback is comparable to the grave of Xhosa King Hintsa, located near the banks of the Nqabara river in the Eastern Cape (see Chapter 4). Both Hintsa and Mkwawa's graves seems to be an exception in their respective traditions of burial: it rather signals the site of death and murder, instead of their home or family belonging. In Xhosa burial culture, the body is returned home. For Hehe royalty, a special place had hosted the remains of members the Munyigumba dynasty. If the royal gravesite near Lungemba had not been defaced and plundered by German colonial troops, Mkwawa would have probably been buried next to his father and brother, among elephant tusks. But German colonial conquest, its destruction drive, and Mkwawa's resistance to it, have instead crystallised his memory in the rocks pervading the Ruaha landscape, from Gangilonga to Mlambalasi.

The Mkwawa Memorial Museum

Similar to the fate of the royal gravesite, the stone fort erected by the Mtwa in Kalenga, about 25km away from Iringa, was also destroyed by German colonial troops. Its ruins are almost invisible to the eye of outsiders. But Kalenga now hosts an even more significant site of memory: built to shelter the skull after its handover in 1954, the Mkwawa Memorial Museum is a modest building with a single room. At the centre stands the skull, sitting on a plinth, in an ornamented double glass case, lighted from front and back thanks to window panes on both sides, overseen by a portrait of the Mtwa hanging on the wall above (Fig. 4). In three other glass cases surrounding the skull, archival documents and items from the time of Mkwawa's resistance are on display, including the rifle with which he shot himself (Fig. 5). The descriptions mix up the names of German officers, having the ghost of Commander von Zelewski chase Mkwawa until 1898 (Zelewski was killed in 1891). The glass cases are in great need of restauration. A contemporary photograph of the current Hehe Chief Adam Abdul Sapi Mkwawa has been pinned on the wall, unframed.

The shabbiness of the mausoleum's interior contrasts drastically with the lush garden surrounding the building and the solemnity inside the metal railings. Blossoming poinsettias overlook the graves of Adam Abdul Sapi's father, grandmother and grandfather, the latter having been the one receiving the skull from Twining's hands. A demarcated path winds around the mausoleum, almost inviting the visitor to take a contemplative walk before stepping between the white columns that buttress the entrance door. Despite falling short in teaching its visitors about the history of Mkwawa's outstanding resistance to German colonialism, this place almost acts as a peaceful site for mourning and cross-generational memory. As a syncretic site, where the denominations "mausoleum", "museum", "memorial", "keeping place" or "cemetery" are unsettled and stretched well beyond their restricted meanings, the showcase of the skull compels me to venture a quick discussion of post-repatriation resting places.

The term "keeping place", borrowed from the context of Indigenous Australian repatriation, has been used for a wide range of sites – from a secret and hidden burial place in the bush to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. Binding together ethics of attention for the dead (as in 'keeping care') and ethics of safety (as in 'keeping away'), the concept blurs dichotomies between resting places (i.e. a burial site), memorials, and museums (an exhibitionary institution). It breaks away from the intrinsic coloniality in museum culture, identified by Lisanne Wilken as the accumulation of artefacts from other locales and the display of control over foreign spaces and cultures, to justify a nation's acquired power on the world stage (see 127). Using the term 'keeping place' also suggests rejecting what Tony Bennet saw as institutional discourse fuelling the imposition of a white male perspective on chronology and historical agency, relegating women and non-Western subjects to the frames "beyond memory" characterised by processes of objectification (or passivity) which have contributed to exclude them as potential participants in shaping museal discourse (17-18).



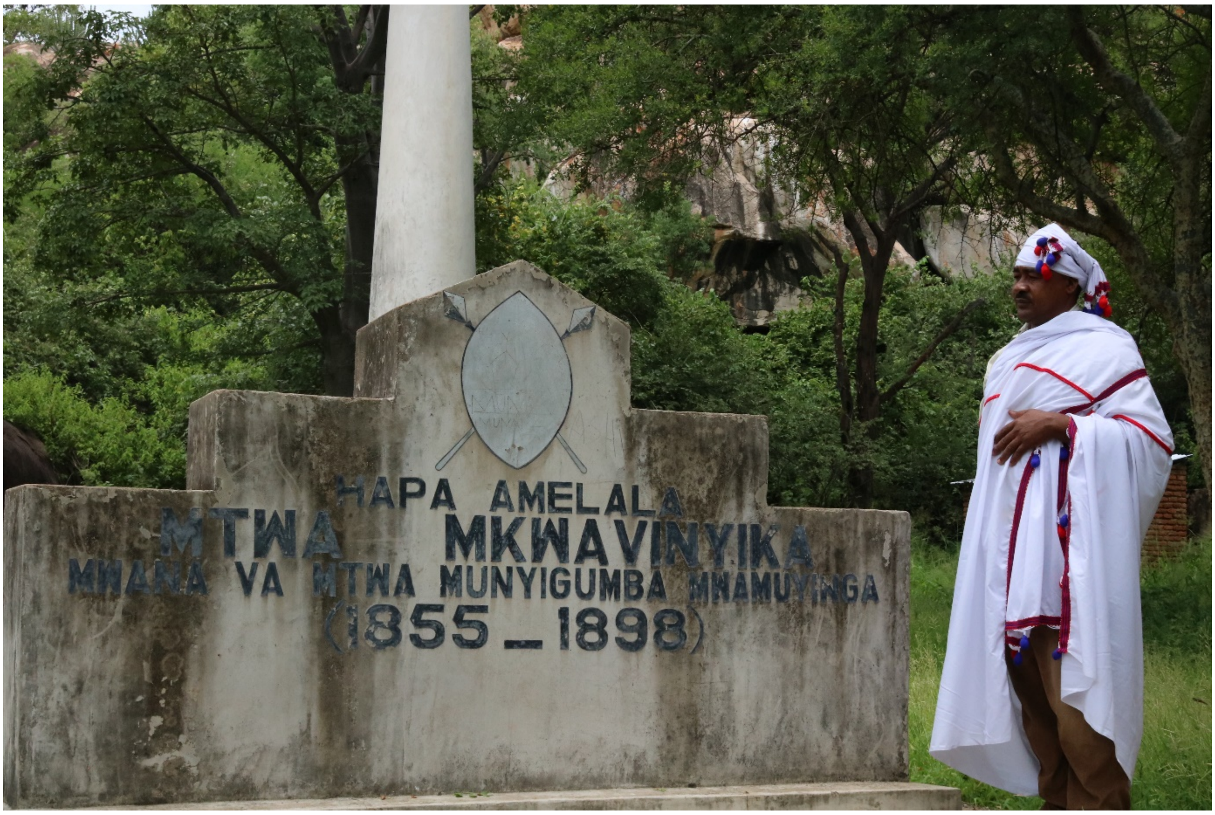

HAPA AMELALA
MTWA MKWAVINYIKA
MWANA VA MTWA MUNYIGUMBA MWAMUYINGA
(1855_1898)

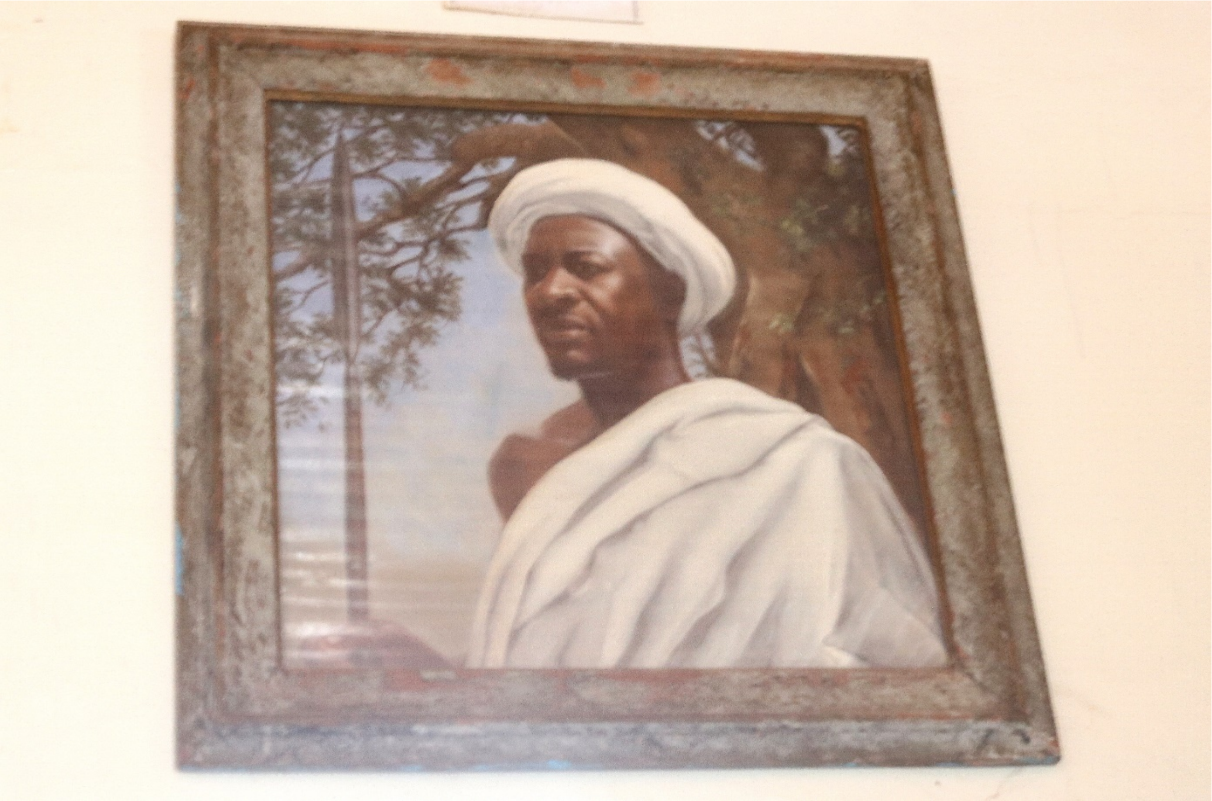
Fig. 2 (above): The graves of Mtwa Mkwawa (front) and his bodyguard Mwangimba (back), viewed from the perspective of the memorial.

Fig. 3 (below): Serafino Liduino standing in front of the grave of Mtwa Mkwavinyika (Mkwawa).

In the Australian continental space, keeping places are administered by, or at least with the participation of, Indigenous curators, elders, foregrounding the knowledge that can be shared, and protecting the knowledge that should remain secret. Restrictions on access are also modelled on the gendered separation of artefacts and forms of knowledge. On the African continent, Prestwich Place in Cape Town could be considered a keeping place; it provides shelter to the remains of enslaved individuals, whose remains were found during urban expansion of the city centre. The centre shelters the dead, and tells the story of those burial grounds and their entanglements with discriminatory politics of race, class, gender and religion.

Yet, in both contexts (in Australia and at Prestwich Place), exhibiting remains is strictly proscribed. Indigenous Australians and Torres Strait Islanders are even cautious in showing photos of the dead to the public, and carefully choose which artefacts can be shown and which ones belong to secret/sacred objects. Restricted access to funerary objects and to ancestors themselves starkly contrasts with the rationale behind the Mkwawa Memorial Museum. Mkwawa’s skull, the cardboard box in which it was transported to Kalenga, and some of his personal belongings are here put on display. The site is therefore unique in its memorialisation of repatriation. Even the skulls of Herero and Nama victims of the 1904-08 genocides are not exhibited in Namibia. So how does this culture of public display fit to Hehe considerations of ancestors?

This question is not mine to answer though, as I lack epistemological understandings of the role of ancestors in Hehe cultures of the dead. Besides, the issue of the skull’s authenticity has remained mostly irrelevant, and its symbolism seems enough to provide a powerful nucleus for this site of memory. Mkwawa’s ghostly presence here has sufficed to draw researchers and schoolchildren to Kalenga since 1957, as the old and the new visitors’ books attest. The significance of Mkwawa’s afterlife seems to have become no less tangible than in the 65 year-old mausoleum. One becomes aware of such longevity even before entering the place, when the “rules and regulations” board addresses the visitor with quotes from the Antiquities Act of 1964.



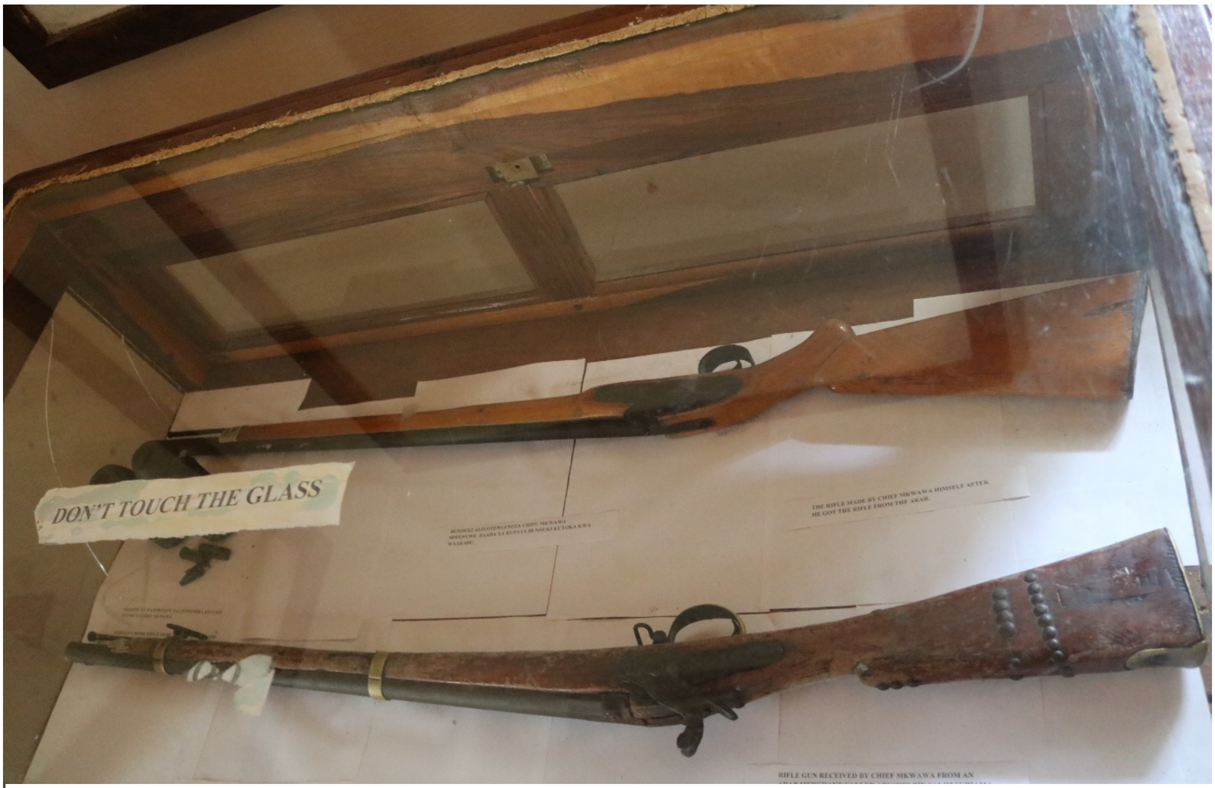

DON'T TOUCH THE GLASS
THE RIFLE MADE BY CHIEF MKWAWA HIMSELF AFTER HE GOT THE RIFLE FROM THE ARAB.
RIFLE GUN RECEIVED BY CHIEF MKWAWA FROM AN

Fig. 4: A post-mortem portrait of Mtwa Mkwawa, hanging above the skull at the Mkwawa Memorial Museum in Kalenga.

Fig. 5: Two rifles formerly owned by the Mtwa. A note next to the one below informs: “Rifle gun received by Chief Mkwawa from an Arab merchant called Abushir Bin Salim Suriama during the barter trade from which they exchange with elephant ivory. It is the gun which he used to kill himself to escape being caught by the German’s troop led by Commendar von Zelewsky” (Photos: Y. LeGall).

However, the apparent neglect of the exhibition space inside the building raises crucial questions regarding the importance of this site for the local community, as well as regarding the overall management of this institution. If additional funds are needed to keep the Mkwawa Memorial Museum from falling into decay, are entrance fees for local people really efficient to raise such amount of money? Why should Hehe people pay to pay their respects to Mkwawa and learn about his history? Should the German government perhaps feel as responsible for the Mkwawa Memorial Museum as it feels responsible for the graves of fallen soldiers of the First World War? These issues are relevant considering the criticism that national investment in heritage sometimes receives.

Pastore Magayane Bushozi provided a precious study of Mlambalasi and the Memorial Museum. In his article, he unveiled how mistrust and conflict between government representatives and the local population have emerged out of disagreement over heritage management: “the government has failed to recognise the people of Kalenga and Mlambalasi as heritage partners by not engaging them in heritage-related activities or generously sharing economic benefits”, Bushozi remarked (138). After conducting group discussions and individual interviews in the region, his study showed that many his interlocutors maintained that “the government emphasises the preservation of memorial monuments, while neglecting other cultural assets such as historical buildings and ritual places connected to the monuments” (139), places such as Gangilonga, Kikongoma, Lungemba or Mlambalasi. Those historical sites have indeed always borne great spiritual and historical significance for the Wahehe. Yet, as Bushozi argues, decisions have been made regarding museums and monuments regardless of the meanings and value of other postcolonial *lieux de mémoire*.

In recent years, the local organisation Fahari Yetu has nevertheless started making those landmarks more visible by mapping this landscape and putting up informative signs for visitors. While the Memorial Museum functions as a steady national landmark of remembrance administered by the Tanzanian Ministry of Culture, Fahari Yetu has taken it as their responsibility to remind that the anticolonial struggle led by the Mtwa elevated some sites to a legendary status, where stories of empowerment can be told. The Iringa Boma presents an exhibition contextualising the palimpsestic history of this building and links Hehe pre-colonial tradition to current practices of Hehe culture.[24] The Lugalo memorial honours the Germans and Africans who fell in 1891, when the Hehe inflicted a severe defeat to the colonial troops. Gangilonga will remain Mkwawa's outlook point, despite growing investment in real estate in the area which has gradually transformed the surroundings in an overpriced neighbourhood attracting tourists.

This is not to say that the Mkwawa Memorial Museum has not brought its shoulder to the wheel in remembering Mkwawa. On the contrary, it has anchored Kalenga as a long term locale, at the disposition of whomever wishes to pay respects to the Mtwa. Nevertheless, its poor infrastructure and the lack of investment in appropriate curatorial work remind of other national institutions whose displays have also partly been neglected, such as some of the exhibition spaces at the National Museum of Tanzania, or the collapsing roof of the hut sheltering the Maji Maji Museum in Songea, which was still not repaired for the national ceremony on 27th February 2019 (see Chapter 5).

Later in his discussion of the findings, Bushozi embarks on a critique of heritage management in Tanzania and other postcolonial states in Africa. He identifies legal instruments of conservation and protection as a direct legacy of colonial rule. This passage deserves to be quoted extensively here. He declares:

> The experience of Kalenga is apparent in most of the post-colonial states in Africa as heritage legislation was primarily enacted from laws that were meant to serve the interests of colonialists. The regional thematic seminar for Africa on legal frameworks for the protection of immovable cultural heritage held in Mutale, Zimbabwe in October 2002, realised that in African contexts, most heritage legislation neglects the general public and often ignores customary rights and traditional rules. […] Panellists concluded that some of the inherited colonial legal systems have continuously disregarded customary laws and indigenous knowledge. The notion of ancestors being the source of knowledge for cultures was not the priority of colonialists […] As a result, most of the current heritage legislation in Africa cannot provide for the kind of inclusive approach that would allow and address communities' interests for sustainable heritage management. Unless the government of Tanzania changes its strategy and conduct in resource use and community engagement, it will continually face challenges in managing cultural heritage resources. (Bushozi, 139)

This passage advocates for a change, namely that heritage be refocused on the "source" of cultural history in African Bantu cultures: ancestral knowledge. Away from a museal culture of motionless exhibitions, this appeal for an inclusive management of culture and heritage might support local museums only if these aim towards community participation and the foregrounding of local knowledge in the long term. This can also be achieved through daring financial investment that should benefit local population. Bushozi lists possible areas of improvement on this matter: upstream, "renewable resources such as employment opportunities, economic incentives, and upheld cultural integrity"; and downstream, "making sincere efforts to share the profits accrued" (ibid).

In the Ugandan context, Abiti Adebo Nelson has shown how the predecessor of the current Ugandan museum has also served as an administrative tool in the continuous practice of indirect rule during the colonial era. Nevertheless, since independence and even more so in the last decade, a radical change occurred in the consideration of of the museum as a place for reconciliation after colonialism and the violent period of Idi Amin's regime. To local communities, the museum was presented as "'*enyumba ya amayembe*' (house of spirit)" while the keeper of the museum was referred to as "'*omukulu ya amayembe*' ("head of spirit") (Nelson). Besides, the return of the ancestral remains and regalia of Kibuuka in 1962 demonstrates how repatriation and museum engagement with colonial collections can bring added value to the process of decolonisation. This repatriation was indeed "contemporaneous to the political work of self-constitution" (Peterson, 16). Recently, it has started engaging through the violent history of this postcolonial nation, "using objects to express reconciliation" without any national agenda, but rather to support local contexts of remembrance, including the perspective of young audiences. The epistemological shift that took place in Kampala has not found echo in museum practice in neighbouring Tanzania. It seems though that the Mkwawa Memorial Museum, as an antenna of the National Museum of Tanzania and in spite of its size, could embark on such a task. The absence of any curatorial work inside the museum could actually prove to be an asset, since there is little to reform, but much to be newly conceptualised and done. The perspective of local actors – and not only the Sapi family – could surely enrich the museum with new angles on events in Hehe history. Especially considering how omnipresent Mkwawa is in Uhehe, not only in the landscape, but also on trucks and the façades of buildings.

A name as capital: economic memory cultures

Local people and entrepreneurs have indeed not waited for a statue of Mkwawa to honour the renowned Mtwa. Every corner in Iringa and Uhehe will remind the forgetful ones of his existence. The main university was named after him and his portrait is shown in front of the entrance gate. Local bank branches, mineral water bottles, a fitness studio, and a rally event also wear his name as a brand. Canonized in public memory, he has earned street names in Iringa and Dar es Salaam. As a form of memory culture arising organically in capitalist circuits of consumption, economic exploitation of his name participates in extending his legacy. Evidently, these companies have capitalised on his fame for market strategy and use the power and the familiarity of his name to trigger identification or closeness toward the brand.

With those examples, it becomes hardly defendable that it was the repatriation of his skull that first stimulated the memory of Mkwawa in social memory. His story has indeed been passed on from generation to generation, and his line of descent has remained in place. As mentioned earlier, the 1954 repatriation rather contributed to rehabilitate British interests in local politics. Later, it surely took part in sealing Mkwawa's figure and achievements in the malleable wax of post-independence national discourse. But local social and economic memory cultures have gone further. These multiple forms of remembrance have grown out of the rhizome that Mkwawa forms in the history of the Wahehe. He is ubiquitous and because of these forms of social memory, his figure has become inescapable. A later representation of his face (see Fig. 4), his story, but first and foremost his name, have become carved in the physical landscape.

The acute interest of national stakeholders in the remains of this heroic figure of anticolonial resistance has nonetheless been renewed with the return of Mkwawa's tooth in 2015. I will now retrace my perspective on this case and discuss the implications of this repatriation for private ethnographic and anthropological collections from the colonial era.

The tooth of Mkwawa: stakes and limits of private undertakings

On a sunny afternoon of April 2014, as I was still an intern at Berlin Postkolonial, two people visited our office and sat around the kitchen table with Mnyaka Sururu Mboro and Christian Kopp, founders of the organization. Their meeting lasted at least an hour and a half. As I kept myself busy skimming through the yearbooks of the Berlin Ethnological Museum in the neighbouring room, I could still feel the gravity of their conversation through the interstices of the closed door. The atmosphere was tense. As soon as the unknown woman and man had left our office, I was told of the matter of this private meeting: both visitors, Anuschka Haak and her cousin, were descendants of Tom and

Magdalene von Prince. They had brought with them an item of great significance and looked for guidance from Berlin Postkolonial's expertise in dealing with sensitive issues related to the German colonial era. They were indeed in possession of Mkwawa's tooth. The tooth had been trimmed with a golden crown and the seal of the noble family. From generation to generation, it had been passed on among the descendants of Tom and Magdalene von Prince, just as trophies or medals wander from family cabinets in the 20th century to attics in the 21st.[25]

As the subject of repatriation became more and more prominent in Germany, partly thanks to the 2011 and 2014 returns of remains to Namibia, Anuschka Haak (great-granddaughter of Tom von Prince) and her cousin had proactively decided to return the tooth to Mkwawa's descendants. Their undertaking and her subsequent voyage to Kalenga has been documented in a television documentary broadcast by the channel WDR. The aesthetics of this production – especially the soundtrack and the editing – reveal how the crew and the program aimed to capitalise on the story's potential for sensationalism. The unequivocal choice of music exasperatingly amplified an already tense atmosphere and reminds of a typical score used for thrillers. The narrative is centred on the journey that Anuschka Haak and her son Robinson undertook to return the tooth to Chief Abdul Sapi and the difficult handling of this sensitive matter, especially regarding the meddling of the Tanzanian government in the repatriation effort. The chief, his family and Serafino Liduino remain rather at the margins in the documentary. The voiceover fuels Eurocentric and opaque explanations of power relations between traditional Hehe authority and national politics. The standpoint presented in the documentary remains oblivious to the complexity of this repatriation endeavour and thereby unable to elucidate the significance of such a relic and intranational tensions.

Just as the repatriation of the skull in 1954, the return of Mkwawa's tooth is a pioneering example in repatriation cases. It might indeed be used as a blueprint to encourage private custodians of colonial human remains to have a look at their inherited patrimony. Until now, institutions of knowledge have been in the firing line of repatriation claims. It should however not be forgotten that many former colonial officers retained trophies from their time in the military. The 2016 exhibition on German colonialism at the German Historical Museum included a peek in the homes of German citizens who accepted to disclose the colonial history of their families: they were photographed in their living room, posing among numerous artefacts or zoological remains acquired or stolen by their ancestors (DHM, 228-9). While debates on repatriation and restitution of looted artefacts have taken place since the seventies (see Sarr & Savoy, 19), the status and the history of private collections has not been widely addressed. The repatriation of Mkwawa's tooth could only take place because Anuschka Haak and her cousin proactively revealed the existence of this relic and were eager to return it to Uhehe.[26] Should the descendants of colonised wait for the benevolence of descendants of colonisers to find their ancestors and sacred cultural objects? I believe in a work of advocacy on the sensitivity of such collections, so that public and private collectors engage with the violent histories that often cling to these artefacts and human remains.

In the video, Robinson Haak relates how his uncle visited a shaman his mother knew personally, and how she (the shaman) ventured the possibility of a curse inflicted upon the family. After meeting Anuschka Haak in person, she explained that the documentary exaggerated the significance of this intrigue for spectacle, since many members of her family were victims of serious diseases. Despite this overemphasis on the eerie character of spiritual agency, Robinson does not repudiate this hypothesis on grounds of irrationality, remaining sincerely receptive to its possibility. His openness exemplifies to what extent human remains and their afterlives unsettle systems of beliefs and call upon personal and emotional reactions that can motivate partakers to work through the violent histories that have festered a few branches of their genealogical trees. Although haunting spirits and the dead still kept in museum depots may have trouble unsettling the collective psyche or driving those strongholds of colonial discourse and Eurocentric knowledge towards repentance, they might have some indescribable power over smaller entities of decision, such as direct descendants. Histories of violence, dehumanisation and mutilation, like that of Mtwa Mkwawa, cannot leave people cold indefinitely, especially when one's great-grandparents had played leading roles in the ghastly script of colonial history.

Ever since the handover of the tooth, the late Chief Abdul Sapi has only shown it once to the broader public, at the annual celebration of Mtwa Mkwawa in July 2015. He died several months later, and his widowed wife and his son have not yet decided what to do with the relic. It is enmeshed in conflicting interests between the Sapi family, the national government, and other Hehe families. I have not yet been able to understand those issues and cannot therefore offer an overview of the wishes of the main actors holding control over Hehe cultural heritage in the region. However, the fact that the tooth has not been integrated to the exhibition space of the Mkwawa Memorial Museum certainly demonstrates that the descendants of the Mtwa have, for the moment, opted against any musealisation of this relic. One can only wonder what the Ministry of Culture would have done had the tooth been officially handed over to the government of Tanzania.

Mpangile, Munyigumba, and other remains of Wahehe in Berlin

The more one sleuths into the archival history of German colonialism in East Africa, the more stories of body snatching arise. These politics at play during and after the two repatriations of 1954 and 2015 are important for the work that is to be done with regard to ancestors and remains from East Africans in European collections. Berlin institutions indeed still hold the remains of prominent Hehe leaders, as well as other victims of German colonial violence and of perverse European scientific curiosity. I will here offer some results of the search for other Hehe remains, which started in 2014 and has been done in 2019 in collaboration with Serafino Liduino and Jan Kuever (Fahari Yetu).

The year 2014 was not only marked by Anuschka Haak's visit to Berlin Postkolonial e.V. It was also the year of the second repatriation of Herero and Nama ancestors to Namibia (Chapter 2). Concerned with this issue, the campaign No-Humboldt 21!, supported by more than 80 organisations and led by AfricAvenir, AFROTAKT cyberNomads, Artefakte Anti-Humboldt, Berlin Postkolonial and Initiative Schwarze Deutsche, started hitting the headlines in the German press, raising awareness on the presence of colonial human remains in the anthropological collections of the Foundation Prussian Cultural Heritage in Berlin. For this campaign criticizing the upcoming Humboldt Forum and the ways in which Berlin institutions would avoid addressing their own colonial history, I was instructed to skim through the Yearbooks of the Ethnological Museum, its archives and the digital directories of National Museums in Berlin to find proof of acquisition of human remains. At the turn of the twenty-first century, Christine Stelzig and Johannes Röhm had started indexing the archive. Thanks to their work, Christian Kopp and I were able to inquire through their database and compile a list of search results containing keywords such as

"Schädel" (skull), "Skelett" (skeleton) and "Anthropologica" (anthropological material) (see Berlin Postkolonial).

Among many entries proving that the Ethnological Museum held a massive anthropological collection, several concerned Hehe people and their leaders. From the descriptions of the archival content, it became clear that the captain of the medical corps among the occupation forces in Iringa, Dr. Jan Stierling, had not only plundered and destroyed Mkwawa family's burial place in Lungemba in 1896 for his own interest (see Stierling, 1899); he also sent some of these remains to the museum. After his return to Germany, aware of the call by the Berlin Ethnological Museum to develop an unmatched collection of human remains from East Africa, he dispatched four skulls to the museum alongside parts of his ethnographic collection. Felix von Luschan thanked Stierling for the delivery and underlined his special interest for human remains of Hehe people, asking him whether he had more remains he could put at disposition to the museum. Stierling offered to send further remains, among them a skull he believed to be that of Mkwawa's brother, Mpangile (1898a, 158-9). Mpangile had been hanged by Tom von Prince in early 1897, which proves that Stierling further partook in grave robbery even after the destruction and plunder of the royal gravesite. However, he was not ready to offer Mpangile's remains to the museum as a gift. Stierling insisted on lending the skull and asked to be given a certificate stipulating that the skull would be returned to him *conditio sine qua non* if he asked to get it back (1898b, 161). It should not be forgotten though, that Stierling has given neither a report of his grave-robbing expedition, nor revealed where Mpangile was buried and how he acquired the head in question. Luschan could only gullibly trust Stierling's assertion that this were Mpangile's remains. After Luschan agreed, Stierling dispatched it with three more skulls and one skeleton, and while the four other remains of Hehe people were integrated the anthropological collection (so-called *S-Sammlung*), Mpangile was indexed in the so-called "loan collection" (*Leihgabesammlung*) of the museum. I have shared this information with Serafino Liduino, who has then informed the descendants of Mpangile. He reported that they would like to see him repatriated, if we could find the skull that Stierling had loaned to the museum. Unfortunately, the current caretakers of the anthropological collection have been yet unable to find the catalogue entry attributed by Luschan to Mpangile, and only a few staff members at the Ethnological Museum and the Museum for Early and Pre-history[27] have declared being aware of the existence of a so-called “loan collection”.[28] Ironically, after the death of Felix von Luschan in 1924, Stierling himself asked the museum to return Mpangile’s skull to him, only to have museum staff directing him towards the pathological institute of the University Hospital, where most of the Ethnological Museum’s anthropological collection had been moved. Angry at the incompetence of the staff, this seems to be the last mention of the skull in the museum’s archive… until another one surfaces.

While the alleged skull of Mpangile seems to have been precious to Stierling, he showed little to no regard for the remains he had looted from Lungemba in 1896. In his 1898 correspondence with the museum, the member of the medical corps wrote that the skeleton he had stolen could “possibly” be that of Mpangile’s (and therefore Mkwawa’s) father, Munyigumba. A year later, in his 1899 article revealing the plunder and destruction of the gravesite, Stierling had become surprisingly more confident: he could now assert that it was “highly probable” that he had taken Munyigumba’s remains out of his resting place (Stierling, 1957, 27-8). This assertion succeeded to comparative measurements of Mpangile and Munyigumba’s remains conducted by Felix von Luschan. The latter had indeed informed Stierling that the alleged skull of Munyigumba had belonged to a forty-year old man, and that Munyigumba and Mpangile’s cranial characteristics “corresponded fairly well” (Stierling, 28). Yet, is that enough to conclude that the remains were those of kin?

Apart from skeletal remains, other bodily remains of Hehe people were sent to Berlin. In his medical doctor thesis, submitted at the Friedrich-Wilhelm University in 1912, US American student Leonard Case Scott studied three hands that belonged to two Wahehe, looking for differences between his measurements and former medical studies of white European hands. Those remains had been reportedly sent by Friedrich Fülleborn a decade earlier. If one trusts Fülleborn and Scott’s doubtful accuracy with Hehe names, one hand belonged to an individual named “Makenera;” the other two hands and were those of “Manamsawangu”, inconsistently spelled “Manamsuwangu” and “Manamsawanga” in the thesis (Scott, 7-8, 14). They had been separated from their forearms by exarticulation and might still be in the collections of the Department of Anatomy of the Charité University Hospital, the same institution which repatriated remains to Indigenous Australians and Namibia between 2011 and 2018. Or perhaps is it now kept by the Berlin Museum of Medical History? As far as similar practices of violent appropriation of tissue and organs in South West Africa are concerned, laryngeal remains of murdered Herero and Nama people were studied in Berlin after the genocides (see Grabert). However, they could not be found by members of the Charité Human Remains project which sought to repatriated remains from victims of the genocides (see Biwa, 2012, 252). The search for Makenera and Manamsawangu's hands should begin.

From trophies of war to ancestors: reburial after dehumanisation

The unlawful excavation of Muyigumba's remains, the supposed plunder of Mpangile's grave and the hunt for Mkwawa's head demonstrates that collectors were not only interested in acquiring what they viewed as anthropological material for museums and anatomical institutes. Sergeant Johann Merkl, Dr Jan Stierling and others also clearly sought to gather remains that they regarded as trophies of war and conquest. The fact that one of the most feared resisting fig[29]ure to German colonialism, Mtwa Mkwawa, had to witness the grave of his father and several other of his ancestors being pillaged is quite telling. This clear display of power would not only affect the Mtwa; more importantly, it would erase tangible traces of this dynasty and sever the bonds that tied Mkwawa to his genealogy. German settlers and colonial officers in South-West Africa employed similar tactics, desecrating Herero burial places, including those of chiefs Tjamuaha and Kamaharero in Okahandja (see Mungunda, qtd in Gewald & Silvester, 92; also 69-70). In that case, this contempt for ancestors actually participated in leading to the anti-colonial war, a war that later turned into a genocide for the Herero people.

The practice of grave-robbing would also provide Stierling (and later the *Museum für Völkerkunde*) with a macabre reminder of his service in German East-Africa. His epistolary outburst against what he saw as incompetence in the museum staff when they responded that they could not find the loaned skull of Mpangile further indicates to what extent he was anxious to lose his alleged ownership over those remains. To be sure, the fact that the names of Mkwawa, Mpangile and Munyigumba appear in the colonial and museum archives is helpful for processes of rehumanising those human remains. At the same time, it testifies to a certain degree of pride in European officers when gathering the bodies of those they conquered, trimming their teeth with gold and sigils, reluctantly (but proudly) lending their prized skulls and skeletons to scientists and denying them peaceful afterlives in their own land, among their kin.

Despite being the founder of the Mkwawa dynasty, Munyigumba could probably not be reburied in Lungemba: the site was vandalized, ornamental elephant tusks were looted, and the place is no longer used as a sacred graveyard. The question of reburial and adequate sites or keeping places for those who are returned to their communities of origin is one that touches upon the politics of recognition in postcolonial nation-states. The following chapter will delve into those politics in more detail with the Namibian context of Herero and Nama ancestors. Still, let me brush on this issue with regard to the motivations for collecting those trophies.

Simon Harrison has offered a thorough study of trophy hunting in modern conflicts. In his introduction to *Dark Trophies*, he problematizes the relationship between practices of headhunting and racial violence. Following empirical research,

> it becomes evident that the history of this practice has been linked inseparably with the history of racism since the emergence of concepts of race in the second half of the eighteenth century. A striking feature of military trophy-taking from that period onwards is that it has been carried out, at least among European and North American military personnel, almost exclusively against enemies whom they have represented as belonging to 'races' other than their own (4).

In other words, scientific collecting of human remains in colonial contexts can (and perhaps should) be considered as a war crime, even most of these occurrences preceded the first supranational legislation forbidding the practice, i.e. the Geneva Convention of 1949. Harrison demonstrates throughout his book that colonial and scientific discourses are closely related, as for instance in the repeated use of the metaphor of the "hunt" for human remains (see 59-61). He identifies a shift in the interest of human remains collectors during the nineteenth century: while soldiers and doctors had overall mostly looked for Indigenous "celebrities", "a routinized mass collection of anonymous [Indigenous] skulls" would gradually take over with the development of physical anthropology and ethnography (92). His study argues that in the earlier decades of collecting, the interest lied in the individual, romanticizing post-mortem his/her status as a legendary figure. Yet, the dehumanisation of heroes and leaders would still occur because, as soon as their heads had been boiled and defleshed, they became macabre souvenirs for the collector after his return to the colonial metropole. Besides, Harrison argues, they would then be studied for their phrenological or characterological potential, i.e. to link particular physical features to qualities and traits such as leadership or superior intellect. Later, the emphasis on the individual progressively vanished and human remains would capture the interest of collectors based on the individual's belonging to a certain community, rather than her/his singular identity, as stipulated exactly in Luschan's guidelines for collecting human remains in German East-Africa.[30] But even in instances of apparent scientific collecting practice, in which the metaphor of the hunt for remains is less suggested, Harrison and other analysts have agreed that the line between the so-called specimen of physical anthropology and war trophies is thin, even almost invisible (see Franey, 225-6; Harrison, 75-80).

The hunt for the skull of Mkwawa, however, fits this paradigm. Merkl ordered Mkwawa's alleged head to be severed primarily so that he could bring evidence of Mkwawa's death that would ensure his receiving praise and prize money. The tooth, which must have been violently torn off from this very head, also never served as anthropological material but remained a morbid haunting presence in the homes of Tom and Margarete von Prince and their descendants, a dormant reminder of the violent clashes between the Germans and the Wahehe and of the ensuing oppression against the latter. Bettina Brockmeyer recently investigated how both remains might attest of Tom von Prince's vengeful desire after having held the skull of the defeated Zelewski on the site of the Lugalo battle (51-2). She quotes Prince's biographer Hans Schmiedel and his eerie romanticization of the rancorous officer: "Prince, holding the skull of his old chief, Zelewski, in his hands, renewed his vow not to rest until Mkwawa had suffered a similar fate" (52). Yet, Brockmeyer questions Schmiedel's narrative. Prince's autobiography – though violent and racist – does not explicitly feature a tooth-for-tooth sermon by the German officer. Those trophies of war nevertheless remain forever entangled with the history of racial anthropology, especially in light of their afterlives. The original context that produced those relics was clearly one of brutal display of foreign dominance that verged on inflicting collective humiliation to the resisting Wahehe. The hanging of Mpangile for treason and the plunder of the Lungemba gravesite equally fit in this paradigm. In the rest of this book, several other stories also come close to such archetype: the mutilation of Xhosa King Hintsa's body (Chapter 4) and the disappearance of Ngoni chief Songea Mbano's head (Chapter 5). The history of German East-Africa in general is fraught with the remains of leaders vanishing or falling prey to the interest of collectors: the head of Mangi Meli's of the Wachaga in the Kilimanjaro region still remains unfound (see Prologue by Mnyaka Sururu Mboro). August Widenmann, who photographed Chaga people, also stole the skull of Chief Mkunde of Kibongoto; it is now held at the Institute of Anatomy in Strasbourg.[31] The story of Mkwawa, Mpangile and Munyigumba's remains and their afterlives at least helps to understand that no separation can be drawn between physical and epistemic violence in the context of colonialism. Even though their names pervade the colonial archive, processes of objectification and dehumanisation of Hehe people still took place. All the more reason to let their stories be told from generation to generation, and let current Hehe perspectives on history be heard.

At the beginning of the 21st century, it seemed to practitioners that human remains with names had greater significance, at least for institutions housing those ancestors. Cressida Fforde, Jane Hubert and Paul Turnbull observed that

> Named individuals, or those who have known descendants, are frequently the first 'types' of remains to be returned by institutions. There is no scientific basis for this distinction. It may be that those in charge of museums in fact agree with the indigenous perception of named remains as 'dead people', and thus believe that burial is an appropriate course of action (12).

The case of the 1954 repatriation of Mkwawa's skull does not clearly support this argument, but it does not disavow it either. To be sure, as argued earlier, it has carved him a special place in Tanzanian and European memory, as the first anti-colonial leader repatriated to Africa. For all the singularity of this case, its gaps and its blurry areas, the case of Mkwawa has often been seen as an inceptive moment in the repatriation era. It still functions as a reference, and I hope that this analysis has made clear that it remains an important landmark in working through colonial conquest in East Africa. Indeed Mkwawa's name forces one to understand the entanglements of Hehe resistance to German occupation beyond the timeframe of German colonialism, stretching to the First World War, British indirect rule, and current politics of heritage in Tanzania. His fame has obviously helped in retracing this story of scattered remains. Because, to have a name is to be partly intelligible. Publications like UNESCO's *Témoins de l'Histoire* ("History's Witnesses") or Simon Harrison's *Dark Trophies* illustrate that point, having the cases of Tehuelche chief Inakayal, Sarah Baartman (see Prott 302-9), Zulu King Mbata Bhambatha kaMancinza or Xhosa King Sandile (Harrison, 71-72), feature prominently in their respective analyses of repatriation. In fact, most of the cases addressed in this book concern the remains of named individuals. Those leaders and historical figures provide an anchor to stories of racial and colonial oppression, murder, genocide and objectification. They are central in a project that wishes to rehumanise the colonised by uncovering the historical agency that those ancestors have had in the past, and bestow agency onto them in the present.

It should not be forgotten that, if some can achieve the status of subjects through repatriation and remembrance, other individuals are compelled to remain unknown and unclaimed. Studying the response of Aymara people to the exhibition of unidentified remains in Bolivian museums, Cordova emphasizes on a phrase used by them to refer to those bones: "Nobody's dead" (71- 72). Both meanings of 'nobody's dead' (the predicate and the genitive) have been taken on by Sanchita Balachandran, emphasizing on their lingering humanity and the fact that they cannot be owned. She pointed out that the dead "can continue to play an active or living role" and argued "that this requires a broadening of the conceptual framework of contemporary conservation" (202). Western scientific discourse, influenced by a tradition of secular breaking away from Judeo-Christian beliefs in the afterlife, has indeed had trouble coming to terms with the Indigenisation of curatorial and anthropological work. Yet, conservators (and by extension everyone dealing with human remains) should engage in constant self-reflexivity and adapt their behaviour and language with regard to the sensitivity of the material they are working on. Neil G. Curtis aptly wrote that, "in a Western secular tradition that does not see the dead as being active agents in the world today, it is difficult to see how they can be offered any respect. What we can do is to acknowledge that our ethical decisions are constantly being reassessed and renegotiated in the changing contexts of the present" (27).

Proofs of the dead's agency and intelligibility in the present are not needed to reconsider their status and their rights in law and politics. New considerations of the dead must be thought as contingent on the epistemologies that are at play in repatriation. To put it plainly, if a community asking for colonial human remains genuinely believes those remains to have retained ways of being articulate in the world of the living, those remains deserve to be treated as potential individuals. If a community wishes to display the remains of their ancestors as relics or reminder of the process of returning a leader to his/her country, then the remains should perhaps be considered as uncanny presences, witnesses as *testis*, i.e. whose purpose is to provide evidence in trial (Agamben 1999; see also Chapter 2). This is not only tangible in the case of Mkwawa. The hair and prostethic limbs of Holocaust victims, exhibited in the Auschwitz-Birkenau museum clearly stand as powerful guardians against Holocaust denial. Closer to Tanzania, the relics of Kibuuka, brother of Mukasa and formerly known as Kyobe, were returned in 1962 by Britain to Uganda, and "having been designated for that purpose, act as the instruments of his communication with his people" (Welbourn, 17). In any case, the emotional value of any of those remains is inestimable; their historical value as well. Returned to their communities, their descendants can speak to them again, as well as make them speak by telling their interconnected stories. Local history and oral testimonies are crucial in the prospect of transnational dialogue in repatriation and reconciliation. Wandile Kasibe's call for a "Museum TRRC" (Truth, Repatriation and Reparations Commission) will be supported several times throughout this book, in different contexts (see Chapter 2 & 4). This envisaged process for investigating the "colonial crime scenes" that museums have been until today shall recognize that the dead have something to say, if only through the story of their deaths. They are no trophies anymore, but ancestors that await for the time when they will be re-membered.

It is a story spanning over more than a century, one of those stories that are not only told, but also rewritten again and again as new perspectives and new narrators emerge. It is not only the story of Mkwawa. Of course, his powerful legacy has been a driving force and has inscribed him indelibly in transnational, national and local memory cultures and texts. Still, numerous remains of Hehe ancestors continue to haunt the archive of racial anthropology and colonial rule. The possible future repatriation processes should be opportunities to reconstitute further the histories of Mpangile and Munyigumba. These might shed some light upon what I have here unveiled: a paradox between colonial disregard for the dignity of those ancestors, the interest in holding skeletal trophies of war, and the explicit interest that anthropologists had in studying their bodies. Finally, the wishes of the Hehe community and descendants with regard to the afterlives of those ancestors should be seriously considered in local and national heritage policy, so that the remains of the dead are not being used again as souvenirs, but are properly inscribed in a landscape rich in sites (*lieux*) and environments (*milieux*) of memory. The perspective of contemporary Hehe leaders will also surely generate further questions and reflections on important events of German colonial history, unveiling how acquisitions of human remains by museums and other institutions have occurred in violent contexts of racial oppression, contexts that underpin calls for repatriation, restitution of cultural property and reparations.

Notes:

1 His full name is Mwavinyika Munyigumba Mwamunyiga, but everyone remembers him as Mkwawa. In many sources, spellings or written interpretations of his name differ: Quawa, Kwawa, Mukwavinyika, Mkuanika and Mkuu wa Nyika are some of the different denominations I came across. The Wahehe generally prefer the kihehe denomination of "Mtwa" – meaning "leader" – rather than "chief" or "chifu", so I will use it as well. Mkwawa was bestowed several nicknames, of which "Mahinya" – the slaughterer or the butcher – seems to have remained the most famous. Alison Redmayne, who spent many years among the Wahehe and was proficient in kihehe, lists the following: Yilimwiganga ("he, who is in a stone"), Lukwale-lwa-mwaka ("madness of the year"), and Likoko ("wild beast") (432-4).

2 For this recollection of historical events, I am indebted to the precious groundwork done by Alison Redmayne and her Hehe interlocutors on the Hehe wars, as well as Tanja Bührer's dissertation dissecting the colonial archive, and Martin Baer, Olaf Schröter and Is-Haka Mkwawa's contributions in the book *Eine Kopfjagd – Deutsche in Ostafrika.*

3 Private conversation with Serafino Liduino, 19 Feb. 2019.

4 The name "askari" has been used as a general denomination for a heterogeneous corps of African soldiers in the so-called Schutztruppen – "protection troops" – who fought under the command of German military officers in East Africa. The term first stood only for locally recruited soldiers, excluding the Shangaani (Zulu soldiers recruited in the south) or Sudanese soldiers of the Schutztruppen. For more detail on the askari troops, see Moyd.

5 Also known as Bwana Sakharani.

6 The Wahehe and Wangoni of southern German East Africa had welcomed the return of the Schutztruppe in southern German East Africa with fierce resistance and allegiance to the British forces. They had not forgotten the brutal actions which took place in Uhehe in the late nineteenth century and those committed during the 1905-07 Maji Maji War (see Pesek, 94-5; Chapter 5 of this book).

7 Interestingly, this copy of the Uthman Quran has remained in Constantinople/Istanbul until today, and this clause can theoretically still be activated.

8 Among the treaties mentioned by De Greiff are the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1976 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the 1987 Convention against Torture (455).

9 Delegates from the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium and the State of Yugoslavia formed the members of this commission.

10 The term "major" here has a particular connotation. It does not stand only as an emphasis on the significance of the Versailles Treaty in what is too often called "Global History"; "major" here hints at the Eurocentric canonisation of Euro-American history and the marginalisation of "minor" histories in school curricula, media and cosmopolitan memory, as well as "minor" perspectives on/in Euro-American history, such as the writings and epistemologies of Indigenous subjects (see Tahimik; Eckstein & Schwarz; Temmen).

11 One can mention the Dutch graphic novel series January Jones, launched in the late eighties by Eric Heuvel and Martin Lodewijk, which included an episode entitled *De Schedel van Sultan Mkwawa*, as well as Martin Baer's video documentary Die Kopfjagd.

12 The original title of Rudolf Frank's novel, *Der Junge, der sein Geburtstag vergaß* was *Der Schädel des ~~Negerhäuptlings~~ Makaua* until it was changed as early as 1931.

13 Translation from the author. Original in German, transcribed from handwriting: “resp. 23.1.20, dass sich der Schädel Quawa’s nicht im Mus. f V. befand und dass mir ihn seinen Verbleib nichts sicheres bekannt sei. Es sei nicht ganz unmöglich, dass Frau vom Hauptmann v. Prince, geb. v. Massow in der Sache Bescheid wisse vielleicht auch Prof. F Stuhlmann – Hamburg” (BGAEU NG-403).

14 Twining had actually measured the cranial features of Adam Sapi and other members of his family and had asked the Bremen Übersee Museum whether they had any skull from East Africa that matched those measurements. Jeremiah Garsha discusses this problematic method in more detail in his upcoming PhD thesis, and argues that these comparative measurements reveal how Twining relied on his belief in racial science to support a move that exactly went against this history of racial objectification, namely, the repatriation of colonial human remains.

15 Original in German, translation by the author: „Noch im Tode gönnt dieser mächtigste und tatkräftigste aller ~~Neger~~fürsten, dessen Antlitz gesehen zu haben sich bisher kein Weißer rühmen kann, seinen Todfeinden nicht den Anblick seines wahres Gesichtes, er hat sich in den Kopf geschoßen, so daß seine Züge entstellt sind“ (von Prince, 183).

16 Original in German, translation by the author: „Herr Dr. Füllerborn gelang es, eine Anzahl recht guter photographischer Aufnahmen von unseren Wahehe zu machen […]. Die Gelegenheit zu anthropologischen Studien und Schädelmessungen hat er hier mit fabelhaftem Fleiße und bestem Erfolge ausgenutzt” (Prince, 135-136).

17 The title of his memoirs is *Gegen Araber und Wahehe*.

18 Original in German, translation by the author: „Unter den verschiedenen Hügeln derselben wurde einer mit Bestimmtheit als das Grab von Kwawa, des letzten Sultans, dessen Tod durch Selbstmord seiner Zeit gemeldet ist, bezeichnet. Dr. Götze öffnete dasselbe und entnahm daraus den Schädel, an dessen Echtheit nach seiner Angabe kein Zweifel bestehen kann“ (unknown, qtd in Virchow, 136).

19 Original in German, translation by the author: „Der Schädel des Kwawa ist erst nach längerer Zeit in meine Händen gelangt; ich lege denselben hier vor. Zugleich erwähne ich, dass nach dem Zeugnisse verschiedener Reisender, die ich seitdem gesprochen habe, die Angaben über die Grabstätte ganz sicher sind“ (Virchow, 136)

20 In the German archives, as well as in historians’ accounts of the Hehe wars, the spelling “Rungemba” is the one that is mostly used. However, Serafino Liduino has repeatedly told me that the consonant “r” is absent in kihehe (Hehe language). I directly asked him how he would spell “Rungemba” and he answered “Lungemba”. For this reason, I will use his spelling consistently.

21 Between 1893 and 1895, Franz Stuhlmann snatched and sent the remains of 20 East-Africans, possibly including those of Wahehe (see E 1232/1892 and E 1150/1894, Archives of the Ethnological Museum Berlin). In 1897, Jan Stierling attached the skulls of four Wahehe to a package containing his ethnographic collection. On demand from the museum, he later sent more remains, including the alleged skull of Mpangile (see I/MV 719, E 575/98, Bl. 155 ff.).

22 Instead of the white *mgolole*, women wear the black or grey *kaniki*.

23 Serafino Liduino’s great grandmother was also SeNgimba, a sister of Mkwawa’s mother. That makes MwaNgimba a cousin of Mkwawa.

24 The organisation Fahari Yetu gives further information on the use of the term Boma: “Boma is a Swahili word for fortification, perfectly describing the Centre as a stronghold of culture and heritage in Iringa Region”. On another page from their website, the history of the building is told in more detail: “The museum is at home in one of the oldest remaining buildings in Iringa, the Iringa Boma. The Boma was constructed around 1900 by the German colonial regime to serve as a military hospital. German colonial architecture combined African, Swahili and European styles. After the First World War the British made it their regional administrative centre. From Tanzania’s independence in 1961 until 2014 it was in use as Regional and District administration office offering civil services” (Fahari Yetu).

25 For a more detailed description and a photo of the trimmed tooth, see Brockmeyer, 55. Also the documentary by Benjamin Braun and David Lerch.

26 In her memoirs, Magdalene von Prince also mentions a sceptre belonging to Mkwawa which was brought to Tom von Prince as a gift from Merere, a Mhehe who submitted to German colonial rule. She describes it as an ethnographic object, another proof of the difficulty to separate collected items from trophies of war. The ivory sceptre, “sculpted from at least one heavy elephant tusk” (Prince, 139), might still be in the possession of Tom and Magdalene’s descendants, some of them actually living in South Africa. Besides, many photographs of that time are still in the possession of family members. Anuschka Haak actually sent me two of those, picturing the interior of the von Prince dwelling in Iringa. An elephant tusk and a leopard skin are clearly visible on these pictures (private email conversation with Anuschka Haak).

27 The history of the so-called “S-Sammlung” – the anthropological collection of the former Museum für Völkerkunde – is tumultuous. It was transferred to the Pathological Institute of the Charité Medical University in the 1920s, and remained there until the early twenty-first century when a contract between the Foundation Prussian Cultural Heritage and the Charité ensured that it would be transferred back to a national museum. Before this transfer occurred, the Charité had already repatriated several of the remains thanks to its Charité Human Remains Project which aimed to provenance human remains subject to repatriation claims. The rest of the collection has now been in the custody of the Museum for Early and Pre-History since 2013, even though the Ethnological Museum holds most archives related to that collection (see Stoecker). However, I was recently informed that several sets of remains from former German colonial territories have not been handed over to the Foundation Prussian Cultural Heritage, probably because of their highly sensitive character. Historian Holger Stoecker has been leading a research project at the Charité which again seeks to retrace their contexts of acquisition for possible future repatriation. As a result of these tos and fros, the collection (understood here not only in its physical sense, but also including its administrative and archival traces) is scattered in different institutions of the Berlin scientific landscape. This has considerably blurred issues of accountability, legal ownership, and ethical responsibility. It has surely contributed against transparency toward the broader public, and has made access to knowledge on this collection quite difficult for researchers who are not well acquainted with the Berlin museum landscape.

28 Private email conversations with Berhard Heeb and Boris Gliesmann in April-May 2019.

29

30 Some cases that look like exceptions to this evolution identified by Simon Harrison actually quite confirm Harrison’s theory: the body of King Ng:tja, whose was repatriated from Berlin to the Atherton tablelands in Queensland in 2017, had been stolen by anthropologist Herman Klaatsch not as a trophy of war against the Ngadjon community but for its singularity in death, as the body of a leader who had been laid to rest after having been ceremonially mummified by its descendants. His royal plate, proof of his stature in the community, had actually been kept at the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory. Therefore, his name remained quite famous in the collection and among anthropologists because of a particular tradition of burial for men of his rank (see Erckenbrecht & Wergin).

31 The presence of Wachaga individuals at the Insitute of Anatomy of the University of Strasbourg is a direct consequence of German colonial rule and grave-robbing in East Africa. August Widenmann, who operated as a doctor in the Kilimanjaro region, studied the remains of thirty Chaga individuals at the Kaiser Wilhelm University of Straßburg before Alsace and Lorraine were re-integrated into the French territory. Therefore, this “German” collection is now in the custody of its French successor. Widenmann explicitly mentions having snatched the head of chief Mkunde from Kibonoto, who “should have been punished by the government for robbery, but escaped. Allied natives later brought his severed head back to the station” (Widenmann, 47, my translation). A publication from the mid-2000s studying the occurrence and growth of *torus palatinus* on remains from this collection confirms that at least 32 remains classified as “Dshagga” are still part of the institute’s collection (see Hiss et al., 211).

Chapter 2

HERERO AND NAMA ANCESTORS IN LOCAL, TRANSNATIONAL AND COSMOPOLITAN MEMORY

Part 1

"TJI MBATIRE PONAMBA, OMATUPA UANDJE JE JARURE"[i]

MOURNING THE VICTIMS OF THE HERERO AND NAMA GENOCIDES IN POSTCOLONIAL AND POST-APARTHEID NAMIBIA

On the same day as Festus U. Muundjua's call for reuniting the skulls with the bodies buried in the outskirts of Swakopmund (see the introduction of this book; Fig. 1), the chair of the OvaHerero Genocide Committee, Utjiua Esther Muinjangue, also took the floor to address the Hereros gathered there on 31st March 2018. After a three-hour long remembrance march, punctuated by *oturupa*[1] and a touching ceremony at the foot of the memorial for victims of the genocide,[2] she told the audience about her recent travels to Germany and the US. She first apologized to the foreign attendees, for she would "talk to [her] people in Otjiherero", making clear that her speech would be a report, bringing home her experience as a fervent ambassador of her people and their demands for repatriation, apologies and reparations overseas. Muinjangue indeed brought promising news: the recognition of the 1904-1908 genocides worldwide is growing, a third repatriation of ancestors kept in German anthropological collections will soon occur, and support for the Hereros' calls for apologies and reparations is growing among civil society organisations in Europe and North America, as well as among influential politicians in Germany.

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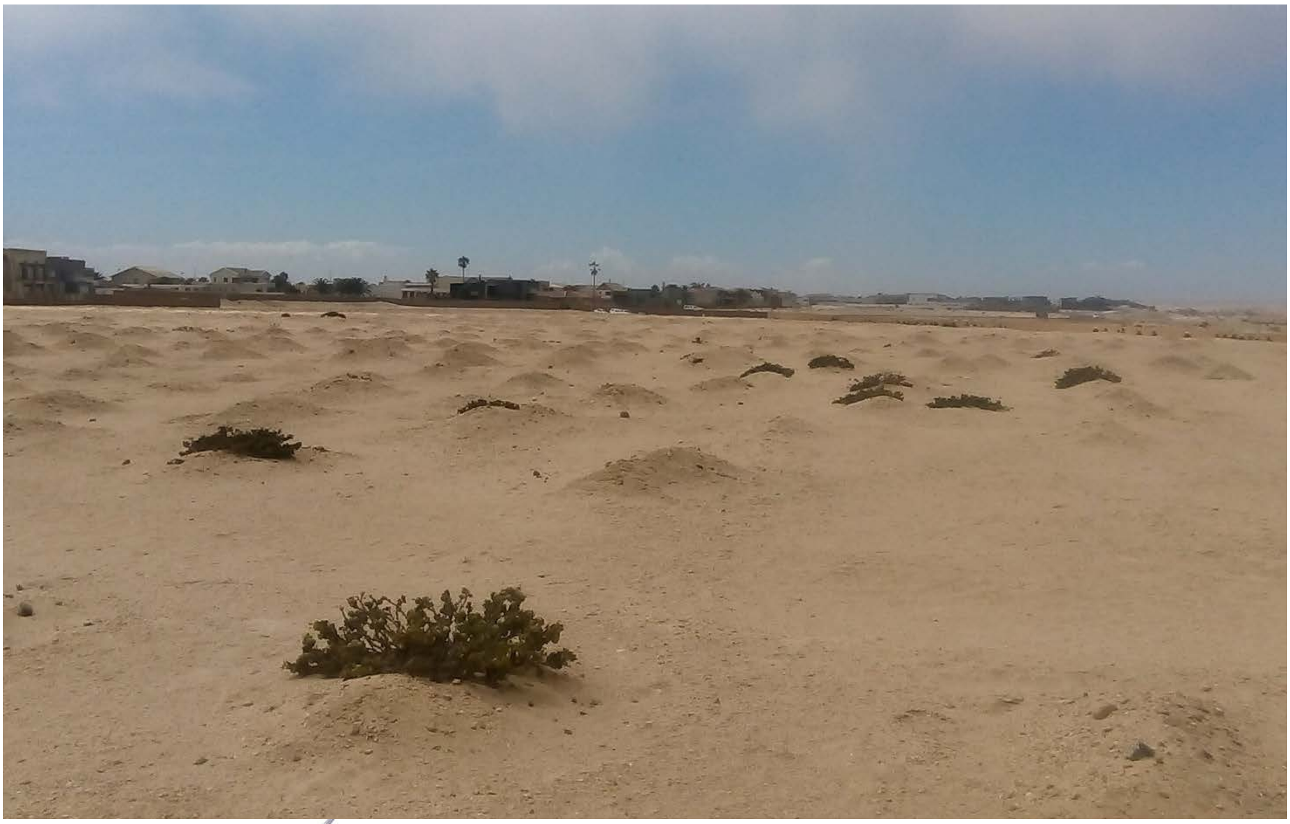
[i] "When I die here, let my bones be returned to home." Lyrics of an Otjiherero song sung by Namibian refugees in Botswana in 1980, Namibians who had fled from the oppressive regime of apartheid South Africa (quoted by Bishop Ernst //Gamxamûb at the commemoration service for the repatriation ceremony which took place on 29th August 2018 at the Französischer Dom in Berlin).



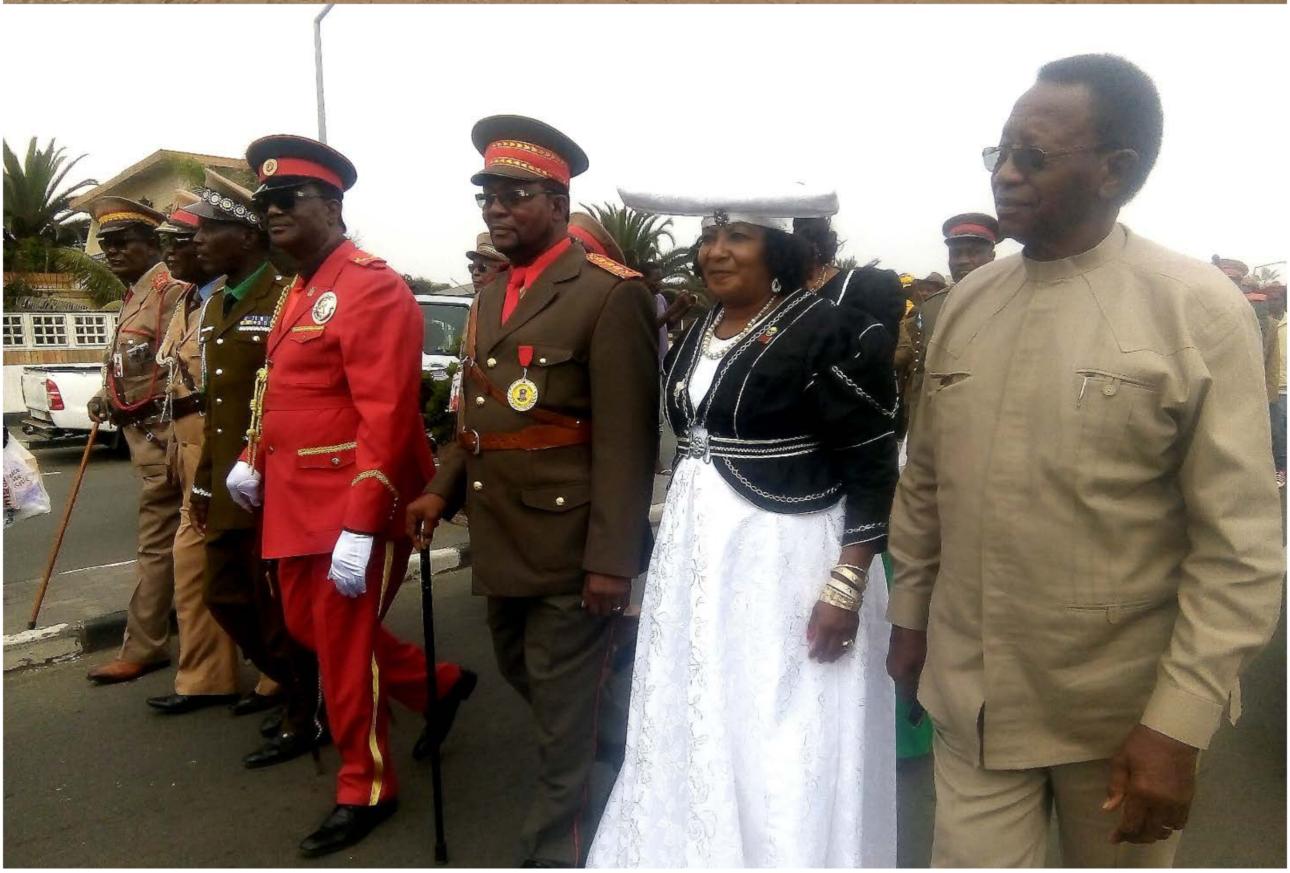
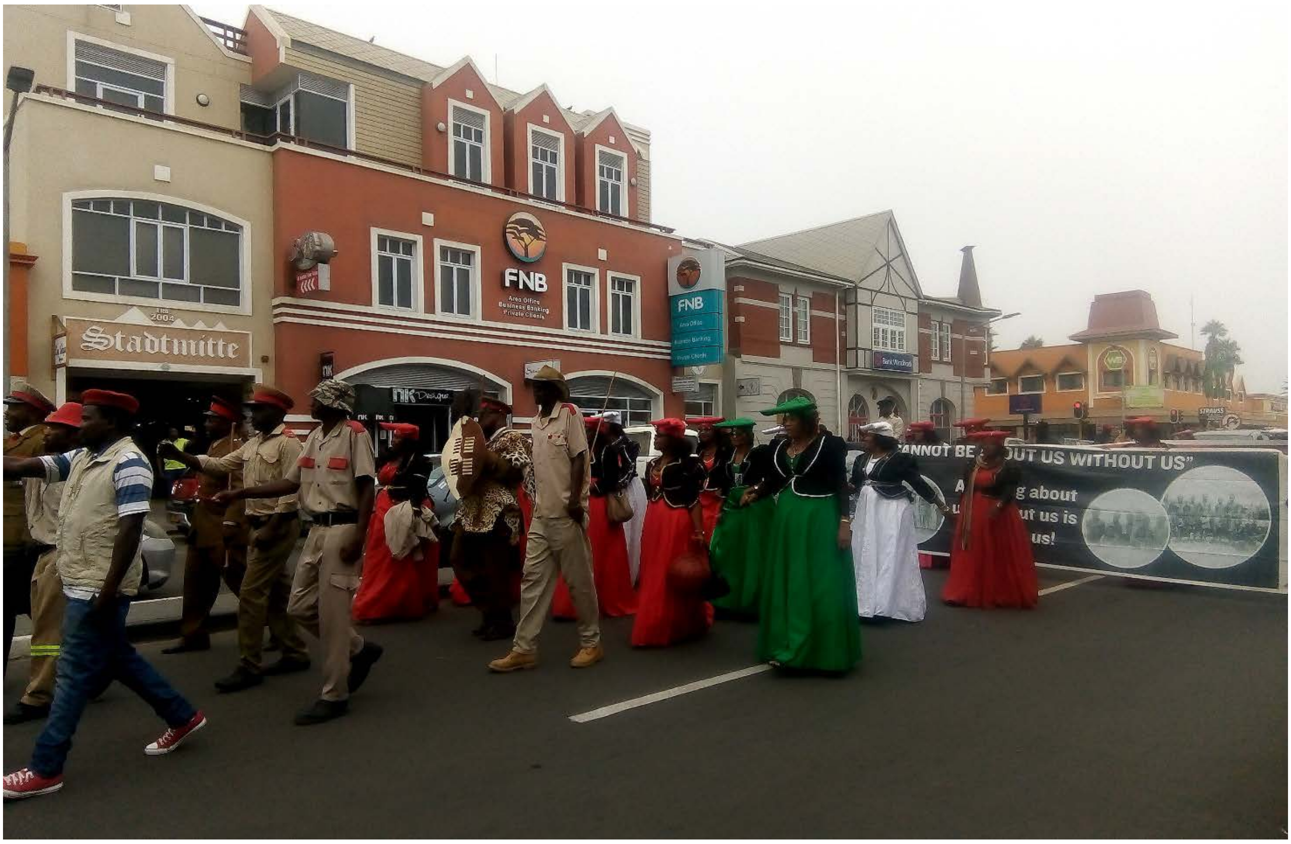


Fig. 1 (above): a cluster of unmarked graves of victims of the genocide in Swakopmund

Fig. 2 (below): Festus U. Muundjua and Esther Utjiua Muinjangue (first and second to right) with Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro (in red), leading the reparation march on 31st March 2018 (Photos: Yann Le Gall).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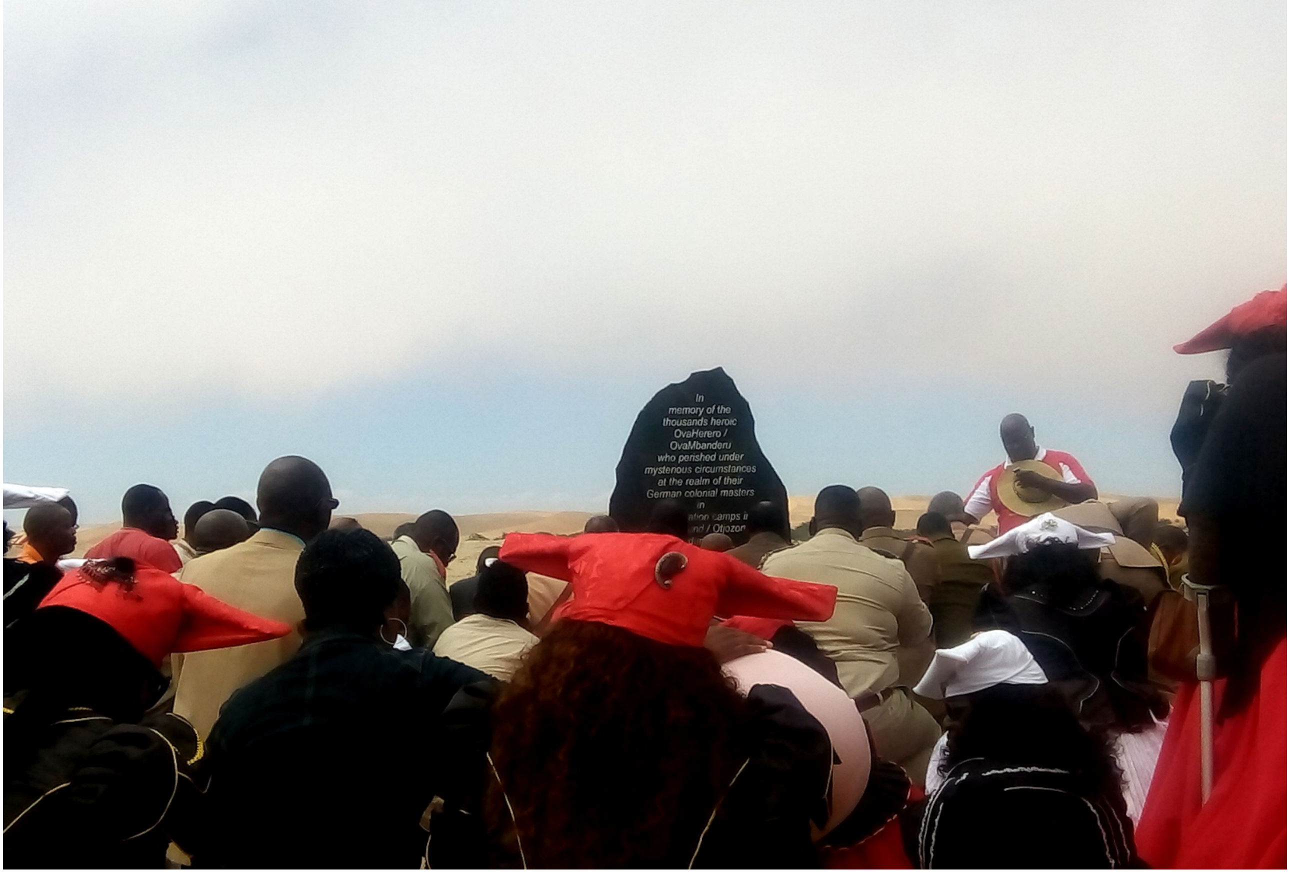
In
memory of the
thousands heroic
OvaHerero /
OvaMbanderu
who perished under
mysterious circumstances
at the realm of their
German colonial masters
in
ation camps i
nd / Otjozon

Fig. 3 (above): the procession marching in Swakopmund's "Stadtmitte" (city center), brandishing a banner with the famous slogan "It Cannot Be About Us Without Us" (31st March 2018).

Fig. 4 (below): Paying respects to the ancestors at the memorial for victims of the genocide in the Swakopmund cemetery (Photos: Yann Le Gall).

The evening before, Muinjangue had invited members of the community to the screening of Vincent Moloi's film *Skulls of My People* under a marquee on the Vineta Sports Field. While waiting for the modest crowd to be complete, she had shown video recordings of her speeches and interventions abroad: one from a Black Lives Matter protest in New York; another at the Museum Treptow (Berlin) at the opening of the exhibition *Zurückgeschaut,* which retrieves the names and stories of African and other non-European people who were put on display in the 1896 colonial exhibition. In *Skulls of My People*, Muinjangue's talent for leading also seems to steer the South African director's narrative. She explains the significance of Herero women's dress, gives ample historical context to the dispossession of her people by German colonists and brings back agency to the victims of the genocides by reminding that her people fought against colonial oppression and violence. Woeful consequence of the postcolonial state of affairs, she also has to fight: for recognition, apologies and reparations. What Utjiua Muinjangue has brought back to Swakopmund are proofs of her bearing witness to the genocide and the violence undergone by her people at the hands of German colonial troops. These are excerpts of speeches and public discussions showing her taking responsibility as a representative of her community, the responsibility to tell the stories that the skulls cannot. She conveys the wishes of the Herero and Nama community leaders regarding proper course for reconciliation, one that would respect the dignity of both ancestors and descendants in diplomatic and political talks. Those ongoing negotiations between the German and Namibian governments behind closed doors indeed appear to show that continuous racist and colonial thinking still contribute to an imbalance of power in geopolitical talks.

Despite the 2011, 2014 and 2018 repatriations of ancestors that took place, the skulls, skeletons and scalps of Herero and Nama victims of the genocide have not yet been buried. This chapter will examine how the return of ancestors to Namibia is enmeshed in greater geopolitical and economic contexts. This state of affairs prevents closure to happen. I concur with Reinhart Kössler that "any form of closure to deal with the genocide will be predicated upon an adequate solution of the problem of human remains" (2018, 38). This chapter further argues that this dependency is reciprocal: attempt to find an adequate solution for an appropriate repatriation of ancestors is predicated upon deep processes of collective remembrance of the genocides. The stories of those ancestors and debates on possible places of burial are inextricably linked to issues of political recognition for the OvaHerero and Nama. Besides, this postcolonial process of reconciliation cannot be viewed separate from the legacy of apartheid in present-day Namibia. But before unpacking the political entanglements of these ancestors' afterlives, I will try to establish a framework of post-genocide witnessing that reunites the dead and the living in their effort for acknowledgement of colonial violence and genocide. This will lead to a short analysis of cultural and artistic engagements with intergenerational memory. Only then will the roles of the National Museum of Namibia and governmental heritage policy in the repatriation process be examined.

Bearing witness to genocide

With the displacement of victims, their bodies, and their repatriation, it becomes incumbent to some descendants to reunite the silent subjects of memory – i.e. the remains of those ancestors, whom Larissa Förster has identified as "witnesses of genocide" – with meaningful places, such as the nameless graveyard of Swakopmund (Förster, 2013a; see also Jethro, 525). But after more than 110 years since the extermination of eighty percent of the Herero population and fifty percent of the Nama, who can truly be considered a witness, and to what extent do positions of witnessing differ? The silent remains and their silent graves indeed starkly contrast to the loud demands of their descendants and the powerful melodies of mourning sung during the handover ceremonies and upon the landing of delegations in Windhoek. Do skulls and deathscapes testify to the impossible retrieval of first-hand testimonies? Can contemporary songs and voices convey those lost accounts? Unlike the inductive structure of other chapters of this book, let me first map understandings of the witness in this context.

At the excruciating intersection of discussions about memory and genocide, post-Holocaust literatures have extensively addressed the issue of witnessing.[3] Drawing on the testimonies of Holocaust survivors, Jean-Francois Lyotard, Shoshana Felman, Dori Laub, and Giorgio Agamben in particular, have found it difficult to tackle the lack of witnesses from the "inside of death", i.e. the gas chambers of the Nazi extermination camps (Agamben, 35).

Lyotard and his relentless reliance on logic and unbending conceptions of truth-making[4] has in spite of himself (but unsurprisingly) given grist to the mill of revisionists.

His attempt to rationalise genocide through the absence of witnesses has brought about unresolvable conflicts between an ethics for keeping on bearing witness and a wish to understand horror and extermination, to rationalise it (207). Felman and Laub (the latter positioned as a descendant of victims and a psychoanalyst) have attempted to find a medium between dead witnesses (in Agamben's sense of *martis*, i.e. martyr), accounts of survivors and the responsibility falling onto their descendants. Leaving aside their reliance on the centrality of trauma and survivors' narratives,[5] their examination of this "imperative to tell" also found in subsequent generations opens up possibilities to comprehend the importance of situated memory for descendants of victims. Concerned with the (in)transmissibility of silence – not only the absence of witnessing, but also issues of inexplicability, unrelatability, and the presence of the unsaid – Dori Laub asserts that "the place of the greatest density of silence – the place of concentration where death took place – paradoxically becomes, for those children of survivors, the only place which can provide an access to the *life* that existed before their birth" (64-5). Felman further looked at how "outsiders" (232), but still "implicated subjects"[6] (such as filmmaker Claude Lanzmann), actively participate in processes of witnessing through different means: being a listener, persuading survivors to return to the place of their death, accompanying this "return of the dead" and capturing speech, silence, and place with the camera, among others (257). The return of Simon Srebnik to Chelmno in *Shoah* constitutes to her not only the return of the dead and the witness, but also of history, voice, and song.

In his response to Felman's enthusiasm for "the interaction […] between words, voice, rhythm, melody, images, writing, and silence" (277-8), Giorgio Agamben accuses her to aestheticize memory. To him,

> The 'true' witnesses, the 'complete witnesses,' are those who did not bear witness and could not bear witness. […] The survivors speak in their stead, by proxy, as pseudo-witnesses; they bear witness to a missing testimony. And yet to speak here of a proxy makes no sense; the drowned have nothing to say, nor do they have instructions or memories to be transmitted. They have no 'story' (Levi 1986: 90), no 'face,' and even less do they have 'thought' (ibid.). Whoever assumes the charge of bearing witness in their name knows that he or she must bear witness in the name of the impossibility of bearing witness (34).

This argument separating the dead and the living, the "true" and the "pseudo" witnesses, parents and their children, seeks to crack the sense of communal witnessing which Felman had so beautifully captured in the medium of a polyphonic song. In his noble attempt to deconstruct the concept of witness, Agamben individualises and rationalizes memory to the point of dissociating communities.

What is more, George Didi-Huberman's study of the four photographs from the *Sondercommando* has actually shed a new light on what "the drowned" had to say, albeit, to show. To him, the four images attest to the deep humanity of those members of the *Sondercommando* who had the "desire to snatch an image"[7] despite the horror, despite the "indescribable" context of a "moment when those who assisted, stupefied, had room left neither for thought nor imagination" (Didi-Huberman, 7). The photographer's desire to capture history and send it "further" leaves a mediated account, an imprint on the negative. Didi-Huberman's text thus grants agency to those images which "suddenly appear", as a "deferred action", and become themselves "instants of truth" (30-31). The dead witness and her/his act of capturing death are therefore retrievable through the survival of those photographs. Interestingly, in order to make them speak, Didi-Huberman brought these photographs in conversation with the account of Filip Müller, former member of the *Sondercommando*. The dead cannot speak; yet, multiple perspectives brought in interaction with one another – diverse acts of witnessing – might shape a clearer picture of genocide, a communal picture, where the voices of the living complement the remnants left by the dead.

In many African epistemological contexts, the dead are actually deemed able to pay visits to the living in the form of spiritual beings and the living can call on ancestors through ritualistic practices. This is tangible in ceremonial addresses to ancestors, as for instance when Hereros kneel and call upon their forefathers before entering the Swakopmund cemetery (Fig. 4). This interaction asks for extensions to Marianne Hirsch's "affiliative postmemory" beyond the second generation (2008, 114-5), beyond also the boundedness of Jan Assman's "communicative memory". These rituals enact temporal epistemologies of kin whose length and outreach only descendants can delimit. It also enables close contact between descendants and ancestors, a proximity that is for instance renewed when repatriating and burying one's unnamed ancestors. This closeness stands in contrast to the idea of gaps, distance, and thereby the need for transmission, which defines intergenerational postmemory. In *Murambi, the book of bones*, Senegalese author Boubacar Boris Diop addresses the power of remains of victims of the Tutsi genocide. His last sentence is a final gesture to his main protagonist Cornelius. Diop allows him to believe that “the dead of Murambi also dream, and that their most burning desire is the resurrection of the living” (193, my translation). Thereby he also allows family members and survivors to count as official ‘victims’ of genocide, people who, in the novel, almost appear as dead-living when paying daily visits to the bones of their dead relatives.

Further, Agamben’s threefold unpacking of the term ‘witness’ as *testis*, *superstes*, and *martis* bears epistemic boundaries if applied to the case of the Herero and Nama genocides: the term and its Latin and Ancient Greek roots bespeak a singular, individual, distinctive, and divisible subjective experience of witnessing.[8] Put against the etymology of the word ‘genocide’ and its coinage by Raphael Lemkin, the notion of a singular subjective witness to genocide is unsettled. Despite Lemkin’s questionable reliance on the nation as homogeneous group, he defined genocide as a “coordinated plan” directed “against the national group as an entity” with “actions involved [which] are directed against individuals, not in their individual capacity, but as members of the national group” (Lemkin, 79). This implies that genocidal intent constructs victims as *indivisible subjects*. In this light, individual testimonies by survivors can be considered as regained subjectivities, against racist conflations of culture, nationality, language or bodies. In other words, survivors resist and overcome genocidal discourses of objectification and dehumanisation by asserting their individuality and going against the racialisation of their “national group”.

Yet, for descendants of victims, affiliation is paramount to their positions as bearers of knowledge of their ancestors’ deaths. Articulated in productive ways – through kinship, constructed and fluid ethnicities, oral transmission of memory, “wounded identities” (see Mbembe 2002, 251, 266), and place-belonging – postcolonial African subjectivities reinstate the centrality of community and situatedness and have continuously addressed the influence of coloniality to promote “liberatory discourses” and “a dignified space in the world” against processes of dehumanisation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 103). Further, Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh and Will Kymlicka remind that

> it is important to emphasize that the attachment many Africans have to their ethnic group and ethnic identity is not simply an atavistic or irrational attachment to kith and kin, or to blood and soil. It is rather tied up with a complex web of social obligations that define people's rights and responsibilities and that protect people when they are most vulnerable and alone (4).

One of those responsibilities I underline throughout this book is the one bestowed on the living to care for the dead, including manners of greeting before visiting the grave of relatives and former members of the community, as well as keeping generational memory within the family or clan. But the 1904-08 genocides, the colonisation of German South West Africa (GSWA) and the macabre “scramble for skulls” have disrupted those continuities. They have generated diasporic communities in Botswana (where Chief Samuel Maharero fled), Cameroon (prisoners of war) and elsewhere. The workings of bare life and dehumanisation, Alexander Weheliye has shown, have enfleshed Black bodies through racializing assemblages which have underpinned strategies of enslavement, concentration, objectification and extermination. These assemblages have also led to deportation or forced some into exile, displacements that have opened cracks in the social fabric of those targeted groups. These assemblages have persisted: they have swivelled, re-territorialised, and their survival until today further demonstrates that the “nation” as a primal group entity in new conceptualisations of genocide is fallacious. The combination of African diasporic memory and local memory of colonialism – what Marianne Hirsch would call “‘repertoires’ of embodied knowledge[s]” (2012, 2) – testify against those assemblages: against de-humanisation, against coordinated plans of oppression and annihilation, for shared experiences of exile and uprootedness. They put forward discourses of resistance and political empowerment, tools for descendants and communities of victims to stitch those broken links together again, to fulfil a duty to “zemburuka, hangana, tunga”[ii] as advocated by Vekuii Rukoro, Paramount Chief of the Ovaherero in his welcoming message for the Hosea Kutako University (Rukoro).

To wrap up this important section, I shall concretely map three overarching understandings of “witness” in the postcolonial and postapartheid context of remembering the 1904-08 genocides: ancestors are witnesses who embody both the impossibility of testimony by the dead, as well as communal belonging through their deaths by the killing machinery of racializing assemblages, such as the camp. Descendants are witnesses who mediate both the silent testimonies of the dead and their spiritual presence, implicated through their articulation of kinship and their responsibility to help the dead return to a place of silence, which also stands as a place of belonging. Other implicated subjects – camera developers in the case of the *Sondercommando* images, but also filmmakers, interviewers, political agents, descendants of perpetrators – are witnesses of the process of bearing witness to genocide. Concretely, they ensure that the return of the dead, of history, of voice and of song, are contextualised and not aestheticized, and that the postcolonial moments of re-membering are remembered by narratives that denounce the persistence of the coloniality of power and racializing assemblages. As a commonality across difference, all those witnesses actively participate in shaping new paradigms of present and future politics of remembrance.

[ii] Translated on the Hosea Kutako University website as “remember, reconcile, reconstruct” (Rukoro).

Gaob Johannes Isaak [iii]

Chief of the |Hai-|khaua

Berlin, 29th August 2018

When we observe the two negotiating governments, denying us the right to speak on our own behalf, of our own flesh… of our own flesh and blood, we are reminded by the verse in Ezekiel 37:6 which states: "this is what the Sovereign Lord says to these bones: I will make breath enter into you, and you will come alive". As we receive these mortal remains, we anticipate that the process of establishing science and museums will commence to facilitate the repatriation of all human remains and artefacts wherever they are. We want to lay to rest our mothers, fathers, children. As long as they do not rest, God will never give all of us the necessary things.

[iii] http://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/nama/#isaack

Southern African landscapes of violence in film and song

Perivi Katjavivi's *The Unseen* and Vincent Moloi's *Skulls of My People* are two films which bear witness to repatriation and to the entanglements of the Herero and Nama genocides with other contexts of violence, the former from a fictional perspective, the latter as a documentary. Both released in 2016, they were inspired by, and intervened in the debates on the repatriation of ancestors, apologies for the genocide and the issue of reparation and reconciliation.

The Unseen follows three characters in the winding meanders of displacement and disillusion in Namibia. One side of this triad is the story of Marcus, an African-American actor visiting Namibia for the first time, who had been given the role of the famous Ovambo King Mandume ya Ndemufayo in an upcoming motion picture. Accompanying the film director, Marcus visits sites of colonial memory, including the "middle of fucking nowhere", the desert. *The Unseen* is a film in black and white. Yet, the desert is a place that allows a pigmented reality of postcolonial Namibia and interrupts Katjavivi's desaturated fiction in its core. After the argument between Marcus and the director, a camera shot pans the bare landscape from a bird's eye perspective. The silent, grey, arid soil hides a deep history: the silent victims of the Herero and Nama genocides and their legacy. Soon, non-fictional photos of the Herero and Nama genocides snap at the spectator: anthropological prints of a severed head and images of the 2011 repatriation ceremony appear successively. The blue, green and red of the Namibian flags and the sandy hue of the skulls in glass containers shake up the audience's retinas already accustomed to Katjavivi's Namibia in black and white.

"Unseen", the history of genocide yet surfaces out of the landscape where the remains of many ancestors lie. But the protagonists never explicitly refer to this history. Haunting the landscape, the stories of the dead will not be revealed. The title of the film refers to Ayi Kwei Armah's novel *Fragments*. In this novel,

> The witches saw things denied to others; beyond that they talked of what it was they had seen, and were destroyed. It is a long time since I heard of any witch thrown out of her secrecy, but souls are broken all the same. If I see things unseen by those who have eyes, why should my wisest speech not be silence? (2-3)

In her analysis of Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah*, Shoshana Felman emphasized on the ability of film to convey the absence of witnesses through camera shots, "in its 'travelings' throughout the graveyard with no bodies, and in its persistent exploration of the empty grave which is both haunted and yet *uninhabited* by the dead witness" (226). This trope, a panning technique often accompanied by silence or ambient noise, has also spoken to other contexts of sheer violence: the Atacama desert hosting the bodies of *desaparecidos* provides a stage for Patricio Guzmán's intelligent reflections on memory in *Nostalgia de la Luz*; Adrian Stimson's *As Above So Below*, a silent video installation in which drone shots of two landscapes offer a multidirectional remembrance of both the Appin massacre of Dharawal people by Australian colonial authorities in 1816 and the Cypress Hills massacre of an Assiniboine community by settlers in colonial Canada in 1873. In *Skulls of My People*, directed by South African director Vincent Moloi, numerous drone shots of places of remembrance also show how the history of genocide has been carved in the Namibian landscape. Or rather, to transfer Suzanne Césaire's terms from one site of colonial violence and deportation (the Caribbean) to another (South-West Africa), the camera shows how the bare beauty of the landscape operates as a "grand camouflage", "deflecting attention from its troubled history and present" (Wilke, 10), those hidden histories which need to be unearthed. The dead of Swakopmund both inhabit and "uninhabit" the site, their skeletons buried, their skulls elsewhere.

Perivi Katjavivi, loyal to the "wisest" silence recommended by Naana in *Fragments*, purportedly cuts it with a colourful frenzy of photos documenting the repatriation processes of 2014, digging up the archive buried in the earth and unveiling the unseen witnesses of genocide, having them inhabit the narrative framing of the landscape rather than the landscape itself. In a documentary fashion, Vincent Moloi and his crew rather chose to foreground the voices of descendants. In *Skulls of My People*, the voices of Utjiua Muinjangue, Uahimisa Kaapehi or Festus Muundjua speak out the silent testimonials of Swakopmund's railway, of the Ngauzepoa tree, of a church, and thereby mediate the unseen presence of their ancestors. Producer Lodi Matsetela has explained that their film should become a "tool for lobbying", so that "people be held accountable" (SABC, 7'12"). Aspiring to be an Agambenian *testis* – i.e. a witness in the trial for Germany's responsibility to actively atone for its past – the film rather ensures that the voices of descendants and the silence of ancestors are recorded and heard. It re-presents them (in the sense of *darstellen*) to demonstrate how the postmemory of genocide is "transformed into action and resistance" (Hirsch, 2008, 104). Intervening internationally as well as regionally, *Skulls* *of my People* also restores to this history its regional relevance and fills a knowledge gap: as the SABC reporter points out to Lodi Matsetela, the 1904-08 genocides remain relatively unknown to many South Africans, for all the shared history between the two settler colonial spaces.

All the more surprising given that this shared history has been resoundingly apparent in the commemorative moment of the third repatriation ceremony, which took place at the French Church or Friedrichstadt in Berlin on 28th-29th August 2018. The soundtrack of mourning, compiled by members of the German and Namibian Evangelical church leading the service, was indeed dominated by the South African anti-apartheid song *Senzeni Na?*, loosely translatable as "What have we done?"[iv] This song, originally asking the white racist Boers "what have [the non-whites] done?" to deserve racism and oppression, is still relevant in a context where calls for official apologies by Africans have been time and again left unanswered. The song also came to the lips of Cynthia Schimming, Herero artist and fashion designer working when she went through the collection of artefacts from South-West Africa at the Ethnological Museum in Berlin. There, as she held in her hand children's toys and dolls robbed by German soldiers and officers during the war and genocide, emotions surged up, accompanied in her head by this exact song (Binter & Schimming).

Besides, during the Ovaherero and Nama Congress *Restorative Justice After Genocide*, held in Berlin on 14th-15th October 2016, members of the respective communities (living in Namibia, Germany and the U.S.), of German civil society, and activists from the Initiative Black People in Germany and Afrotakt CyberNomads, also sung together Enoch Sotonga's *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* in the art gallery Kunsthaus KuLe. The prominence of those two songs of the anti-apartheid struggle attests of the inextricable entanglements between the 1904-08 genocides and the history of apartheid South Africa, which, lest we forget, administered Southwest Africa from 1919 to 1990. In words echoing Michael Rothberg's definition of multidirectional memory, sonic practices from the struggle are borrowed to accompany another struggle, the campaign for restorative justice. They punctuate processes of grief led by descendants, and foster participative self-reflection by implicated European participants. On the one hand, those songs evoke painful memories. On the other hand, they call upon processes of resistance, empowerment and political subjectivity led across boundaries of race, gender, nationality, age and level of implication. What is more, understanding the power of these verses demands one's eagerness to engage with the language of southern African resistance, its tonalities, its rhythm.

[iv] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/hereros /#senzenina

The potential of anti-apartheid memory to work multidirectionally is similarly seen in Wandile Kasibe's campaign for a Museum TRRC (Truth and Repatriation-Restitution Commission) which shall investigate the "colonial crime scene" and its legacies in collections worldwide and heritage policy (Kasibe, 2018a). As he witnessed the landing of the ancestors handed over in late August 2018, Kasibe reflects upon the implications of this repatriation for the role of museums worldwide in this age of repatriation. He argues for a "new framework of transparency" in museum practice, which would require "full disclosure and truth about the role that museums played in perpetrating past crimes of unethical 'science' against humanity and the effects of these crimes on society today" (Kasibe, 2018c). Following poet and activist Zenzile Khoisan and building up on his experience in visiting remains of southern Africans at the American Museum of Natural History, Kasibe's Museum TRRC extrapolates the practice of working through apartheid South Africa to a global process that could unveil the stories of colonial violence and anticolonial resistance still kept hushed up in inaccessible collections worldwide.

Vincent Moloi's film, those songs, and Kasibe's proposal are examples of the regional stakes of repatriation and ethics of care for Herero and Nama ancestors. In light of the presence of sensitive anthropological collections from the colonial era in South African museums such as the Iziko, and in light of the importance of repatriation in the South African context (see chapters 3 and 4), it is not surprising that the aesthetics and soundtrack of the anti-apartheid struggle have found echo in ceremonies and cultural memory productions remembering the 1904-08 genocides.

Vekuii Rukoro [v]

Paramount Chief of the Ovaherero

29th August 2018, Berlin

Please, allow me to point out to the representatives of the German Government in our midst – whose presence I do appreciate – that it is not an easy thing for us as Namibians to explain to our children, when we tell them that we are going to Germany to repatriate the remains of our ancestors who were killed by the Germans and then taken there. They ask us simple questions like: "But what did they do to deserve that?"

What should we tell them?

Equally, what would you tell your own children about the same question, if for instance they were to ask you: "But why did we kill them, Papa?"

It is some of those small things that bring back to memory and the feeling of the pain suffered by our ancestors during the Herero and Nama Genocide of 1904 - 1908, and which is even more painful as I am looking at those human remains of my people in front of us, with that round scar around each head, indicating where it was cut for the purposes of racist scientific research.

Indeed, what have they done?

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[v] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/hereros/#rukoro

Museums and their responsibility to "honour" ancestors

Repatriation ceremonies, as audits of an imagined Museum TRRC, are situated events: they constitute in themselves "contact zones", to follow Mary Louise Pratt and James Clifford. Yet, they do not occur on neutral territory. As performative events of postcolonial encounters, dialogue, or even justice (as Michael Pickering has argued [2016, 30]), they are not exempt from neo-colonial hierarchies, i.e. "conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (Pratt, 6). The three repatriations from Germany to Namibia are prime examples of what James Clifford views as the inherent politics "in the contact work of museums" (1986, 209).

Although the 2011, 2014 and 2018 repatriation ceremonies never took place under the roof of a museum proper, they could never have taken place without the participation of museum professionals on both sides. Holger Stoecker, German historian involved in the Charité Human Remains Project which undertook the provenance research on a number of ancestors who were returned to Namibia, remembers how German stakeholders were scared "like rabbits before a snake", because of the potentiality of political conflict. He himself could not understand this fear, as it was obvious to him that the skulls carried themselves political value, and that they were "evidence of a past that had not yet been sewn up".[9] As Vekuii Rukoro reminded during the third repatriation ceremony in 2018, it takes a simple question asked by a child to shatter the still enduring belief by representatives of Western institutions that such sensitive collections – or cultural heritage in general – might still belong to finite "normal, 'nonpoliticized' times" (Clifford, 1997, 209). As organisers, museum staff in Germany had to learn from the Ovaherero and the Nama that these skulls were loaded with emotions that they could not immediately understand, and that a handover ceremony involved rituals of mourning.

As representatives of German institutions, they besides stood in the firing line between forceful calls for apologies and the deaf ear turned by the German government. The minimal interest (or the blatant lack thereof) displayed by the German government and its representatives since the first repatriation in 2011 has indeed exacerbated geopolitical tensions (see Shigwedha 2017, 202-3). Resulting from the notable absence of high-ranking officials on the German side in 2011, additional pressure fell on the shoulders of German museum professionals involved in the process, who thereby stood as official representatives by default. This unequal commitment has arguably persisted until now: the single speech held by foreign office state minister Michelle Münterfering on 29th August 2018 in Berlin did not match the two powerful speeches by the then Namibian Minister of Culture Katrina Hanse-Himarwa. The fact that Germany was only represented by a state minister did not meet the expectations of eminent members of the Namibian delegation either, such as Paramount Chief of the Ovaherero Vekuii Rukoro, and chair of the Nama Traditional Leaders Association Gaob Petrus Simon M. Kooper. The latter two have been prominent agents for repatriation and apologies in the last ten years, and their efforts had already brought them more than three times to the German capital, only to see their calls for official apologies met by deaf ears.

The presence of Herero and Nama ancestors in overseas institutions

Nevertheless, the momentum created by those repatriations has generated a growing awareness of the presence of Ovaherero and Nama ancestors in collections worldwide. Since 2011, many other remains of colonised people from South West Africa have been found in museum collections. The work of advocacy undertaken by the diverse Genocide Committees representing the voices of Herero and Nama people[10] has led to interventions, protests and cooperation involving descendants of victims and museums in other parts of the globe. Ida Hoffman, chair of the Nama Technical Genocide Committee, and Utjiua Muinjangue have travelled to Hamburg, Berlin, New York and Paris as representatives of their people. They have traced the same routes that their ancestors were forced to take. In 2015, Kavemuii Murangi, director of the US-based Ovaherero, Mbanderu and Nama Genocide Institution (ONGI) also visited Berlin. With the participation of local initiatives such as the Alliance "No Amnesty on Genocide" and Berlin Postkolonial, he staged a protest in front of the headquarters of the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory (BGAEU), because the Ovaherero who came from the US had not been granted access to view the remains of their ancestors. He recalls how BGAEU representatives "insisted that we could not view the remains unless we could demonstrate a scientific purpose or personal connection with the deceased" (2'08"). The protest ultimately led to discussions face-to-face with members of the Society. Two years later, Murangi officially announced a cooperative research project with the BGAEU to provenance the remains of eleven Namibian individuals, a process which, in theory, would eventually lead to their repatriation. Finally, the joint work of Muinjangue (Ovaherero Genocide Committee) in Namibia, Murangi (ONGI) in the US, and the Alliance "No Amnesty on Genocide" in Europe has revealed the presence of eight individuals in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York. These remains had been part of a collection sold to the AMNH by former director of the *Museum für Völkerkunde* Felix von Luschan. Before his death, and after having tried to sell it to penniless institutions in Germany, his private anthropological collection was sold to Henry Osborn, president of the AMNH at the time, for about forty thousand dollars (see Stoecker, 476; Pape, 101). Then, the remains of victims of the genocides were shipped across the Atlantic once again.

The appalling ways in which human remains from the 1904-08 genocides were defleshed, packed, shipped, sold, and as a result scattered to foreign territories such as Germany, the US, but also South Africa[11] and France[12] (and perhaps elsewhere), should provide a springboard for ethical ways of dealing with this legacy. It has the potential to stimulate pioneering examples of community intervention in museum policy and curation. For instance, the ONGI demanded to the American Museum of Natural History that the remains of Herero and Nama people should be separated from the rest of the approximately 5,000 other remains, "and be placed in a suitable and respectful environment until they can be reunited with their ancestors and rightful descendants" (Murangi, 7'). Murangi elaborates that they further asked for a guarantee from the museum that no further research on these remains would be conducted without the agreement of affected communities. A technical committee including members of the ONGI and the Namibian government shall oversee the future repatriation process. Alluding to the ubiquitous motto used by members of the Ovaherero and Nama communities regarding negotiation talks on apologies and reparation, Murangi reminds that community members "will not just be idle bystanders while the museum decides how and when to conduct the research. We are tired of having things done to us and decisions made about us without us, without our voices and consent" (7'32"). Finally, the presence of these remains ought to bring about the "creation of exhibits" to honour the ancestors and remember this marginalised history of violence in the U.S. (Murangi, 7'50"). In other words, Murangi sees it as a duty for museums holding the remains of his ancestors to show their respect for those individuals by proactively contextualising the conditions that led to their very presence in the repository in New York City. He extended this demand to "other institutions in Germany that either have or had Namibian remains" (7'55").

Political and legal implications of sensitive collections

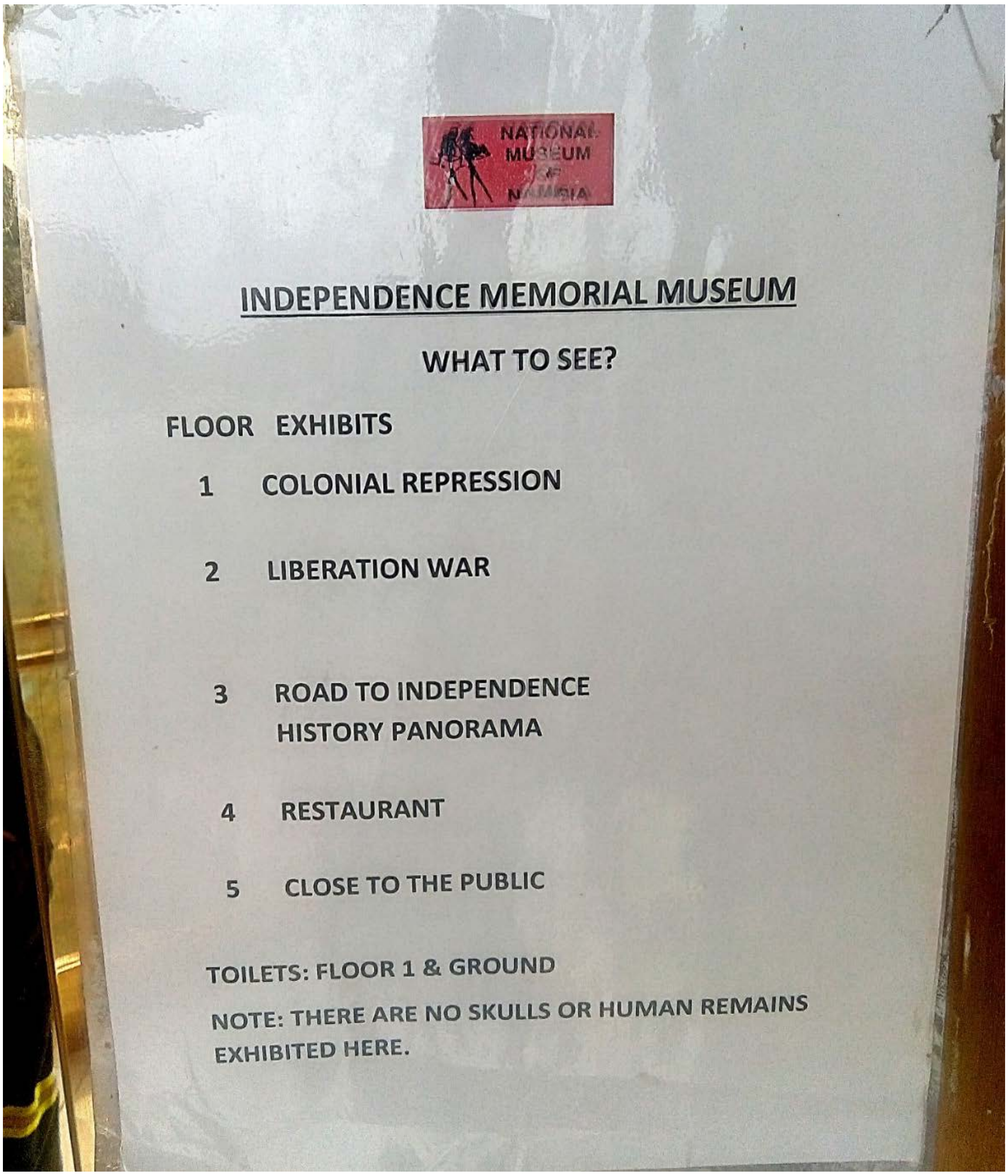
However, the lawsuit launched in 2017 by the ONGI and the Ovaherero Traditional Authority, who sued the Federal Republic of Germany in the U.S. by appealing to the Alien Tort Statute (*Ovaherero and Nama v. Federal Republic of Germany 2017*, Compl. §1), has also involved the AMNH collection. The museum is concerned and cautious regarding its responsibility as a custodian negotiating with communities and governmental bodies such as the Namibian embassy. After having been in close contact with the plaintiffs, museum staff denied access to the collection to their lawyers in late 2018. In early 2019, responding to a request by Herero activist and artist Laidlaw Peringanda to visit the collection, chair of the division of anthropology Laurel Kendall explicitly informed that the museum would refrain from allowing viewings due to the museum's involvement in the court case (see Lennon; De Klerk). The AMNH is not a directly state-funded institutions, but relies on corporate partnership, investment and donations, some from Deutsche Bank Americas, Goldman Sachs, HSBC and 21st Century Fox among many other groups. As a private establishment it is nonetheless regarded by the American Alliance of Museums as "grounded in public service" (AAM). The AAM's code of ethics further stipulates that every museum should ensure that "collections in its custody support its mission and public trust responsibilities, […] are lawfully held, protected, secure, unencumbered, cared for and preserved, […] are accounted for and documented" and that "access to the collections and related information is permitted and regulated" (AAM). It can only be speculated that its partnership with the ONGI and the Namibian government and the conditions of non-accession laid bare by Murangi in 2017 be the reason for such a decision against viewings requested by new actors or new research projects. If that is the case, the museum zealously complies with the conditions Murangi claimed were agreed upon in the partnership with the ONGI. One can only hope that museum staff will proactively take upon their responsibility to follow an important work ethics that has been tarnished by the history of these human remains in museum collections: they should account for, document and care for these ancestors while aiming at repatriating them in the near future. A proactive provenancing of remains snatched in South West Africa shall facilitate a prompt and transparent process of repatriation.

A further hypothesis that might explain this closed-door policy is the wish to protect itself from controversial politics of representation. By opting for a position of negative authority, the AMNH faces upstream critique for alleged secrecy, i.e. thwarting transparency. On the other side, it dodges downstream critique from influent players such as the Namibian government, its German counterpart, or the ONGI for treating any request by any interested party as legitimate, regardless of the sensitivity and the emotional value of the issue. In other words, better to 'permit and regulate' access (both terms implying a decision-making process incumbent to museum staff) rather than play the transparency card by disclosing its collection and allowing different individuals and organisations to push their conflicting agendas through requests for research. This might avoid having diverse claims for repatriation and burial emanating from diverse bodies.

As far as post-repatriation decisions are concerned, the repatriation processes that have already taken place have not yet led to burials. Nor has the custody of these remains been handed over to the concerned communities. Since their arrival on Namibian soil, the remains returned from Germany to Namibia have been housed in the National Museum in Windhoek. Kept in a small air-conditioned room on the first floor, in the same boxes that used to protect them from dust and decay at the Charité University Hospital or the Freiburg University, the ancestors await for agreements on a national policy on the care for human remains in Namibian museums. Marina Nzila Mubusisi, chief curator at the National Museum of Namibia, acknowledged in 2018 the intricacy of having to accommodate the wishes of source communities on the one hand – represented partly by the diverse Genocide Committees – and those of the Namibian government, to which the institution answers. She recalled that the museum had been appointed as a "temporal repository".[13] Yet, four years after the inauguration of the Independence Memorial Museum – located in front of the National Museum, across the Robert Mugabe Road, and during which the second group of repatriated ancestors was greeted by a national ceremony of remembrance staged by government officials – the drafting of this policy was still stuck at the stage of "brainstorming" talks, Mubusisi admitted. The same year, Vilho Amukwaya Shigwedha from the University of Namibia argued that the role of the National

Museum as a custodian for the returned remains has contributed to a disempowerment of indigenous communities over the afterlives of their ancestors (2018, 74).

Meanwhile, differing proposals from both governmental agents and Herero activists have broadened the gap between those players. The initial suggestion for a national burial on Heroes' Acre was criticised a while ago as a "cooptation of the skulls" by concerned communities (Förster, 2013a). Furthermore, members of the Nama community who, according to Marina Nzila Mubusisi, had agreed that the skulls could be exhibited as proofs of the genocide in the newly erected Independence Memorial Museum, located on the site of the infamous concentration camp "Orumbo rua Katjombondi" (Elago, 289), saw their wishes clashing with the National Museum's ethics. The latter indeed disallow the display of human remains, ironically ruling out the announcement made by former president Hifikepunye Pohamba two days after the landing of the first ancestors on Namibian soil in 2011. He declared that the skulls would be housed in the future Independent Memorial Museum "to preserve Namibia's history for posterity as a reminder to future generations of the cruelty of the war" (qtd in Shigwedha, 2018, 69). In the scenic elevators leading visitors to institutional representations of the history of Namibia and its independence movement, a note hanging next to the control panel informs (warns?): "There are no skulls or human remains exhibited here" (Fig. 5; see also Biwa, 2017, 101; Faber-Jonker, 135). According to Marina Nzila Mubusisi, this was pinned there after some visitors contacted the museum asking whether Pohamba's wish had been implemented, and whether they could meet face to face with those ancestors within the secluded walls of this national institution, even though the museum is, for the most part, dedicated to SWAPO's struggle for independence and the legacy of Sam Nujoma (see Förster, 2013b). Memory Biwa argues that "their absence speaks volumes about a more salient erasure of the site of genocide on which the museum was built", namely the site of the infamous *Reiterdenkmal* (2017, 101). Even though a memorial outside the museum aims to remember the victims of the genocide, the names of the concerned communities are willingly unmentioned.



NATIONAL MUSEUM OF NAMIBIA

INDEPENDENCE MEMORIAL MUSEUM

WHAT TO SEE?

FLOOR	EXHIBITS
1	COLONIAL REPRESSION
2	LIBERATION WAR
3	ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE HISTORY PANORAMA
4	RESTAURANT
5	CLOSE TO THE PUBLIC

TOILETS: FLOOR 1 & GROUND

NOTE: THERE ARE NO SKULLS OR HUMAN REMAINS EXHIBITED HERE.

Fig. 5: Information sheet the content of the permanent exhibition in the elevators of the Independence Memorial Museum, Windhoek (Photo Yann Le Gall, 27 Mar. 2018).

The repatriations of 2011, 2014 and 2018 have forced the National Museum of Namibia to engage with politics of care for such anthropological collections without prior knowledge on the way to go about it. Director Esther Moombolah-Goagoses and chief curator Marina Nzila Mubusisi now hold copies of the reports put together by the Charité Human Remains project team, whose task was to determine the origin of the concerned skulls and skeletons. Due to its position as a national institution, its role as a key player in the Technical Committee responsible for handling talks with the German side, and its duty to care for the remains while discussions are being conducted on the future of these skulls, the Namibian museum has always stood in a difficult position. On the one hand, its ethical responsibility towards its source communities requires clear policies of open access for viewings and people who would like to pay respect to their ancestors. In this regard, it has received harsh criticism from the Herero Genocide Committee for the delay it has taken to draft clear guidelines on the care of human remains. These policies ought to recognize the diverse needs of Namibian traditional communities when it comes to questions of access, exhibit, burial and the potential use of the skulls' value as evidence of genocide. On the other hand, its status as a governmental institution means that the museum is bound by, and answers to, governmental decisions. When approached before the first repatriation occurred, the task was clear: housing and caring for the remains temporarily until they are finally buried and laid to rest. But the conflict between governmental plans and community-based demands has delayed the process. Almost ten years later, its 'collection' has grown and possible future repatriations from Germany, France, the U.S. or South Africa might in turn compel it to make more space available for storage. The heated debates regarding apologies and reparations for the 1904-08 genocides which have been taking place behind close doors between the German and Namibian governments – and in the open public sphere thanks to the objections of the Ovaherero, Ovambanderu and Nama Genocide Committees – also include discussions on the future for these ancestors still waiting for a dignified outcome to their return home.

Becoming Namibian: intangible heritage... but national heritage

Yet, Marina Mubusisi reminds that "whatever comes here [to the museum], it becomes Namibian", hinting at the theoretical primacy of building up a national cultural heritage over particular wishes of representatives of the Herero or Nama communities. With regard to cultural expressions of identity, the Namibian Constitution similarly expresses this preponderance of the national over the particular. Often quoted by observers on the politics of memory and heritage in postcolonial-Namibia (see Kössler, 2015; Becker, 2011, 539; Akuupa & Kornes, 41), Article 19 of the Namibian Constitution stipulates that "[e]very person shall be entitled to enjoy, practise, profess, maintain and promote any culture, language, tradition or religion subject to the terms of this Constitution", but clearly states that this expression of cultural identity is "further subject to the condition that the rights protected by this Article do not impinge upon the rights of others or the national interest". A discourse of national assimilation is further pushed forward when cultural heritage from different locales, different communities, produced in different times and for multiple purposes, can "become Namibian" as soon as it enters the museum. Heritage can thereby partly loose its close relationship to its ommunities and its local custodians. This is in line with what Michael Uusiku Akuupa and Godwin Kornes have described as a use of culture in political discourse "to denote a national collective and its characteristics in a holistic cumulative sense" (38).

From a "difference-blind state" to consociationalism

This model, falling under what Berman, Eyoh and Kymlicka have called "the Difference-Blind State" (15), has been part of a dominant post-independence nationalist discourse often identified by analysts under the umbrella slogan of "One Namibia – One Nation". This has been repeatedly contrasted by scientific commentators to the emerging recognition of particular and local ethnic cultures in the last two decades, manifest in the symbolic adoption of the motto "Unity in Diversity" (see Fairweather; Becker, 2011; Akuupa & Kornes, 41). This shift to a symbol of inclusive politics seems to tend towards what Berman et al. would in turn identify as "consociationalism": a recognition of ethnic and language boundaries in a state where federalism is inadequate because of no clear territorial concentration of minority groups (20). Mapping the goals of this nationalist strategy, they argue that such paradigm helps building "a sense of security amongst members of the various groups, and help them develop some sense of identification with and loyalty to the state" (ibid). More importantly, consociational politics of "Unity in Diversity" might also aim to "eliminate the fear of secession or irredentism which is often raised in federal systems, since groups are not given control over territory" (ibid).

But this nationalist agenda has met quite some resistance ever since the first repatriation of human remains in 2011. Reinhart Kössler has put those counter discourses emanating from Herero and Nama representatives against the backdrop of different experiences of colonial oppression by the diverse nations within the current Namibian borders. He reminds that

> in actual fact, historical experiences are quite diverse across the fourteen regions of Namibia's vast territory; in particular, the Namibian War, as well as settler colonialism,

> affected only central and southern Namibia, while the more populous northern regions saw other, if equally incisive, forms of colonialism (2018, 37).

This aspect is particularly important when taking into consideration the growing threats by members of the Ovaherero to pursue unilateral action of land re-appropriation against German-Namibians if their demands for apologies and reparations are not met.[14] The ongoing coexistence of those seemingly conflicting strategies in defining national identity shows that a binary model is limited. With the Independent Memorial Museum as the "monumental expression" of national unity (ibid), Namibian cultural politics appear at a quandary between fuelling assimilation and/or recognizing diversity within the nation. Museum policies and their positioning in issues such as the repatriation of human remains epitomise the complexity of participating in national politics of heritage while catering to the needs and demands of local communities as far as their cultural knowledge and their particular histories of oppression are concerned (see also Shigwedha, 2018, 84-5).

The meaning of repatriation in independent Namibia

It is also crucial to understand the significance of repatriation and burial in the Namibian context. Both have formed the crux of a hegemonic narrative of nation-building built on the plight of SWAPO fighters forced outside the frontiers of present-day Namibia and returning to Namibia in the wake of the country's independence in 1990 (see Akuupa & Kornes, 37, 40; Williams, 8). Exile, displacement, and repatriation are experiences closely associated with anti-apartheid resistance in the historical context of the armed struggle for independence. Funeral services for prominent figures of this movement have crystallised them in national posterity. In this model, national monuments and graves occupy a central role. They are sites that reinforce the heroic status of national figures in the collective psyche.

This partly explains the initial wish of the Namibian government to bury the repatriated skulls of victims of the 1904-08 genocides on Heroes' Acre, the "most potent symbol" of the narrative of national liberation, as Heike Becker has aptly put it (2011, 523). The site indeed already hosts the symbolic graves of Nama and Ovaherero/Ovambanderu leaders who fought against German colonial troops and settler due to violent policies of land-grabbing, unpunished murders, and rapes of African women. Hendrik Witbooi, Samuel Maharero, Kahimemua Nguvauva and Jacob Morenga are celebrated on the site.

However, their bodies are not there. Maharero and Nguvauva are buried in Okahandja; Witbooi in an unmarked grave, probably in the vicinity of Vaalgras (see Biwa 2017, 93); Morenga's body was probably never buried, as he was shot by British forces from the Cape Colony near Eenzaamheid (see Masson, 247-8). Along with the controversy surrounding its construction by a North Korean company and its aesthetics, the hollow graves have contributed to a widespread disinterest in, and critique of Heroes' Acre. Memory Biwa sees it as partaking in the "cacophonous landscape of sites holding or inscribing bodies as heroes of war" (2017, 94). The site of remembrance has even been rejected by several former members of SWAPO who rather opted for burials on their ancestral land (see Becker 2011, 531). As with the shift towards the recognition of heterogeneity in Namibia, Heike Becker has shown that the status of Heroes' Acre as a burial site has been challenged by community initiatives for local burials of victims of the South African regime, as it was the case for the Eenhana Heroes' Memorial Shrine, erected after the discovery of human remains from a mass grave (ibid, 533), a case similar to the Prestwich Place Memorial in Cape Town (see Jonker).

A national burial site?

Such shrines are quite relevant when burial sites have been disturbed: not only do they return the unearthed dead to their place of rest, they mark those places as inalienable and bar the forces of urban capitalist development from taking over, reinstating the significance of those histories of violence for future generations. Nevertheless, when a century of exile and objectification has purportedly rubbed out any information on the exact provenance of human remains, on the names and birthplaces of those ancestors, what fitting site can be envisioned?

Looking at comparable contexts of repatriation, it seems that different models are adopted. In Aotearoa, the museum Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington cares for unprovenanced kōiwi tangata until enough information is gathered so that the respective Maōri or Moriori iwi (nations) can organise a burial (see Aranui , 167-8). In South Africa, the remains of Sarah Baartman, Klaas and Trooi Pienaar have been returned to their purported areas of origin, the former in the Gamtoos Valley in the Eastern Cape (see Chapter 3), the latter two in the Kuruman region. In Mara Verna's digital art project *hottentotvenus.com*, documenting the repatriation process of Sarah Baartman, a South African media release advocating for a burial on Robben Island is alluded to, an island she herself never set foot on, yet an important national heritage site. The Robben Island Museum therefore also qualified as a potential resting place. When discovering this proposition, Gail Smith, former spokesperson of the South African Human Rights Commission, answered: "I'm not for that myself, let's just forget that one" (qtd in Verna). Indeed, the proposal was rejected, and particularly vehemently by the Khoisan community. Does this demonstrate that, when ancestors' histories can be reconstructed, national prominence is overruled by local significance?

Maybe. In the Australian context, Old People's return to country is always primordial, and (re)burials are monitored by elders and representatives of local Indigenous Nations. Nonetheless, many repatriated Indigenous Australian remains are and will remain unprovenanced. To remedy to the restless transience experienced by ancestors whose histories cannot be retrieved, the idea of a National Resting Place has been discussed and strongly recommended (see Advisory Committee for Indigenous Repatriation, 7-10). Yet, as the AIATSIS Map of Indigenous Australia reminds, the term "national" in this case is a fallacy. As a land hosting multiple nations, invaded by members of foreign nations, violently conquered and colonised, whose history includes "genocidal moments" and whose settler colonial system spawned a national federation (Moses, 2013, 39), Australia exemplifies the issue of using, reclaiming or jettisoning colonial terminology in an ongoing state of coloniality. Interestingly, the history of settler colonialism in Namibia is not that different. Even though descendants of German settlers do not (visibly) feature in contemporary national politics, their grip on vast agrarian space and natural resources in Namibia remains tight. Further complicated by its annexation by South Africa, its experience of the apartheid regime and its independence in 1990, issues pertaining to land, language and national identity remain contested terrains. Before addressing the particulars of that debate in the Namibian context, let me just finish this section with a last proposal recently put forward to provide ancestors a resting place in Namibia.

During the symposium "Heritage deferred?" which took place in the former home of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum in Dahlem in November 2018, Bennett Kangumu, academic consultant for the Namibian Heritage Council, mentioned discussions being held for a future museum on Okakoverua, mostly known as Shark Island. This peninsula, located near Luderitz, a town whose name celebrates the swindler who founded the colony of

GSWA, Adolf Lüderitz, is particularly known for having hosted one of the concentration camps erected to punish the Nama and Herero resistance. It is in the concentration camp on Okakoverua that Nama Captain and anticolonial leader Cornelius Fredericks died. Unlike many members of his community, the !Ama from Bethany in the ǁKaras region, Fredericks was buried and his grave still stands. If the project for developing this heritage site into a museum gets approval, Kangumu holds that it would probably be picked as a new fitting place to host the skulls of repatriated Herero and Nama ancestors. On the one hand, it would partially answer to Festus Muundjua's call for symbolically reuniting some skulls with the rest of their bodies, though not in the Swakopmund cemetery. On the other hand, important questions arise: will Herero and Nama people have to pay entry fees to visit the place where their ancestors were murdered, and where they now lay? Besides, Luderitz lies at least 250km away from the centres of traditional Nama territories such as Bethany, Keetmanshoop or Koës, and more than 600km away from the home of the Khaiǁkhaun (Red Nation) at Hoachanas. It is even further remote from traditional Herero land (Okakarara, Otjimbingwe, Omaruru) and pivotal sites of Herero memory (Okahandja, Swakopmund). Therefore, will the communities be involved in the process of administrating such a heritage site even though they are hardly represented in its local social environment? Will they at least participate in the curatorial process? Regarding decision-making processes in the heritage sector, let us not forget what Simon Gikandi argued in a reflection on African economic subjectivities: in discussions over the agency of Africans in political, economic and cultural spheres, the "voices of the governed" are rarely heard and their languages are continuously ignored. Further, empirical knowledge on local and national structures remains "heavily mediated by elites and other native informants" (xv). These are crucial issues to be considered so that the promise of a national heritage site is not later rendered bitter because of little (or the absence of) empowering downstream impact on the concerned communities.[15]

Rethinking the postcolonial nation through repatriation

These debates obviously touch upon an elephant in the African political room: the nation and its heterogeneity. The following section will attempt to bring forward a productive way of thinking about the *patria* in repatriation, the homeland of returned ancestors. Moving away from concepts emanating from politico-legal understandings of state heritage, I will privilege Partha Chatterjee's argument for the central role of community and communities in the democratic process and try to frame it in the Namibian context. Mahmood Mamdani's study of African postcolonial nation-states will also support such a move. In a wish to provincialize the term "nation" and its locale of inception, and to counter hegemonic claims in the Global North for the universality of "doctrines [that] were produced in complete ignorance of the histories of other parts of the world" (Chatterjee, 238), I believe that only understandings of the postcolonial nation from postcolonial and post-independence locales can help shed light upon other postcolonial and post-independence contexts. Having triggered, and being currently enmeshed in geopolitical debates on recognition, representation and reparation, the return of ancestors to Namibia complicates understandings of 'authorial societies' and 'homeland' in repatriation practice. By foregrounding the voices of the governed and assessing critically the rhetoric of national homecoming, I believe that the afterlives of Herero and Nama ancestors can become a blueprint to pave the way for reconsiderations of the role of nation-states, their discursive agents, and their symbolic translations in processes of repatriation. I will start by linking Namibian rhetoric of the nation to Partha Chatterjee's vision of domains of anti-colonial imagination. In argumentative framework similar to that of Ellie Hamrik and Haley Duschinski, I will finally assess the impact of economic disempowerment and land appropriation in Namibia and show to what extent Namibia remains a colonial space and call for a process of postcolonial justice and reparation that recognize the paramount importance of land, access to water and a reconsideration of so-called 'development' aid.

Challenges of the postcolonial nation-state

In the late twentieth century, reflecting on Benedict Anderson's foundational study of how nations are imagined before being shaped through the existence of institutions, Partha Chatterjee wondered: if (as Anderson posited) postcolonial nations are solely mirroring imaginaries of the nation born in the Western world, "what do they have left to imagine?" (5). From this objection, Chatterjee fragmentised the imagination of nations in the postcolony. He identified domains of analogy to Western modular models, as well as domains of difference. To him, the binary paradigm of "material" and "spiritual" cultures exemplifies the dialectics of anti-colonial nationalism. On the one hand, material spheres of state-led economy, science and technology are realms where postcolonial nations follow the traced genealogy of Western nations. On the other hand, the spiritual as "inner" domains of cultural identity (e.g. language, religion, aesthetics, literature, family) are spheres where postcolonial nations imagine themselves as distinctive from colonising nations. While Chatterjee's theory is strongly backed by studies of the Indian subcontinent and Indonesia, his argument appears at first sight ill-suited to both the extensive influence of Christianism and Islam on the African continent, as well as the lingering influence of English, French, Portuguese and Arabic in many African countries. I wrote "appears", because despite the ubiquity of these colonial regimes of religious and linguistic imposition, it is undeniable that some of these inner spheres of cultural identity contend with national institutions. State apparatuses that continue to shape colonised minds by pushing colonial, neo-colonial and neoliberal agendas are held in check by societal imaginings of new African nations, which still rely and lean on anticolonial discourses. These are found in all domains abovementioned, as well as in the disciplines of heritage and memory such as historiography and museology.

In Tanzania, for instance, anti-colonial resistance and postcolonial nation-building conflate in the party TANU; Enoch Sotonga's *Nkosi Sikel' iAfrika* was adapted to become the national anthem *Mungu ibariki Afrika*; Kiswahili is largely used as an administrative language; and the works of Ebrahim Hussein, Shaabaan bin Robert and Julius Nyerere have buttressed the poetics and politics of Tanzanian literature and social life, anchored in Ujamaa, a central feature in TANU's vision for a communal, socialist African nation. All these have epitomized a particular model for postcolonial nation-building which has been regarded as particularly successful (see Mamdani, 2012, 108-119; Mukwedeya, 11). With the repeal of the African Chief Ordinance Act in 1963, the nation-state vowed to replace tribalism and ethnocentrism with local councils and incorporate local communities within TANU (ibid, 12). Those policies both contributed to decolonising Tanzanian politics as well as strengthening national cohesion through democratic participation and inclusion of rural areas in the political process of decision-making (Mamdani, 2012, 119-123). In Namibia and South Africa, the place granted to actors of anti-apartheid and anti-colonial struggles in public discourse is a prime example of this differential imaginary of the postcolonial nation as anti-segregationist and anti-racist. Nevertheless, the recognition of local councils and communities in a bottom-up model like Ujamaa has not occurred in Namibia. As shown in the previous section, a strong rhetoric of assimilation has dominated the post-independence era. The heterogeneity of its communities has only started to be acknowledged on a state level.

Secondly, Namibia's independence and its aftermath have been dominated by nation-building policies which have failed to weave together the motley fabric of Namibian social life. The reforms of symbols (anthem, flag, landmarks and memorials)[16] – the spiritual aestethics of the nation – have not been followed up by profound transformations in political, administrative and educational spheres. As John Makal Lilemba and Yonah Hisbon Matemba note, while political power has been bogarted by Black elites, educational policies have paradoxically privileged a Eurocentric model in which English occupies the terrain as an exclusive lingua franca, relegating indigenous languages and their speakers to the margins. Therefore, even in "inner" domains of cultural identity, such as education and language, the governmental policy in Namibia remained subject to "cosmetic changes" (286), make-up that poorly conceals how white privilege has been further reinforced by curricula, disciplinary institutions (in its Foucauldian sense), and through the reproductive concentration of economic, cultural and social capital.

The heavy legacy left by decades of racial segregation also ought to be taken into account. In his comprehensive critique of African postcolonial states, Mahmood Mamdani showed how the colonial construction and dialectics of "race" and "ethnicity" during colonial rule still lies at the heart of many crises in current African states. "Race" was indeed attached to "civil law" and "spoke the language of rights"; "ethnicity" to "customary law" and "spoke the language of tradition, of authenticity" (2001, 654). While "race" structured the apartheid administration of South-West Africa before independence, the restriction ascribed to matters of ethnicity or language is still topical in Namibia where powerful rhetorics opposing 'forward-looking' national homogeneity to 'divisive' ethnic heterogeneity are often invoked by state spokespersons. The speech by former Minister of Education Katrina Hanse-Himarwa during the repatriation ceremony on 29th August 2018 is a fitting example. In the first minute of her long response to critical statements by Vekuii Rukoro (Ovaherero Traditional Authority) and Gaob Petrus Simon M. Kooper (Nama Traditional Authorities Association), she reminded her standing here as a representative of the government, but also as herself, a descendant of both Herero and

Nama ancestors. This would be, however, the only mention of any ethnicity in her 35-minute speech. After that, she promptly re-asserted the fact that the government delegation were "nobody's puppets" and had a full mandate from the "sovereign government of the Republic of Namibia". Her rhetoric traced a direct genealogy between the ancestors repatriated on that day and the liberation struggle, their fight being "the legacy where we, the government and the children of Namibia, have drawn upon strength and bravery from".[17] She – who would less than a year later be found guilty of corruption charges – knowingly renounced from using the words "Herero" and "Nama", and so discursively rubbed out any claims to tradition authority bestowed Namibian citizenship to the dead. Her speech illustrates how

> the modern state […] cannot recognize within its jurisdiction any form of community except the single, determinate, demographically enumerable form of the nation. It must therefore subjugate, if necessary by the use of state violence, all such aspirations of community identity. These other aspirations, in turn, can give to themselves a historically valid justification only by claiming an alternative nationhood with rights to an alternative state (Chatterjee, 238).

Against that statist appropriation of the genocides, Larissa Förster already described how, before any repatriation had taken place, Herero politican Katuutire Kaura actually contributed to a "re-ethnicisation of memory" as he instrumentalised the remembrance ceremony of the Ohamakari Day in the nineties for political purposes (2010, 262). Nevertheless, SWAPO and its Herero faction[18] has failed to show genuine support to the demands by the other OvaHerero groups and their traditional authority even though the National Assembly supported a motion in 2006 which recognised the atrocities as genocide, and therefore acknowledged the particular status of the OvaHerero as victims. As members of the Namibian government seem to rub off this particular context, I will extend this critique of national politics of remembrance by unveiling the multiple areas where the OvaHerero and Nama should be recognised as having been particularly affected as nations.

Nations within the nation: political and cultural identity in the postcolonial state

In trying to move beyond distinctions of race and ethnicity, Mamdani finally opts for a need to define "political communities […] not by a common past but by a resolve to forge a common future under a single political roof, regardless of how different or similar their pasts may be" (2001, 661).[19] However, one should not forget that many German-

Namibians still linger in blatant denial of this common past and still relinquish from working through the violent acts perpetuated by some of their ancestors. At the same time, Herero and Nama communities naturally seek a political recognition of their African subjectivities by asserting their "wounded identities" on the global scene, as Achille Mbembe might put it (266). More importantly for future processes of reconciliation, the German-Namibian community remains quite oblivious to the ways in which colonialism has affected power relations on a long term basis until now and for decades to come. This is exemplified by the responses given by readers of the main German-Namibian newspaper *Allgemeine Zeitung* to a survey on land reform published in the first week of June 2019: not only were the two answers suggested biased against any argument for land expropriation,[20] only 7% of the survey's participants agreed that "yes, it is time to give back to indigenous people the land that was stolen from them" (Allgemeine Zeitung, my translation). Finally, the dominating political force in the Namibian parliament resides besides in a majority of Ovambo politicians. Claims for land redistribution thereby remain on the agenda but not addressed head on through a recognition of the special status of Herero and Nama communities as political stakeholders whose land was robbed by German settlers and whose people were intentionally exterminated.

As the question of land starts creeping up in this text, it is important to remind of Chatterjee's argument that the material spheres of economic empowerment seem to mostly follow a colonial/Western model of imagining the nation. Yet, land can also be considered as pertaining to the inner sphere of cultural identity, as Zionists would certainly argue. Besides, it seems too easy to associate materiality with coloniality via the argument of capitalist accumulation. Calls for the repartition of resources among the population are not always coupled with an interest in taking part in the market as an entrepreneur. Sometimes, it is just a matter of survival. Furthermore, the process of colonial dispossession has actually engendered an enduring state of structural disempowerment. Therefore, claims for the return of property in the hands of those who had it before Europeans landed on the shores of Herero and Nama land are inherently decolonial. They refuse the lingering inequalities that resulted from colonial occupation. In the case of the Herero and Nama genocides, claims for the return of human remains and genuine apologies contribute to a new imagination of nations within nations, recognising communities as partners that could see eye to eye with the Federal Republic of Germany.

Related claims for reparations unsettle Chatterjee's model and push for further discussion regarding the neocolonial role of the postcolonial nation-state. In sectors such as economic cooperation, agriculture and land ownership or water management, the legacy of colonial rule has left scars. Those continue to define who qualifies as a partner with foreign investment, who is eligible for financial support, and who remains excluded from national and international schemes for social and economic advancement.

The struggle for apologies and reparations for the genocide does not only concern the recognition of the concerned communities as legitimate political partners. One of the central demands by Herero and Nama activists is the redistribution of resources. The position of Namibia as a recipient of postcolonial development aid is also being strongly attacked in this debate, more especially how the government "mobilizes its Ovambo voter base through preferential allocation of development aid and other resources" (Hamrik & Duschinski, 4). Germany has invested more than $13 billion in projects and infrastructure in Namibia since its independence in 1990. This amount is defended by discourse on the website of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. It says: Germany has a "special historic and moral responsibility" for this investment, and this argument has led to a popular belief in Germany that development aid equals reparation for the genocides. But the ministry's website does not even dare to mention the word "genocide" (BMZ). This investment is besides channelled through and benefits already established business partners (and even sometimes Namibian subsidiaries answering to German companies).[21] It seldom supports grassroots economic empowerment as the hurdles for acquiring such financial support are often too high for local businesses. In 2017, about 40% of the Namibian population still lived below the $3.61/day poverty line (Chambonnier, 252). The way foreign investment has been spent in Namibian infrastructure for sustainable development seems therefore to be relatively inefficient in tackling economic inequalities.

Land, water and toxic rivers of coloniality in Namibia

As settler colonial space, the toxic rivers of coloniality definitely run deep in Namibia. German occupation and the apartheid administration have had a long-term impact on Namibian society. Before dispossession and genocide, the Ovaherero were wealthy and skilful cattle herders. They occupied what they viewed as communal land, even allowing some German settlers to cultivate it in the early stages of colonial rule. Through undeniable use of deception and violence and in less than twenty years, Herero people were dispossessed by the German colonial government and German settlers of the land they used to breed their cattle (see Gewald & Silvester, 89-92; also Drechsler, 117-9). The Nama were also deceived by cunning colonial tactices when Adolf Lüderitz bought off land from Bethanie Captain !Korebeb-||Naixas Joseph Fredericks. The German businessman (purportedly?) failed to mention that German miles were six times bigger than their British counterpart, taking control of land that the Nama had never wanted to sell in the first place. Governor Leutwein later forced several Nama nations to sign so-called "treaties of protection", putting them under allegiance to the German Empire and thereby allowing the unilateral appropriation of their land by the imperial government (see Drechsler, 111-3). With its violent imposition of Bantustans and restricted freedom of movement, the apartheid regime used geographical division to implement racial discrimination and segregation which resulted in appalling inequalities and reshaped the demography.

From dispossession to reserves and Bantustans, a century of colonial and racist policies forms the backdrop to the history of inequality in Namibia. Now, the country's outrageous Gini Index – approaching that of its neighbour, South Africa – demonstrates how wealth, property and land are concentrated in the hands of a white minority and an even smaller group of Black economic and political elites (see Kössler 2015, 40; Mukwedeya, 18; Sylvain 92-94). As Wolfgang Werner has retraced, this imbalance of power in land ownership has roots in German colonial administration. He noted that "by 1902 only 31.4 million hectares (38 per cent) of the total land area of 83.5 million hectares remained in black hands. White settlers had acquired 3.7 million hectares, concession companies 29.2 million hectares and the colonial administration 19.2 million" (Werner, 138). What is more, "in Namibia today whites 'own' areas many blacks still consider to be their ancestral land. Even where this sad state of affairs is not complemented by the dependent position of an indigenous farm labourer, the situation serves as a constant reminder of the historic loss and trauma" (Kössler 2015, 100).

This history has left an indelible legacy until today, especially in the agricultural sector. A simple browse through the 2017-2018 Namibian Agricultural Union report already reveals that its executive council is entirely composed of white German and Afrikaner farmers. A quick visual analysis of this document easily shows that Black Namibians are mostly invisible and, when mentioned, they remain de-individualised, depicted as a collective. A short section of the report on “labour” is the only instance where a Black person is represented. A photograph of seven Black workers in blue overalls standing in a fenced field (four of them actually leaning forward to work the bushes) shamelessly stands next to paragraphs informing that the minimum wage has been increased (to N$4,62 per hour!) and that the year has witnessed “stability and peace” between commercial farmers and the labourers (NAU/NLU, 25).

Mamdani has taken the example of South Africa to demonstrate how apartheid still influences post-independent structures of law. He rhetorically asks: “if the legal definition of nonnatives was as citizens governed under civic law and of natives as tribespersons governed under customary law, would it be an exaggeration to say that the postapartheid transition has given us a nonracial apartheid?” (2001, 662). In its neighbouring Namibia, the realm of civic law is yet to be de-colonised: when it comes to “entitlements” (such as access to land), racialized and neocolonial processes of constructing indigeneity through civic law grant descendants of German settlers the same status as Indigenous Black Africans. The “willing buyer – willing seller” principle for land clearly dodges a needed distinction between descendants of Indigenous populations and descendants of settlers.

The short documentary *Germans in Namibia – Apartheid Continues* offers another critical engagement with touching upon land reform, but also more importantly, the issue of water supply. Featuring Herero activist Laidlaw Periganda, who leads the journalist in the informal settlements of Swakopmund, it becomes clear that the same town that still hosts a glorifying memorial for Germans killed during the war (see Zuern) also exhibits appalling standards of racial inequality in access to basic means of subsistence. Colonial policies of water management during the apartheid regime already “heavily exploited subterranean aquifers and surface-level water resources for the purpose of supplying the water needs of white-run commercial livestock farms and their own mining concerns” (Hossain & Helao, 202). Since independence, despite a significant increase in water supply for Namibians as a result of government spending, many communities, especially in rural areas, are still unequally distributed, mostly dependent on the distance between their home and the closest water supply services. While the Namibian Water Corporation NAMWATER is responsible for water supply to local communities, it also works closely in partnership with the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry, itself the target of strong lobby by landowners. Supply to some local councils has been structurally neglected, and the limited budget allocated to those authorities forces them to aim for profit. As a study in the northern (Ovambo) region of Omusati has shown, local services "have an underlying commercial objective guided by a privatisation agenda" (Hossain & Helao, 206). As a result, commercial farmland (even owned by absentee farmers) enjoys abundant water supply while townships and rural communities struggle. The threat of heavier and more frequent droughts in the next decades will hopingly compel Namibian authorities to reconsider systems of water supply, as land redistribution might finally be discussed as a central demand in negotiations for reparations for the genocide. Since Namibia's independence in 1990, neither the National Land Conference (1991), nor the Land Reform Act (1995), the Communal Land Reform Act (2005) or the 2016 Land Bill have tackled the issue of redistributing ancestral land to its rightful owners, a debate that should include the possibility for communal land utilisation or systems of transhumance (Nakuta, 403-4).[22]

In light of this state of affairs, a deep rethinking of the state of Namibia and its supposed "One Nation" is needed. As a settler colonial space that has inherited inequalities and conflict from both the German colonial era and the apartheid regime, present-day politics of recognition and land redistribution are intricate. After more than a century, the return of ancestors to Namibia – and not to their original land – has forced museums and governments to legitimize their positions as caretakers regarding the politics of repatriation and reconciliation. However, I argue that as long as the concerned Herero and Nama communities are not considered as natural stakeholders in discussing the fate of their ancestors and the form that reparations should take, the coloniality of power continues to reign. After having decorticated the "imagined community" that the postcolonial nation proposes, and problematized this discourse with regard to women, outcasts and its state apparatuses, Partha Chatterjee has refused to propose an alternative model to the state-society conception. He simply asked for stepping away from binaries and distinctions between "'good' or 'bad' nationalism" (238), and pushed for a plural understanding of communities within the nation. When those "seek determinate existence precisely in 'property' and 'representation' through collectively recognized heads", they go against dominant narrative of having individual subjects within the nation (231-2). As members of civil society, they have intervened and influence state policy all over the globe in many different contexts of state power and nation-building. I concur that state discourse and supranational instances should start to recognize openly the work done by those multiple communities in holding state violence in check and pushing for the recognition of universal and particular rights for heterogeneous people of the nation. In the Namibian context, this would mean rethinking foreign politics and economic treaties and *at least* consult interest groups that have been underprivileged due to a damaging history of colonial violence and segregation. This can only be done by acknowledging both the "spiritual" and "material" claims for recognition voiced by communities, understanding that colonialism and genocide have structurally disempowered the Herero and Nama nations, and has had repercussions throughout the apartheid era as well as after independence. It would also mean reflecting on the status of ancestors, not as bodily remains, but as members of the Herero and Nama nations, people who lived on and cultivated Herero and Nama land. Only such reflection can help governmental agents find the courage to become pioneers in drafting creative policy for land redistribution. This could bring about groundbreaking ethics of decolonizing a postcolonial state and become a spearheading example for a postcolonial and post-genocide process of reconciliation.

The Hosea Kutako University: Decolonial Genocide Studies?

Such ambitious reforms for the recognition of communities within the postcolonial nation-state require deep discussions on the areas that need be urgently decolonised. While institutions of knowledge have structurally contributed to foment colonial and racist thought, some have also proven to pioneer reflections on the coloniality of power. Besides, the emergence of Indigenous universities and research centres worldwide has helped foregrounding local knowledge, regulating its access and protecting it from neoliberal appropriation. As mentioned in the last chapter, some Keeping Places in Australia, like the AIATSIS in Canberra, are knowledge centres where Indigenous curators and scientists work to retrieve and care for the treasured know-how and epistemologies that are particular to given Indigenous Australian cultures. They work in partnership with other governmental institutions, challenging modern colonial thought in research projects dealing with Indigenous knowledge and culture. In Ecuador, the Intercultural University of Peoples and Nationalities Amawtay Wasi has acted as "a space for epistemic and pedagogical self-determination" against forced assimilation in a state education system that suppresses subaltern cosmovisions in a system that has been qualified as "epistemic apartheid" (von Sigsfeld). Closer now, in South Africa, the apartheid administration and its legacy have fuelled inequalities in higher education and supported a stance on African history that still relied on colonial and racist frameworks (see Seepe, 126). The University of the Western Cape, though, has continuously condemned and acted against segregation and enduring inequalities. To no surprise, it is from this university that decolonial scholars of history like Ciraj Rassool or Premesh Lalu have developed their timely critique of the museum and the archive. In the tradition of their now canonical reworkings of those colonial institutions, the 2018 issue of the UWC journal of history *Kronos* sought to bridge "the missing/missed body of apartheid-era atrocities and the racialised body of the colonial museum" (Rousseau, Moosage & Rassool, 10).

Also in 2018, the Herero community led by Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro launched the Hosea Kutako University, a future institution of higher education that will specialize in genocide studies. As the HKU is still in its inception phase, no proper analysis of their ethics, politics and achievements can be here provided. This project is nonetheless part of a will by some members of the Herero community to foster greater acknowledgement of their history and uphold their status as "authorial society" over the writing of this particular history of violence. Upset that negotiations for apologies and reparations have been held "about them, without them", the founders of the HKU wish to stay true to this motto in other spheres of influence and encourage grassroots narratives of history. This new institution, dedicated to working through the history of the Herero and Nama genocides from the perspective of the concerned communities, appears as an attempt to re-centre academic discourse on the genocides and implement capacity building by and for the community. This project obviously hinges upon non-statist sources of income to challenge the monopoly of state-funded Namibian universities and propose an alternative space for community empowerment and knowledge-building. It fits with a diverse understanding of the Namibian nation, allowing the perspective of Nama and Herero community members to remain in dialogue and evolve through grassroots effort for research. The institution also mirrors a wish to sanction their particular knowledge and perspectives by granting them positions of authority in steering a collective determination for working through this painful history.

The namesake chosen for this university is also not coincidental. Hosea Kutako (or Katjikurume in Otjiherero), former Paramount Chief of the Ovaherero, a.k.a. Hosea Mungunda, has been one of the most renowned Herero leaders since the death of Samuel Maharero in 1923. Foreign visitors learn his name as soon as they land at Windhoek International Airport. Born in 1870, his lifetime and experience spanned pre-colonial Hereroland, German occupation, South African occupation and the apartheid regime. He fought during the 1904-1908 war, was wounded twice, and lost his father and his brother. He was captured after Samuel Maharero went into exile and escaped from a concentration camp in Omaruru. After the genocide, Kutako obtained a positon as a school teacher at the Rhenish mission in Omaruru (see Gewald, 87-90). He became headman of the Hereros in Windhoek in 1917 and was recognized by Maharero's son Frederick[23] as his father's intendant in Namibia until Maharero could return. In the end, Samuel Maharero died in 1923 in Serowe, present-day Botswana. Shortly after his body was repatriated and laid to rest in Okahandja, the South African administration started forcing Indigenous people to move into reserves. Hosea Kutako, like many fellow landless Ovaherero, was interned in the Aminuis Reserve. He retained the role of a mediator for the rights and demands of Herero people. Already in 1933, he courageously and explicitly told the appointed Secretary for South West Africa, H.P. Smit: "we are the people that are born in this country and who are the owners of this territory" (Kutako, qtd in Gewald, 109). In 1946, Hosea Kutako opposed the integration of South West Africa in the Union and petitioned the United Nations. He thereby paved the way for the recognition of colonial oppression on the international scene, but was denied permission to travel to New York or London to plead for the liberation of Namibia from an increasingly white supremacist South Africa (see Gewald, 106). Kutako's worries would prove to be valid when the National Party took over white politics in South Africa in 1948. Figures like John Vorster and Hendrik Verwoerd, who would have rather seen a Nazi victory in the Second World War, fast tracked to top positions in the South African administration. Conversely, German-Namibian Heinrich Vedder, who had endorsed white supremacist ideology and supported Nazi Germany during the Second World War, "quickly veered [...] to advocating Namibia's incorporation into South Africa" in 1945, letting down Ovaherero who had previously been sympathetic to his position against South African dominance (Kössler 2015, 107-8). The entanglements of German colonialism with Nazi Germany, summed up by Jürgen Zimmerer's phrase "from

Windhoek to Auschwitz", are now irrefutable. But Hosea Kutako and those white supremacists have also stretched those entanglements further, from the genocides to the Holocaust, to apartheid South Africa. The 1962 Odendaal Commission, which implemented apartheid policy in South West Africa and was explicitly rejected by Kutako, would indeed provide the dire context of his last years alive. He died in 1970 in the Aminuis Reserve and, like former Paramount Chiefs of the Ovaherero Samuel Maharero and Tjamuaha, was buried in Okahandja. As the ambassador for this university project, Kutako's figure reminds that the genocides cannot be remembered without remembering their long term legacy. As one of the representatives of Herero communities in the 1910s, Kutako was interviewed by a South African commission, appointed to report on the treatment of Africans by German colonialists. The report, also known as the *Blue Book*, includes testimonies that are crucial for the memory of colonial oppression against the Ovaherero and Nama. Kutako's testimony includes a section on the importance of burial places for the Ovaherero and the desecration of those sacred places by German settlers.

Hosea Mungunda

Affidavit also signed in corroboration by Barmenias Zerua (son of the late chief of the Otjimbingwe Hereros), Nickanor Kanungatji (nephew of the late chief Kahimema), Leonard Gautheta (nephew of the late chief Nikodemus), Hugo Tjetjoo (nephew of the late chief Tjetjoo), Elias Gorambuka (nephew of the late chief Kamaherero)
(see Gewald & Silvester, 86, 92)

Our burial places or graveyards were set aside as sacred and holy ground. We selected groves of green trees (evergreen trees if possible) for our burial places and then all trees there were holy and consecrated. No Herero would dare to damage or cut the trees in a burial place. Our two greatest leaders, Kamaherero and his father Katjamuaha, were buried together near Okahandja in a specially selected burial ground under beautiful green trees on the riverbank. It was the most sacred place in the whole country to all Hereros. The place was fenced off and constantly attended to by the people. The Germans came; they cut down all the beautiful trees and they turned the sacred burial place into a vegetable garden. They appropriated the place as private property and no Herero could go there, as he would be prosecuted for trespass. We were terribly upset at this and protested against what we regarded as sacrilege. Our chiefs complained to the authorities, but no notice was taken.

Part 2

THE GENOCIDES IN MULTIDIRECTIONAL AND COSMOPOLITAN MEMORY

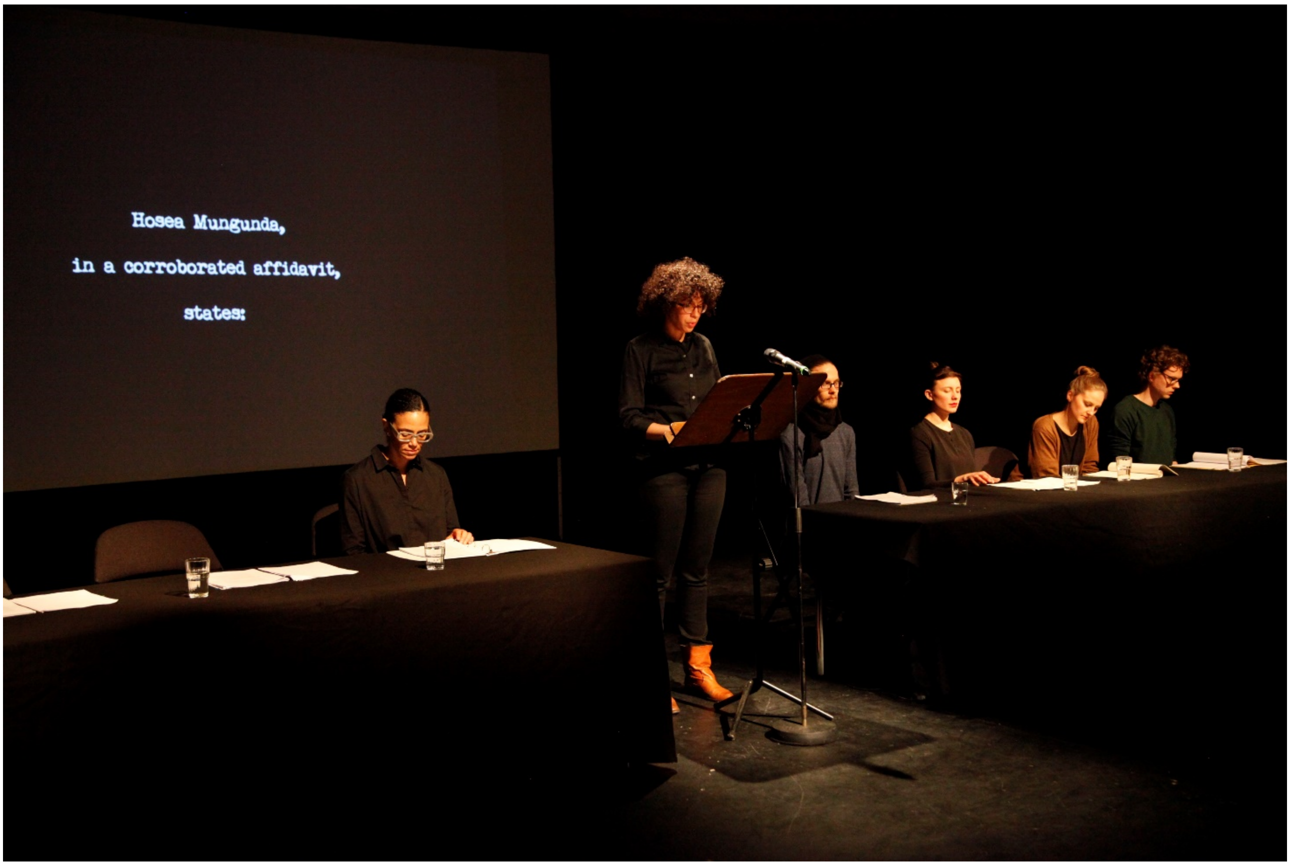
HOW COCO FUSCO AND THE COURT CASE HAVE SHAPED TRANSNATIONAL REMEMBRANCE

If Hosea Kutako was denied permission to leave the territory to petition the United Nations in person, his words, like those of Hendrik Witbooi and Samuel Maharero, would make their way to Berlin in 2017. This testimony was indeed read aloud as part of an artistic performance called *Words May Not Be Found* by Cuban-American contemporary artist Coco Fusco. Moving to contexts of memory located overseas, as in the U.S. and Germany, this second section will deal with the genocides in transnational networks of remembrance, taking this performance as an interesting archetype. Coco Fusco's intervention indeed exemplifies how the histories of ancestors summon multidirectional and cosmopolitan practices of remembering the genocides.

In 2014, the return of human remains to Namibia had been extensively reported on, as two repatriations had already taken place. This news item had reached out to political subjects that were soon to become involved in the debate over the acknowledgement of this history of violence and genocide. After hearing about the repatriations, Coco Fusco started delving into the archives.[24] Members of the Berlin KW Institute for Contemporary Art approached her, asking for her contribution to their series *The Weekends*, inspired by South African artist Ian Wilson's recognition of language and dialogue as a form of art. Coco Fusco therefore constructed a coherent succession of texts, acts and testimonies that covered colonial and genocidal moments in GSWA, from its intellectual inception to the postcolonial destruction of traces.

She was eager to revive silenced voices found in the *Blue Book*, which extensively reported on the brutal treatment of Herero and Nama people, a selection of testimonies compiled by officials from the Union of South Africa. This report was used at the end of the First World War to support the annexation of former GSWA by the Union after a probable victory of the Entente. As Jan-Bart Gewald and Jeremy Silvester describe in their revised edition of the Blue Book called *Words Cannot Be Found*, "the most powerful evidence in the Blue Book are the statements made by eye-witnesses and the report was unusual in the prominence that it gave to African voices" (xviii). In 1926 though, the South West Africa Legislative Assembly ordered for all copies of that report to be destroyed. Marouf Hasian Jr maintained that this policy had been motivated by "the prioritizing of racial harmony [among whites] through the forgetting of the loss of tens of thousands of lives", reuniting European settlers who had fought against one another during World War I, and erasing written evidence on the genocides related from an African perspective (4; see also Gewald & Silvester, xiii-xv, xxx-xxxii). The British Foreign Office was the only one habilitated to keep copies of that report, but even those were placed under lock and key.

Coco Fusco integrated those testimonies in her performance *Words May Not Be Found*, a montage of twenty-nine different sources that constructed a narrative on the colonisation of present-day Namibia by the German Empire. The reading performance started with a pre-Berlin Congo Conference text that had strongly supported a call for colonial effort in German society.[25] It included a powerful exchange of letters between Major Leutwein and Nama Chief Hendrik Witbooi. This helped present an image of Witbooi as an experienced military tactician as well as a righteous figure endowed with wit and unbending confidence in his own ethics. The multitude of texts in the reader addressed the occupation of GSWA with its multiple forms of oppression: the credit system impoverishing cattle owners; the unabashed claims by German farmers over land on which Ovaherero people were already living; the retaliation against people refusing so-called "German protection"; rapes and murders of African women; the outbreak of war; von Trotha's extermination order; the slaughter of women and children; the concentration camps; and the accounts of Namibians who had fought for the German military and witnessed war crimes and inhuman treatment. It ended with the 1926 Resolution by the South-West Africa Legislative Assembly to destroy every version of that report on the treatment of Herero and Nama people by German colonial forces.


Hosea Mungunda,
in a corroborated affidavit,
states:

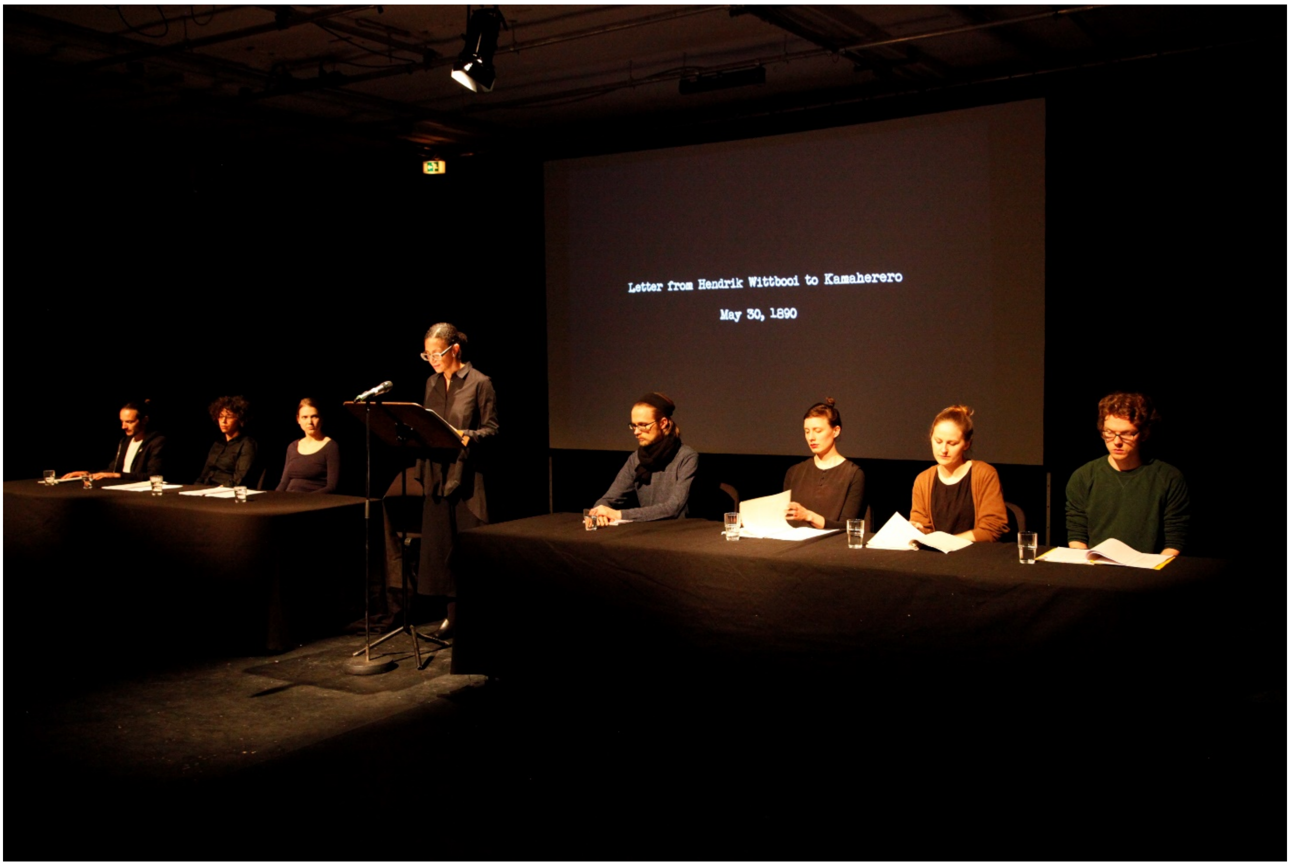

Letter from Hendrik Wittbooi to Kamaherero
May 30, 1890

Fig. 6 & 7: *Words May Not Be Found* at the Sophiensaele in Berlin on 11th March 2017. Coco Fusco stands at the desk on the second photograph (Photos: KW Institute for Contemporary Art).

In January 2017, Fusco was searching for volunteers for the performance. I received her mail thanks to fellow colleagues and activists. After having expressed my interest, I asked her what her positionality in the debate was, being a New York based Cuban-American artist, and whether she had contacted members of the Herero community in Germany. She replied that she regarded the performance as a gesture of "solidarity" with the Herero and Nama in their struggle for acknowledgement: "They are bringing their claims before the world and it is time to remember why. This history belongs to Europe as well as Africa, to whites as well as Blacks. Many of those who gave testimony were not Nama or Herero".[26] She was also in contact with Israel Kaunatjike, a prominent Herero activist in Berlin, and took a guided tour through the African Quarter in Berlin after the performance in order to learn more about traces of German colonialism in the capital's urban landscape. This work by a Cuban-American artist, performing in Berlin an archive that was built from the multiple perspectives of African subjects and put up by the British, calls for two concepts in Michael Rothberg's theory of transnational memory and solidarity: first, an analysis of her position as an "implicated subject" and secondly, an understanding of this artistic performance as multidirectional.

Coco Fusco as an 'implicated subject'

The preparation for the performance involved much self-reflexive questioning. Who are we to convey the voices of victims of colonisation and genocide? How would such a performance fit in the global outcry for the recognition of the OvaHerero and Nama's positions as central agents for discussing matters of justice and reparation? How should we read? Which tone should be adopted?

Some of these interrogation re-surfaced immediately after the performance: the first question in the discussion that followed was posed by the poet, artist and activist Michael Küppers-Adebisi. He asked Coco Fusco what her casting politics for the project were, hinting at the obvious Europeanness/whiteness of our team: apart from Fusco, we were a participatory crew of four white Germans, one Afro-German, one white Australian, one white French (I), all living in Germany. She answered first by reiterating her position of solidarity with the communities' claims for recognition in official negotiations. She also reminded that not all testimonies compiled were those of victims: there were letters by

Imperial Commissioners Curt von Francois and Theodor Leutwein. The *Blue Book* also contained powerful testimonies of African soldiers fighting for the German side, who witnessed crimes and atrocities committed by the Germans against Herero and Nama people. Besides, the report had been for a long time largely overlooked in public acknowledgment of those genocides in Germany. Finally, she repeated her belief in the fact that this history should be part of several communal environments of memory, some of which have failed until today to engage profoundly with the events that took place between 1884 and 1908, such as white German-Namibiansm and, of course, white Europeans. In an interview published three weeks later in the art magazine *Contemporary And*, Fusco stated:

> [A]s a Cuban-American artist I am also looking at this moment in German history as an outsider. I saw connections between the pseudo-scientific studies done on the skulls and other body parts of Africans who rose up against German colonizers and treatment of the black American slave Nat Turner, who led a rebellion in 1831 in Virginia. Nat Turner was executed, flayed and beheaded. His skull was taken for medical study in an attempt to determine how he could have imagined a violent means to obtain freedom (qtd in Al-Qaisi).

Clearly, the term “outsider” herein means everything but watching inactively. Because of those perceived “connections” between seemingly remote histories of violence, not only did Coco Fusco paint an even more global picture of headhunting and colonial anthropology; she also justifies an effort of multidirectional memory of the Herero and Nama genocides, linking it to the physical and scientific oppression of racialised bodies in the United States.

Reading and hearing Coco Fusco’s motivations for putting up this performance, I remembered Michael Rothberg’s notion of the “implicated subject”. In recent years, Rothberg has indeed been interested in those individuals who do not fit in an imaginary of traumatic violence resting on a general division between victims and perpetrators, grappling with those agents of change who, in some cases, seem to care too much to be disinterested. He remarks that there are severe limitations to a polarized imaginary of post-violence environments.

The first two are related, since they are based on the boundedness of categories. Denominations, especially those of ‘victims’ and ‘perpetrators,’ often cannot be distinctively separated. In a psychoanalytical framework dominated by trauma, perpetrators of violence also experience disorders, even stretching to cross-generational inheritance of trauma. Besides, the construction of social, religious or gendered categories outlives the moment of oppression, and the so-called victims of yesterday might turn out to become tomorrow's oppressors. Rothberg's second critique is that some subject positions are ignored by this dichotomy, namely those who "are *entwined with* and *folded into* ("im-pli-cated in") histories and situations that surpass [their] agency as individual subjects" (Rothberg, 2014). A focus on implication thus helps identify some enduring connections and responsibilities through which people that are seemingly distant to a given history of violence become involved, be it willingly or unknowingly.

Finally, Rothberg argues that the imaginary of what traumatic violence is often remains erroneously narrow, addressing forms of attributable violence that tend to eclipse forms of violence that are too pervasive to be pinpointed. He takes the Anthropocene, Rob Nixon's 'slow violence,' as well as climate change as examples, but there is no denying that neo-colonial structures have similarly acted as forms of ubiquitous and institutionalised violence that shape relations between former empires and former colonised subjects. Therefore, considering one's position as "implicated" can foster "robust and politically efficacious forms of self-reflection […]. Such attention also serves to caution us against self-righteousness and to encourage us to acknowledge how we are caught up in the very policies we oppose" (Rothberg 2014).[27]

Yet, racism and power relations often define the rule of who has the capacity to intervene as an implicated subject and who does not. Artists, authors and performers – in text or visual and performance cultures – should therefore render their markers of subjectivity visible, especially when they are predisposed to reproduce Eurocentric perspectives onto histories of colonialism and racism. To Rothberg, his (and Judith Butler's) implicated position as a member of the Jewish diaspora in the United States is at the core of his argument. Turning to non-diasporic subjects, Rothberg has recognised William Kentridge's artworks and Willy Brandt's *Kniefall* as expressions of implication (Rothberg 2013, 47; 2016). He interprets the white South African artist's commitment to remembrance as "shuttling between the claims of the past and the present and excavating evidence of individual and collective implication from sites layered with multidirectional memory" (2013, 57). I interpret Rothberg's commitment to entanglements as followed: an ethics of implication requires a movement to and fro, drawing trajectories between one's own connections to histories of violence and the history of violence one writes about/engages with/relates to/has become implicated with. Such ethics forces committed subjects to take a step back and reflect upon their respective ties to systems of oppression, a move that is especially necessary in the case of colonial histories that have left traces and legacies that shape oppressive politics in the present. On the one hand, it encourages further participation in finding new parallels and distinctions between entangled histories. On the other hand, it forces these subjects to clearly position themselves and engage in introspection regarding their creative impulse and the root of their political motivation, if any.

In the context of *Words*, Coco Fusco's appeal to politics of relation between African-American experiences of racist objectification and German politics of annihilation in GSWA justifies her position as an implicated subject. As an artist who has experienced and worked through past and present histories of racism and oppression, her contribution to public acknowledgment of the genocides is motivated by multidirectional understandings of commonality, as exemplified with the analogy that Fusco drew between the afterlife of anti-slavery dissident Nat Turner and the afterlives of Herero and Nama ancestors. Nat Turner's skull had also been stolen from his grave; it was returned to his descendants in 2016 (see Deetz). While stimulating public attention to multiple interconnected pasts, and raising awareness on the complex ramifications of macro-events like coloniality and neocoloniality, implicated subjects enable processes of redress, atonement, reconciliation to transcend boundaries of time, space, and affect. They contribute to multidirectional remembrance of different contexts, allowing space for analogies and relation between violent pasts and allocating space for joint memory cultures, thus refusing a zero-sum logic driven by competition.

From Guantánamo to Windhoek through multidirectional memory

This multidirectional character was also materialized in Coco Fusco's choice of a format for the performance. *Words May Not Be Found* was indeed directly inspired by *9 Scripts for a Nation in War* (by Andrea Geyer, Sharon Hayes, Ashley Hunt, Katya Sander, and David Thorne), a performance project during which transcripts of interviews of Guantánamo detainees were read aloud by performers. Its original set up had brought forth to the public the voices of subjects who were supposed to remain unheard according to disciplinary and legal guidelines. *Words* thereby stands as a furtherance of the effort undertaken by the curators of *9 Scripts* and an acknowledgment of its potential for adaptation for other contexts. *9 Scripts*, as political work of art, has undeniably contributed to raising awareness on the inhuman conditions of detention implemented by the U.S. military on Cuban sovereign territory. It has also questioned the function of affect in working through violence. Following Jeff Derksen's reading of the art project, the video installation

> derives its scripts from the military tribunals at Guantánamo Bay, as well as from interviews with American soldiers, blog entries from soldiers active in Iraq, and other public logs [...]. Each script circulates around the relationship between speaking and speech, reporting and reportage, writing and position taking, while destabilizing or displacing the narration and positioning generated by the speech or text (73).

Embedded in the context of a 'nation at war' against terror, *9 Scripts* has offered a polyphonic act that sheds light upon some of the war crimes committed there. Diverse voices mediated through video, sound, reading and writing, present multiple perspectives on the matter. The script that particularly inspired Coco Fusco for *Words* was that of the Guantánamo detainees, entitled "Detainee Please tell me when it's my turn to speak because I don't know what's going on here". For that performance, different participants read transcripts of the Combatant Status Review Tribunals, re-enacting hearings that had been kept away from the public. These readings raised awareness among participants and the public on violations of human rights committed by the U.S. military. The use of transcriptions to convey the experience of detention and interrogation appeared as a productive method to convey the voices of detainees. Other artistic methods that offered a platform to the voices of unheard subjects in artistic productions have also been experimented in performances such as Milo Rau's *Congo Tribunal*. [.sAs TTT] Transcriptions and speech, however, could avoid the affect-loaded necropolitical reality of videotaping and photographs of inmates in Guantánamo and Abu Ghraib prisons. Camera shots (and this term is not innocent) of distressing footage, coupled with the power politics of the gaze, have indeed constructed objectified bodies that are often unable to subvert or resist to their dehumanisation. Reading, on the other hand, enables minimal speech acts of resistance to appear in the foreground.

This relation between a precedent work of art and a re-adaptation of its format to another context calls for several parallels to be drawn between Guantánamo and its role in the U.S. "global penal archipelago" and the Herero and Nama genocides. This relational paradigm that has emerged from Fusco's borrowing has unfortunately not been mentioned in the press, neither before, nor in between, nor after the two representations of *Words* in 2017 and 2019. There are, however, clear similarities in the ways through which imperialist military action willingly ostracised individuals they constructed as enemies. I wish here to address this parallel as a contribution to broadening the archive of multidirectional memory of victims of colonialism and imperialism. This connection between the two contexts was not only achieved by the form of the performance: it also evidently invites reflecting on camp cultures in general and racializing assemblages at play in GSWA and in brutal U.S. foreign policy.

Several studies working through the genealogies of colonial and imperialist camps have appeared in the last decade. In this comparative framework, Dan Stone has warned against conflating a multiplicity of oppressive systems of internment under the term "concentration camp" (see 123). To be sure, I am not here insinuating any equality between the resistance of the OvaHerero and Nama and terrorist aspirations of radical Islamists. Rather, I follow the examples set by Javier Rodrigo, Marouf Hasian Jr and Sybille Scheipers (among others) in their comparative studies of systemic internment policy. At the end of his study of camps during the Spanish Civil War, Rodrigo convincingly stated that concentration camps "symbolised the transformation and radicalisation of the politics of occupation, which extended from the treatment of political prisoners and prisoners of war to the deportation of civilians, from forced labour in extreme conditions to the hunger and misery occupied people were subjected to" (563). Scheipers further argued that even though detention facilities differ from earlier internment facilities because of their failure to implement population control in the demographic and geographic sense of the term, they are both nonetheless instruments of exclusion that seek to suppress the rule of law for a targeted population. In this way, population control is understood in a different meaning: through reckless discipline and punishment regulating their behaviour and generating traumata among victims (as well as perpetrators) (see 693). Though quite distant from each other temporally, both contexts epitomize the intrinsic racialisation of non-white bodies in the "state of exception", be it the 1904-08 war or the "war on terror". Furthermore, as Guantánamo, Abu Ghraib and the Parwan Detention Facility operate as U.S. detention centres overseas, on territories where U.S. sovereignty is *de jure* non existent, the erection of concentration camps in

GSWAsimilarly exemplifies the ramifications of a state’s disciplinary apparatus in overseas territories. Since 2002 and the establishment of the detention camp in Guantánamo Bay, the 1903 Lease Agreement has been exploited for perpetuating war crimes outside the borders of the United States, even though Cuba officially enjoys legal sovereignty over the zone controlled by the US. These two historically distant context are both relevant instances of double standards with regard to human rights, where statist and military apparatuses shamelessly implement in annexed territories what they would seldom dare to put in practice within the borders of their metropole.

s Hannah Arendt has declared, one of the measures to “kill the juridical person” was by “placing the concentration camp outside the normal penal system, and by selecting its inmates outside the normal judicial procedure in which a definite crime entails a predictable penalty” (447). In the 1904-08 war, this was manifest through the abduction and massive imprisonment of Nama and Ovaherero without granting them at least the right to a trial. The argument for “preventive detention” in the case of alleged Islamist terrorist sought to legitimize their capture, imprisonment and torture by the US military. This has actually provided a “continuing basis for detention” which found its apex when the Bush administration appointed special military commissions rather than Federal courts, and granted them full jurisdiction over sentencing prisoners (Roth, 11-12). Despite the differences in context, both cases fall under Arendt’s observations. The extra-territorial argument adds up to the dehumanisation of the camp prisoners, allowing oppressive necropolitics to an extreme degree.

These are some of the thoughts that Coco Fusco’s borrowing has awaken as I reflect upon the multidirectional potential of her performance and the memory of the Herero and Nama genocides. As stated in the introduction, this book does not only wish to index and study multidirectional practices of memory; it also willingly participates in extending this archive, just as Jürgen Zimmerer’s book *From Windhoek to Auschwitz* or David Olusoga’s documentary *Namibia: Genocide and the Second Reich* have done for the entangled histories of the Herero and Nama genocides and the Holocaust.

The Herero and Nama Genocides in cosmopolitan memory

The Holocaust and its own history of camp internment and extermination has, Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider argued, spawned "a memory transcending ethnic and national boundaries" (88). In this final section, I wish to further reflections on what they have called "cosmopolitan memory" and add grist to the mill that works to include the Herero and Nama genocides in the realm of cosmopolitan networks of remembrance, as others have argued before (see De Wolff).

Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider identify three important shifts in what they call the "iconographic formation of the Holocaust". These deserve some scrutiny to understand how and when the transnational memory of genocide enables a given historical period to become a symbol or a reference.

1) hey observe that in Germany, the U.S. and Israel, "a generational transition from social to historical memories" took place (96), from personal and autobiographic accounts to mediated representations.
2) hey describe "a growing historicization of the event", accompanied by greater reflexivity and the creation of icons, a change that did not only happen in those three countries, but in many others as well.
3) hey emphasize the role of audio-visual media and argue that the TV-series *Holocaust* participated in accomplishing "a major turning point in the media representation and the 'Americanization' of the Holocaust" (ibid). Added to those, Levy and Sznaider interestingly underline the value of the "temporal duality of memory", namely the awareness that the atrocities some were subjected to in the past, others can experience in the present or future.

The iconographic formation of the Herero and Nama genocides has been happening in Namibia for decades. The 1904-08 war against German colonialists has been carved in national psyche and has functioned as an underpinning historical reference for the liberation struggle, as exemplified in Sam Nujoma's preface to the re-edition of Horst Drechsler's book on the genocides "*Let Us Die Fighting*" in 1986. The Independence Memorial Museum and its first floor, a section on resistance against colonialism, also demonstrate this iconic – almost mythical – position of the genocides for independent Namibia. Nevertheless, I would argue that the repatriations of 2011, 2014 and 2018 have extended this process to key spaces and agents, foreshadowing the gradual cosmopolitan memorialisation of the 1904-08 genocides. Not to discount the speech by German Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development Wiezcorek-Zeul on the centenary of the extermination order against the Herero, but I rather believe that it is the punctuated appearance the remains of victims in the media, combined with the forceful speech of their descendants and other members of the concerned communities, that has further woken up global civil society to the paramount importance of this awful chapter of colonial history. As *memento mori*, reminders of our own mortality, the ancestors that were handed over have occupied the most visible of spaces on the internet. Photos of their uncanny presence were shared on social media and used by the press in reports across the globe. The ancestors have served as powerful visuals for banners put up by artists and activists from Namibia in Namibia and in Germany (e.g. Nama Technical Committee, the Alliance "No Amnesty on Genocide", the "No-Humboldt 21!" campaign, the Black Berlin Biennale). They also provide a less domineering colonial iconography than the dehumanizing photos of emaciated Ovaherero that pervade the visual archive of the genocides.

Despite the appalling conditions in which they were dismembered and studied, the ancestors and their returns are now embedded in processes of recognition, atonement and reconciliation, occupying the foreground in those three sectors that could characterize the iconographic formation of the Herero and Nama genocides: 1) they bridge the gap between biographical accounts and historical accounts, being able to partially tell their stories through their retrieved lives and afterlives. 2) they emerge as icons of the genocide, at least as powerfully as capillary and prosthetic remains exhibited in the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum do, through their ability to appeal to a shared humanity. 3) they pervade visual media, including fictional works like Perivi Katjavivi's film *The Unseen* mentioned in the first part of this chapter. Let me now turn to other domains where agents contribute to a cosmopolitan remembrance of the genocides, namely legal and artistic spheres.

Ancestors as judicial witnesses in the U.S.

In January 2017, the Nama Traditional Authorities Associations, the Ovaherero Traditional Authority, and the ONGI, sued the German government under the U.S. Alien

Tort Statute, demanding the inclusion of the Herero and Nama communities in the negotiations over reparations for the 1904-08 genocides. The possibility for victims to appeal to U.S. legislation for the condemnation of crimes against humanity has opened a new door to the international outreach of the legacies of German colonialism. Not only did it involve a third party that was neither a supranational organisation, nor a nation concerned by the outcomes of this struggle for justice; it delocalised the debate from its geopolitical space, in a different manner than involving the ICC. The ICC resides in the Netherlands but is not a Dutch court. The Alien Tort Status is U.S. law, and the ONGI managed to bring legal representatives of the German government in front of a U.S. court, albeit only to hear that states could claim and be granted immunity by the court. As a result, the history of German colonialism and of Herero and Nama resistance reached a new spatial relevance. The U.S., a settler colonial space which has also had to deal and work through its history of genocide, had only been previously informed on this violent history through satellite news report or documentaries. As the lawsuit was launched, international media extensively reported on its meaning and on the broad historical context (see Stempel; Powell; Becker 2017; Huggler). The trial also sparked some debate in Germany and helped bringing about more public aperture from the part of Ruprecht Polenz, the special envoy who has led German diplomatic negotiations with the Namibian government and its representative Zedekia Ngavirue.[28] After the case was repealed in court because of the ability for states like Germany to obtain legal immunity, it was appealed by the plaintiffs. In the last opinion and order put together by McCallion & Associates LLP, the return of ancestors and their ongoing presence in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History form the crux of the argumentation for jurisdiction (*Rukoro vs Federal Republic of Germany*, 5).

Besides, a few copies of the *Blue Book* located at the New York Public Library are also mentioned by the plaintiffs' attorneys. This has led them to argue that this institution "has become one of the leading research and conference centers for the study of the Ovaherero/Nama genocide" (ibid). The presence of ancestors, testimonies and evidence of the genocides in New York has logically brought matters of working through this history and its legacy to this place again. As workings of the Black Atlantic, the triangular relationship between agents in Namibia, Germany and the U.S. foreshadows global implications in remembering the genocides.

Cosmopolitan testimony and trials against genocide

New witnessing accounts arise, like those of descendants who convey the stories their forebears told them. Jephta Nguherimo's book *unburied-unMarked* is one of those. Nguherimo is a Herero who lives in the U.S. and a member of the ONGI. He has experienced refugee camps in Botswana as a youngster and the apartheid era in Namibia. In a series of thoughts and poems, this cosmopolitan author revisits stories told to him by his grandmothers, as well as stories found in the colonial archives he visited. After his visit at the American Museum of Natural History, he imagines the skulls asking to be laid at rest "with [their] children" (24). In a witty but grim rendering of a correspondence between two Germans, Nguherimo blends the horror of the camp with the frivolity of everyday life as a German soldier, as the infamous postcard of German soldiers packing Herero remains shows. Nguherimo, who has travelled several times to Germany, re-appropriates the register and style of a colonial language tainted with the appalling familiarity of genocide. He uses it to reveal the "banality of evil" as Arendt has termed it in the Holocaust context, these "matter-of-fact campaigns of genocidal violence" as Joseph Pugliese has described massacres of Indigenous Australians. In Nguherimo's poem, Heinrich asks Gustav to "send the head of a boy around eight" before telling him "life in Hamburg is same as you know / lately we've had a lot of snow" (22). The vulnerability of Herero women to German men raping them is also made clear, just as with one of the testimonies chosen by Coco Fusco.

Coming back to Coco Fusco's trial-like performance, there is not denying that *Words May Not Be Found* has contributed to thicken those connections, relating implicated individuals from different locales and backgrounds to the defence of a similar cause. An artistic project directed by an Afro-Cuban artist, performed in Germany, and dealing with the history of present-day Namibia and its remembrance, inspired by international repatriations of human remains and imperialist U.S. violence against Muslims, clearly fits in a paradigm of "global human rights politics", as Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider have argued for transnational remembrance of the Holocaust. Despite having solely been featured in an urban centre of Eurocentric cosmopolitanism – namely Berlin – *Words* is a fitting example of an embodied, cosmopolitan remembrance of the Herero and Nama genocides. Fusco's work and the lawsuit surely call upon borderless networks of global solidarity. The court case calls for precedents in human rights law for postcolonial justice.

Jephta Nguherimo’s work, *Words May Not Be Found* and *Rukoro vs Federal Republic of Germany* all participate in inscribing the Herero and Nama genocides in cosmopolitan memory. Fusco’s work draws upon new networks of implication; the court case invigorates close bonds between the communities in Namibia and diasporic agents. Nguherimo’s intervention was born from an urge to know and an urge to tell. All have built up several fronts for a legitimate recognition of the rights of victims of the genocide and descendants to tell their stories, be it in the German public sphere, in poetry, in performance arts, in U.S. American museums, or before the law. Moreover, the lawsuit was largely discussed in the international press, and, in a similar way to the different repatriations, it has helped this history to occupy the digital public sphere.

As argued in the introduction of this book, Levy and Sznaider’s definition of cosmopolitan memory displays shortcomings. First, they locate it almost exclusively in global digital media and technology, manifested in networks of distant, short-term (and sometimes half-baked) solidarity. Besides, these spaces are not “unbound”, but subject to algorithms that exactly segment the targeted audience and the outreach of a given story on the web. Secondly, Levy and Sznaider overlooked important critique of the cosmopolitan project from a number of perspectives: gendered, decolonial, transnational and minor, to name a few (see e.g. Achmed 162-171; Lionnet & Shih; Nwankwo; Fogiel-Bijaoui 6-8). They instead mainly relied on representations of the Holocaust in predominantly institutionalized discourses in Western or colonial countries (Germany, Israel and the U.S.) mediated by established traditions of engaging with painful memory (the Hollywood industry, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial, the Stockholm Forum). The absence of more diverse examples of how global civil society has engaged with the Holocaust has greatly undermined Levy and Sznaider’s argument, or rather their ability to illustrate the global character of Holocaust memory.

It is incumbent to a postcolonial critique of cosmopolitanism to widen its spectrum and include voices, perspectives, clusters and nexuses that are cosmopolitan, yet seldom considered as such because of their being located elsewhere than in Western metropolitan hubs. Sara Morais dos Santos Bruss has explored how digital ubiquity reconfigures understandings of globalism. She demonstrates how minor feminist politics in networks of planetary (and not global) solidarity bring about networks of “embodied solidarity”. Such networks have emerged in the case of the Herero and Nama genocides: the Alliance

"No Amnesty for Genocide!" and their website relay statements by traditional leaders and representatives of the concerned communities, constituting a digital archive of the struggle for apologies and reparations. The examples of the intervention of Ovaherero in the U.S., the travels of Utjiua Muinjangue, and the involvement of Coco Fusco in Germany show that the politics of recognition testify to a "cross-fertilization" in cosmopolitan memory of the genocides (Levy & Sznaider, 93).

More can still be done. I believe that the Herero and Nama genocides are bound to become unforgettable as their politics of reconciliation extend from Namibia to South Africa, the United States, Germany, Botswana, but also on the continent, for instance to Togo, Cameroon or Tanzania. Those three spaces/countries, former German colonies, have direct historical links to the extermination and deportation of Ovaherero and Nama people.[29] In the postface to his novel *Murambi* dealing with the history of Rwanda, Boubacar Boris Diop similarly maintains that "memory of genocide is paradoxical: the more time goes by, the less we forget" (215, my translation). Indeed, more connections are found, and many more subjects recognize their levels of implication in this history. Speaking of Rwana, it is also important to bring the first genocide of the twentieth century in dialogue with other contexts than the Holocaust, such as the Tutsi genocide. The prominence of ancestral remains in cultures of remembrance in both those contexts can offer a starting point for *African* discussions on how to narrate history, how to fight against ethnic violence and how to work through the legacy of colonial oppression in postcolonial states. Only so can nations and their communities finally overcome antagonistic politics of ethnic nationalism and the prevalence of "Difference-Blind States" on an African continent whose scar tissue remains lines drawn by the 1884-5 Berlin Conference (Berman et al.). This work is beyond the scope of this book, and it is not mine to lead. I can only suggest multidirectional memory practice and the promising unbound character of cosmopolitan (or Afropolitan) memory as possible frames for such a continental task.[30]

Gaob Johannes Isaack [vi]

Swakopmund, 29 March 2019,

Conference "International Law and Justice in Postcolonial Contexts"

Academics are the progressive consciousness of the nation. They must have a dynamic consciousness to keep us contemporary and relevant so that decisions are rooted in the realities of the masses. That is their ethical and moral responsibility.

It's very clear that Namibian and German governments have no intention whatsoever to speak in our interest. During a meeting with the Namibian president Dr. Hage Geingob in May 2017 he clearly stated that as long as we call it a Nama and Ovaherero Genocide, the Namibian government will never support it. Mr Polenz on behalf of the German government equally stated that we are not entitled to reparations. This in itself clarifies that we have no official ally.

Perhaps it is time for further legal action against our government. We must explore all legal instruments whether national, continental or international to hold the Namibian and German governments accountable to its own laws and to international laws. We must harness the support of International Human Rights Organisations, as well as communities who experience and continue to experience the same struggles in order to increase international pressure against our governments. It has been done before during the struggle for independence and it can be done again as long as we believe in ourselves... and keep our eyes on the prize, which is the fight for our birthright. Perhaps it is time that we realize that the chicken has come out and that it is time for mass action.

As Nama leaders we are unconditionally supportive of the dawning spiritual awakening in our communities. To the Namibian and German governments we say: you shall never make us disappear! Even if we are to pass this earth in God's time, my children shall keep the torch alive.

[vi] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/nama/#isaack2

Coda

This chapter started with a discussion of the positions of witnesses in the memory of genocide. It continued with a reflection on the place where remains of Herero and Nama victims should be buried and cared for with an analysis of the role of the National Museum of Namibia in this decision-making process. The discussion led to greater re-considerations of national heritage policy, touching upon a re-consideration of the postcolonial nation of Namibia by looking at its colonial continuities and inequalities in land ownership and access to water, issues that stand at the core of reparations claims for the genocides. The first part ended with an example of community-based empowerment with the launch of the Hosea Kutako University, an attempt by the Herero community to assert themselves as an "authorial society" on knowledge production and working through this history of colonial violence. The second part offered another stance on the involvement of implicated subjects by opening up toward transnational practices and politics of remembering the Herero and Nama genocides. Coco Fusco's performance called upon the potential of multidirectional memory for a greater understanding of camp cultures and the global extent of body snatching and racial dehumanisation. Finally, it can be argued with confidence that both this work of art and the lawsuit in front of a U.S. court of law have participated in a growing global acknowledgement of the genocides as part of networks of cosmopolitan memory.

Hope now rests on the fact that the restless work of Ida Hoffman, Gaob Johannes Isaack and Gaob Petrus Kooper, Kavemuii Murangi, Utjiua Muinjangue, Jephta Nguherimo, Israel Kaunatjike, and many other Nama and Herero activists across the world helps to tip the scales in favour of an honest recognition of their demands by the German Federal state and Namibian institutions. There should be a genuine inclusion of their voices and opinions in debates on proper burial for their ancestors, as well as just land redistribution and structural strategies for economic empowerment of those communities.

In Swakopmund, on the northern side of the railway tracks built during the war by Herero and Nama prisoners forced by German troops to work under the scorching sun, the former township of Mondesa and the informal settlement called the DRC (Democratic Resettlement Community) contrast to the white, rich and polished city centre. It is difficult to imagine how those spaces and populations could benefit from a possible reburial of ancestors in Swakopmund. But artist and activist Laidlaw Periganda, who wishes to erect a Swakopmund Genocide Museum, also does advocacy works in providing basic means of subsistence to local communities. As his work for both decolonial heritage and social help reminds, there is no separating the issue of repatriation and cultural identity from the issue of disenfranchisement and exploitation. The politics of exclusion are ubiquitous. They reign in geopolitical relations, knowledge production on colonial history, access to resources, territorial sovereignty, legal considerations of postcolonial justice. As the Herero and Nama traditional authorities articulated in their Resolution at the Congress for Restorative Justice After Genocide held in Berlin in October 2016, they "bear witness to the long-term psychological, spiritual, economic, social, cultural and political impact of the genocide on the Ovaherero and Nama people in Namibia as well as in the Diaspora" (2). It is when one listens to them that the "completeness of genocide" becomes visible, as Kei Miller put it in his poetic exploration of the colonial history of the Jamaican town of Oracabessa. They are able to point at the many layers, sectors and issues that have been directly or indirectly affected by the historical extermination of their forebears.

As Raphael Lemkin has shown when he coined the word "genocide", it is not only the physical annihilation of a people that is suggested by genocidal intent. When it is proclaimed, genocide actually occurs in many different ways and sectors, from the destruction of the "national pattern" through the replacement of political and social structures of self-definition, to depriving the target group "from their means of existence" and the desecration of spiritual landmarks (Lemkin, 83, 85, 89). As argued earlier, and as Jan-Bart Gewald and Jeremy Silvester have underlined, "access to land, population distribution, economic power, urbanisation and political power, have all been shaped, and are only understandable, in terms of the Namibian War" (xxxvi-vii). These intentional policies of cultural, economic and social destruction have had long-term effects that are as devastating for future generations as collective trauma or the absence of ancestors.

It is symptomatic that behind many instances of settler colonial history lurk histories of genocidal violence. Look at the history of Australia, the U.S., Canada, but also Poland under Nazi Germany. The case of Namibia is no exception, rather one that should be recognized on the global scale for its ramifications relating this history to the Holocaust, apartheid South Africa, the invasion of Indigenous Australia or First Nations of North America. Namibia should even still be considered a settler colonial space, a space where

Indigenous calls for land restitution and for appropriate burial of their ancestors are made against the backdrop of extreme racial inequalities in property, wealth and political credence. In this book, the return of ancestors to Namibia and its legacy in postcolonial memory cultures serves as a pivotal landmark and a powerful process of acknowledgment that enables relation and connections to be made with East African or South African contexts (as it was done in the previous chapter). No weighing comparison is intended here. Rather, there is a need to navigate those stories of dehumanisation without treating them singularily. Lothar von Trotha had already been an active General in German East-Africa, for instance. More importantly, the repatriations and the debates on apologies and reparations have been echoed in the South African context. The also form the backbone of academic reflections on working through colonial history and surely a lot of ink and words still await to make it out there. Beyond Namibia, South Africa, Germany and the US, the first genocide of the 20th century and the struggle led by descendants of the victims are still generally unknown. I hope that this project will help cater to that lack.

Ida Hoffman [vii]

Chair of the Nama Genocide Technical Committee

Extract from her speech "Apology, Compensation, Reconciliation. A Report from Namibia" (University of Freiburg, 30 Oct. 2013)

Nowadays, however the winds of change are blowing all over the world, those who take comfort in the present status-quo that we are weak, they are living in a fool's paradise. You cannot subjugate people forever. And please take note that the emotions of highly charged people cannot be suppressed indefinitely. Such emotions are like time-bombs, which will have catastrophic consequences. Time will tell.

[vii] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/nama/#idahoffmann

Notes:

1 A Herero tradition of military parade usurping the colonial fashion of German soldiers, reminding of the experience of war by Herero soldiers, but also serving as a ritual of community identity where women and children have a social role. For more descriptions of *oturupa*, see Förster 2010, 250-1; Kössler 2015; 177-180.

2 For purposes of length, I will not recount general events of colonial oppression in South West Africa that took place from 1883 and Adolf Lüderitz's swindle in buying a piece of land from !Aman Captain !Khorebeb-ǁNaixab Josef Fredericks, up until 1919 and the Versailles Treaty. The events that led to the 1904-08 war waged by the Herero and the Nama against German colonial oppression include violent settler colonial land appropriation, forced displacement of indigenous populations, rape, murder, double standards in the rule of law, dehumanisation, forceful conversion to Western mores and Christianity, impunity and deceit in economic relations, as well as desecraction of cultural heritage. Evidence of genocide between 1904 and 1908 include the infamous extermination order directed against the Ovaherero – also known as "Osombo zoWindimbe" – published on 3rd October 1904 by Lothar von Trotha, his subsequent declaration of war against the Nama on 22nd April 1905, the murder of at least 80% of the Herero population in four years, and about 50% of the Nama, death rates largely exceeding 8 individuals per day in the concentration camp erected on Okakoverua near Luderitz, the disregard for human life tangible in the implementation of exhausting and life-threatening forced labour. The conditions in the camps and the extermination policy have been well documented. For two comprehensive accounts, see Zimmerer & Zeller (eds.), *Genocide in South-West Africa*; Erichsen & Olusoga, *The Kaiser's Holocaust.* The latter even wrote on the German Governor's post-war internment policy: "Von Lindequist's regime was so calamitous for the Herero and Nama that it can be considered a continuation of their extermination, by non-military means" (198).

3 At the basis of this relation between Holocaust studies and postcolonial genocide studies lies the relationship between the Holocaust and the Herero and Nama genocides. Not only have the concentration camps of German Southwest Africa provided a blueprint for the Nazi camps, the study of racial anthropology, which found its heyday before World War I, continued in the inter-war period in Germany. Notorious figures in this field included Eugen Fischer, who "took bodies from graves in the Namib Desert in the hinterland of Walvis Bay, most likely belonging to members of the #Aonin (Kuiseb Topnaar) community" (Kössler, 2018, 31). Fischer studied these remains to develop theories of racial hierarchy. His work as the director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics in the 1930s later translated in the social and political implementation of eugenics leading to the Nuremberg laws (see the website Manufacturing Race; Ayata et al.). Another figure, Richard Walther Darré, student of the Witzenhausen Colonial School, became later director of the infamous *Rasse- und Sieldungshauptamt*, a branch of the Nazi SS (Zimmerer, 2011, 280). For a comprehensive study of the conditions that led to genocide and the "colonial roots of Nazism," see Casper Erichsen & David Olusoga's book *The Kaiser's Holocaust*. For more aspects of the thesis "from Windhoek to Auschwitz," see Zimmerer, 2011; Gerwarth & Malinowski. For a study of Raphael Lemkin's interest in colonial contexts of genocide, see Schaller.

4 Here, I side with Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer's argument that memory "supplements" history, even in the case of a trial. To them, witnesses register the emotional weight and value of experience, that fire that "burns through the 'cold storage of history'" (Hatman, qtd in Hirsch & Spitzer, 155), transmitting affect, and mediating the actual impossibility of bearing witness through language, a crack which Lyotard has called the "différend."

5 On the limits of the psychoanalytical model when applied to non-Western contexts of communal and inter-generational memory of violence, see Smith & Schaffer, 20-23, Andermahr (eds.).

6 Here I refer to Michael Rothberg's notion of the "implicated subject", discussed in the introduction as well as later in this chapter.

7 In the original text, Didi-Huberman uses the verb *arracher*, which also also means "to tear off".

8 Here I draw on Giorgio Agamben's discussion of the three etymologies of "witness" in his essay *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive*. From Latin, the witness as *testis* provides a

testimony in a trial; the *superstes* bears the imperative to tell her/his story. From Ancient Greek, the *martis* "bearing witness to his fate", the one whose death compels remembrance (17-26).

9 Interview of Holger Stoecker, which took place in German on 21st January 2015 at the Institute of Anatomy of the Charité University. Translation by the author. A recording of the interview (in German) is in the possession of the author. A partial transcription can be found in the appendixes of the author's master thesis *If these Skulls Could Talk*, available online at: https://g-a-p-s.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/LeGall-If_These_Skulls_Could_Talk.pdf (Accessed 22 Aug. 2019).

10 Several committees are involved in processes of repatriation to represent the wishes of Ovaherero, Nama and diasporic communities: the OvaHerero Genocide Committee, presided by Esther Utjiua Muinjangue; the Nama Technical Committee, presided by Ida Hoffman, and the OvaHerero, Mbanderu and Nama Genocide Institution (ONGI) in the US, presided by Kavemuii Murangi are influential players whenever concerned communities are involved.

11 Marina Nzila Mubusisi, curator at the National Museum of Namibia, maintained that talks are being held with the Iziko Museums of South Africa, as the latter informed them on the presence of Namibian remains in their collections (interview with Marina Nzila Mubusisi, National Museum of Namibia, 26 Mar. 2018, Notes).

12 The anatomical institute of the University of Strasbourg holds remains that were acquired in German South West Africa. When this thesis was submitted, Esther Utjiua Muinjangue was in contact with anatomist Jean-Marie Le Minor, in charge of caring for the collection of human remains (private email conversation with Elise Pape, Raphael Toledano, Esther Utjiua Muinjangue, Christian Kopp and Jephta Nguherimo; see also Le Gall, 2018).

13 Private conversation with Marina Nzila Mubusisi, which took place on 27th March 2018 at the National Museum of Namibia. The interlocutor did not allow the interview to be recorded. The author holds notes which constitute the sole record of this conversation.

14 In October 2016, at the *Congress for Restorative Justice After Genocide* which took place in Berlin, Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro in his speech threatened that if no reparations from the German government ensue, the concerned communities would be forced to "do it the Zimbabwean way," probably hinting at some instances of coercive land-grabbing by armed indigenous groups during the lawful third Chimurenga, a decade of land reform pushed by ZANU-PF under Robert Mugabe.

15 As of September 2019, the project of having a genocide memorial in Keetmanshoop was in its initial phase. As Nama activist Paul Thomas told me in an informal conversation after his speech at the 6*th* *Umbenennungsfest für die Berliner M*Straße*, the local traditional Nama authority had gotten a piece of land from the municipality. However, no concrete plans for the memorial had been drafted. This future project might become another possible resting place for some of the remains repatriated, but nothing concrete can be ventured as of now.

16 The relocation of the Reiterdenkmal to let space for the Independence Memorial Museum, for instance, is a case where a powerful symbol of colonial rule has been simultaneously ousted and kept by the Namibian government, in a spirit dominated by a "lack of responsibility" rather than a significant will for "reconciliation" (Kössler, 2013, 470)

17 Speech of Katrina Hanse-Himarwa on 29th August in Berlin. Audio recording in the possession of the author.

18 To summarize convoluted politics within the Herero nation, the so-called "Maharero Group" represented by the Ovaherero/Ovambanderu Council for the Dialogue on the 1904 Genocide (OCD-1904) supports and remains loyal to the SWAPO-led government, while the so-called "Riruako Group" represented among others by the OvaHerero Genocide Foundation sides with oppositional parties, including the newly founded Landless People's Movement, born in 2018. For more explanation on political rivalries within the Herero community, see Hamrik & Duschinski, 8-10.

19 Mamdani's observations are relevant tot he African context, even in settler colonial spaces such as Namibia and South Africa. Yet, the postcolonial challenges faced by Indigenous nations in other colonial spaces – Australia, Canada, the U.S. for instance – are ever so different. As Gigi Adair and Anja Schwarz have retraced, the struggle for recognition of Indigenous nations has compelled activists to refuse their

status as "aliens within the Australian state and assert an independent Aboriginal sovereignty", the Tent Embassy making this claims visible and reclaiming land occupied by the colonial state (5). Even though Australia has offered a comparative blueprint in repatriation practice throughout this book, there is a need to slightly differentiate the disenfranchised and dispossessed status of Indigenous Australians and the ways in which Indigenous Africans reclaim territory through processes of nation-building. Nevertheless, I will return to this parallel with Australia when discussing the question of land dispossession and claims for reparations after genocide.

20 The question asked was: "Die Landfrage wird in Südafrika auf den Punkt gebracht: "Der ANC will sogar das Grundgesetz ändern, damit Farmer ohne Vergütung enteignet werden können. Das könnte in Namibia Schule machen. Finden Sie das in Ordnung?"

The first answer (93% voting) suggested a reactionary opinion, but also an openness toward further debates: "Nein, es darf nicht angehen, dass man gezielt Weiße nach so vielen Jahren einfach enteignet. Es sollte ein besserer Weg gewählt werden, Land an ehemals Benachteiligte zu verteilen." The second answer (7% voting) only suggested an immediate expropriation without explicitly giving the modalities of who will be expropriated and who would receive their land back: "Ja, denn es ist an der Zeit den Einheimischen ihr Land zurückzugeben, das ihnen einst genommen wurde." (AZ, screenshot in the possession of the author).

21 One example: launched in 2011 and financed by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, the project "Energy for Future" supported the deforestation of 26 million hectares of agrarian land by developing special combine harvesters. The harvested bushes have been "recycled", namely burnt to produce cheap energy that would be put at disposition to the cement company Ohorongo. Operating as a Namibian subsidiary to the German cement company Schenk, the chairman of Ohorongo, Gerhard Kaminski, is none other than the CEO of Schenk.

22 Added to the issue of water management and agriculture is the sector of uranium mining on Namibian soil, an industry dominated by foreign corporate ownership (from British, Australian, French, Chinese, Iranian and South African corporations) in which the Namibian government remains a crumb-collector. This subject being beyond the scope of this chapter, for more information on the mining sector in Namibia, see Harris.

23 Also known as Friedrich Maharero.

24 Private conversation with Coco Fusco on 07.03.2017 at KW Berlin.

25 Friedrich Fabri's *Bedarf Deutschland der Kolonien?*, published in 1879.

26 Electronic communication with Coco Fusco on 19.01.2017.

27 Critics of transnational solidarity have contended that positions of solidarity can often prove problematic. In the context of literary responses (fiction or non-fiction) to instances of violence, oppression or inequality, Timothy Bewes eloquently asks: "In a global conjuncture in which the very expression of ethical solidarity displays and enacts unprecedented disparities of power, writers of literature are in an ethical and aesthetic quandary: How to write without thereby contributing to the material inscription of inequality?" (11). Concerned with the quandary between genuine commitment and the pertaining 'colonised mind', he advocates for a recourse to a machine that could perhaps unfasten the humanist writer from her/his entanglement in oppressive neocolonial systems. He therefore turns to film as the medium that enables a break from an ethics of (post)colonial shame. To question his easy way out of the issue, it should not be forgotten that "the visual field is not neutral to the question of race; it is itself a racial formation, and episteme, hegemonic and forceful", as Judith Butler argued in her analysis of Rodney King's trial and the decryption of video as a legal proof that is and remains biased against the Black body (1993, 17).

The Congo Tribunal took place in 2015 with hearings in Bukavu and Berlin. It dealt with the "Congo War," addressing connections between human rights violations committed in the Katanga and Kivu regions in the east of the DRC due mostly to conflicting interests in the mining industry. It was presented in the form of a penal court and involved testimonies from victims, employees, experts, non-governmental organisations and regional political actors. It was conducted in four languages and was critically acclaimed. Unfortunately, it also unveils the failure of supranational bodies to genuinely engage with this context and to bring about actual political and economic transformations in a region torn by corporate interest and military factions.

.sAs TTT Other artistic projects aimed to re-instill agency through voice. The plays *Schädel X* and *Maji Maji Flava* featured the voices of descendants of victims of German occupation in the Kilimajaro region, as well as those of victims of the repression during the Maji Maji War (see Chapter 5). The problematic *Exhibit B – The Human Zoo* was also an intervention for another gaze on the history of enslavement. Yet, it can be reasonably argued that it failed. Showcased in the Barbican Gallery in London, it featured live tableaux in which black performers posed, some enchained, others re-enacting scenes that degraded Black people. The exhibition was met by fierce protests and sparked heated debates on the politics of representation of Black suffering in history.

"The district courts shall have original jurisdiction of any civil action by an alien for a tort only, committed in violation of the law of nations or a treaty of the United States" (June 25, 1948, ch. 646, 62 Stat. 934).

28 The move made by Herero and Nama representatives was also followed by curious behaviour from the Namibian government: after having been engaged for years in negotiations with Germany regarding the substance and the conditions of an official apology, documents quoted by *The Namibian* and the *AFP* revealed that the Namibian government had also launched legal action asking for financial compensation and questioning diplomatic negotiation (see Shinovene & Ndanki; Pelz).

29 A group of more than a hundred Nama people, including members of Hendrik Witbooi's family, were deported to Togo in November 1904, and later, in 1910, 93 were further shipped to Cameroon. 55 of those 93 had died in Dschang by December 1912, most of them contracting malaria and tuberculosis in the equatorial climate (see Hillebrecht & Melber, 132-4). Most of the survivors were officially allowed to return to South West Africa in 1913. However, it seems that seven of them were denied a passage home, as the German government viewed them as a dangerous threat to security in the colony (Bachmann, 14). The exact fate of those who remained in Cameroon, and the fate of the remains of all those who died during their deportation, are still unknown.

30 For more discussion on the two main currents in understandings of "Afropolitanism", one spearheaded by Taiye Selasi and the other following Achille Mbembe, see Anna von Rath's thesis, *Afropolitan Encounters.*

Chapter 3

IN THE GAMTOOS VALLEY, THEY WERE LAID TO REST

SARAH BAARTMAN | DAWID STUURMAN:
CIRCLES OF REMEMBRANCE FOR TWO REPATRIATED KHOI

January 2018: Located about forty-five miles away from Bhayi (Port Elizabeth) on the bed of the Gamtoos river, the small rural town of Hankey has been facing serious challenges this summer: upstream, the Kouga Dam, which supplies irrigation water to the local citrus monocultures, has seen its levels dwindle and reach less than ten percent of its capacity as the water crisis affecting the Eastern Cape region threatens to get worse. Downstream, at the southern outskirts of the town, the construction site of the Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance has been the scene of social struggles for local workers and their families in the last couple of years.

Since 2002 and the repatriation of the remains of Sarah Baartman from the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, her grave has been the central site in this district of the Eastern Cape region, also named after her. This is bound to change. The prospect of a national heritage institution here in Hankey could, as Ciraj Rassool foresaw it, "provide public education, heritage interpretation and visitor management" and guarantee a continuous commitment in remembering Sarah Baartman's history (2015a, 137). The process of building this institution, though, has epitomised the quandary that arises when corporate interest meddles with the sphere of cultural heritage and memory. The twists and turns that punctuated the construction have shown that the future of Hankey and the economic security of some of its inhabitants largely depends on the success of this colossal edifice. Derrick "Rudi" Jaffon, Community Liaison Officer for the current construction site, has been busy pacing between the workers and the board so that the demands of the people he represents are met. He retraces the events which led to the dismissal of Lubbe Construction, the initial contractor operating from Mozambique and Johannesburg:

> During 2015 [...answering a call....] there were no strikes. Because when I got here it was mostly sittings, where people would say "No we are not happy. We're not gonna work unless you sort this out [...]" But, start 2016, again I said in January, the first week in January when we started, we start around 9th, and there were this grievance regarding leaf pays. In mid-2016, another strike occurred. And it lasted for about two or three months, where about 139 of us were dismissed. In total the whole site, local [workers], were dismissed. [...] I eventually got a hold of some of the ANC leadership, Jessie Duarte, and she advised me to call the minister's office. So back then it was Minister Nxesi the Minister of Public Works, so he gave us the number of one of his guys within Public Works, the deputy director general, Samuel Thobagkale, who came and resolved the strike on site. 139 were again reinstated, and then a group out of the 139 – about 100 – decided "no", they are not happy with what he did, got back to work and another strike occurred, which led to about 100 being dismissed. And we are now about 37 that's remaining out of it.

Since December 2018, the responsibility for the construction of the Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance has been ceded to Transtrakt, a local company based in Bhayi. An agreement has been reached, so that local workers are privileged over imported labour: "According to the contract", Jaffon explains, "they are allowed to get the skill from anywhere in the Eastern Cape and if they don't have the needed skill, they can bring [people] from outside. However, I trust that with their skills, our labour here, we can finish this project in the time frame that public works have said". The project designed by Wilkinson Architects includes a hotel, a conference venue, an exhibition space and a tunnel, among others. As the genuine threat of upcoming droughts in the coming years would deeply affect the living conditions of Hankey's population, the Centre could hopefully meet the expectations of local actors by offering job opportunities, education and a secure future where tourism and heritage management could become as significant for the region as agriculture in terms of its economic impact, as well as a springboard for national fame and recognition.

June 2017: In front of the Sydney Opera House, Pemmy Majodina, Member of the Executive Committe of the ANC in the Eastern Cape, takes her smartphone and films a short selfie-video.[i] She leads a delegation from South Africa which came to Australia for the repatriation of the spirit of Khoi anti-colonial leader Dawid Stuurman,[1] who died in New South Wales and whose remains have been lost. She reports on the morale of the group a day before the repatriation ceremony is supposed to take place, a day before they connect with the spirit through rituals with *umPhafa* and *Imphepho*.[2] Next to her, Khoi activist Christian Martin and an unnamed member of Stuurman's descendants express their gratitude to the ANC for their effort in this process. Between the men's fleeting interventions, Majodina's party-laden rhetoric re-emphasizes the eminent role of "the people's government" in this repatriation.

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[i] https://www.facebook.com/keith.ngesi/videos/vb.627194652/10155558130359653/?type=2&theater

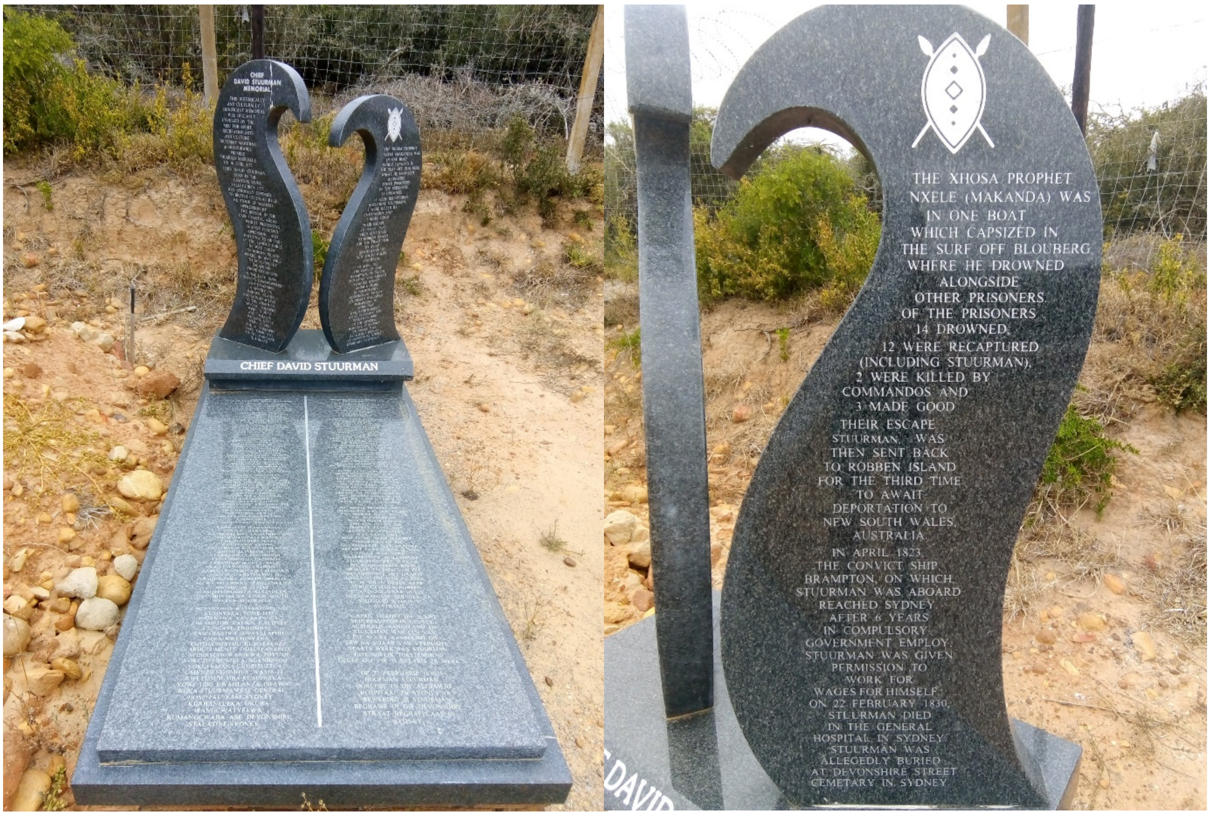
This video published on Facebook by journalist Keith Ngesi is a visual token of the connections between two settler colonial spaces (South Africa and Australia). This "spiritual repatriation", which involved members of the Khoisan community, amaXhosa and some exchange with Indigenous Australians on the matter, reveals a common denominator in this South-South endeavour: the importance of repatriating anti-colonial figures and of burying ancestors at home, even when their remains are no longer retrievable. The short clip also demonstrates the national significance of this particular case. The repeated allusions to the ANC here further contribute to engraving of Dawid Stuurman's figure in the stone pillars of South African national memory.

Sarah Baartman, a Khoikhoi woman whose history entangles the Eastern Cape, Cape Town, Britain, Paris and post-apartheid South Africa, and Dawid Stuurman, a Khoi leader who spent most his life in the Eastern Cape, was imprisoned on Robben Island, then forced on board of a convict ship to finally die in Sydney, will be both remembered in the Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance in Hankey. His grave is there since the repatriation of his spirit in 2017, and the two figures resting on two different hills face each other, watching over the Gamtoos valley. The duality of this heritage site and the trajectories traced by both their lives call upon a model of geographical analysis where local, national and transnational memory interlock, as interdependent circles; separated, but overlapping. This chapter will show that these three spheres of remembrance are by no means incompatible. With this structure, I suggest different ways of remembering the separate histories of Baartman and Stuurman, their commonalities, their differences, as well as the places that these figures have occupied and the places where their stories are told. I will first recall them separately, but without denying their partial synchronicity. Then, moving from cosmopolitan realms of remembrance to the local place of memory, I will look at how repatriation, despite its transnational character, has contributed to enrich local memory in the Gamtoos valley by bringing Baartman, Stuurman and their auras back to the Khoisan community.

Sarah Baartman

The construction of the Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance is the extended result of a long process of repatriation and burial of Baartman's remains after a history of oppression and objectification of her body. Born not in the Gamtoos Valley but in the Camdeboo in the 1770s, Sarah Baartman was part of the Gonaqua tribe and likely grew up on a colonist farm. Her first (Sarah, Sara, Saartjie) and last names attest to her status as a servant, probably to farmer David Fourie, who occupied and exploited land near Janseville, and called his farm "Baartman's Fonteyn" (see Crais & Scully, 10, 185-6) . Enslaved in practice more than in theory,[3] Sarah Baartman was sold to merchant Pieter Cesars in the 1790s, who took her from the rural Eastern Cape to Cape Town. She first worked at the Elzer's family household in Strand Street before moving to Cesars' in Papendorp (now Woodstock) after the death of Jan Michiel Elzer. In a city where sexual violence, forced and wilful prostitution, and racial inequalities in living were rather the rule than the exception, Sarah got pregnant and lost her first child. She became a wet nurse at Pieter's brother's household, Hendrik, who belonged to the early generations of Free Blacks in the Cape. She gave birth to a second child in 1804, probably the result of an affective relationship with a Batavian soldier, but this child also died prematurely. At Hendrik Cesar's, she got pregnant a third time and lost her third child as well. Even though it may seem that I here mostly emphasize Baartman's status as a woman subjected to gendered oppression and as a racialized servant subjected to poverty and poor living conditions, there is no denying that she fully participated in the bustling Capetonian life and enjoyed mobility to a minimal degree, despite tethers and restrictions applying to Africans held in servitude. In their reconstitution of Baartman's time in Cape Town, Clifton Crais and Pamely Scully wrap up:

> Sara had lived in three different households in two different areas of Cape Town. She had encountered a cosmopolitan population, people from Africa, the United States, Brazil, England, Europe, and Asia. Sara's most important emotional relationship had been with a European man, a relationship of enough importance to figure into the story she told, in London, 1810, of her own life. Clearly, there, Sara Baartman was a poor and exploited woman, but she most certainly was not an unknowledgeable girl recently brought to Cape Town.


CHIEF DAVID STUURMAN MEMORIAL
CHIEF DAVID STUURMAN
THE XHOSA PROPHET
NXELE (MAKANDA) WAS
IN ONE BOAT
WHICH CAPSIZED IN
THE SURF OFF BLOUBERG
WHERE HE DROWNED
ALONGSIDE
OTHER PRISONERS.
OF THE PRISONERS
14 DROWNED.
12 WERE RECAPTURED
(INCLUDING STUURMAN),
2 WERE KILLED BY
COMMANDOS AND
3 MADE GOOD
THEIR ESCAPE
STUURMAN WAS
THEN SENT BACK
TO ROBBEN ISLAND
FOR THE THIRD TIME
TO AWAIT
DEPORTATION TO
NEW SOUTH WALES,
AUSTRALIA
IN APRIL 1823
THE CONVICT SHIP
BRAMPTON, ON WHICH
STUURMAN WAS ABOARD
REACHED SYDNEY
AFTER 6 YEARS
IN COMPULSORY
GOVERNMENT EMPLOY.
STUURMAN WAS GIVEN
PERMISSION TO
WORK FOR
WAGES FOR HIMSELF
ON 22 FEBRUARY 1830,
STUURMAN DIED
IN THE GENERAL
HOSPITAL IN SYDNEY
STUURMAN WAS
ALLEGEDLY BURIED
AT DEVONSHIRE STREET
CEMETARY IN SYDNEY

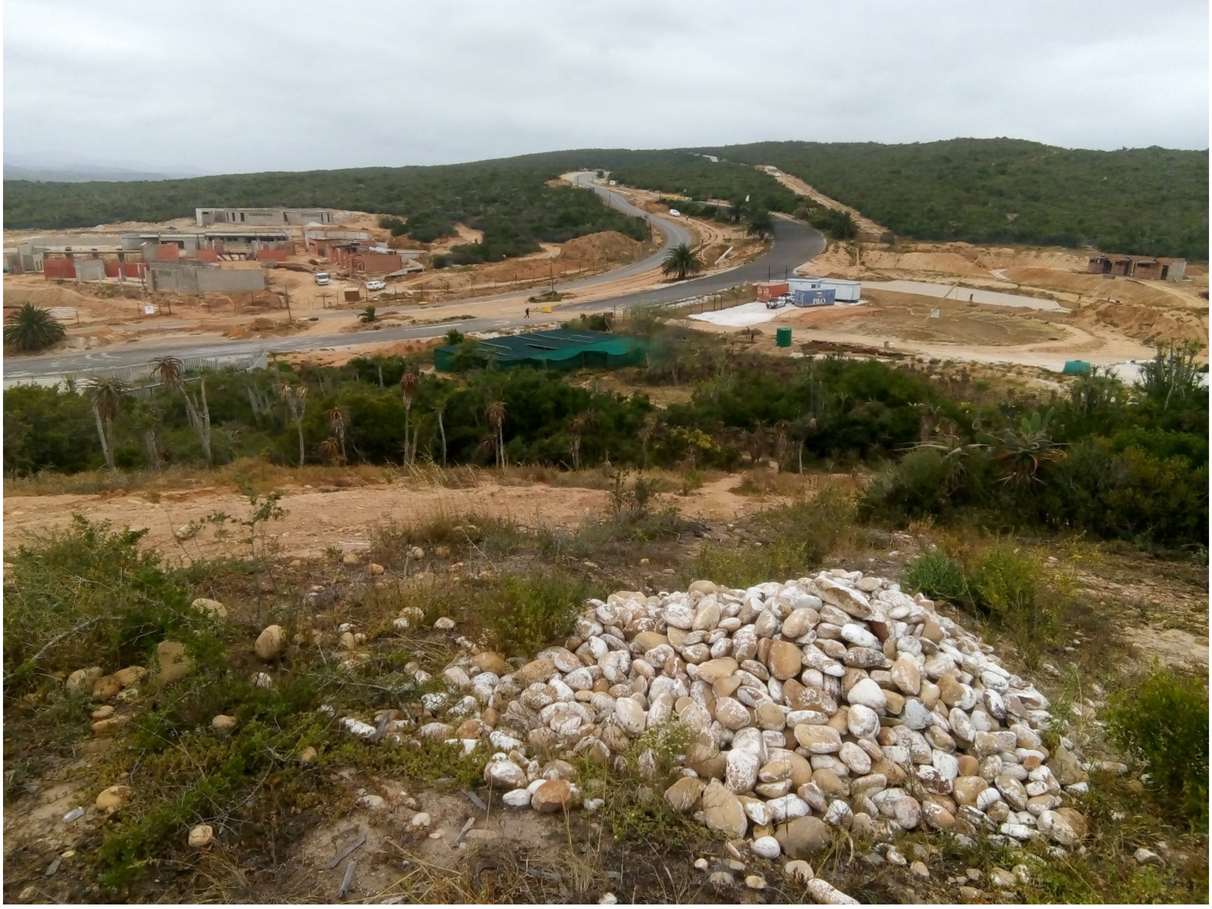


Fig. 1 & 2: The grave of Dawid Stuurman

Fig. 3: view of the Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance construction site from the cairn before her grave on Vergaderingskop hill (Photos Y. Le Gall, 17 Jan. 2018).

Indebted, Hendrik Cesars started capitalizing on the perverse curiosity of European men vis-à-vis the bodies of Gonaqua women, and forced Sarah to show herself to those "who wished to see her" (qtd in Crais and Scully, 50). As medical superintendent of Cape Town's Slave Lodge, Scotsman Alexander Dunlop possibly examined Baartman in 1808 or 1809, and discussed with Cesars the possibility to ship her to Britain and further exploit her body for monetary purposes in the form of a public show. While the latter was ready to sell her and let her go with Dunlop, Sarah refused to leave without Cesars accompanying her. After Dunlop made use of his influence to threaten him of a prison sentence, Cesars agreed to the plan and the three of them sailed to London on 7th April 1810 on board of HMS *Diadem*. In an era following the famous Somerset case of 1772 and the abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807, Sarah left the Cape Colony in 1810 as a "Free Black", as stipulated on Cesars's passport.

The five years she spent in Europe are much better documented and have already been largely retraced in many publications.

Let me first recapitulate that upon their arrival in Picadilly Street in London, Dunlop approached the director of the Liverpool Museum of Natural History, William Bullock, and suggested to him to put Baartman on exhibit there (see Qureshi, 235). Bullock refused on grounds that such a living exhibit might have a detrimental impact on the reputation of his museum among his public, i.e. London's elite and the rising middle class. His reaction is significant: most discourses emanating from nineteenth century racial anthropology have contributed to the dehumanisation of colonial subjects.[4] As one of the trailblazers in the development of museal institutions, his decision against showing living Africans was a clear stance against perpetuating a process of racist dehumanisation in the museum. At the same time, though, it does not erase the museum's role in having discursively dehumanised colonised subjects through the objectification of their bodies, either through dioramas or the study of their remains. On the one hand, he opposed the ultimate objectification of Baartman as a living exhibit. Yet, as Sadiah Qureshi intelligently describes, this encounter between Dunlop, a naval surgeon, and Bullock, a museum professional, and their positions within the network of suppliers and consumers indicate that the processes involved in Baartman's commodification are analogous to those involved in animal importation (Qureshi, 235). Besides, it also epitomises the pristine *materiality* that has characterised modern museums ever since the emergence of the

Renaissance cabinet of curiosities (see Stocking, 4-6). By denying Dunlop his proposition, Bullock reinforced the idea of the museum as a showcase for a dead past, as much as a dead foreign. Indeed, the image of overseas territories and exoticized people conveyed by the Liverpool museum at the time was still tainted by Eurocentric theses and curatorial standards which fuelled a hierarchised and oppressive view of the "other" vis-à-vis Britain and its subjects.

Eager to exploit Sarah as a representative of Khoikhoi people and inspired by shows at the Bartholomew fair, Dunlop coerced her to exhibit herself in a show that could both cater to the interest in the constructed "other" as a freak, but also as a scientific curiosity: "the Hottentot Venus". The multiple nations of Khoi, Khoisan and Nama people were indeed at the time referred to as "Hottentots", a derogative term coined by Dutch settlers, meaning "stutterer" (see Strother, 3) as many European settlers could not fathom that the clicks from Khoe languages could possibly be phonemes. With Cesars as a master of ceremony, the show started in September 1801, creating "juxtapositions of difference around gender, race, the body, and culture in a way that created something new – the ethnopornographic freak show – and prefigured the later rise of the ethnographic show as spectacle" (Crais & Scully, 73).

In October, critiques from the abolitionist movement came forth, questioning the status of Sarah with regard to Cesars and Dunlop. In late November, she was interviewed in Dutch by court officers who would end the investigation launched by depositions brought forth by William Bullock, Zachary Macaulay, Thomas Babington and Pieter Van Wageninge. Those activists and writers from the abolitionist movement asked the court to investigate whether Baartman was held in bondage by her custodians, kept in Britain by force and exhibited against her will. In the interview whose record remains a translated-*cum*-paraphrased version, she seems unable to understand the conditions of the agreement drafted by Dunlop, yet explicitly states that she wants to stay in Britain and was "contented with hert situation" (Solly & Moojen, qtd in Strother, 48).[5]

After more than a decade of shows in Bath, Manchester, Limerick, Ipswich or Bury St Edmunds, Sarah Baartman left the British Isles in August 1814 with Henry Taylor, a man about whom little is known from the archival record (see Crais & Scully, 113). Novelist Barbara Chase-Riboud has imagined that Dunlop and Sarah got married in Manchester. (183), but the idea which should rather be entertained is that she had been married to

Taylor. Indeed Sarah's baptism in the Manchester Cathedral had been directly followed by her entering the "holy state of matrimony" (Manchester Mercury, qtd in Crais and Scully, 199). Baartman and Taylor arrived in Paris in September and moved in at the Palais-Royal, a place where luxury, lust and prostitution blended, and where she was again gazed at and prodded. Taylor then wrote to George Cuvier, director of the Museum of Natural History, and invited him to meet "the Hottentot Venus from the Gamtoos River" (see Crais & Scully, 123). Taylor seemed to have been well-acquainted with Eurocentric naturalist discourses of the late eighteenth century and made use of scientific speculations of the time regarding the bodies and dress of the Khoi, and more particularly regarding the labia of Khoi women.[6] After four months of profit and fame which culminated in a new form of iconisation of the Hottentot Venus through performing arts (a play at the Vaudeville Theatre), Taylor officially bequeathed the "ownership" of the Hottentot Venus to French showman Réaux, who pushed the limits of this spectacle by forcing Baartman to wear a collar, one of the apparent markings of slaves. Réaux took Sarah to the Jardin des Plantes in March 1815, where they met with the now interested Georges Cuvier, eager to study her body for scientific purposes. There, she was made to pose naked in front of naturalists and artists, gazed at by preying eyes looking to categorise her and her kin in the animalising and objectifying classification of beings. Baartman though expressly disallowed any examination of her sexual organ. In support of a process of re-humanisation, I argue that this powerful gesture – perhaps the only retrievable headstrong decision she made, as many questions regarding her agency remain unanswered – has crucial implications for the politics of remembering Sarah Baartman today: as a Khoi woman who once resisted to prying Eurocentric patriarchy and its compulsive desire for definition and compartmentalisation, who once turned against the cloak she was forced to wear for the show, that ubiquitous figure of the Hottentot Venus, that "phantom who haunts Western imagination ("Crais & Scully, 6), and whose legacy "has shaped representations of blackness and beauty" (Hobson, 2).

Baartman died in the last days of 1815 and, upon her death, Cuvier appropriated her remains for his post-mortem scientific inquiries. He made a full plaster cast and dissected her body in January 1816. The violent process of defleshment took place in a climate of meticulous rationality. The violent examination of her genitalia, cut and conserved in vats of formaldehyde, taken as material to justify theories on the origin of the so-called "apron", have not taken place once, though. This violence has been repeated throughout history: in academic discourse, in curatorial practices at the Musée de l'Homme, in the imagination of visitors, or recently again at the 2012 celebrations of World Art Day at the Moderna Museet in Sweden (see *Pambazuka News*). Kept for almost two centuries in museum depots in Paris, the repatriation of Sarah Baartman's skeleton and fleshy remains in 2002 finally allowed her body to lay at rest, not in the Camdeboo, but on a hill overlooking to the Gamtoos river and its valley.

Just as the remains of Herero and Nama victims of genocide attest of the thick connections between modern imperial Germany and national-socialist theories of racial purity and hierarchy, the story of the Hottentot Venus and Sarah Baartman's remains have been considered as integrate part of the underpinnings of Western scientific patriarchy and the politics of power over racialized female bodies. Carol E. Henderson inscribes the visual and symbolic legacy of Sarah Baartman as belonging to what Patricia Hill-Collins defined as the "controlling images of black womanhood" (Henderson, 949-50), i.e. "racist and sexist ideologies [which] permeate the social structure to such a degree that they become hegemonic, namely, seen as natural, normal, and inevitable. In this context, certain assumed qualities that are attached to Black women are used to justify oppression" (Hill-Collins, 5).Yet, concerned primarily with the significance of Sarah Baartman for Khoi, Khoisan and South African memory, her story and her memory should be juxtaposed with that of Dawid Stuurman, the Khoi anticolonial leader whose repatriated spirit now shares Baartman's resting place in Hankey.

Dawid Stuurman

> *"Restore [...] the country of which our fathers have been despoiled by the Dutch, and we have nothing more to ask".(Klaas Stuurman, qtd in Barrow, 403)*

Dawid Stuurman was born in the 1770s near the mouth of the Gamtoos river. His descendant Jongikhaya Stuurman has retraced his ancestry to the Khoi as well as the Xhosa clan of Nxuba (SABC Digital News). Not much is known about Stuurman's earlier life apart from the assumption that he grew up with his older brother Klaas on a farm near the mouth of the river, and was later assigned to work for the Vermaak family on a farm (see Malherbe, 1980, 48).

In the late 1790s, after Sarah Baartman had already left the Eastern Cape, Boer settlers started rebelling against the British colonial army, advocating for greater (understand fiercer) control of the frontier and coordinated aggressive policy against raids led by the amaXhosa. The Boers' defeat in 1799 led to their forced disarmament in the district of Graaf Reinet. Stripped of most of their firearms, they now faced former Khoi servants, who, emboldened by the sudden weakness displayed by their former masters, rebelled against those whose violent acts of coercion and oppression had taken their toll on the bodies of Khoi men, women and children. In this rebellion, Klaas Stuurman led a party of deserters which went plundering Boers (see Barrow, 394-5) and later built an alliance with Xhosa chiefs Chungwa of the Gqunukwebe (see Cory, 173; Theal 237) and Ndlambe (see Sutherland, 376-7) in the unfolding of the Third Frontier War. Despite the death of one of his younger brothers, Andries, on 28th September 1802 (see *List of Official Documents*, 46), Khoi victories compelled the Dutch Batavian settlers to negotiate a peace treaty which granted Klaas official tenancy of acres of land in the district. The first explicit instances mentioning his other brother Dawid are from Lieutenant-Colonel Collins who relates how, in October 1802, a party led by Dawid Stuurman attacked farmers in the western vicinity of Plettenberg Bay, spared the women and children, and retreated shortly (Collins, in Theal, 1900, 50-51). After Klaas's death during a hunting party in 1803, Dawid seems to have automatically become Captain and land "was assigned to him on the Gamtoos River" (Theal, 1915, 125). In the first historical recollection of Dawid Stuurman's life, V. Candy Malherbe states that he moved to this plot near Klein River in March 1804 with "ten men and thirty-two women and children all told" (1980, 51).

Dawid Stuurman is mostly described in derogatory terms in George Theal's reconstitution of the Cape's history from official records: a "ruffian", a "public nuisance" (Theal, 1915, 237), leading "a band of marauders" (97), terms which obviously emphasise his refusal to comply to colonial ordinance. Later accounts – even as early as the 1847 obituary of one of his descendants – gradually shift towards a more positive picture, honouring him as a "chief" (*Annual Monitor*, 107). Collins recalled in his 1809 journal that he led a division of "several hundreds" (qtd in Theal, 1900, 50). The officer holds the resistance of the Stuurman brothers and Xhosa chief Ndlambe in contempt, and shamelessly blames Dawid Stuurman for his brother's death, "a crime well worthy of a man", he wrote, "whose first master died by poison, a few days after this monster had declared publicly that he would not permit him long to live" (ibid 52). It is ironic to note that the syntax of this statement might generate a slight misinterpretation as to who is referred to as a "monster": Stuurman or his master? Collins evidently points at Stuurman and his death threats against Johan Vermaak. Nevertheless, Collins (purportedly?) omits mentioning a story which has fraught oral and written South African memory of Dawid Stuurman. The latter had indeed earlier been badly beaten by his master Vermaak who had him tied to a wagon, lashed several times with sjamboks before being "salted and left in the burning sun, for some hours" (Malherbe, 48). It can be assumed that this act of sheer violence – widely reported in biographical accounts of Stuurman's life online (see AFP) – as well as the subsequent death of his master, had earned Dawid Stuurman a reputation as a "dangerous" and bloodthirsty rebel among the white colonists (Governor to Collins, qtd in Malherbe, 1980, 54). Among the Khoi, though, this episode would have earned him a status similar to martyrs, and the strength of his resistance turned him into a famous and vengeful leader.

From 1804 to 1808, Stuurman and his party seemed to have rather kept friendly proceedings with the landdrost and the nearby Bethelsdorp missionary community. However, Cuyler reported that Stuurman and his men seemed to have become warier of the missionaries' work within his community and reticent to recruiting endeavours from the landdrost and the military who ventured to his kraal to enlist youngsters in colonial forces (qtd in *ibid*, 52). When, in 1809, he offered shelter to two Khois who had fled their master because the latter refused to let them free after the expiration of their contracted indenture (see Pringle, 257), Stuurman regained the status of an outlaw in the eyes of the now restaured British colonial authority. The Earl of Caledon stated that "an armed party was then sent against him, and he was captured with some difficulty" (in Theal, 237). Abolitionist Thomas Pringle rather has it that a deliberate plot to arrest Stuurman was prepared, taking advantage of Stuurman's trust in a Boer member of the landdrost's council who would then have betrayed him (258). Overseen by Lieutenant-Colonel Collins, the operation of capturing Dawid, his brother Bootsman and two other Khois, seems not only to have been a reaction to Stuurman's audacious behaviour to shelter some of his peers from white farmers. It also tallies with the renewed strength displayed by Xhosa chief Cuhngwa ka-Tshaka, and the speculation (or rather the fear) among colonial officers of a rekindled alliance between Xhosa and Khoi leaders (see ibid; also Cradock in Theal, 1915, 251-2; Collins in Theal, 1900, 56; Malherbe, 1980, 53-54).

After his arrest in April 1809, Dawid Stuurman was brought to Cape Town, accompanied by three women and seven children (possibly some of his wives and children).[7] He was probably denied a trial (despite Pringle and Theal asserting otherwise), and sent to be incarcerated on Robben Island by executive action for the crimes of "suspicious conduct, living in a Kraal near the boundaries of the Colony" and "Disobedience to the Field Cornet" (Malherbe, 1980, 54). Four children died in their time in Cape Town's prison. The women and the three other children remained in custody for two years.

December 1809 is a landmark in the story of Dawid Stuurman: his first escape from Robben Island. His brother Bootsman was caught two weeks after they both reached the shores of Bloubergstrand. Dawid made it safely back to the Eastern Cape. In 1810, Major Cuyler issued a statement hinting that Stuurman was now fighting alongside Chungwa, promising that if Stuurman surrendered, he would be allowed to

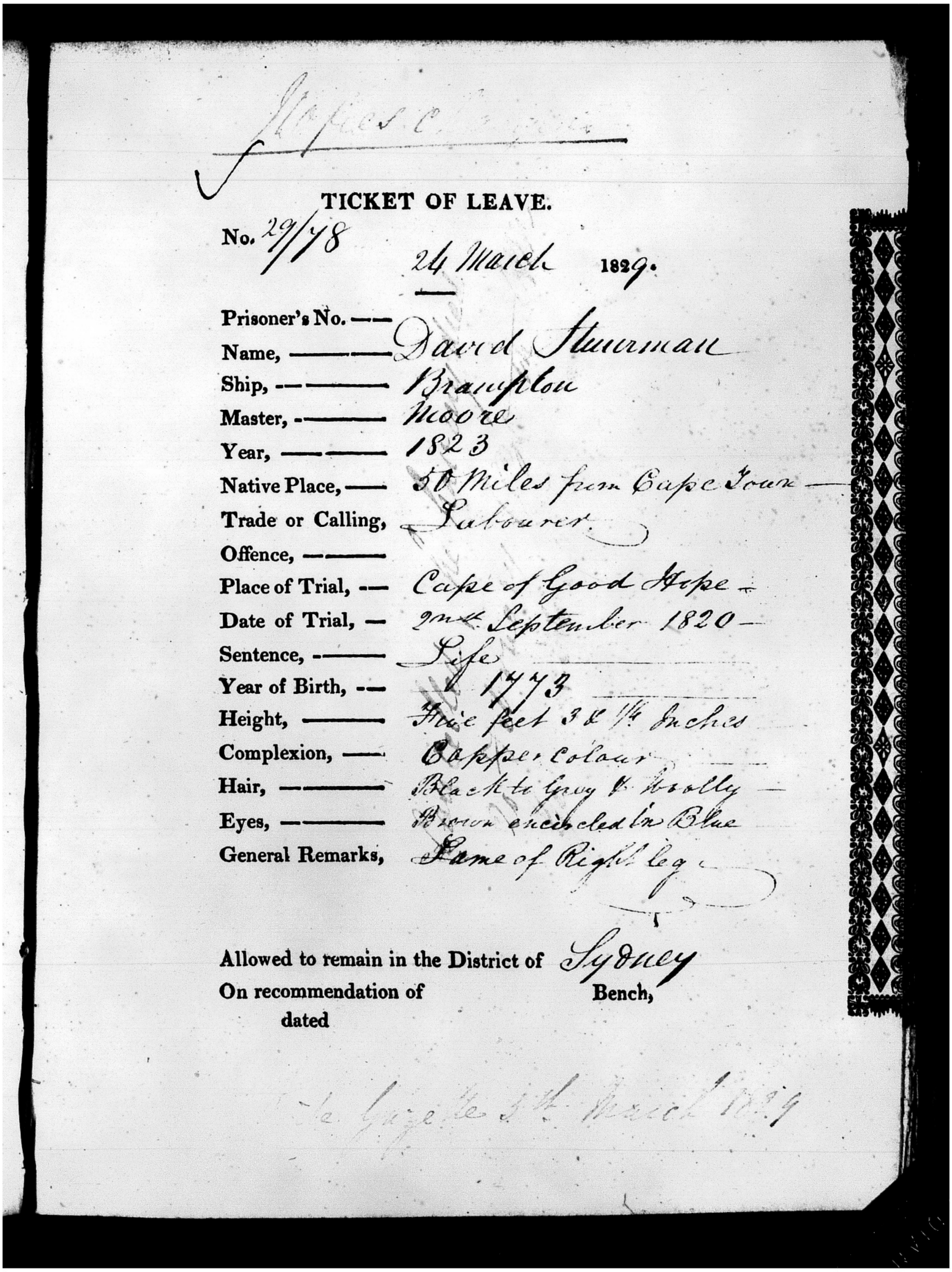
> live a peacable live [sic], near Cape Town... or at one of the Drostdys; near it, his wives and children shall be let at liberty and restored to him, as also his Brother Boosman, and that the' money Kraal's cattle sold for shall also be restored, by which they may buy more cattle, and a good place for the grazing of them shall be allotted him and his followers (qtd in Malherbe 1980, 55).

Stuurman clearly refused to return to the colony, asking for his wives and children to be freed so that they could live with him among the amaXhosa. During the fourth frontier war, Chungwa was killed, Ndlambe retreated beyond the Fish River, and Stuurman was now fighting alongside a minor Xhosa chief, Habana. Aware of the colonists' victories against the amaXhosa, Stuurman contacted Rev. James Read in 1816 and asked him whether the offer for amnesty was still on the table, but Cuyler refused to grant him a safe return (Pringle, 259). Three years later, Stuurman was arrested again, shipped to Cape Town and sent to Robben Island on the accusation of having "waged actual war against the Government" (Lord Somerset, qtd in Malherbe, 1980, 59).

On 9th August 1820, after Swiss convict Johan Smit disarmed a sentinel, a well-orchestrated mutiny erupted during which thirty convicts attempted to escape the island by stealing whaler boats. Stuurman, Khoi leader Hans Trompetter, and Xhosa prophet

Makhanda (Nxele) were together on a boat which capsized upon its arrival at Bloubergstrand because of a heavy surf. Makhanda drowned, but Stuurman and Trompetter reached the shore (see Deacon, 45-47). At the same time, two commandos from Rondenbosch and Stellenbosch were moving swiftly to capture the remaining sixteen fugitives who had not drowned during the escape. Smit, Stuurman, Trompetter and others were apprehended and put on trial. Because he had urged the mutineers to spare the life of the whaler's overseer back on the island, Stuurman was spared a death sentence by the noose. Instead, he would be shipped to the penal colony of New South Wales. V. Candy Malherbe relates that "on 16 December 1820 the others' sentences were effected in [Stuurman's] presence and he was sent, for the third time, to Robben Island until the transportation order could be carried out" (1980, 60).

The convict ship *Brampton* left the Irish city of Cork in September 1822 and anchored in Table Bay at 2:00 pm on 8th February, 1823 (Price, 12). Colonel Bird informed members of the crew that, on order of Governor Somerset, they would take twelve additional prisoners for passage to New South Wales. Stuurman was probably forced on board of the *Brampton* on 16th February (*ibid*, 13). The ship sailed out of Table Bay on 20th February and moored at Sydney harbour on 23rd April 1823 after a journey across the southern part of the Indian Ocean. Upon arrival, Stuurman was taken to the four-year-old Hyde Park Barracks, a place where many convicts spent the first weeks of their stay in Australia, some taken later to harsher camps such as Port Arthur or Norfolk Island, others possibly benefiting from tickets of leave for good conduct. He would sleep in a hammock hung in a crowded room accommodating more convicts than it actually could. He might himself have been punished with lashes, although his being the recipient of a ticket of leave in 1829 would attest that Stuurman's so-called 'good conduct' was in accordance to the disciplinary rules of the penal colony (see Pringle, 260). The record of this indulgence enabled convicts to look for work and earn wages, as well as marry and bring their families from abroad. Despite its denomination, a ticket of leave still compelled them to restrict their activities within a delimited district (see Fig. 4). The butt kept in official records lists the last information retrievable regarding Stuurman's life, including a unique description of his physical features. This document, which convicts had to keep with them and show about to constables and potential employers, does not stipulate what offence Stuurman



[illegible]

TICKET OF LEAVE.

No. 29/78

24 March 1829.

Prisoner's No. —
Name, — David Stuurman
Ship, — Brampton
Master, — Moore
Year, — 1823
Native Place, — 50 Miles from Cape Town
Trade or Calling, Labourer.
Offence, —
Place of Trial, — Cape of Good Hope
Date of Trial, — 2nd September 1820
Sentence, — Life
Year of Birth, — 1773
Height, — Five feet 3 & 1/4 Inches
Complexion, — Copper Colour
Hair, — Black to Grey & Woolly
Eyes, — Brown encircled in Blue
General Remarks, Lame of Right leg

Allowed to remain in the District of Sydney
On recommendation of Bench,
dated

[illegible] Gazette 5th March 1829

Fig. 4.: Ticket of leave for "David Stuurman", NSW State Archives (4/4069; Reel 911).

committed, yet informs that this blue-eyed “labourer”, “lame of the right leg”, had been sentenced to life. Sick, and unable to enjoy the suspension of his sentence, Dawid Stuurman died on 20th February 1830 at the General Hospital in Sydney.

Abolitionists and transnational vectors of cosmopolitan memory

His charismatic figure has drawn the interest of several Anglophone journalists and political commentators. The book *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa* by abolitionist Thomas Pringle devotes an entire subchapter to the history of Klaas and Dawid’s resistance to British and Boer settlers, in an effort to pay tribute to “the last of the Hottentot chief who attempted to stand up for the rights of his countrymen” (259). While Pringle’s account emphasises on the cunning perfidy displayed by Boers and seems too eager to pardon British administrates for their “credulity” (257), it enabled a more sympathetic account of Dawid Stuurman’s deeds to travel to Australia, albeit too late to bring about any improvement of his life in the penal colony. In a footnote, Pringle writes:

> The above statement having been published after my return to England in 1826, attracted the attention of the upright and benevolent General Bourke, then Lieutenant Governor at the Cape, who immediately wrote to the Governor of New South Wales in behalf of David Stuurman. In consequence of this intervention, as I understand, Stuurman was relieved from some of the severities of his condition as a convict, and obtained what is called ‘a ticket of leave,’ an indulgence which gives the holder the privilege of earning wages for his own benefit. In 1829, the four children of David Stuurman, through the kindly aid of Mr. Bannister, presented a memorial to Sir Lowry Cole, then Governor at the Cape, intreating his Excellency’s intervention to procure the recal of their banished parent; but I am not aware that any steps were taken in the affair by Sir Lowry. In 1831, General Bourke having been appointed Governor of New South Wales, I had some correspondence on the subject with him in London; and he then obtained the consent of the Colonial Department to Stuurman being restored to his native country and family, provided his return was not opposed by the Cape Government. The ‘Last Chief of the Hottentots,’ however, had been released by death, before General Bourke reached his new Government. A communication which the General was so good as to address to me, soon after his arrival at Sydney, conveyed the information that Stuurman had died in the hospital, in 1830; and that his conduct in the colony had been good (259-260).

Along and against the grain of the archive of white British abolitionist writing, such account is irritating, for it exemplifies a distanced shallowness in abolitionist support to colonised people, even when they were deemed emblematic figures of resistance. Not only does it undermine Pringle’s self-positioning as a literary and legal ally to enslaved and imprisoned Africans (or people of African descent), it also sheds light upon a somehow artificial endorsement of responsibility for, coupled with an appropriation of the history of, resisting leaders and their bodies. This is analogue to what Barbara Baumgartner has described in her study of Pringle's role in editing the oral autobiographical narrative of Mary Prince – *The History of Mary Prince* – an enslaved woman from Antigua who was freed after setting foot on British soil (see 254). What is more, Pringle's text on Stuurman, primarily shaped by information divulged by a missionary (see 259), was to be nearly paraphrased five decades later by Marcus Clarke in the Sydney Morning Herald.

Introducing his newsworthy story in 1879, Clarke anticipated his white readers to be surprised at the fact that "the last [Khoi] chieftain [...] died in the hospital in Sydney, in the year 1830". Fuelling the myth of a pristine white Australian colony by making Stuurman's imprisonment an interesting exception of penal imprisonment – and thereby ignoring its colonial entanglements with the incarceration or murder of indigenous people resisting to settler colonialism on the Australian continent – Clarke plays up the regnant critique of Boer colonialism of the time to tell a thrilling story of heroism and treachery. He also somehow tends to alleviate the blame on British colonial administration for Stuurman's death. Clarke's article and Pringle's *Narrative* exemplify how 'major' advocates of human rights and sympathisers to the plight of colonised people have often remained complacent in the dead ends that distant solidarity or historical reconstruction construct. Genuine acknowledgement and policies of solidarity seem to become much more efficient when both the politics of history and the emotional relevance of such figures of resistance are brought to the fore.

Bringing together abolitionist discourse of solidarity and emotional engagement with racism I would like to contrast this short analysis of sympathetic voices to a novel written after the repatriation of Sarah Baartman. In *Hottentot Venus,* African-American author and artist Barbara Chase-Riboud imagines what could have happened if the Black abolitionist Robert Wedderburn had met Sarah Baartman in London. While most of the time, the novel is written from the perspective of Ssehura (a renamed Sarah), Chase-Riboud lends the narrative symphony to other soloists, like Dunlop or Cuvier. Chapter 9 introduces the fictional voice of Rev. Robert Wedderburn. This chapter very much revolves around the appeals of third-parties against the conditions of exhibition Sarah Baartman underwent. As a contemporary of Baartman and as a figure involved in the abolitionist movement through the African Association, Wedderburn would have possibly been acquainted with the Hottentot Venus exhibition at Piccadilly. He might also have been remotely involved in drawing up a legal defence for the ensuing court case. Building upon this synchronism, the author grants Wedderburn a special place in the narrative, as a member of the Black diaspora in London at the time, whereas Zachary Macauley,[8] who led the court case against the detention of Sara Baartman by Alexander Dunlop, is relegated to a supporting role. This fictional encounter raises questions about diasporic solidarity: on the one hand, racism and skin colour construct a shared experience of oppression, a stronger bond than e.g. the cursory sympathy shown by Pringle towards Stuurman. On the other hand, British-Jamaican experiences of racial violence and slavery fundamentally differ from Sarah Baartman's experience.

Robert Wedderburn was a literate, educated man, born free in Jamaica from the sexual oppression of Rosetta, a coloured maid, by a Scottish planter, James Wedderburn. He was raised in Kingston by his grandmother 'Talkee Amy.' He arrived in Britain after servicing in the Royal Navy and lived in London until his death around 1835. He published several writings, amongst them the book *The Horrors of Slavery* (1824) in which he describes the mistreatment of his mother and his grandmother at the hands of their successive British masters. Chase-Riboud has endeavoured to emulate Wedderburn's writing style, quite consistent through his publications. To the accusation proffered by his half-brother Andrew Colvile[ii] that Wedderburn's mother had a violent temper, he answered "yes, and I glory in her rebellious disposition, and which I have inherited from her" (*The Horrors of Slavery*, 59). In the novel, the character similarly draws upon his lineage to account for his vehement political commitment (see Chase-Riboud, 121). Both the historical figure and the character also strongly believed in the potential of proofs and legal action for justice. Robert Wedderburn wrote his autobiography partly to claim shared inheritance and financial support with his brother Andrew Colvile, who enjoyed wealth and status as Solicitor General for Scotland at the time. Wedderburn the character relentlessly insists on taking Sarah Baartman to court in order to free her from her contract with Dunlop (Chase-Riboud, 120-1). To consolidate the fusion between the historical figure and its fictional counterpart, the novel features actual letters written by him and published by the Morning Chronicle in 1810. The didactic function of extensive biographies, the apodictic intrigue based on facts used for a trial, and the mimesis of Wedderburn's rhetoric in Wedderburn's fictional speech, all contribute to inscribe the narrative in genuine political and legal concerns of the time. While the canonised archive of the British abolitionist movement is dominated by figures like William Wilberforce, Zachary Macauley, Thomas Pringle or Olaudah Equiano, Robert Wedderburn is here bestowed a prominent place. As a member of the Black diaspora in Britain, his position regarding the fate of Sarah Baartman is deemed of importance by Chase-Riboud.

[ii] Born Wedderburn, Colvile changed his last name to be able to inherit from his mother's side (The Horrors of Slavery, 59).

Their encounter indeed launches a reflection on the ethics of solidarity, since Wedderburn the character cannot stop himself from remembering his own life when looking at the Hottentot Venus. After his visit at Piccadilly, where he witnessed the spectacle, the character cannot help but link Sarah Baartman to the forms of racism subjection of African bodies he has witnessed:

> I knew I had to get over my obsession with the Venus. But her face and figure haunted me. Flashes of the suffering of my mother and grandmother assaulted me. I had only to set eyes on Sarah Baartman and she, and she alone, could evoke the hole dug in the dirt floor to accommodate my mother's womb swollen with myself while she was being flogged by my father. There was the vicious torture of my grandmother, Talkee Amy, accused of witchcraft and burned to death. I had never been to Africa like Macauley, but I knew the horrors of slavery: the plantation, the floggings, the neck-collaring, the padlocking, the chains, the ship holes, rape, sodomy, forced feedings, cauterizing, branding, executions. I had experienced firsthand the slave system of the West Indies thanks to my own father. The Venus had not suffered these things. No, she was more like a dark-skinned Eve who had wandered out of her African Garden of Eden into the Inferno of the ignorant, prejudiced, immoral and self-satisfied British Empire; bloodsuckers feeding on the cadaver of its brown colonials, its greedy industries, the docility of its proletarian class. Sarah's exploitation was, I thought, commercial, spiritual, hypocritical, lascivious and pornographic. […] She was unimportant to the abolitionist movement, to civil rights and to human rights. She was nothing political. Despite the fact that I had triumphed over the British Empire and the King, I could not convince one lone peasant girl to give up her delusions… and reclaim her dignity. Why then couldn't I get this simpleminded shepherdess out of my mind? Why was it impossible to forget her? (Chase-Riboud, 123, italics mine)

This passage demonstrates several things: first, that the Black reverend, having experienced racist oppression through different forms, views Sarah's experience through the prism of his or his family's own experience of racist violence. Remembering occurs ungeared, as shown by those self-reflexive thoughts I italicised. This unwanted recollection exemplifies how some "implicated subjects" (Rothberg) unconsciously – even automatically – relate to the suffering of others because their own *Weltansschauung* has been carved out of their fundamental experience of racial violence. This degree of implication is here articulated by an analogy to a ghost haunting Wedderburn, Sarah

Baartman being thus detached from her social reality for the sole purpose to bring back images, sounds and emotions from the past. Secondly, this passage informs that Wedderburn is aware that these parallels cannot amount to an expression of solidarity by equation: he is torn between his comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms of white oppression and the relative agency displayed by Sarah regarding her own situation. These quandaries at play within his mind are answered with attempts to drastically separate her experience with that of his mother and grandmother. He goes so far as to relegate completely her situation to the realm of apolitical matters.

The reader is told earlier that Wedderburn aspires to bridge the condition of the enslaved with the condition of the working classes. Despite his basic understanding of intersectionality, he nonetheless fails to acknowledge Ssehura as endowed with free will, and hierarchises the difference between her and him: to him, she remains simple-minded because illiterate. His quick assumption that a "peasant girl" will not be convinced of the prevailing importance of human "dignity" over "delusions" questions his ability to stand as an advocate of transclass resistance to imperial hegemony. But the strongest barrier against his expression of solidarity seems to be his impossibility to acknowledge her particular position as the recipient of intersectional violence through race, class, sex and gender. He even perpetuates it. In his deprecation of what he views as ignorance in Ssehura's resistance to the help offered by the African Association, she is relegated to the status of a "peasant *girl*", a "shepherd*ess*". Wedderburn fails to read Sarah Baartman as a woman, a woman who has travelled and who, in spite of her blind allegiance to Dunlop, displays acute understanding of her surroundings, and, for that matter, of Wedderburn's intentions. A woman who stands separate from her being labelled as 'Venus.' Conversely, he can only make sense of her by associating her to European female figures. He compares her to Eve, and does not question the idea of a natural, pristine, African Garden of Eden. He repeats colonial views of a pre-colonial Africa and its people although, as the beginning of the novel shows with frontier violence and massacres, Ssehura does not come from a land at peace. The father of Ssehura's child died at the hands of colonisers. She had to run away, and was later subject to the sexual oppression of her Boer master Hendrick Caesar.[iii]

[iii] In the novel, Hendrick Caesar is a Boer. However, Craig and Sully have since proved that the Caesar who travelled to England was in fact a free African.

Because of Wedderburn's actual ignorance of the conditions of African women in the Cape colony, this character can only relate to her condition through the system of white European racism, oblivious to intersections between colonialism, race, class, gender and sex.

Wedderburn's association of Baartman's exhibition to his mother and grandmother's suffering hints at a recurrent feature of textual engagement with slavery and appropriation of racialised bodies: pornotroping. Hortense Spillers, who has coined the compound, traces several steps that lead to this physical, and then general, "powerlessness", resulting from the paradoxical combination of an "irresistible, destructive sensuality" with the objectification of the body, "provid[ing] a physical and biological expression of 'otherness'" (67). Alexander Weheliye has shown how pornotroping has fraught visual and literary portrayals of slavery, the Holocaust and colonialism, from Frederick Douglass's *Narrative* onwards. Analysing Douglass's well-known description of Aunt Hester's flogging juxtaposed to Douglass's physical resistance to Covey, Weheliye argues that the shift that occurs for Douglass, from a position of subjection to a "revived […] sense of [his] own manhood" (qtd in Weheliye, 95), may more often be interpreted as a "sado-masochistic moment of same-sex violence" which continues "to yoke enfleshment to ungendered black female subjects" (96). Douglass's inversion of sexualised physical violence fuels a liberation through the vision of a heroic masculine subject. Alongside their praise for agency and resistance, such narratives altogether decline subject-positions to enslaved Africans who remain still, endure, or exhibit other ways reacting to/against racial sexualised violence. In a very similar manner, Wedderburn, who sanctions literacy and vehement rhetoric as the most productive tools for freedom against enslavement (just as Douglass viewed physical strength as endowing him with freedom), cannot but view passivity in Sarah Baartman. This is exemplified by his failure to see more than ungendered and unracialised "commercial" or "pornographic" exploitation of her body. By extension, for all his willingness to grant agency to his mother, his grandmother and Ssehura, he abides by a masculine typology of redemption within the matrix of racial violence/sexuality, and condemns them indefinitely to the realm of non-humans.

Yet, his inability to forget racial violence bespeaks a minuscule but genuine concern for Ssehura as another member of the African diaspora in Britain. There is a will for solidarity, thwarted surely by the method of abolitionists viewing themselves as liberators. Wedderburn is unable to make sense of Ssehura's wish not to be 'freed,' and the possibilities for and actual solidarity based on empathy slowly vanish. By proxy, the encounter in the novel constructs a dichotomy between the abolitionists' cause and Sarah Baartman's situation. In the next chapter, narrated by Ssehura, she meets the members of the African Association and appears torn between the false promises made by Dunlop and the warnings of the abolitionists. What makes her decide between one or the other is her understanding of how Wedderburn looks at her. She is clearly aware that she has an effect on him; similarly, she is aware of his inability to *see* her:

> Yes, I wanted to say, I understand you. I understand that your ideas about me are more important than me myself. You see me as yours, as much yours as Master Dunlop sees me as *his*. You see me as a means to your goal of revolution, and rebellion, against the English. You are so angry you don't really see me at all – only as an object in the eye of the storm. [...] For example, you do not even speak my language, so who are you to talk of *my* history, *my* ideals, *my* representatives, *my* duty to allow you to save me (134).

Herein, Southern African modes of greeting and of acknowledging human subjectivity are recalled. As Sikho Siyotula has shown, the use of *sawubona* ("I see you") and *sanibonani* (for a group of people) in isiZulu as usual ways of greeting proposes processes of interpellation and recognition of the subject that are closely linked to modes of seeing embedded in cultural practices. It also forms her theoretical groundwork for reworking the colonial archive. When one meets the eyes of a stranger in the rural Eastern Cape, this reciprocal seeing culturally asks for a greeting; any silence or attempt to look away would be deemed rude. Perhaps Chase-Riboud was aware of the importance of seeing for Africans from the Cape. In any case, the possibility of relating Wedderburn and Ssehura, i.e. Reverend Robert Wedderburn and Sarah Baartman, remain thwarted by his paternalistic and disparaging way of seeing her, and her own awareness of his attitude. In this meeting, the last word is given to Ssehura, highlighting how Wedderburn's lack of reflexivity has shackled him in an appropriation of Sarah's body for anti-slavery politics, explaining why he cannot make sense of her words: "Just because I *consent* to this life doesn't mean I *choose* it" (124).

The novel has opened up possibilities for a reciprocate understanding of oppression by two members of the African diaspora in imperial Britain. The encounter in the novel offers rather an instance of what Ifeoma Kiddoe Nwankwo coined "Black cosmopolitanism", drawing on "Enlightenment approach to self-definition (cosmopolitanism)" and "allowing for the possibility of racial disidentification" in a historical context contemporary to the germinal moment of the Haitian Revolution (Nwankwo, 11). Although this fictional encounter promises more than it can deliver in terms of politics of solidarity, the author draws multidirectional vectors of remembrance, remembering Baartman and Wedderburn as members of the African diaspora, showing analogies in their life stories, but also emphasizing difference.

As far as Macauley, Pringle and by extension, Clarke, are concerned, a colonial network of sympathetic ideas to the suffering of Africans materialises in their deeds and writings. Yet, often when concerning colonial history and the legacy of the slave trade, the exclusive reliance on a macro-narrative pushing for human rights remains blind to the real extent of colonial oppression. With Baartman, intersections of race, class, language and gender need to be taken into account. In the case of Stuurman, it is rather systems of colonial machinery which need to be addressed. His story has shown how one individual experienced land appropriation, corporal punishment close to the lot of enslaved Africans, frontier wars, two penal colonies (Robben Island and New South Wales), as well as plain racism, defamation, and manipulative behaviour from agents of administrative authority. What is more, withdrawing anti-colonial figures from their belonging to a given community and a precise context as Clarke does with Stuurman further blurs the thick entanglements of structures of colonial oppression. Clarke's article, inspired by and drawing on Pringle's *Narrative*, shows that networks of printed press in the British Empire have contributed to a marginalised – yet sympathetic – recognition of Khoi anti-colonial resistance Anglophone humanitarian discourse, as far as Australia. Clarke nevertheless reproduces racist stereotypes regarding Africans and constantly conflates resistance with wildness or savagery. Further, he seems unable to explicitly relate the experience of land robbing in South Africa with the European invasion of the Australian continent and genocidal policies against Indigenous Australians. All in all, Pringle and Clarke remain on the surface and fail to engage with the grittiness of Stuurman's story, unable to dig deeper and reveal the potential for transnational politics of recognition.

Baartman & Stuurman in oceanic streams of remembrance

Another way to conceptualise the rhizomorphic memories of Khoi resistance to colonial oppression is to anchor those two stories in the twofold thalassology of South African history: the Black Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. The Cape stands at the confluence of two currents: the cold Benguela of the South Atlantic gyre, continuing its route along the West African cost towards Namibia, brushing the island of St. Helena and rubbing shoulders with the Guinea current before morphing into Brazil's liquid counterpart in a loop of Atlantic flows; and the warm Agulhas current coming from Mozambique, bouncing off the West Wind Drift and retroflecting towards the western coast of the Australian continent.

The story of Sarah Baartman has fraught legal, scientific, cultural and political spheres of the Atlantic. The chapter "Ghosts of Sarah Baartman" in Clifton Crais and Pamela Scully's biography of Baartman shows that references to her court case have reached as far as in the U.S. Supreme Court, to protect the fundamental rights of Guantánamo prisoners. This is quite analogous to the Herero and Nama genocides, the U.S. court case and Coco Fusco's performance (see Chapter 2). Crais and Scully also follow the birth of racial anthropology and the streams of racial hierarchy and hatred which emanated from the influence of Eurocentric ideas regarding the supposed origin of "primitive stocks" (Arthur de Gobineau), "the salvage paradigm" (see Clifford, 1987),[9] and the appropriation of colonised bodies by agents of science. These ideas contemporary to her and her afterlife in a museum travelled within Europe like she did, but also to the U.S. and to burgeoning centres of racist scientific research in South Africa. In the violence of these discourses, Baartman's authority over her own body was completely wrested, and, as Magubane has argued, she would be moulded as an exemplary typology for Black women in the world (see also Hobson, 19-52). This appropriation reminds of the embezzlement of Henrietta Lacks's cell lines, whose death by cervical cancer at 31 years old in poverty starkly contrasts with the exploitation of her cells as 'material' for scientific study, as well as an imperishable source of profit (see Weheliye, 79-80; Nikolova, forthcoming). The story of Sarah Baartman therefore leads to other stories of oppression resulting for similar racist structures at play in the colonial exploitation of the Atlantic as a space for profit and conquest. As far as modern cultural culture is concerned, Crais and

Scully recall references to the Hottentot Venus and stereotypical portrayals of the Khoi in novels such as William Thackeray's *Vanity Fair,* Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables,* or J. M. Coetzee's *Dusklands.*

More important revisits of Baartman's life and fate are found in these countercultures of modernity "that defiantly reconstruct their own critical, intellectual, and moral genealogies in partially hidden public spheres of their own",[iv] i.e. Black feminist critique and African-American poetry and literature. Despite Hortense Spillers' powerful and pessimistic metaphor of racialised women being "the beached whales of the sexual universe, unvoiced, unseen, not doing, awaiting their verb" (2003, 153), it is hardly applicable to Baartman's case, whose corporeal sexuality has been violently and overtly exhibited, as well as shaped and typified by white male patriarchy. Gendered voices from the Black Atlantic have produced counter-currents to those discourses on Black female bodies, and have endeavoured to save Sarah Baartman from the exploitation of her body during her first afterlife, and send her adrift again in the flows of empowered Black discourses as a re-humanised being. Afro-American poet Elizabeth Alexander stated that Sarah Baartman has been "truly immortalized by more than two decades of dedicated work by scholars, writers, artists and everyday women who find something resonant in her story" (2010). She quoted a letter she received from South African poet Gabeba Baderoon, in which the latter relates how Alexander's poem about Sarah Baartman found its way in the early nineties to the hearts of the "Women of Colour Consciousness-Raising Group", a group of South African scholars. Addressing herself to Alexander, Baderoon explains: remembering Auntie Sarah in 1993 represented a radical political move against "an intellectual system that was profoundly implicated in the colonial and apartheid systems that denigrated Auntie Sarah and us. We wielded your words in that struggle" (Baderoon, qtd in Alexander, 2010). This instance exemplifies the close ties between Afro-American and South African struggles against racist segregation, but also between Black feminist movements across the Atlantic, with Sarah Baartman's story helping for relatedness and solidarity.

[iv] In the original quote from The Black Atlantic Paul Gilroy uses the singular: "counterculture that defiantly reconstructs its own critical, intellectual, and moral genealogy in a partially hidden public sphere of its own" (37-8). In a wish to highlight the different critiques of Gilroy's framework – from gendered and queer perspectives, to openings toward the Indian Ocean and Francophone engagements with it – I have chosen to pluralise this sentence.

As a means to re-imagine a silenced subject, an interlocutor, to re-humanise her by inscribing her in emotional recognition of kin, identification, and calling on her spirit, poetry has been a privileged medium in the memory of Baartman. Ferrus's promise "I've come to take you home",[v] pronounced and performed first in South Africa, has travelled. It has been translated into French and recited in 2001 in the Palais du Luxembourg by senator Nicolas About when introducing his draft bill for the repatriation of Baartman's remains. It also features prominently in Mara Verna's artistic documentation of the repatriation of Baartman's remains. In her digital project *hottentotvenus.com*, the Canadian artist and lawyer uses audio-digital media to convey the perspectives of agents of repatriation. Interviews of South African activist Gail Smith, Khoisan chief Basil Coetzee and poet Diana Ferrus, offer re-humanising accounts through 're-presentation' (*Darstellung*). Other perspectives – institutional ones like those of Philipp Tobias (anthropologist) and Jean Bernary (former director of the Alliance Francaise in Mitchell's Plain), but also as a racist comment by a Parisian pedestrian – clash with the emotional significance of Baartman's repatriation for human rights activist and scholar Gail Smith or Khoisan Chief Basil Coetzee. Presenting those voices as cardboard boxes on pallets, ready to be shipped across the Atlantic, from South Africa to France and back, the website presents those subjective positions as potential 'material' for an ethics of anthropological practice after repatriation. After the bones have been returned, it is the fragmented perspectives on the same story that are moving, those boxes and audio recordings, dependent on waves, fluxes and tides which let stories emerge out of dissenting currents, stories of colonial oppression, objectification, and racial discrimination, but also of resistance, reparation and re-established links of kin. The powerful voice of Diana Ferrus has already travelled far and continues to resonate on the cosmopolitan space that the digital web offers.[10]

Stuurman's repatriation will now shift the focus towards the East, with the Indian Ocean as a connecting body. The repatriation process has indeed shed more light upon his presence in Australia. The Hyde Park Barracks in Sydney, where Stuurman was incarcerated and forced to work under harsh conditions from 1823 to 1829, is now a museum. Its website remembers him as part of the convicts, as a "chief, resistance fighter, Khoi hero" (Sydney Living Museums). The story of his life is featured on the website and has been updated in the last two years. Descriptions of his acts of resistance against colonial rule and of his two escapes from Robben Island are remembered. In the long run, one can hope that the visit of the delegation in 2017 might have been a beginning for a joint "rewriting of history", namely with partnerships between the museums and Khoisan descendants for a polyphonic narrative including South African interventions in the Australian museum landscape. Countering a humanitarian discourse which has ignored possibilities for remembering South African and Australian colonialism together, this could highlight how connections traced by a worldwide system of transport have supported deportation, relocation, settlement, have allowed the violent establishment of white supremacy on a global scale, and have supported structures of oppression which have structurally exoticised, dehumanised and objectified colonised people and bodies to the extent that theoricians of Afropessimism see Blackness as perpetually imbricated in social death and enslavement (see Wilderson, 20-21). A joint narrative could counter these discourses by finally articulating "what should be there and not what is there" (Mancotywa, 3), engaging deeply with contemporary issues for postcolonial justice: e.g. showing how South African calls for economic and racial equality and land restoration bear similarities to Indigenous Australian movements fighting against the marginalisation of their communities and violent politics of land-grabbing for fracking and mining (see Taylor et al; Foley; SeedMob). The Khoisan delegation overseeeing the repatriation of Stuurman's spirit actually met with Indigenous Australians during their visit to discuss spiritual practices of repatriation. Coming back to the role of a decolonised museum, not only should Khoisan and Indigenous Australians meet once; their voices could help remembering Stuurman as a political subject. A memorial for Stuurman on Australian soil, as envisaged in 2014 by the National Heritage Council (see NHC), should engage deeply with the history of colonial oppression and forced displacement. Stuurman claimed and fought for his freedom on whaleboats on the hectic waters of Table Bay before being detached from his homeland by a convict ship. Connecting the Cape with New South Wales, the ship can again function as a central chronotope (Gilroy, 1993) in the oceanic remembrance of this Khoi Captain, evoking both the forced deportation of South Africans to foreign continents, as well as the invasion of Australia by British criminals.

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[v] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/sarah-baartmann/#dianaferrus

In 2014, after several years trying to locate the site where the remains of Dawid Stuurman had been laid, South African partakers in this process abandoned their search. In 2015, historian Keith Johnson, interviewed by SBS, exposed the reasons for the vain outcome, almost two centuries after his bones had been interred: it seemed probable that Stuurman, who died in 1830 at the Sydney infirmary in Macquarie Street, had been buried at the Elizabeth and Devonshire Streets burial ground. It was on this very spot that Sydney's Central station was built at the beginning of the twentieth century, and Australian authorities at the time were compelled to unearth and relocate the remains of the dead buried there. If the bones remained unclaimed or unidentified, they were sent to a mass grave at the Botany cemetery. Because the remains of several hundreds of individuals had been thus laid six feet under in Sydney's Eastern suburbs, Johnson assured that the chances of recovering Stuurman's remains today are "absolutely zero" (qtd in Chingaipe). I cannot help but awaken other contexts and the similar fate met by thousands of denizens whose bodies have also been lost, "haunting[s] of modernity by the frontier" (Jonker, 190), such as those lying "At the Bottom of the Atlantic Ocean" (Amiri Baraka), in mass graves such as Prestwich Place in Cape Town (see Jonker), in fictional imaginaries of African afterlives (the City of Bones in August Wilson's *Gem of the Ocean*), but also more recently, the bodies of the Mediterranean. In May 2015, a group of artists, the Center for Political Beauty, whose performances address political issues in a provocative and controversial manner, travelled to the southern borders of Europe where they gathered dead bodies of drowned refugees. In June, the artists started to bury the corpses in Germany. On June 16, a 34-year-old Syrian mother and her daughter were given a Muslim burial in Gatow, in the Berlin west suburban area. Others have followed. A public procession with empty coffins marched in the streets of Berlin, paying respect to the spirits of the dead. These burials have been both a way to provide a respectful and human recognition of those individuals that died before reaching the shores of Fortress Europe, as well as strongly appeal against the deadliness of European migration and foreign policy.

The Indian Ocean is not exempt from such racial necropolitics. As a route for the European invasion of Australia, it is now the grim theatre of violent anti-immigration policies allowing outsourced "black sites" and deaths of refugees in custody (see

Researchers Against Pacific Black Sites). On the one hand, Stuurman's return to the Gamtoos Valley conjures up support for stories of homecoming; on the other hand, the lingering of his remains on Australian soil calls for a recognition of unclaimed bodies, those "precarious lives", individuals who, because of their origin, creed, race, class, gender, or sexual orientation, have not been deemed worthy enough to be mourned and remembered. "Is there something to be gained in the political domain by maintaining grief as part of the framework within which we think our international ties?", Judith Butler asks in mapping connections between "human not regarded as humans" (2004, 30, 33). Politics of repatriation have shown that, in memoriam, grief and mourning actually feed into the political domain and bring about multidirectional ways of remembering intersectional violence which are indivisible from current struggles against rekindled discourses of white supremacy, as well as for convivial and bilateral endeavours for postcolonial justice.

Baartman & Stuurman, anchored in national memory

Stuurman: Robben Island and the Long March for Freedom

Gesine Krüger has already paved the way to remembering Baartman and Stuurman alongside each other in politics of national memory. She argued that the ties between these two figures and what they represent in the history of colonial oppression will enable "Khoisan ancestry [to] become thoroughly nationalised. And while Sarah Baartman symbolises suffering, oppression and scientific exploitation, Stuurman stands for resistance and militancy" (17).

Soon the history of Stuurman's resistance will feature in Baartman's eponymous Centre of Remembrance, his grave on a hill facing hers (see Fig. 1). But since 2015, effigies of himself and his brother are also part of the memorial The Long March to Freedom, a parade of life-sizes statues that stands as a National Heritage Monument in Tshwane (Pretoria). His presence attests of the recognition of his leadership in the Khoi and Xhosa resistance, as one of the famous faces of the anti-colonial struggle. The second escape of Dawid Stuurman from Robben Island, which led to the death of Xhosa prophet Makhanda (Nxele), has also consolidated Stuurman's status in national memory. On the island, now operating as a national museum, a small house behind the gift shop on the way to the ferries features a chronology of the history of this penal colony. Information panel n°8 recalls the history of Nxele's imprisonment in conjunction with Stuurman's and Khoi leader Hans Trompetter (see Fig. 5). Even though guided visits to the Robben Island Museum mostly convey the history of anti-apartheid activists and prisoners such as Robert Sobukwe and Nelson Mandela, and therefore marginalise to a certain extent the role of Robben Island since the 17th century, his name has generally been associated with his prowess of having escaped twice from the island. Besides, having fought alongside famous Xhosa chiefs like Chungwa and having fled with Makhanda, Stuurman fleshes out the myth of a united and continued "march to freedom", a symbiosis between chiefs, captains, activists, thinkers, who in turn guided Southern African people (including Namibians) against colonial rule and the apartheid regime towards liberation, emancipation and recognition. No effigy of Baartman walks along in The Long March for Freedom though. Representations of her body and interpretations of her agency are indeed intricate in memory cultures in South Africa, as the next section will show.

Baartman: an empowering figure against intersectional violence

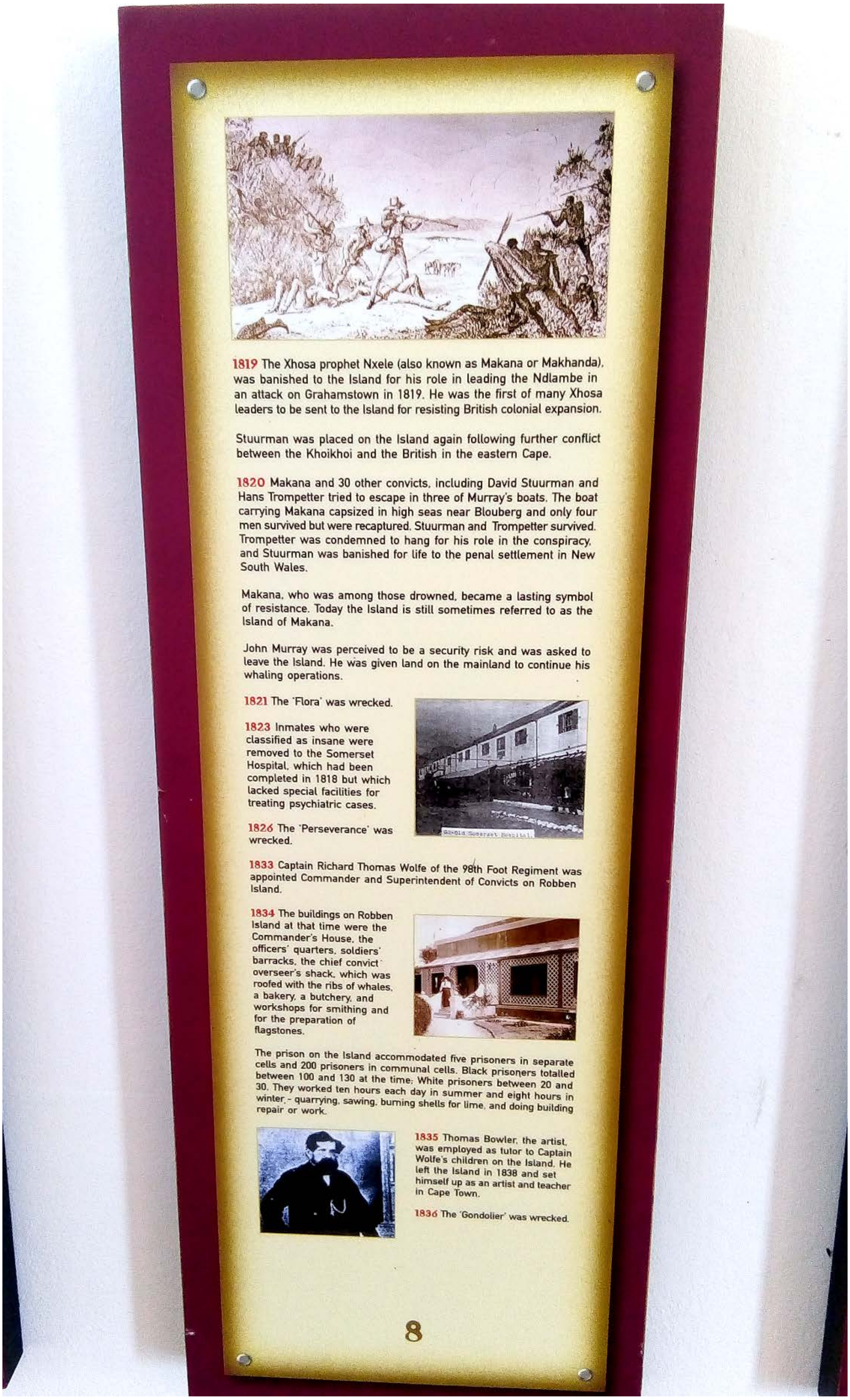
I have just hinted at the importance of gender when working through the life and afterlives of Sarah Baartman on a global scale. After having moored my wandering discussion on the shores of Mzansi Africa, starting with Robben Island, let me follow up by demonstrating how this aspect has also been central in national memorialisation of Baartman. Simone Kerseboom has provided an insightful reading of how Sarah Baartman and her story of oppression fit in post-apartheid empowerment of African women and effort for advocacy in racial and gendered violence. What Zine Magubane has done for scientific discourse (a critique of the fetishisation of Baartman's physical figure), Kerseboom has done for South African political discourse. She noticed indeed that "the histories of women who carry symbolic meanings for the nation are deliberately reconfigured, created, and reconstructed to suit and serve a nationalist agenda at the expense of historical accuracy" (69). Kerseboom here addresses the problem of political fetishisation (not in its sexual connotation) of certain figures whose stories and auras are instrumentalised in discourses promoting national (or at least collective) harmony and equation. She analysed how Baartman's burial on South Africa's annual Women's Day in 2002 was framed and understood as a symbolic act against sexism and violence against women in South Africa. "By emphasising Baartman's 'victory' over abuse and exploitation at a time where violence against women was on the increase, there was a consequential de-emphasis on the experiences of women in the present" (Kerseboom, 71). In other words, reading or constructing Sarah Baartman as an empowered figure in repatriation while inscribing her in current struggles for the rights of Women of Colour (or African women in particular), runs the risk of eclipsing the extent to which gendered-based violence and discrimination is still a serious issue in South Africa and in the world in general.

Ciraj Rassool agrees and further identifies a deliberate attempt by state discourse to use "the symbolism of Baartman's return and reburial [...] to obscure wider legacies of gendered racial science in South Africa" (2015, 137). In his speech at the burial ceremony, former President Thabo Mbeki declared: "We also mark this day fully conscious of the responsibility that falls on us to ensure that we move with greater speed towards the accomplishment of the goal of the creation of a non-sexist society". Yet, few were fooled.

Before Baartman's repatriation, Zoë Wicomb ventured that the issue of burying her remains overshadowed another more crucial issue to her:

> Perhaps the more pertinent question is whether her burial would also bury black women as an icon of concupiscence, which is to say bury the shame of having had our bodies started at, but also the shame invested in those (females) who have mated with the colonizer. Miscegenation, the origins of which lie within a discourse of 'race', concupiscence, and degeneracy, continues to be bound up with shame, a pervasive shame exploited in apartheid's strategy of the naming of a Coloured race, and recurring in the current attempts by coloureds to establish brownness as pure category, which is to say a denial of shame (115).

Addressing a particular South African layer of intersectional discrimination, in which the spectrum of racialisation operates not only with the black & white binary but also with multiple denominations imposed upon indigenous South Africans by the apartheid government (e.g. Coloured), Wicomb criticised the relative superficiality of national debates on the post-repatriation fate of Sarah Baartman. As early as 1998, she already saw the opportunity that repatriation can offer to work through particular legacies of colonial and gendered violence. Obviously, this was not an easy task for a heterogeneous population swayed by national discourses of reconciliation without accountability, as the case of the TRC showed. Deep reflections upon Baartman's indigeneity (as a Gonaqua woman, of the indigenous Khoisan, fluent in Afrikaans, but who now stood as an iconic symbol of gendered violence against Black women) and by extension on indigeneity in new South Africa remained sidelined in institutional discourse. And the alleged effort to tackle gendered violence against African women was smoke and mirrors.



1819 The Xhosa prophet Nxele (also known as Makana or Makhanda), was banished to the Island for his role in leading the Ndlambe in an attack on Grahamstown in 1819. He was the first of many Xhosa leaders to be sent to the Island for resisting British colonial expansion.

Stuurman was placed on the Island again following further conflict between the Khoikhoi and the British in the eastern Cape.

1820 Makana and 30 other convicts, including David Stuurman and Hans Trompetter tried to escape in three of Murray's boats. The boat carrying Makana capsized in high seas near Blouberg and only four men survived but were recaptured. Stuurman and Trompetter survived. Trompetter was condemned to hang for his role in the conspiracy, and Stuurman was banished for life to the penal settlement in New South Wales.

Makana, who was among those drowned, became a lasting symbol of resistance. Today the Island is still sometimes referred to as the Island of Makana.

John Murray was perceived to be a security risk and was asked to leave the Island. He was given land on the mainland to continue his whaling operations.

1821 The 'Flora' was wrecked.

1823 Inmates who were classified as insane were removed to the Somerset Hospital, which had been completed in 1818 but which lacked special facilities for treating psychiatric cases.

1826 The 'Perseverance' was wrecked.

1833 Captain Richard Thomas Wolfe of the 98th Foot Regiment was appointed Commander and Superintendent of Convicts on Robben Island.

1834 The buildings on Robben Island at that time were the Commander's House, the officers' quarters, soldiers' barracks, the chief convict overseer's shack, which was roofed with the ribs of whales, a bakery, a butchery, and workshops for smithing and for the preparation of flagstones.

The prison on the Island accommodated five prisoners in separate cells and 200 prisoners in communal cells. Black prisoners totalled between 100 and 130 at the time; White prisoners between 20 and 30. They worked ten hours each day in summer and eight hours in winter - quarrying, sawing, burning shells for lime, and doing building repair or work.

1835 Thomas Bowler, the artist, was employed as tutor to Captain Wolfe's children on the Island. He left the Island in 1838 and set himself up as an artist and teacher in Cape Town.

1836 The 'Gondolier' was wrecked.

8

Fig. 5.: Detail of information panel n°8 at the Robben Island Museum mentioning Stuurman, Makhanda and Trompetter (Photo Y. Le Gall).

This actually paved the way for the recent emergence of more vigorous movements engaging with Sarah Baartman, spearheaded by politicized members of a younger generation.

As early as 2006, Jacob Zuma's trial for rape and what it revealed concerning the lack of sexual education and prevention against HIV, the limited freedom of the press, and the structural marginalisation of women's voices, became a telling example of how sexism, patriarchy and rape culture were actually still comfortably sitting in institutional seats, despite what Thabo Mbeki had promised on the day of Baartman's burial. In 2016, the movement #EndRapeCulture at several universities across the country saw a young generation of South African women attacking systems of patriarchy on several fronts. They condemned a continued gendered violence inherited from colonial discourse on African sexuality and a "colonial sexual hierarchy" (Gouws, 6) by reclaiming the famous symbol of colonial violence in South Africa – the *sjambok* – to whip back colonial patriarchy. They also went again enduring tropes of racialised sexualisation, not by using naked marches as "slut walks" like other movements of white sextremism, but instead by drawing "on a liberatory construction of the black female body", "challenging the race scripts that produce women as subjects of shame, fear and violence in the face of men's aggression and sexual prowess" (Gouws, 9). This movement, calling for Black women's experiences of sexual violence to be told and heard, showed that despite the national recognition of Sarah Baartman's history, the issue of rape in the postcolonial state – i.e. at the intersection of racial and sexual violence – is yet to be genuinely addressed by the nation.

In 2015, during the Rhodes Must Fall protests at the University of Cape Town, a happening staged by students in front of an artistic representation of Sarah Baartman generated further dialogue regarding the racial politics of remembering Sarah Baartman in South Africa. The sculpture made by artist Willie Bester after he visited the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, and purchased by the university in 2001, had been exhibited in the UCT Oppenheimer library for years. In a context of heightened critique against the University's memorials, artworks and curricula, a group of students organised a performance in front of the sculpture, re-enacting the physical submission of Black women (see UCT: Rhodes Must Fall), before putting a cloth on the statue, concealing her body and her hair with white cloth. Discussion at the university and online ensued, some appreciating the performance and the student's protest against what they viewed as the statue's nakedness (Hoxworth, 288), others arguing that they did not consider the artwork as offensive. Motlalepula Phukubje, commentator to the video posted on Facebook wrote:

> everyday that I walk past that art piece, I am nothing short of proud. Not only of Willie Bester, a black artist who lived through apartheid and had to deal with issues of displacement and not belonging (him being both black and coloured and not fitting into any area designated for non white people by the apartheid government) but also of Saartjie Bartmann, a black woman who had been sexualised and objectified by men and lived. People have a problem with the piece which isn't even that explicit since it is made out of scrap metal pieces but meanwhile on their cellphones are naked women (UCT: Rhodes Must Fall).

As Kellen Hoxworth demonstrates, such reactions to the protest call for more careful analysis of "the racial complexities of the statue and the contestations over Baartman's legacy in South Africa" (293). He is wary of "easy global conceptions of racial justice" such as interpretations that always renew Baartman's iconic status for Black transnational solidarity. The students used the trope of chains in their performance to suggest this analogy. Reminiscent of the character of Robert Wedderburn in Chase-Riboud's novel, such comparative memory cutlreus seem too often to equate Baartman's history with the plight of enslaved Africans in the Caribbean or the U.S. without acknowledging much difference between the two contexts. What is more, Baartman also features in assimilationist and colour-blind currents that are too often oblivious to minor positions that do not fit black & white binaries. In light of Khoisan and Griqua claims for land redistribution and the recognition of their status as Indigenous people of South Africa, the task to integrate both intersectional considerations of Baartman's history as well as its meaning for local culture and assertions of Indigeneity is probably incumbent to the curators, designers and guides at the future Centre of Remembrance in Hankey.

The "disciplines of the dead" in South(ern) Africa

I will finish this section with a short discussion of the decolonial value of repatriation and burial for the discipline of anthropology in South Africa. To wit, the solemnity of the event, broadcast live on national television, and the repatriation process as a whole, have not generated deep reconsiderations of the coloniality of power in South Africa. Rather, the prominent role of late anthropologist Philipp Tobias in the Reference Group appointed for overseeing the repatriation process and his request for DNA samples to be taken from the remains have exemplified how imperial and colonial genealogies of palaeontology and anthropology have endured in the post-apartheid state and still wear on in the era of democracy. To Rassool, decolonising the museum sector means deep “epistemic work” alongside repatriation. Remnants of colonial thinking such as the fascination for living fossils and plaster casts (such as the one made out of Baartman’s body) and mythical discourses on the “cradle of humankind” (recently rekindled by the finds of *homo naledi* remains in South Africa) buttress what Rassool has called a “national sovereignty of preservation” (2018). This contrasts to more inclusive theories that conceive Southern Africa as a regional space of mobility and culture overcoming national boundaries and their common colonial history as well as that of the apartheid regime (see Chapter 2). With this impetus, a network of museum professionals from South Africa, Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe has gradually materialised, a possible harbinger for more regional politics of remembrance in the “disciplines of the dead” in Southern Africa (as Ciraj Rassool labelled them): the National Museum of Namibian is currently negotiating with the Iziko Museum in Cape Town for the repatriation of ancestors to Namibia. Furthermore, born from a wish to investigate the presence of African ancestors in European collections, the University of Botswana in Gaborone has also ushered a regional network of scholars which might bring about further repatriations, and alongside, further reflections on decolonial practices of care for African ancestors and other human remains.[11]

Rassool generally observed that human remains, their repatriation and burial, had represented a non-negligible variable in the politics of remembrance of post-apartheid South Africa, most prominently in the effort for “symbolic reparation, national healing, and transitional justice” in the era of the TRC (2015, 133). While this is undeniable, the repatriation of Dawid Stuurman’s spirit has stretched this assertion to immaterial remains, challenging the central place the material culture has occupied in the history of museums. This argument does not wish to downplay the importance of the body in bringing ancestors at peace; Xhosa, Zulu, Khoisan and other Southern African cultures of the dead clearly prioritise the return of the dead body to the earth. It shows nonetheless that even when the skulls or skeletons of those displaced ancestors cannot be found, closure can still be achieved. Therefore, the “disciplines of the dead” in South offer challenging avenues that go beyond the mere physical presence of ancestors. They rather foreground the crucial tasks at hand that form the crux of repatriation practice: the genuine acknowledgment of colonial history, the rehumanisation of ancestors, and the care given to them and their histories. From repatriation and reburial (even without the presence of a body) emerge narratives of resistance which are undeniably relevant for a greater understanding of how postcolonial nations came to be and how the violence that took place in the past can be worked through so that it does not happen again.

Ed Bullins

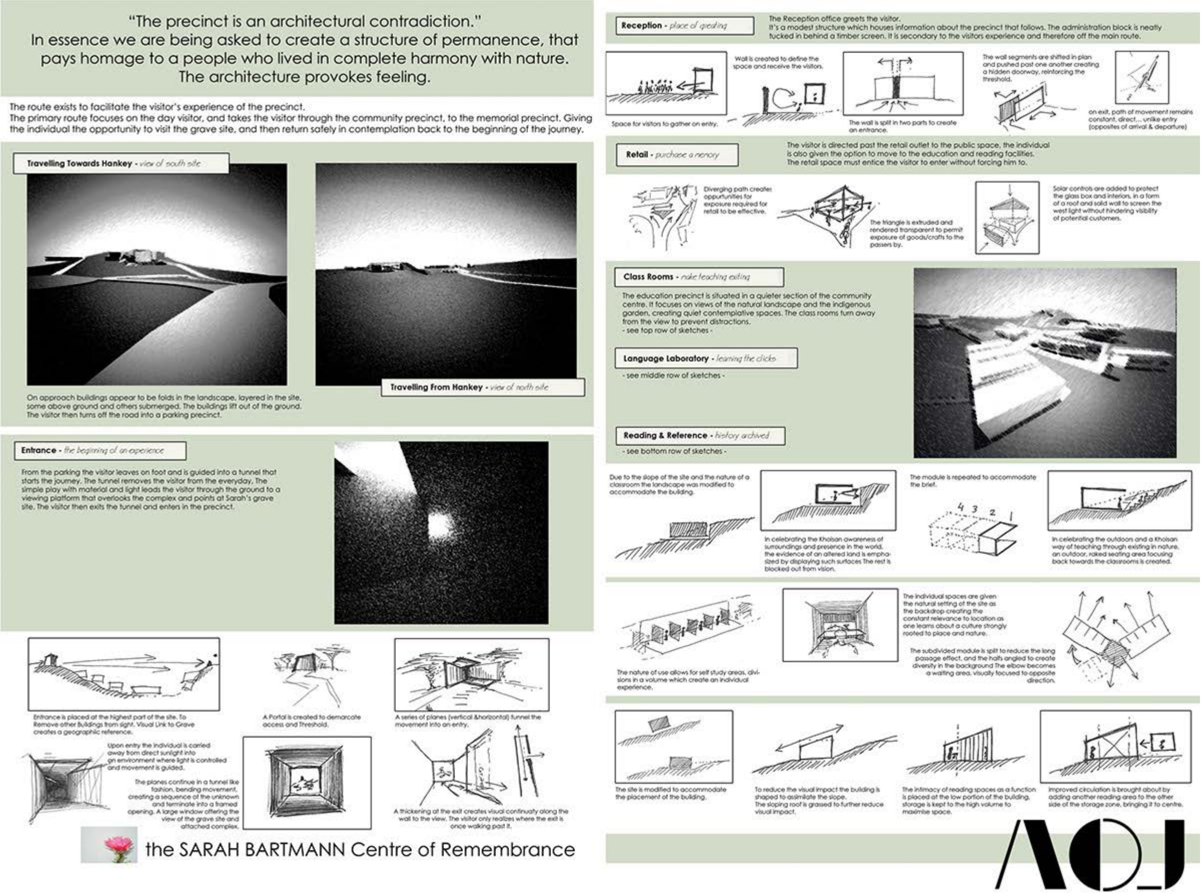
Invocation: To Raise the Dead and Foretell the Future

SPIRIT CLEANSING
Spirit of our people come
Take the evil from our hearts
Take the evil from our hearts
Spirit of our people come
Burn the evil from our souls
Burn the evil from our souls
Enter into our inner secret places
and cleanse us
Cleanse us
Oh cleanse us
Spirits of our people
Open our eyes to wisdom
Open our hearts to truth
Open our minds to knowledge
Open our spirits to receive us
Spirits cut through the shell (OM)
our ignorance
Cut through the skin of
not knowing ourselves
& release
& release
& release us
to join our souls

Architectural visualisations of the Centre of Remembrance

To achieve this, sites of memory like the Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance should be the guardians of local memory of those ancestors. Nonetheless, economic stakes and the quest for prestige are sometimes at the root of issues regarding who shares authority on content and form. The Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance is a monument of national significance that cost about R165 million. As explained by Derrick Jaffon at the beginning of this chapter, it was subject to competitive interest during its construction and social movements for the recognition of local workers. I will here turn to another competition that took place in the process of building that important site: the visualisations and imaginaries put forward by architects who competed to be granted the authority to oversee the construction of this project. I am convinced that even if this discussion slightly detunes the harmonic structure of this text, it will shed new light on how monuments and heritage sites are the result of conflicting visions, some incorporated, some jettisoned, and how this process of reflection has shaped the tenure of national memory.[12] While visiting the construction site, being guided from one side of the road R330 to another by one of the older construction workers whose name I won't divulge, I could not really fathom the size and the scope of this monumental project, towering the homes of the 12,000 inhabitants of Hankey. After my first visit, I spent the evening in Bhayi, looking at pictures from Wilkinson architects, Architects of Justice (AOJ) and Munnik Visser Architects, three of the five contending candidates who in the late 2000s applied for the competition in order to be granted the supervision of the construction. I came back to Hankey the day after and could not help but trying to superimpose mentally the architects' digital visualisations of the final product and the dry landscape at the foot of Vergaderingskop.

Two of those suggestions for a visualised projection of the Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance – Munnik Visser's and AOJ's – have a striking characteristic in common: they are devoid of human subjects. The inertia, the lifelessness of these visuals surely aims to present a place of remembrance suited to meditative thoughts on the past, where one can gather herself/himself in remembering the violence Baartman suffered from.



"The precinct is an architectural contradiction."
In essence we are being asked to create a structure of permanence, that pays homage to a people who lived in complete harmony with nature.
The architecture provokes feeling.

The route exists to facilitate the visitor's experience of the precinct.
The primary route focuses on the day visitor, and takes the visitor through the community precinct, to the memorial precinct. Giving the individual the opportunity to visit the grave site, and then return safely in contemplation back to the beginning of the journey.

Travelling Towards Hankey - *view of south site*

Travelling From Hankey - *view of north site*

On approach buildings appear to be folds in the landscape, layered in the site, some above ground and others submerged. The buildings lift out of the ground. The visitor then turns off the road into a parking precinct.

Entrance - *the beginning of an experience*

From the parking the visitor leaves on foot and is guided into a tunnel that starts the journey. The tunnel removes the visitor from the everyday. The simple play with material and light leads the visitor through the ground to a viewing platform that overlooks the complex and points at Sarah's grave site. The visitor then exits the tunnel and enters in the precinct.

Entrance is placed at the highest part of the site. To Remove other Buildings from sight. Visual Link to Grave creates a geographic reference.

A Portal is created to demarcate access and Threshold.

A series of planes (vertical &horizontal) funnel the movement into an entry.

Upon entry the individual is carried away from direct sunlight into gn environment where light is controlled and movement is guided.

The planes continue in a tunnel like fashion, bending movement, creating a sequence of the unknown and terminate into a framed opening. A large window offering the view of the grave site and attached complex.

A thickening at the exit creates visual continuaty along the wall to the view. The visitor only realizes where the exit is once walking past it.

the SARAH BARTMANN Centre of Remembrance

Reception - *place of greeting*

The Reception office greets the visitor.
It's a modest structure which houses information about the precinct that follows. The administration block is neatly tucked in behind a timber screen. It is secondary to the visitors experience and therefore off the main route.

Space for visitors to gather on entry.

Wall is created to define the space and receive the visitors.

The wall is split in two parts to create an entrance.

The wall segments are shifted in plan and pushed past one another creating a hidden doorway, reinforcing the threshold.

on exit, path of movement remains constant, direct,... unlike entry (opposites of arrival & departure)

Retail - *purchase a memory*

The visitor is directed past the retail outlet to the public space, the individual is also given the option to move to the education and reading facilities.
The retail space must entice the visitor to enter without forcing him to.

Diverging path creates oppurtunities for exposure required for retail to be effective.

The triangle is extruded and rendered transparent to permit exposure of goods/crafts to the passers by.

Solar controls are added to protect the glass box and interiors, in a form of a roof and solid wall to screen the west light without hindering visibility of potential customers.

Class Rooms - *make teaching exiting*

The education precinct is situated in a quieter section of the community centre. It focuses on views of the natural landscape and the indigenous garden, creating quiet contemplative spaces. The class rooms turn away from the view to prevent distractions.
- see top row of sketches -

Language Laboratory - *learning the clicks*

- see middle row of sketches -

Reading & Reference - *history archived*

- see bottom row of sketches -

Due to the slope of the site and the nature of a classroom the landscape was modified to accommodate the building.

In celebrating the Khoisan awareness of surroundings and presence in the world, the evidence of an altered land is emphasized by displaying such surfaces The rest is blocked out from vision.

The module is repeated to accommodate the brief.

In celebrating the outdoors and a Khoisan way of teaching through existing in nature, an outdoor, raked seating area focusing back towards the classrooms is created.

The nature of use allows for self study areas, divisions in a volume which create an individual experience.

The individual spaces are given the natural setting of the site as the backdrop creating the constant relevance to location as one learns about a culture strongly rooted to place and nature.

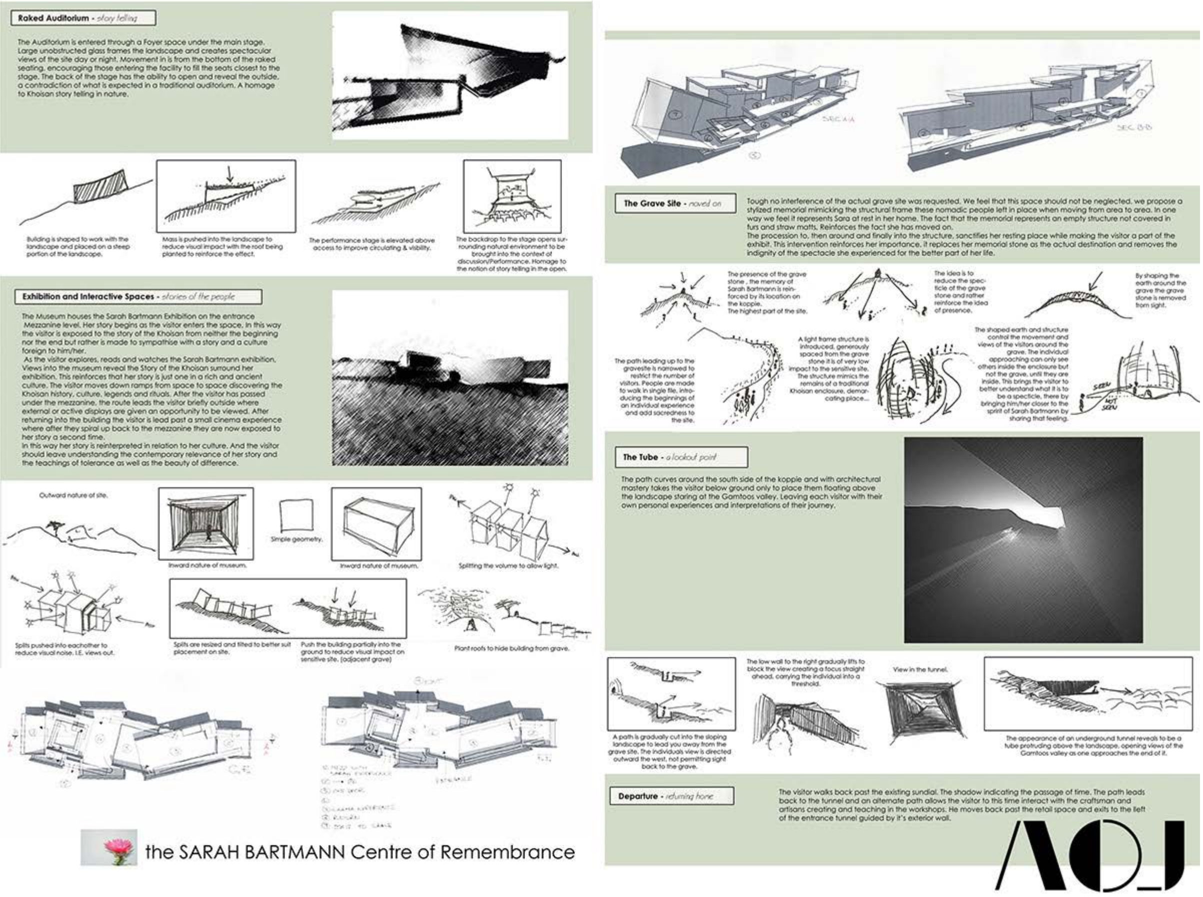
The subdivided module is split to reduce the long passage effect, and the halfs angled to create diversity in the background The elbow becomes a waiting area, visually focused to opposite direction.

The site is modified to accommodate the placement of the building.

To reduce the visual impact the building is shaped to assimilate the slope.
The sloping roof is grassed to further reduce visual impact.

The intimacy of reading spaces as a function is placed at the low portion of the building, storage is kept to the high volume to maximise space.

Improved circulation is brought about by adding another reading area to the other side of the storage zone, bringing it to centre.



Raked Auditorium - *story telling*

The Auditorium is entered through a Foyer space under the main stage. Large unobstructed glass frames the landscape and creates spectacular views of the site day or night. Movement in is from the bottom of the raked seating, encouraging those entering the facility to fill the seats closest to the stage. The back of the stage has the ability to open and reveal the outside, a contradiction of what is expected in a traditional auditorium. A homage to Khoisan story telling in nature.

Building is shaped to work with the landscape and placed on a steep portion of the landscape.

Mass is pushed into the landscape to reduce visual impact with the roof being planted to reinforce the effect.

The performance stage is elevated above access to improve circulating & visibility.

The backdrop to the stage opens surrounding natural environment to be brought into the context of discussion/Performance. Homage to the notion of story telling in the open.

Exhibition and Interactive Spaces - *stories of the people*

The Museum houses the Sarah Bartmann Exhibition on the entrance Mezzanine level. Her story begins as the visitor enters the space. In this way the visitor is exposed to the story of the Khoisan from neither the beginning nor the end but rather is made to sympathise with a story and a culture foreign to him/her.
As the visitor explores, reads and watches the Sarah Bartmann exhibition. Views into the museum reveal the Story of the Khoisan surround her exhibition. This reinforces that her story is just one in a rich and ancient culture. The visitor moves down ramps from space to space discovering the Khoisan history, culture, legends and rituals. After the visitor has passed under the mezzanine, the route leads the visitor briefly outside where external or active displays are given an opportunity to be viewed. After returning into the building the visitor is lead past a small cinema experience where after they spiral up back to the mezzanine they are now exposed to her story a second time.
In this way her story is reinterpreted in relation to her culture. And the visitor should leave understanding the contemporary relevance of her story and the teachings of tolerance as well as the beauty of difference.

Outward nature of site.

Inward nature of museum.

Simple geometry.

Inward nature of museum.

Splitting the volume to allow light.

Splits pushed into eachother to reduce visual noise. I.E. views out.

Splits are resized and tilted to better suit placement on site.

Push the building partially into the ground to reduce visual impact on sensitive site. (adjacent grave)

Plant roofs to hide building from grave.

the SARAH BARTMANN Centre of Remembrance

The Grave Site - *moved on*

Tough no interference of the actual grave site was requested. We feel that this space should not be neglected, we propose a stylized memorial mimicking the structural frame these nomadic people left in place when moving from area to area. In one way we feel it represents Sara at rest in her home. The fact that the memorial represents an empty structure not covered in furs and straw matts. Reinforces the fact she has moved on.
The procession to, then around and finally into the structure, sanctifies her resting place while making the visitor a part of the exhibit. This intervention reinforces her importance. it replaces her memorial stone as the actual destination and removes the indignity of the spectacle she experienced for the better part of her life.

The presence of the grave stone , the memory of Sarah Bartmann is reinforced by its location on the koppie. The highest part of the site.

The idea is to reduce the specticle of the grave stone and rather reinforce the idea of presence.

By shaping the earth around the grave the grave stone is removed from sight.

The path leading up to the gravesite is narrowed to restrict the number of visitors. People are made to walk in single file, introducing the beginnings of an individual experience and add sacredness to the site.

A light frame structure is introduced, generously spaced from the grave stone it is of very low impact to the sensitive site. The structure mimics the remains of a traditional Khoisan enclosure, demarcating place...

The shaped earth and structure control the movement and views of the visitors around the grave. The individual approaching can only see others inside the enclosure but not the grave, until they are inside. This brings the visitor to better understand what it is to be a specticle, there by bringing him/her closer to the spirit of Sarah Bartmann by sharing that feeling.

The Tube - *a lookout point*

The path curves around the south side of the koppie and with architectural mastery takes the visitor below ground only to place them floating above the landscape staring at the Gamtoos valley. Leaving each visitor with their own personal experiences and interpretations of their journey.

A path is gradually cut into the sloping landscape to lead you away from the grave site. The individuals view is directed outward the west, not permitting sight back to the grave.

The low wall to the right gradually lifts to block the view creating a focus straight ahead, carrying the individual into a threshold.

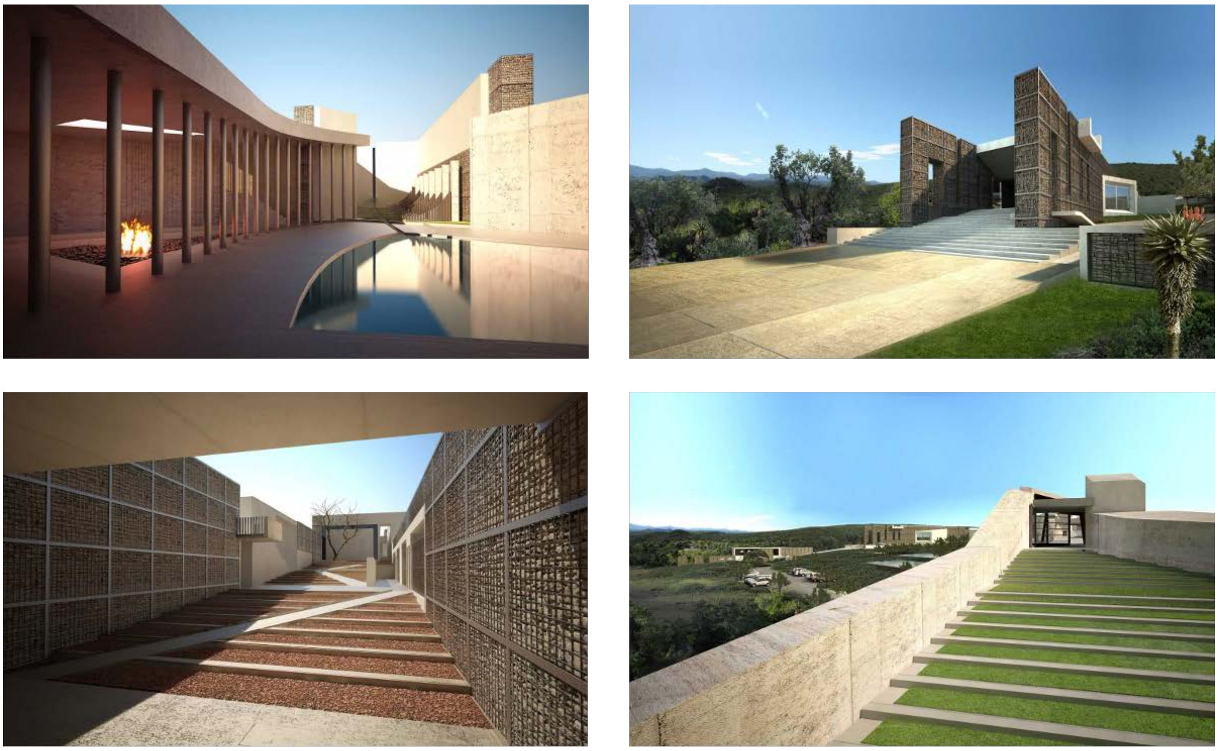
View in the tunnel.

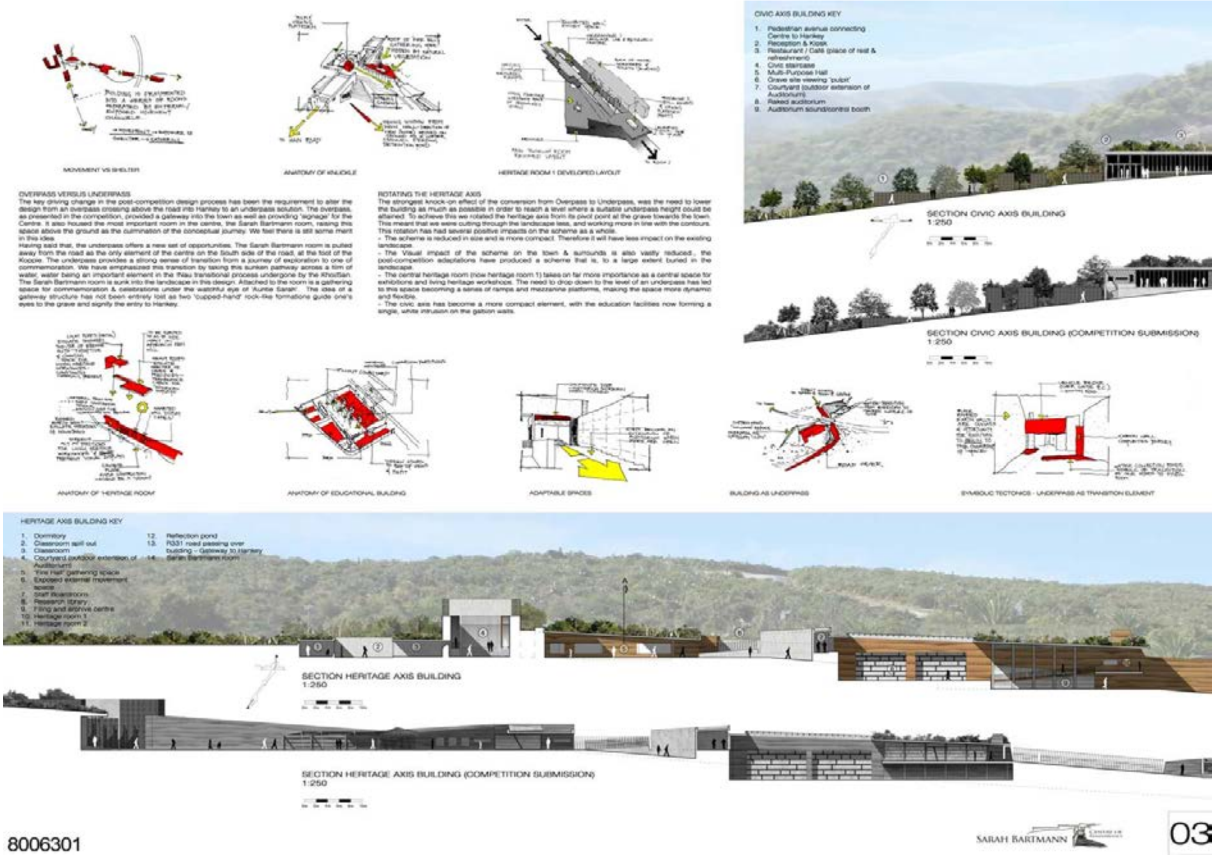
The appearance of an underground tunnel reveals to be a tube protruding above the landscape, opening views of the Gamtoos valley as one approaches the end of it.

Departure - *returning home*

The visitor walks back past the existing sundial. The shadow indicating the passage of time. The path leads back to the tunnel and an alternate path allows the visitor to this time interact with the craftsman and artisans creating and teaching in the workshops. He moves back past the retail space and exits to the left of the entrance tunnel guided by it's exterior wall.

Fig. 6 & 7: Details of the portfolio by Architects of Justice
Source: "Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance." Architects of Justice. Web. 14 Aug. 2019.





MOVEMENT VS SHELTER

ANATOMY OF KNUCKLE

HERITAGE ROOM 1 DEVELOPED LAYOUT

OVERPASS VERSUS UNDERPASS
The key driving change in the post-competition design process has been the requirement to alter the design from an overpass crossing above the road into Hankey to an underpass solution. The overpass, as presented in the competition, provided a gateway into the town as well as providing 'signage' for the Centre. It also housed the most important room in the centre, the Sarah Bartmann room, raising this space above the ground as the culmination of the conceptual journey. We feel there is still some merit in this idea.
Having said that, the underpass offers a new set of opportunities. The Sarah Bartmann room is pulled away from the road as the only element of the centre on the South side of the road, at the foot of the Koppie. The underpass provides a strong sense of transition from a journey of exploration to one of commemoration. We have emphasized this transition by taking this sunken pathway across a film of water, water being an important element in the !Nau transitional process undergone by the KhoiSan. The Sarah Bartmann room is sunk into the landscape in this design. Attached to the room is a gathering space for commemoration & celebrations under the watchful eye of 'Auntie Sarah'. The idea of a gateway structure has not been entirely lost as two 'cupped-hand' rock-like formations guide one's eyes to the grave and signify the entry to Hankey.

ROTATING THE HERITAGE AXIS
The strongest knock-on effect of the conversion from Overpass to Underpass, was the need to lower the building as much as possible in order to reach a level where a suitable underpass height could be attained. To achieve this we rotated the heritage axis from its pivot point at the grave towards the town. This meant that we were cutting through the landscape less, and working more in line with the contours. This rotation has had several positive impacts on the scheme as a whole.
- The scheme is reduced in size and is more compact. Therefore it will have less impact on the existing landscape.
- The Visual impact of the scheme on the town & surrounds is also vastly reduced., the post-competition adaptations have produced a scheme that is, to a large extent buried in the landscape.
- The central heritage room (now heritage room 1) takes on far more importance as a central space for exhibitions and living heritage workshops. The need to drop down to the level of an underpass has led to this space becoming a series of ramps and mezzanine platforms, making the space more dynamic and flexible.
- The civic axis has become a more compact element, with the education facilities now forming a single, white intrusion on the gabion walls.

CIVIC AXIS BUILDING KEY

1. Pedestrian avenue connecting Centre to Hankey
2. Reception & Kiosk
3. Restaurant / Café (place of rest & refreshment)
4. Civic staircase
5. Multi-Purpose Hall
6. Grave site viewing 'pulpit'
7. Courtyard (outdoor extension of Auditorium)
8. Raked auditorium
9. Auditorium sound/control booth

SECTION CIVIC AXIS BUILDING
1:250

SECTION CIVIC AXIS BUILDING (COMPETITION SUBMISSION)
1:250

ANATOMY OF HERITAGE ROOM

ANATOMY OF EDUCATIONAL BUILDING

ADAPTABLE SPACES

BUILDING AS UNDERPASS

SYMBOLIC TECTONICS - UNDERPASS AS TRANSITION ELEMENT

HERITAGE AXIS BUILDING KEY

1. Dormitory
2. Classroom spill out
3. Classroom
4. Courtyard (outdoor extension of Auditorium)
5. "Fire Hall" gathering space
6. Exposed external movement space
7. Staff Boardroom
8. Research library
9. Filing and archive centre
10. Heritage room 1
11. Heritage room 2
12. Reflection pond
13. R331 road passing over building - Gateway to Hankey
14. Sarah Bartmann room

SECTION HERITAGE AXIS BUILDING
1:250

SECTION HERITAGE AXIS BUILDING (COMPETITION SUBMISSION)
1:250

8006301

SARAH BARTMANN

03

Fig. 8-11 (vignettes above): Digital visualisation of the space by Munnik Visser Architects.

Fig. 12 (schemata above): First page of the sketch for the Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance by Munnik Visser Architects. Source: "Saartjie Baartman Centre of Remembrance." *Munnik Visser*. Web. https://www.munnikvisser.co.za/work/project/saartjie-baartman-centre-of-remembrance

AOJ's detailed portfolio is framed by a clear path guiding "the visitor" on a route, "through the community precinct" (gathering point, retail, library, language lab, classroom) to the "memorial precinct" (auditorium, exhibition hall, grave site and lookout point). The files are fraught with small doodles, sketches and scribbles. The blurry posterized – almost impressionist or pointillist – illustrations of the future design are opaque, too contrasted to discern the size and the edges of the buildings. The architects have imagined a "visitor" who seems to be clearly alien to the customs and history of Khoisan people, being lectured about Khoisan history by the exhibition and "seeing" "traditional means behind the teaching decoration and the production of tools" in the space dedicated to heritage workshops (Fig. 6). The architects have therefore conceptualised a strictly *individual* journey (a visitor), presupposing that remembrance is achieved through a personal experience of contemplation which should remain free from "visual noise" (Fig. 7), and a very frontal pedagogy somehow ignoring a possible social encounter between the "visitor" and local Khoisan people who might present another picture of their culture. AOJ have proposed an enclosed structure: a definite path confining the visitor in a tunnel and imposing definite stations, such as the lookout point which seems to almost force a state of romantic appreciation of the surrounding nature. The vision for this centre of remembrance therefore further alienates visitors from the local environment: it prevents them from simply *seeing* Hankey and the surrounding bush, and compels one to *behold* (recall here the discussion of Wedderburn not being able to *see* Ssehura).

Munnik Visser have opted for an imaginery which includes the presence of nature, but where visitors are further estranged, a place which evokes rather a ghost town than a civic space. The entrance of the civic axis building majestically rises out of the lush vegetation; yet noone is entering or leaving the building. The only sense of motion conveyed by the portfolio is found in the picture of the "fire hall" and its flickering flame, as well as the minuscule pictograms of visitors in the detailed chart (Fig. 8 & 12). What seems to represent the "gateway to the grave" hangs over the neighbouring valley and the car park, where fourteen cars are cooling down from their respective travels to Hankey (Fig. 11 & 12). Their hypothetical proprietors, however, are nowhere to be found, neither at the fire hall, nor in the open corridors, nor even in the bare Sarah Baartman Room (see Fig. 8 to 11). The sole individual representative of the realm of living beings, a tree, appears devoid of any leaves, a symbol of death perpetuating the geometric domination of concrete in the South African landscape. Even the earth, whose ochre-like hues are clearly distinctive of the region and form integrate part of local topographic identity, is whitened, rendered blank in Munik Visser's sliced representation of the two axes (Fig 12). The centre sits on vacuous white slopes, sometimes following their natural contours, but most of the time breaking them.

As empty spaces and ghostlike imaginaries, those two projects seem reluctant to conceptualise remembrance as a social practice. While watching some workers getting busy at drilling, others taking a break with a glass of coke, women agitating the circulation flags to prevent drivers to hurtle down the bends leading to Hankey, and Rudi Jaffon pacing to and fro to oversee the construction, I wondered how local people would fit in such blank, elitist visions of a virgin space, devoid of human presence, somehow disregarding the essential role of meeting and community-building spaces in politics of remembrance.

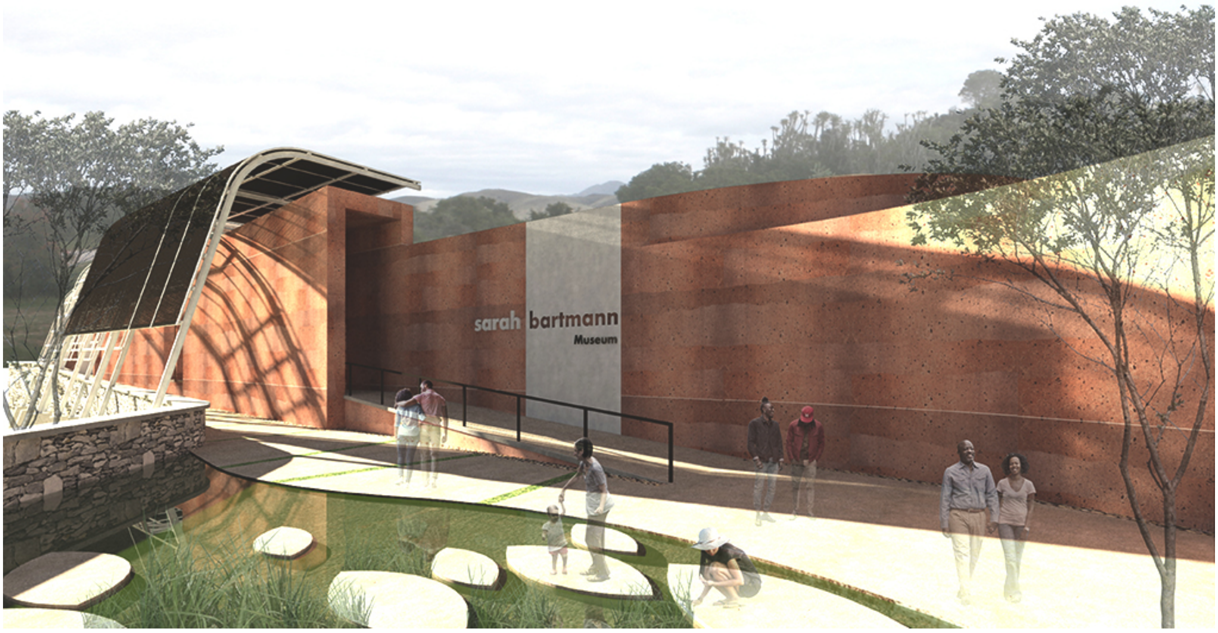
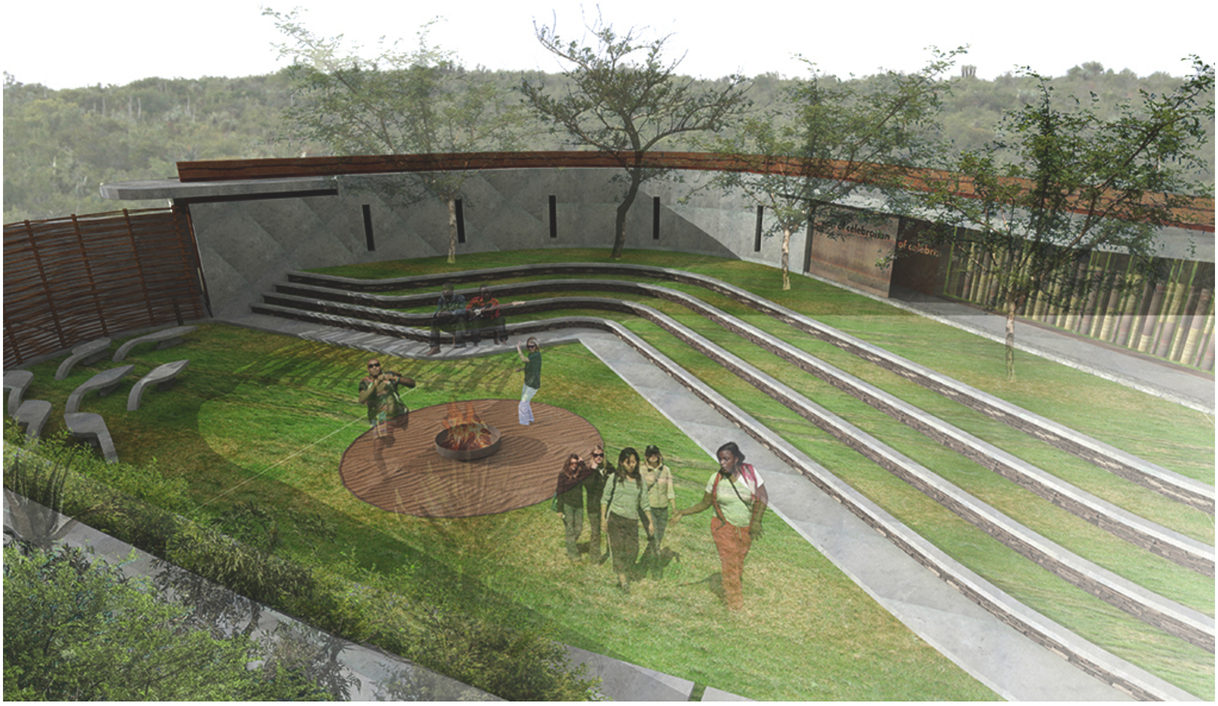


Fig. 13 (above): Digital visualisations of the entrance of the Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance by Wilkinson Architects.
Source: "Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance/Hankey." *Wilkinson Architects*. Web. 14 Aug. 2019. http://www.wilkinsonarchitects.co.za/project/sarah-bartmann-centre-of-remembrance/



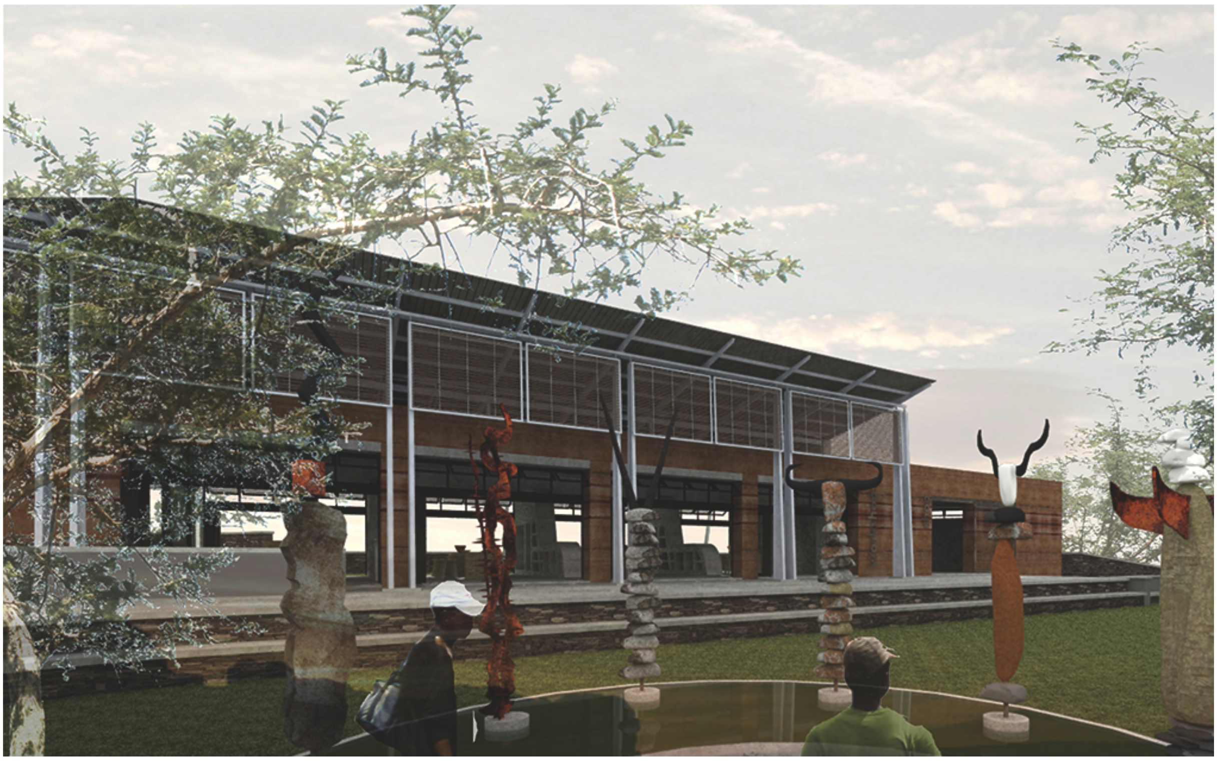


Fig. 14 and 15 (above): Digital visualisations of the Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance by Wilkinson Architects.
Source: "Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance/Hankey." *Wilkinson Architects*. Web. 14 Aug. 2019. http://www.wilkinsonarchitects.co.za/project/sarah-bartmann-centre-of-remembrance/

Interestingly, these two projects were rejected. Digital visualisations produced by the competition winners, Wilkinson architects, heavily contrast with those hollow visualisations. The fireplace, for instance, is crowded: two men sit on the stairs and play music for two individuals dancing around the fire, while a local female guide leads a group (foreign tourists?) through the place. Her body is dynamic, marching forward and turning backwards to talk to the group (see Fig. 13). The entrance displays familiar social settings: a child and its mother stand on an artificial water lily; a young couple arm in arm walk in the morning light; another couple leave the centre with smiles on their faces (see Fig. 14). In all 3D representations, thriving trees and bushes permeate the space without obstructing the view. Finally, the presence of totems sporting cattle horns are reminiscent of Southern African grave sites like that of Herero victims of the genocide in Swakopmund (see Fig. 15; also Chapter 2). Further, some of the totems exhibit cairns, another prominent feature of mourning traditions in Southern Africa where living visitors bring stones from their journey to the graves of ancestors (see Chapter 4). This picture clearly appeals to the utmost regard that local populations grant to cattle while referring to traditional burial rites. It inscribes future visions of situated remembrance in past and current memory practices in South Africa. The presence of two youngsters at that specific place also emphasises the educational purposes of such heritage sites.

A last feature which is particularly relevant to discourses about Sarah Baartman and curiously featured in only one of the rejected projects was the relationship between architecture and gender. The project submitted by Moiloa Office of Architecture (MOAD) puts special emphasis on the ability of shape to suggest anatomical and gendered understandings of inert edifices. The description of the project includes a section on "[De] flowering the feminine form", in which the architects explain their "attempt to restore and cloth that was once stripped and through introspection reveal truths that evoke feelings of humility" (MOAD). Nothing else is clarified and the sketches do not provide greater insight into how this relationship between the exhibition of Baartman's body and the will to counter this violence through architecture would be articulated on site. A possible decryption of this statement would question the architects' resort to a stereotyped understanding of femininity which prioritises the act of covering a shameful body for modesty and docility, while at the same time evoking the vocabulary of penetration and violation of this sheltered body. In spite of the interrogations which arise from this fourth architectural project, this literal 'construction' of gender at least reveals how visions of situated memory brush past issues which, as I will show later, actually stand at the heart of local environments of memory. In other words, in the case of Sarah Baartman, gendered violence and Khoisan cultural rites are of paramount significance in both national and local remembrance. Yet, the architectural projects under study seem to strew their projects with cosmetic references to these issues and fail to deeply engage with them on a conceptual level. I would argue that these imaginaries should actually be drawn in collaboration, with architects proactively reaching out to authorial societies: the people of Hankey and other Khoisan groups in the Eastern and Western Cape. They should also design them in collaboration with those that shape the inner subject matter: future curators. This way, design and planning might both be able to cater to national agenda and guidelines, as well as to prefigure how local people might engage with the site.

Local environments of memory: kinship and gendered violence

Derrick 'Rudi' Jaffon [vi]

If I can assist in ensuring that the history of Sarah Baartman can be heard, her voice can be heard – because I see it as a message that she's trying to send, especially to us in the Gamtoos valley, that after so many struggles she endured, she's now coming back to give back to us, as her grandchildren, great-great-grandchildren, so we need to explore it and must be thankful for the opportunity to give our side of the history of Sarah Baartman.

Vernon Stuurman [vii]

Once again I have to refer to our unfortunate past, of this country. Our unfortunate past classified us into unfortunate different race groups. I think Chief Dawid Stuurman – our great-grandfather – now teaches… is teaching us a lesson: that we are actually all Africans. It was very important for us – no matter how people have perceived our family

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[vi] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/sarah-baartman/#ificanassist
[vii] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tws8ZQvNd4g

> to be – it was very important to fulfil the wishes, and also… to fulfil the wishes of the country and also to fulfil the wishes of the family. So it is really immaterial on how we did it. We did it the African way, and the African way is the way that we did it on the other side, in Sydney. So we believe that we brought back the spirit of Dawid Stuurman and that is what it meant to us, that his spirit will find everlasting peace on the African continent and in South Africa in particular.
>
> **Jongikhaya Stuurman**
>
> […] His book has not been closed. We're still going to write more stories and some more discoveries that we feel were hidden in Australia.

Coming to the thick context of Hankey, where Khoisan traditional leaders and local political actors offer responsive and poignant perspectives on the "meaning and values of repatriation", I would like to recall how Achille Mbembe has conceptualised postcolonial subjectivities – and more particularly African subjects – and examine how the re-humanisation of ancestors occurs in local contexts of kin.

In *African Modes of Self-Writing*, reflecting on the (re-)construction of the African subject in African literature, Mbembe shows that "nativist" conceptions of the self can be broken down in two currents of thought. On the one hand, postcolonial theorists and African philosophers have advocated a "universalistic position", that is the *inclusion* of the African people under the umbrella term "human".[13] The understanding of subjectivity is here therefore still bonded to the history of Western modern philosophy and pertains to a "discourse of rehabilitation" which rubs out the way in which race has been constructed alongside the colonial objectification of Africans, and how race still governs the politics of institutional discrimination perpetuated not only in education and business, but also in anthropological representations (Mbembe 254). On the other hand, the "particularistic position" emphasizes on the exceptionality of African history and demonstrates that African "race, traditions, and customs have a specific character" which testifies to the humanity of Africans (ibid). This entails a re-establishment of racial identification which claims that the African identity is a continental and a Black identity, creating autochthonous identification through a unified mix of the “spatial”, “racial”, and “civic” body (ibid 256), but also – in its extremist form – somehow erasing actual demographic heterogeneity on the continent, the multiple racialized or ethnicised identifications that exist beyond Blackness (e.g. Khoisan and Griqua identities). Mbembe defines this other side of nativist positions towards African subjectivity as one dependent on the relationship between “race and geography”, meaning that “racial and territorial authenticity are conflated” (256). In other words, the attachment to land and by extension the return to the continent is paramount. “[B]lacks do not become citizens because they are human beings endowed with political rights, but because of two particularistic factors: their color and a privileged autochtony” (ibid). A first issue that arises from this statement is the problematic use of race and skin colour in nativist theories of the African self. Repatriation has indeed helped counter discourses on race and its construction in the history of colonial science. A nativist position privileging a racial factor might dangerously perpetuate the very theories which have generated interest in colonial human remains in the first place, but also formed the backbone for the instauration of the oppressive regime of apartheid. I shall therefore concentrate on the more productive part of nativist theory of the colonial subject: territoriality. Which brings us to the second problem: distance. To what extent is distance incompatible with subjectivity? Does the African diaspora – encompassing descendants of enslaved Africans, and descendants of those who were exhibited in ethnographic shows, among others – have the right to claim such particular subjectivity despite their spatial aloofness to Africa? Mbembe unfortunately only leaves that question unanswered.

Vernon Stuurman sheds a new light on considerations of postcolonial subjectivity in repatriation. As a descendant of Dawid Stuurman, he occupies a privileged position in reclaiming the story of his ancestor and sharing the history of Dawid’s efforts against colonialism. Referring to the joint struggle of amaXhosa and Khoi people, Vernon Stuurman holds that the return of his ancestor to the land also brings along a lesson to be learnt from Dawid’s life. “Open[ing] our eyes to wisdom” (Bullins), the spirit brought back restores the bonds between Indigenous peoples of South Africa and their common struggle, a struggle first fought against a system of colonial oppression, and later against apartheid. Calling upon a Panafricanist consideration of repatriation – an “African way” of doing – Vernon Stuurman celebrates African uniqueness in its relationship to the land, but also to racial oppression. From a rekindled sense of close kinship (the return of a "great-grandfather" as part of a family) he opens up Dawid Stuurman's retrieved subjectivity to national and continental possibilities for shared subjectivity. The message conveyed by Stuurman's spirit is the relentless fight against colonial violence, across linguistic boundaries, the Khoi and the amaXhosa joining together against European appropriation of their land, their people, their culture. The emphasis on territoriality and resistance as pillars for postcolonial subjectivity are helpful in acknowledging the common histories of repatriated Africans. To Mbembe, the "idioms of kinship" – that is "filiation, genealogy and heritage" – spawn a strategy that is productive in receiving recognition, acceptance and understanding, a strategy which in the context of postcolonial re-workings he labels as the "wounded identity" (266). This construction emphasises the particularity of local claims for rights, underlining a "deprivation" that needs to be "recovered" (ibid). But Mbembe has discarded subjectivities based on historical suffering, stating that such sense of self cannot be Panafrican since the experiences of northern Africans, Sub-Saharan Africans, Afro-Caribbean and African-Americans in this regard strongly differ (261, 265). It is however relevant to the case of the repatriation movement, for different histories of diverse indigenous groups are entangled in this process. The simple mention of European anthropologists such as Franz Boas who travelled to different colonial regions in different colonial empires to snatch the remains of colonised people suffices to build bridges between local contexts of repatriation. The burials of Sarah Baartman and Dawid Stuurman in Hankey also call for transnational politics of recognition and solidarity with the history of Khoi people. But the most important work of advocacy and remembrance starts at the most local level.

Remembering the burial ceremony, the arrival of Thabo Mbeki, the school singing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, the restricted area for high rank officials and eminent Khoisan representatives, and the rest of the local population watching a big screen in Hankey, Derrick 'Rudi' Jaffon[viii] stresses how the poem performed by Diana Ferrus, which he "heard [for] the first time that day", brought everyone to tears. To him, it also made clear that Sarah Baartman, "at last, […]

[viii] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/sarah-baartmann/#rudijaffon

found a resting place, here at the foot of the Gamtoos valley". The ceremony also had a non-negligible effect on the life of Hester Jane Booysen, Captain of the local Khoisan Gamtkwa tribe. It is on that very day that she (whom locals call "Auntie Hettie") learnt about her Khoisan ancestry thanks to her 100-year-old uncle who opened up and responded to her questions. Before Baartman's repatriation, the truth regarding her identity and ancestry had indeed remained unspoken in her family, while the racist and ill-suited language of apartheid typecasting had marked her. Now, she insists on not being called "coloured", reclaiming her Indigenous identity. In our discussion, she retraced the arrival of her European forefathers in the Gamtoos Valley, Scotsmen named McCarthy and McCape. With a mixture of pride and sheer condemnation of her ancestors, she recalls how the settlers built the first handmade tunnel in South Africa which enabled them to provide water to their crops in this dry region. She also tells of how they profited from general impunity for white settlers to chase and rape Khoisan women.

The history of Sarah Baartman, which Hester Booysen only recently discovered, she has written down in her black leather notebook. As she skims through the pages, I am reminded of Derrick Jaffon's advice to go find her, because "she knows exactly the history of Sarah Baartman, she studied it".[14] Quite far from it. While Captain Booysen mixes up episodes of Baartman's life, having her sail to France before England, I realise that what she is rather interested in is not a detailed account of Baartman's history, those historical narratives and gaps which are still subject to speculation, reworked and rewritten. Rather, the truth which she relates to is the oppression of a Khoi woman.

Every year, on Women's Day, Hester Booysen leads a group of Khoisan women to the grave of Sarah Baartman. Every year, they recite "I've come to take you home" (see Fig. 16).[ix] Every year, the Captain teaches young girls to beware of the rabbit, the ostrich, the baboon and the lion – zoomorphic counterparts of male rapists.[x] To recall Pierre Nora's dialectics between history and memory, Auntie Hettie's scribbled notes, texts and dances in her notebook and her recitation of Diana Ferrus's poem are "affective and magical". Her practice of memory "only accommodates those facts that suit it; it nourishes recollections that may be out of focus or telescopic, global or detached, particular or symbolic" (Nora, 8). As a continuous trope of colonial times, apartheid, and the era of democracy, gendered violence represents the fight that Captain Booysen has taken on in those times of remembrance. This experience of intersectional oppression forms one of the strong links of kin between her and Baartman, whom she calls "Auntie Sarah". I will let her finish the chapter with powerful words.

[ix] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/sarah-baartman/#ferrusanchor

[x] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/sarah-baartman/#womensday

Captain Hester Jane Booysen [xi]

We start coming together here on this site. We start getting…, we, the elder people who know about being born here in the valley, and everybody tells their history. They tell about where they come from, and who they are, their fathers and mothers, and whatever, and what they went through. So now we know. […] And [the whites] they take our land, and our fathers had to work there, by them. And our mothers, and… we don't know what happened, everything happened to our mothers, how they abused our mothers and children, especially the girls. Because when I was young, here, [whistling] the whites chased me, yo. If I come work from there to the shops down here, to the [farm] here, and the pit shops and the butchers' and things, then I had to work and come by those and go back. And I go back and see there, the cars, and they drive quickly and I must go and ask auntie's elder woman to take me halfway. Because those years you can't go to the police and tell them: "this one abused you" or whatever, the whites… you can't say anything about the whites, they can do *just what they want*. And they can make a case against you, yes. By those years. And I thank God for that, that he protect me, because, what would have happened to me. Now, some of them still alive, and, one of them, when they look at me like that, then they greet us, but I can see these eyes. Now I think sometimes…

[xi] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/sarah-baartman/#nowweknow

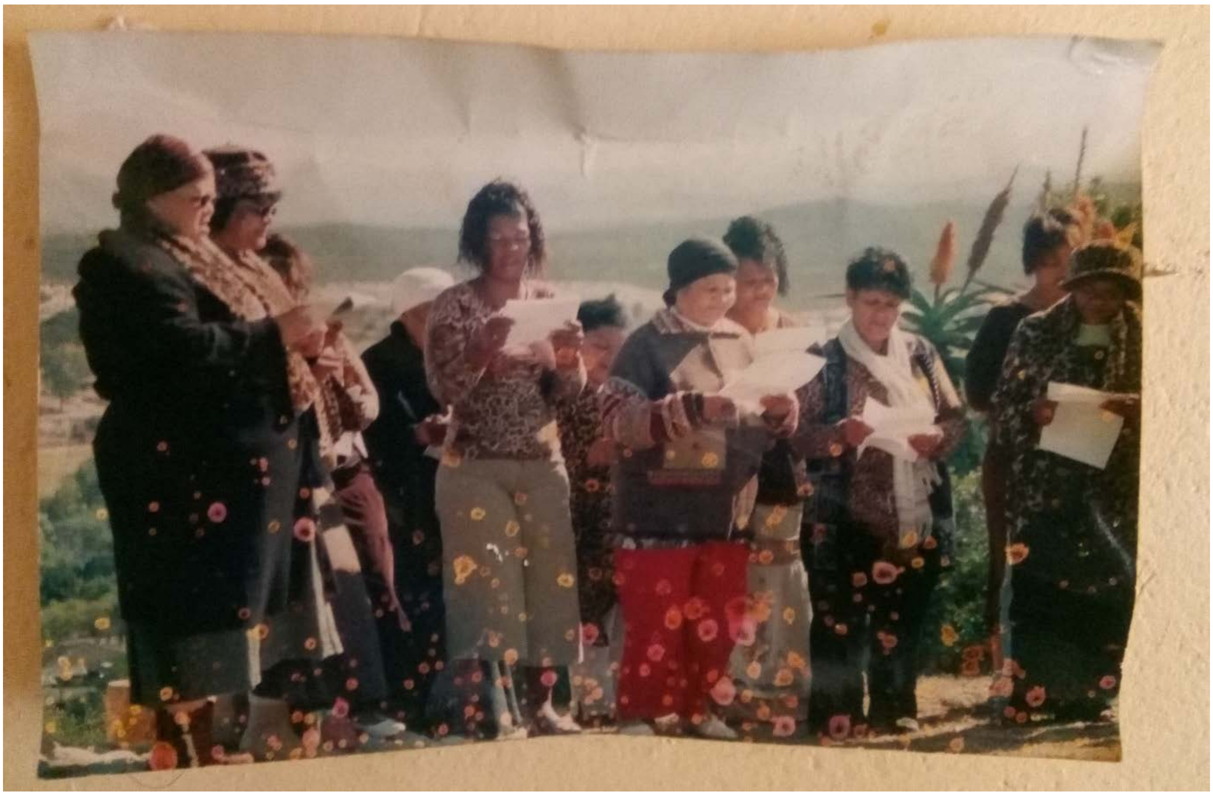


Fig. 16: A photo of local women gathering on Women's Day, reciting poems and singing songs at the grave of Sarah Baartman on Vergaderingskop hill. Photo pinned in Captain Booysen's living room.

> I wonder what are you thinking. Maybe he's thinking "woooo, if I could get you that time" [whistle], it would have destroyed me. And they can just throw me there, that I die, or whatever, I don't know. But God protected me and that's why I'm doing his work with my whole heart, and with everybody.
>
> And that's why I teach the young girls, and boys – especially the girls – how to be careful.
>
> The main thing is: you must know where you come from. If you don't know where you come from, then you don't know who you are, and then you can't move forward.

Notes:

1 I have chosen to use the spelling "Dawid" instead of "David" as he himself spelt it in letters and as one of his wives also wrote. These letters are exhibited at the South End Museum in Bhayi (Port Elizabeth).

2 UmPhafa, also known as Ziziphus mucronata, is a tree whose branches are used to connect with the spirit of ancestors in rituals of repatriation such as ukubuyisela izihlwele (see Chapter 4 of this book). The Encyclopedia of Religion and Nature describes the purpose of this plant in Zulu burial rituals: "Traditionally it was vital that the living kin perform the ukubuyisa ritual a year after the death of an individual, to incorporate him or her into the body of the active benevolent ancestors. Ideally the body of the deceased should be buried at the homestead. However, this is a difficult task for families when members have died far away from home, such as in the cities and the mines. A branch from the umphafa tree helps resolve this problem since it can be used by the chief mourners to convey the spirit of the deceased back to the homestead where it can then become incorporated with the ancestors at the ancestral shrine or hut. The tree is characterized by branches that have small sharply hooked thorns on their stem, and during the ritual to transport the spirit back home, the chief mourner has to clutch a branch of umphafa" (1820). Drawing from Lissah Mtalane's study on the experience of the death of relatives in Zulu families, Anne Hutchings has further described how umphafa and the spirit of the dead merge in ritual: "an elderly relative will take a branch from home to lay on the bed where the death has recently taken place. The twig will then be treated as if it is the dead person on the journey home, even to the extent of buying a separate train ticket and food for the person and explaining how and where they are going. This is to ensure that the spirit of the dead person is accompanied until the burial is safely completed" (208).

Imphepho (Helichrysum) is burnt as a form of incense to summon ancestors.

3 The issue of comparing the inboek system with systems of chattel slavery has been much written about. While the official decree of 1654 stating that indigenous people shall not be enslaved has fuelled popular belief that Dutch settler societies did not hold Africans in bondage, Nigel Worden first showed how violence and dependence reigned in the indentured system forcing Khoikhoi labourers to be "permanently attached" to the farm (35). In the early nineties, Vertrees Candy Malherbe looked deeper in the overlaps between indentured labour, slavery and apprenticeship in the Cape Colony and initiated a debate on terminology (6), concluding that the essence of indentured labour in the colonial context is "unfree labour", but shunning from describing the exploitation of indigenous labour as a form of enslavement (28). Clifton Crais was quick in responding to this question. He emphasised on the violent machinery of the commando system through which Khoikhoi children were captured by white settlers and forced into servitude (41-42). He further described how settlers would also drive Khoikhoi peons into debt and financial dependency (69). Crais then concluded that the living conditions and labour tasks of Khoikhoi people working for farmers came near to that of outright slaves to the point that "their own perception of their status" was that of enslaved individuals (69). The solidarity shown between slaves and indentured Africans in case of unjust violence from Boer farmers further substantiates this claim (ibid 70-71). Drawing on these analyses, Robert Ross argued that the social position of the Khoikhoi before Ordninance 50 in 1828 (which freed them from the pass system and allowed them greater mobility) "only differed from slavery in that they could not be sold" (132). The example of Dunlop and Cesars's behaviour regarding the fate of Sarah Baartman and the ways in which financial speculation on a Khoikhoi woman (both on her labour and her body) could be actually cloaked with some legal semblance, surely compel one to be cautious with Ross's statement. By focusing on the context of such emancipatory decrees, like the 1834 abolition, Ross nevertheless demonstrated that the emancipation of indigenous Africans from a system he qualifies both as "thralldom" and "serfdom" largely failed because of sheer and enduring inequalities in landowning and distribution of water (143-5), two issues which are still very much topical in South Africa. With Masters and Servants on the Cape Eastern Frontier, Suzie Newton-King has offered the most comprehensive review on this issue. She criticizes former consensus on the assumption that the arrival of Boer communities in the eastern Cape did not particularly change the status of Khoikhoi people who had already been subjected to Xhosa rule, and demonstrates that farmers wilfully brought Khoisan individuals under coercion, forcing them in a system of hereditary dependence and violent submission through debt, or by capturing individuals through "slave raiding" (see 58-60). What is more, while adopting the term "enslavement" to describe the conditions under which Khoikhoi were held in

bondage in the inboek system of coerced labour, she shows how the Eastern Cape offers a particular example where 'natal alienation' – the hereditary characteristic of slavery – could not be enforced so deeply in the dehumanisation of Khoikhoi labourers, and this despite a high degree of violence against indigenous populations. She notes: "where slaves were drawn form a conquered group, however, runaways would be welcomed as heroes by those who had as yet escaped enslavement" (126).

As further reading, Yvette Abrahams put forward an interesting interpretation of Baartman's court case in Britain: a discursive analysis of the case in light of the denial of Khoisan slavery in the inboek system.

4 Diane Lewis's article "Anthropology and Colonialism" has supported the claim that anthropological work during the colonial era has, in its practice, seized the bodies of colonised subjects for its own purposes. She argues that "the anthropologist, in his concern with patterns, ethos, structures, is several levels of abstraction removed from the raw data of individual motivation, attitude, and behavior" (585). This estrangement, fuelled by an anthropologist's belief to act as an objective scientific observer located outside the structures of oppression, enabled any act of appropriation. For the sake of mapping human difference, the seizure of a skull was justified by a belief in such scientific objectivity, the observer not realising the part is took in the process of geographical colonisation. To push the argument further, this mapping has actually left visible traces of appropriation that, nowadays, cannot not be considered as violation or a wrongful requisition of the body. The inscriptions on the bone itself, made by the hand of those who considered themselves as a third party in the dialectics between Eurocentrism and the particularlistic study of people of colour, have remained visible. They are tokens of dispossession, letters that designate remains as 'property.' The individual was thereby robbed of his/her name, roughly categorised as a member of his/her social/racial/linguistic group, and his/her body was physically altered by this act of deprivation. The only relevant information that was considered relevant by anthropologists was the remains' ascribed belonging to an ethnic community. Many names used for those communities were actually wrongly spelled or poorly translated by outsiders relying on Western literary culture. With these different steps, colonial-racist objectification was complete. In a similar manner to material culture of symbolisation and branding, an individual's remains were labelled according to precepts that were never his/her own. Ancestors were denied their names and their places of belonging, both erased by a geographical and epistemic journey that took them from their community to cultural centres of colonial power. Not deemed useful enough to be registered meticulously, kinship and subjectivity were thereby replaced by objectifying discourse.

Following the developments of physiognomy and phrenology in the late 18th and 19th centuries, anthropology took advantage of colonial spaces to encroach upon colonised bodies in order to justify its hypotheses. Joanna Sofaer notices that "observations and comparisons between 'primitive' bodies and European bodies were closely tied to notions of cultural evolution with understandings of national characteristics rooted in biological disparities. [...] The skeletal body provided a key source of evidence for culture history through the osteological categorization of people according to racial type" (13-14). As Richard Twine sums it up, "the 19th-century ideology of nationhood drew upon the physiognomic coding of the body as an unproblematic site of truth to produce many such narratives that were important to nationalism and the legitimation of both Eurocentrism and colonialism" (74, italics mine). The belief in objective and righteous science was key to the violent allocation of the bones of an 'other'.

5 For more details regarding the interview and the unfolding of the case, see Crais and Scully, 89-102; also Holmes.

Zoë S. Strother has retranscribed the notary transcription from the King's Bench, which seems hardly retrievable at the British National Archives:

Public Record Office J18 / 462: "Arend Jacob Guitard of Sweeting's Alley. Royal Exchange Notary Public maketh oath and saith that at the request of Mr. Alexander Dunlop of Duke Street St. James, he this deponent made a translation from the English into the Dutch language of an agreement made between the said Alexander Dunlop and Sara or Sarah Baartman otherwise called The Hottentot Venus, That he This Deponent read the said agreement twice plainly and distinctly to the said Sarah Baartman, and that it appeared to him this deponent, that she understood the contents thereof and was therewith satisfied. – And this deponent further saith that he put several questions to the said Sarah Baarmtan as to her being contented with hert situation and whether she was duly supplied with good eat and drink to which she replied in the affirmative. And this deponent also asked the said Sarah Baartman whether she preferred either to return to the Cape of Good Hope or stay in England and that she replied – Stay here. [signed]

AJGuitard. Sworn before me at my Chambers Serjants Inn, Chancery Lane the 27th day of November 1810."

6 In the late eighteenth century, Robert Jacob Gordon and Francois Le Vaillant, both travelling through Southern Africa, reported on their curiosity regarding the elongated labia of Khoikhoi women, what they metaphorically labelled an "apron" (see Huigen , 109).

7 Jongikhaya Stuurman, one of his descendants, states that Stuurman had seven wives (SABC Digital, 2015, 50").

8 Spelt with an 'e' instead of an 'a' in the novel.

9 The "salvage paradigm", in a colonial era that managed, by any means and in many disciplines, to objectify the "other" through art, political power, law and science, defines the vain attempt to "rescue 'authenticity' out of destructive historical change" (Clifford, 1987, 121). In this sense, the physical disappearance of the people is less suggested; it is rather the ethnological interest in "otherness" which might be victim of that process of automatic assimilation to Western mores and culture. Alongside, but also colliding with, the mission of civilisation advocated forcefully by the agents of religious colonialism, authors and missionaries, the work of collectors was to generate as much knowledge as possible about these alleged 'authentic' indigenous cultures (Laukötter 27), in the face of a certain fading away of traditional rites, art, but also morphological features, as argued by Gobineau. Following the argument of "Indigenous evolutionary inferiority" (Turnbull 3), a logical assumption developed in the minds of ethnologists and anthropologists at that time, which greatly pushed for expeditions and increased funding from museums and scientific institutions for the collection and recording of colonised societies. In a direct response to, and furtherance of Darwin's declaration, the ethnologist James Richard declared that due to the colonisation process, "the aboriginal nations of most parts of the world will have ceased to exist" after a century, and therefore wondered "whether any thing [could] be done effectually to prevent the extermination of the aboriginal tribes" (qtd in Moses 5). In Germany, museum curators following the same interrogation believed that since "these groups are reported to be in danger of extinction anyway, science must as well rescue 'what there is to rescue'" (Lange 47). The work of ethnologists, anthropologists, curators and collectors therefore fell under the umbrella term Rettungsanthropologie.

10 Not only on Mara Verna's artistic web-project. Diana Ferrus can also be heard on Youtube. "South Africa Diana Ferrus: 'I've come to take you home' Tribute to Sarah Bartmann," Youtube, Web. 14 Aug. 2019 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-pCmu4uyj5c

11 Mubusisi, Nzila M.. Interview with the author, National Museum of Namibia, Windhoek, 26 Mar. 2018.

12 Here, I draw on the work of the No-Humboldt 21! Campaign criticising the re-construction of the Berlin Palace which now hosts the Humboldt Forum, a postcolonial irony since ethnographic collections gathered during the height of German colonialism are exhibited in this new and polished version of this monumental landmark of German Imperialism. Ever since the Humboldt Forum project had been announced and launched by the Foundation Prussian Cultural Heritage, the dissenting campaign provided reflections on institutional discourse, curatorial practice, repatriation, provenance research and colonial history which have considerably influenced institutional discourses. Artists, scholars and activists have provided insightful analyses of how this national monument has been conceptualised, unveiling crucial flaws in, and proposing alternatives to, German politics of cultural identity and heritage conservation.

13 This position has also been discussed for gender and queer studies. Judith Butler precisely tackles this problematic thinking of a universal, fixed category "human" with regard to the right for LGBT to mourn their dead. Instead, she conceptualizes subjectivity as the realm of the possible; that is, as a future prospect of being first recognized as a former victim, then heard, and then included.

14 Interview with Derrick "Rudi" Jaffon on 15th January 2018. Audio file in the possession of the author.

Chapter 4

UMNDAWU UHINTSA IN MEDIA AND THEATRE

GCALEKA | MBAMBATHO'S QUEST UKUBUYISELA ISIHLWELE, AND CALLS FOR APOLOGIES FOR THE MURDER OF XHOSA KING HINTSA

On January 13th 2018, newly elected president of the African National Congress (ANC), and future President of South Africa, Cyril Ramaphosa, addressed citizens and members of the ANC on the occasion of the 106th anniversary of the birth of the party. The so-called "8th January speech" was one focused on the central issue of "unity", following accusations of corruption and state capture against president Jacob Zuma and the Gupta family, as well as the failed process of impeachment led by the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). On that same day, I drove from Gcuwa (Butterworth) to Idutywa, Willowvale and further towards the banks of the Nqabara river to visit the grave of King Hintsa. Carrying four passengers in a modest rental car – for people in the Eastern Cape regularly hitch-hike to get to work, home or, in that case, to a funeral – we listened to Ramaphosa's speech with attention and interest, as it marked his first step in the path towards the presidency. He reminded of the legacies of apartheid and colonialism several times, interestingly almost always associating them with one another in his powerful rhetoric. Besides he underlined the urgency for the ANC to tackle racialised economic and social inequalities in the country resulting from these regimes, and advocated for "transformation" through financial empowerment, land reforms and "expropriation without compensation", responding positively to one of EFF's core demands for a decolonised South Africa. Alongside this promising vision for the near future, Ramaphosa also paid homage to past members of the ANC's struggle, reminding of imprisonment, forced banishment, and murder. His tribute to Chris Hani could not help but remind me of the murder of Hintsa in 1835. Both those murders have represented gruesome landmarks in the different but related regimes of oppression, creating martyrs in a Black South African psyche which associates colonisation and apartheid as two sides of the same coin: oppression by whites. While Chris Hani's murderers were tried and sentenced, Hintsa's murderer George Southey was never punished for his crime. Let me first provide the historical context before coming to Hintsa's death.

The beginning of the 19th century in the Cape Colony was marked by the expansion of British liberal colonialism through policies of settlement. The causes for the outbreak of the sixth frontier war in 1834 are still debated. Most historians though agree that the decision of Chief Maqoma of the Rharhabe to launch a guerilla war against British colonial settlers and troops was a response to fierce policies of land annexation coupled with punitive expeditions (see Peires, 1981, 79-80, 166; Lester, 524). Tim Keegan (followed later by Martin Legassick) highlights an increased resort to military intervention in the 1830s resulting from tactics of settler propaganda aimed at accelerating the process of settler accumulation regardless of the needs of local African communities (74).

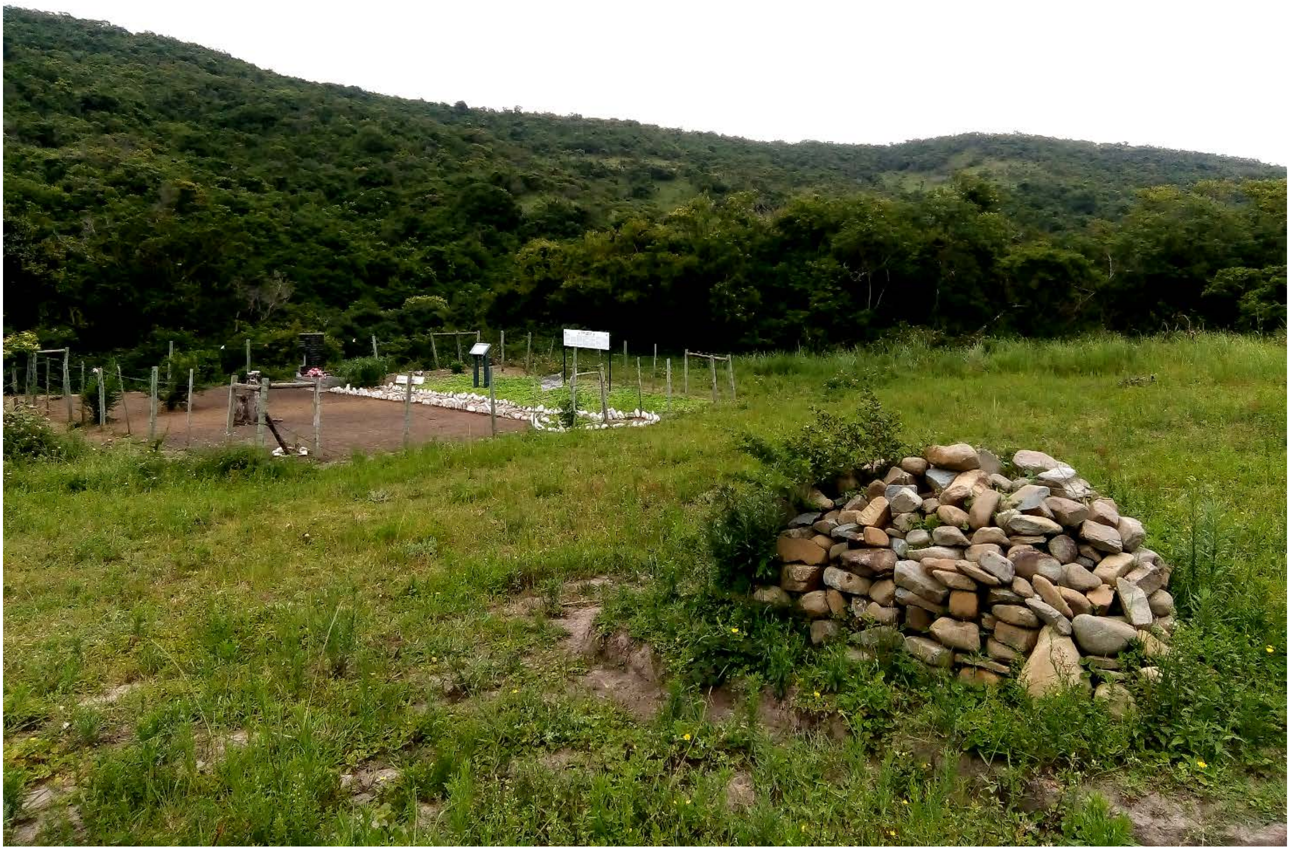
It is in this context of land-grabbing by British settlers and ensuing resistance by the amaRharhabe that King Hintsa of the amaGcaleka, son of Khawuta and paramount king of the amaXhosa, rode to a newly established British camp near Butterworth to meet with Benjamin D'Urban, governor of the Cape Colony at the time. This has been commonly interpreted as a proactive move to initiate negotiations. From this point onwards, stories diverge. Timothy Stapleton argues that Hintsa came to discuss the terms of a possible peace settlement after the amaGcaleka were wrongfully made responsible for the amaRharhabe insurrection and were punished by unlawful British repression which decimated their cattle and kraals. In the camp, Hintsa was disarmed, taken prisoner, and then compelled to pay for the damages caused by the war to British settlers. Clifton Crais and Jeff Peires did not delve much into the story and concluded from the colonial archive that Hintsa entered the camp voluntarily, was then disarmed and taken prisoner, and was shot in his attempt to escape from his British captives. If historical circumstances are subject to debate, consensus is found on the time and place of his death: King Hintsa died on 12th May 1835 on the banks of the Nqabara River, shot by British soldier George Southey. Premesh Lalu reminds that the narrative gaps which punctuate the colonial archive are the product of attempts by the British to conceal evidence and blur the traces which could have helped understand the murder of Hintsa. In a wish to counter the reliance on a dominant narrative, he highlights the presence of a sonoric archive: a member of the Corp Guides (mostly composed of African soldiers fighting for the British military), Klaas,

> proclaimed that he was close enough to the actual shooting to have heard the chief cry out 'taru amapecati' – a cry for mercy – before a second and fatal shot was fired. Klaas also noted that Southey pursued Hintsa down the banks of the river and that he was accompanied by two members of the Cape Mounted Rifles called Windfogel Julie and Nicholaas Africa [...]. After the shooting had taken place, Klaas (who is introduced as a Xhosa speaker) met Julie and Africa, who inquired about the meaning of 'taru' – a claim that confirmed that they had heard the chief's plea for mercy and that George Southey's failure to understand it proved fateful (Lalu, 2009, 66).

It is with these conflicting, but also perhaps complementary, accounts that I went to the Nqabara river and visited King Hintsa's grave to pay my respects.

Hintsa's grave: a place of remembrance for 1835 and 1996

From Idutywa onwards, brownish signs (usually signalling sites of historical or ecological importance throughout South Africa) guided me towards the right path. Following the signs, rather than the Google navigation route, proved useful, as Google Maps advised a shorter path on the map which, however, would have proved effectively tedious and lengthier due to potholed dirt roads unsuited for the car. Here, already, different "regimes of truth" were at play (Lalu): a top-down view from a satellite, guiding a dot on traced lines towards another dot vs. a local initiative of signposting recognising the grave as a heritage site. Two kilometres away from my destination, *iinkomo* (cattle) galore sitting on the path blocked any attempt to pursue with the car. Walking through the lush mountainous landscape, I finally reached the banks of the Nqabarha river. A last sign on the other side of the river indicated "King Hintsa's grave 400m". Down the path, peacefully surrounded by grassing cattle and mules, the lapping sound of the river further out, and enclosed by a fence to keep the animals away, stood the King's tombstone and an information panel (Fig. 2 & 3). In front of the enclosure, a cluster of rocks marks the grave site (Fig. 1), reminiscent of the stones stacked up at the entrance of the mining pit on Robben Island or those laid on the memorial for the Herero and Nama victims of the genocide in Swakopmund.



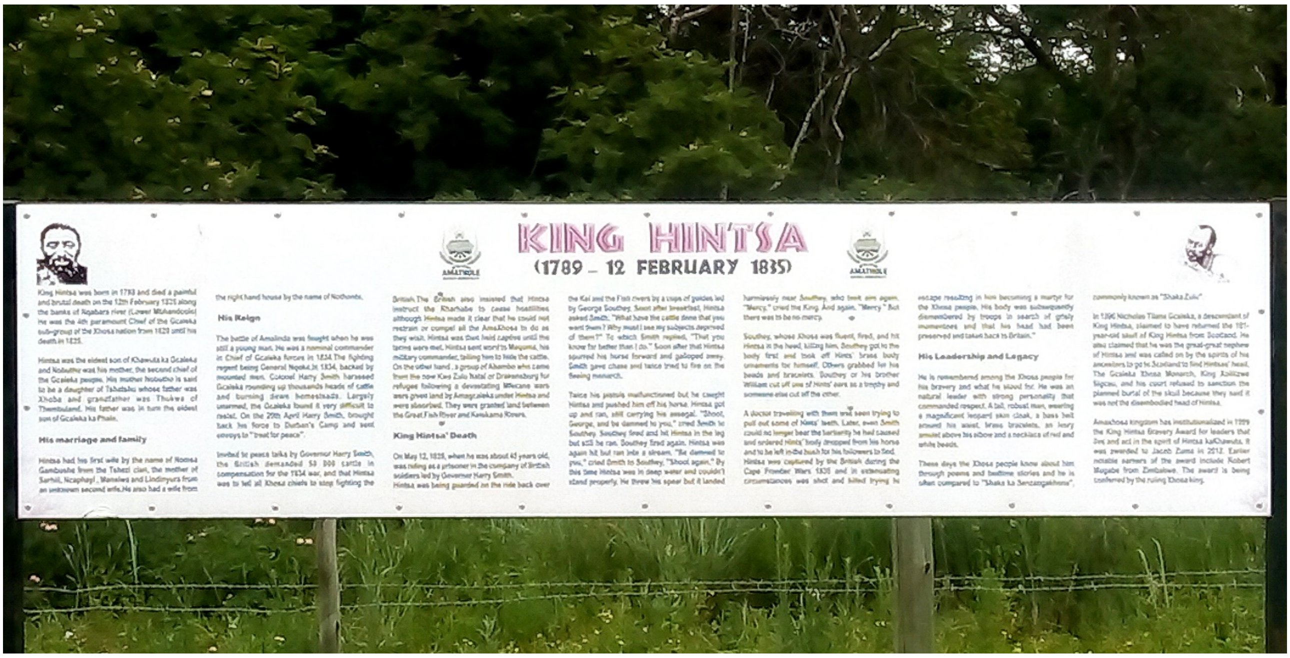

KING HINTSA
(1789 – 12 FEBRUARY 1835)
AMATHOLE
AMATHOLE

Fig. 1 (above): The grave of King Hintsa on the banks of the Nqabara river.

Fig. 2 (below): The information panel next to the grave (Photos Y. Le Gall).

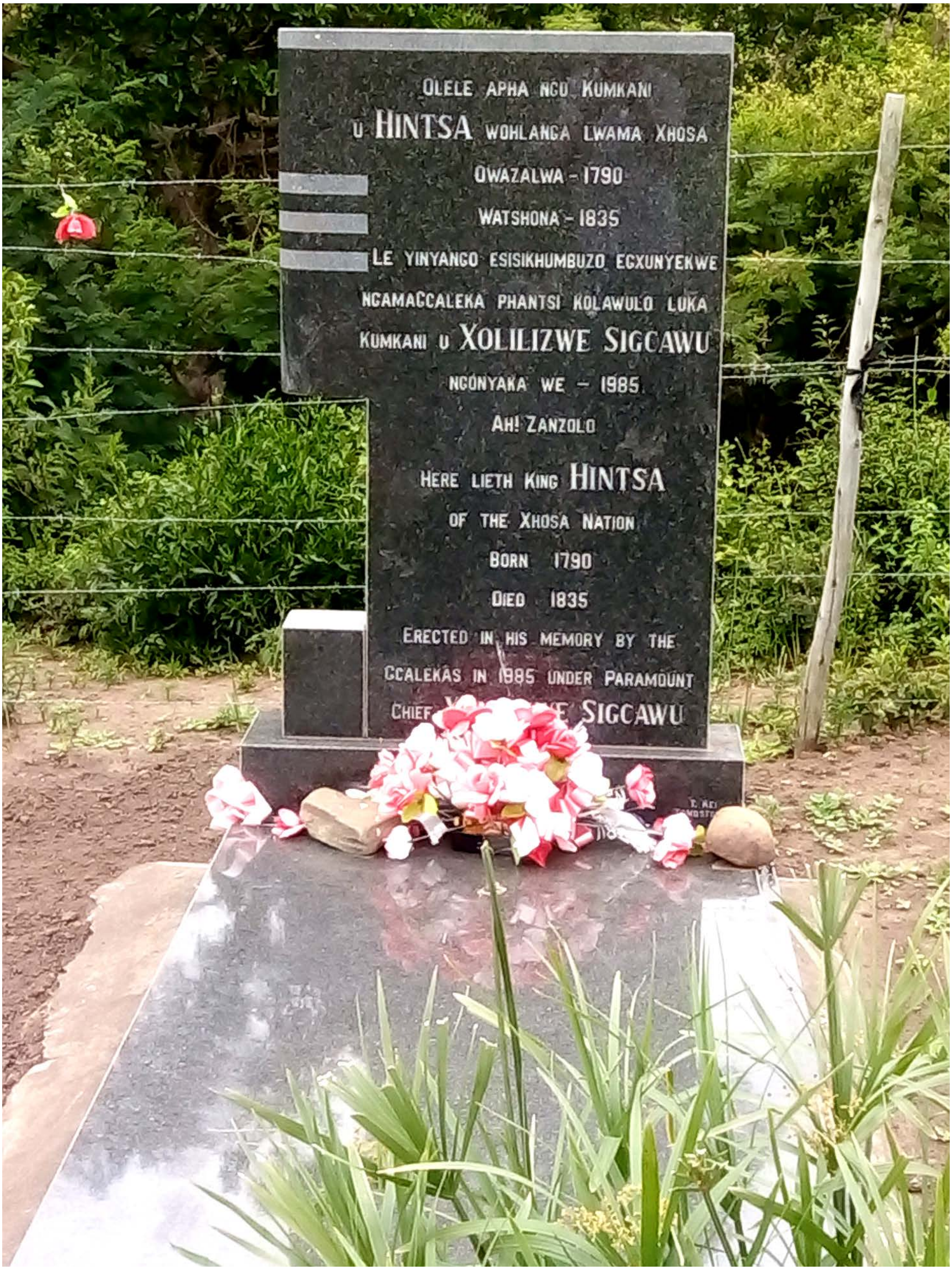

OLELE APHA NGU KUMKANI
U HINTSA WOHLANGA LWAMA XHOSA
OWAZALWA - 1790
WATSHONA - 1835
LE YINYANGO ESISIKHUMBUZO EGXUNYEKWE
NGAMAGCALEKA PHANTSI KOLAWULO LUKA
KUMKANI U XOLILIZWE SIGCAWU
NGONYAKA WE - 1985
AH! ZANZOLO
HERE LIETH KING HINTSA
OF THE XHOSA NATION
BORN 1790
DIED 1835
ERECTED IN HIS MEMORY BY THE
GCALEKAS IN 1985 UNDER PARAMOUNT
CHIEF
SIGCAWU

Fig. 3: King Hintsa’s tombstone (Photo Y. Le Gall)

I was surprised to read that the second to last paragraph on the information panel next to King Hintsa's tombstone relates the peculiar events of February-March 1996, when a Xhosa man travelled to Britain to retrieve the alleged missing skull of Hintsa. It said:

In 1996 Nicholas Tilana Gcaleka, a descendant of King Hintsa, claimed to have returned the 161-year-old skull of King Hintsa from Scotland. He also claimed that he was the great-great nephew of Hintsa and was called on by the spirits of his ancestors to go to Scotland to find Hintsas' head. The Gcaleka Xhosa Monarch, King Xolilizwe Sigcawu, and his court refused to sanction the planned burial of the skull because they said it was not the disembodied head of Hintsa.

The quest for Hintsa's skull

To retrace the unfolding of this event, let me go back to 16th March 1995, when a Sky News broadcast reported that the late Rharhabe King Maxhobaya Khawuleza Sandile had officially requested the Queen of England to return the head of King Hintsa (see *Kings Head*; Nicolson). It is indeed known, both from written and oral sources, that Hintsa's body was mutilated post-mortem, some supposing that his skull was shipped to Britain (see Nicolson; Lalu, 2009, 12-13).[1] At the time, few had endeavoured to find out in oral and written accounts whether his skull was actually taken away, and the British government failed to engage with the issue. Almost a year later, on 15th February 1996, self-proclaimed Chief Nicholas Nawi Tilana Gcaleka, identified as Nicholas Khonoza Mbambatho (see Titi, 1999b), landed at Heathrow Airport in the UK, the first step on his quest to find the skull of King Hintsa. Initiated as an *isangoma*, Mbambatho followed visions which came to him through the spirit of Hintsa. With this pompous trip, funded by corporations such as the Coca-Cola Company and South African Breweries, and buoyed by the informal support of Nelson Mandela himself, Mbambatho became notorious, contrary to King Sandile's earlier claim which was blatantly ignored. His story received widespread coverage in the British media and out of the two weeks he spent on British soil, a Sky News camera followed him during four days. He was welcomed at the Museum of National History, taken to a Scottish army base that held human remains, and ended his quest in a farm outside the city of Inverness.

As Nomalanga Mkhize has noted, it is peculiar that Mbambatho did not meet administrative obstacles, let alone disregard from institutions and the broader public in the UK. “There was sufficient curiosity to permit him access, and even to give him the benefit of the doubt: the public, both in South Africa and the United Kingdom, were awaiting the outcome of his quest with bated breath”, Mkhize points out (213). There is no doubt that this story drew the interest of a large number of people and media. There were extensive reports in British newspapers, broadcasts by Sky News and SABC, and numerous articles before, during and up to twenty years after Mbambatho’s journey in the local newspaper – the *Daily Dispatch*. The people I talked to in Qonce (King William’s Town) and Gcuwa (Butterworth) could also recall this story.

While he was travelling through the UK, members of the Xhosa Royal House took the time to read copies of the Court of Enquiry on the death of Hintsa. Although they concurred with recent historians that it looked like the commission inquiring on the circumstances of his death tried to cover up a murder, the gaps left by the different narratives on Hintsa’s death have produced conflicting oral and written historical accounts of what happened to Hintsa’s body after his death. Mkhize relates that according to Mda Mda, an attorney in Gcuwa, Hintsa “was decapitated and the head was carried to Grahamstown in triumph”. But Douglas Hintsa, a direct descendant interviewed by her, questions this version:

> One thing we don’t agree – how can a senior councillor bury a headless king? Because the story should have definitely leaked out, that the king was buried without his head. And also, if Hintsa was beheaded, how did that head go past Grahamstown without people knowing. The reason for that is because we know that they cut him, cut his ears, his cheeks, took his teeth with a bayonet and we know Southey and his crew brought those tissues into Grahamstown (qtd in Mkhize, 215).

As the information panel mentions, the skull brought back by Mbambatho was not deemed to be the actual skull of King Hintsa by leaders of the amaXhosa. The official position of the Royal House, was that Mbambatho had “disgraced” both King Xolilizwe Sigcawu and Xhosa customs “by displaying a skull he claimed was of his great-grandfather, without his knowledge or a mandate from the nation”. Short of the king’s approval for these claims, Mbambatho was quickly qualified as a “fraudster” and a “charlatan” in local media (Feni, 2010; Fuzile). Former chairperson of the Eastern Cape Traditional Healers Association, Mzukisi Ngoma, questioned Mbambatho’s proclaimed status of being an *isangoma*: “He only has a hurricane spirit which gives him some form of magic to make wealth and gain popularity” (qtd in Ecna).

It was not only the display of the skull which generated anger and embarrassment: Mbambatho also reportedly usurped the famous name of the Gcaleka house (for more information on Xhosa genealogy, see Appendix 3). Douglas Hintsa told Mkhize: “we don’t use that name. We have reasons for not using that name”. Mkhize further argued that “Mbambatho’s appropriation of it signalled his ignorance of true royal protocol” (217). The Xhosa Royal council officially condemned Mbambatho’s appropriation of the clan name of Hintsa and Sigcawu. King Gcaleka, who died in 1778, was indeed Hintsa’s grandfather, one of the sons of Paramount King Phalo. In October 1999 Prince Xhanti Sigcawu proclaimed: “Should Khonoza Mbambatho persist in using King Hintsa and Sigcawu’s names in this sensitive and critical issue, we will definitely summon him” (Titi, 1999b). Clan names in Xhosa culture bear great significance, as the use of a clan name in greeting or giving thanks marks additional respect towards the person. It is not surprising then that such a misuse and ignorance of social protocol should result in threats of being summoned by the Xhosa Royal authority.

The skull in question brought back by Mbambatho was then confiscated by Sigcawu and handed over to physical anthropologist Gideon Jacobus Knobel from the UCT Department of Forensic Medicine, who maintains he contacted the Xhosa Royal House proactively to offer his help in that matter.[2] A group of white South African anthropologists examined the skull in question for provenance, age, sex and traces of inflicted damage. They concluded in a conference paper that its cranial features “pointed to a female person (muss less likely a slender male) with predominant features expected in an individual of European descent, (although mixed descent could not be excluded)”, and that the hole was not the result of a gunshot but of post-mortem erosion (see Appendix 1). While this scientific inquiry settled the matter for the Xhosa Royal council and unleashed waves of derogatory critique and mockery vis-à-vis Mbambatho, the latter maintained his position on the accuracy of his finding and even demanded that the skull be returned to him, reportedly “to reunite with the king’s body” (Sapa). Three years later, following allegations that the remains could find their way back to Scotland, Mbambatho argued the skull was his “property” (Titi, 1999a). In 2010, while serving a five-year jail sentence, he reiterated his wish to ultimately retrieve the skull. On this occasion, journalist Lulamile Feni revisited the story and reported that neither Phillip Tobias nor the secretary at the forensic medicine department at the University of Cape Town knew where the skull was kept (Feni, 2010).

Mbambatho | Gcaleka | Nicholas

In the direct aftermath of this event, the theatre company Third World Bunfight, led by contemporary artist Brett Bailey, re-visited the case in a play called *iMumbo Jumbo*, as part of their series *The Plays of Miracle and Wonder* performed between 1997 and 2003. In the play, the meta-level of narration is taken up by the character of "Gcaleka" telling the story of his quest to retrieve the skull of King Hintsa. In the embedded story, the character travelling to the UK is called "Nicholas". Brett Bailey then appointed two actors: Gcaleka, who would be breaking the fourth wall with soliloquies and direct addresses to the audience; Nicholas, who would simply re-enact his journey and his encounters on British soil. Two levels of performance are therefore identified, and the use of different names for the same person at different levels of narration is helpful to understand what role Gcaleka and Nicholas both fulfil in the play. The former introduces the case and ends it with a political diatribe (as I will show later); the latter performs a fictional *isangoma* in a fictional Britain.

This trope of splitting identity on grounds of performative acts is also useful to make sense of the multiple levels of performance and the multiple locales encompassed in my re-visit of the repatriation of Hintsa's head. Considering the critique of the Xhosa Royal Council accusing Mbambatho of cloaking himself with the Gcaleka's clan name for his quest to the UK, I have chosen to draw a clear line between "Mbambatho", "Gcaleka" and "Nicholas".

Mbambatho will stand for the man intervening in the South African public sphere in 1996 and embarking on a project of repatriating the skull of King Hintsa. He is also the one who defended his position of authority against disparaging comments voiced after his return.

Gcalecka is Mbambatho's act as an *isangoma* in Britain. I call it an act because *amasangoma* are endowed with the skills and knowledge to lead shamanistic rituals that rely on being the medium for spirits, almost impersonating them. As a medium of his ancestors' spirit, i.e. the Hurricane spirit of King Hintsa, his performance demonstrates the significance of kinship and the spiritual relation between an *isangoma* and his forefather. As an ecstatic performance, Gcaleka being one with the spirit, his performance merges reactions of a certain audience and involves props and cues. Yet, it does not pertain to the realm of fiction or fraud. But let me finish with Nicholas and come back to this shortly.

Nicholas will designate the characters impersonating Gcaleka in the play *iMumbo Jumbo.* I am aware that this rubs out the gap between the two narrative levels generated by the embedding in the play, but this distinction is not essential and would only complicate the argument. The script of the play, available on the company's website, offers a textual counterpart to the many voices already intervening in judging and re-visiting Mbambatho's and Gcaleka's interventions. While Gcaleka *acts*, Nicholas *enacts*, and proposes another level of performance that also interpreted the relationship between the spirit and the descendant. In this chapter, I use Nicholas from *iMumbo Jumbo* as a sidekick for Gcaleka, commenting on the issues raised by the *isangoma*.

Ernest Kirby has interpreted a wide range of shamanistic rituals as being proto-theatrical, namely as forms of acting that existed before drama was invented.[3] This is interesting as far as the intertextual relationship between Gcaleka and Nicholas is concerned. Gcaleka's act, an act of spiritual mediation and an act of world-making, ironically precedes Brett Bailey's theatrical dislocation of his persona. I also further fragment his identity herein. Even though this might undermine the opacity of Gcaleka's intervention, I believe it is still important to differentiate those levels of depth in character in order to avoid reproducing what many sources on this case do: fixating him as either an opportunist, i.e. a "fraudster" (Feni, 2010), a genuine *isangoma*, or an entertaining character fit for a play or a movie. As Michael Taussig extracted from anthropological studies of shamanistic rituals and tricksters (including a study of Kwakiutl shamanism by Franz Boas, a renowned skull collector), fraud is as much part of the shaman's trick as belief in the "'true' power" of shamanism (462). Taussig accepts this contradictory paradigm, arguing that "the more you try to pin this down, the more it wriggles" (ibid). More concerned with the political underpinnings of Gcaleka's performance as a trickster, I rather focus on the revelations that his intervention produced. Instead of wanting to pin down or elucidate Gcaleka's position in the colonial relationship that emerged from his presence in Britain, I will refrain from identifying deceit or truth in this event. Rather, I argue that the multiple characters of this repatriation endeavour all produce thruths on how “the pervasive influence of colonialism accounts for skepticism with regards to the autoethnography of magic” (Taussig, 465), a scepticism which is tangible in the Sky News archive commenting on the event. These sceptic readings of Gcaleka as a “fraudster” or as an entertainment will be gradually discarded, so that the multiple implications of his interventions can be introduced, so that Xhosa and South African perspectives on the memory of Hintsa and colonial violence can be genuinely considered and foregrounded.

Unfolding layers of memory

As pertaining to one of the four axes of memory practice that I investigate, namely human remains in performance and other artistic productions, the inclusion of the case of King Hintsa’s skull and the script of Brett Bailey’s play is motivated by several reasons. First, greatly indebted to Premesh Lalu’s comprehensive analysis of Mbambatho’s intervention, I am also convinced that revisiting Mbambatho’s effort for repatriation alongside Third World Bunfight’s adaptation of his quest can stimulate further discussions on the representation of truth, lies and authority, as well as on the issue of possible social, political and aesthetic re-appropriations of the colonised body and the wandering spirit after its repatriation. Bringing forth different perspectives on these connected histories – the colonial murder of Hintsa and the repatriation endeavour – I wish to ultimately answer the questions: who has been heard until now and who should be heard when telling the story of King Hintsa?

Secondly, there exists a visual (and arguably colonial) archive that documents this repatriation and also stands under the spotlights in *iMumbo Jumbo*’s revisit of the case. The play indeed extensively mocks the coverage of Gcaleka’s journey in England and Scotland by Sky News. By retrieving these rushes and news reports and decrypting them anew, I wish to address the Eurocentric portrayal of Gcaleka by visual media, the grotesque portrayal of journalists and paparazzi in the play, and the performing act of *isangoma* Gcaleka on British soil. Bringing the theatrical text with its sources – the mediated account through the mnemonics of television – will further refine contemporary memory of this moment and perhaps trace new paths conjuring multiple layers of postcolonial memory studies. I am aware that another media archive exists: the SABC coverage of the event. Yet, this would be beyond the scope of this analysis as I would have to enter a comparative media study which, although surely productive for a critique of Eurocentric discourse and a re-location of Mbambatho's speech in post-apartheid South Africa, would drift away from the entangled memory practices which lead me from a place of remembrance to a play, to a visual archive and back to current political matters. Commenting on media, corporate and Brett Bailey's interest in Mbambatho and Gcaleka, Premesh Lalu has warned that the "overemphasis of the scopic has left much of the discussion of ideology somewhat deficient in explaining the instability that attends to the subject" (110). Through the recordings of Mbambatho's interventions in the British public sphere, I will try to inject sonoric intermissions in the narrative. They will interrupt the text and will hopefully foreground his voice without drowning it in mediatic cacophony.

Thirdly, *iMumbo Jumbo* was a source for public outrage in South Africa. It sparked extensive debates on the ritualistic slaughter of a chicken on stage during the closing night at the Baxter Theatre in Rondenbosch, Cape Town. But this is no reason for including the play in this chapter. On the contrary, it seems that this scandal has actually partly eclipsed important matters addressed by the play which have remained ignored. Beyond the chicken lie crucial issues: a) the aesthetic representation of the relationship between an unsettled spirit and his descendant; b) the play's take on the intersection of colonialism and AIDS (alluding to multiple cases of rapes of elderly women); and c) the competing forces for the acknowledgement of King Hintsa as part of amaXhosa – and more generally South African – strategies of remembering and coming to terms with a long history of colonial and racial oppression.

Fourthly, what happened to the skull Mbambatho retrieved and showed, and which was later discarded for being that of a middle-aged European woman? Here I want to remind that the remains are probably still housed at the department of forensic medicine at the University of Cape Town, lying in a limbo state after repatriation. Rather than viewing them as having been wrongly repatriated, their presence in South Africa calls for a revisit of the case.

Remembering the killing of King Hintsa by remembering Mbambatho's intervention, itself remembered in *iMumbo Jumbo* and in television footage, calls for a clear structure in unfolding these layers of memory. This chapter examines the intertextual relationship between the play and the Sky News reports while gradually bringing the debates to the politics of Mbambatho's intervention. The array of material at hand here also calls for a composite understanding of memory, where implicated subjects such as descendants, representatives of the amaXhosa, scientists, the media, and theatre performers construct a narrative which generates more questions than answers. First, I will map the treatment of Mbambatho in academic discourse. Following the threads that lead to the sonoric and visual archive, I will then analyse the media treatment of Gcaleka by Sky News, before venturing to the economic value of his act. Turning to the central role of Hintsa's spirit, I will then map Xhosa understandings of spiritual intervention and finally look at the politics of remembering Hintsa's murder and repatriating his remains in post-apartheid South Africa.

The colonial archive and its "dominant modes of evidence"

Mbambatho's intervention in the public sphere has found echo in academic publications. The most comprehensive analysis of this case has been offered by Premesh Lalu in his book *The Deaths of Hintsa.* Lalu departs from Mbambatho's intervention in post-apartheid South Africa to uphold a new reading of what he calls "dominant modes of evidence" in multiple historiographic contexts.

First, as far as the colonial archive is concerned, Lalu unveils and criticizes its widespread consideration as "the raw material upon which the historian's practice rests", despite its being a biased discourse, subject to alteration and manipulation (45). He also deplores that the murder of Hintsa, this "significant incident in the colonial past was surrendered to the terms and categories of a forensic procedure that reduced history to mere epidermal difference" (3). Acknowledging Lalu's critique, and bringing his perspective as a South African physical anthropologist contemporary to the event at hand, Alan Morris argued that the forensic analysis was rather simply answering the question posed by the subject matter, namely "is this skull likely to be that of Hintsa?" (149). The issue perhaps lies in the status of physical anthropology as an almost unchallenged discourse of authority, often considered as impartial (because scientific). Nomalanga Mkhize reminds that studies of human remains repatriations to South Africa and Botswana have "broadly [...] been preoccupied with analysing how remains are put forward by policy-makers, scientists and rights-groups as biological specimens, cultural artefacts, or individuals who should be personified in death" (212). In the case of Hintsa, she argues, "ethics were less pertinent and the custodianship battle became juridical rather than wholly cultural. At the heart of the matter was a contestation over evidentiary regimes and whether these validated the veracity of historical narratives in the popular realm or not" (ibid). Considering the importance of the event for politics of repatriation and the recognition of Hintsa's murder, it is crucial to remember that the basis for contemporary forensic science lies in a colonial archive of racial anthropology. Current widespread tools for attributing characteristics such as ancestry estimation and race to human remains (software such as CRANID and FORDISC) are indeed built on database analyses of museum anthropological collections acquired during the colonial era (see Eckstein 2007, 8). For instance, William Howells' craniometric data form the underpinnings for CRANID (Wright, 117), whereas Howells himself admitted doubting the veracity of some of the information attached to the remains in he collections he analysed, to the point that he even corrected former anthropological conclusions on gender, age, or race (see Larson 216-220; Fründt, forthcoming). Therefore, although the anthropogists' report on the skull has offered a degree of awaited closure to the interrogations of Xhosa leaders as to whether the repatriation could be legitimated, the almost blind reliance on the opinion of forensic anthropologists is somewhat ironic considering the colonial history of forensic science. As Lalu has done for the practice of historiography, it remains important to question to what extent forensic science can be understood as an unbiased third party when its theoretical foundation is rooted in colonial practices of classification of human remains. What is more, a myriad of African scholars have long questioned and jettisoned anthropology as a tool to write African history because of its intrinsic reliance on a body of theory which, through Eurocentric categorisation, has de-humanised African people time and again, or, at best, offered fragmentary understandings of complex multiplicities (see Ki-Zerbo, 13-22; Magubane & Faris; Mafeje; Nyamnjoh; Kasibe). As far as the politics of repatriation are concerned, it seems that the conclusion reached by physical anthropologists and the resulting mockery made of Mbambatho in the press somehow smothered the potential of this case to launch transnational public debates on repatriation, reparation and apologies. I will return to this later.

Secondly, and furthering the debate, Mbambatho's intervention less than two years after the end of the regime of apartheid calls for re-evaluating the legitimacy of the concept of historical truth in the era of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Carefully but adamantly, Premesh Lalu's *Deaths of Hintsa* asks: how do regimes of truth supported by the colonial archive, scientific evidence and privileging dominant modes of evidence collide with an understanding of reconciliation almost devoid of legal accountability, reparation or retribution? Therein, he reminds that allegations against Mbambatho's lies "simply put into greater doubt the very effects of a regime of truth which, while being mobilised to a presumably noble end of national reconciliation, offered little hope of settling the outstanding questions about the colonial past" (5). The question whether Hintsa's skull was shipped away to Britain becomes less important when one considers the murder of Hintsa as one instance of the long list of murders and injustices which have resulted from the imposition of colonial and racist agendas in Southern Africa (including here Chris Hani's death).

Finally, Mbambatho's position has epitomized the complementarity of different forms of social subjection (apartheid, colonialism, anthropological science) which may be different on a systemic level, but are "essentially cut of the same epistemic cloth" (Lalu, 126). To these three, I would also add the disciplinary society and psychological ableism (sanity vs. insanity). In 2003, journalist Justine Gerardy overstepped the boundary of defamation by entitling her portrait-article on Mbambatho: "Conman, Nutter or Prophet?" Capitalising on his sensational personality and his being an inmate of Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town at the time, awaiting trial for fraudulent activities, Gerardy's angle on the case clearly aimed at debunking Mbambatho's status as an *isangoma*. Unclothing him of his spiritual authority, she even questioned his sanity by exposing what could be easily considered as lies, amplified by a listing of illegal activities. Contributing to the "production of subalternity [as] a major feature of postcolonial subjectivity" (Lalu, 126), such newspaper articles have brought in further systems of discursive subjection which have further denigrated Mbambatho and deprived him of his gained subject position. Punished by the law for buying goods with bounced cheques, Mbambatho was further disciplined by the media who thereby turned their backs to any of his claims and statements in the aftermath of the affair of Hintsa's skull. Worse, his mental health was questioned in bold characters without concomitant proofs, the journalist here insinuating unfounded truths.

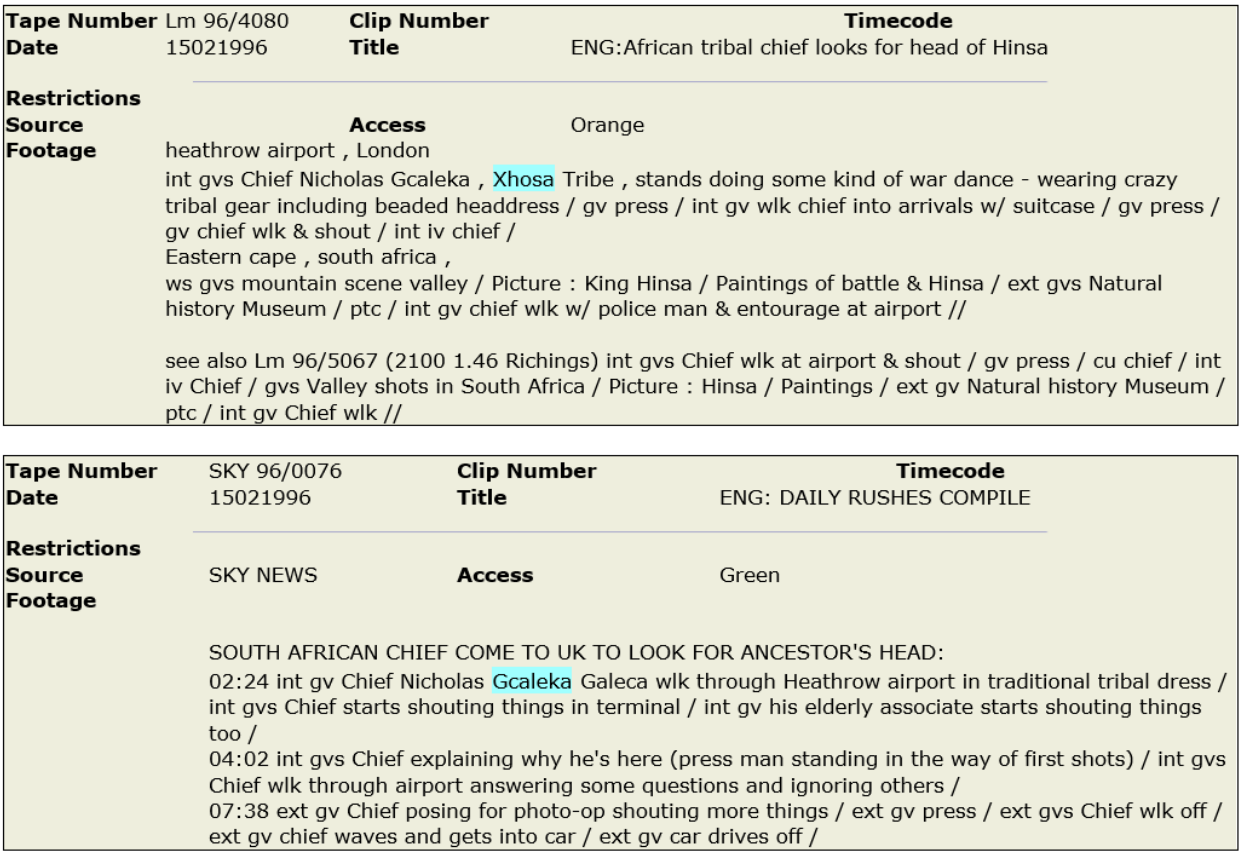
Alongside Lalu's effort to retrieve Mbambatho's subject position in postcolonial and post-apartheid South Africa, I wish hereby to identify the achievements of his quest for postcolonial memory, as well as possible lessons on repatriation practice.

Metadata: a “load of @£$*&(#” on Mbambatho

REPORTER: No, Gcaleka, here in Scotland
even the spirits must follow the programme.

After reading Nomalanga Mkhize’s article and the script of iMumbo Jumbo, I contacted the Sky News archive, looking for footage on “Gcaleka” and/or “Xhosa King Hintsa”. The first email I received from William Murray already included several descriptions of corresponding entries (see Fig. 4), namely metadata of the audio-visual material.

Looking at those poor and somehow noxious descriptions of the footage, it is interesting to note the restrictions in access. While the news report is flagged as “orange”, the daily rushes are “green”. This discrepancy seems to be probably contingent on copyright, since the only difference between the two entries is the clear mentioning of a source (Sky News) and therefore a rightsholder in the case of the news report. Apart from, but also determining, this legal consideration is the difference in the actual nature of the footage: unedited footage = green, visual narrative = orange. So the doubly-encoded representation of Mbambatho – first carefully captured by the camera holder and then carefully shaped by the journalist, the editor and the editor-in-chief – is paradoxically under post-broadcasting access restriction, even though it was broadcasted publicly for millions of potential spectators on 15th February 1996. The underlying conclusion that can be drawn from this perhaps trivial detail is that encoded representations carefully shaped by a distinct media discourse are designed for a definite audience, pertaining to a definite temporality and cultural landscape, aimed at being consumed neither by an ideal broad, heterogeneous audience, nor by a future viewer eager to revisit the moment (even though the possibility remains open otherwise the archiver might have labelled it as “red”). These robotic traffic-lights markers hint at how video news reports are inextricably tangled up in ephemeral consumption because of the journalistic tension between utopian editorial independence and a state of total dependency to its audience, operating as what Denis Ruellan calls a “mirror”, “because the control [tempérance] of this discourse is conditioned by its reception by an audience – it reflects what its public and a market economy expects from it” (22).[4]



Tape Number Lm 96/4080 **Clip Number** **Timecode**
Date 15021996 **Title** ENG:African tribal chief looks for head of Hinsa

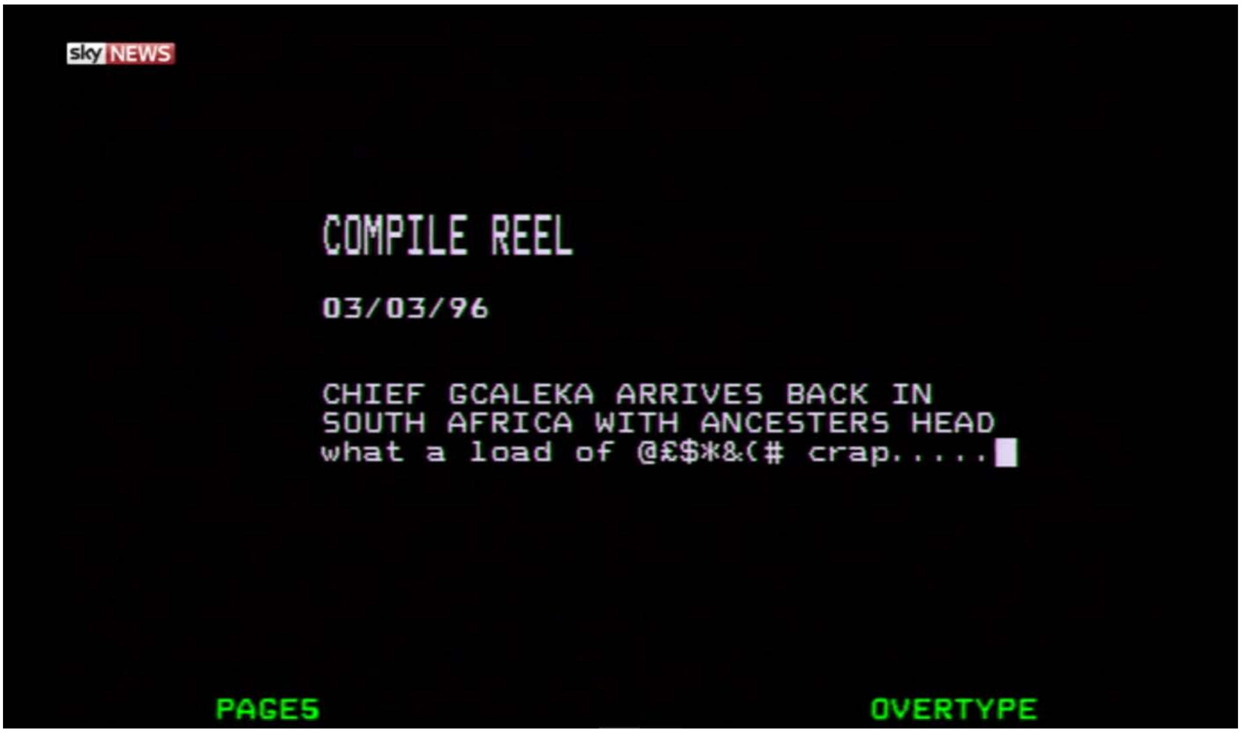
Restrictions
Source **Access** Orange
Footage heathrow airport , London
int gvs Chief Nicholas Gcaleka , Xhosa Tribe , stands doing some kind of war dance - wearing crazy tribal gear including beaded headdress / gv press / int gv wlk chief into arrivals w/ suitcase / gv press / gv chief wlk & shout / int iv chief /
Eastern cape , south africa ,
ws gvs mountain scene valley / Picture : King Hinsa / Paintings of battle & Hinsa / ext gvs Natural history Museum / ptc / int gv chief wlk w/ police man & entourage at airport //

see also Lm 96/5067 (2100 1.46 Richings) int gvs Chief wlk at airport & shout / gv press / cu chief / int iv Chief / gvs Valley shots in South Africa / Picture : Hinsa / Paintings / ext gv Natural history Museum / ptc / int gv Chief wlk //

Tape Number SKY 96/0076 **Clip Number** **Timecode**
Date 15021996 **Title** ENG: DAILY RUSHES COMPILE

Restrictions
Source SKY NEWS **Access** Green
Footage

SOUTH AFRICAN CHIEF COME TO UK TO LOOK FOR ANCESTOR'S HEAD:
02:24 int gv Chief Nicholas Gcaleka Galeca wlk through Heathrow airport in traditional tribal dress / int gvs Chief starts shouting things in terminal / int gv his elderly associate starts shouting things too /
04:02 int gvs Chief explaining why he's here (press man standing in the way of first shots) / int gvs Chief wlk through airport answering some questions and ignoring others /
07:38 ext gv Chief posing for photo-op shouting more things / ext gv press / ext gvs Chief wlk off / ext gv chief waves and gets into car / ext gv car drives off /



COMPILE REEL

03/03/96

CHIEF GCALEKA ARRIVES BACK IN
SOUTH AFRICA WITH ANCESTERS HEAD
what a load of @£$*&(# crap.....

Fig. 4 (above): Screenshot of the entries in the Sky News archive. The keywords “Xhosa” and “Gcaleka” are highlighted as the result of a catalogue search.

Fig 5 (below): Reel screen introducing the daily rushes of 3rd March 1996.

One should not forget that the journalistic impetus cannot stand alone. It is embedded in discursive systems of construction information and answers to several agents: the targeted audience, advertisers, but also other media possibly relaying the concerned news. The news report is therefore complicit in shaping the narrative and producing a distorted subjective stance. In Gcaleka's case, it seems to have fuelled exoticism, ethnic sensationalism, but also mockery and disdain towards the repatriation endeavour. Descriptions of the footage put great emphasis on Gcaleka's "crazy" appearance (Fig. 4). And relegates the Xhosa nation to tribal matters. The daily rushes from 3rd March 1996 documenting a ceremony where Mbambatho shows the skull he brought back to people gathered to welcome him back are even introduced by a disgraceful comment by the encoder (see Fig. 5). Those metadata and the footage itself remind us that the encoding process (Hall) is not exempt from blatant mistakes, over-simplification, and more importantly, harmful misrepresentation resulting from a Eurocentric perspective on an intervention which has specific meaning for people implicated for the repatriation of Hintsa.

Besides, little did the encoder know that such disparaging description would be read again and divulged more than twenty years later. The power of digital memory to be (theoretically) kept for ever is also its danger. Famous digital memes have lately called for the right to be forgotten, and this right becomes fundamental in a time when visual archives accumulate in the public sphere and their ubiquity causes harm to the captured subject. Revisiting the colonial gaze of mainstream media directed toward Xhosa men and women, reviewing the unwillingness to understand the significance of such a quest and the disinterest shown whenever the spirits don't "follow the programme" calls for a right to remember. To remember Mbambatho's trip and his claims, but also remember not to gloss over an effort for repatriation that was mostly misunderstood at the time. When he refused to understand "taru amapecati" and shot Hintsa, George Southey thought he could erase his act of murder. But Hintsa's spirit has lived on, and appeared to demonstrate that his memory has also been kept for ever.

In my research process on this case, I was often confronted with disparaging opinions on Mbambatho, which rather encouraged me to meet him in person as I grew wary of such normalised discourse leaning on his being called in court for fraud as a means to discredit him and his intervention altogether. *Ndiyabulela* (I am grateful to) Loyiso

Rhatebe who took me to Mbambatho's house near Ngqokweni by Gcuwa. Unfortunately, the latter was away at the time and I have not been able to meet him ever since, his wife asserting me on the phone that he was not interested in talking about this story any more. I have lain in a quandary, compelled to partly abandon the polyphonic drive for this chapter and to rely solely on an audio-visual archive which was framed and rendered by peers and contemporaries to the author of those disparaging descriptions mentioned earlier.

Perhaps the only way to avoid reducing Mbambatho to the almost voiceless character constructed by the video footage and the journalists' instructions might be to give him a voice by translating his isiXhosa speech into English, the words which have eluded the understanding of British viewers and participants. Nevertheless, Mbambatho himself was surely aware of the power residing in incomprehension and opacity. By choosing carefully the moments when he would express himself in English, the questions he would answer, and by privileging the use of isiXhosa in public addresses, Mbambatho's intervention resonates as a heteroglossic postcolonial performance. As Paul Bandia has argued elsewhere, the subject will not serve the text "on a silver platter" to be consumed and digested easily by a white European audience. In light of these reflections, I have opted for a careful reading which not only aspires to restore the politics of this repatriation attempt, but also understands that "if, in his search for a meaningful Hintsa, Gcaleka was represented as something of a trickster in the media, it was only because he adopted the very strategies of make-believe that defined colonialism" (Lalu, 107). By keeping heteroglossic gaps and thereby his "right to opacity" (Glissant, 189), I wish to remain partly attuned with Mbambatho's scheme and performance. Mbambatho died in January 2019, and one of his friends who travelled with him to London in 1996, Mzwandile Ndzulwana, re-iterated the importance of this repatriation for the deceased (see Feni, 2019). Clearly, the more crucial issue at hand, the political goal of his intervention, has remained the recognition of Hintsa's resistance in British colonial history and offering his restless spirit a peaceful burial.

Tilana Nicholas Gcaleka [i]

Translation by Tina Mgiti Mambinga

Kings of cows, Kings of nGcaleka, Kings of Phalo, we are here, we have arrived in the world of amaNgesi [Europeans] with the biggest river that is surrounding the village. You… you woke up late in the afternoon. You did not see anything. Today is the biggest day, where the cowards amaNgesi will be returning back home to their motherland, because the biggest crocodile that stays in the water has arrived. The great-great-grandfathers they know me, while some of you don't know me, but today I promise we will change this intsumantsumana (problem) that is between amaNgesi and uMzantsi Africa. nGcaleka says I must say that to you, ancestors. I'm in between you people. I don't even know what to say because today the king has arrived home. The spirit of the King that goes by the name of Hintsa will be returning back to his ubukumkani. […]

I am here for remains, the remains of King Hintsa, which was [video cut]. […] May 1835 by the order of Sir Harry Smith in the time of the government of Sir Benjamin D'Urban. By doing that we are preparing to see the Royal Family, because killing Hintsa… – he was not just an ordinary person, he was the King of the Xhosa nation. Since the year 1835, Sir Harry Smith take the throne from King Hintsa. We have no King – 161 years, we have no King. By coming here now we are bringing our kingdom back to South Africa. The praise of Nelson Mandela is with us all the time. Thank you.

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[i] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/king-hintsa/#Hintsaanchor

The Sky News saga on Hintsa and Gcaleka encompasses four reports and three compilation of rushes. In this collection, the 15th February 1996 rushes are perhaps the most interesting of all. Seven of the ten minutes were shot at Heathrow airport, following Gcaleka from the baggage claim to a black Cadillac Limousine appointed for him and the two still unidentified men accompanying him. After two photo sessions inside the terminal during which journalists, photographers and cameramen hustle with each other and give instructions to the Xhosa men on where to stand and how long, Gcaleka finally enters the public section of the terminal and takes advantage of having a crowd gathered there, probably waiting to greet their friends, families or acquaintances. In a loud address in isiXhosa witnessed by a crowd of *amaNgesi* (English speakers, i.e. white people) – those physically standing in the terminal and, metonymically, the broader public through the camera – he calls upon the royal ancestors Gcaleka and Phalo and acts as a mediator between the spirit of Hintsa and those of his relatives. A poor shot of an interview of Gcaleka in English follows. In this sequence, Gcaleka explains the reason of his trip to Britain and the historical context of the killing of Hintsa (see transcription below). Because a press photographer stands in the way between the cameraman and Gcaleka, the shot was jettisoned during the editing process and the latter's speech did not make it in the news report. Retrospectively, this omission has had a considerable influence on the portrayal of Gcaleka in the Sky News reports. The colonial context is conveyed by the journalist's voiceover and Gcaleka's own narrative is silenced. The only words of English he utters in the edited news report remain an evasive answer to a question regarding the location of Hintsa's head: "I have no doubt, no doubt about it, I know where it is".

The daily rushes incorporate several self-reflexive shots on the part of the cameraman. The crowd of photographers and press correspondents appear quite often in the frame, perhaps as a means to communicate visually the newsworthy significance of this visit (see Fig. 6; *Daily Rushes Compile*, 0'55" - 5'57"). These shots help in understanding a palpable uneasiness in the situation, as well as several conflictual moments between the three Xhosa men and the press. After Gcaleka confers the cumbersome behaviour of the press with an escorting policeman, one of Gcaleka's companions exclaims loudly: "Open mouth, sangoma. Nothing for nothing!" Later, in front of one of Heathrow's exits, the aligned photographers give instructions to this man to stand out of the way, so that they can take group shots of the three and the British policeman. One even goes as far as

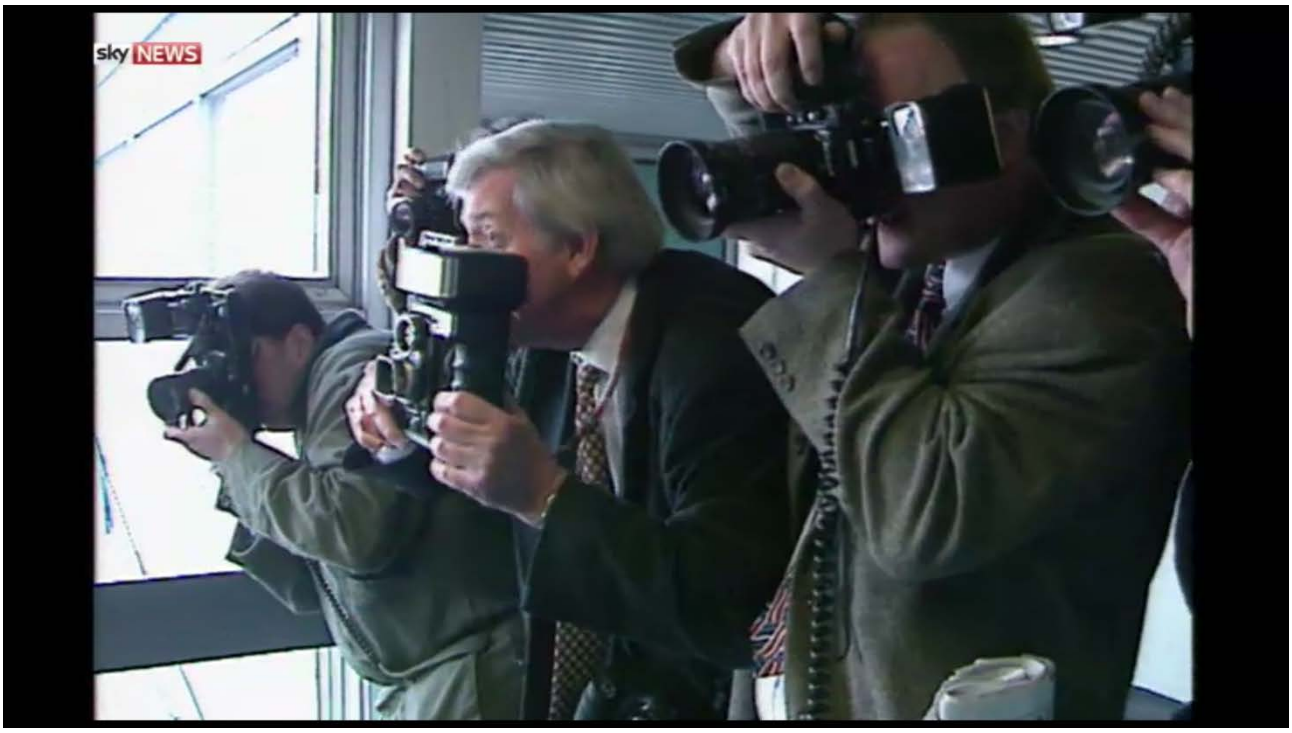

Fig 6: Screenshot from Daily Rushes Compile, 15 Feb. 1996 (1’41”).

grabbing the old man and moving him aside, proof that despite the royal-like escort and the Cadillac, no dignitary respect is shown to this delegation. One wonders what would have happened if the then Xhosa King Xolilizwe Sigcawu had led such delegation and had been moved like a prop by a British photographer. On the one hand, these palpable tensions convey what *iMumbo Jumbo* also hints at, namely the programming role of the press in steering Gcaleka’s agenda. I will come to that shortly. On the other hand, the pompous reception with bodyguards, police and limousine drivers might appear ill-suited to the matter at hand. Gcaleka is neither a national dignitary, nor has he ever been appointed as a traditional leader. Planning of their arrival nonetheless seems to have been finicky, full of credentials, so that a welcoming service worthy of a state visit had been prepared for the alleged chief.

The rushes also connect this idiosyncratic venture to museum collections in the UK. Long establishing shots filmed in front of the Natural History Museum are used in the report to hint at the large anthropological collections gathered during colonial times and the possibility of Hintsa’s skull to be housed in this museum. The theatre play takes a stance on this speculation, showing how reporters steer Nicholas away from his guiding spirit:

> REPORTER: Now this scene we are calling SKY, because when Chief Gcaleka was in Scotland, everywhere he went Sky Television was there. You see, there in London he dreamed about a forest clearing, and a white pony, and a river and a house, and the Hurricane Snake saying:
>
> HURRICANE SPIRIT: You will find the skull there, on that farm in Invernessa.
>
> REPORTER: But when he arrives in Scotland, you know the white people love a program, they said he must go to the army base of the Scottish soldiers to see if the skull was there, then he must go to the museum, 'cos there's also a head there... He says:
>
> NICHOLAS: Hey, my spirit is not working with a programme, my spirit wants to look for that farm.
>
> REPORTER: No, Gcaleka, here in Scotland even the spirits must follow the programme.
>
> And everywhere they went, Sky Television was there...

The news report tells another story, claiming that "the King's great-great nephew *plans to* search museums and army bases both in England and Scotland" (Richings, 1'08", emphasis mine). Throughout the two reports, the overwhelming use of indirect discourse when it comes to conveying Gcaleka's perspective is unsettling. When journalist Eve Richings explains that the "omens aren't looking good" because of the Natural History Museum's policy on access to its human remains collection, she further responds: "Chief Gcaleka says he's undeterred by such mortal barriers. He claims when King Hintsa's head is returned to South Africa, the country will at last know true peace" (1'21"). The multiple strata of encoding increase the distance between viewers and Gcaleka, one cannot decipher any more whether this peculiar language use incorporating the vocabulary of magic actually came from the sangoma's "open mouth", or from the journalist's translation of his words, a translation within one language: from Gcaleka's speech in English to Richings's wording in the indirect speech.

The gaps between Gcaleka's informed speech on the death of Hintsa in the rushes, the journalistic voiceover, and the behaviour of British photographers vis-à-vis the delegation, reveal that Gcaleka is largely misunderstood and that his act is distorted, both in content and forms of expression. Ultimately, the media archive snatches away his authority on the matter from all angles: from the rushes to the report, to the encoded descriptions of the footage, the remembrance and repatriation of Hintsa is mostly disregarded while the spectacle of Gcaleka's performance is exoticized. Mostly shown in background shots for the voiceover, rather than listened to, the scattered bits and pieces of his intervention are framed by the narrative voices of Eve Richings, James Matthews and James Forlong. Eager to display a semblance of journalistic objectivity – i.e. the discursive technique of counterbalancing one voice with a constructed binary opposite – they repeatedly undermine Gcaleka's authority by positing his arguments against "scientists conducting serious research" (Richings, 1'27"), unnamed "historians" (Forlong, 1'04") and the colonial archive (Matthews, 0'26"). I will later discuss how the play deals with this opposition and enables Nicholas to defend his position. But for the moment, Gcaleka's voice is needed again, so that the distance created by the media can be to some extent shortened again.

Tilana Nicholas Gcaleka [ii]

(audio montage by Y. Le Gall)

In Inverness:

[sings] This way the spirit has come to me this morning.
And I was very happy, I was jamming all over the house.

In an unknown location in the Eastern Cape:

The next step: we're gonna bury the head on the 12th May, in Tongwane in Butterworth. The ceremony… The sangoma, will be in front of the ceremony so that we can talk to the spirit of our ancestor, King Xhosa. This land belongs to Xhosa! […]
We need a British apology. After the British apology, the Hurricane Spirit will clear the whole spirit, the whole of South Africa. After that it will be the end of corruption.

In Inverness:

You would pay money to see the skull. Because the skull of a King is not easy to see.

[ii] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/king-hintsa/#Gcalekamontageanchor

Repatriation as spectacle

To see the British Crown Jewels, one pays an entrance fee to the Tower of London. Before flying back to South Africa, it seems Gcaleka also thought of taking advantage of King Hintsa's remains as a tourist attraction. But after his return, he advocates for a burial ceremony, thereby relinquishing from a display of the King's remains. The commercial enthusiasm which accompanied Mbambatho from the Eastern Cape to Britain and back deserves to be examined, especially in light of the recent call from the Xhosa Royal House to be granted financial support for a trip to England to campaign for apologies and possible reparations for the murder of Hintsa (see Feni). Besides, the dialectical relationship between the play and the footage also calls for a set of questions regarding the limited agency of Gcaleka and his delegates in the UK: to what extent is the visit part of a staged performance destined to display whom Eve Richings has called "South Africa's best known medicine man"? How far can it be argued that Gcaleka's visit is inscribed in circuits of economic spectacle? Can the play offer a redemptive vision of the endeavour and remember Gcaleka for his effort towards repatriation and postcolonial reparation?

Gcaleka Inc.? Repatriation and economic empowerment in the post-apartheid context

The exclusive involvement of private companies should not overshadow a national economic context which, in the late nineties, generated an increased rapprochement between politics and the private sector while public sector had been crumbling down due to massive privatisations. The questions that arise regarding this peculiar jumble involving Coca Cola, South African Breweries, Sky and the "moral support" of President Mandela cannot be fully answered. It is nevertheless legitimate to ask whether the notoriety of Mbambatho's quest – and the embarrassment that followed – could have resulted from an agreement between interested parties eager to exploit public appetite for a mediatic postcolonial and post-apartheid drama, a drama which promised a mythical story of re-claiming South African history and at the same time an exotic entertainment for Britons. Gcaleka's performance at Heathrow airport, his traditional attire, his opacity and the relatively sensational morbidity of a quest for human remains call upon an analysis of the entanglements between the recognition, or even empowerment, of amaXhosa on the global scene and the economic value of media visibility for traditional leaders and aspiring entrepreneurs. I will draw on Jean and John Comaroff's reflections in *Ethnicity Inc.* in order to further understand the peculiar cooperation between Mbambatho and multinational companies.

The context for the development of *Ethnicity Inc.* is anchored at the onset of the twenty-first century, when several traditional Chiefs and congregations in South Africa were eager to turn "finance capital into cultural capital and vice versa", partly because for them, "the line between the two had become porous to the point of dissolving" (8). Jean and John Comaroff consequently asked, "Could it be [...] that one possible future – perhaps the future – of ethnicity lies, metaphorically and materially alike, in ethno-futures? In taking it into the marketplace? In hitching it, overtly, to the world of franchising and finance capital?" (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009, 8). Let me first make clear that I understand the construction of African ethnicities neither as pristine, pre-colonial categories, but rather as "modern products of the African encounter with capitalism and the nation-state in the colonial and post-colonial eras", as Berman, Eyoh and Kimlicka put it (3). The question whether Mbambatho's intervention was in consonance with efforts which aim to capitalise on ethnic identity in the postcolonial (but also liberal) era is worth asking. Nowadays, thanks to global networks and digital political societies, individual projects can rely on crowdfunding sources. In 1996, such a journey was dependent on external financial support. The involvement of a multinational corporation – the Coca-Cola Company – and a national one – SAB – could ensure the interested of media and the long-lasting notoriety of the event.

Hence the importance of economic and political players in that case. Without them, Gcaleka would have surely never been able to visit a Scottish army base, nor even landed in Heathrow in the first place. While he sported Mandela's approval of his quest in front of the camera, the telephone conversation between Nicholas and Mandela in *iMumbo Jumbo* presents a clear separation between official support and interpersonal blessing, a viewpoint which was also conveyed in newspaper reports (see Block; Strom; "Chief called a cheat"). In the play Mandela apologises: "I'm very sorry that I couldn't assist you with the money, but next time maybe I will, I give you my word". [...] Out of respect, and despite the empty promise, Nicholas thanks him, honouring Mandela with *camagu* (i.e. gratitude).

Only then does Mandela give his symbolic encouragement: “May you bring that skull back so that our culture can come together: we are counting on you” (19).

With hindsight, the ANC has been strongly criticized for having furthered the exploitation of South African markets by the private sector and thereby failing to cater to the needs of South African, especially Black workers and unions. Embodied mostly by the Anti-Privatisation Movement (see Buhlungu, 6-12; Ngwane, 137), this critique finds relevance in this case where the prospect of repatriation, understood in theory as a project of cultural empowerment,[5] transnational partnership and postcolonial reparation, can be said to have been hastily managed by companies which lack the experience, credence, and patience, to take on this mission. The whole enterprise and the skull brought back to South Africa have indeed sowed the seeds of division among the amaXhosa. The position of the government to offer timid and unofficial support seems to exemplify the minimised power of post-apartheid South Africa, unable to be involved *financially* in processes of cultural empowerment.

Consider this last word, “empowerment”. Interestingly enough, Jean and John Comaroff propose a different definition of the term “empowerment” than repatriation theory. While literature on repatriation mostly talks about empowerment in processes of community building through cultural and memory practices such as burials or ceremonies (see Fforde 2002, 38; Pickering 2010, 171), it somehow forgets or neglects the economic added-value of cultural centres sprouting such as Keeping Places or local museums, which enable the re-appropriation of care and custody over ancestors and cultural artefacts while also being non-negligible sources of income and drivers for labour. To the Comaroffs, “in the postcolony, [empowerment] connotes privileged access to markets, money, and material enrichment. In the case of ethnic groups, it is frankly associated with finding something essentially their own and theirs alone, something of their essence, to sell” (15).

Selling ethnicity and spiritual beliefs as spectacle?

This adds another dimension to the effort of repatriation which is highly pertinent in this case study. Further than a deep engagement with re-writing history and bringing ancestors home, repatriation can be interpreted as a spectacle. It may offer economic prospects for reclaiming heritage and identity in its “tractable, alienable form” which can ultimately be “delivered to the market” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 10). At the same time, if one "follows the programme", it is chewed up, delivered and received (or encoded, broadcast and decoded) as worthy to be consumed by a certain audience. Even more so when speech acts and calls for the recognition of a history of colonial murder, are drowned in visual noise. As the descriptions of the footage show, the ethnic attributes worn, and the rituals performed by Mbambatho seem to have been more important to the encoder than his words: he/she describes Gcaleka "wearing crazy tribal gear" and a "beaded headdress", carrying a "walking stick", "shouting things", "doing some kind of war dance", while his speech is rendered by the shortened "int" for 'interview' (see Appendix 2). The predominance of descriptions exclusively focusing on appearance and performance cannot only be explained by the fact that the medium of television privileges the visual field over the sonoric. These abundant markers of ethnicity demonstrate that the worthiness of the story seems to have arisen from the interest of British media in a detective story led by a visibly exotic traditional healer.

Nonetheless, in their introduction, Jean and John Comaroff recall a statement by ǂKhomani Bushman (San) and leader of the //Sa! Makai, Dawid Kruiper, who stated that: "The only way our tradition and our way of life can survive is to live in the memory of the people who see us" (Dawid Kruiper, qtd in Comaroff & Comaroff, 10). In the South African psyche, Mbambatho's effort for repatriation is a landmark. Almost everyone I talked to who had been old enough to witness his quest remembers what happened and bears clear judgement on his intervention. The SABC archives, for instance, would be worth being looked at to grasp the extent of how Mbambatho has embossed South African history and still "live[s] in the memory of the people". As far as transnational remembrance is concerned, one can therefore hope that Gcaleka's resounding presence in Heathrow, his visible attire, his act as an isangoma and his visit to Inverness have remained carved in the memory of those amaNgesi who met him, saw him, or heard him.

Despite a certain degree of cultural visibility and empowerment, the economic dependency might have probably engendered other forms of dependency, such as abiding by a well-oiled 'programme' which, as the reporter in the play puts it, shepherds the wanderings of spirits (22). Could the participation of SAB, Coca-Cola (and Sky?) have gone as far as to monitor, supervise or pulls the strings of Mbambatho's performance as Nicholas Tilana Gcaleka? As far as "where the corporeal meets the corporate" (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009, 8)?

Who directed the programme?

One thing is for sure: the visit was well-planned, and communication with the press prior to Mbambatho's landing in Heathrow had been extensive. The large number of clumped photographers and the presence of a Sky News camera attest of a careful advertising work probably done on site. It is indeed difficult to imagine Mbambatho advertising his future visit to British media from the vicinity of his house in Centane near Gcuwa. Considering Gcaleka as Mbambatho's performing act as a chief initiated in the ways of an isangoma, I observe that he combined two central social roles conferred both political and spiritual authority in Xhosa culture. Even if it is rare to find instances of historical figures being both chiefs and medicine-men, Gcaleka is seen as such in British media reports. If one accepts the contrasting (but not incompatible) meanings of empowerment in post-apartheid and post-repatriation theories of Indigeneity, Gcaleka appears as an all-rounder character, shaped by both desires for recognition and profit. Thus, he can take full advantage of what Guy Debord has labelled the "spectacle society", the global machinery of media deeply involved in the pursuit of capitalist ventures by the production of shows, including those boasting of a degree of objectivity such as news reports.

This might be dangerous though. Considering Gcaleka's quest in the UK as a planned event is legitimate, but it runs the risk of framing Mbambatho as an accomplice to both the portrayals of Gcaleka by the media as an exotic farce and the complete denigration of his social status by South African media after the deliberations around the origin of the skull. Relegating his intervention both in South Africa and the UK to a performance driven by profit and interest erases his subaltern position in the context of his repatriation claim and his effort for the acknowledgement of colonial violence and apologies.

Rather, it might be more accurate to characterise Gcaleka as one of many "articulations" of Xhosa Indigeneity, to use James Clifford's terminology. To be sure, his proclamation of being a direct descendant of Hintsa and usurping the name Gcaleka has shown that "political and cultural positions are [...] up for grabs"; through this embodiment, he also indirectly questions matters of authenticity and proves that the "process of social and cultural persistence is political all the way back" (Clifford, 2001, 478-9). In a way, it is arguable that his precipitate and opportunistic venture coupled with the disapprobation of the Royal authority on his return have rather damaged the process for the political recognition of the murder of Hintsa and thereby the recognition of the amaXhosa as a sovereign nation of new South Africa. The involvement of private corporations might have also greatly undermined Mbambatho's status as a Xhosa leader in retrospect, and further entrapped him in a subaltern position, both in Britain and in South Africa. These assumptions find echo in the widespread disparaging of Mbambatho's voice after his return and in the observation that the memory of the brutal killing of Hintsa has been overshadowed in media reports by concerns on the authenticity of the repatriated skull.

Premesh Lalu rests his disapproval of considering the story as a "corporatist plot" on counterbalancing the scopic with the sonic, conceptualising Gcaleka, the subject, "as more than just that which is seen, but also how it is made to resonate in the public sphere" (109). In this vein, Lalu quotes Cape Times journalist Mike Nicol extensively to demonstrate how the "logic of accumulation" of visualising the subaltern subject has relegated his speech to apolitical drama:

> It was a below-the-line project that was good for major media coverage not only in South Africa but in Britain too. It tapped a historic resonance that bound the two countries. It was dramatic. It involved a skull, a sangoma, leopard skins, traditional weapons and some catchy lines. That the project was based on shaky historical foundations was clearly of no concern. This was free advertising. What's more, the copy wrote itself and the photo opportunities were endless: Chief brandishing his cultural weapons bound in airline tape. Chief being led through the streets of London by a po-faced bobby. Chief getting into large black car. And finally, chief holding skull. This was made for the media: A novelty, a distraction, something more to add to what author Saul Bellow calls the modern noise (qtd in Lalu, 108).

It is interesting that Nicol should apparently blend the visual with the sonic. For Saul Bellow, modern noise is the blast experienced by a subject when s/he is "transported by forces of malign magic into a sphere of distraction" (154). Which "forces of malign magic" are concerned in this case? Instead of pointing at the magic, i.e. the obvious scapegoat of the trickster, I would rather blame those who maligned Mbambatho and thereby diverted his addressees and Gcaleka's audiences (British, South African, and beyond) from the political implications of this repatriation venture. The media, drawn by the sensational character of the journey, oscillated between exoticism, mockery, and later, defamation. Journalists produced that modern noise aiming to create a spectacle of ethnic visuality. Even *iMumbo Jumbo*, an artistic archive remembering the repatriation, was largely victim to modern noise engendered by the scandal of slaughtering a chicken on stage at the

Baxter theatre in Cape Town. This distracted the public from the core issues addressed in the play. I therefore end this section by leaving interrogations on advertising and corporate power over the story unanswered. But I would maintain that the project of ethnic empowerment seems to have mostly failed because it had not been launched and led from a grassroots level, remaining dependent on the production of spectacle. In a wish to follow up Lalu's call for questioning the relationship between seeing and believing, I will now pay particular attention to non-visual processes of subjectivity such as interpellation, spiritual connection, and posthuman subjectivity in repatriation. The following sections will then foreground the spiritual meaning and deep values of repatriation for Mbambatho and the amaXhosa in general, and the political implications of such a venture.

An "extended epitaph" for *izihlwele*

> *GCALEKA: Now you white people, you like to watch, don't like to get involved, don't like to sing and clap. (Third World Bunfight, 5)*

By criticizing the parasitic sensationalism surrounding the case and by inviting its (mostly) white audience to "get involved", *iMumbo Jumbo* has sown fresh seeds in the already composite epitaph for King Hintsa, complicating ways of entering and making sense of the story of Hintsa's head. For this story is a rhizome, in Deleuze and Guattari's sense of the word, with its revelations ("exits") and frustrations ("impasses") (3-4), and leaves a knotty feeling which can only be deciphered by understanding it as a plurivocal epitaph.

The idea of video as a source for a possible "extended epitaph for the deceased" comes from the Australian context of repatriation. Closing the story of the repatriation and burial of ancestors in Western Arnhem Land, Martin Thomas underscores the "multivalency" of that ceremony. He argues that this multivalency results from the array of messages divulged in remembrance: those which have been restricted to internal circulation – that is from and for the concerned Aboriginal community – and those allowed to travel outside towards a broader public – i.e. video recording, photos, speeches in English (165). The parsimonious use of English and Kuwinjku during the ceremony, the restricted access to the video footage during the period of mourning the death of Wamud

– who led the burial ceremony – and Martin Thomas's own account of the repatriation process and reminder of the "absent-presence" of the video documentation (Hilden), all produce an array of mnemonics bridging the memory of grave-robbing, repatriation efforts and final closure for both spirits and descendants.

Likewise, the rhizomatic nodes connecting the emotional, the aesthetic and the sensational value of Mbambatho's intervention produce different stems. On the one hand, the visual archive is dominated by a white gaze, watching and framing Gcaleka as a performer, a gaze entertained through spectacle, and leaving him little room for self-expression (see Lalu, 2). On the other hand, the sonic memory of Mbambatho's trip is dominated by the voices of the amaXhosa, starting with Hintsa's cry for mercy, 'taru amapecati', which attests to murder as well as to a broad marginalisation of ear-witnesses in the case of Hintsa's death (see Peires, 111; Lalu, 66). It includes Gcaleka's tirade in Heathrow (see p.13), the welcoming ceremony[iii] back in the Eastern Cape, and the cues of *iMumbo Jumbo*. This array of sonic memories of Hintsa and the repatriation effort also convey the fleshy bits, namely how Hintsa and his memory are reinstated and re-inscribed in structures of kinship and social connection through singing, rituals and political claims. Unlike the epitaph produced in Arnhem Land, public remembrance of the repatriation of Hintsa's skull has also yielded shoots which need to be contextualised and questioned (fenced?) so as to avoid reproducing the racialising and exoticising discourse they convey. Disclosing a mediatic archive which will not go down in history for its journalistic and ethical treatment of subjects and subject-matter should also be followed up by engaging with adequate ways of remembering Mbambatho and King Hintsa for what they have embodied in the era of repatriation: a public re-connection with ancestors and re-collection of colonial oppression and violence in the Cape Colony.

In order to partly understand motivations for repatriation and to connect respectfully with concerned communities, one should strive to learn and accept local ways of making sense of the world, social relations, and kin. To this end, learning a language like isiXhosa helps considerably, although it is often unsettling. Calling strangers 'bhuti'

[iii] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/king-hintsa/#mbambathoanchor

(brother) or ‘sisi’ (sister) in casual encounters – such as at the till in the supermarket – felt awkward at first, even perhaps ill-placed for a white male European who had until then only experienced such vocabulary of interpellation in very intimate contexts, namely with close friends and family. Delving deeper in a foreign epistemology means opening up to new conceptions of life and death. It also means showing respect to those different systems of knowledge by acknowledging one’s limitations to fathom and translate those in English and on paper, namely in a written language ill-suited to capture the social and spiritual significance of kinship, medicine and tradition. Yet, in order to support claims for the repatriation of ancestors and to raise awareness for greater sensitivity from European custodians of sensitive collections as far as authorial societies are concerned, partial translation is needed. In the spirit of calls made by Rustom Bharucha, Sundar Sarrukai, Sikho Siyotula, or Zairong Xiang, I believe that the use of conceptual tools stemming from other languages than English can only bring more than less: it provides concepts that are deeply rooted in alternative epistemes which complete, qualify or subvert dominant, rationalised (call them Western if you’d like) concepts which, even though they might carry useful comprehensive arrays and layers of meaning, still bear their limits in certain contexts. Finally, it questions positions of authority in language and supports efforts to decolonise academic production and the mind of its authors by forcing them to question the pertinence of their position in circuits of knowledge production.

Spirits, or iminyanya, abantu abadala, izihlwele, amakhosi, and umndawu

When considering Mbambatho’s effort for the remembrance of King Hintsa in the post-apartheid era, and the ubiquity of terms like “spirit” or “ancestor” in the numerous sources mentioned here, I thought it could be useful to map the diverse (and sometimes conflicting) understandings of spirit, ancestors and repatriation in Xhosa culture, and to come up with vocabulary that is more suited to this context than terms which often convey a sense of denigration for spirituality. *iMumbo Jumbo* and other interpretations of Mbambatho’s quest attempt to make sense of his spirited visions in different ways. How successful are these? Can a corpus of Xhosa authors on Xhosa spirituality bring about pertinent readings of the event and challenge how the event was judged and assessed after it drew to a close?

There are several words used to qualify ‘ancestors’ in the Xhosa language. The first one I chose is *iminyanya,* which Lily-Rose Nomfundo Mlisa translates as “old people/ancestors” (62). Because they feel similar sensations than human beings (coldness, thirst or hunger), *iminyanya* are not fully dead. By receiving and giving blessings from/to the living though ritualistic sacrifices (145) they are “living amongst the people” as “mediums” between uThixo (the Creator) and the people (62). The second term would be *abantu abadala*, which Mlisa translates as “living human beings” (62). Throughout Mlisa’s work of examining traditional Xhosa rituals, initiation and training of *amagqirha*, *abantu abadala* is used linguistically in contexts where ancestors interact with the living, speaking to them (180), protecting them (157), giving them permissions (19) or forsaking them (158). Finally, the third term to denote ancestors is *izihlwele*, for which Mlisa did not provide a literal translation, but which – if I may – I will here translate as “crowd” or “mob”, the latter understood positively as in the Aboriginal Australian use of the term, a concept encompassing “community”, “fellows” and often its political connotation as a group of Indigenous activists in motion. It appears in an important ritual: *ukubuyisa izihlwele*, “to bring ancestors back”, which Mlisa describes as follows:

> The ritual is performed in a particular manner. Amagqirha and family visit the sacred places. A white goat is taken along. In all those sacred places: big rivers, forests and caves, the spirits of all those who died long before and went missing and were never buried, are called and a place in the forest is made where they are laid to rest. It is often a place that cannot easily be invaded by either people or animals. Thus the spirit is given a place to rest in peace. All those burial rituals take place to make peace with those who have died tragically (Mlisa, 246).

Both my tentative translation and the socially embedded use of the term emphasise a relationship to a multitude of ancestors, and therefore an understanding of kinship as unbound, not restricted to a particular family, clan or parental relation of kin. Mlisa’s description also highlights the particular importance of place, the profound bond between the ancestor and where s/he sat, lived, settled, died; an essential need to find peace through the return to the land.

Mlisa reminds that “[t]o use a term ‘spirit’ amongst *amagqirha* is to refer to foreign/evil spirits and a person possessed by spirits has to be treated and cleansed” (247). The term used in *iMumbo Jumbo* for spirits is *amakhosi*, which Mlisa in her work associates with *umndiki* and elucidates as “foreign spirits used by some amaXhosa healers to help with a diagnosis” (175). While many *amagqirha* view *amakhosi* and a*mandawu* as interchangeable to denote 'spirits' in a more general sense, Mlisa relates that, according to one of her sources in the Free State, there is a difference between *umndawu* and *umndiki/amakhosi:*

> Umndawu is a spirit of dead people who died in wars or accidents and her/his spirit wanders in space because the family does not know where the person has died. In other words, the spirit wanders in space because it was not properly buried and the relevant burial rituals were not carried out. The spirit then troubles one of the family members and causes a series of afflictions until the person is treated. The spirit troubles the person because it wants the person to bring the spirit back home.
>
> Umndiki are man-made spirits used as a means of sorcery (Mlisa, 245).

In light of this distinction drawn between *amandawu* and *amakhosi/amandiki*, the term *umndawu* seems better suited to characterise the Hurricane Spirit of the play, and the spirit of Hintsa in general. It is unappeased, and casts its curse on South Africa, responsible for rampant crime and rapes. Nicholas blames him for the rapes of elderly women by youngsters and for cases of sexual bestiality, two South African issues at the turn of the century which are deeply interwoven with the spreading of HIV among Black South Africans, whose concentration in townships directly hints at the devastating effect of the Group Areas Act, more than half a century after its implementation. By linking the workings of an unsettled spirit with these issues in post-apartheid South Africa, the play advances a subtext which entangles 19th century violence against amaXhosa with the legacy of apartheid and the emergence of a discourse recognizing the plight of Black South Africans as the result of decades of oppression and silencing. After having visited Nicholas in visions, the Hurricane Spirit appears and physically supports him on its shoulders, carrying him during the quest for finding and returning the skull of Hintsa to its rightful place (see Fig. 7). A possible interpretation would be that efforts to retrieve the strength of anti-colonial resistance can put an end to the plights and scourges affecting South Africa. Gcaleka has similarly claimed that the return of the skull and ensuing apologies from Britain for the murder of Hintsa will bring about the end of corruption in South African politics. Through repatriation and remembering African subjects who acted against colonial oppression, the myth of New South Africa could be completed, including fallen heroes and ancestors alongside members of the anti-apartheid struggle who have lead the political transition to democracy. From King Hintsa to Chris Hani. From the prophet Nongqawuse to Mama Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

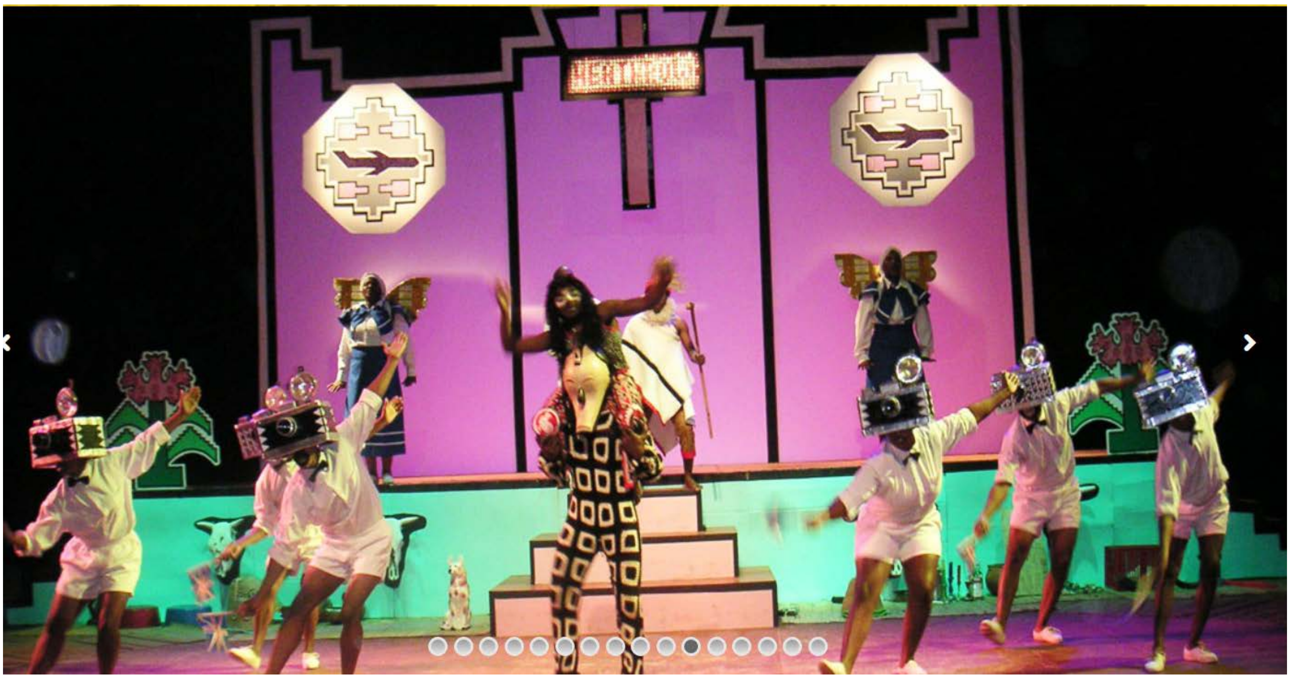

Fig. 7: Screenshot of Third World Bunfight's webpage showing an excerpt of the scene "Heathrow". Nicholas, sitting on the Hurricane Spirit's shoulders, is surrounded by paparazzi with camera heads. Source: Third World Bunfight. *iMumbo Jumbo*. Web. Accessed 16 Apr. 2018. https://thirdworldbunfight.co.za/imumbo-jumbo/

Yet, Mbambatho's effort and the play have limits in their calls for remembering colonial violence in the post-apartheid era. First, Brett Bailey fails to put forward a gendered perspective on the matter of oppression. The play even seems to shun from addressing issues of patriarchy and gendered violence by blaming the spirits. The case of HIV in South Africa actually epitomises how Black South African women have been standing at the intersection of racial and gendered oppression, being victims of the apartheid system as well as of sexual violence committed by white and Black men. National remembrance of Sarah Baartman has also engaged with such issues, albeit the enduring lack of deep recognition of women's perspectives (see Chapter 3). Secondly, the play and the mediated memory of Gcaleka's intervention both emphasise on the significance of spirits, calling for dignified remembrance of their accomplishments, their legacy and their place in the history of South Africa. Nevertheless, the primary focus on the skull as a visual symbol and a contentious body, claimed by Mbambatho as his "property", eclipses the possibility of non-material forms of *ukubuyisa izihlwele,* i.e. repatriation of spirits, as witnessed in the case of Dawid Stuurman (see Chapter 3) or in spiritual repatriation by the Shona (*kugadzira*) and Ndebele (*umbuyiso*) in the Zimbabwean context (see Fontein, 2014, 119). Despite apparent differences between Khoisan and Xhosa contexts of engaging with the dead, the debates over the origin of the skull and its ownership have exclusively focused on the veracity and accuracy of claiming those remains with little discussion regarding the conditions that produced historical accounts of brutal beheading, nor on the act of killing and mutilating Black bodies. Finally, Gcaleka and Bailey's constant references to *amakhosi* complicate the understanding of the role of the Hurricane Spirit. Is this spirit actually linked to Hintsa's state of wandering, or was it sent by foreign powers to stir agitation and bring more trouble to an already painful history of violence?

South African propositions for reconciliation and recognition

In all honesty, I am not able to answer that question. The will to see *izihlwele* back to their original land, in a place where their descendants can *ukubabuyisela*, is so essential to many community members that I can only call for a recognition of their voices and beliefs. It also represents an opportunity for postcolonial contact, for contemporary subjects implicated in colonial stories of violence to revisit the "colonial crime scene" and join their conflicting perspectives on history, death, ancestors and race to sublate the dialectics of atonement and reconciliation. In order to do so, matters of truth and factuality are of little help, as they perpetuate the subaltern positions of the dead, their spirits and their descendants vis-à-vis scientific and government reports, i.e. of Indigenous nations vis-à-vis modern states. After showing how the history of body snatching is ubiquitous in South Africa, I will bring forward three propositions for working through this history, one by Wandile Kasibe (on which I will not elaborate since it also featured in the previous Chapter), one from *iMumbo Jumbo*, and one by the Xhosa Royal House.

The horrific "witchcraft of the white man"

It should be revolting for anyone to read Nomalanga Mkhize's observations that "oral narratives of beheaded Xhosa abound" (215). The fact that they do abound shows that defleshing was a widespread practice on the continent, remembered both in fiction and in studies of the colonial archive. As far as fiction is concerned, let me quote Zakes Mda's novel *The Heart of Redness* (20-21):

> It was at one such ambush that Twin and Twin-Twin – accompanied by a small band of guerilla fighters – chanced upon a British camp hidden in a gorge. A small group of British soldiers were cutting off the ears of a dead umXhosa soldier.

> ‘What are they doing that for? Are they wizards?’ asked Twin-Twin. ‘Or is it their way of removing iqungu?’
>
> Iqungu was the vengeful force generated by war medicines. A soldier who died in war could have his iqungu attack the slayer, bloating and swelling up his body until he died. [...]
>
> Then, to the horror of the men watching, the soldiers cut off the dead man’s head and put it into a pot of boiling water.
>
> ‘They are cannibals too’, hissed Twin-Twin.
>
> The British soldiers sat around and smoked their pipes and laughed at their own jokes. Occasionally one of the soldiers stirred the boiling pot, and the stench of rotten meat floated up to the twin’s group. The guerillas could not stand it any longer. With blood-curdling screams they sprang from their hiding place and attacked the men of Queen Victoria. One British soldier was killed, two were captured, and the rest escaped.
>
> ‘It is our father!’ screamed Twin. ‘They were going to eat our father!’
>
> It was indeed the headless body of Xikixa.
>
> ‘We were not going to eat your father”, said John Dalton, prisoner-of-war, in his perfect isiXhosa. ‘We are civilised men, we don’t eat people’.
>
> ‘Liar!’ screamed Twin-Twin. ‘Why would you cook anything that you are not going to eat?’
>
> ‘To remove the flesh from the skull’. explained Dalton patiently. He did not seem to be afraid. He seemed too sure of himself. ‘These heads are either going to be souvenirs, or will be used for scientific enquiry’.
>
> Souvenirs. Scientific enquiry. It did not make sense. It was nothing but the witchcraft of the white man.

As far as the colonial archive is concerned, David Bunn attempted to rationalise the notoriety of such crimes in oral history while recognizing the important work done by Jeff Peires:

> Recent attempts by communities in the Eastern Cape to have the bones of chiefs Maqoma, Hintsa, and Sandile returned or reinterred reveal the fact that, in popular Xhosa historical understanding, the leaders of the period were all believed to have been decapitated. Justification for this albeit exaggerated understanding of historical violence is not hard to find. Jeff Peires (1989) points to a grotesque episode in Lakeman in which troops prepare skulls for export as phrenological specimens, "stirring round and round the heads in [a] seething boiler, as though they were cooking black-apple dumplings" (Lakeman 1880:95) That the export of body parts was widespread is also evidenced in the casual tone of this letter from Frederick Rex to his father George on 19 May 1835: […] What is at stake here, therefore, is a modernizing rhetoric that speaks, on the one hand, about the dangerous influence of archaic logics of wounding and mutilation and, on the other, is prepared to accept the traffic of trophy heads from colony to metropolitan center in the name of medicoscientific exchange or the new language of the souvenir (44).

These horrendous examples demonstrate that some of the debates for the return of cranial remains of Xhosa Kings – as those of King Hintsa in 1995-6 or those of King Sandile in June 2005[6] – had arisen from a growing awareness of the ‘darker side’ of European anthropology in historical research on frontier wars and colonial oppression:

macabre acquisitions of human remains. Bunn is furthermore quite right in pointing at the intricacy of making sense of the practice of body snatching with such conflicting discourses. The colonial grammar of modernity vs. barbarity is tantamount to contemporary practice in anthropological science that supported and encouraged a "scramble for skulls" (Lovisek). On top of that, nostalgic witnessing accounts by colonial soldiers bring a disturbing sense of casualness, or even pride, in the horrendous treatment of the bodies of colonised subjects post-mortem. The two quotes compare human remains to souvenirs. Well, the ghastly aesthetics of postcards sent by colonial agents are also tokens of this pride and indifference toward the fate of fellow humans, as the extreme case of postcards from Shark Island and the war against the Ovaherero demonstrate. No surprise then that many Africans, be they descendants of Kings and Chiefs, or of non-royal victims of European colonial violence, still envisage the possible presence of their ancestors' remains in European public and private collections. For there are thousands. In order to provide either hope for reconciliation or closure to the speculation of descendants, museums and other institutions holding human remains should be genuinely committed for thorough inventories and open access. As Nomalanga Mkhize has it, "in a context of dispossession and injustice, narratives of headless burials were passed down through history" and the recovery of those remains would mean "a symbolic restoration of a past political order" (216).

After he visited Samuel G. Morton's human remains collection, Wandile Kasibe was further encouraged to push for a global project for a Museum TRRC (see also Chapter 2), a Truth and Reparation/Repatriation Commission which would force museums to expose their unethical strategies of acquisition, their involvement in the trade of human remains and tissues, and their role in paving the way and influencing policies of segregation and extermination (e.g. Nazi Germany, apartheid). Such a project might bring together unsettled spirits and communities for an emotional but also official engagement with the fates of Indigenous people under colonial rule, and show the differences and the clear entanglements between German, French, British, Dutch (and Spanish and Portuguese to a lesser extent) forms of de-humanisation and practices of anthropological science. It might also expose "the witchcraft of the white man", or how from the study of human remains, scientific discourse gave grist to the mill of colonialists by discursively de-humanising African people and other Indigenous nations.

Confronting science with fighting spirits

IMumbo Jumbo ends with similar confrontation with science in a final diatribe. "The Raving" of Gcaleka is directed towards those scientists who examined and confiscated the skull according to the Human Tissue Act of 1956, as well as against the Xhosa chiefs who asked for this cross-examination in the first place. But although the title of the scene seems to primarily suggest a mad delirium, the term 'raving' also allows one to interpret the scene beyond a simple prolix enthusiasm. It could indeed be a plea for the authority of dreams, the old French etymological root *raver* indeed being a variant of the verb *resver*, to dream. Herein, Gcaleka questions the regimes of truth at play in the post-repatriation moment, opposing his interpretation of those dreams sent to him by the Hurricane spirit to the power discourse of science. He asks:

> Who sent me to overseas to fetch the head? Is it the scientists or the spirit? If you got brains why you didn't fetch the head? I think you stupid because the head been overseas for 160 years, you don't even smell it, you can't even write it in one of your books! Why when the spirit send me to fetch that head, why you tell it not belong to Hintsa? You scientists think you God. Why don't you make the head talk if you are God? Why don't you make that head talk? Say, 'I'm not belong to Hintsa'. That body's got no head for 161 years, can I take your head? Won't take me five minutes. You're playing with his head, where is your respect? My spirit doesn't play! Why you think everything not come right in this country, how many people must die?" (Third World Bunfight, 27).

I am reminded her of how Premesh Lalu inscribed Gcaleka's intervention in the context of post-apartheid South Africa. In this light, the digression of this monologue cannot be ignored. Only a comma lies between the scandalous length of the remains' absence (161 years) and the interpellation "can I take your head?" The re-humanisation of Hintsa's remains as a head that could possibly talk and an incomplete "body" directly (and naturally) conflates with the objectification of the interlocutor's body as something that can be trivially negotiated as part of a transaction, and consequently dismembered in the blink of an eye. Lalu urged to "take seriously Gcaleka's implicit provocation that while the foundations of a postapartheid society were being laid, the critique of apartheid's colonial past was found wanting" (9). Re-visiting Mbambatho's confrontation with the appointed scientists responsible for deliberating the origin of Hintsa's skull during the 1997 Anatomical Society of Southern Africa Conference at the University of Stellenbosch, *iMumbo Jumbo* certainly invites its spectators and readers to reconsider the implications of colonial violence in the era of reconciliation. The fact that nothing does "come right in this country" is a direct effect of both the mutilation of Hintsa's body and the continued "playing" around with the remains of ancestors. Indirectly, the promise of reconciliation is seriously questioned. According to Nicholas, there is no considering the colonial context of Hintsa's murder, apartheid and post-apartheid as separate times or eras. To him, an earnest recognition of the colonised subject – his status, his life, his afterlives, and his/her descendants – by (white European) dominant regimes of truth has not yet occurred. Such lack of acknowledgement entails that Nicholas can still also consider oppressive agents of these regimes of truth as not deserving a full subject status: he can challenge the authority of scientists as bearers of absolute knowledge (i.e. Gods), and even 'take their heads'. "The mission to retrieve Hintsa's skull [...] calls attention to how difficult it would prove, under conditions of this colonial inheritance, to walk out of the narrative of power in which the subject is returned, again and again, to the position of mere supplement of power", Lalu argues (126). If after the skull is retrieved, the subjection of the subaltern is continuously reproduced otherwise through new grammars of domination – such as scientific examination or the promise of truth and reconciliation through unconditional forgiveness – what strategies are left in post-apartheid South Africa to descendants who still consider those histories as unfinished business? Who still view those spirits as unsettled, and their perspectives on the past as irreconcilable with the written archive? The last cues of the play are adamant. To the scientists and to the Xhosa chiefs, Gcaleka declares: "The spirits of our forefathers are fighting. This is war! You are the enemies. I'm gonna fight for that skull, do my job, I'm fighting with the spirit!" (Third World Bunfight, 28).

Land, cattle and acknowledgement

Another fight has started. I started the chapter with a political promise made by Cyril Ramaphosa regarding the expropriation of land. Most of the repatriation cases dealt with in this book are embedded in, as well as affect, claims for decolonial politics. *iMumbo Jumbo* proposes a leeway for calming the spirits and bringing closure alongside repatriation: an appropriate reparation on terms dictated by descendants themselves. Talking to an isiXhosa-influenced Queen Elisabeth on the telephone, Nicholas calls for her help to appease the spirits. He then suggests a payback: "All we want is for you to pay back ten cattles, not money, we need cattles, yes please" (20). The Queen's response of astonishment is transcribed with a single exclamation mark. Indicating her partial misunderstanding of the importance of cattle in retribution for the killing of a King, she further asks: "And what more do you want?" Elisabeth II seems to be here "willing" to repair the wrong with a payback. She could also be anticipating the fact that Nicholas might not be here only to retrieve what the spirits want, but perhaps to make profit out of the situation. The 'pantomime caricature' of Gcaleka jumps on the occasion and answers "Amakhosi [kings] - I want... I want everything that you can give me amakhosi!" (ibid). Startled again by such a presumptuous request, the Queen again lets out an "!" quickly followed by Nicholas withdrawing his insolent request: "Makhosi, you can just give me the cattles, makhosi!" (ibid). The Queen and her porcelain corgi then disappear from the written script.

The failure to obtain an official agreement for reparations from the caricature of Queen Elisabeth II might perhaps tell more about Eurafrican restorative justice than it appears to do. On the one hand, it hints at cultural misunderstanding of the value of goods. As conveyed through the artistic works by Nandipha Mntambo, cattle has held great significance to the amaXhosa, especially as a trade value in arranged marriages[7] (see Bradford, 46). Through the figure of the prophet Nongqawuse and her call for cattle-killing, it also occupies a central place in 19th century history of the oppression of the amaXhosa by the British colonial administration, and the devastating side-effects of colonisation, such as the appearance of bovine lung diseases (see Davies, 4, 10). On the other hand, it points at the need to listen in postcolonial processes for justice, to concentrate on what has been lost, not on what can be gained. Land and cattle are essential to reparation claims by the Ovaherero as well. A recognition of those demands should go alongside an acknowledgement of Africans' authority on history. The interpretation of reparations by European government discourse too often plays up the argument of preposterous demands for payment. As exemplified by recent debates in South Africa, it is the question of lost property, heritage and patrimony – rather than financial compensation – which stands at the heart of matters of postcolonial reparation.

Concerned with the recent calls for apologies sought by Xhosa authorities for the killing of Hintsa, Lulamile Feni from *Dispatch News* reported in 2017 that "during Nelson Mandela's funeral on December 15 in 2013 at Qunu near Mthatha, King Mpendulo Zwelonke Sigcawu and Britain's Prince Charles had a short and impromptu meeting over the matter". But Sigcawu deplored that "almost four years after that brief meeting with Prince Charles, we are still struggling to raise funds to travel to the UK for a proper meeting. Hence we appeal for the assistance of both the government and the private sector". Putting this statement alongside an analysis of the resonance engendered by Mbambatho's quest, this case offers yet another example of the production of the subaltern, where a more 'pristine' figure of traditional authority in the eyes of Eurocentric thinking (an isangoma in traditional dress) could spark exotic curiosity and draw attention from European media, while actual representatives of the amaXhosa *as a nation* still remain marginalised and unheard in their attempts for restorative justice. This book wishes to remember both Mbambatho's efforts as well as the Xhosa Royal House's demands for the recognition of injustice. Let us hope that the Queen picks up the phone next time the amaXhosa call. More than 180 years after the death of Hintsa.

Sivuyile Mbambatho,
son of Nicholas Tilana Gcaleka, a.k.a. Khonoza Mbambatho

"Others interpreted his views as controversial, opportunistic and militant, depending on how one understood his traditional intellectual narrative. Nonetheless, he remains an indigenous icon who not only put the case of King Hintsa on the international map, but contributed to the rewriting and interpretation of South African colonial history, including art" (qtd in Feni, 2019a).

Notes:

1 For greater insight into the geopolitical and historical circumstances which led to Hintsa's sequestration and his death, see Peires 79-89 and 109-115.

2 Personal conversation with Gideon Knobel, Cape Town, 14 March 2018.

3 Eli Rozik has challenged Kirby's assumption by asserting that, in the state of ecstasy/possession, […] shamans are self-referential on both account, as masters of the spirit and the spirit itself" (75). Because Gcaleka's state of ecstasy is now quite impossible to reach, as his intervention can only be experienced through audio and visual media, I will leave this argument aside. Yet, it would have been interesting to see how Xhosa isangomas assessed Gcaleka's performance at the time.

4 Original quotation: "Le journal est à la fois indépendant en ce qu'il n'a pas à justifier de son propos dans l'espace démocratique, il décide de ce qui doit être dit ; et il est dépendant en ce que la tempérance de ce propos est conditionnée par sa réception par un public, il répond à ce que l'on veut qu'il dise, à un marché (des idées et des biens qui les diffusent)" (Ruellan, 21-22).

5 In the Australian context of repatriation theory, it is notable that many traditions stemming from a pre-contact era, although they might disappeared due to the violent oppression and assimilation of Indigenous cultures in mainstream society, are again located at the centre of the collective identity formation of those groups after repatriation, e.g. in burial practices. And if reburials are not performed and skulls are still stored in museum facilities (either overseas still, or closer to home such as for the Namibian remains held in the National Museum in Windhoek), collective claims of kinship and lineage already contribute to relocate ancestors as the backbone of social structures which might have been fragmented by their absence, colonial violence and the appearance of a diaspora as the result of colonial rule. Therefore, "death rituals may serve to reaffirm cultural beliefs, but they may also be, or form part of, a display by the living of their own standing and aspirations in society", a society which should accept multifarious ways of expressing indigeneity and social belonging" (Fforde, Hubert, Turnbull 2). It has also been argued that reburial and repatriation has spawned a so-called "cultural revival" (see Friedman 126; more recently in the context of ethnographic collections, see Bolton, 237-238). This somehow presumes a continuity, an evolution between pre- and postcolonial history, as well as the disappearance/reappearance of Indigenous practices. However, I rather agree with Fforde when she argues that this term "ignores the frequent conjunction of modern and traditional concern that occurs in reburial ceremonies" (39). In South Africa, diverse forms of Black cultural and political empowerment take place depending on the geopolitical value (local or post-apartheid national politics of recognition) or the linguistic scope (Xhosa, Zulu, Swati, Tswana, Afrikaans, Khoi…). Yet, burial practices and the acknowledgement of ancestors do not vary too much between one cultural group or another. They are more tangible when considering white European and Black African epistemological understandings of death and spiritual connection. The ubiquitous syncretic existence of Christian and Indigenous practices in burial therefore shows that, in a Black majoritarian state which acknowledges traditional authorities, cultural empowerment in burial already has taken place before any process of repatriation. This is why I need to look at other forms of empowerment (i.e. economic) through repatriation in the South African context.

6 In June 2005, following debates regarding the possible mutilation of King Mgolombane Sandile Ngqika by Lieutenant Carrington, the remains of the king were exhumed. After examination of the skeleton and the skull, it was concluded not only that the skeleton was complete, but also that the remains concurred with historical accounts on the health and physical characteristics of King Sandile (see Nienaber et al.).

7 In a chapter dedicated to Cape jazz and the politics of post-apartheid futures, Valmont Layne also recalls the sonoric appeal to iinkomo in Winston Mankunku's music: "The horn, embodying the voice on the bull is not just a signifier, but an act. The voice has the power to turn words into actions. For Moten, if the commodity could speak it would have intrinsic value, it would be infused with a certain spirit, a certain value given not from the outside" (23).

Chapter 5

SONGEA MBANO, *MAJI MAJI FLAVA*, AND THE "HALFWAY DEAD" OF THE MAJI MAJI WAR (1905-07)

In memory of: **Inkosi Mputa bin Gwezerapasi Gama, Nduna Songea Mbano, Mkomanile, Kahongo Magagura, Mputa Mkuzo, Mtekateka Tawete, Maji ya Kuhanga Komba, Magodi Mbano, Zimani Moto Gama, Mpyalambalyoto Soko, Mtepa Gama, Tamatama Mbano, Mjoroza Mbano,** and all those who were killed during the Maji Maji War, or died as a result of the ensuing famine

This closing chapter is not concerned with a repatriation of human remains that took place in the past. Nevertheless, it is entangled with colonial violence in East Africa, yet another disappearance of the head of an anticolonial leader, and calls for future processes of working through another particularly grim chapter of German colonialism. Here, the memory of the Maji Maji War will be addressed, an anti-colonial movement which led to a conflict during which 250,000 to 300,000 Africans reportedly lost their lives (see Iliffe, 200). With the voices of Inkosi ya Makosi[i] Zulu Gama and Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, parts of this history will be told from a Tanzanian perspective – the former being a direct descendant of one of the chiefs who was killed by the Germans on 27th February 1906. The focus then shifts to the theatrical performance *Maji Maji Flava,* a co-produced play by Asedeva (Dar es Salaam) and Flinn Works (Kassel/Berlin), the second work directed by the Flinn theatre company that has engaged with legacies of the German colonial era.[1] Succeeding to *Schädel X / Skull X, Maji*

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[i] "Kings of all kings" or "chief of all chiefs". He is the current paramount leader of the Ngoni people.

Maji Flava, performed in 2016 and 2019 in Kassel and Berlin, and in early 2017 in Dar es Salaam, has participated to a transnational artistic landscape that has condemned the objectification of the colonised body and sheds light upon macabre stories of headhunting.[2] The play presents an incommensurable version of postcolonial memorialisation that eludes traditional conceptions in memory studies: it remembers in re-enacting violence on stage but refuses to subscribe to the quest for authenticity by deconstructing historical factualness; it pictures past colonial oppression and present neo-colonial dependency, subscribing to a clear political agenda: the acknowledgment of this violent history and the beginning of a dialogue between Tanzanians (who know well enough about this history) and Germans. *Maji Maji Flava* aims to be a vehicle for social change. It also echoes recent developments in the "interwoven", the "hybridism" of postcolonial drama. Drawing on recent approaches to "interweaving performance cultures" and on re-enactment studies, I argue that *Maji Maji Flava* offers a transformative path for a particular postcolonial remembrance of German colonialism in present-day Tanzania, one that is political and that problematizes the body as a site of violence and/or resistance.

Stories of the Maji Maji War

Kinjikitile Ngwale and the prophecy

Mnyaka Sururu Mboro [ii]

In English they call it 'Maji Maji Rebellion', although I don't like that word 'rebellion'. Calling them 'rebels', I find it is an insult. Someone who is trying to protect his own land, and you call him a rebel? Sometimes I do ask myself where they learn their literature, I don't know. I mean, even until today, to throw such kind of terms to Africans, it is a normal exercise. So anyway in English they were called ‘rebels’, and the whole movement was called ‘Maji-Maji Rebellion’.

[ii] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/songea-mbano/#kinjikitile

For me it was a *movement,* and it wasn’t rebels. That’s how we took the footsteps to fight, or to go against colonialism until we gained our independence. For us, Maji Maji is something – in German, they’d call it ‘heilig’ – something holy. It is not just only *something* (sucking teeth). There was this exhibition in the National Museum of History here in Berlin. There, somewhere in the exhibition, you found out that the curators brought someone from Tanzania, an artist. I don’t know where they knew him from. He made some comics – five of them – to show who Kinjikitile was. He is shown there as a monster, as a goliath, as a King Kong. […] A friend of mine, K., was complaining so much about it, I wondered: what is he shouting about? Then I saw it myself. I found it was really an insult to Kinjikitile, to the message he brought to the people, how he motivated them to come together and fight against a common thing, colonialism. And he wasn’t a giant, he just used his own mind. Of course we can say he did cheat them: that’s why it’s called Maji Maji – ‘maji’ means water in English.

He was in fact a healer, not a giant. He was just only a small person who used to heal people, and he was still very young. People used to always come to his place, even if they were not sick. There was always a radio station where you could hear all the news, what is happening. Even nowadays you go to a barber, to a tailor, or to a shoemaker, that’s where you find a lot of people sitting around, gossiping about that, telling about what happened, and so on. So people used to go to his place, not just only for medicine, you see. It was a gathering place. So he said:

— “oh people, I found a medicine, and I tell you this medicine, aha, is a wonder”.

— “Hey what kind of a wonder?”

— “Ah, you need just only to drink a little bit of it, you just only sip it. It has to be in a calabash. You sip it a little bit, and you give it to our neighbour, and he sips it, and it goes round, and round, and round. After that, we can go to war against the Germans. They have their machine guns, ok. What we need, we drink that, we go there, and go on singing: “Maji Maji. Maji Maji”. And when they fire, their bullets will turn into water”.

It didn’t happen that way, but Kinjikitile did really motivate people. More than twenty tribes, especially from the central part of Tanzania to the southern part of Tanzania, came together and fought this common enemy. To us, the Germans were an enemy. Someone who is robbing the land out of you, someone who is forcing you to work in his

> plantation, he is your enemy. I don't apologize for using that terminology, no. It's a terminology which does fit.
>
> In 2005, here in Berlin, we had to do something, because nothing was happening. This war started in 1905 and ended in 1907. For the 100th anniversary we decided to do a memorial march, here in Berlin, ein Trauermarsch, to remember what happened during this movement, people who died, people who were hanged in this movement and whose heads were chopped off and brought to Germany – and some of those skulls are still here, used for racial research. We had partners. The first one we made in 2005 with the assistance of the Werkstatt der Kulturen, and the second one in 2006 with Tanzania Network. The third one was again assisted by the Werkstatt der Kulturen. This commemoration took three years, and we started demanding a renaming of a street, that one where the WdK is located. The street is called Wissmanstraße, and we know perfectly well who Wissman was: he was the architect of the so-called Schutztruppe in German East-Africa. Schutztruppe, if we try to say it in English, we'd say 'protecting forces'. Whom they were protecting… [silence] but let us leave it the way it is.

Prophet of the Bokero cult, and communicating with the spirit Hongo, Kinjikitile Ngwale lived in Ngarambe, south of the Rufiji river in Matumbi land. In late 1904, he developed a war medicine which, according to the Maji Maji Museum in Songea, was "concocted with water, maize and sorghum seed". Clan leaders and their people visited him to receive the *dawa* and waited for a signal to launch the war against *utupi ukere* ("red clay" or "red earth"), a code name used to refer to Europeans. The resistance started in July 1905, with Matumbi clans uprooting cotton, a sign of protest against forced labour and ruthless repression for those opposing the cotton scheme, but also a signal to spark the uprising (see Iliffe, 171; Monson, 97; Akiri, 32, 37). Kinjikitile was among the first ones to fall: he was hanged on 4th August. To crush the emboldened anti-colonial fighters, the German military reiterated its use of scorched earth policy, which had already proved devastating for the Wahehe during the war against Mtwa Mkwawa (see Chapter 1). They also confiscated food stacks and destroyed crops with the deliberate aim to bring about famine among the people, a famine which lasted at least until April 1908 (see Iliffe, 193, 199). When captured, chiefs would be hanged by the noose *en masse* and in public, in front of their own people. This brutal repression destroyed the social structure of many groups, especially in Ungoni where a whole generation of Ngoni leaders was annihilated in less than a week (ibid, 200).

Songea Mbano and the events of 27th February 1906

Inkosi ya Makhosi Emmanuel Zulu Gama [iii]

It is a sad story [...]. They were 60. The first day [the Germans] hanged four. Before hanging, they collected all nearby people – I mean, those who are around the area and the relatives of the victims – to sit almost 50 or 75 metres from the hanging place, and they were forced to look at what was going on. If you bend your neck, you are being whipped, [so] that you see what is happening. So, the first day they hanged four, and after that they took normal prisoners to take the corpses to the grave which was dug by those prisoners [...]. It took one month to dig that grave. So the first four were put there, looking sideways, so that the vacant can fit all those sixty. They took a little bit of soil, almost an inch or so, to cover the bodies. Then after five days, they hanged 40 on the same day [...]. So after those 40, they laid them again, the same way, sideways, put a little bit of soil. Next five days, six... until all the sixty were gone. Ah, from there, according to my father, people were crazy, you know, seeing someone being hanged there, especially your father or your grandfather...[stops].

[...] Songea Mbano[iv] was a General, General because he was the war leader. After hanging those 60, Songea Mbano was the last one. [The Germans] wanted him to join [their] administration, but he refused and insisted that "I must be hanged because all my comrades have gone and I can't talk to you because all my medicine is gone". They tried to convince him for almost three days but he refused, insisting "Please hang me, or stab me to death,

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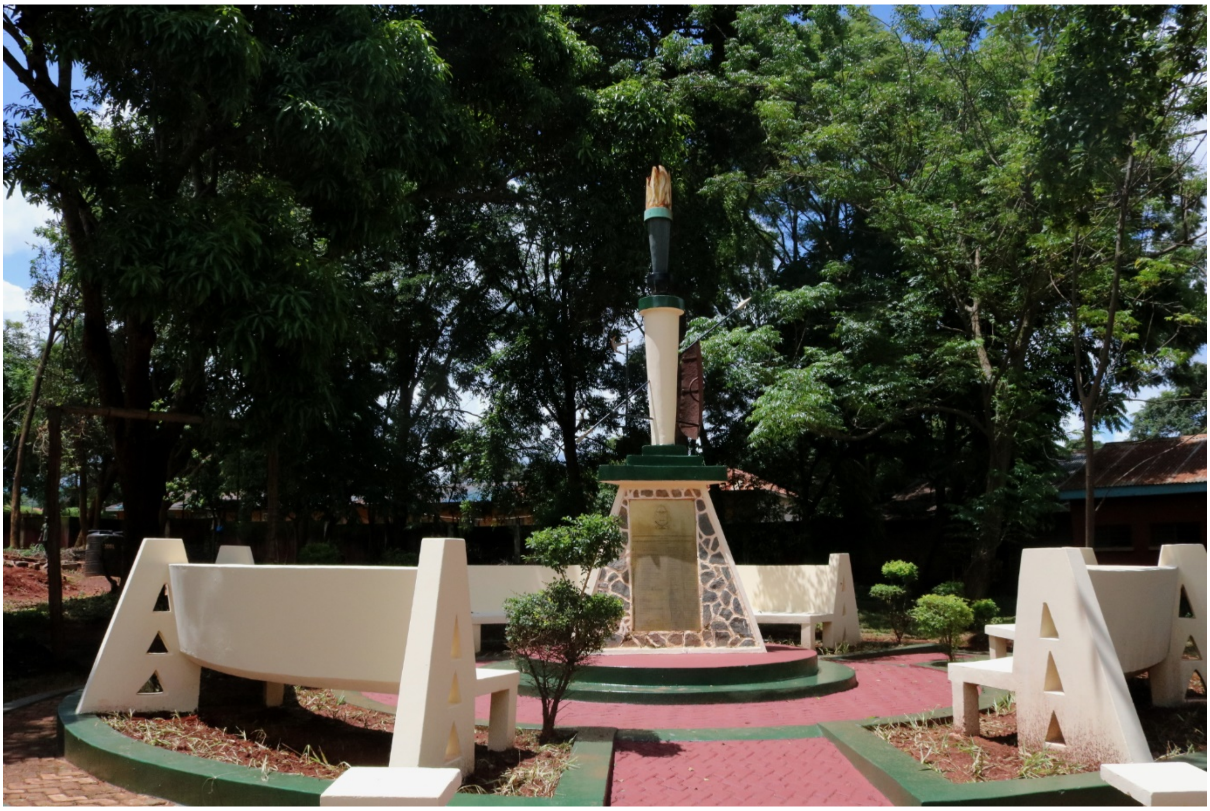
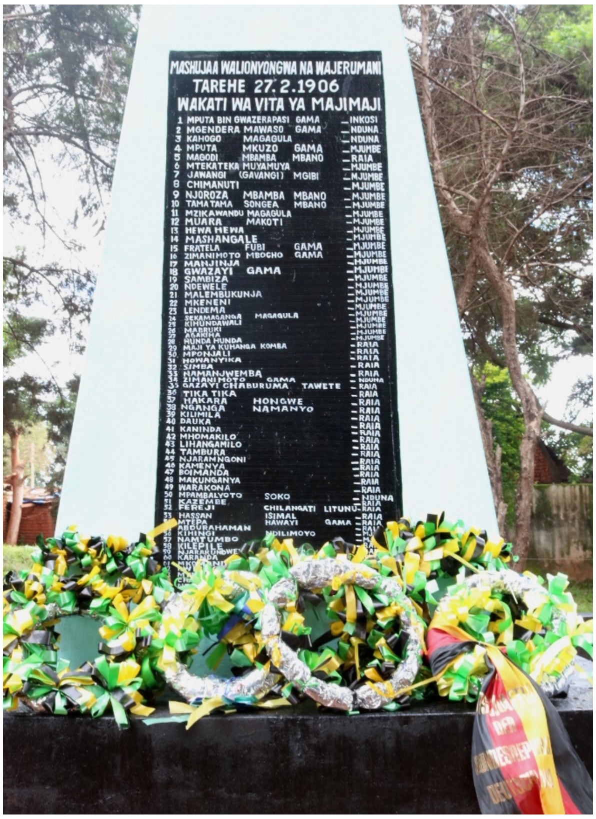
[iii] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/songea-mbano/#27021906
[iv] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/songea-mbano/songea-mbano

> anyway, I don't like to live in this world!" By that time, the big grave was covered, so they hanged him on the fourth day and, because that was covered, they dug another grave and put him inside. But after three days, they opened it, they chopped his head, cleaned it and put it in a box (I don't know where it is, but I've heard it is in Germany; the place I don't know). So after that, they [buried] again. So when they were burying, they said: "this man has no head, so we have to put the sign where the head belongs and where the body belongs". So here it is, meaning that the body was that side, and the head that is missing is that side. That's how it stands.

One grave waiting for repatriation

In Songea, sites of memory of the events of that day abound. At the hanging place, the gallows are still there, with threatening empty nooses (Fig. 1). Next to it, a memorial lists the names of the 67 warriors who were executed there, one column with their "traditional" names, the other with their "baptized" names, the third one with their statuses: Nkosi, Nduna, Jumbe and Raia (Fig. 2). Number 50 is Songea Luwafu Bin Mbano, who not only refused to yield and join German colonial administration, but also refused to be baptized. About half a mile away, the Maji Maji Makumbusho (museum) hosts sculptures of those chiefs in an enclosed area. Behind the museum buildings lies the mass grave. Another monument signals this infamous burial place and lists 66 names (Fig. 3). The 67th was buried alone: the unadorned grave of Songea Mbano indeed stands opposite to this monument, at the far north-eastern corner of the enclosure (Fig. 4, also cover of this book). About 4/5 of the grave is filled with earth. Approaching the headstone, a separation demarcates an empty space. This empty space signals the absence of the head. It has left the burial process in a liminal state since 1906.




MASHUJAA WALIONYONGWA NA WAJERUMANI
TAREHE 27.2.1906
WAKATI WA VITA YA MAJIMAJI

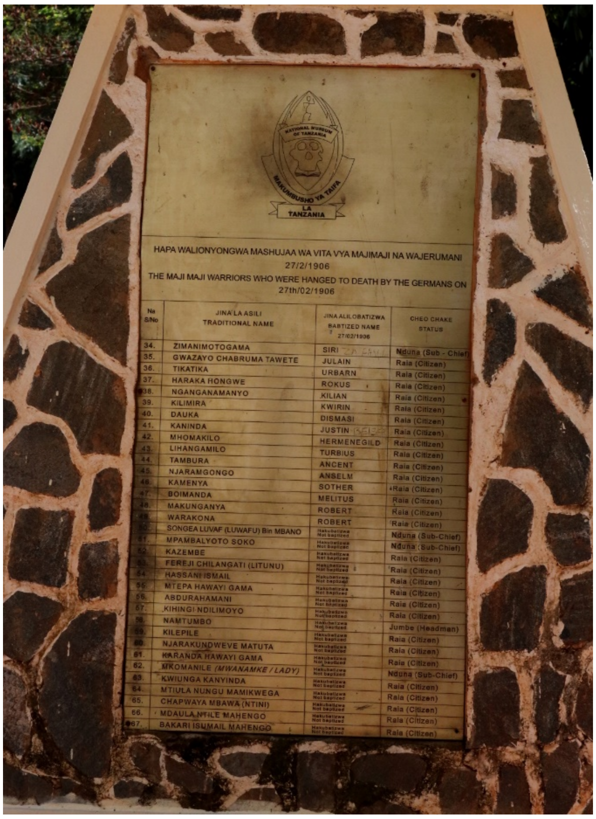

HAPA WALIONYONGWA MASHUJAA WA VITA VYA MAJIMAJI NA WAJERUMANI
27/2/1906
THE MAJI MAJI WARRIORS WHO WERE HANGED TO DEATH BY THE GERMANS ON
27th/02/1906

Fig. 1 (above): the memorial at the hanging place.
Fig. 2 (bottom left): detail of the memorial with the names and ranks of those hanged in February 1906.
Fig. 3 (bottom right): the mass grave with the names of those executed and the sprays laid on 27th February 2019 by government representatives and the German ambassador in Tanzania (Photos: Y. LeGall).

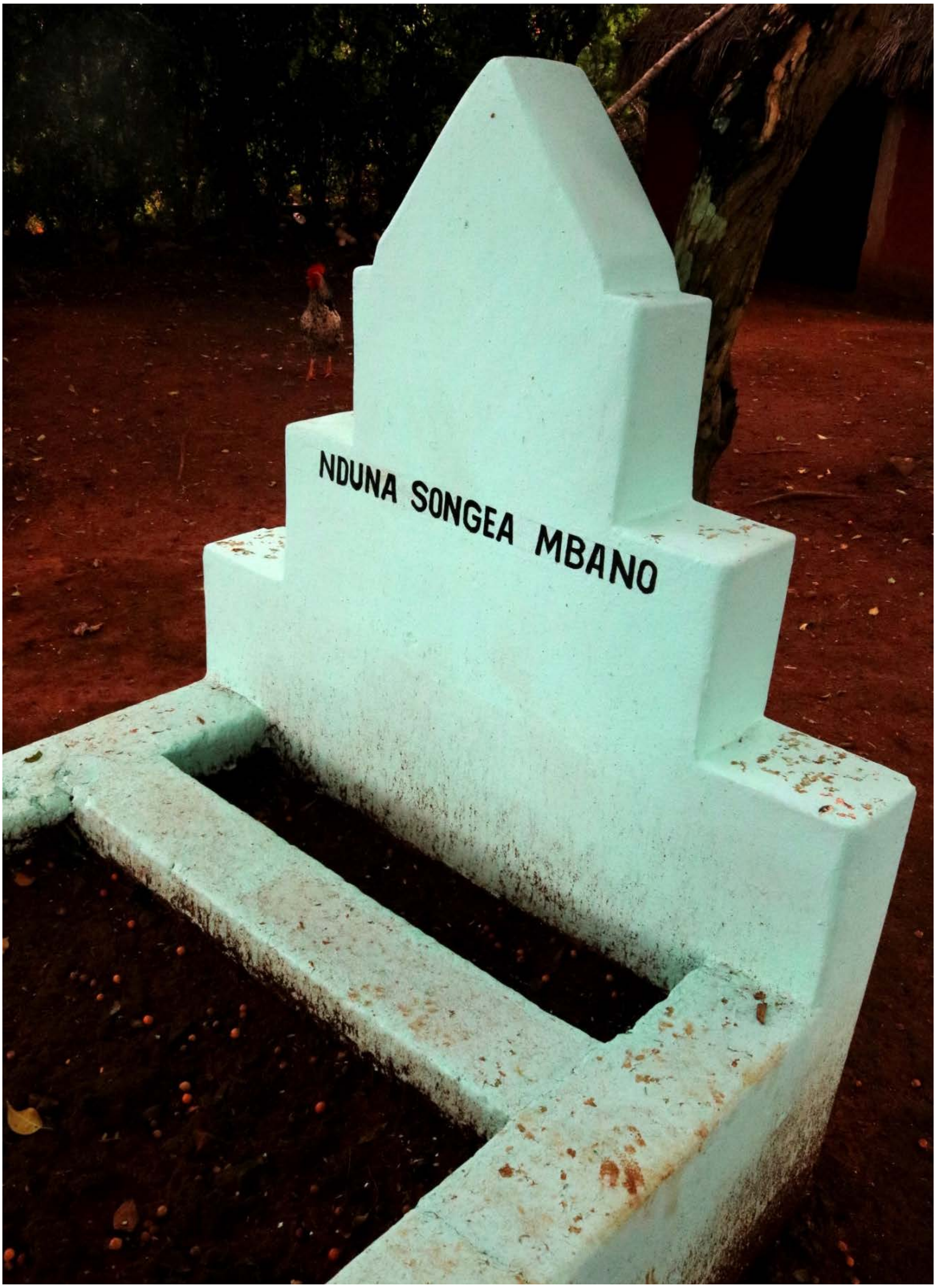

NDUNA SONGEA MBANO

Fig. 4: Detail of the grave of Chief Songea Mbano (Photo: Y. LeGall).

This gravesite is a powerful statement for repatriation. It is not a resting place, but a reminder of the atrocious treatment that awaited leaders and chiefs that would rise against German colonialists. As I try to theorize this site, words fail me. What meaning is there to be found in the vacuum left by colonial violence? What else can be advocated than the simple wish to witness the reunification of the body and the end of a restless afterlife? Sure, one could give a pompous rational analysis of this state of transience between an open grave before burial waiting to be filled, and a closed tombstone. Call it a gnomon, for instance, in both meanings of the term: a) a new shape resulting from an erasure, as in Euclid's definition of the incomplete form that is left after the same but smaller form has been removed from it, or a physical materialisation of incompleteness; b) the part of a sundial that casts a shadow, which, since it was placed there, helps keeping track of how many hours, days, seasons and years have passed, and restlessly casts its haunting shadow on the timeline, like the events of 1906 have done in the history of the Ngoni. But what does such analysis do? Does it cater to the wishes of the community and their call for recognition and the prospect of reparative justice? Rather, it appears as a romanticisation of a place of remembrance, keeping ethnographic discourse aloof from the heart of the matter. Romanticising death and the memory of massacres runs a high risk: emotional detachment vis-à-vis a history of violence and painful memories. The voice of Nkosi ya Makosi Zulu Gama exactly refuses this detached tone, this solemn distance that often creeps up in academic discourse, but also in ceremonies and memorial services. Inter-generational remembrance and orality are of paramount importance, as voices against the musealisation of the colonial past, showing that this history has not yet been worked through and that processes of recognition and reconciliation cannot be led without a genuine commitment to, at least, listen to the stories. I am not advocating for pity, but for courage, the courage to face the deeps scars left by invasion, appropriation, exploitation and war, and to *see* the marks left by anti-colonial movements. Besides, one does not even need to visit the grave for Mbano's name to be recalled: the town Songea, district capital of the Ruvuma region, clearly visible on any map of Tanzania, is a first reminder of his figure, just like Dessalines in Haiti (Jean-Jacques Dessalines), Gaborone in Botswana (Kgosi Gaborone), or Yamoussoukro in Ivory Coast (Queen Yamoussou).

Recently, his story and the story of the Maji Maji War has also been at the heart of a theatre production that forced its audience to confront the history of colonial violence in East Africa and its legacy: the play *Maji Maji Flava.* It included the voice of Inkosi ya Makosi Zulu Gama on a screen at the back of the stage. The story of the mutilation of bodies during the Maji Maji War was indeed one of the powerful tableaux staged in the play. Songea Mbano's name also features on the customised soccer jerseys worn by the actors and actresses.

As the following sections will show, this play has proposed a challenging narrative for its German audience and stirred up political debates among its Tanzanian spectators. Participating in advocacy for stolen remains, it managed, I believe, to produce a remarkable embodied practice of remembering colonial violence and anti-colonial resistance, as well as an explosive fusion of dance, re-enactment, satire and teaching.

Setting and characteristics of *Maji Maji Flava*

In the 2016 versions of the play, *Maji-Maji Flava* started by asking its spectators to make a choice. Either one chose to comfortably drink cocktails for free, or one chose to attend a lecture on the Maji Maji War. I opted for the course, looking forward to learn more than what I already knew about the resistance sparked by the prophecy of Kinjikitile Ngwale. The eccentric Tanzanian professor, pacing to and fro on stage, brandished a massive hardcover in front of an unadorned PowerPoint presentation exposing the dates and facts. He repeatedly defied models of education and knowledge transmission, transgressing the boundary between a serious, didactical exposure of history and an emotional 'preaching' of the truth. He accelerated his pace as the story got faster, pantomimed the rebels, and closed his lecture by laying down the hardcover book on stage, inviting everyone to open it and read for themselves after the end of his lecture. Left without the professor, the audience remained still and quiet nonetheless. Almost everyone during this projection here in Berlin already knew something about German colonial rule, as the professor's questions during the lecture had shown. Would we learn something more if we took the book? There wasn't even enough time to browse that tome; the main part of the play would start any time soon. We were all well-behaved, run-of-the-mill pupils. Some of us were also surely aware that the fourth curtain hindered us to step on stage, that invisible wall drawn between the actors and the spectator. He has the right to breach it (and had indeed ripped it apart); we assumed we don't. After three minutes, nobody had dared to leave his/her seat and grab the book. Hesitant and discreet, I took advantage of the return of the cocktail drinkers to swiftly elbow my way to the stage, take the book, duck back to my seat, and open it.

The other part of the audience was finally seated. Those who wanted to get this introduction to the Maji Maji War already occupied most of the grandstand. Those who had rather had some cocktails for free at the Tanzanian bar for tourists in the hall appeared to us then to have arrived late, as cool pupils who would bunk off the first morning class. Thereby they allowed me a few minutes to skim through the pages of the hardcover. There were transcripts of colonial records from the archives of the National Museum in Dar es Salaam and transcripts of interviews with local people telling about their knowledge of the Maji Maji War. These are parts of the well-known testimonies, books and archives sitting in Dar es Salaam (Mwaifuge, 37), documenting one of the bloodiest colonial wars on the African continent. Some pages were bookmarked. On these, quotes had been taped up, one, for instance, by former Imperial Commissioner Carl Peters. In the meantime, the play had already started and the book remained on my lap until one of the actors, apparently puzzled by its absence on that exact spot where the professor laid it down, asked us to give it back to her. Those testimonies and violent quotes were indeed part of the performance.

Let me first elucidate particular characteristics of the play. First, it featured four actors and two actresses, four Germans and two Tanzanians; three white, one Afro-German and two black Africans; one mostly standing at the back (monitoring the music) and five moving about (on stage, under the rows of seats and outside the room). In mathematical terms, it would amount to six of them. In theatrical practice, it meant more than twenty characters: for example, one actor first endorsed the role of a bloodthirsty persecutor, and died as an anticolonial fighter before impersonating a Tanzanian ambassador; another playing an African scout morphed into a rebellious saboteur; an authoritarian colonial officer also turned into a generous European minister allocating development aid. Secondly, the play allowed multiple languages to cohabit, to get translated, but also to collide. While most of the performance in Berlin took place in German language, one Tanzanian actor only spoke Kiswahili; his speech was (almost always) subsequently translated by a German actor or actress. In addition, most of the dialogues between the characters (on the deepest level of performance) and between the actors/actresses (on the meta-level of their own reflection on the topic and the explanation of the performance) took place in English. Thirdly, the costumes and aesthetics challenged exotic portrayals of Tanzania by allowing everyone to put on different clothes. While the colourful Kitenge dresses of the colonised contrasted to the light khaki hats characteristic of colonial troops, their association was not incompatible, thus using the propped body as a site for multiple identities. More often barefooted than in boots, the characters both broke the dichotomy between coloniser and colonised as well as reinforced it by playing on the satiric effect of mismatched dress codes.

Decolonial collaboration?

The imbrication of German and Tanzanian actors, dress codes, languages, identities, symbols, dancing styles, music, articulates difference in a communal space that is negotiated through co-producing, choreography, costume design. Clearly, the co-production builds up on the dichotomy to promote the idea of a shared past that requires contact, understanding. Yet, not everything in *Maji Maji Flava* is syncretic. In the following section, I argue that the play presents a decolonial stance on imperial authority over colonial history, “counteract[ing] the destructive forces of history” (Rokem, 3). Those forces are agents of documentation, archives and writings which had only allowed a limited number of perspectives to participate in a narrative endowed with a sense of factual objectivity, one of many “regimes of truth” (Lalu).[3] For not only did colonial authority oppress and killed colonised subjects; it also asserted the hegemonic position of Western historical discourse in relating the facts. Challenging the epistemological underpinnings of historical science is an asset of performative arts, who can creatively re-do colonial history and highlight its partiality by occupying the gap between what has happened and how it is told. Looking at theatre plays performing history, Rokem declares that

> theatrical performances of and about history reflect complex ideological issues concerning deeply rooted national identities and subjectivities and power structures and can in some cases be seen as a willful resistance to and critique of the established or hegemonic, sometimes even stereotypical, perceptions of the past (8).

This seems to be one of the multiple aims of *Maji Maji Flava.*

The pre-introductory monologue inviting the audience to choose their side was first held in Kiswahili before being addressed in German. This foregrounding of Kiswahili sowed seeds of anxiety among a German audience, some wondering whether the monologue will be translated. It clearly posits Kiswahili as *the* language endowed with linguistic authority on the play, reminding that the perspective that should be foregrounded to address colonial oppression is that of the former colonised. I asked the team whether this order was kept for the shows in Dar es Salaam. They answered that the performance in Tanzania did not only reduce the occurrence of German language, it also did not even include the introductory lecture, given that most members of the audience would already know about the Maji Maji War, therefore re-emphasizing the role of Tanzanian discourse as 'enlightening' for a (relatively) ignorant German audience.[4] There is no point in teaching Tanzanians once more what happened during the Maji Maji War. There is, however, a great need to educate German society on that matter.

In contrast to the privileged position occupied by Kiswahili, German texts or speeches in the play were either fraught with horrendous violence or ridiculed by the performing actors. Readings from Carl Peters' deprecating observations of African people often served as a commentary accompanying military dances. At one point, a colonial officer on stage stomped and screamed in German language for over a minute, reacting to rebels sabotaging his camp. The satiric effect of 'over-doing' German language – i.e. adopting am almost Hitlerian tone that, for all its inner dreadfulness, often has the actual effect of making most Germans laugh – introduced post-Holocaust aesthetics in the play and thereby somehow linked colonial Germany to the Third Reich through the character of the officer and his symbolism as an agent of violence. This use of post-Holocaust satire had the effect to debunk German authority on colonial history, mocking the very language of oppression... in the former colonial centre. It is important to underscore that what I and many other members of the audience in Berlin perceived as an obvious satiric effect might not have been read as such in Dar es Salaam. What effect did the foolish act of the colonial officer have on a Tanzanian audience is a question that is not mine to answer. Although the harsh, guttural speeches of Adolf Hitler have travelled around the world and are often made fun of by cultural productions,[5] one should avoid speculating on the upshot of contemporary reproductions in non-European countries, especially in former German colonies where the grandchildren of the former colonized still keep alive the memory of German colonial violence in the present. In contrast, the testimony spoken by one of the Asedeva actors in Kiswahili remained bare of any mark of violence or antagonizing politics.

Unlike the use of German, bellowed all over the place by a pacing officer out of anger and frustration against anti-colonial resistance, when Kiswahili was spoken, it was heard with attention. Space for Kiswahili was needed, and space was made accordingly.

Strictly proscribing German language from enjoying any authority over colonial history, the play also strongly questioned its role in the production of scientific knowledge. With the help of English as a lingua franca, a debate was held on stage by the protagonists regarding their respective beliefs in the healing properties of water. Kinjikitile Ngwale's prophetic beverage, supposed to render his fighters immune to German bullets, was ridiculed by the German actors. In retaliation to this modern attack upon their own systems of beliefs, Tanzanian actors challenged European beliefs in homeopathy, in which medicinal active principles are diluted in water by factors well above one-to-one-billion to a point where the substance remains untraceable. This strategic counter-move challenged both the German actors on stage as well as many people from the audience who raised their hands when asked who in the room actually believed in the healing properties of homeopathy. It also challenged German contribution to science, homeopathy having been first developed by German physician Samuel Hahnemann. German actors and spectators were forced then to reflect on their own judgemental stance towards the imbrication of prophetic beliefs, medicine and science. The debate offered a meta-level, a pause in the narrative that shed light upon the limits of collaboration and joint acknowledgement of a shared past. This collusion was needed in order to overcome the gap, or the distance, between German and Tanzanian discourses on the Maji Maji War.

The decolonial characteristics of this performance hint at the potential for African and minor cosmopolitan discourses to challenge European colonial history. Homi Bhabha locates those discourses as "dwelling in the beyond" (7). More than provincialising the landscape of performances cultures in Germany by introducing Tanzanian voices in a space long dominated by postcolonial amnesia, *Maji Maji Flava* contributes to the shift affecting both the political and the artistic spheres of both nation-states, exactly refusing their boundedness. "The recesses of the domestic space become sites for history's most intricate invasion", Bhabha observes (9). Alike the challenges that repatriation poses for modern museums and the field of anthropology, where sacred objects and remains re-claim agency in their displacement, collaborative theatre occupies the domestic landscape where German colonial history is defined, de-mentioned and remembered. It thereby incriminates the ‘coloniality of power’ affecting processes of remembrance and history-making in institutionalised discourses, starting with education. The introductory lecture explicitly addressed to a German audience re-asserts the idea of a shared past; it also implicitly demonstrates how history ‘from the South’ has been silenced, and forces a shared process of re-acknowledging and remembering this past by bringing the character on stage and the audience in a professor-students context. To paraphrase Bhabha, this exemplary articulation of historical accuracy from a minor perspective authorizes the voice of a cultural hybrid – a Tanzanian professor teaching in English to a German audience – and participates to a moment of historical transformation: the growing acknowledgement of modern African perspectives on colonial history.[6] In his introduction to *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha also questioned the institutionalised discourse on tradition and modernity. He showed that cultural articulations from the “periphery of authorized power and privilege” jettison any claim for originary identities by inscribing the formation of identities and the definition of cultural differences in both “consensual” and “conflictual” agendas *vis-à-vis* canonised perpectives on culture and history (2). To him, artistic forms that defy normative beliefs inhabit the progressive, future space located “beyond”, as the prefix “post-” in postcolonial can be understood. They break the alleged dichotomy between the so-called ‘modern’ and its constructed opposites (e.g. ‘tradition’, ‘indigeneity’); they evade those paradigms and suggest both a consensus and a fight, in our case, the acceptance of being lectured from a minor perspective and the relentless attack on the hegemonic position of Western history.

Yet, according to Bhabha, to possess any transgressive and transformative power at all, minor articulations of cultural difference need to return to the present moment to reveal the lingering inequalities (4). ‘Dwelling in the beyond’ sometimes only displaces the structures of majoritarian oppression in a non-temporal epoch and does not actually tackle these. The play also follows this useful shift to the present state of affairs: at the end, a mock ceremony of German-Tanzanian friendship is staged. In it, exotic stereotypes and current political relations of power and dependency buttressed around development aid are clearly visible. After a lush and satirical display of friendship between representatives of clichéd ‘Germany’ and ‘Tanzania’, the actors invite the audience on stage, to engage *again* with their material. The audience can watch and listen to a video-interview of Inkosi ya Makosi Zulu Gama asking for reparations from the German government for the massacres. The performance therefore intervenes from an envisaged postcolonial setting (the lecture) and operates "a return to the present to redescribe our cultural contemporaneity" (Bhabha, 7). It reveals the underprivileged position of local Tanzanian discourse on historical and political authority and acts to redress this injustice. It also proposes a transformation of hierarchical positions that is justified in light of the oppression and violence inflicted in the past. Through those kicks, inviting viewers to reflect on the current state of affairs, the play takes a stand against the hierarchical status-quo deciding who holds the pen of history and the purse for so-called 'development'.

There are nevertheless limits to believing that theatre that is politically motivated can always engender social change. Questioning this putative transformative potential of intercultural and interwoven performance cultures, Rustom Bharucha understands "'interweaving' primarily as a *doing*, one of the many ways of practicing or performing the 'intercultural'" (179), therefore emphasizing on a conceptual framework that continues to construct binaries, despite the multitude of performance cultures that might be involved. Criticising the widespread recourse to metaphors when alternative forms of intercultural art emerge, he argues that such metaphorical thinking also discounts the unpleasant dynamics of 'labour' that presuppose any weaver. Collaborative artistic work is embedded in essential economic hierarchies that shape this very collaboration (ibid, 183-4). In other words, one should not discount the hierarchies that are at play in cultural industries because they influence both the conceptualisation and the reception of interwoven performance cultures.

Both criticisms are relevant in this case: *Maji Maji Flava* is, in terms of production, bilateral, and therefore still revolves on a binary structure. Considering this, one might also argue that the corporeal presence of an Afro-German on stage alleviates to a certain extent the dual essence of a German-Tanzanian co-production by visibly counterbalancing the dichotomy posited by this binarism.

Further, the aspirations of such intercultural projects to reach out to political agents and their success in sparking debates heavily depend on financial means and credentials that emanate from Western European institutions and sponsors. In drawing conclusions on the outcome of the programme *Theatre for Development* launched in the seventies, Vicensia Shule admits that, in Tanzania, "foreign aid in development projects has created new opportunities as well as challenges for the protection and promotion of theatre"

(200). At the same time, she condemns neoliberal top-down systems in which facilitators like NGOs rather support the implementation of cultural projects that remain detached from grassroots, community-based decisions (see 209). In turn, she criticizes participatory approaches that do not consider the "'unhealed wounds' of slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and now neoliberalism" (Shule, 211). The model of two independent theatre companies, Flinn Works and Asedeva, coming together to reveal these wounds in both countries, despite the logistic support of the Goethe Institute in Dar es Salaam, enables both the current neo-colonial structures to be critically examined on stage, as well as empowering two precarious, minor artistic productions in the age of global corporate lean production. Vicensia Shule argues that foreign meddling in Tanzania cultural industry rather shackles artists and theatre troupes to a system in which financial support emanates from a limited handful of donors who impose budget cuts to local projects, hold local companies accountable, and generally have the last word when parties disagree, further shackling artists in imperialistic models of support where culture is arbitrated from outside (see 203-4). At the same time, the quasi absence of financial support made available from Tanzanian institutions forces strategic decisions. Collaborative, grassroots minor theatre productions like *Maji Maji Flava* thus bring independent theatre troupes together in a decolonial model for partnership which, admittedly, navigates imperialist structures and circuits of financial support (such as the Goethe Institute), yet uses those to stimulate an unprivileged cultural scene and does not shun from engaging with the politics of colonial amnesia and neo-colonial structures.

Only "halfway dead": re-doing headhunting

After having looked at the broader context of theatrical collaboration, I will now focus on the representations of headhunting and the dead in the play. *Maji Maji Flava*'s postcolonial transformative potential also lies in its politicized aesthetics of artistic re-enactment of historical events, especially colonial violence and headhunting.

In her book *Performance Remains*, Rebecca Schneider has mapped the broad implications of re-enactment practice:

> The practice of re-playing or re-doing a precedent event, artwork, or act has exploded in performance-based art alongside the burgeoning of historical reenactment and 'living history' [...]. In many ways, reenactment has become the popular and practice-based wing of what has been called the twentieth-century 'memory industry' (2).

Focusing on an array of performances that attempt to reproduce *exactly* what had been experienced earlier – ranging from the US Civil War to dance performances – Schneider addresses the tension between the past histories of the dead and the multi-layered mock performance of the living. In those reenactments, the sheer earnestness of re-doing war and the frisky detachment that accompanies the act of performing blend in to spawn anachronisms that unveil the transient space of being at the same time "halfway dead" and "halfway living" (Schneider, 14). She talks first of a "cross-temporal slippage" before introducing Elizabeth Freeman's notion of the "temporal drag", identified by Schneider as a political move in cross-generational dialogue – a dialogue between ancestors and descendants. Revisiting the Butlerian generational drag in the Oedipal family paradigm, Freeman asks:

> Might some bodies, in registering on their very surfaces the co-presence of several historically specific events, movements, and collective pleasures, complicate or displace the centrality of gender-transitive drag to queer performativity? Might they articulate instead a kind of temporal transitivity that does not leave feminism, femininity, or other "anachronisms" behind? (729)

Dragging these questions to the realm of postcolonial performance studies, I follow Schneider in her reading of Freeman by refusing to consider re-enactments as simply referential to the past. They rather advocate a strong sense of entangled and displaced politics of oppression and representation, playing on the polychronic position of the state of postcoloniality in the re-doing of colonial violence. Thus, they reveal how the temporal transition in the politics of the past and those of the present are articulated. Re-enactments, in a similar way as queer aesthetics of repetition, enable the materialisation of Freeman's conception of "generations linked by political work [which] also acknowledges the ability of various culture industries to produce shared subjectivities" (729). If Freeman sees the potential of these shared subject-positions to go beyond the normative position of the heterosexual family, the enmeshed colonial objectification processes and postcolonial subjectivities could just as well transcend the dialectics of colonizer vs. colonized. By re-enacting colonial oppression, the performing bodies register "specific events, movements and collective pleasures" that refer to multiple evolutions from the time re-enacted to the performance of re-enactment. Those multiple temporalities co-exist on the surface of the bodies acting and performing. They inhabit several roles, as well as several eras, linking the corporeality of colonial oppression with the corporal dialectics of exoticism and postcolonial representation.

Since it stages the oppressive colonial state of affairs in German East Africa through the narrative of the Maji Maji War, the collaborative work of Aseveda/FlinnWorks operates a "temporal drag" that shifts "what would otherwise be simple parody into a montage of publicly intelligible subject-positions lost and gained" (Freeman, 733). In elucidating through re-enactment the clear entanglements of postcolonial dialectics with former generations of colonial and anti-colonial discourses, *Maji Maji Flava* remembers the imposition of German colonialism in the Tanganyika region. But not only. It revisits all the processes that justify the need for such late remembrance, such as the failure, after more than a century, to overcome issues such as the lingering legacy of racist anthropology, the marginalisation of Black historicism in school and academic curricula, or the persisting dependency of African sovereign states to neo-liberal interested investment and so-called 'development aid' coming from European states.

The postcolonial amnesia pervading white Europe has relegated subject positions of the colonised and their "successors" to the margins of history and of the archive. By interacting with the lives of their "predecessors" through their contemporary bodies re-staging history, the performers in *Maji Maji Flava* call upon a corporal relationality, where both ancestors and performers inhabit a contemporary social reality that cannot be clearly delimited in past vs. present. Re-enactment here bears clear implications regarding the necropolitics of colonialism. The legacies of the dead have indeed influenced multiple moments of postcolonial contact between Tanzania and Germany, from the mediated return of Mkwawa's skull in 1954 (see Chapter 1) to the dispatch of development aid, but also to the performing of *Maji Maji Flava* in the House of Culture at the National Museum Dar es Salaam. In this case, the dead's subject positions on history can only be retrieved through performative re-doing of history through the bodies of the living. Therefore, any claim to a so-called 'authentic' re-enactment would relocate those dead in the object-positions they were put in by the military and anthropological discourses of the time, because asking for authenticity would mean asking for a re-enactment in line with the archive, namely, the Western writing of colonial history.

Therefore, the re-enacted violence in the play is not a re-enactment as understood in its strict sense. *Maji Maji Flava* does not aspire to re-do *exactly* what the practice of headhunting in German East Africa was; it even wants to do otherwise, to challenge the objectification of the formerly colonised. Nevertheless, I believe contributions to the theory of performative re-enactment mapped above to be helpful for, and suitable to, any kind of deliberate reproduction of a historical past, no matter how far from the original. Indeed, revisiting the past in order to "live history" cannot ignore the epistemological drag that has accompanied the temporal one. Any text has to be re-adapted, consciously or unconsciously, no matter how close directors, artists and performers aspire to be to the 'pristine original'.

So, what actually supports the use of the term re-enactment in this case is the deliberate wish to have a German actor/soldier violently mutilate the body of a Tanzanian actor/soldier. Keeping the hierarchical relationship that used to define corporal contact at that time is a statement: the stage director knows she is reproducing hierarchies, yet she does it deliberately, with a twist. In re-enacting the bloody quest for morbid war trophies in German East Africa, the bodies of the headhunter and the dead anti-colonial leader intermingle. The former first tries to carry the latter, but the surface of contact of their bare bodies spreads from head to toes, and the act of carrying, first reminiscent of Rudyard Kipling's Eurocentric imperialist poem "The White Man's Burden", has morphed into a dance full of contrasts, involving an encumbered white coloniser and a peaceful black body. The headhunter growls under the weight, gnashes his teeth while trying to stupidly dislodge the head from its body; he sweats and gasps before finally sitting on the chest of his victim to saw the head off. This self-inflicted strain forebodes the self-inflicted, distressing and shameful legacy of colonial violence: the haunting presence of skulls in European museums' collections. In the upstage right corner, the act of handsawing happening in the centre is visually mirrored by the other Tanzanian actor sitting on a cello, 'sawing' above the nut with the bow, so that the high-pitched grating strings function as a sound effect to the main action. Both actors are butchers in the open: one savagely cutting through flesh, another butchering the deep, elegant crooning of a cello. After centuries of ellipses and concealment in the archives and reports, of gaps between the journals written by colonial officers and the museum receipts acknowledging delivery of human remains from German East Africa, headhunting finally stands in the spotlights.

The legacy of the morbid practice is also addressed on stage. The colonised subject has died on stage, yet remains "halfway dead" and "halfway living" in his re-enacting performance. For the context built for the Maji Maji War to happen again enables those 'haunting legacies' to materialise on stage (Schwab). After having been butchered by the German colonisers, the leading figure of the anti-colonial war can be born again, joined by several others. The lights are dimmed, and the dance is macabre, enabling the zombie-like subjects to show that nothing is ever finished after such traumatic encounters. Their choreographic hand gestures visually draw a line between their heads and the rest of their bodies, like that scar resulting from the hunt for African skulls as trophies or specimen, like that separation by the grave of Songea Mbano. Their dance is synchronic, from stillness to motion, hinting at a common aim to resurface as mobile bodies, perhaps ready to travel away from their state of objects to a place of rest. In his study of performing African bodies in theatre, Samuel Ravengai shows that the "Western realism" of Chekhov or Stanislavsky has an African counterpart in the works of Tsitsi Dangaremba, Ama Ata Aidoo and Stephen Chifunyise. But contrary to the exclusion of royal and divine characters in Western realist theatre, African realism makes "humans interact with the spirit world" (Ravengai, 50). Therefore, the reality projected by African realism is different than the reality of Western realism. This allows "a cosmography which takes for granted interpretations by these realms [the dead and the living] and intimate interaction between their human spirit inhabitants" (Chinweizu, Jemie & Madubuike, 20). Appearing rather towards the end of the play, shortly before a ceremony that criticizes and mocks contemporary lavish diplomatic dinners and exoticising shows of German-Tanzanian friendship, the dead cannot be forgotten in the temporal drag to which the play subscribes. Albeit mute, they are still there, now. Some of the material traces of these deaths – i.e. human remains in European collections, or the absence thereof in Songea – will play an integrate part in present and future postcolonial relations between the two countries.

In *Performing History,* Freddie Rokem looks at the re-appearance of historical heroes on stage, and their ghostly figures mediated by the actors. This resurrection represents the product of what he labels as "textual", "social" and "performing energies" (Rokem, 187-200). By acknowledging the drive that pushed heroes to inhabit subject-positions in history thanks to a metaphorical transposition of this social energy into text (drama) and performance, the dead that could not speak are given back a position as witnesses through the body of the performer. "This witness is able to tell the spectators something about the experiences previously hidden behind the 'veils' of his or her past and now, through the performance, revealed to the spectators" (ibid, 205). In *Maji Maji Flava*, those dead do not directly speak; yet they dance. In fact, Isack Abeneko, the actor playing the professor at the beginning, has become the character whose head was brutally severed, before finally impersonating the Tanzanian ambassador in Germany. Retrospectively then, a single performing body – and therefore a single voice – bears multiple layers of subjectivity which overlap as the play goes on. Therefore, his embodiment of both authority (professor) and the status of victim negates the sole disempowering role of a silent object. His body is as palimspestic as the multiple meanings that have been bestowed on the bodily remains. It enables transitions between the moment of anti-colonial agency (the Maji Maji War), the drastic objectification (headhunting), the haunting latent presence (dancing), the postcolonial subjection (development aid) and the re-empowering subject-position (teaching history "from the South"). The entire performing act, then, contributes to a multi-layered remembrance of the Maji Maji War that clearly subscribes to a decolonial endeavour in the realm of education, knowledge production and cosmology.

"In the archive, only bone speaks memory of flesh"[7]

Memory studies have been greatly concerned with conceptualisations of the archive (see Agamben 1999; Stoller 2009). Documentation about past events and recollections have both belonged to the realm of history and to that of memory, claimed by historians as indicators and proofs of an acceptable truth, but also claimed by collective groups as proofs of a heritage. In contrast to the act of contributing to the accumulation of archival material through documentation, performance has long been celebrated, and at the same time deprecated, as ephemeral, rather concerned with disappearance than with the crave for leaving a trace of its existence. Rebecca Schneider remarkably outlines the enduring influence of 'ephemerality studies' at New York University, starting with Richard Schechner's oppositional conception of drama as permanent and performance as ephemeral in 1965, stretching up until Diana Taylor's book *The Archive and the Repertoire* published in 2003. Most importantly, she provided her informed critique of this dichotomy that would everlastingly confine performance to the realm of the ahistorical, illustrated with the fortunate metaphor of bones and flesh.

At the base of historical factualness lies the archive, a potent referential with Eurocentrist roots that run deep to the Greek principles of patriarchy. The *Archon*, the head of state and magistral interpreter of the archive, has been the foundational authority for the widespread urgency to document and extend a European cultural necessity to take stock and keep track records (see Derrida , 2-3). If a performance can be recorded on tape, 'live art' still resists the imperialist archive, precisely thanks to its corporeality. Schneider then asks: "[I]n privileging an understanding of performance as a refusal to remain, do we ignore other ways of knowing, other modes of remembering, that might be situated precisely in the ways in which performance remains, but remains differently?" (Schneider, 98). An understanding of performance as disappearance is, in her words, "culturally myopic", and the need for traces, for an archive of some sort, supports "the architecture of a particular social power *over* memory" (ibid, 99). Rethinking the archive as actually performing its role as a standard value for art history and memory, Schneider wilfully refuses to exclude performance from the established, lawful and materialistic logic of authentic preservation.

Against the Eurocentric archive on colonial history, postcolonial literatures have provided a great deal of material challenging dominant discourses on history. Engaging with its own archives on colonial history, the Federal Republic of Germany has financed several exhibitions which have allowed other perspectives to be present in telling about German colonialism.[8] But theatre often lingers at the margins of the archive on postcolonial re-working in Germany.[9] *Maji Maji Flava* aspires for more. It has brought the archive from Dar es Salaam to where the Berlin conference took place, to where a street name still bears the mark of Carl Peters. It was featured in the city where the renowned *Documenta* take place. It expressively used documentation and corporeal creativity to connect the words of colonial oppression with their actual flesh, namely the utterly personal experience of meeting, subordinating, whipping, exploiting, fighting, killing and butchering. It also relates to a present context in which wounds resurge and need to be attended to.

Rebecca Schneider points out that,

> in the archive, flesh is given to be that which slips away. According to archive logic, flesh can house no memory of bone. In the archive, only bone speaks memory of flesh. Flesh is blind spot. Dissimulating and disappearing. Of course, this is a cultural equation, arguably foreign to those who claim orature, story-telling, visitation, improvisation, or embodied ritual

> practice as history. It is arguably foreign to practices in popular culture, such as the practices of US Civil War reenactors who consider performance as precisely a way of keeping memory alive, of making sure it does not disappear. In such practices – coded (like the body) primitive, popular; folk, naive – performance does remain, does leave 'residue'. Indeed the place of residue is arguably flesh in a network of body-to-body transmission of affect and enactment - evidence, across generations, of impact (100).

Human remains in museum collections are persistent residues of a history or corporeal contact that has stretched the dimensions of colonial 'encounters' to the phenomenology of mutilation and defleshing. Human remains are material and immaterial tokens of particular acts of colonial violence, bones that have their place in archives. To her, performing living bodies also register such historical acts that – even in Western practices of remembrance such as Civil War re-enactments – remain carved onto the bodies of the performers. Despite an alleged pre-eminence of the written, ossified archive, the scripts of dramatic performances carry less of these residues than the performance itself. Before being crystallised by written words, drama is first imagined, conceived and shaped for the stage, for a vivid enactment. The script serves solely practical purposes of remembrance and organisation. The text produced by a playwright evaporates as the performance unfolds: it hangs in the air as sound and steam. Sound through dialogue and cues; steam, escaping the warm bodies of the performers. It also condenses to form beads of sweat running down the contracted muscles, the expressive cheekbones, the dancing feet. Before the flesh of performance can be claimed to have disappeared, it is archived on the body, perhaps not in the ways violence produces scars, but through repeated choreography and (ritualised?) movement. The bodies register the movements and the cues, and will preserve them in a corporeal archive that will transcend conscious individual remembrance. This archive refuses to abide by the agenda of objective factuality; it is utterly subjective, even intimate for the actors themselves. What remains is the body's impenetrable remembrance of the performance, its having learnt and repeated gestures, tone, dance, which are, in unfortunate cases, materialised by the legacy of an injury. This muscle memory is conveyed through "affect and enactment" to spectators and fellow actors, but does not slip away. Most importantly, it is detached from the script, for it has appropriated it by reshaping its dryness and boiling it with improvisation and orality. The residues of performance left in the spectators' memory and the actors' bodies repudiate the archive's aloofness from flesh, its commitment to be dry as a bone, objective and superior.

Bearing in mind Hortense Spillers and Alexander Weheliye's conceptual use of 'the flesh' elsewise, I cannot close this reflection without furthering Schneider's observation of the fleshy residue of performance. While the writ of *habeas corpus* has proved to operate differently for human individuals depending on racialising assemblages (see Weheliye, 2-4, 11), *Maji Maji Flava* counters these structures of oppression by constructing a space of possibility that sometimes reproduces, sometimes reverses, sometimes re-imagines, structures of racist hierarchy.

After the introductory lecture, the play is launched by a collective dance involving five actors dressed in Kitenge pyjamas, a colourful choreography led by a Tanzanian dancer. As he witnesses the poor skills of his followers, he puts on a pith helmet, grabs a whip and starts shouting orders at the incompetent dancers. The bouncy and spirited dance morphs into an exercise of submission and conformism in which the two props suffice to settle the colonial décor, and the actor unsettles the politics of racism and retributive justice.

In the later scene of decapitation narrated earlier, the close contact between the two bodies, and the intimacy implied by the phenomenology of torture, also call for a reading on the homoerotic aesthetics of that particular moment. This moment of sheer racial dehumanisation also bespeaks a moment of utter confidence and familiarity. First, the body of the colonised refuses to yield against the will of the coloniser. But lastly, the coloniser is sitting on the lying body, sawing its head off. The power play does remind of the sexual ritual of the praying manta, objectifying its partner as food for purposes of subsistence. But the intimacy between the black and white bodies of male chiefs debunks both the sense of pure military supremacy and the analogy with peculiar features of cannibal lovemaking. Instead, the scene asks for a deep reconsideration of the binaries constructed by dominant racialising assemblages, disallowing *de jure* sexual intimacy between colonisers and colonised people, yet allowing *de facto* rape of blacks by whites. The hieroglyphics of the flesh in the colonial context clearly silenced the suffering of victims of Europeans' sexual impulses, as witnessed by the impunity for rapists of Herero women in German South-West Africa. Rape, mutilation, and objectification of the non-human occur synchronically, and the actors lie at the intersection of military (these were, after all, chiefs at war), racial, sexual and scientific violence (as the use of skulls by European physical anthropologists). Fortunately, the flesh of such process of dehumanisation can be later reclaimed when the dead rise again, and when the voices for apologies, reparations and reconciliation are foregrounded.

Maji Maji Flava re-opens wounds by pointing at the deliberate erasure of colonial history in Germany and re-staging the layers of racialising assemblages in performing violence. It also provides ways to heal these wounds and overcome the gap between the importance of the Maji Maji War in contemporary Tanzania and its repression – or rather obliteration – in German public consciousness. Through collaborative performance, spirits are willing and the flesh is strong, nurtured from the actors' needs to embrace, acknowledge and work together. Alongside residues of history on the performing bodies, relations between Tanzania and Germany have also been built on professional and social levels. These represent some footsteps in the eternal process of building and consolidating friendship between peoples that used to be at war. The co-production proposes healthy frameworks to engage with and remember difficult histories of oppression: performing together by engaging with the intersections of race, power, economic inequalities and gender; taking in the burden of violent history; reworking its flesh; refusing detachment and objective positionings; and finally, following up with a return to the present that asks for political transformation and restorative justice.

"Go back to Songea and do something": reactions to *Maji Maji Flava*

At the end of *Maji Maji Flava,* the public is invited to watch an interview of Inkosi ya Makhosi Zulu Gama, telling about his vision of restorative justice to the people from the southern part of Tanzania, especially to those of Songea, from where the military started their retaliation campaign, plundering and implementing scorched-earth policy in the region. True to this wish to convey grassroots political messages, the team also recorded some of the reactions from the public following the representations in Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo. Less concerned with the critical reception of the theatre play, these interviews largely address issues of official apologies, compensation and future collaboration between Germany and Tanzania for the Maji Maji War, thereby proving how the play stirred up political debates and empowered people to address German postcolonial indifference.

Some of those contributors to the debate advocate for a future dialogue and cooperation based on the acknowledgement of a shared past and a shared remembrance. An interviewee maintains that, for “a true friendship, you have to cement, you have to say, you have to embrace, and you have to do something to pay for the damage that was done” (Flinn Works, 13’12”). Another one argues that “although this was obviously not a pleasant succession of events, it doesn’t mean that such an incident should remain only a painful experience. It can and should teach us to change, and enable us to develop a closer partnership between the governments and people of both countries” (ibid, 0’27”). Yet, another interviewee also declares:

> This is the history of our parents, whose blood was spilled so that we, their descendants, can fight. This history must not be ignored. Germans did not deem it important to preserve this – our – history in Germany so that they could keep their descendants from finding out what their parents did to us (ibid, 5’20”).

The possessive adjective ‘our’ seems rather to refer to a history belonging to the people in Tanzania than to a shared history. Nevertheless, by highlighting the intergenerational gap between German colonialism and postcolonial Germany, the interviewee reaches out to the contemporary German public and urges them to repair this hole in public memory. The best way to remedy to this amnesia seems then to learn from the perspective of the descendants of the colonised, whose memory of colonial atrocities committed by German colonial troops has not been truncated. Highlighting the important memorial work done in Tanzania, a man points at the example of the Maji Maji Makumbusho in Songea, a museum that helps to keep this history alive. He requests that Germans also help to protect this history and keep it from being ignored, simply “for a good cause” (ibid, 10’52”).

The other central issue addressed by those interviews is that of financial reparations. The video presents different opinions on the ways in which material compensation to can be done: some argue for direct payments to descendants and people from the areas that were decimated during the Maji Maji War, as it was done for victims of the Holocaust (Flinn Works, 6’17”); a woman asks the German government to help build a symbolic monument that would materially epitomize its apology to the descendants of the victims (1’53”). Others rather argue for concrete investment in infrastructures and long-term involvement in education (11’38”), technological advancement (3’04”; 11’35”) or healthcare (6’50”). One speaker reminds the crowd that the systems of exploitation are still in place, and that what Germany once harvested from the exploitation of Tanzania should be shared with the Tanzanian population for a future built on a spirit of friendship, away from governmental hijacking but with grassroots partnerships (4’04”). Generally – and perhaps because of the work of Flinn Works in “waking up history” (4’35”) – interviewees defend a joint project of restorative justice. This unveils how no grudge is held against Germans; rather, they call of proactive recognition, for “it is not yet too late” (8’50”) to “face the consequences” (7’57”). Punctuating these calls for amenable atonement, the last speaker addresses directly the German government:

> “If you truly know that you hurt your friend and you want to strengthen a new beginning in the future, if you truly believe that you hurt that person, there must be an apology. [...] Even if you are not asked for that apology, it is for them to realise the damage that was done, [...] for the sake of friendship, they ought to. Go back to Songea and do something, and then even the Songea people, the government of Tanzania and the Tanzanians will see that, yes, the current government has realised the damage that they’ve done in that country” (11’47”).

So I travelled to Songea, and stayed there for the ceremony on 27th February 2019. Like the years before, the Maji Maji Makumbusho hosted the commemorative ceremony for those executed 113 years ago. A delegation composed on members of the government, traditional leaders (including Nkosi Zulu Gama), the Songea mayor, military officers, and the German ambassador, paid their respects to the dead by putting down weapons on the memorial at the hanging place (see Fig. 5). Then, the delegation walked to the Maji Maji Memorial Museum where another ceremony on the site of the mass grave took place, and where sprays of synthetic garlands in the colours of the Tanzanian Republic were laid down at the foot of the monument marking the mass grave that hosts more than sixty soldiers executed by the German military (see Fig. 3). Traditional Ngoni leaders came from the whole region, including from neighbouring Malawi, showing how concepts of nations and borders in East Africa are often challenged through the history of mobility and displacement (see also Obura). Almost all school pupils from schools in and around Songea were there, and the army brought a contingent of no less than two hundred soldiers. The late morning was fraught with performances: young pupils had prepared choreo-graphies and songs telling of the story of Songea Mbano and his fellow chiefs. Eight-year-old children re-enacted the war, the hangings and the decapitation of their bodies, while singing *Wimbo Amani*, “a song of peace”.

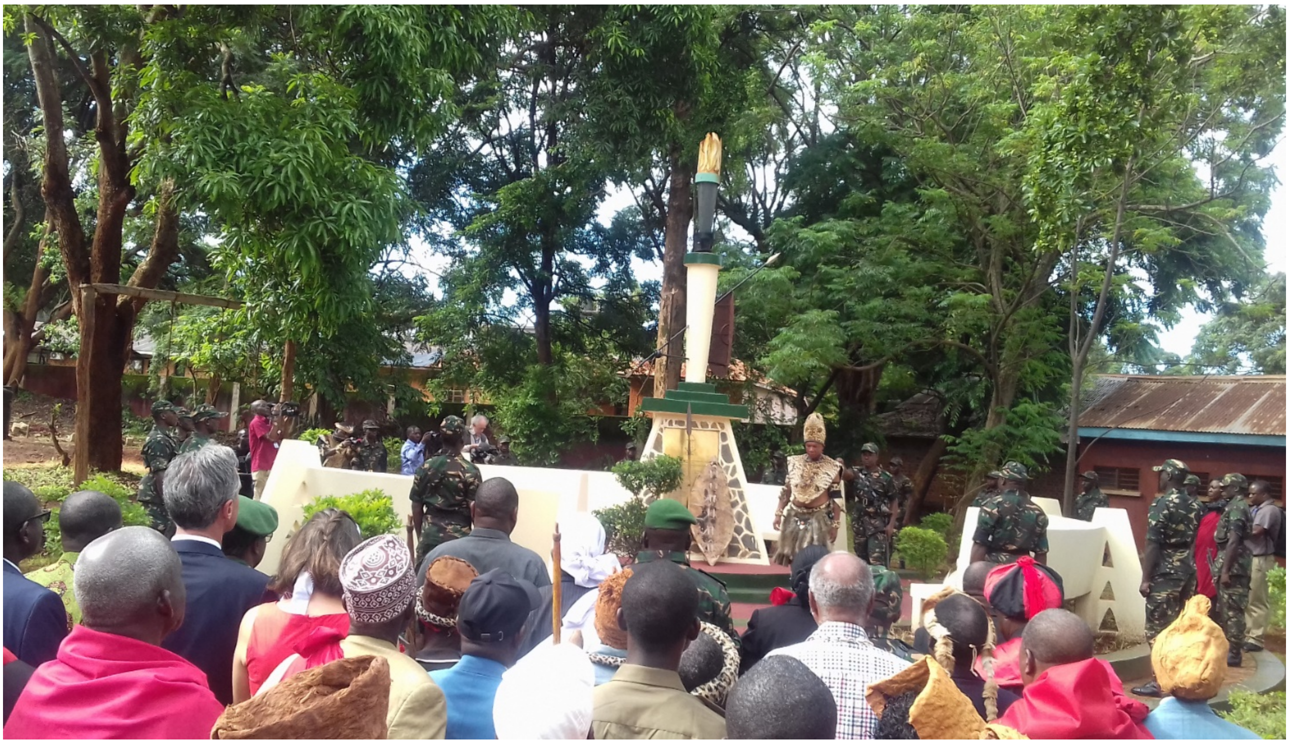


Fig. 5: Commemorative ceremony at the hanging place memorial on 27th February 2019. Inkosi ya Makhosi Zulu Gama (standing in the centre) lays weapons at the foot of the memorial.

After these celebrations, punctuated by a torrential rain shower, pupils could visit the museum, a *tembe* whose roof has collapsed. The floor and the displays are wet. One of my thoughts on site was that less than 1% of the Humboldt Forum's budget could put this local museum back on its feet. Beside the permanent exhibition, ethnographic objects are shown to the public in a second *tembe* (see also Maligisu , 298-9). However, the collection is limited to a dozen of displays. The Berlin Ethnographic Museum instead holds a large collection of war booty from the Maji Maji War, including a medicine bag which could have possibly belonged to Kinjekitile Ngwale (see Masebo, 240-1). One can only hope that recent partnership between the National Museum of Tanzania and the Foundation Prussian Cultural Heritage might see some of these important objects returned to Songea (Ivanov & Weber-Sinn).

Yet, restitution is not the only issue as far the restorative justice for the Maji Maji War is concerned. On 9th February 2017, Hussein Mwinyi, Tanzanian Minister of Defense, announced that the government would soon officially demand apologies and compensation from Germany for the Maji Maji War, less than a fortnight after *Maji Maji Flava*'s last representation at the National Museum in Dar es Salaam (see Azikiwe; Mtulya).

He explained that this decision was the result of a parliamentary question (Ayeko-Kümmeth). Flinn Works also inform on the succession of events on their website. However, there have been so far no official demands. Such a claim would actually appear at loggerheads with the tone of people's reactions to the play. It seems indeed to be the German government's responsibility to acknowledge the significance of the Maji Maji War and reaching out for a constructive remembrance, reparations and *Wiedergutmachung*. If colonial amnesia in Germany continues to dwindle, public pressure from German civil society could push for such atonement. It is still too soon to fully gauge the political impact of the show, but one can wonder what the political aftermath of those parliamentary talks that took place in 2017 will spawn. Even if *Maji Maji Flava* disappears from the stage, it has contributed to decolonising and provincialising postcolonial theatre, making space for Tanzanian theatre and the public's expectations for proactive sensible acknowledgement, apologies and reparation from the part of the German government. *Maji Maji Flava* has unabashedly engaged with the violence of German colonialism and did not refrain from killing on stage to re-instil life in the postcolonial stillness of haunting legacies. It occupies an archive: politicised memory cultures that have emerged from the re-acknowledgment of colonial human remains.

Notes:

1 In May 2016, I attended the first one: *Schädel X / Skull X*, mostly built around the story of Konradin Ziegenfuß, an ordinary German who inherited a human skull from his father. Intrigued by the uncanny object, the actor attempted to reconstruct its history and unveil its origin. The play explores the complications encountered in provenancing colonial human remains, such as for instance, the limits of forensic science when it cannot trace back where human remains came from: according to the residue found in the samples, it could as well originate from the southern region of present-day Namibia as from the Ore Mountains in German Saxony (Erzgebirge). The investigation also leads to the ongoing search for the skull of Mangi Meli, a Wachagga leader from the Kilimanjaro region who was hanged by German colonial officers and whose remains have allegedly been shipped to the former colonial metropolis. The play features video recordings of interviews with local Wachagga people, one descendant of Mangi Meli, and members of the African community in Berlin advocating for proactive but respectful research on sensible collections and for their ultimate repatriation. In *Schädel X*, unease and even horror arise from the intense industrial sounds of physical anthropology. The use of a spreading caliper, a cephalometer, small marbles filling the cavity, a hammer to test the thickness and a drill to extract a sample are considerably amplified to reach a loud volume in the headsets worn by the spectators. The noises are then looped to form a mechanistic music, superimposed on a series of racial categories that were quoted by the actor during the process of assessing the skull's dimensions and volume. Although a (recorded) telephone call with Prof. Andreas Winkelmann had just warned the actor that using such techniques would dangerously reproduce processes of objectification and racism that were undertaken by anthropologists during the colonial era, the forensic study of the skull takes place on stage. In spite of Mnyaka Sururu Mboro's emphasis on the emotional value of human remains and the urge to treat those with the respect they would get from their descendants, the instruments of racial anthropology harass the object. The performance is painful. Surrounded by the metallic violence of a tune reminiscent of the industrial revolution, the skull loses its human value once again, being rotated, placed upside down on the table, and scrutinised by the hands and the mind of an acoustic torturer.This artistic show of stereotyping, racialising and serialising colonial subjects participates in reminding its German audience of the violence of Western science. Featured in Berlin, Kassel and Hannover, it has contributed to a German cultural landscape of postcolonial remembrance while allowing multiple voices and perspectives on human remains to be present.

2 Other projects include the exhibition *Mangi Meli Remains* and the publication *Humboldt Lab Tanzania* (see Ivanov & Weber-Sinn). The former was conceptualised in cooperation between the Old Moshi Cultural Tourism, Flinn Works and the Berlin Tieranatomisches Theater at the Charité University Hospital. It was shown as a temporary exhibition in Berlin as part of the project *The Dead as far as [ ] can remember*. In February 2019, it tavelled to Dar es Salaam to be shown for several weeks before moving to the birthplace of Mangi Meli in Old Moshi to become a permanent exhibition there.

3 Rokem has greatly contributed to the acknowledgement of performative arts in unveiling "the complex interaction between the destructiveness and the failures of history, on the one hand, and the effort to create a viable and meaningful work of art, trying to confront these painful failures, on the other" (3). By focusing on a range of theatre plays engaging with the French Revolution and the Shoah, he demonstrates how theatre can distinguish but as well merge different "ontological spheres" through the energetic power of actor-witnesses. Playing with the tensions separating the artistic and the social, the factual and the fictional, or the historical and the theatrical subjects, actors are able to occupy the gap between the "real" and "discourse" (De Certeau) by transposing, or displacing the former energetic drive of historical subjects – revolutionaries, victims, witnesses or perpetuators – in the present, through their bodily performance on stage. Colliding with the dryness of history as an epistemological field, performers become what he calls "hyper-historians," allowing metaphorical and metaphysical interventions in retelling history (see Rokem 196-207).

4 Email correspondence with Isack Peter Abeneko.

5 See for example, Trevor Noah's stand-up comedy.

6 "The representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition. The social articulation of difference, from the minority

perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation. The ‘right’ to signify from the periphery of authorized power and privilege does not depend on the persistence of tradition; it is resourced by the power of tradition to be re-inscribed through the conditions of contingency and contradictoriness that attend upon the lives of those who are ‘in the minority’. The recognition that tradition bestows is a partial form of identification. In restaging the past it introduces other, incommensurable cultural temporalities into the invention of tradition. This process estranges any immediate access to an originary identity or a 'received' tradition. The borderline engagements of cultural difference may as often be consensual as conflictual; they may confound our definitions of tradition and modernity; realign the customary boundaries between the private and the public, high and low; and challenge normative expectations of development and progress” (Bhabha, 2)

Here, I draw on Albert Schültz’s theorisation of the Vorwelt (the world of predecessors), the Folgewelt (of successors) and the Umwelt (the surrounding world of contemporary subjects), with which contemporary subjects interact in relationships that are either genuine (e.g. predecessor leaving a legacy), or flawed (e.g. the interpretation of predecessors’ lives and aspirations from a contemporary viewpoint through the practice of historical research). Hans Ruin has drawn on this framework to develop his argument on necropolitics and how contemporaries bestow a legacy onto predecessors that have apparently left none in the archive by calling for their recognition as subjects of history nonetheless (see Ruin).

7 Schneider, 100.

8 In 2016, the exhibition “Deutscher Kolonialismus: Fragmente seiner Geschichte und Gegenwart” at the German Historical Museum in Berlin attracted more visitors than any special exhibition ever before. In 2016 again, the Völkerkundemuseum in Hamburg released an audio guide leading through the traces left by German colonialism in its collections and main exhibition.

9 *Performing Black* by Simone Dede Ayivi, *Call Me Queen* by Thandi Sebe and Victoire Laly, or the play *Kilimanjaro Trip Advisor,* showcased in 2014 in Potsdam, illustrates the avant-garde of postcolonial performance cultures in Germany, but also their relative incapacity of reaching an audience as broad as the crowds that national museums regularly attract.

CONCLUSION & OUTREACH

In "Black Museum", the last episode of the fourth season of the acclaimed series *Black Mirror*, the museum's director, curator and guide Rolo Haynes (Douglas Hodge) takes the young visitor Nish (Letitia Wright) to the main attraction among his gloomy exhibits. In a small room at the back of the permanent exhibition hall, the hologram of Clayton Leigh sits in a cell. Leigh, played by Nigerian-American actor Babs Olunsanmokun, had been sentenced to death by electric chair for alleged murder. Haynes, who repeatedly manipulated people in need so he could pursue his agenda and develop his scientific research in human consciousness, had convinced Leigh to give over the rights of his post-mortem consciousness in exchange for money to support his bereaving family. Haynes exploited these rights now bequeathed to him in the most perverse of manners: he allowed visitors to inflict death to Clayton Leigh again and again, and again, allowing them to pull the lever for ten seconds to watch Leigh agonize on the chair. As a souvenir of their visit to the museum, visitors would then receive an animated pendant picturing the face of Leigh screaming under pain for eternity.

Haynes tells Nish that human rights activists protested in front of the museum, condemning his exploitation of Clayton Leigh's pain (and human viciousness on the part of perpetrators). As a result, the public started boycotting the museum. From then on, the director could only rely on the vile desires of racist sadists who would pay Haynes off the books so that they could pull the lever and witness Leigh agonize. Some of them would leave it on longer than ten seconds, endangering the lifespan of Leigh's hologramic afterlife. Haynes strongly disapproved, not because of the surplus of pain inflicted upon Leigh, but because his 'attraction' was thereby put in jeopardy.

After having listened to his tale, Nish, who is none other than Clayton Leigh's daughter, poisons Haynes and gets revenge by trapping his consciousness in her father's hologram. In a vengeful gesture against Haynes, combined with mercy for her father, she pulls the lever, making Haynes suffer as the hologram dies, freeing her father from this agonistic circle of suffering. She does not forget to keep a token of her vengeance, getting hold of a souvenir pendant showing Haynes's face eternally writhe in pain. Nish then blows up the Black Museum and rides into the sunset.

The afterlife that Clayton Leigh was forced to experience in the museum exemplifies the full extent to which a person could be dehumanised after their death. His hologram, a posthuman artefact of his body, hosts his consciousness, that cognitive part that strongly attests to his humanity. Yet, racist structures of power allowed the continuous subjection of this translucent blend of body and mind to racial violence. Since the massive enslavement of Black Africans by British, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, and Prussian colonialists, people of African descent have been structurally oppressed, objectified by scientific discourse, discriminated against by police and the legal system. Clayton Leigh is an archetype of these racialized bodies. Like the remains of many Africans and Afro-Americans (but also other Indigenous people across the globe), the remains of this man have been kept entrapped within prison cell inside the museum: his physical features, his walking rhythm, his voice, his consciousness, his emotions… – basically, everything but the density and warmth of his body. Only the vengeful intervention of his daughter could stop the inexorable torture that Rolo Haynes and his (white) guests would and will continue to inflict onto him. Only his daughter could bring his spirit at rest, more than a decade after Leigh's legal death.

This Black Mirror episode is no accident. It was aired in late 2017, less than a year after Donald Trump took office at the White House, and reflected on five years of protests and advocacy work for deaths in police custody led by Black Lives Matter. In the long run, it addresses the entanglements of scientific racism with enduring racial violence and carries a political message in a context where white supremacist discourse has found renewed support in the public sphere. Besides, the character of Rolo Haynes re-enacts the practice of collecting, his museum being a repository for items and remnants of histories of violence. The objects sitting in glass cases are all references to previous episodes of the Black Mirror series, each engaging with issues of intersectional and technological violence.

In other words, the Black Museum is to the history of *Black Mirror* what the Ethnographic Museum is to colonialism, many ancestors and artefacts being indeed references to histories of oppression and violence. Less commented on, yet as important as the punishment that Nish had prepared for Haynes, her destruction of the Black Museum provides a cathartic solution, a striking blow against cabinets of curiosities and their successors, e.g. ethnographic museums. In these institutions, blood oozes from the stories of these plundered cultural treasures and the thousands of racialized human remains who sit tight in boxes, detached from their histories and their descendants.[1] Dioramas and colonial postcards have functioned just as the pendant souvenirs offered by Haynes to the visitors. But those ancestors also have daughters who remember and strive to put them to rest. Other "implicated subjects" also participate in revealing dormant histories and intervene from their particular standpoints to remember how anticolonial leaders were murdered, and why their bodies brutally severed and their remains shipped overseas against the will of their relatives. Thanks to the work of their daughters, sons, but also activists and artists, the memory of many Clayton Leighs resurges. In order not to blow up and disappear, museums have been compelled to change their views in favour of dignified afterlives for those ancestors.

The stories of de- and re-humanisation addressed in this book have dealt with bodily remains of ancestors, the remains that are actually disregarded by Rolo Haynes – although the hologram is arguably also a remnant of Leigh's body. They touch upon a multitude of epistemologies and beliefs that often differ in their consideration of the corpse, the skull and the bones. In many instances, the return of those material traces of colonial violence is of paramount importance to the ancestors' kin and communities. Burial or reburial besides participate in bringing the spirit back home to be at peace. And this holds true not only for African contexts of repatriation. Among First Nations of North America, Indigenous people of South America, the Ainu in Japan (see Oda), Polynesian cultures such as the Māori (see Aranui) or the Kanak (see Fontanieu; David-Ives), or Indigenous Australians (see Pickering & Turnbull), the return of the dead has been an important and emotional task taken on by the living for their ancestors. The resurgence of stories of body snatching, some passed on from generation to generation, others haunting the colonial archive and museums, has boosted the movement for repatriation, an effort that is now global and less and less criticized or opposed.

The introduction of this book identifies three intersecting fields: repatriation practice, postcolonial memory studies and the political afterlives of ancestors. In this concluding section, these will overlap in three overarching areas. There is growing recognition of the vibrant, pulsating forces of memory, and the first theoretical avenue that can be explored is the re-consideration of processes of "remembrance" in and after repatriation. I will segment the meanings of this term and argue through an understanding of human remains as vivid presences that repatriation reaches beyond the aim of laying the dead at rest, towards wishes to reunite, remind/recollect, reinstate and repair. Secondly, I will demonstrate how repatriation has fostered local and transnational practices and projects that subscribe to multidirectional understandings of glocal collective memory while challenging the hegemonic position of national memory. The case for a Museum TRRC will be made again, and it will be joined by a plea for the recognition and enactment of "street justice" (Pugliese 2017). The final section will remind that the repatriation of dismembered ancestors is far from being achieved. Turning toward the fields in which this book intervenes – museum research and ethnography – I will call for urgent "risk taking" in addressing the colonial history of sensitive collections (Golding & Modest, 1).

Remembering human remains as *memento vita*

Human remains have too often been categorised as the quintessential *memento mori*, a powerful reminder of our mortality, fuelling reflections on what Frances Larson identifies as "the physicality of death" (Larson, 62; see also Harrison, 182). But this book has talked about the lives and "afterlives" of those ancestors, as Memory Biwa titled one of her publications on the Herero and Nama ancestors (2017). Colonial human remains do not actually remind the living of their own mortality. In the multitudinous practices of remembrance discussed in this book, the memory of colonial violence comes with deep work in conveying histories of anticolonial struggles, stories of subjects with agency, stories of re-humanisation. Repatriation fosters counter discourses that recognize them as people and stories, having been degraded, displaced, studied and stored, but whose current influence and relevance have set them in motion again on the rough seas of the Black Atlantic, carried by the winds of colonial and postcolonial travels and shifting political currents. As opposed to displays of human remains in medical history museums or departments of anatomy,[2] the remains are re-individualised when returned home,being embedded in social networks of kin and relation anew. If a skull might be a *memento mori*, ancestors are *memento vita*. When they tell the stories to whomever cares to listen, the voices of Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, Serafino Liduino, Hester Jane Booysen and Inkosi Zulu Gama make Mangi Meli, Mtwa Mkwawa, Sarah Baartman and Songea Mbano live again. It is their lives that constitute the core of the narrative. The material absence or presence of remains serves as point of departure for a deeper reflection on the meaning and values of repatriating those ancestors. Besides, as main protagonists in the trial against enduring racial hierarchies and historical condoning of colonial violence waged by members of Indigenous communities across the globe, the dead are called upon to intervene in bustling debates and struggles. They join movements and campaigns that are alive, to push for demands that are vital for the concerned communities.

In the introduction, I wrote:

> Remembrance is understood as more than its customary meaning. It denotes an array of material and immaterial processes striving to re-unite what has been broken, fractured, damaged or separated by decades of physical and epistemic violence: bones, teeth, bodies, on the one hand; on the other, to reunite families, repair subject-positions, reinstate dignity and positions of authority on historical narratives, and recall claims for self-determination.

I have examined how these processes punctuate different stages in repatriation, from claims for the return of ancestors to convoluted debates on where and how to put them at rest. Now I would like to unpack this mixture and shed light upon their broad achievements in the postcolonial memory of violence and dehumanisation exerted against African communities, starting with the reunion of scattered remains with the rest of their bodies, with their land, and with their descendants.

Reunite: belonging

Festus Muundjua's demand for burying Herero ancestors at the exact place where other dismembered bodies of victims of the genocide lie is one of its kind. As repatriations occur, the issue of an adequate resting place for those "witnesses of genocide" is a central one that steers debates on the memorialisation of colonial and postcolonial history in Namibia. The repatriation ceremonies of 2011, 2014, and 2018 were indeed historical events. They have served as bringing together the ancestors, the OvaHerero and Nama living in Namibia and those in the diaspora. In this context, the sense of community belonging is renewed at different levels. Repatriation and claims for burial participate in reuniting ancestors their lost halves or with their contemporaries also buried there, with their descendants, but also bringing descendants together for collective mourning. If Festus Muundjua's suggestion is eventually followed by agents of heritage management in Namibia, this would be a precedent in reuniting[3] the dismembered bodies of victims of colonial violence, another historical event that would surely bear unfathomable meaning to the Ovaherero in Namibia as well as reasonable significance for the repatriation movement and debates on restitution.

The dead themselves are manifest presences that attest of the workings of colonial violence and racist subjection against their people. In the case of the Herero and Nama genocides, they remind of the lack of witnesses from the inside of death. At the same time, different agents call upon them as witnesses or as evidence in the postcolonial trial of genocide. Some of the suggestions for housing or burying the repatriated remains in Namibia tally with this understanding of ancestors as evidence. If they are reunited with their lost halves, as Festus Muundjua wishes for, the unmarked graves of Swakopmund will gain visibility as the dead are rehumanised there, forcing the inhabitants of Swakopmund and visitors to *see* their presence and become implicated with this history, in contrast to the current unmarked graves and the modest memorial that indicate the place where the concentration camp was located and are reminiscent of the "unseen" histories carved in the Namibian landscape, to borrow from the title of Perivi Katjavivi's motion picture (see Chapter 2).

Even when their bodily remains cannot be found, the ancestors can still be reunited with their descendants who can add a happier episode in the bio-necrographies of their ancestors. Thanks to repatriation, filiation is revived. Captain Hester Booysen for instance became conscious of her Khoi ancestry and therefore her relation to Sarah Baartman on the exact day of Baartman's burial. She expresses this bond in her own terms, less interested about the nuts and bolts of Baartman's story than in a shared experience of intersectional violence.

The spirit of Khoi leader Dawid Stuurman, whose remains are now lost, was returned from Australia to Hankey. This opened up trans-oceanic connections between the story of penal colonies, settler colonialism and anti-colonial resistance. A strong reunion between him and his descendants and community occurred in the Eastern Cape when the Khoi Captain was re-buried in Hankey in the Gamtoos Valley. In this case, no material re-memberment is suggested, since it was Stuurman's spirit who was repatriated from Sydney to Hankey. Although his remains cannot be found any more, Dawid Stuurman was returned to a land where he used to live, the Gamtoos Valley. This is a powerful gesture for a man who was forcibly deported to two penal colonies: Robben Island and New South Wales. It attests to the central role that land (or spatial origin) plays in African epistemologies, as well as to the secondary status of material conceptions of subjects and their bodies. In other words, there is no need for bodily remains in order to give rest and peace to displaced ancestors. Regardless of his physical absence, Stuurman has been re-united with the Khoisan, and belongs in the Gamtoos Valley.

Another spirit has stimulated effort for repatriation in South Africa. In the context of Hintsa's *umndawu*, the authenticity of the repatriated remains was contested from different standpoints that were more or less considered as legitimate. Xhosa King Hintsa stood at the heart of a spectacular voyage led by Tilana Mbambatho for finding and returning his head. Instead of re-uniting King Hintsa with the amaXhosa in Gcuwa, the repatriation actually divided the community, some believing in his effort, others like the Xhosa Royal House and physical anthropologists questioning the authenticity of the remains, most trying to find out hidden motivations behind Mbambatho's spectacular character. This peculiar example offered a counter example to the reunifying force of repatriation. It demonstrates how different conceptions of kinship and spiritual connection can clash in repatriation. In 1996, those who broadcasted, narrated, covered, and commented on Mbambatho's effort fuelled exoticising considerations of Xhosa culture, overlooking how his intervention actually jolted unchallenged narratives of South African colonial history and highlighted enduring colonial thinking in anthropological science. Alongside those crucial issues, Mbambatho also aimed to raise awareness on Hintsa's murder, which leads me to the second process: recollecting stories of oppression.

Remind/recollect: stories & witnesses

The cases examined have shown that repatriation is not an end, but a beginning. As the dead remind the living of contexts of colonial violence or grave-robbing, the latter recollect their identities, their agencies and the circumstances of their deaths from different standpoints. Story-telling is part of mnemonic techniques that improve cognitive processes of recollection: narration has indeed the power to anchor events, names, places in the hippocampi (see Crowley). It is therefore natural that repatriation should fuel a narratological stance on history, more than a segmented factual one. The memory of those ancestors also leads to other characters in those stories of oppression, objectifcation, murder and resistance, as exemplified with the search for Mpangile and Munyigumba in revisiting Mkwawa’s repatriation. At stake here is the fundamental aim to re-humanise those ancestors by telling their stories from a multitude of perspectives, privileging those that understand them as social beings, as part of contemporary systems of kin.

Another process is to recollect how their remains came to be dispatched, stored, studied, and why they have been subject to repatriation claims. The resurgence of ancestors out of museological oblivion into the postcolonial present has in fact compelled institutions and the public in Europe to remind themselves of a colonial heritage they sometimes mistakenly hide behing the smokescreen term “world” or “cultural heritage”.[4] Thanks to repatriation, there has been a growing acknowledgment of contexts of scientific collecting and critical revisits of the field of racial anthropology. This often naturally happens as public and academic discourse on repatriation need first understand why these ancestors were shipped to, and kept in scientific collections. What is more, while members of the concerned communities have had stories of colonial headhunting passed on from generation to generation, the discovery of the agenda behind the scramble for human remains sometimes astonishes them (see Prologue of this book by Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, vi). In the introduction, I have chosen not to dwell much on the historical context in Europe and the genealogy of racial science, as these have been recalled time and again in the disciplines concerned with repatriation and museum studies. Instead, I rather wish to recenter debates on repatriation around the question of physical and epistemic violence.

In the growing acknowledgement of the conditions of acquisition of those sensitive museum collections, the history of colonial domination and oppression cannot be dodged. The stories of Mtwa Mkwawa, King Hintsa, Sarah Baarmtan, Dawid Stuurman or Songea Mbano are crucial to understand the scale and brutality of killings of African leaders and practices of post-mortem mutilation and grave-robbing. While in the 20th century their lives had mainly been recounted from the perspective of the colonial archive, the recognition of oral history and the development of postcolonial studies and critical historiography have granted greater credence to stories passed on among the community from generation to generation. Mnyaka Sururu Mboro's prologue, Isaria Meli's trip to Berlin[i] (Mangi Meli's grandson; see Le Gall, 2018), or Jephta Nguherimo's book *unburied-unMarked* demonstrate how grandmothers have not only acted as knowledge bearers and transmitters, but have also bestowed onto their grandchildren the task of finding and repatriating missing remains.[ii] Their interventions remind of the personal and emotional character of the colonial experience. In order to offer a strong counterpart to systemic descriptions of colonialism or genocide that relegate persons to numbers and continue to dehumanise ancestors through nameless statistical and analytical standpoints, the voices of those descendants are needed.

Isaria Meli

Transcription and translation by Zawadi Machibya

Mangi Meli alikuwa,… alikuwa yuko. Masinde ambaye ni bibi yangu na mke wa Mangi Meli, wakati ananyongwa, yeye aliona wazi na alikuwa tayari amekwisha zaa watoto wawili. Baba yangu wakati huo alikuwa ana miaka mitano wakati huo, na baada ya bwana'ake kunyongwa, yeye alikimbia na watoto wake akaenda akajificha Uru, akakaa Uru, mpaka tulipokua ndipo akarudi. Kwa hiyo bibi yangu aliporudi na mimi nikazaliwa. Kuzaliwa kwangu, akawa yule bibi ananieleza historia ya matukio yaliyotoka nyuma mpaka ikaja yakafikia hapa alipofariki yeye, mwaka wa thelathini na tisa (1939) Sijui umenielewa hapo?

Mangi Meli was there… and Masinde, who is my grandmother and was a wife to Mangi Meli, had to watch when he was hanged. She had already given birth to two

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[i] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/mangi-meli/#isariamangi

[ii] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/mangi-meli/#masinde

> *children. My father at the time was five years old, and after her husband was hanged, she ran off with her children and went to hide in Uru, and stayed in Uru, until we grew up and returned. So when she returned, I was born, and she became my grandmother. She is the one who told me the history of the events that took place there [in Moshi in 1901], until she died in the year 1939."*

The role of "implicated subjects" in telling history is therefore central.[5] Descendants and communities are implicated *per* se, and seek to restore the intergenerational bonds that have been severed due to colonial murder, violence and genocide. To Serafino Liduino, descendant of Mkwawa's bodyguard and cousin, the written narrative of Mkwawa's death has been passed on in the family. More interesting than the written archive on Mkwawa's resistance, the gaps and interrogations in the narrative allow him to pose crucial questions and envisage empowering narratives in the history of Hehe anticolonial resistance. To Inkosi ya Makhosi Zulu Gama, the empty space in Songea Mbano's grave is a gloomy reminder of German colonial brutality, including the hanging of his great-uncle in 1906. Zulu Gama's act of witnessing and the annual commemoration on 27th February are crucial in the acknowledgement of this dreadful history; they contribute to a work of advocacy that might lead to a claim for repatriation. The return of dismembered victims of the Maji Maji War and of war booty from that era lying in German museums could bring a lot to the Ngoni community. At least, narratives of massacres could finally be told next to stories of empowerment and reconciliation, provided that German institutions and the Tanzanian government genuinely engage with Zulu Gama's and other Tanzanian perspectives and recognise the Maji Maji Makumbusho ("museum") as legitimate guardian of those ancestors and testimonies.

Descendants of colonisers are also deeply implicated, and need to recognise their particular role in working through their family history and towards atonement and apologies. Those whose forebears murdered and plundered have a moral responsibility to inform communities on the existence of those remains and trophies, and return what should be returned, as seen in the exemplary, proactive effort undertaken by Anuschka Haak and her relatives to return the tooth of Mkwawa. This highly personal dimension in repatriation is needed and, as some museums exhibitions and publications have shown,[6] the scale of colonial trophies in private collections cannot be gauged until those families allow museums and community members in their attics, cellars, living rooms and engage deeply with the colonial history of their forefathers. This would have been welcomed in the case of the skull repatriated by Gcaleka from a farm in Inverness: a comprehensive understanding of the Scottish family's history might have opened up another window towards a possible colonial past of the estate (see Mkhize, 213), and delayed the headstrong need for a questionable physiognomic assessment of the remains by physical anthropologists.

Another group of implicated subjects includes artists, historians, commentators, political agents, etc. I have shown how contemporary artists Mara Verna and Coco Fusco, filmmakers Vincent Moloi and Perivi Katjavivi, the theatre companies Flinn Works, Asedeva and Third World Bunfight, or novelist Barbara Chase-Riboud, have proposed creative and particular ways to remember ancestors through embodied, digital and cinematographic projects. They all offer accounts of the past from their particular perspectives, addressing the particular ways in which they are all implicated in these histories. Using different media and formats, they shed light upon colonial entanglements: between the history of 19th century colonial expansion in Africa and slavery in the U.S., or apartheid; between the racist exploitation of Sarah Baartman's body and that of enslaved Africans in the Caribbean; between genocide in South West Africa and the Holocaust.

In telling those stories, those implicated subjects recollect agencies and strive for critical perspectives, away from fixed understanding of victims vs. perpetrators, or of the dead vs. the living. When performance re-enacts colonial violence or postcolonial contact, it twists these re-enactments through dance and speech. Registering the flesh of oppression and the energies of resistance, performers archive layers of history onto their own bodies, allowing multiple subject-positions: once perpetrator, the performer becomes corpse, history teacher, or postcolonial ambassador when a return to the present is done in *Maji Maji Flava.* In *iMumbo Jumbo*, it is rather the character that is split in different subject-positions, being an agent for repatriation (Nicholas|Gcaleka) carrying and mediating *umndawu* of Hintsa, raving against persistent epistemic whiteness in science. Filmmakers intervene to render hidden histories seen and silenced perspectives heard, as demonstrated with how Perivi Katjavivi unveils the striking history of genocide that is still "unseen" in the desert, and how Moloi's *Skulls of My Peope* is a "tool for lobbying" that brings its shoulder to the wheel in the advocacy work done by Herero and Nama community members. Further, Coco Fusco borrowed from a project that sought to render the voices of Guantánamo detainees heard in the U.S. public sphere, and adapted its format to testimonies from the *Blue Book* in a trial-like setting for tracing the reasons and events that led to the Herero and Nama genocides. All those witnesses in moments of postcolonial remembering recollect those stories of oppression and trace vectors that expand their influence to other environments and locales. But before addressing the multidirectional character of those memory practices, let me first underline to what extent have repatriation and remembrance empowered communities, in the heritage sector as well as in (geo)politics.

Re-instate: (dis)empowerment

Indigenous activists and implicated artists and researchers have strongly advocated for partnership in repatriation processes, where knowledge on the history of those collections and the afterlives of their ancestors in Europe is shared so that the process of repatriation is not done "about [communities], without them". The study of Mkwawa's presence in the Versailles Treaty has demonstrated how British stronghold on claims for reparation and repatriation has contributed to a continuous coloniality of power relegating the Wahehe to invisible presences in a seminal text of European history. Their history of resistance and their participation in World War I were absent from Article 246 of the Versailles Treaty, and the repatriation of Mkwawa's head was rather used by British colonial administration as a symbolic legitimation of indirect rule.

But when descendants can enjoy a prominent role in choosing what should happen with the remains of their ancestors, there is less probability for a recuperation of their narratives on a state level. Even though the case of victims of the Herero and Nama genocides would still remain complex without the meddling of the state regarding the fate of these ancestors, the several propositions made by agents of governance have generated discontent among representatives of traditional authorities and exacerbated divisions in the aftermath of repatriation. Neither the National Museum of Namibia, nor the Independence Memorial Museum, nor Heroes' Acre or a prospective heritage site on Okakoverua (Shark Island) have met calls for appropriate burials according to Herero tradition. If the ancestors are integrated in a museal institution, they might serve similar purpose than the hair and prosthetic limbs in Auschwitz-Birkenau, offering evidence against any attempt to deny a history of genocide. Nevertheless, they will still remain in the custody of the Namibian state and such decision contributes to a greater disempowerment of communities in repatriation, forcibly integrating their history of anticolonial resistance in processes of nation-building that play up an imagination that constructs the nation as united, rubbing out particular experiences of suffering and how machines of racial oppression targeted definite people, and not others. I will return to this in more detail later.

Chip Colwell, archaeologist and curator at the Denver Museum, wrote: “Repatriation is unquestionably politicized” (236), recognising that repatriation is embedded in Indigenous struggles for reclaiming power. Generally, stories of dehumanisation and human remains in museum collections do not leave one indifferent. For this reason, they are often instrumentalised. Sites of memory and stories of anticolonial resistance are often contested in the public sphere, especially when governmental agents seek to incorporate those histories in hegemonic narratives of nation-building (as in Namibia or South Africa), or when representations of those ancestors are enmeshed in greater politics of representation and social justice (e.g. the Sara Baartman statue at UCT). What I hope to have shown in examining different interventions and levels of implication is that, while a plurality of perspectives is needed to comprehend the meaning and values of repatriation in postcolonial memory cultures, particular attention should be brought upon those voices that express what others cannot, namely those who convey not only the historical and political significance of the dead, but also the emotional value of ancestors.

This goes along with an emphasis on their particular positions as nations that were heavily affected by the working of colonial violence. As Mnyaka Sururu Mboro stated in the introduction, the Wachaga and Wahehe had systems of governance before colonial invasion destroyed these systems by murdering leaders who would not bend, introducing direct and indirect rule, and drawing borders that would arbitrarily segment interconnected spaces and people. The perspectives of community members profoundly question the position of the nation-state in repatriation, as they assert their authority in claiming their ancestors and becoming decision-makers in the process of returning those back home. As such, they strive to 're-instate' their status as nations within the nation-state. In the report on restitution of African art and heritage by Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy, they use the term "re-institute" to characterize the possible reappropriation of heritage and all those histories attached to the artefacts. They argue that such process should aim at "re-investing them with a social function. It's not about a return of the same, but of a 'different same'" in a "different space-time" where "the large majority of these originary environments have undergone profound mutations, certain geographies have even been displaced" (30). Throughout their research, travels and meetings, that preceded their report, they noticed that "[i]n countries where the loss of items of cultural heritage was linked to violent, painful, or tragic events the memory is still very alive and the question still holds a fiery place within the collective" (31). I interpret their statement as leaning towards the argument of having communities as custodians in those very contexts, rather than having postcolonial nation-states reappropriating this heritage. In the context of colonial human remains, most of them having been acquired in violent conditions of oppression, a support for granting authority to communities over their dead is therefore indisputable.The demands for direct negotiations on apologies – between the Herero and Nama communities and the German government or between the Xhosa Royal House and the British Crown – indeed demonstrate how Indigenous nations seek to bypass the representative role of the nation-state in matters that touch upon their particular histories of oppression.

Granting greater decision-making power to communities should neither be regarded as a benevolent gesture, nor as being naturally gratuitous. As Gcaleka reminded, "you would pay money to see the skull, because the skull of a King is not easy to see" (Chapter 4). The economic stakes of heritage management after repatriation are high. Following Jean and John Comaroff's theory in *Ethnicity Inc.*, I have argued that repatriation can be spectacular and usually does not escape circuits of economic interest and media curiosity that are sometimes detrimental to its image. Besides, the performance of Indigeneity can divert some audiences from the fundamental meaning of repatriation and thus "cripple" a genuine effort for the recognition of colonial violence and murder.[7] In Gcaleka's case, this diversion has resulted from specific media interest in picturing a sensational event, an interest that also meant a disinterest in Xhosa epistemologies and claims for recognition.[8] In order to avoid such diversions, there is a need for strategic subjectivity in order to challenge established narratives of the past dominated by the colonial archive and a preposterous objectivity. As Franz Fanon described in *The Wretched of the Earth*, "for the native, objectivity is always directed against him" (77). An emphasis on oral history, but also on myths, legends who meddle facts, truths, fantasy and philosophical comment on a present reality, will contribute to decolonizing colonial history in the museum and in the public sphere. As long as they are contextualised and do not serve an agenda of hegemony and dominance, the tales of the dead should be told from multiple perspectives, without perpetuating established hierarchies in authority, and with accepting porous borders between facts and fiction, between writing and telling, between culture and politics. To come back to the economic stakes around repatriation, these important interventions of history-telling by community members are to be rewarded with long-term financial empowerment, integrating them in the permanent work of museums and institutions of knowledge, and refusing a marginalisation of the role of authorial societies in the postcolonial present.

This is why the conceptual design and administration of heritage sites and museums should be done in partnership with members of Indigenous nations, so that empowerment through representation goes along with empowerment through status and economic security. As the section on the architectural planning of the Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance has revealed, heritage sites are still visualised as empty spaces. Those idealised versions of memorials and museums fall prey to an individualistic model of contemplative remembrance. They rest upon the imagined, *single*, individual subject navigating through time and space, and forget that memory lives on thanks to human interaction, not only through the restricted frame of Jan and Aleida Assman's "communicative memory", but by stretching it to the emotional value of postmemory (Hirsch), and by refusing the institutionalisation of affect to a crystallised "cultural memory". The entrance of the Royal Museum of Central Africa in Tervuren near Brussels tells its visitors, "Everything passes, except the past". For the past is passed on, from one generation to another, and it is thereby kept vivid and embedded in social relations through ritualised practices of commemoration, and new references and values that make it relevant to the here and now. The emotional value of ancestors to their descendants can hardly be genuinely shared. Yet, it needs to be visible, hearable and experienced in a social context, so that visitors and outsiders are introduced to the thick contexts of remembrance of Hankey, Kalenga, Moshi, Songea or Swakopmund, inviting them to become implicated with these stories, and showing that these communities are relevant to modern issues and politics. This asks for an honest will to let descendants and communities become custodians, as seen in several repatriations and burials on the Australian continent.[9] If they are undeniably implicated in the history of colonial violence, they are not always masters of the narratives written or told about their ancestors. Nor are they often considered as legitimate partners in processes of reconciliation.

Repair: reconciliation

The return of Herero and Nama ancestors, those “witnesses of genocide”, has provided moments of postcolonial contact that stimulated debates on the question of reparations, as the three repatriation ceremonies in Berlin have illustrated.[10] What is more, Herero and Nama human remains have featured in a court case which, although unsuccessful, has heralded the potential legal value of colonial human remains for actual claims for justice and reparation. Those ancestors still housed in the American Museum of Natural History in New York City have inspired and encouraged respective communities to explore some of the possibilities of international legal action by integrating the history of museum collections in their appeal for apologies and adequate compensation.

In fact, the stories that accompany the return of human remains attest to Indigenous land ownership – or at least to a resistance to land appropriation by colonial agents. This is especially the case in the context of genocide, where settler colonial violence aimed in one context to promote a myth of *terra nullius*, i.e. discursively erasing Indigenous presence, or in another sought to create the *Lebensraum* for colonial occupation by physically erasing Indigenous people. The question of land in postcolonial Namibia is one that is inextricably linked to the era of German colonial rule, as the OvaHerero and Nama were violently or cunningly dispossessed of their means of existence. In Namibia and South Africa, debates on land restitution have been launched on the national level. The dead have not yet been called as witnesses in these ventures for postcolonial justice. The issue has not reached micro levels and the question ‘to whom will the land be restored?’ is still far from being answered. Still, the calls by Herero and Nama community representatives for being regarded as legitimate parties in negotiations on apologies and reparations for the genocides confirm their will to disrupt a state-to-state discussion on the means of implementing postcolonial justice. They aspire to steer dialogue on appropriate ways to repair the wrong done, and be the ones who decide whether reconciliation can occur.

Finally, the study of Mkwawa's presence in the section *Reparations* of the Versailles Treaty substantiates the close connection between the repatriation of human remains and symbolic and financial compensation for crimes of war. It also proved that colonial history in Africa ought to be integrated in macro-narratives of the two "World Wars". This would be an important step in provincializing Europe and its history, so that the contribution of African soldiers and anticolonial movements to global history does not stay marginalised and unknown any more. Besides, the return of the dead is anchored in post-war agreements for redress and reconciliation, be it for victims of the First World War or those of colonial massacres. As claims for ancestors will continue to be voiced as long as all sensitive museum collections have not been investigated, repatriation participates in long-term effort for the acknowledgment of past wrongs and the beginning of a process of atonement. Its impact should not be downplayed, especially when the wars of the past have had devastating consequences that still define and explain disparities in power in the present. The Maji Maji War and the Herero and Nama genocides are two of these historical events that are subject to requests for official apologies and reparations. The stories of dehumanisation that accompany them are even harder to stomach for descendants when no open ear is shown to their demands, or even worse, when ignorance of their history is more the rule than the exception in former colonial metropoles. This is why museums and universities, as colonial institutions and archives of colonial history, have a moral responsibility to pave the way for humble and respectful behaviour so that reconciliation can begin. If political will for an honest acknowledgment of painful pasts is found wanting, repatriation is a useful instrument that can spearhead inevitable public discussion and geopolitical negotiations over a shared past and a common future and initiate a dialogue eye-to-eye in working through a painful history.

The dead in sites, environments and frames of memory

Multiple “social frames of memory” (Halbwachs) – determined by kinship, community-belonging, national identity, or transnational connections – witness different practices of remembering the dead. On the one hand, the histories of ancestors and their returns are crystallised in sites, museums or discourses. On the other hand, some practices of remembrance allow diverse perspectives of multiple implicated subjects who seek to make sense of the resurgence of ancestors in the present. Through their particular positions, they address the violent history of colonialism and the aspirations of anticolonial movements, but also their relevance for current political struggles. Instead of separating those practices along the lines of “cultural” and “communicative” memory, I will start from local environments and sites of memory to end with examples of, and suggestions for transnational memory practices that offer fertile ground for planetary solidarity.

Kalenga, Swakopmund, Hankey, Gcuwa, Songea: Local memories

This book has followed displaced ancestors to their graves. Hintsa, Mkwawa, Sarah Baartman and Dawid Stuurman are all buried near their place of origin. Their adorned tombstones, or information panels standing next to them, enlighten visitors on the particular meanings of those renowned figures. The importance of Sarah Baartman has even led to the construction of a Centre of Remembrance that promises much in terms of capacity building and empowerment of the Khoisan community in the Kouga region. In contrast to that example, the Memorial Museum hosting the repatriated skull of Mtwa Mkwawa has failed to represent wishes from the Hehe traditional authority. While the head is exhibited in Kalenga, Mkwawa’s grave is in Mlambalasi, and his tooth is being kept by the Mkwawa family, away from the prying eyes of researchers or stakeholders from the heritage sector. In Namibia, proposals for housing the repatriated victims of the genocide have been numerous. Many of the suggestions made by governmental agents have failed to recognise the demands by Herero and Nama traditional authorities: the Independence Memorial Museum and Heroes’ Acre have been heavily criticised as hegemonic symbols of a discursive erasure of the diversity within the Namibian population under a discourse dominated by assimilation. The prospect of a future heritage site on Shark Island will hardly cater to the demands by Herero and Nama representatives who have relentlessly argued that decisions “about them” and their ancestors should not be made “without them”. Hope rests on the National Museum of Namibia and its openness to the wishes of descendants, as it takes on the difficult task to draft new policies for the care of human remains in Namibian collections.

Some of those sites are embedded in community-based practices of honouring the lives of those ancestors. Despite complications in finding the remains of Dawid Stuurman, the fact that members of the Khoisan community were involved has considerably facilitated his repatriation and burial in Hankey. Questions still remains as to whether those communities will be genuinely included in shaping the representation of Stuurman and Sarah Baartman in her eponymous Centre of Remembrance. In repatriation and remembrance, the task at hand for agents of memory such as descendants and community members is to reinstate their authority on history, and their participation in shaping such heritage sites is of paramount importance. At least, “Auntie Hettie” Booysen has sown the seeds for local practices of remembering Sarah Baartman, leading a group of local women to her grave for a ritualised yearly ceremony, to recite Diana Ferrus’s poem and sing for Baartman. In a ritualised practice of remembrance, on Women’s Day, the sense of communal belonging is ripe in the texts and poems recited, as well as in recalling white male violence against Khoi and Griqua women in the Cape Colony and during apartheid in South Africa. As contemporary movements in South Africa such as #EndRapeCulture, Booysen reminds that the objectification and oppression that Sarah Baartman underwent was not that far from what local women experienced until today due to persisting intersectional discrimination and oppression in South Africa. Such grassroots initiatives ensure that the repatriation process does not become a final step, but a beginning in the acknowledgement of the perspectives of descendants and community members, those ones who will not forget their history and their experience of colonial, racist and sexist oppression.

In the Namibian context, the annual Reparation March initiated by the late Kuaima Riruako merges a demonstration in the streets of Swakopmund with a visit to the unmarked graves of victims of the genocides. OvaHerero from all over Namibia come there to link the dehumanisation of their ancestors in life and death with their political demands for acknowledgment, apologies and reparations. Occupying both the colonial setting of Swakopmunds’s “Stadtmitte”, mimicking German colonial military practices by twisting it with their own *oturupa* (see Förster, 2010, 331), the Herero community make the history of genocide loud and glaring in the streets. Years before independence, the cluster of small sand hills would have pertained to Perivi Katjavivi's "things unseen" in the landscape, those sites which only those aware of this history would have been able to explain. The OvaHerero have erected a small memorial on the site where their ancestors where forcibly interned in a concentration camp, and they demand that those whose remains were shockingly shipped to Germany be buried there. Activist Laidlaw Periganda has also been campaigning for building a museum dedicated to the genocides in this city. As far as the Nama communities are concerned, Nama Traditional Authorities have been handed over a piece of land from the Keetmanshoop municipality for a prospective genocide memorial to be built.[11] As colonial sites of memory are being re-shaped in Namibia, ancestors and their afterlives are central in those debates. Those direct "witnesses of genocide" have not been laid to rest, and as long as the voices of Nama and Herero leaders are not regarded as legitimate in political negotiations on apologies and land redistribution, ancestors and their histories of dehumanisation will remain key to political and legal undertakings by representatives of the communities.

Where repatriation has not yet occurred, sites of colonial violence also operate as gloomy reminders of murder and dismemberment. In Songea, every year, leaders of the Wangoni, members of the Tanzanian government, local politicians and German representatives in Tanzania mourn the deaths of Songea Mbano and more than sixty other anticolonial fighters hanged by German colonial troops. How can it be then that neither governments have launched talks on apologies, nor financed research to find the missing head of Songea Mbano? The Maji Maji War is well known in Tanzania, taught at school and commemorated in pompous fashion on every 27th February. In Germany, it is largely unknown, despite the important work of activists like Mnyaka Sururu Mboro or artists such as Isack Abeneko – the teacher in *Maji Maji Flava*. If it is found, a reburial of Songea Mbano's head should be accompanied with an honest gesture by German official partakers to acknowledge their responsibility for the crimes committed in Songea in 1906. Inkosi ya Makhosi Zulu Gama has not waited for any gesture: in 2017, he came to Berlin and told the story of his great-uncle who was also part of those sixty leaders hanged by the Germans. This book wishes to foreground his contribution in the hope that his words will not remain ignored any more.

The stealth of nations: appropriation, representation, and the role of African states in repatriation and remembrance

This study has repeatedly problematized the action of nation-states in processes of repatriation and remembrance. In the case of Mkwawa and Namibia, governmental interest has produced internal tensions, often between representatives of traditional authorities and the legal state who claims to re-present the wishes of descendants and communities on the global stage. As Premesh Lalu argued in his study of the *Deaths of Hintsa*, nationalism in settler colonies has failed to provide reasonable perspectives on colonial history because of "the unchallenged historicism that bound nationalism to colonial discourse" (208). This is tangible in post-repatriation politics in Namibia where state rhetoric refuses to recognise the particular positions of Herero and Nama communities in this context, even during speeches at the handover ceremonies.

Further, despite being an independent nation-state, the state of coloniality has not disappeared in Namibia: social and economic inequalities are still extreme, most of them directling resulting from colonial appropriation and apartheid. The lack of openness for dialogue from descendants of perpetrators hampers intra-national processes of reconciliation. Finally, as a core matter in demands for apologies and reparations, land ownership overwhelmingly remains until today a privilege for a white minority. Government rhetoric in those moments of contact between Namibia and Germany willingly rubs out the demands by the Herero and Nama communities and plays up a model of consociational politics where agents of the state of Namibia plead for unity and trust in its role in repatriation and negotiation. Yet, the quandary spawned by the return of ancestors regarding a possible resting place exemplifies how Namibian politicians and museum professionals are quick to suggest solutions that ignore the perspectives of those who should be considered as authorial societies.

By being wary of state intervention in repatriation and remembrance, I am aware that I make myself vulnerable to many voices in the field. Indeed, it remains quite difficult to bypass the function of embassies and delegations in repatriation, and of national museums and the ministries for tourism and culture in memorialisation. However, I believe that state apparatuses should rather act as facilitators for contact and dialogue, and thereby humbly relinquish from adopting a position as legal representatives of descendants and Indigenous communities. In the introduction and throughout the book, several models of repatriation practice functioned as comparative material to the cases under study. While the Australian context was repeatedly mentioned, its model of repatriation offers mostly a *practical* response to this postcolonial issue; not an ideological one. The failure by the Australian government and a bulk of its population to recognise the ongoing violent coloniality that reigns on its territory compels me to turn to another context where the mechanisms of politics and culture have long dealt with the problem of postcolonial reconciliation and justice.[12] The model of the Te Papa Tongarewa museum in Aotearoa New Zealand indeed demonstrates how Indigenous *nations* can be represented by a central institution when this one first accepts to give up its authority to members of the concerned nations for exhibitions, and secondly integrates their perspectives through long-term programmes that include granting Indigenous curators and agents responsibility within the institution (see Aranui, 163-6). In African states, where repatriation is still in its inception phase (given the number of ancestors still lying in European and U.S. American collections), there is a need for such facilitators like Te Papa, institutions committed to act for repatriation and the diverse needs of authorial societies, institutions that protect communities from any political recuperation of by those eager to reap the benefits that pompous ceremonies might yield. The National Museum of Namibia, clinging onto a doctrine that confers Namibian citizenship upon its collections, has not yet deeply reflected upon its crucial role as a temporal caretaker for those witnesses of genocide. In order to become blueprints for repatriation practice on the continent, epistemic work within museums is key, including a reconsideration of Indigenous nations within the postcolonial nation.

Repatriation has nurtured epistemic change, though. One does not talk of objects or anthropological material anymore, but of ancestors. Similarly, at Te Papa, one does not talk about human remains, tribes or ancestors, but of kōiwi tangata, iwi and tūpuna, all de-italicised. Not only can a museum be a proactive agent for repatriation *and* reburial, it can also favour local Indigenous languages and build up idiosyncratic policies that can transform the language of postcolonial memory and the discursive underpinnings of the heritage sector. Such revolution in knowledge and language could in turn influence the realms of law and education, as well as other apparatuses of the nation-state. Obviously, this would be a Herculean task for museums and schools in South Africa, given that the state recognises twelve different languages in this so-called “rainbow nation”. As I write this conclusion, the Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance has not opened yet. Hope rests on an inclusion of Khoisan communities as partakers and decision-makers in the long term, especially regarding curatorial work. However, Khoisan not being one of those official languages, there is little hope that this heritage centre could deeply engage with disputed concepts like “indigeneity” and the language of decolonial practice. At least, it can definitely address the intersectional aspect of colonial oppression that pervades the narratives of Captain Hester Booysen, recognise the colonial desecration of Khoisan language through the use of terms like “~~Hottentot~~”, and re-emphasize the worth of Khoisan culture for South Africa in the future.

In Tanzania, Kiswahili already enjoys a dominant status. It was chosen by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere’s government for the linguistic implementation of an East African nation from below, built on the precept of Ujamaa. What is lacking though, as Tanzania might soon see the return of Ngoni, Nyamwezi, Hehe or Chaga ancestors, is a clear delimitation of the role of the National Museum in such processes of repatriation and restitution. Will it be ready to listen to the wishes of local communities and where its poorly managed local antennas are seldom visited by the local population, such as the Mkwawa Memorial Museum? Will it participate in the politics of repatriation if talks on reparations for the Maji Maji War re-appear after the head of Songea Mbano is found and repatriated? What is sure, infrastructure and long-term solutions for a derelict museum landscape should unfold if partnership between German and Tanzania institutions unfolds. The descendant of the colonial state (i.e. the German Federal Republic) can provide the means for the postcolonial state (e.g. the Republic of Tanzania) to facilitate community participation and control over the memory of their experiences of colonial oppression in local heritage sites. To achieve this, once again, a genuine discussion of the dialectics between “nation” and “community” in Tanzania should occur, between national heritage and specific cultural heritage.

If the Maji Maji War can arguably be seen as a historical harbinger for Tanzanian unity in independence, other anticolonial movements were not unanimously fought by Africans. Between 1904 and 1908, the Nama and OvaHerero fought alongside, but other communities did not join them to fight against the German occupant at the time. As Mnyaka Sururu Mboro reminds in the introduction, if one seeks to use the rule of law to assess acquisitions of human remains, art or artefacts from colonial contexts, then one needs to recognise pre-colonial structures of government as injured parties. This means that, if contemporary legislation or guidelines regarding restitution and repatriation are based upon those observations, it would be inconsistent to recognise the postcolonial state as the sole inheritor of those multiple political systems. Even though many of those precolonial nations were connected and dependent on contact through trade or alliances, if separation was made at the time, it was along the lines of linguistic and cultural identity. As colonial administration made use of those alliances and separations to establish a hegemonic top-down system of domination and governance, a decolonial practice of repatriation should seek to provide another epistemological understanding of an injured party rather than a simple transferral to the nation-state (whose epistemological origin ironically lies in the Westphalian region of Germany).

The concerned African nation-state can easily provide the administrative help needed for decision taken on a local level, as Mnyaka Sururu Mboro would welcome in his search for Mangi Meli's head. Government involvement would besides surely be less criticised if it is not motivated by a wish to recuperate ancestors in order to bolster its status as a recipient of, and actor for development, a project that has long been considered as tied to colonial structures of power, creating "new domains of subjugation" and processes of neo-colonial underdevelopment (Shiva, xvi; see also Khor, 42; Idris , 115-6). State agents, as implicated subjects, mostly need to take a step back and deeply reconsider their role in such processes of postcolonial justice. As repatriation becomes a more widespread practice as the dead are claimed (e.g. the upcoming repatriation of leaders of the first Chimurenga from England to Zimbabwe), transnational discussions between Indigenous leaders, museum professionals, NGOs and legal and political representatives should aim at drafting policies for best practice, so that these urgent pasts that emerge from sensitive collections and ancestors can foster partnership and reconciliation in the future and prevent political recuperation and divisive agendas.

"Unbound" practices of remembering ancestors

As repatriation and its causes have traced intercontinental and oceanic routes for ancestors and their descendants, the returns of the former on African soil has given birth to a transnational archive of postcolonial memory. Videos, audio recordings, artworks, films, poems, novels, exhibitions, performances or theatre plays have sprung from dynamic environments of memory reaching beyond the frames of local and national memory. Some of those projects under study in this book have woven together the intricate polyphony heard in repatriation processes, extending the relevance of those events to "unbound" networks of multidirectional solidarity and cosmopolitan spaces.

The Sky News video archive on Tilana Gcaleka's visit to the U.K., however, has beeen an embarrassing failure in conveying the significance of repatriation for memory and politics. The three reports and the daily rushes that followed him in his quest for the remains of Xhosa King Hintsa were complicit with an exoticising gaze toward African traditional dress and culture. They also fully participated in presenting repatriation as a spectacle, falling prey to the trickery of Gcaleka's performance. To the dismay of the Xhosa Royal House – but also surely of Mbambatho, the civic name of Tilana Gcaleka – the history of Hintsa's murder was demoted to minimal relevance in those reports. Away from this counter-example, let me come to those projects that have extended the outreach of repatriation and anticolonial discourse.

For multidirectional and connective memory ...

As opposed to Sky News' treatment, the performance *Words May Not Be Found* by Coco Fusco dealt exclusively with episodes of colonial oppression, dispossession and genocide, although it had been first inspired by her reading about the repatriation of ancestors from Germany to Namibia. She clearly aimed to convey testimonies that had been silenced after the *Blue Book* had been forcibly removed from public circulation, a government report on atrocities committed by German colonialists between 1904 and 1908, put together by British colonial administrators. Because she saw connections between the history of genocide and body-snatching in GSWA and the same practice inflicted upon antislavery leader Nat Turner in the U.S., because she borrowed the format from *9 Scripts in a Nation at War*, a series of artistic productions that strove to reveal imperialist violence in Guantánamo Bay, Coco Fusco produced a multidirectional performance with many layers that brought different histories of violence "into relation without fetishizing their uniqueness" (Rothberg 2011, 527). This relation, though invisible during the performance, was addressed during the ensuing discussion, as well as in this study. Having shed light upon the multiple pasts that *Words May Not Be Found* has put in dialogue with each other, this study inscribes it in a postcolonial archive of multidirectional memory that enables comparisons to be drawn between the genocides, slavery and modern camp cultures without bringing them in competition with each other.

The novel *Hottentot Venus* by Barbara-Chase Riboud also attempted to bridge the context of antislavery with the history of Sarah Baartman and the exploitation of her racialized body. In the novel, a fictional meeting between Rev. Robert Wedderburn and Baartman's character exemplifies the limits of diasporic solidarity: when different experiences of racial oppression are equated, one cannot really *see* the other, meaning understand her/his idiosyncratic position at the intersection of several axes of oppression. To avoid competition or equation, multidirectional practices of remembrance seek connections between histories of violence, but also retain differences in context.

Throughout this book, parallels, quotes, analogies and multiple voices wandering from one section to another, have also constructed a multidirectional memory of colonial violence and dehumanisation, underlining how the experience of genocide in South West Africa, colonial violence and headhunting in East Africa, settler violence, internment, deportation and apartheid in South Africa, are not only connected, but also enable transnational networks of solidarity. Poems on the experience of enslavement, such as that of Ed Bullins (Chapter 3), acquire new meaning and relevance when put next to other histories of displacement and repatriation; the words that Senegalese author Boubacar Boris Diop lends to his characters in his novel on the Tutsi genocide also echo in other African contexts of genocide and sheer violence. With these borrowings, the workings of colonial and racializing assemblages worldwide become more visible, not restricted to a single colonial empire. These violent tactics of oppression, mass executions, rapes and dismemberment have occurred over decades in many different parts of the world, as part of an era of colonial exploitation and racist dehumanisation that witnessed genocidal moments in North America, South West Africa, Australia. Through repatriation, those histories are told, yet too often separated from each other. As a telling example, the remains of Herero and Nama ancestors, of Munyingumba and Mpangile, of Indigenous Australians and inhabitants of the Mabuyag island in the Torres Strait, were all actually stored in the same collection – probably even in the same room – at the Museum für Völkerkunde, then at the Pathological Institute, and later at the Charité University Hospital in Berlin (see Howes 2015, 235; Eckstein 2018, 9). The history of colonial science has unintendedly sowed the seeds for an international era of repatriation where information on one context of acquisition, grave-robbing or body mutilation, serves not only the descendants of those ancestors, but might possibly be useful for other repatriation claims.

This book wishes to underline the shocking ubiquity of dehumanisation in the era of anthropological and ethnographic collecting, but also the remarkable vectors that this history has traced in transnational memories of ancestors and their repatriation. The texts and projects under study call for what John Njenga Karugia has termed "connective memory research", an effort in remembrance that "involves multi-sited tracing, reconnecting fragmented histories and analyzing those memories that transcend the logic of the local, the national, and the regional as these are usually defined" (331). In trying to develop a multidirectional (web)site of memory, this project has endeavoured to materialize the ubiquitous character of colonialism and racism in an unbounded practice of remembrance, hyperlinks and jumps between the text and the website being the threads that highlight this connectivity between various and geographically remote contexts and histories.

The term "research" besides does not imply that these histories are only revealed through academic discourse and critical historiography. From a desire to unveil those entangled histories, bilateral partnerships in the arts were born. The partnership between the German Theatre company Flinn Works and the Tanzanian one Asedeva gave birth to the play *Maji Maji Flava*. This project has not shunned from revealing the politics of performing colonial history. *Maji Maji Flava* proposed rather a bold perspective on the long-term consequences of German colonial rule in East Africa. Besides, it invited its audience to connect with the actors, listen to the story told by Inkosi Zulu Gama, or to express their opinions on apologies and reparation in front of a camera. The act of dismembering performed on stage was enveloped in steam rushing out of the actors' dancing bodies, a visual token of warmth and metabolic vitality. This project exactly sided with an understanding of working through colonial violence through social and corporeal contact, emphasizing on the living character of memory. Besides, this partnership still lives on. Both companies have produced another theatrical project on the history of malaria and its entanglements with colonial rule called *Fear & Fever*. It has been shown in Germany and Tanzania in 2019, stretching the understanding of colonial entanglements to the realm of healthcare and power relations in access to medicine, staff, patents and preventive education.

… a Museum TRRC, …

The global scale of dehumanisation and the ubiquitous dimension of colonial and racist thought in the history of museums provide the basis for another transnational project that might have much to offer: a Museum Truth Repatriation and Reparation Commission (TRRC).

Behind every history of oppression, there are indeed individual biographies and stories. After decades of institutionalized racial oppression, post-apartheid South Africa set up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to provide a platform for a public recognition of the centuries' long pain caused by racism, segregation, displacement and dehumanisation. In this space made for truth, victims, relatives of victims, perpetrators and others could tell their stories and give full accounts of their subjective experience of events that punctuated the racist history of apartheid South Africa. The TRC helped reveal severe crimes and human rights violations committed by the regime and its institutions, and identify the remains of victims of racial violence so that they could be repatriated and buried among their communities.

Since then, the model of a TRC has been used in other contexts for working through histories of violence, for instance in Canada, Liberia, South Korea, Argentine, Brazil or more recently The Gambia. In three of those five chapters, I highlighted the relevance of Wandile Kasibe's idea for setting up a Museum TRRC to work through the racist history of science, to help reveal the blood and pain hidden in museum collections. Obviously, such venture is rooted in a South African tradition, a country where racism, dehumanisation, segregation and underrepresentation has actually tainted museum culture and historiography until today (see Lalu, 10-11). However, it can provide the groundwork for a critical "subaltern historiography" on a planetary scale (Chakrabarty, 33), one that could foreground "alternatively connected geographies and co-governments, and cultural continuities between proximate peoples and pasts" and participate in a process of decolonizing history (Chatterjee, 2018, 85). Because of the intrinsic multidirectional character of those histories, I believe that a Museum TRRC can foster acknowledgement of other contexts, other crimes committed in the name of 'science'. Following the recommendations made by Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy, the question is not *if* restitutions and repatriation should happen, but *how*. The Museum TRRC could provide a necessary framework through which museums globally could begin to address the colonial legacies of their collections in ways that seeks to shape new futures and kick off a planetary course for postcolonial justice and reparation, as part of that "new relational ethics" advocated the famous report by Sarr and Savoy.

This forum can become a public moment for uncensored truth. Ciraj Rassool himself spoke of "multiple" and "internal colonialisms" which need to be taken into account in the South African context, "so that returns are not just a means of attending to national questions" (2015b, 670). Stretching Rassool's recommendations to the entangled histories of South Africa with Namibia, of Namibia with the U.S., of the Cape with New South Wales, Namibia and Germany, Namibia and France, France and Tanzania, Tanzania and Germany, Germany and Rwanda, South Africa and Britain, Britain and Zimbabwe, and Zimbabwe and South Africa, Wandile Kasibe's #MuseumTRRC could offer a transnational platform that unveils the "machines of empire" and their multiple, coordinated workings. A platform for story-telling without judgment, accepting every perspective and every truth. An instrument to lobby for greater transparency in museum collections as well as a genuine commitment to repatriation. The issue of reparations, tied to many of those contexts where massacres and genocide took place, could be further debated in a forum. Such dialogue could hold false assumptions on reparations in check when it comes to the question of compensation for the loss experienced by colonised nations. A Museum TRRC might finally provide what Ciraj Rassool has advocated for years, namely "epistemic work" (2018), an "epistemological reassessment of the blood of colonial history" (2015a, 148), "a means of remaking museums and rethinking the relationship between museums and society" (2015b, 670), not only in South Africa, but everywhere where ethnographic and anthropological collections still serve persistent agendas of racialisation, objectification, dehumanisation and "othering".

… and a recognition of street justice.

Finally, the multiple tactics adopted by authorial societies in order to make their perspectives visible in the public sphere have compelled me to bring a new aspect on memory practices in this conclusion which has not yet been addressed within the chapters.

In his analysis of Julie Gough's series of artworks *Hunting Ground*, Joseph Pugliese coins the term "street justice", defining is as "the tactical exercise of informal justice by the dispossessed and disenfranchised" (8). In *Hunting Ground*, Gough indeed reveals massacres that have taken place and been forgotten, given that they have been willingly erased from the landscape, never crystallised in memory.

Cultural memory and the archive of colonial violence are indeed very selective. As seen in the case of Mkwawa, that of Hintsa, as well as with the *Blue Book*, the colonial "regimes of truth" at play at the time of murder and mutilation, be they trials, reports, or memoirs, do participate in processes of concealment, distortion and erasure. Later, nation-building processes have also been responsible for either choosing to revive a given history, or push it further into oblivion. Pugliese quotes Ernest Renan who argued as early as two years before the start of the Berlin Conference that

> historical error is an essential factor in the creation of the nation and it is for this reason that progress of historical studies often poses a threat to nationality. Historical inquiry, in effect, throws light on the violent acts that have taken place at the origin of every political formation, even those that have been most benevolent in their consequences. Unity is always brutally achieved (Renan, 280).

More than a century after this statement as well as after the crimes committed during the colonial era, it seems that their relevance for contemporary debates has not dwindled. The prevalent rhetoric of a "Difference-Blind state" that proclaims "One Namibia – One Nation" or conceals its hegemonic agenda behind a motto calling for "Unity in Diversity" is being seriously questioned. As demonstrated in the second chapter of this book, street justice enacted by members of the Herero and Nama communities through the annual Reparations March, their multiple interventions in the public sphere, and their achievements in having already received official, personal apologies from German state senators and non-federal political representatives, have symbolically bypassed the official position of concerned nation-states (the Republic of Namibia as much as the German Federal Republic) in negotiations on apologies and reparations for the genocides.

Similarly, the growing debates on land expropriation in South Africa are inextricably tied to the mechanisms of settler colonialism that exactly produced the violence and dehumanisation of Indigenous people. In the Kouga region of the Sarah Baartman district, citrus farms abound. Just as for the Namibia Agricultural Union, the representative body of local farmers there, the General Council of the Agri Eastern Cape association, is exclusively composed of white South African farmers. As the return of Baartman and Stuurman to the Gamtoos Valley remind that the Khoi and the amaXhosa living in the Eastern Cape fought together against colonial invasion and dispossession, hope resides in the recognition of their memory for genuine processes of political and economic empowerment. The songs and poems recited by Hester Jane Booysen, just as those written by Jephta Nguherimo, participate in enacting "informal justice" (Pugliese, 8). As museums and memorials are being built after repatriation, as political struggles for decolonization are being fought, there is now more than ever a need to return to the street and recognize the importance that community-based memory bears for postcolonial justice in settler colonies like South Africa or Namibia.

As I write this conclusion, a street in Berlin honouring the German swindler Adolf Lüderitz is currently being renamed in remembrance of Nama Captain Cornelius Fredericks, an appropriate outcome after decades of political lobbying led by Herero activist Israel Kaunatjike among others. Let me therefore remind that street justice is a situated practice that unsettles the national boundedness of Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire*. It forces its audiences to turn their back to hegemonic discourses of the nation, pushing them out of a comfort zone so that they acknowledge traditions and counter-traditions that "take possession of place", as Aleida Assmann has observed in her reconsideration of Nora's concept in postcolonial contexts (152). After decades of disdain and indifference towards decolonial inquiries in history, decades of condescension towards the anticolonial aspirations of ancestors whose names have been deliberately marginalized in the writing of history, repatriation has led to processes of remembering that are more ambitious than simply being an end in themselves. While colonialists and anthropologists have had statues and memorials carved for their achievements, streets and cities named in their honour, the memory that has arisen from repatriation seeks much more than toppling those statues and replacing them by African leaders and ancestors; it offers support to political claims and struggles against dispossession and disenfranchisement.

Many more stories to tell, and many ways to tell them

Inkosi Bhambatha of the Zulu, chief Luka Jantje of the Tswana (see Harrison 70-72), Mwenda Msiri Ngelengwa Shitambi of the Yeke (see Fabian & Matulu), Mangi Meli of the Wachaga, King Sihalebe of the Floups (see Camara), Mbuya Nehanda Charwe Nyakasikana of the Shona, but also thousands of unnamed individuals have had their remains cut off, dug up, stolen. Each and every story deserves to be told. Their inner contradictions, the multiple perspectives, and their relevance for present-day politics of recognition and justice deserve to be known. More than a century after most of those historical events, there is still hope for "risk taking" (Golding & Modest), for further "historical inquiry" (Renan, 280) and "subaltern historiography" (Chakrabarty). What is sure, the common denominator to these stories – the macabre context of colonial violence and headhunting – is evidence enough of a global context of colonial oppression that led to those ancestors' unrest in death. It attests to the global scale of those post-mortem necropolitics of European colonialism. Furthermore, it pushes for collaborative work in research, so that these stories are told and the gaps in museum collections are, if not filled, at least rendered unsettling. Finally, when painted by descendants, activists, artists, or other implicated subjects, these scenes in the long fresco of colonial violence should bring about greater political reflection on the enduring legacies of such contexts of oppression. Dispossession did not only take place with the material disappearance of remains. These practices of appropriation occurred in direct relation with the erasure of dynasties of leaders and rulers. They also came alongside the imposition of an educational system privileging the written medium over orality, European languages over vernacular ones, white authors over non-white. They enforced systems of structural racism and racial segregation, erased local African sovereignty, and supported unlawful acquisition of land from Indigenous populations through the application of European rule of law and property rights.

These stories are important, because they offer proof and illustration in current debates for postcolonial justice, from issues such as the return of looted art and colonial war booty, to the question of appropriate reparations for genocide in form of land restitution or structural programmes of economic empowerment. They also enable traditions of oral history to go global and compete with written accounts from the archive. As I have tried to do with this combo book/website, it is high time ethnographic and historical research recognized audio-visual media as equally successful at conveying narratives of the past. The success of podcasts and video documentaries on the internet, put next to the crisis experienced by the press, demonstrates that any discourse should adapt to the popularity of digital platforms. These platforms can indeed cater to transnational ways of curating the past that should be further explored by museums and institutions of knowledge. After the ancestors have been shipped from their respective homelands to strange places overseas and repatriated, the stories of their lives and afterlives build maps and vectors that offer fertile grounds for rhyzomatic and multidirectional practices of remembering colonialism and its legacy. Some of these stories, like the return of Herero and Nama ancestors, even bear paramount significance for considerations of human rights and restorative justice in the world. As such, they transcend even a space of implication and enter a realm of cosmopolitan memory, circulating in global networks of memory through mobile data, but also mobile bodies, as substantiated by the travels of Utjiua Muinjangue and Ida Hoffman, from Okahandja and Windhoek to New York City, Berlin, Hamburg, Strasbourg, London, who have had the courage to face institutional barriers and deaf ears to their demands, and have worked for the inscription of their history of genocide into cosmopolitan memory.

In a spirit of building alliances for social justice and acknowledgement, I believe that museums that still hold sensitive collections claimed by communities should not fear that repatriation might lead to an alleged emptying of their museums. I hope that this study has shown to what extent repatriation acutally stimulates and steers the future of museums. I agree with Wayne Modest and Viv Golding that

> "contestation and controversy – if imaginatively, respectfully, and sensitively addressed in the museum with reference to wider concerns of equality, human rights, and social justice – may offer a potent means of building bridges and even overcoming divisions among disparate groups" (1).

There are many platforms that can be used for such important debates. Museum mostly rely on the format of exhibitions and conferences, every now and then allowing artists to occupy the space. Yet, it is high time ethnographic museums reflected on their own role and their own definition as implicated in the postcolonial present and neocolonial structures of power. The spatial restriction of the walls of these buildings can be broken down by bringing the museum to its respective communities, to the streets and to community centres. Besides, museum professionals should also have the courage to use the potential of digital collections to become more transparent in their work as custodians. Recent experiments have explored how new museum landscapes might look like. The Metabolic Museum-University has “squat[ted] the exhibition spaces” of the Ljubjana Biennal of Graphic Arts, enabling visitors of the art week and participants in this project to be organic elements to a critical and creative body that wished to “transform [the museum] from a site of controlled consumption into a co-working space of inquiry” (International Centre of Graphic Arts). Thinking of the museum as an organic body means allowing it to wander, to interact, to be open to emotions and curious for encounters. Its agents, too often ethnographers in and of museums, should return to field work, and learn from social contact rather than from intact objects.

This reflection also brings me back to the essence of memory: the brain, more particularly the limbic system and one of its core organs, the hippocampus. It is interesting to note that two core elements in memory cultures that emerge in and from repatriation – the recognition of anchoring places and the emotional character of those histories for descendants – are also cognitive elements controlled by this neurological network. With the upsurge of interdisciplinary research, binding together neuroscience and the study of hormonal responses with sociological contextualisation, linguistics or philosophy, the future of memory studies is one that might lie not in the description of *collective* processes of remembrance or forgetting but of *cognitive* remembrance and forgetting *through social interaction*. Narratives act as a mnemonic devices for retaining a succession of events, names, or even numbers. Hence the role of stories in raising awareness on histories of oppression and injustice. With this said, I hope that some of the stories told in this book and on the adjunct website will remain cognitively preserved by the limbic systems of some readers.

This book is a humble contribution with ambitious goals. My take on positionality, influenced by decades of other experiments in “writing culture”, might indeed become obsolete as soon as this work is published. Besides, I would not be surprised if reactions to this project accuse it of epistemological or cultural appropriation. In fact, I found myself disparaging time and again the meek solutions that I relied on, rather eager to drop the work in progress than pursuing a self-contradictory revisit of colonial history where the European white male author still holds most of the strings in writing those histories. Yet, even if the experiment proposes a meek answer to the question “who should write on colonial history?”, I am confident that the digital project will at least be interepreted as a means to *ukubuyisela*, to “bring back” knowledge in exchange of the trust that my interlocutors have had in me. Before any publication of this book appears, this (web)site of remembrance allows people I have met along the way to get a glimpse of the work that had been done and learn about other cases of repatriation by navigating through the different tabs and pages. The translations[iii] should also ultimately enable those whose command of the English language prevents them from understanding to feel included as a legitimate public. A comments section will leave the possibility for discussion opened, so that the way in which I have framed the history of those ancestors can be discussed, held in check or criticized by visitors.

Finally, I hope that this project can inspire new generations of scholars to try out different models in ethnography, cultural studies and history, and challenge the dominant position of some regimes of truth and certain regimes of academic practice. Fiction has also proven to be a thought-provoking medium. Novels and film, obviously, but also series or cinemy. The story of Clayton Leigh for instance could have led its audience to a broader contextualisation of the museologic dehumanisation of Africans and people of African descent. The acclaimed Marvel movie *Black Panther* included a scene where the expertise of museum professionals regarding the treasures they expose was seriously challenged by a citizen of the fictional land of Wakanda. Shifting the role of ethnography and anthropology in the present, there is a need for academic interventions in popular and public debates, interventions that seek creative ways of distilling research outside the university and outside the museum. A new language register and new media should be explored, so that academic contributions participate effectively in public dialogue and position themselves in political debates where racializing, intersectional and androcentric systems are perpetuating violence.

[iii] https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/nkosi-hintsa/
https://rememberinghumanremains.wordpress.com/mangi-meli-kiswahili/

Notes:

1 This metaphor was used by art historian Bénédicte Savoy in an interview for the Süddeutsche Zeitung on her resigning from her position at the Humboldt Forum (see Häntzschel).

2 Exhibitions of human tissue and bones such as *Body* Worlds, who also make use of human remains to display metabolic systems, rather emphasize on the living character of the physical body as separated from the cognitive individual. Contrary to considerations of human remains as subjects, these practices of display of human remains never (or seldom) inquire in the past lives of those whose remains are used.

3 In the context of artefacts and artworks, Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy speak of "re-socialisation" (32). Although they consider those objects as endowed with life (33), human remains are herein considered as people, hence my use of the term 'reunite' to underline the renewed sense of community belonging.

4 I refer here to a word play by the campaign No Humboldt 21! on the name of the foundation that legally owns the ethnographic and anthropological collections of the Berlin Ethnological Museum and the Museum for Early and Pre-history: Foundation Prussian Cultural Heritage. The campaign by activists, academics and artists organised a conference in October 2017 in Berlin entitled *Prussian Colonial Heritage* during which Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, Makhosi Emmanuel Zulu Gama, Waltrudis Ortman, Inge Neumann, Kambanda Veii, Esther Muinjangue and Roxley Foley all contributed.

5 In my analysis on the politics of representation in remembering the Herero and Nama Genocides, I have first discussed the notion of the witness and later that of the implicated subject. I will provide here a short summary of my conclusions before fleshing out what I mean by "re-instate" and "empowerment". To avoid rigid understandings of authority over the ways in which colonial history is told and represented, Michael Rothberg's concept of "implicated subjects" has featured prominently in this book, notably in analyses of artistic interventions in or about headhunting and repatriation. As he argues, there are very different degrees of implication that need to be taken into account when engaging with histories of violence. Away from the binary construction of victims vs. perpetrators, this study has demonstrated how implicated subjects act as witnesses in their own kind (especially in Chapter 2), and a wary of the position "from where" they speak in processes of remembrance, a crucial question when confronted with the conditions of acquisition of human remains and ethnographic artefacts, as Bénédicte Savoy has underlined in her keynote speech at Unesco.

6 See the catalogue of the German Historical Museum's exhibition *German Colonialism: Fragments Past and Present*, 229.

7 Here, I borrow a term that film director and scholar Matthias de Groof has used to qualify processes of failed decolonisation. In his paper, he analyses three historical instances (the independence of the Democratic Republic of Congo and the ensuing assassination of Patrice Lumumba; the renovation of the Africa Museum in Tervuren near Brussels; and the theory of the Anthropocene) and argues that these exemplify how different claims to decolonisation can fail despite noble intentions, and become examples of a "crippled decolonization".

8 Parallel to that, even the artistic revisit of the case by the theatre company Third World Bunfight diverted its audience from the crux of the matter when a scandal erupted because of the slaughtering of a chicken during the play. Although the question of having ritualised practice on stage is certainly a relevant one, it overshadowed the raving of Nicholas against racial anthropology and the question of reparations for the murder of Hintsa.

9 The Iningai Keeping Place hosts repatriated ancestors in Central Queensland in a building built from a collaborative project between the local Iningai Custodial Indigenous Community and the Longreach municipality, decorated with murals by local Indigenous artist Les Stanley and whose access is restricted. At Fitzroy Crossing in Western Australia, the Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Cultural Centre has erected a keeping place for remains repatriated from the Western Australian Museum. In 2018, two Kaurna elders were buried at Tennyson Beach in South Australia, part of group of eight ancestors repatriated from Lund University in Sweden to Australia.

10 To continue parallels with the debate on restitution of African heritage, Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy also highlighted that this issue is inevitably linked to the question of reparations and compensation for crimes committed in the past. As a way of launching processes for reconciliation, they advocate for a new “relational ethics” and “fair and just historiographic work” (41).

11 Private conversation with Nama lawyer and activist Paul Thomas, 25th September 2019.

12 Here I draw upon the deep critique of enduring colonialism in Australia by Indigenous activists. Symbolic commemoration days like Invasion Day or Anzacs’s Day illustrate the lingering dominant position of Eurocentric narratives in the history of the Australian nation. On the economic and social levels, the state of affairs is even more appalling. Indigenous Australians are the most incarcerated people on the planet, homelessness and alcoholism are not genuinely tackled among Indigenous youth, and laws that appeared as progressive decisions for the acknowledgement of their status as citizens and owners of the land have instead fallen prey to gargantuesque exploitation of natural resources and further marginalization of individuals from their communities.

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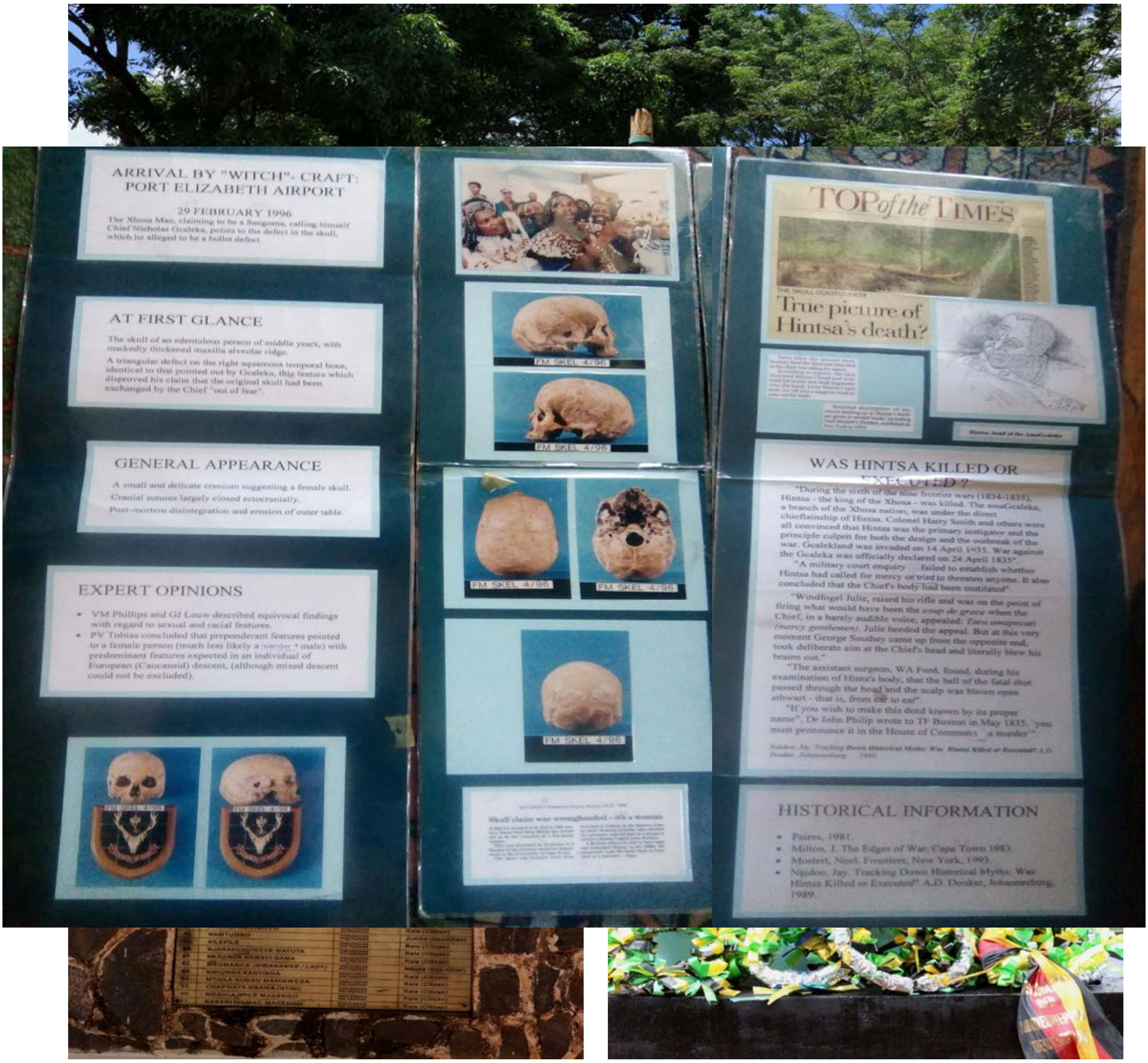
Appendixes

Appendix 1: Poster presentation from Knobel, Gideon, Louw G., Phillipps V. and Phillip Tobias. 1997. "Hintsa's head or phantom skull?" Anatomical Society of Southern Africa Conference, 'Anatomy in Transition'. University of Stellenbosch.



ARRIVAL BY "WITCH"- CRAFT: PORT ELIZABETH AIRPORT

29 FEBRUARY 1996

The Xhosa Man, claiming to be a Sangoma, calling himself Chief Nicholas Gcaleka, points to the defect in the skull, which he alleged to be a bullet defect.

AT FIRST GLANCE

The skull of an edentulous person of middle years, with markedly thickened maxilla alveolar ridge.

A triangular defect on the right squamous temporal bone, identical to that pointed out by Gcaleka, this feature which disproved his claim that the original skull had been exchanged by the Chief "out of fear".

GENERAL APPEARANCE

A small and delicate cranium suggesting a female skull.

Cranial sutures largely closed ectocranially.

Post-mortem disintegration and erosion of outer table.

EXPERT OPINIONS

- VM Phillips and GJ Louw described equivocal findings with regard to sexual and racial features.
- PV Tobias concluded that preponderant features pointed to a female person (much less likely a slender * male) with predominant features expected in an individual of European (Caucasoid) descent, (although mixed descent could not be excluded).

Skull claim was wrongheaded – it's a woman

TOP of the TIMES

THE SKULL CONTROVERSY

True picture of Hintsa's death?

WAS HINTSA KILLED OR EXECUTED?

"During the sixth of the nine frontier wars (1834-1835), Hintsa - the king of the Xhosa - was killed. The amaGcaleka, a branch of the Xhosa nation, was under the direct chieftainship of Hintsa. Colonel Harry Smith and others were all convinced that Hintsa was the primary instigator and the principle culprit for both the design and the outbreak of the war. Gcalekland was invaded on 14 April 1835. War against the Gcaleka was officially declared on 24 April 1835".

"A military court enquiry failed to establish whether Hintsa had called for mercy or tried to threaten anyone. It also concluded that the Chief's body had been mutilated".

"Windfogel Julie, raised his rifle and was on the point of firing what would have been the *coup de grace* when the Chief, in a barely audible voice, appealed: *Tara amapacati (mercy gentlemen)*. Julie heeded the appeal. But at this very moment George Southey came up from the opposite end, took deliberate aim at the Chief's head and literally blew his brains out."

"The assistant surgeon, WA Ford, found, during his examination of Hinta's body, that the ball of the fatal shot passed through the head and the scalp was blown open athwart - that is, from ear to ear".

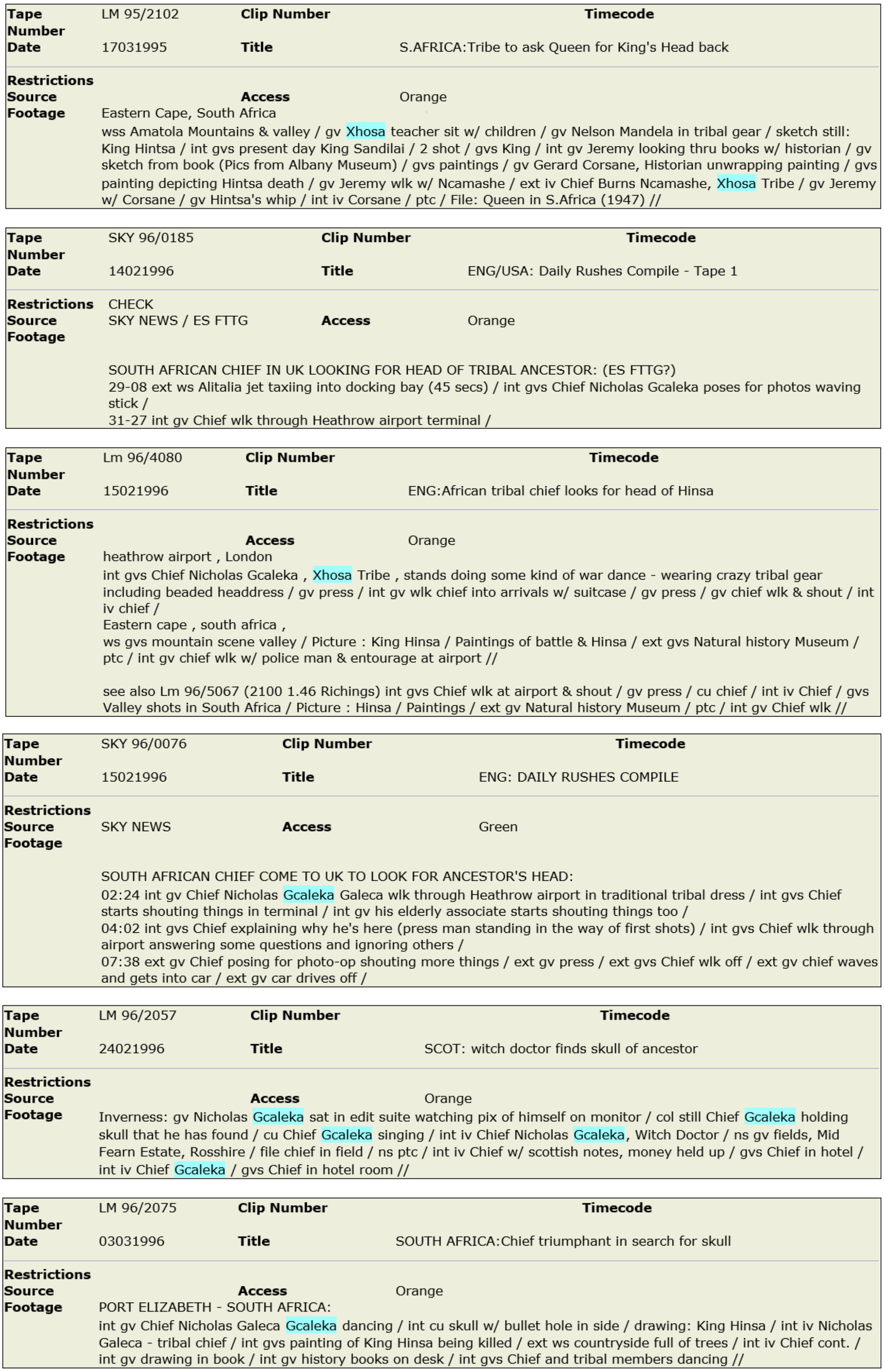
"If you wish to make this deed known by its proper name", Dr John Philip wrote to TF Buxton in May 1835, 'you must pronounce it in the House of Commons a murder'".

Naidoo, Jay. Tracking Down Historical Myths: Was Hintsa Killed or Executed? A.D. Donker, Johannesburg 1989

HISTORICAL INFORMATION

- Peires, 1981.
- Milton, J. The Edges of War, Cape Town 1983.
- Mostert, Noel. Frontiers, New York, 1993.
- Naidoo, Jay. Tracking Down Historical Myths: Was Hintsa Killed or Executed? A.D. Donker, Johannesburg, 1989.

Appendix 2: Sky News descriptions of the footage. Keywords "Hintsa" and "Gcaleka" highlighted. Screenshot from email correspondence with William Murray.



Tape Number LM 95/2102 **Clip Number** **Timecode**
Date 17031995 **Title** S.AFRICA:Tribe to ask Queen for King's Head back
Restrictions
Source **Access** Orange
Footage Eastern Cape, South Africa
wss Amatola Mountains & valley / gv Xhosa teacher sit w/ children / gv Nelson Mandela in tribal gear / sketch still: King Hintsa / int gvs present day King Sandilai / 2 shot / gvs King / int gv Jeremy looking thru books w/ historian / gv sketch from book (Pics from Albany Museum) / gvs paintings / gv Gerard Corsane, Historian unwrapping painting / gvs painting depicting Hintsa death / gv Jeremy wlk w/ Ncamashe / ext iv Chief Burns Ncamashe, Xhosa Tribe / gv Jeremy w/ Corsane / gv Hintsa's whip / int iv Corsane / ptc / File: Queen in S.Africa (1947) //

Tape Number SKY 96/0185 **Clip Number** **Timecode**
Date 14021996 **Title** ENG/USA: Daily Rushes Compile - Tape 1
Restrictions CHECK
Source SKY NEWS / ES FTTG **Access** Orange
Footage
SOUTH AFRICAN CHIEF IN UK LOOKING FOR HEAD OF TRIBAL ANCESTOR: (ES FTTG?)
29-08 ext ws Alitalia jet taxiing into docking bay (45 secs) / int gvs Chief Nicholas Gcaleka poses for photos waving stick /
31-27 int gv Chief wlk through Heathrow airport terminal /

Tape Number Lm 96/4080 **Clip Number** **Timecode**
Date 15021996 **Title** ENG:African tribal chief looks for head of Hinsa
Restrictions
Source **Access** Orange
Footage heathrow airport , London
int gvs Chief Nicholas Gcaleka , Xhosa Tribe , stands doing some kind of war dance - wearing crazy tribal gear including beaded headdress / gv press / int gv wlk chief into arrivals w/ suitcase / gv press / gv chief wlk & shout / int iv chief /
Eastern cape , south africa ,
ws gvs mountain scene valley / Picture : King Hinsa / Paintings of battle & Hinsa / ext gvs Natural history Museum / ptc / int gv chief wlk w/ police man & entourage at airport //

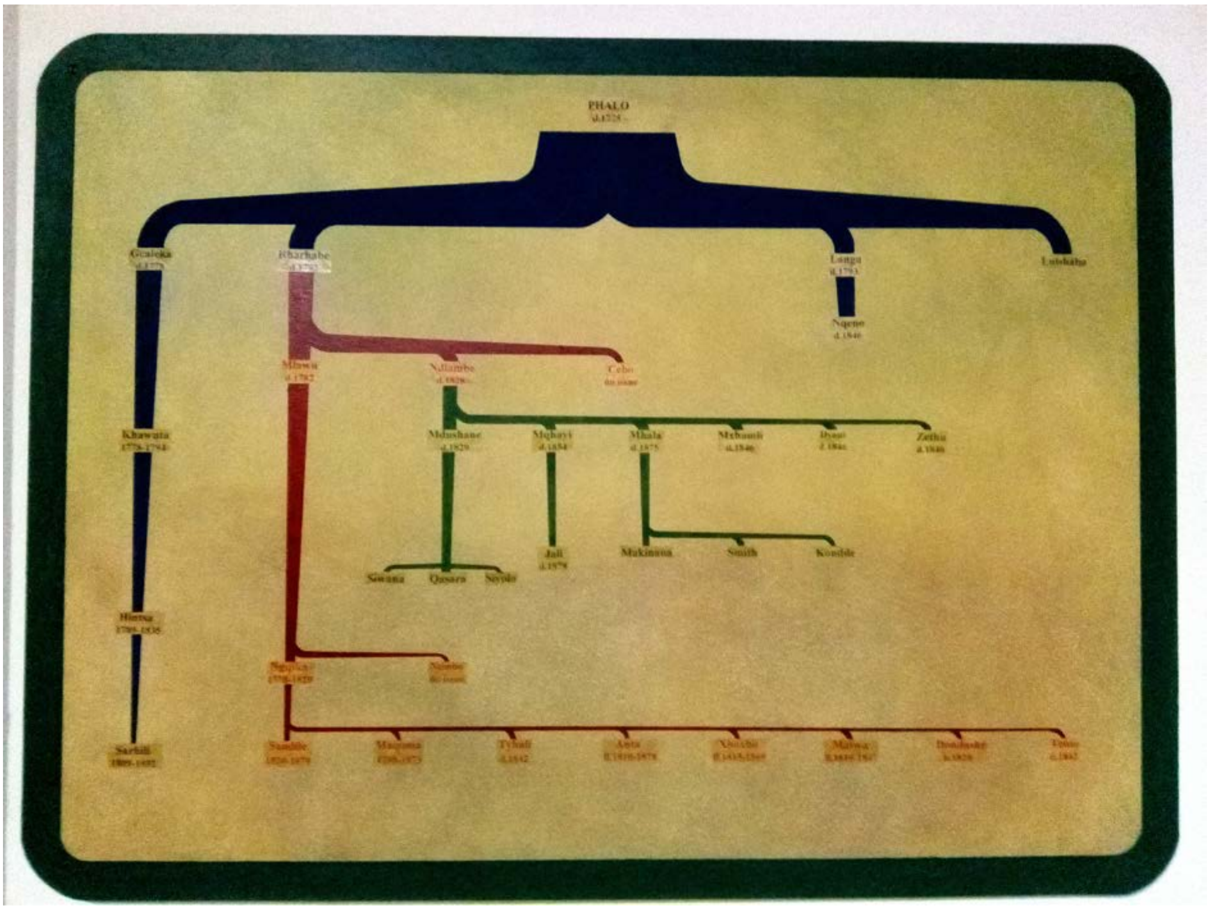
see also Lm 96/5067 (2100 1.46 Richings) int gvs Chief wlk at airport & shout / gv press / cu chief / int iv Chief / gvs Valley shots in South Africa / Picture : Hinsa / Paintings / ext gv Natural history Museum / ptc / int gv Chief wlk //

Tape Number SKY 96/0076 **Clip Number** **Timecode**
Date 15021996 **Title** ENG: DAILY RUSHES COMPILE
Restrictions
Source SKY NEWS **Access** Green
Footage
SOUTH AFRICAN CHIEF COME TO UK TO LOOK FOR ANCESTOR'S HEAD:
02:24 int gv Chief Nicholas Gcaleka Galeca wlk through Heathrow airport in traditional tribal dress / int gvs Chief starts shouting things in terminal / int gv his elderly associate starts shouting things too /
04:02 int gvs Chief explaining why he's here (press man standing in the way of first shots) / int gvs Chief wlk through airport answering some questions and ignoring others /
07:38 ext gv Chief posing for photo-op shouting more things / ext gv press / ext gvs Chief wlk off / ext gv chief waves and gets into car / ext gv car drives off /

Tape Number LM 96/2057 **Clip Number** **Timecode**
Date 24021996 **Title** SCOT: witch doctor finds skull of ancestor
Restrictions
Source **Access** Orange
Footage Inverness: gv Nicholas Gcaleka sat in edit suite watching pix of himself on monitor / col still Chief Gcaleka holding skull that he has found / cu Chief Gcaleka singing / int iv Chief Nicholas Gcaleka, Witch Doctor / ns gv fields, Mid Fearn Estate, Rosshire / file chief in field / ns ptc / int iv Chief w/ scottish notes, money held up / gvs Chief in hotel / int iv Chief Gcaleka / gvs Chief in hotel room //

Tape Number LM 96/2075 **Clip Number** **Timecode**
Date 03031996 **Title** SOUTH AFRICA:Chief triumphant in search for skull
Restrictions
Source **Access** Orange
Footage PORT ELIZABETH - SOUTH AFRICA:
int gv Chief Nicholas Galeca Gcaleka dancing / int cu skull w/ bullet hole in side / drawing: King Hinsa / int iv Nicholas Galeca - tribal chief / int gvs painting of King Hinsa being killed / ext ws countryside full of trees / int iv Chief cont. / int gv drawing in book / int gv history books on desk / int gvs Chief and tribal members dancing //

Appendix 3: "Xhosa geneaology", poster from the Amathole Museum in Qonce (King William's Town)


PHALO
Gcaleka
Rharhabe
Langa
Lutshaba
Nqeno
d.1846
Mlawu
d.1782
Ndlambe
Cebo
Khawuta
1778-1794
Mdushane
d.1829
Mqhayi
Mhala
d.1875
Mxhamli
Dyani
Zethu
Jali
Makinana
Smith
Kondile
Siwana
Qasana
Siyolo
Hintsa
1789-1835
Ngqika
1778-1829
Ntimbo
Sarhili
1809-1892
Sandile
1820-1878
Maqoma
1798-1873
Tyhali
d.1842
Anta
Xhoxho
Matwa
Dondashe
Tente

Some of the musical artists listened to in the writing process:

A Tribe Called Quest, Acid Pauli, Alizarina, Asian Dub Foundation, Babes Wodumo, BBXO, BCUC, Billie Joe Morgan, Black Uhuru, Bob Marley, Chinese Man, Crussen, Cymande, Diamond Platnmuz, Distruction Boyz, Dwig, Ernest Ranglin, Fat Freddy's Drop, Fela Kuti, Gil Scott-Heron, Gonjasufi, Hannah Williams & The Affirmations, Herbie Hancock, Hugh Masekela, IAM, James Brown, Jay Z, Jeff Mills, Joe Higgs, Kelele, Kendrick Lamar, Khruangbin, K.U.F., La Yegros, Maceo Parker, Marcel Fengler, Michael Rose, Mobb Deep, Mos Def, Mulatu Astatké, N.W.A., Nina Simone, Outkast, Planetary Assault Systems, Raär, The Roots, Ruhe & Bit, Serge Gainsbourg, Shackleton, Sharon Jones, Snarky Puppy, So Inagawa, Stormzy, Suprême NTM, Thandiswa Mazwai, The Abyssinians, The Black Angels, The Specials, The White Stripes, Tyler the Creator, Vulfpeck, Wax Tailor, Winston McAnuff, Wu-Tang Clan, Youngsta CPT.

Selbstständigkeitserklärung

Hiermit erkläre ich, dass die vorliegende Arbeit selbständig verfasst wurde und bei der Abfassung nur die in der Dissertation angegebenen Hilfsmittel benutzt sowie alle wörtlich oder inhaltlich übernommenen Stellen als solche gekennzeichnet wurden.

Yann Le Gall, 10.10.2019