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ETHNOGRAPHY AND THE PERSONAL: THE FIELD PRACTICES OF WRITING AND PHOTOGRAPHY ON THE NATAL LEG OF THE NINTH FROBENIUS EXPEDITION.

Kiyara Ananmalay

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Declaration

I declare that this Research Report is my own original work and that I have not previously submitted it for any other degree or examination at any other university.

Kiyara Ananmalay 15th day of March 2017.

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The Foundations of my Study

The Frobenius Working Group

At the beginning of 2016, I was presented with an opportunity to work within an existing research group — the Frobenius Working Group (FWG) — that has been revisiting the Frobenius Archive for the past two and a half years, under South African archaeologist and art historian Justine Wintjes's supervision and her National Research Foundation (NRF) funded project titled 'The Frobenius Archive in the Southern African Landscape' (2014–2016). The Frobenius expedition to southern Africa was the ninth in a series of German research expeditions led by Leo Frobenius across the African continent. It lasted some twenty months, from August 1928 to March 1930, across the Union of South Africa (now South Africa), Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), Mozambique, Basutoland (now Lesotho), and South West Africa (now Namibia).[1] Frobenius's previous expeditions focused on North and North-East Africa, with some exploration of West and Central Africa. Frobenius had an interest in the concrete links between past and present: the research objective that led to the creation of the archive can be described as a quest to capture the ancient in dialogue and in continuity with the contemporary. As a result, the archive has a wide-ranging focus on both the anthropological and archaeological (Wintjes 2013: 172). A selection from these recordings ended up in books published by Frobenius (e.g. 1931a, 1931b), but the archive contains a wealth of primary field recordings that have not been examined in any detail since they were collected.

In an article derived from her doctoral research, 'The Frobenius Expedition to Natal and the Cinyati Archive' (2013), Wintjes re-engaged with the archival materials from a rock-shelter they recorded under the name of Cinyati on the Natal leg of the expedition, with a view to reconfiguring the shelter's rock paintings and physical shape. Cinyati is located in the Busingatha Valley of the northern KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg.

Taking a cue from the Cinyati research, the NRF project began with an engagement and investigation of twenty rock art sites and the existing archival materials associated with each site. These sites are located in the Maloti-Drakensberg region (Lesotho and KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa). The project has since ventured further afield and beyond the confines of rock art, to consider other kinds of archaeological sites in the Free State and Limpopo provinces of South Africa, as well as Zimbabwe (Wintjes 2016, pers. comm., 1 March).

Since 2014, the FWG has engaged a total of eight postgraduate students and their projects have,

[1] I use the old place-names when referring to the context in which the Frobenius expedition worked, as it was the way in which the landscape was defined geographically at that time however, when referring to the context I have conducted my fieldwork in, I use the current place names.

for the most part, been focused on individual archaeological sites recorded by the Frobenius expedition as units of analysis. All the projects seek to 'return' the archival materials to the landscape, and to 're-enact' them in some way, in order to examine changes in the landscape, to investigate recording methodologies and to reveal omissions and invisibilities embedded in the archive. Their contribution to the holistic study is briefly described below.

Caroline Thompson's Honours essay titled, 'Revisiting Esibayeni: The Recording History of a Painted Cave in the Didima Gorge' (2014), focuses on the performative act of viewing a site of rock paintings in the Didima Gorge of the KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg, as well as the challenges encountered in the selective and reductive processes of copying rock art — particularly when three-dimensional paintings are transcribed onto paper. Kent Williams's Honours long essay titled 'The Quthing Thing: A 'Translation' History of a Painted Rock-shelter in the Quthing District of Lesotho' (2015) comprises a focused study of the K'Ho K'Hobe rock art panel through the lens of translation theory. Another member of the team, Bahlakoana Lesemane, is currently working on the archive associated with Ha Baroana rock-shelter in the Nazareth district of Lesotho for his Honours long essay, paying particular attention to the relationship between rock art and graffiti, which reflects something of a dialogue between old rock markings and new ones, and how the use and significance of the site has changed over time. The fourth member of the group is Angus Davidson, whose Master's project picks up on Wintjes's reconfiguration and 'restoration' of Cinyati rock-shelter, taking it into the three-dimensional realm. In the course of its documented history, the site has changed drastically in its physical configuration because of the removal of panels as well as natural destruction caused by rockfall. Davidson is attempting to digitally reconstruct the site through the incomplete and fragmentary archive, in a way that shows how a single point of wholeness is not achievable.

Other students' projects deal with issues around land and the landscape context, specifically the spaces and connecting elements between sites. For example, Janus Boshoff's Masters dissertation, also in progress, examines the role of landscape within the archive across the full range of sites re-visited under the NRF project. Gordon Massie's Masters research report focuses on the photographic material collected by the Frobenius expedition at Great Zimbabwe (Masvingo district, Zimbabwe). His project involves an ongoing study and engagement of the site in the historical time-period and the contemporary connections people living in the area still have to the site. Laura De Harde's doctoral research is a comparative study of the work of two artists, who also involved themselves in rock art recording, namely, South African Walter Battiss and the German/ Southern Rhodesian Elisabeth Goodall. Goodall was a member of the ninth Frobenius expedition under her unmarried name Mannsfeld and went on to become a prominent figure in rock art research in Southern Rhodesia. Finally, De Harde considers the influence of rock art recording in each artist's creative, as well as scientific endeavours, and explores the visual power of rock art

translated through generations of copies and derivative pictures.

When I joined the group, I was presented with the mandate to formulate a project around a new portion of the archive, or one that would approach a portion of the archive in a novel way.

Contextualising Leo Frobenius and the Ninth Expedition Archive

In this section, I provide a short background on Frobenius and his career. I situate his work in relation to three texts in an attempt to contextualise the way in which his work was received during his time as well as the way in which it is engaged with today. My case study is the Natal leg of the ninth expedition and I briefly introduce the ethnographers who conducted it.

German-born Frobenius (b.1873–d.1938) was primarily a self-taught Africanist ethnographer, who had an interdisciplinary practice that blurred the boundaries between anthropology, archaeology and history. He conducted a total of twelve expeditions in Africa between 1904 and 1935, and his primary objective on these expeditions was to record ways of life that he felt were vulnerable to changes due to modernity, as well as to study archaeological sites including rock art images as a form of the 'oldest tangible records of humanity' (Wintjes 2013: 167 and 169). In her 1997 article 'Leo Frobenius and the Revolt Against the West', American professor of European History, Suzanne Marchand states that Frobenius is known for his theory and methodological practice of 'Kulturkreisen', which directly translated means 'culture circles'. This approach to anthropological interpretation involves the study of areas that have certain commonalities such as 'stylistically-defined and historically-related cultural features' (Marchand 1997: 7). Its influence is discernible in ethnographic practices in central Europe during the first half of the 20th century and was regarded by some as the 'most significant contribution of German-speaking anthropology' to the discipline (ibid.). Marchand goes on to describe Frobenius as an 'anti-modernist', highlighting his interest in both the present and the past of 'cultural wholes' which Frobenius believed human beings were the carriers of, situating his involvement in both archaeology and ethnography (1997: 158). Marchand discusses Frobenius's warnings about the 'homogenising tendencies of the modern world' (Marchand 1997: 159) and this indicates to us an aspect of what motivated Frobenius's archival practices.

It is important to note that while there are aspects of Frobenius's practice that are valued both now and at the time of his research, many scholars throughout the 20th century did not value his contributions. But while Frobenius has generally been side-lined in southern African research, the intrinsic historical, archaeological and ethnographic value of the material collected by his expedition should not be overlooked. Historian J. M Ita[2] in the journal article 'Frobenius in West African History' (1972) focuses specifically on Frobenius's methods of collecting anthropological and ethnographic documents, and the article offers some insight into the ways in which the Frobenius Archive was formed. Ita suggests that the methodological practices used by Frobenius and his team should be considered as a separate entity from the interpretive conclusions generated from those documents (1972: 674). Indeed, re-engaging with the Frobenius Archive and the documentation and empirical observations generated by Frobenius and his team allows for the primary recordings collected in southern Africa to be revisited and deployed for different purposes today.

After discovering rock art during two earlier expeditions, in the sixth in Algeria from 1912-1914, and the eighth in Sudan in 1926, rock art became one of the primary objectives of Frobenius's ninth expedition (Wintjes 2013: 169–170). This is evident in German cultural anthropologist Sabine Dinslage's book *Leo Frobenius: Animal Husbands, Magical Horns and Water Spirits* (2009). In the book, she primarily focuses on the documentation collected on the ninth expedition in an attempt to create a more accessible and comprehensive look at the oral literature (2009: 8) but first offers a brief overview of the Frobenius Archive and describes how many of the twelve expeditions had an interest in rock art and other kinds of archaeological sites as well as ethnographical, historical prehistoric data and oral traditions (2009: 7).

The ninth expedition consisted of nine members: Frobenius, his daughter Ruth Frobenius, three ethnographers, Adolf Jensen, Albert Seekirchner and Heinrich (Heinz) Wieschhoff, as well as four artists, Elisabeth Mannsfeld, Agnes Schulz, Maria Weyersberg and Joachim Lutz. They travelled across a wide portion of the southern African region, splitting up into smaller groups in different combinations to cover more ground.

[2] I have searched for further biographical information on this author, but to date I have been unsuccessful.



Figure 1: Members of the ninth expedition on the boat to southern Africa. From left to right: Weyersberg, Wieschhoff, Mannsfeld, Lutz, Frobenius, unidentified person, Schulz and Jensen. It can be assumed that Seekirchner is the photographer (1928). Image reproduced with permission from the Frobenius Institute, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Germany (FoA 09-10006).

The expedition arrived in Cape Town in 1928 and went on to conduct preliminary investigations in various combinations in the Transvaal (now Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Limpopo and a portion of the North West Province) and Orange Free State (now the Free State) and Basutoland. In early 1929 the group decided to split up once again, and one of the legs took Mannsfeld, Schulz and Weyersberg to Natal (now a part of the KwaZulu-Natal province) where they spent a considerable amount of time recording the rock art site they called Cinyati.

Within the Frobenius Institute there was a larger group of female ethnologists and ethnographers that Weyersberg, Mannsfeld and Schulz belonged to (Wintjes 2013: 174). While the website of the Frobenius Institute has a list of former staff, the information they provide is minimal, generally providing dates of how long a person worked there as well as what work they were involved in (the information on the website is also in German). There is thus very little biographical information available on these women. However, it is known that both Schulz and Weyersberg worked as scientific illustrators between 1923–1959 and 1925–1951 respectively (Richard Kuba pers. comm. 2009 cited in Wintjes 2013: 174). Specific dates for Mannsfeld (b.1891–d.1971) are not available but it is known that she worked for the Institute during the 1920s. As mentioned above, Mannsfeld returned to Germany briefly after the ninth expedition before settling in southern Africa under her married name Elisabeth Goodall, becoming an important figure in the research of rock art in Southern Rhodesia (Cooke 1971; Raath 1971 cited in Wintjes 2013: 174). According to the website

‘The Salesroom The Home of Art and Antiques Auctions’, where some of her work was recently auctioned, Weyersberg was an artist in her own right and lived to 101 years old (b. 1886–1987) (The Salesroom 2014).

While the three female ethnographers were travelling in Natal, other members of the expedition were travelling elsewhere, and by the time the expedition concluded, they had recorded hundreds of localities across southern Africa (Wintjes 2013: 167–202).

The documentation collected by the expedition consists of photographs, field notes and hand-drawn pictures, and was collected in an ‘ethnographic’ mode, as direct observations of another culture for the purposes of scientific study. The materials they collected were taken back to Germany at the end of the expedition and are currently housed at the Frobenius Institute in Frankfurt (Wintjes 2013: 167–202).

The Aim of my Research Report

In my research report, I focus on a geographically defined portion of the Frobenius Archive as my case study, specifically, a set of documents produced on the Natal leg of the ninth expedition, which took place over five weeks in early 1929. The team recorded eleven sites in total in the northern Natal Drakensberg over a four-week period, spending one week at Cinyati. This place-name deserves some explanation: they use the place-name Cinyati to designate the rock-shelter but also the valley as a whole (and called another small painted rock-shelter 7km further up the valley ‘Upper Cinyati’). Cinyati is a variation of Busingatha, the name by which the valley is known today and eBusingatha — meaning ‘located in the Busingatha valley’ — is the name that has been used by archaeologists, while uMhwabane is the place-name used by the people living in the area (Hollmann and Msimanga 2008: 287; Wintjes 2013: 7). Although their main purpose was to record the rock art at the site, the documents they collected also reflect an encounter with a group of women that they met in front of Cinyati rock-shelter.

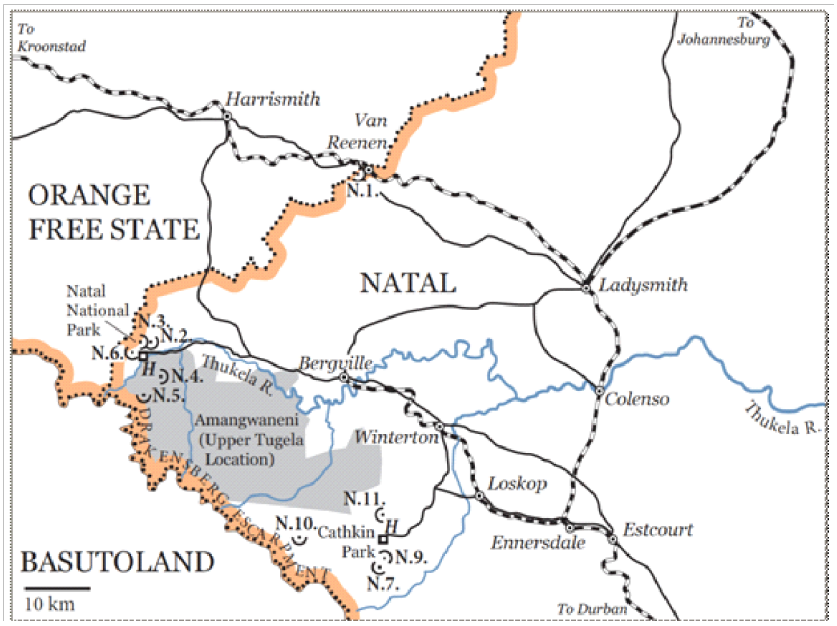


Figure 2: Northern Natal Drakensberg around 1930, depicting the eleven sites visited during the ninth expedition. N.4 corresponds with 'Lower Cinyati' and N.5 corresponds with 'Upper Cinyati'. (Wintjes 2013: 175).

As alluded to above, the Frobenius Archive was conceived of as an archaeological and ethnographic body of work with a focus on both the past and present forms of African culture and tradition. Through this engagement with contemporary African culture the Frobenius team recorded a range of expressions of a particular way of living which included both oral histories and material culture, resulting in the team interacting with various people they met along the way, and recording aspects of these encounters with the 'other'. In recording the culture and the people they encountered, the travellers inevitably also recorded many aspects of themselves. None of the projects in the FWG have a particular focus on the ethnographic or anthropological content of the recordings, and attendant questions of self and other, subject-hood, or the individual person(s) recording or being recorded. They also do not generally place into the centre of the field of enquiry the people that were involved in forging the archive: those who were recording and documenting through photography and notes, as well as those who were the subject of study. Massie's project, even though focused in the first instance on the stone-walled structures of Great Zimbabwe rather than ethnographic portraiture per se, does hold points of similarity to my project due to his interest in photographic evidence, and the (often unintended or accidental) traces of social histories contained within, or tangential to, those photographs.

In order to investigate the subjective and personal content of the materials collected in the field, I begin with a reconfiguration of a portion of the Frobenius Archive, a set of documents grouped in terms of their common origin at Cinyati. Although these were collected together in the field, in the archive subsequently the documents ended up sorted into broad subject areas as well as document-type. Archival materials have different preservation requirements: photographic negatives are chemically unstable and require special sleeves and climate-controlled spaces; photographic positives need to be stored in acid-free environments; and notebooks can be kept back-to-back on shelves like books in a library although a stable climate and acid-free environment is helpful. For these reasons, within the Frobenius Archive, the different kinds of documents are all kept in separate storage areas within the archive, archived as separate sets of information (as is typical in archives more generally). If these archival materials are brought back into the order in which they were produced in the field, they (re-)open up a processual and dialogical space in which they potentially reveal information about the personal encounters and relationships that were embroiled in their formation.

In this research report, I explore how the (re-)integration of writing and photography enhances an understanding of the role of the personal in documentary practices. I work in particular with two field diaries written by Weyersberg that have been photographed, transcribed and translated from German by Wintjes,[3] as well as a number of photographs that were taken during their time at Cinyati rock-shelter and have since been restored and digitised by the Institute's in-house photographic technician, Peter Steigerwald. I investigate the relationship between writing and photography through an experimental placement of the diary entries in relation to the photographs producing a creative component that comprises of juxtapositions of text and image in a book-based format that tracks something of the original encounter and process of field recording, but also manifests into a visual argument (Annex 1.), which is a separate creative component that should be read in relation to this research report. The visual argument is constructed around an interweaving of pictures with text in a way that changes both fixed linear narratives or sequences that exist in each individual photograph, or series of photographs, or textual extracts. I focus on the way in which the pictorial content of the writing comes to the fore, and the way in which the photographs become enhanced by the annotations. I reconfigure the narratives and sequences to form a layered and dynamic dialogue.

Alongside the process of reconfiguring the bundle of documents collected by the Frobenius expedition at Cinyati, I look to the contemporary text-image work by French-Algerian artist Bruno Boudjelal's book *Disquiet Days* (2009). Boudjelal's work is a juxtaposition of image and text that

[3] These are the diaries archived as LF 463 and LF 464 in the Frobenius Archive and included in part in Wintjes's doctoral thesis (2012: annexes VII and VIII). Other field notes collected on this leg of the expedition comprised site descriptions (e.g. Schulz 1929), and reflect less of the personal encounters I am interested in.

manifests in a visual argument, achieved through combining archival and contemporary materials in a work that blurs the boundaries of his identity, as well as exploring the relationship between archival mediums of documentary writing and photography and the possibilities of knowledge developed from an integration of mediums. His interweaving of image and text begins to highlight the social processes through which knowledge is produced as well as forging an investigation into the personal relationships through which documentation takes place. Boudjelal's work also experiments with an experiential approach to archival documents that enhances an understanding of the moment in which they were created and makes us, as viewers, aware of our own experience of viewing anew, and in some way re-experiencing and re-enacting that moment.

I first experienced Boudjelal's work in the course 'Critical Concepts in Contemporary Arts', in 2015, that I took as a part of my undergraduate degree. The course was taught by Columbian photographer and lecturer Juan Orrantia. Orrantia explores experimental approaches to documentary practices and his work incorporates aspects of both anthropological and ethnographic practices. In this course we engaged with Boudjelal's work as an investigation into the relationship between art and anthropology as an example of an interdisciplinary practice.

There are obvious differences between Boudjelal's work and the materials generated by the Frobenius expedition. Boudjelal's work has an intensely personal and familial yet also fundamentally political tone. In his work he deals with loss, dispossession and displacement. These themes are arguably also present in the Frobenius materials but are differently manifested and submerged. An investigation of such affinities lies beyond the scope of my present project however I extend the overlaps between the two bodies of work further in my application of the process of 'scrap-booking' and text-image juxtaposition from Boudjelal's work to the Frobenius materials in my own visual reconfiguration.

I go on to argue that the relationship between artist-researcher Weyersberg's diary entries, and the photographs taken alongside the notes, when reconfigured, is dialogical and blurs the boundaries of the self and the recorded individual. The reconfigured materials also blur the boundary between the experience of the original moment and the viewer's renewed/re-enacted experience of that moment from the past, in the present. The blurring of the original moment and the re-enacted experience results in an increased insight into the personal dimensions of the production of the archive and allows us, as researchers engaging with the materials almost nine decades later, to gain a deeper understanding of the personal interactions entangled in them, almost in a vicarious fashion. I attempt to make visible something of the nuanced inter-personal moments, formed between the person writing/taking pictures and the person being described/photographed, in order to use the points of contact between these positions to explore the blurring that takes place between self and other and to explore how these insights change the way we understand the

ethnographic project. My interest in these two documentary modes revolves around exploring their array as possibilities as archival mediums as well as their ability to create nuanced moments within the archive through which the personal (at the scale of the individual, and interactions between individuals) can be accessed.

Finally, in framing the aim of my research report, I note my understanding of the power dynamics embedded within the act of ethnographic recording, particularly in the case of the members of the Frobenius expedition — white German women — documenting their encounters with black southern African people. In this research report, however, I am not engaging extensively with body and race scholarship, as the concept of the personal that I am dealing with focuses in the first instance specifically on encounters between individual people as they are mediated through, recorded by, and reflected in the mediums of writing and photography, rather than addressing larger societal questions of collective identities and constructions of otherness. My research increases an affinity/familiarity between ethnographic recorder and subject, and as an extension to this, archival researcher and archival subject/object, rather than emphasising difference or strangeness.

Chapter Outline

This final sub-section of this chapter provides a narrative chapter outline for the rest of the research report.

In Chapter 2, 'Theoretical and Methodological Foundations', I outline the methodology and theoretical framework I use in the research report. I situate the main concepts I am drawing on to explore the relationship between image and text in relation to the Frobenius Archive. In Chapter 3, 'Visual Textual and Comparative Analysis', I conduct a visual analysis through close looking, focusing on a selection of five photographs, and a textual analysis through the close reading of seven diary excerpts I have selected. I look at these archival materials as individual components in this chapter, in preparation for bringing them into dialogue within Chapter 5. Before I bring the Frobenius archival materials into dialogue with each other, I analyse Boudjelal's work as an example of an image-text juxtaposition in Chapter 4, 'The Image-Text Work of Bruno Boudjelal'. Drawing on what I learn from Boudjelal's artistic practice I create my image-text juxtaposition, I reflect on the medium of image-text juxtapositions in relation to meaning-making practices and the interpretation of an archive in Chapter 5, 'Image-Text Juxtaposition'.

Chapter 2: Theoretical and Methodological Foundations

The Presence of the Personal

In this chapter I lay out the integrated methodology and broader theoretical framework underpinning my study. This framework is forged through an amalgamation of multiple definitions of the personal, which I investigate through a particular practice of meaning-making through archival reconfiguration. The personal and attendant practices of meaning-making through archival reconfiguration form the core set of ideas I use as the foundation of my exploration of the visual and textual materials I am working with from the Frobenius Archive. I see this framework as a contribution to the quest for a new genre, taking inspiration from German anthropologist Johannes Fabian's book *Ethnography as Commentary Writing from the Virtual Archive* (2008), in which he discusses his ethnographic work in the virtual archive, and attempts to establish a new genre of ethnographic writing. I explore the investigation of the personal as an important component within a new genre in the final section of this chapter, 'Reconfiguring the Frobenius Archive'.

The point of entry I have chosen into the Frobenius Archive is at the level of the individual participants who took part in the expedition, beginning with what is arguably the archival material that is the most personal in nature: the diaries. The southern African portion of the Frobenius Archive has not to date been researched with a focus on these diaries. The ninth-expedition diaries have never been published and have rarely been used at all, and, when they have been used, they typically serve a supporting, indirect role in the investigation of sites, landscapes and cultures. My research therefore fills a knowledge-based gap in bringing to the fore the field notes. The photographs from another set of materials also play a central role in my analysis, and I pay particular attention to the insights the notes give into the photographs, and vice versa. Of special interest to me is the personal impressions and interactions with other people that formed part of the process of collecting these materials. In addition to forming an actual archival substance contained within the archive, it is my sense that these personal impressions and interactions form an important part of the context within which the archive can be understood today and in this way, complements the other FWG projects in progress.

The concept of the personal that I have forged comes mainly from an amalgamation of ideas by Cuban anthropologist Ruth Behar and British visual anthropologist Elisabeth Edwards.

In her text 'The Vulnerable Observer' (1996), Behar explores the issue of subjectivity that the observer occupies, and how the engagement with that subjectivity influences both the writing and reflection on the observed object (Behar 1996: 6). Behar argues for a methodology of anthropological writing that uses an investigation of emotional responses or cues as a way to

critically reflect on the experience of immersion into fieldwork. In her text Behar uses theories by Hungarian-French ethno-psychiatrist George Devereux and American anthropologist Clifford Geertz to explore the role of the anthropologist in relation to tragedy, alongside the 1985 avalanche in Columbia as her case study. She writes about a little girl, Sanchez, who was trapped in the mud, with a crowd of reporters and photographers gathered around her. The photographer Rolf Carle, who was part of the crowd, eventually gives up on reporting to comfort Sanchez:

> 'He can no longer bear to watch silently from behind the camera. He will not document the tragedy as an innocent bystander. Crouching down in the mud, Rolf Carle throws his camera aside and flings his arms around Omaira Sanchez as her heart and lungs collapse' (1996: 1).

The personal in relation to a tragedy of this nature, while not present within the Frobenius Archive, is present within Boudjelal's work, in its processing aspects of the effects of the Algerian Civil War (1991–2002). What the theme of tragedy brings powerfully to the fore, however, in all cases, is the way in which the documentarian of a particular event becomes embroiled in that event: the event as well as the documentary process and the documentarian, are all changed through the encounter.

Behar draws from Devereux's argument that the presence of the observer can never be overlooked and the influence this presence has on the actions of the observed needs to be fully acknowledged (Devereux 1967: 6 cited in Behar 1996: 6). While Devereux deals with the moment of observation, Geertz deals with the great complexity of the act of translating what has been witnessed into a written form (Geertz 1995 [1989]: 5–6 cited in Behar 1996: 7). Behar extends this by observing that each moment is unique and cannot be exactly reproduced, while Geertz laments that '[w]e lack the language to articulate what takes place when we are in fact at work. There seems to be a genre missing' (Geertz 1995: 44 quoted in Behar 1996: 9; italics added). Behar acknowledges that she is on a quest to find this genre and her use of the concept of the 'vulnerable' is part of this process (1966: 9). What I draw from this in my understanding of the personal is that vulnerability lies in 'neither romance or lab report but somewhere in-between' (Behar 1996: 7). Behar is arguing for the emotions and experiences of the anthropologist to be recognised with the same value as academic objectivity within the practice of recording (1996: 12). My understanding of Behar's concept of 'vulnerability' in this context is a kind of reflexive receptivity or familiarity, having the effect of lessening the distance between self and other and also making the anthropologist an integral part of the object of study.

I have also found Edwards's text 'Beyond the Boundary: A Consideration of the Expressive in Photography and Anthropology' (1997) particularly useful in my formation of the concept of the personal that informs my methodology, even though I engage with a total of four texts by Edwards. Within the 'Reconfiguring the Archive' sub-section I draw from the texts, 'Photographs as Objects of Memory' (1999), and 'Material Beings: Objecthood and Ethnographic Photographs' (2002), focusing particularly on the argument she develops across these texts that the materiality of the photograph is integral in the meaning-making process. I also use the text 'Mixed Box: The Cultural Biography of a Box of 'Ethnographic' Photographs' (2004) by Janice Hart and Edwards which has moments of resonance with the two previous texts but carries the additional useful concepts of 'natural' and 'synthetic' objects. These concepts are relevant within my reconfiguration of the archive, as I take my cue from them in my methodological approach to the reconfiguration process.

In 'Beyond the Boundary' (1997), Edwards grapples with ideas around the medium of photography in relation to its role within the realms of contemporary art and anthropology. She acknowledges the constructed nature of a photograph and thus its ability to simultaneously depict a form of truth as well as the subjective position of the photographer and the photographed subjects. Edwards argues for modes of photography that would generally be viewed through the lens of visual anthropology to be engaged with through different lenses, opening up the possibilities of articulation and dialogue. Edwards uses the concept of the 'expressive' which is a quality that comes from a person's active involvement in taking as well as reading a photograph. She describes the 'expressive' as characterising the medium of photography and acknowledging that it is more than a 'simple' visual representation or documentation. She acknowledges that photography is fundamentally about its 'potential to question, arouse curiosity, tell in different voices or see through different eyes' (1997: 53–54). It is within a similar position as that framed by Edwards's proposition of photography as a medium that in the first instance asks questions rather than provides a visual truth, that I situate my understanding of the personal. Challenging the notion of truth and objectivity within a photograph opens the medium up to ideas of subjectivity and acknowledges the constructed nature of the image. The 'expressive' as Edwards terms it, is inherent within the photograph's physical coming into being but also is present within its subsequent readings.

Edwards appears to be suggesting that the process of taking photographs and engaging with them can be viewed as subjective and in turn a form of self-representation. I argue that self-representation is always to some extent present within an ethnographic image of the 'other', within the Frobenius Archive as well as other photographic archives. Within the Cinyati sub-set, we do not always know who specifically took each photograph, however, the photographer, even though anonymous or, in this case necessarily one of the three artists, even if not always individually named, is still a subjective presence in the existence of the image. Self-representation is also

present in the people being photographed, who I consider as active participants in the formation of the image, as well as through myself as a reader and reconfigurer of the photographs and diary entries.

Of the texts outlined above, it is the concepts of 'vulnerability' and the 'expressive', borrowed from Behar and Edwards respectively, that contribute most to the concept of the personal I am forging. Furthermore, these concepts of 'vulnerability' and the 'expressive' within photography, can be applied to the ethnographic field practices of Frobenius's team in order to reread and reveal the invisibility of the 'informants' and 'ethnographic subjects' that I argue should be viewed as collaborators and active participants in the formation of the archive, and ultimately in the production of knowledge. The concepts of 'vulnerability' and the 'expressive' enable an acknowledgement of the moments that do not fit into academic 'objectivity', yet enable a greater understanding of how the ethnographic documents were created in an empirical sense as well. It is this intertwining of personal experiences and research field practices that frames my understanding of the personal.

Furthermore, I borrow aspects from American Professor of History John Randolph's and American Professor of Library Sciences Victor Rosenberg's respective definitions of the personal and its role within family archives to extend my understanding of the personal beyond photography to archives and archival practices.

Within the text 'That Historical Family: The Bakunin Archive and the Intimate Theatre of History in Imperial Russia, 1780–1925' (2004), Randolph acknowledges the institutionalisation of biographical writing and thought that took place during the nineteenth century (2004: 574):

> 'It follows that there remains much to do in trying to think historically about the intimate life of thought in the modern period, extending and renovating the tradition just described. First and foremost, studying the building blocks of this intimacy — such letters, diaries, and the archives that contain them — can help us create a cultural history of Imperial Russian social thought that looks at the construction, not repression, of publicity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' (2004: 592).

Randolph refers to the concept of 'intimacy' as something that allows for a re-consideration of the formation of histories of social thought. Collective narratives and truths are shaped through a fixing of boundaries and Randolph proposes opening up the investigation of social thought to new dialogues and interpretations. It is a similar kind of production of new dialogues and interpretations, through a close engagement with the 'building blocks' of an intimate encounter between traveling ethnographers and local inhabitants, that is essentially my aim within a small, site-specific part of the southern African portion of the Frobenius Archive.

Rosenberg's text 'The Power of a Family Archive' (2011) deals with a selection of letters written by

members of a Jewish family before and during World War II (WW2). Within this text Rosenberg argues that, while the content of these letters deals with individual people and families, it can also be understood as contributing to a greater historical record. It is this ability of a personal experience to inform and resonate with a larger societal experience that I understand to echo Behar's, Edwards's and Randolph's ideas of the personal. Rosenberg states that '[t]his family archive illustrates how letters or diaries can be harnessed to not only illuminate a personal history but also reflect the history of the time and place from which they derive' (2011: 92). The use of personal moments to reflect on, or act as access points into, historical moments or larger societal concerns is consistent with the idea of the personal as an effective archival medium (Enwezor 2008b: 11), an idea I develop further below. Within the Frobenius Archive, the personal also offers insight into the time and manner in which the archival material was gathered, in other words the field methods practiced by the expedition members, as well as the wider historical and disciplinary context within which they worked.

The collective concepts of 'vulnerability', 'expressive', 'intimacy', and the notion that personal moments resonate with larger historical or social ones, all help to frame my understanding of the personal. I attempt to draw all of the concepts into one framework in order to form a layered approach to the definition of the personal. I understand the personal to be present within the Frobenius Archive in both the photographs and the diary entries, and brought into clearer view through the weaving together of these two mediums. I argue that the subjective and constructed nature of these two mediums allows for the presence of the self to be more clearly discernible than it would be through an examination of a single medium. Carolyn Ellis, Tony Adams and Arthur Bochner write about a self-reflective approach to auto-ethnography in the journal article 'Autoethnography: An Overview' (2011). They argue that auto-ethnography is a self-reflective mode of research and writing that allows for an analysis of personal experience as a way to understand cultural experience (Ellis 2004, Holman Jones 2005 cited in Ellis et. al 2011). The authors argue that auto-ethnography challenges canonical ways of conducting research and representations of others and that auto-ethnography highlights the impossibility of universal narratives, rather embracing the complexity of stories and relationships between authors and readers. It is my understanding that this methodology allows for a deeper understanding of oneself and of one another, and of the processes of interaction between people through the creation of anthropological texts and pictures. I further explore the way in which a self-reflective mode of research challenges the concept of universal narratives as well as the complexity of the relationship between the author and reader by engaging with ideas by both French theorist and philosopher Roland Barthes and American art history professor Keith Moxey in the following sub-section.

The concept of auto-ethnography is significant to the act of self-representation that I deal with, as it

acknowledges the importance of authorship in a self-reflective approach to research and writing that works towards describing and analysing personal experience as a way to understand cultural experience (Ellis et. al 2011). I consider the personal as a means of offering an innovative perspective of access into, and interpretation of, the archive an auto-ethnographic mode of working results in the ethnographer actively participating in the investigation of the self through the investigation of the other without claiming objectivity. While this is generally the case for the acts of auto-ethnography discussed within the journal article, the recording that the Frobenius Team conducted was not performed as consciously auto-ethnographic. Re-examining archival material through different lenses, however, offers an opportunity for new dialogues around the research to be formed and if one considers the field recordings as acts of self-representation, then they must also carry an auto-ethnographic dimension, even if not consciously designed to do so.

My layered and multi-dimensional concept of the personal acknowledges the roles 'vulnerability', the 'expressive' and 'intimacy' have within a research mode that aims for multiple dialogues rather than overarching universal narratives My quest for the personal as an archival medium within the context of an examination of Boudjelal's work, and a reconfiguration of the Cinyati sub-set from the Frobenius Archive, embraces the complex relationships between the observed and observer, as well as authors and readers.

Defining the Archive

Within the Frobenius Archive, I focus specifically on encounters between individual people as they are recorded by, mediated through, and reflected in the two forms of field recording that I am dealing with: writing and photography. My interest in the two practices revolves around their role as archival mediums as well as their ability to create nuanced moments within the archive through which the 'personal', at the scale of the individual, can be accessed. I also make visible the ways in which the content of the writing and the photography is forged through the interactions between the writer/ photographer and the recorded subject. To start with, I examine text and image separately, already refracted in the archive in this way, performing a visual analysis of the photographs and a textual analysis of the diary entries, also examining them as forms of self-writing and self-imaging, in order to bring them together again into a deeper dialogue in a subsequent chapter. In this section, I first lay out some theoretical concerns about what an archive comprises of and how it is shaped.

My understanding of self-representation is rooted in my understanding of the personal, and my concept of the personal fits into a broader post-structuralist theoretical framework around the fluidity and multiplicity of meaning which I apply to the archive and its contents. The practice of meaning-making is interrogated by Barthes in his text 'The Death of the Author' (1967) and Moxey in his book *The Practice of Theory: Poststructuralism, Culture Politics and Art History* (1994).

Barthes acknowledges that there was an established practice of seeking the explanation of a work through understanding the position and intention of the author. However, he argues that there needs to be a move away from this understanding of a singular meaning given by the author, suggesting that the removal of the author transforms the work (1967: 143–145). At the same time, the removal of the author as the sole provider of meaning does not overlook the author's position and intention, or the context in which the text has been written. But Barthes proposes to create a space for meaning to be constantly (re-)created in the various contexts of each reader, as there is no singular predetermined or intended meaning that can cross all contexts (1967: 145). The phrase 'death of the author', as Barthes describes it, allows for meaning to be understood as being in flux and also construed by the reader. Barthes' argument is centrally concerned with texts, but the same idea can be applied to artworks. Moxey expands on Barthes' concept of multiple interpretations of a work, particularly emphasising the consideration of the context of when the work was created as well as the context in which it is received (Moxey 1994: 4–5).

While Barthes' text is more firmly rooted in literature, Moxey brings these concepts into the realm of art history, where a visual work can be easily treated as a 'visual text'. Moxey refers to Dutch Cultural theorist Mieke Bal's argument of an image as a text as well as to the idea that each engagement with a text is not merely a 'retelling' but 'ultimately a new text' (Bal 1989: 3–4 quoted in Moxey 1994: 29). Bal argues that the act of engaging with a text results in a new text being foregrounded by the reader, their context and what they understand from the original text. Within this research report I argue for photographs to be viewed as visual texts, allowing them to be considered as portraying a visual argument and to be read equally in relation to the writing within the archive.

Just as my approach to the archive introduces a certain fuzziness between image and text, it also breaks down the strict separation between author and reader. I mentioned above that we did not know who the photographer was in each case within the Frobenius Archive. The idea of a single author becomes complicated in relation to the field recordings collected by the Frobenius Team for other reasons as well. In the context of the Frobenius team's field method, the notion of 'author' takes on a more 'collaborative' sense as there are multiple people playing a role in the creation of each of the photographs I am examining. To start with, in terms of authorship in its narrow sense, for the most part we do not know which one of the three women took the Cinyati photographs, except for the series of the cave itself, which are attributed to Agnes Schulz (according to the information we have). Once one effects a shift away from the notion of 'authorship' being restricted to the person releasing the shutter of the camera, or writing a diary entry, one begins to access a more complex kind of authorship, agency or practice of recording.

Ideas of meaning-making, authority and power are ingrained within the practices of recording as

well as subsequent acts of archiving. Cameroonian philosopher and political scientist Achille Mbembe engages with the concepts of authority, power and truth within an archive in his text 'The Power of Archives and its Limits' (2002). Mbembe grapples with these concepts in relation to archival knowledge as inherent in the building within which it is located, as well as the physical form the archive takes at a smaller scale. He describes the selective process of forming an archive: archival documents first go through a process of being 'coded and classified' and are then placed either according to their 'chronology, thematic or geographical content' (2002: 19), a way of categorising and organising that is clearly evident within the Frobenius Archive. Once this has happened the knowledge held within these archival documents can enter into a process of becoming publicly owned, forming a public narrative, a collective memory and a form of universal truth (2002: 19–21).

For Mbembe, the concept of a public narrative and a collective memory is intertwined with the authoritativeness of an archive, pointing to the dangers of moments where meaning is more fixed and singular, resonating with Barthes and Moxey's ideas. The issue of singular meaning within the Frobenius context can be seen to exist more powerfully, and problematically, in Frobenius's own published writings than in the field recordings they were based on. This is due to the published texts' apparent authoritativeness, as well as the distance between the 'messy' archive and the 'tidy' and highly selective published presentation of the expedition's findings guided by Frobenius's own quest for an overarching universal structure through which to view cultural patterns. An archive is not necessarily a narrative to start with; the archival materials needs to be re-written, re-ordered, interpreted, and presented in some way. This is similar to the concept of consignation that French theorist Jacques Derrida defines as that which gives the archive and the archival materials their legitimacy in his text 'Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression' (1994) (a text I explore further at a later stage within this section).

Frobenius was the prolific author of abundantly illustrated books — *Madsimu Dsangara* (1931a) and *Erythräa* (1931b) are the two main works that were produced and published from the ninth expedition — however the books present the overarching findings in terms of big themes and trends through which he viewed African history rather than any of the logistical details of the expedition or the processes of collecting field recordings (Wintjes 2013: 172). This resulted in the formation of a particular kind of singular meaning given form to by Frobenius's authoritative and authorial voice, distilled from the recordings, rather than offering details of the fieldwork to the reader, which would open up understandings of the processes of data collection, and more actively encourage the meaning-making process to become the reader's responsibility. This mode of research is consistent with the kind of anthropological work being carried out more widely in Frobenius's time, informed by a range of approaches that can be characterised as structuralist, and before a post-structuralist paradigm came explicitly into being. Frobenius's mode of writing

tends to downplay, or eclipse entirely, the agency of the work of other members, and his mode of writing also results in the removal of the agency of the people captured within the photographs. Not acknowledging these multiple agencies is a mode of writing that is not specific to Frobenius, since the standard anthropological or history book of this period frequently did the same. Within this research report I engage with these eclipsed materials and agencies that are present in the archive but need to be pulled out and made visible, in order to access multiple meanings within the Frobenius Archive, and foreground the personal as an archival substance.

Singular meaning that has been distilled from multiple ideas and sources of information can be linked to the concept of time within the archive. The idea of multiple fragments being collected over a certain timeframe and then distilled into a narrative that portrays time as singularly chronological does not acknowledge the concept of 'time lag' and its effect on the contexts the knowledge is received in. Art critic and curator Okwui Enwezor grapples with the idea of time, specifically notions around linear and cyclical time, in relation to the image and the archive in the chapter 'Documents into Monuments: Archives as Mediations on Time' (2008a). The notion of time is explored in Enwezor's text through the idea of 'time lag', which he defines as the time between the capturing of the photograph and its realisation into an artwork (Enwezor 2008a: 134). He also explores the idea of 'time-lag' through ideas of linear time in relation to the archive (ibid.). Enwezor associates the logic of the archive to 'archival linearity and narrative continuity' which in essence depends on chronology (2008a: 134). Linear time provides order and a chronology that the concept and organisation of an archive relies on. The structure of linear time is therefore embedded in notions of power, as the archive, in its linearity, makes claims to truth and history. Enwezor's notion of a 'time lag', on the other hand, destabilises the idea of order within the archive as it alludes to the archive's constructed and complex nature. Within the FWG's exploration of the Frobenius Archive, there is a particular 'time lag' between the moment in which the materials were collected and our own work within the archive almost nine decades later. The post-structuralist approach to the materials I am engaging with acknowledges the way in which my context influences our understanding of the materials. A physical manifestation of a more layered 'time lag' is visible in Davidson's reconstruction of the Cinyati rock-shelter, as his research highlights the changes over more than a century rather than aspiring to restore the site to a singular state of wholeness.

Mbembe further raises the question of the materiality of an archive, specifically the way in which material objects allow for an archive to be considered plausible through its physicality, a physical trace that engages viewers (Mbembe 2002: 23). He suggests that materiality offers an archive a multitude of meanings and stories through a viewer's engagement and interpretation of these material links as 'there is no meaning outside the subjective experience' (Mbembe 2002: 23). Within the Frobenius Archive, the digitised materials also have a certain digital and virtual materiality. The accessibility of the archival materials in digital form allows me to restore and

suggest material links to form a dialogical relationship between archival material without having to physically visit the archive in Frankfurt. The digitised form of the materials enables us to travel into the field *with* the archive. The juxtapositions of image and text that I create results in a subjective interpretation of both the written and photographic material from the Cinyati sub-set, informed also by my own field experiences of returning with the archive into the landscape.

Derrida questions whether one remembers if one does not externalise and create a physical trace, creating a point of resonance between his concept of externalising and Mbembe's materiality of the archive. Derrida suggests that one places one's innermost thoughts into this physical trace and goes on to argue that once this has happened it relieves one of the duty of remembering (1994: 7).[4]

Derrida's idea of 'consignation', introduced above, is important in relation to the structure of an archive. He defines it as something that 'aims to coordinate a single corpus, in a system or a synchrony in which all the elements articulate the unity of an ideal configuration' (Derrida 1994: 10). Enwezor picks up on some of Derrida's ideas in relation to the definition and structure of an archive in his text 'Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art' (2008b). He draws on the idea of consignation, essentially arguing that without consignation, the process of reconfiguration cannot take place:

> 'The aim is not to produce a theory of the archive but to show the ways in which archival documents, information gathering, data-driven visual analysis, the contradictions of master narratives, the invention of counter-archives and thus counter-narratives, the projection of social imagination into sites of testimony, witnessing and much more inform and infuse the practices of contemporary artists' (Enwezor 2008b: 22).

I pick up on Enwezor's interest in processes of reconfiguring and supplementing the existing archival narratives within the Natal leg of the Frobenius Archive. Within this quote, Enwezor associates the practice of reconfiguring the archive with contemporary artistic practices as his text was written in conjunction with an exhibition that he curated that sought to explore the creative possibilities of the archive, and particularly the uses of photography as an archival medium. My approach to supplementing the Frobenius Archive through the creation of an image-text juxtaposition also includes a creative artistic component.

Enwezor included the artworks of various artists that grapple with the concept and materials of the archive, with a particular interest in the document and the medium of photography (Enwezor 2008b: 7). He found that

[4] Derrida investigates definitions of archives and archival practices in relation to theories elaborated by Austrian Psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud. He focuses particularly on Freud's concept of the 'death drive'. Derrida argues that the need to destroy is as strong as the need to preserve. While this is not a functional part of my analysis it is a tangential line of enquiry that stands in an interesting relationship to it.

> ‘on a different level, a noticeable humanist concern drives the analyses found in individual projects. This dialectic structured by humanist and posthumanist traditions casts the whole range of archival production within an epistemological context that far exceeds the issues of taxonomies, typologies, and inventories generated by the artists’ (2008b: 46).

Within this quote Enwezor argues for an approach that is more human and personal rather than rigid and aspiring to be scientifically ‘accurate’. He positions archiving as an essentially personal and subjective journey, formed by the ways in which its creator wants to remember events. He discusses a move away from classification and categorisation, often understood as inherent in archival practices in that the structuring of knowledge allows a sense of objectivity to be assumed. However, while the different kinds of objectivity within an archive need to be foregrounded and approached with a critical eye, the institutional practice of preservation and ordering is still useful, because it means that all these years later I am able to retrieve the Cinyati documentary sub-set within the larger archive, and it means that these materials are kept for posterity in an internally logical order. This allows me to work within the original form of the archive and supplement it by re-creating another version of the archive that allows us to understand and navigate through the original differently.

Thus, in my understanding of the archive, the structure, or as Derrida defines it, ‘consignation’, is necessary. It sets the archival material into a particular context and allows for future researchers to engage with the knowledge produced and materials collected. However, the structure does not necessarily result in a fixed reading of the archival material, but instead allows for active engagement and re-readings of the material. Within the following section, I situate the Cinyati-related bundle of archival documents, located within the Natal section of the Frobenius Archive, in an attempt to understand the archive as it exists before my reconfiguration. The archive can be seen to be in continual formation and in my re-engagement, I work to create a dialogical relationship between different mediums and materials that will open up understandings of the presence of the personal within the Frobenius Archive. I foreground this research as my own exploration and interpretation of the archive, allowing for future archivists or researchers to build upon my links of the personal, to continue in a similar quest for a new genre, or to engage with the archive on their own terms.

Situating the Frobenius Archive

Derrida explains that there is a human desire to archive and states further that it is ‘a compulsive, repetitive, and nostalgic desire for the archive, an irrepressible desire to return to the origin, a homesickness, a nostalgia for the return to the most archaic place of absolute commencement’ (1994: 50). He describes that the impulse to archive is based on emotional rather than rational needs and speaks about a passion that is all-consuming. German translator and literature

researcher Janheinz Jahn describes Frobenius's interest in ethnographic practices as 'the unrestrained hunger for personal experience' (Jahn 1974: 20 quoted in Marchand 1997: 157), which is a close parallel to Derrida's idea of an irrepressible desire. Behar describes the practice of anthropology as 'born of the European colonial impulse to know others' (1996: 4), an idea which echoes both Derrida's idea of 'archive fever' as an impulse and Frobenius's understanding of ethnographic studies as a hunger. There is a third point of resonance between Derrida's quote and an aspect of Frobenius's research impulse, as his motivations and reasons for creating an archive were shaped around a nostalgic desire to document 'ancient and traditional ways of life he felt were threatened by modernity', therefore seeking to document a more original state of culture, before changes could take place (Wintjes 2013: 167).

The overarching objectives of the ninth expedition were clear but the ethnographers produced a vast surplus of data that has never been published. Wintjes's work within the Frobenius Archive was focused around studying the geology and rock art at the Cinyati rock shelter and through this process she assembled a bundle of documents that focused more on the personal content within the archive. This bundle of documents offered a starting point for my reconfiguration to take place. The full recording of Cinyati rock-shelter thus 'comprises a set of documents and images that provide a detailed portrait of the cave on two distinct levels: as a panoramic gallery of paintings produced by a vanished way of life, and as a rock-shelter embedded within a living landscape inhabited by a Zulu-speaking farming community' (Wintjes 2013: 198). The field notes associated with the Natal leg comprise of a set of eleven rock art site descriptions that have been compiled by all three artists in a methodical fashion, with Schulz being the author of the Cinyati site description (Schulz 1929), whilst Weyersberg's diary entries provide a more impressionistic set of notes, tracking the day-to-day unfolding of their journey (but with many gaps). I therefore focus on Weyersberg's diary excerpts in my analysis. The subject matter of the photographs, for their part, ranges from the rock art sites and the landscapes these sites are a part of, to the people the members of the expedition encountered along the way. The documentation also contains a set of detailed diagrams documenting scarification. This latter category of documents portray a more objectifying way of recording people's identity, and seem consonant with a desire to record an encoded 'Zulu' ethnicity.

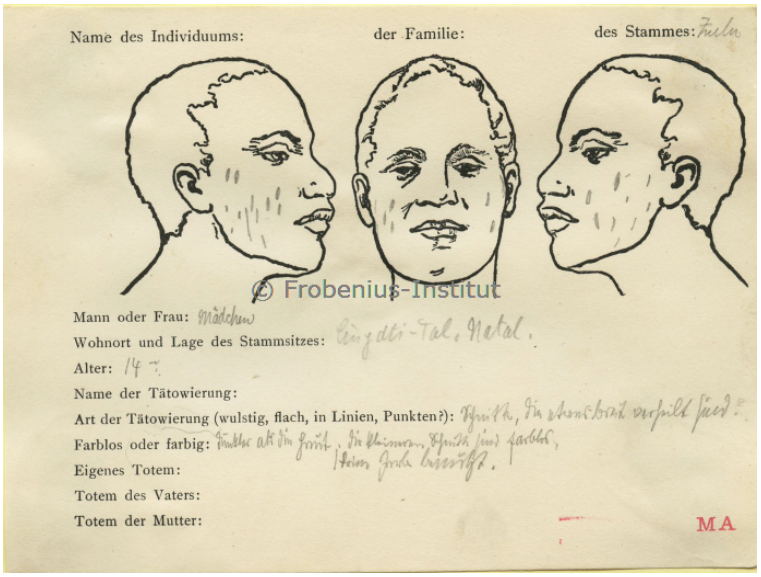


Figure 3: A copy of the diagrams used to document scarification.

Photography was a significant part of the Frobenius expedition's recording methodology, even though it was expensive to produce and challenging to travel with the materials required to develop the negatives in the field. In discussing the medium of photography and its capability to document, Enwezor suggests that 'the photograph, in its ability to become a reference, records fragments of time that are singular in their occurrences, thus unique', arguing that it is this power that results in photography being an effective archival medium (Enwezor 2008b: 11). Enwezor further argues that the physicality and the direct reference that a photograph provides acts as proof of a subject's existence (2008b: 11). Enwezor suggests that the ingrained ability of photography to portray a sense of truth is part of why photography is so prevalent within archival practices and this ingrained truth reinforces the notion of the archive as a comprehensive as well as a factual record of the past. On a technical level, photography also enables a field worker to produce many detailed images in a relatively short space of time. Enwezor also writes about the uniqueness of a photograph, suggesting that the selectivity within the pictorial narrative of a photograph is a result of the physical act of producing it (Enwezor 2008b: 12). Edwards argues something similar, that the photographer frames visual reality through their own specific interpretation or understanding of material reality. Hence, there is a subjective articulation embedded in the medium of photography that is often overlooked, as the photograph appears to display a realistic fragment of reality that is oftentimes read as objective rather than selective (Edwards 1997: 55).

The medium of photography however, in its easy ability to be reproduced as well as the proliferation of photographic prints, particularly amplified in the digital era, challenges Enwezor's idea of the unique. German art theorist Walter Benjamin in his text 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (1973 [1936]), discusses the concept of the 'aura' of the original work. Benjamin argues that: 'man-made artefacts could always be imitated by men' however 'the

presence of the original work is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity' (Benjamin 1973: 220). The medium of photography subverts this concept of authenticity as multiple prints can be developed from a single negative. In the case of the Frobenius Archive, the Frobenius Institute was bombed during WW2 and some of the archival documents were destroyed, including a set of photo-albums that covered all of the expeditions. Many original negatives survived, however, and a new set of small-format prints were developed in the late 1940s/early 1950s for the purposes of re-creating the photo-albums that had been lost. The reconfiguration of the archival materials that took place at different moments subsequently in an attempt to restore at least in part what was lost resulted in another layer added to the archive, and a further distancing of the archival material from its original formation and context. The recent digitisation of the Frobenius Archive adds yet another layer, and results in greater access but also in a further reorganisation and fragmentation of the wholeness, context and aura of the original work in Benjamin's definition. Processes of selectivity and categorisation within archival practices could possibly start to counteract the proliferation of photographs.

Photography in its suspended and frozen state can also be described as a skeleton of the past that reflects the views of the present through the way it is constructed by knowledge. Edwards references the American writer and filmmaker Susan Sontag's idea of photographs as fragments of time (Sontag 1978: 81 cited in Edwards 1997: 57). French film theorist Christian Metz explores similar ideas in a different context in his text 'Photography and Fetish' (2003). He discusses the relationship between portraiture and death: the idea that the moment the photograph captures is dead and unrecoverable (2003: 139). However, a fraction of that moment has also been made permanent through the photographic object. My work within the Frobenius Archive attempts to put these fragments of time that have been captured in the photographic material and diary entries into dialogue with each other. I argue that viewing the photographs and diary entries in relation to each other provides more insight into the living context in which these materials were produced as well as highlights the personal interactions that occurred during the documentation process.

Photographs examined in isolation are indeed like 'slivers' of time but our understanding of their context of production can be enriched by examining them alongside the other materials the archive contains. South African archivist Verne Harris introduces the concept of an 'archival sliver' in his chapter 'The Archival Sliver: A Perspective on the Construction of Social Memory in Archives and the Transition from Apartheid to Democracy' (2002), and I pick up on the concept of a sliver, as a fragment of the archive, within the next section. In addition to photography, the Frobenius Archive consists of manually painted and or sketched images that function as more than 'mere' documentation of paintings, existing and circulating as authentic artworks of their own (Wintjes 2013: 170). The rock art copies have generally been more widely disseminated and re-copied, published or adapted to other contexts, than either the photographs or the field diaries. This

highlights the interest in rock art that formed one of the main objectives of the expedition.

While the photography and diary excerpts are focused mainly around Cinyati rock-shelter, I work with a selection of the portraits as well as a selection of the diary excerpts to explore the presence of the personal. I investigate the dialogical relationship between the two mediums of writing and photography by placing the photographs back into a more 'original' relationship with the diary entries that were given form at the same time. This process goes towards 'restoring' something of the uniqueness of the photographs in the moment and context in which they were created. In the next section, I start to examine the possibilities of a re-interpretation of the Cinyati sub-set, outlining how, within my reconfiguration, I am giving an 'afterlife' to under-examined portions of the archive.

Reconfiguring the Frobenius Archive

In redefining the 'archive' more generally, and in situating the Frobenius Archive in relation to this redefinition in the previous sections, I open up a space in which a reconfiguration of the archive can commence.

To begin with, and in order to frame my own text-image work from these archival materials, I create an intimate space where juxtapositions of the diary extracts and photographs allow for new interpretations of this particular leg of the Frobenius expedition to arise. Taking on the role of both 'reader' and 'reconfigurer' of the Cinyati materials, I read them as they exist within the current structures of the Frobenius Archive and form my reconfiguration by finding a way to rearrange them, and thus open up a new reading of, these materials. In this reorganisation, I take my cue from the diary entries. Sometimes Weyersberg's written descriptions directly correlate with what is captured in the photographs, providing an opportunity to make direct intersections visible, but most of the time they offer insights into the moments in between the photographs, also pointing to further gaps and absences. Looking into these in-between moments, framed by the intersections between the photographs and the written commentary, highlights the subjective nature of archiving and the strong personal presence of the recorder, complicating and countering the apparently objective nature of the photograph, and the authority of the archive more generally. The diary entries in many cases also offer information that enriches our understanding of what has been photographed, helping a viewer to pick up on particular details within the image.

The two media differ in their visuality and temporality and I demonstrate the ways in which they enrich and complicate each other in an image-text juxtaposition that takes place in the present. This is greatly facilitated by the digitisation of the archive, but is still structured according to what took place in the past. This juxtaposition echoes Edwards's and Janice Hart's idea that 'a synthetic object of linked but separate parts […] that have interacted and continue to interact, with each

other and with the institution in which they are housed, to produce a succession of meanings that are broader and more complex than a simple sum of various parts' (Edwards & Hart 2004: 48). Edwards and Hart discuss the contents of a box found in the reserve collections of the Pitt Rivers Museum. They look at the relationship between objects that have been grouped or enclosed together and the way in which the relationship to each other emphasises the role of materiality in meaning-making. In this text Edwards and Hart make a distinction between 'natural' and 'synthetic' objects within an archive or museum. According to the authors if an object remains singular or individual once it enters a museum collection or becomes a part of an archive it is classified as 'natural'. If the object is placed in relation to another object or displayed to create new relationships or possible readings of the object essentially 'making a new entity both intellectually and physically' then it is classified as 'synthetic' (2004: 50). My work within the Cinyati section of the Frobenius Archive starts with a focus on the 'natural' object — the diary entries and photographs — moving on to an exploration of the possibilities of 'synthetic' objects through the image-text pairing I create.

In Edwards's 2002 text, we see an earlier version of a related idea: 'an object cannot be fully understood at an individual single point in its existence but rather one has to take into consideration its relationship to other objects as a continual process of meaning' (2002: 68). This is similar to the way in which Barthes and Moxey argue that the production of meaning is constantly in flux, and that a work changes through a layered process of reading. As mentioned earlier, with regard to the Cinyati photographs, it is not always clear which of the three artists took each photograph. This uncertainty highlights a loss of information at the level of the personal on the recorders' side, and simultaneously raises the question of the presence and agency of the female artists in doing this work. It also raises questions around the nature of their collaboration, and the relationship between the work they did and the achievements of the entire expedition. Their contribution, as illustrators, appears subsidiary to the powerful textual pronouncements of Frobenius, who was the single named author of the books. The desire for field workers, artists or people employed in a 'technical' capacity to be made more visible fits into the wider project of making visible the full spectrum of collaborative contributions to knowledge-making. Highlighting the collaborative aspect of knowledge-making is necessary still today, where it is still a common practice to attribute knowledge derived from a collaborative process to an individual. For example, in many cases today, illustrators are considered technicians employed in service of the scientific project, rather than active contributors to the production of knowledge.

Just as a published text or image might at first glance appear singular in its authorship but is actually a complexly produced work, it is useful also to move beyond the surface of a text or image, and consider its physical existence as a three-dimensional object. Edwards argues that the archive itself is a material object and its materiality constructs the viewer's experience of the photographs in certain ways (2002: 68). She defines materiality as the physical and technical components of a

photograph as well as the way in which the photograph is presented. She argues that the reading of an image cannot focus solely on the visual; it has also to consider the choice of paper, tones, size as well as whether it is placed within a frame or an album (Edwards 2002: 68). The consideration of materiality is an essential part of the meaning-making process and after defining materiality Edwards then applies this definition to ethnographic photographs and their function within an archive. Edwards highlights that ethnographic photographs within an archive have standardised photographic surfaces and unvarying tonal ranges. She states that these photographs are grouped and are viewed as portraying a cohesive narrative and as a unified collection. The grouping of ethnographic photographs takes away from each individual photograph's authorship and singularity (2002: 71).

Within this research report I consider a selection of photographs as individual images, performing a visual analysis of each, then as a sequence of photographs (in Chapter 3), and lastly I explore their relationship to the diary entries as well as their role within the Frobenius Archive more broadly (in Chapter 5 and Annex 1). By engaging with photographs and field notes in this manner within a site specific portion of the Frobenius Archive, I start a process of reconstructing the information within it that could be extended to other parts of the archive. In so doing, I challenge ideas of archival knowledge offering a fixed singular meaning, providing insight into the ways in which these materials were formed and explore how the archive can be used for purposes other than those that were intended. It becomes a process of individual interpretation, highlighting the subjective role of the archivist, viewer and reconfigurer, but still ultimately also geared towards understanding something of the original field experience and process of recording, as well as subsequent archival acts and transformations.

My process is also a response to this perceived need for archives to be consciously refigured in the present. The book *Refiguring the Archive* (Hamilton et al. 2002a) deals with the archive as something that is 'figured' and needs to be 'refigured', in order 'to engage the idea of the taken-for-granted, often implicit, 'archive' that is the foundation of the production of knowledge in the present, the basis for the identities of the present and for the possible imaginings of community in the future' (Hamilton et al. 2002b: 9).

Harris in his chapter within this book discusses the fragmentary nature of an archive:

> '[I]f archival records reflect reality, they do so complicitly, and in a deeply fractured and shifting way. They do not act by themselves. They act through many conduits — the people who created them, the functionaries who manage them, the archivists who selected them for preservation and make them available for use, and the researchers who use them in constructing accounts of the past' (2002: 136).

Edwards discusses the idea of ethnographic photographs referring to Portuguese Social

Anthropologist Nuno Porto who suggests that ethnographic photographs should be viewed as objects as they are created and archived or preserved for a specific reason (Porto 2001: 38 quoted in Edwards 2002: 67).

From the methodological and theoretical foundations that I have explored within the three sub-sections of this chapter, I propose a formulation of a new 'genre' which pulls all of the ideas above into one manner of working. Fabian proposes a framing of 'commentary' as an ethnographic genre that makes use of separate pieces of information that do not necessarily perfectly fit together. These individual points of information do not form one coherent narrative and this is precisely not the aim within this genre (Fabian 2008: 9). These 'comments' or bundles of information juxtapose, contradict and in some cases complement each other, in essence forming a narrative collage (Fabian 2008: 9–13). The use of individual components coming together to form a layered, multiple narrative is where I situate my work. I interweave my concept of the personal together with my methodology of image-text juxtaposition to reconfigure the Cinyati sub-set of the archive. I propose that this can be viewed as an exploration akin to Fabian's 'new genre', but with a particular visual interest, in which one creates image-text juxtapositions, in a collage-like mode, while foregrounding the personal subjective moments within these archival materials, forming a layered multiple narrative. I argue that this is a genre that has a lot in common with Fabian's proposed genre of 'commentary', in its acknowledgement of the fragmentary nature of the information we have, the multi-vocal participation of people on both sides of the anthropological encounter, the provisional nature of knowledge as well as the ways in which digital media change the way we work in the 'archive'. I extend Fabian's genre of 'commentary' through interlinked concepts of the personal as an archival medium situated in between the documentary traces we find in the archive, as well as in bringing a strong focus on the visual and experiential into the field of inquiry and practice. Although I am examining a relatively small part of the archive, my method and this genre I propose can be applied to other parts of the Frobenius archive (or other archives) to reveal links between other archival materials.

In the next section I begin by examining the visual and textual materials separately in the first instance thereby setting up the framework to bring them into an image-text dialogue within Chapter 5.

Chapter 3: Visual, Textual and Comparative Analysis

Within this chapter I conduct a telescopic study of a segment of archival material within the Frobenius Archive, starting with a broad overview of the full set of documents generated at Cinyati. I then move on to a visual analysis through a process of close looking at the pictorial content of a sub-set of five photographs, followed by a focused textual study of a set of seven diary excerpts. Once I have looked at each medium separately, I then reflect on points of contact, similarity and difference.

Frobenius Archive: Archival Content

As mentioned above, in addition to being archived as negatives, most of the photographs were printed in small format and placed into photo-albums grouped according to each expedition. The photographs collected on the ninth expedition fill eleven separate albums and they have been labelled as Südafrika band 1–11 (southern Africa volumes 1–11). Each of the photo-albums has a sub-heading offering further information about how the photographs are organised, grouped by subject matter and geographic area. The photographs of the Cinyati leg feature in the seventh and eighth photo-albums, labelled 'Ethnographie, Basuto-Zulu' (Basuto-Zulu Ethnography) and 'Felsbilder, Landschaft, Lager, Basutoland, Oranje-Freistaat, Natal, Kap der Guten Hoffnung' (Rock Art, Landscape, Camp, Basutoland, Orange Free State, Natal, Cape of Good Hope), respectively. In the seventh album, photographs taken at Cinyati feature on pages 492–495, all photographs of people in and around the site and valley (Frobenius-Institut. c.1950a). In the eighth, Cinyati photographs appear on pages 607–611, and depict the rock-shelter and its landscape (Frobenius-Institut. c.1950a).

Each photo-album page contains a number of photographs ranging from two to six photographs per page providing a total of eighteen photographs in the seventh album and sixteen in the eighth album, that pertain to Cinyati. We can see in this organisation one of the ways in which the archival materials are refracted, and re-ordered in the archive according to particular categories of subject matter, with the photographs of the people they encountered at Cinyati featuring in photo album seven and the photographs of Cinyati as a site of rock art figuring in album eight. The photographs within the seventh photo album vary in size and provide a series of portraits taken from various angles directly in front of the rock-shelter as well as portraits taken within the landscape. The eighth photo-album consists of three panoramic landscape sets. Each set is made up of three adjoining photographs that have captured views into the painted rock-shelter from various angles, which demonstrates a systematic approach to their photographic recording that they replicated at other sites, 'one set being a frontal view of the shelter from a certain distance and the other two lateral views from within the shelter, one looking north, the other south' (Wintjes 2013: 180).

Visual Analysis of the Photographs

For a closer visual analysis, I have chosen five photographs out of the eighteen from the Cinyati sub-set depicting people, which is a selection that is representative of the wider sub-set. I have limited it to five photographs as I feel it is sufficient to demonstrate my argument and it is my sense that an analysis of further photographs would only serve to reinforce my argument. The primary subject matter I am focusing on within these photographs is the human subject, rather than the landscape or rock-shelter which are the focus of many of the other Cinyati photographs. My selection comprises photographs of human subjects in the open landscape (Figures 7–9) as well as in front of the rock shelter (Figures 10–11). All the people in the photographs within my selection are women and children, and within the full recording of the Cinyati area there are very few photographs of men (except Figure 4). This suggests an absence of men living in this area at the time, and may have something to do with the broader context of the migrant labour system in South Africa at the time, which forced men to move to more industrially developed cities to find work. South African art historian and curator Anitra Nettleton in her text 'Women, Beadwork and Bodies: The Making and Marking of Migrant Liminality in South Africa, 1850–1950' (2014a) discusses migrant labour as a practice 'in southern Africa [that] pulled large numbers of men into the cities and onto the mines, leaving women at home to tend the fields, bring up the children, care for the elderly and, most importantly, to keep cultural identity alive' (Nettleton 2014a: 341). While migrant labour resulted in large numbers of men working in the cities, it must be acknowledged that we see several male figures in the background of some of the photographs (e.g. Figure 4), possibly local guides employed by the three artists, although they were not named and their role within the expedition was not mentioned in any of the texts that we have looked at. Frances Slabolepszy, a masters student who completed the African Art History course in 2016, for which she produced a paper titled, 'Wir [haben] eine Menge Albeit for uns gesahen, Sibone umsebenzi omkhulu phambi kwethu, We Saw a Lot of Work Ahead of us' (2016),[5] notes that it is 'interesting that this interaction [the encounter between the Frobenius expedition members and the local residents at Cinyati] constitutes the meeting of two groups of women, one close to home and the other very far from it, but all similarly independent of men in that they had, in different ways, taken on roles and responsibilities at that time considered unusual for women' (2016: 7).

[5] As a part of the African Art History course in the second semester of 2016, a group of three students, Bahlakoana Lesemane, Frances Slabolepszy and Suhaila Mather, worked on the Cinyati photographic portraits with a particular focus on the beadwork (having as a task to link the beadwork depicted in the photographs to objects housed in museums). Discussions around aspects of visual analysis and fieldwork with these students have contributed significantly to the collaborative context in which I am working, including some of the observations I use within this Research Report. Here I am drawing from Slabolepszy's essay and the title of this text is an excerpt from Frobenius's notes that Slabolepszy translated into Zulu and then into English.

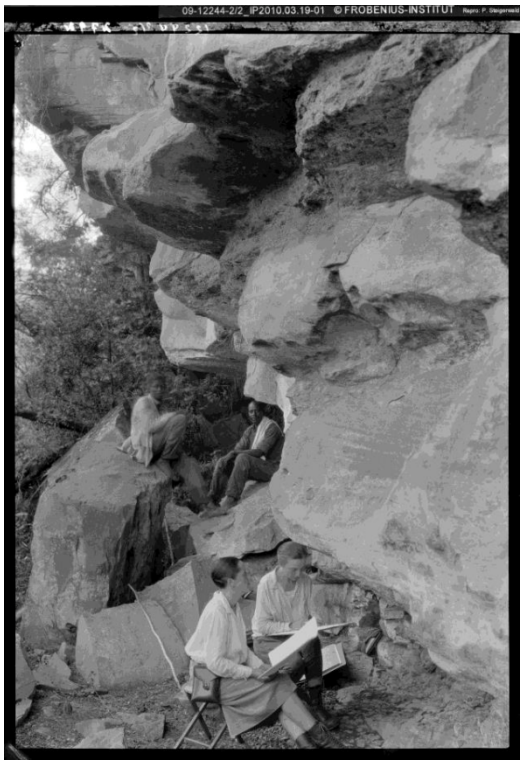


Figure 4: Maria Weyersberg and Elisabeth Mannsfeld at work copying the rock paintings at Sunday Falls 1 (Natal National Park), Photograph taken by Agnes Schulz (1929) Image reproduced with permission from the Frobenius Institute. © Frobenius Institute Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Germany (FoA 09-12244-2v2).

In certain frames, the role of human figures is subsidiary to the main subject matter. The expedition members are included against the backdrop of the rock-shelter as a means of documenting them working at a particular site, copying the rock paintings (Figure 4).[6] The images portraying the artists in front of the rock-shelter also provide an idea of the scale of the rock-shelter.

The close portraits of the people at Cinyati, as well as living in the surrounding areas through which the expedition members travelled to get to Cinyati, were intended to document for example, wardrobe and hairstyles. In many cases the photographs are portraits of individuals, however, there are several images capturing two or more people together. Whilst many of the hand-painted copies of the rock paintings at Cinyati appear in the rock art 'chronicle' derived from the ninth expedition, *Madsimu Dsangara* (Frobenius 1931a), the vast majority of the 'ethnographic' images have never, to our knowledge, been published, except for one cropped portrait of a young Zulu woman captioned, 'Zulumädchen', that appears in the book *Erythräa*, but whose location is not specified in its published context, other than through the ethnic label 'Zulu' (Frobenius 1931b: plate 1; Wintjes 2013: 198). While the documentation of living people and contemporary ways of life was not the ninth expedition's main focus, it was certainly one of the expedition's secondary aims. The 'ethnographic' images highlight moments that were occurring alongside the documentation of the rock art, offering insights into nuanced moments of fieldwork. While photographs are composed of elements that can be used to construct a narrative, Edwards argues that the stillness of a photograph results in a 'lack of obvious narrative', (Edwards 1997: 71). While narratives are not always as evident when viewing an individual photograph, the process of viewing the photographs of the rock art recording in relation to the documentation of the living people within the Cinyati area offers an opportunity for multiple narratives to be created.

[6] The rock-shelter depicted in Figure 4 is Sunday Falls. Within the archive it is incorrectly labelled as a part of the Cinyati rock-shelter. I have included it to show a pattern to their work as well as an example of erroneous captions.



Figure 5: Cinyati Rock Shelter 1929, photograph taken by Schulz. Image reproduced with permission from the Frobenius Institute. © Frobenius Institute Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Germany (FoA09-12242 1v3, 2v3, 3v3).



Figure 6: View of Cinyati Rock Shelter in its wider landscape setting, Sunday 11 September 2016, photograph taken by Ananmalay.

American Professor of Visual Culture studies Elisabeth Cameron has worked on issues of gender and colonialism in Central Africa. In her text 'The Fieldworker and the Portrait: The Social Relations of Photography' (2013), she discusses the fieldwork she conducted in Zambia during spring of 2004 and acknowledges that the migrant labour system that started in the early twentieth century was still in effect at the time of her fieldwork in 2004 (Cameron, 2014: 145). Through viewing, documenting and ultimately participating actively in women's visual culture in the Kabompo district, it became clear to Cameron that there was a distinction between the fieldwork photographs she took as a part of her own research documentation, and the 'more formally posed portraits' the

Kabompo people requested from her (2013: 142). Cameron describes in detail her encounter with Flora Chitofu and the way in which Chitofu was in full control of the construction of each photograph, clearly asserting her agency and in the process creating a distinction between posed portraits and fieldwork photographs.

The photographs within the Frobenius Archive do not fit neatly within one of Cameron's categories or the other, but these categories are useful for thinking about them, as they enable them to be seen as located somewhere between fieldwork photographs and more formally posed portraits. Weyersberg recorded in her diary an exchange where the women consciously presented themselves for photography: 'In our honour, they went first to their hut in order to decorate themselves especially for us' (Weyersberg 1929a: 90). This quote clearly portrays the agency of the photographed subject, as well as suggesting that they understood something of what the German ethnographers were interested in, and chose to represent themselves in accordance to this. The quote also suggests a familiarity with the practice of photography. Even in those days, the site was not that remote, located near to the road leading to the Natal National Park, a popular holiday destination from around 1910, pointing to the passage through the area of a range of travellers. We also know of at least two other rock art photographers who travelled through this area at an earlier time and visited Cinyati: the local professional photographer Harry Wylde-Browne in the early 1920s, and the German ethnographer Felix von Luschan in 1906 (Wintjes 2017, pers. comm., 8 February).

All of the photographs within the Frobenius Archive are black-and-white as, at the time of the expeditions, colour film was not yet widely used.[7] It can be assumed, due to the fragility of undeveloped film and the warmth of the climate, that the photographs were developed in the field when there was no access to photographic labs. This would mean that the ethnographers probably travelled with chemicals and equipment throughout the expedition, and developed their film as they travelled, where formal photographic laboratory facilities were not available (Wintjes 2016, pers. comm., 2 December).

[7] While the principle of colour film was developed 1861, it was not yet in use in a mobile fieldwork context at the time of the ninth expedition (Photographic Resource Centre 2005).



Figure 7: Portrait of a woman from the local AmaZizi Community. Image reproduced with permission from the Frobenius Institute. © Frobenius Institute Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Germany (FoA09-10563).

Figure 7 is a portrait of a woman from the local AmaZizi community who is depicted from her waist up. For the purpose of clarity I will refer to her as Woman A.[8] She is positioned in the foreground of the image and is facing towards the photographer's right, at an obtuse angle, leading the viewer's curiosity beyond the edge of the frame. Her facial expression could be described as showing concern or serious concentration. Her gaze is cast slightly downward and what we have noticed within the Cinyati sub-set is that very often the individual being photographed is gazing outside of the frame, and focusing on something within the landscape.

The woman has been framed centrally within the composition of the image and she has a cloth draped over her torso that is held up by a knot over her right shoulder. She wears a beaded belt around her waist, made from woven grass with glass seed beads stitched along the edges. Nettleton in her text 'Scars, Beads, Bodies: Pointure and Punctum in the Nineteenth-Century 'Zulu' Beadwork and its Photographic Imaging' (2014b) discusses the successive imports of glass beads and photography by European colonial powers to South Africa. Glass seed beads arrived towards the end of the eighteenth century and they were most commonly used by isiZulu, isiXhosa and Khoisan speakers as they were more regular in size compared to the larger beads made from glass, shell and seeds that were used before the delicate and highly colourful glass variety became available. Seed beads were also more consistent in their shine and texture and while there was a variety of colours available there was a particular preference for white, red and dark blue or black beads at first (Nettleton 2014b: 162).

The woman's hair is flat against her head for about five centimetres above her hairline and then it rises into a large, bun-shaped coif. A viewer can see what seems to be a bunch of separate earrings threaded through a large hole in her right ear that would have originally been enlarged by an ear plug. The earrings are fairly large in size and they appear to have been crafted from wire

[8] I am labelling the women within the photographs as Woman A, B, C and D. I was reluctant to label the figures as I felt that it objectified them however I feel it is necessary for clarity.

spun into a spiral coil and bent into the shape of a ring. She is also wearing beaded strands around her neck, possibly three separate necklaces. Three arm bands have been placed above her elbow, with two being quite thin in width. The background consists of overgrown grass and shrubs and the dark shadow visible along the top edge of the image is the rock-shelter.



Figure 8: Two women and a child from the AmaZizi community, 1929. Image reproduced with permission from the Frobenius Institute. © Frobenius Institute Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Germany (FoA 09-10561).

Figure 8 portrays two women standing in a landscape filled with long grass. Framed almost centrally in the image is a woman, Woman B, carrying a child on her hip who is breastfeeding. The woman seems to be gazing directly at the photographer and the child is looking out of the photographic frame. The child is wearing a beaded necklace around his/her neck. The necklace seems to be made from larger beads than the necklaces worn by Woman A and Woman B. In both Figure 7 and 8 one is able to see that the necklaces and the beading on the clothing consist of geometric patterns of differently coloured beads, different in the details but similar in their overall design. Similarly to Woman A, her hair is flat against her head. In this photograph we are unable to see the back of her hairstyle.

To the right of them, part of a second woman is visible. The second woman's head and left side of her body are cropped by the edges of the photograph. The photograph seems to have been captured from a low frontal angle, which is confirmed by the out-of-focus blades of grass in the foreground at the bottom of the image. This accentuates the tallness of the figures within the landscape of overgrown grass but also places the viewer in the position of looking up at the women, despite the fact that the ground would probably have been more or less level across the river's flood plain where these images were taken.

Woman B who is carrying the child is dressed similarly to Woman A. If one examines Figure 7 in relation to Figure 8, one can see that the woman from Figure 7 – Woman A – is the same figure who is cropped along the right edge of Figure 8. The armbands, the cloth draped over her left

breast and the beaded white string that is seen at her waist matches these elements as seen in Figure 7.



Figure 9: The women and child from the AmaZizi community captured in Figure 8 are captured from a different angle in this photograph, 1929. Image reproduced with permission from the Frobenius Institute. © Frobenius Institute Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Germany (FoA09-10560).

Figure 9 is a photograph portraying the same two women and child depicted in Figure 8 from a side angle. They are standing in a landscape filled with long grass, and behind them there is a tree trunk and a stone wall, marking the edge of the rock-shelter (Wintjes 2013: 180). The women are positioned so that the viewer sees their profile and the second woman is slightly closer to the rock-shelter behind her. The distance and angle that this photograph has been captured at portrays the figures as being surrounded by grass, maize and cucurbit crop plants in the foreground. The figures do not seem as tall in relation to the crops as they do in Figure 8. The woman who is cropped by the edge of the frame in Figure 8 – Woman A (also the subject of Figure 7) – is fully portrayed in Figure 9. Both Woman B and the child she is carrying are situated slightly behind Woman A and seem to be looking straight at the photographer while Woman A is once again gazing out of the photographic frame. From this angle one is able to see that the woman holding the child does not have a bun-shaped coif but rather what seem to be thick braids.



Figure 10: Member of the AmaZizi community carrying a baby standing at the front of the rock-shelter, 1929. Image reproduced with permission from the Frobenius Institute. © Frobenius Institute Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Germany (FoA 09-10578).

Figure 10 is a full-length portrait of a woman carrying a baby standing on a large slanted slab of rock at the front of the shelter (although the rock art is not clearly visible in this photograph, a large panel featuring a painting of a snake once measuring over 1.5m long, among many other human and animal motifs, is located behind her) – Woman C. The face and torso of the baby are not visible, unlike in Figures 8 and 9. One can see part of the baby's head, and its right arm and leg as the woman is carrying the baby on her back and her cape is partially obscuring the child. Once again, the woman is located at a higher level than the photographer, standing on a downward sloping rock. The steep slope of the rock surface and the woman's upturned head gesture accentuates the viewer's sense of looking up towards the subject. The steepness of these slabs of rock still makes it awkward to sit or stand inside this rock-shelter today as one has to constantly balance or prop oneself up.[9] Her chin is slightly raised and while she appears to be looking directly at the camera, from the angle of the viewer it seems as though her eyes are closed. Unlike in Figures 7, 8 and 9 there is no visible beadwork worn by the woman or the baby and her outfit seems slightly different to that worn by the women in Figures 7 and 8. She has a piece of material that is tied around her neck and draped over both shoulders resembling a cape, whereas in the three previous Figures the women's shoulders are visible. Behind her one can partially see into the internal space of the rock-shelter in shadow and part of the leg of someone that has otherwise almost been completely cropped out of the photographic frame. From the edge of a leather skirt and apron that is visible it is clear that it is a woman, most probably the woman seen in the background of Figure 11 (Woman D).

[9] We (a group of three students, Wintjes and South African documentary film-maker Lawrence Msimanga) experienced the awkwardness of sitting on this slanting rock surface on the field trip we took in the context of the African Art History course to the 'Cinyati' (Businga tha) area from 08-11September 2016.



Figure 11: Member of the AmaZizi community sitting at the front of the rock-shelter, 1929.Image reproduced with permission from the Frobenius Institute. © Frobenius Institute Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Germany (FoA 09-10568).

Figure 11 is a photograph of a woman sitting on a slab of rock inside the rock-shelter – Woman D. Similar to her posture and position in Figure 10, she is sitting on the same steeply downward sloping surface. Once again, the woman is located at a higher level in relation to the photographer. The background does not provide much detail as it is cast in shadow, however, the backs of a second and third person are visible. The second and third persons are sitting apart and dressed differently to the women who have been captured in Figures 7–11. As suggested above, these may have been guides, and possibly provided by the Natal National Park hostel where the members of the Frobenius expedition were lodging. They are probably not part of the family-based groups we see in the photographs.

The woman is centrally framed and is seated with a kind of leather skirt worn by married women known as an isidwaba (Nettleton 2014a: 348) covering her legs, without any covering of the upper part of her body. She has a beaded armband above each elbow and what seems to be a thin metal armband on her upper left arm. Her hair is flat against her head for about 5cm and then becomes twisted into short braids that sit just below her ears. The woman is not looking directly at the camera but seems to be gazing off into the distance. Unlike any of the other women in the previous four images, she is smiling.

The Sequence of the Five Photographs

My selection of photographs offers insight into the systematic documentary practice used by the artists/photographers. A simultaneous viewing of the first three photographs demonstrates their methodological approach to record the same or similar scenes from different angles and distances, which they applied to the human subjects as well as the rock-shelter. Figure 7 depicts a closely framed human subject and allows a viewer to engage with the detail of the figure, while Figures 8 and 9 portray the human subjects in a wider landscape setting, offering a more contextual view. They took these multiple shots of the same subject despite the expense and time-consuming nature of the photographic medium at the time of the expedition, and despite the fact that rock art

was their primary focus on the Natal leg of the expedition.

My selection also provides both individual and group portraits. Figures 8 and 9 reiterate their systematic approach. Figures 8 to 11 are photographs that have been taken at an angle that positions the viewer below the captured subject. As mentioned earlier, there are of course power dynamics embedded within the act of recording, and one has to be conscious of the position of the 'viewer' in relation to the 'other'. One needs to question how these roles were understood at the time of recording and whether we are effecting a contemporary reading of these materials, in terms of power relations, that are understood as being embedded within the act of looking and recording. What is evident from reading Weyersberg diary excerpts (see Figure 14) is that these women did have agency and participated willingly in the process, posing and controlling certain aspects of the photographs. We also know that the cameras used by the artists were not hand-held and the angles of the photographs might also be a result of the height of the tripod they used, resulting in many of the photographs not being captured most naturally at eye or slightly lower than eye height (Wintjes 2017, pers. comm., 8 February).

The pattern of the poses of the women in the photographs gazing out of the photographic frame raises the question of whether the individuals were asked to pose in this way, and the extent to which each photograph was constructed, by the photographer, or the photographed subject. Acknowledging the constructed nature of a photograph, the agency of the person being photographed, as well as the effects the presence of the observer has on the observed, allows for the personal within documentary practices to be highlighted. Acknowledging these three aspects enables the notions of 'truth' embedded within the medium of photography, as well as a notion of truth and authority associated to an archive to be questioned (Edwards 1997: 54).

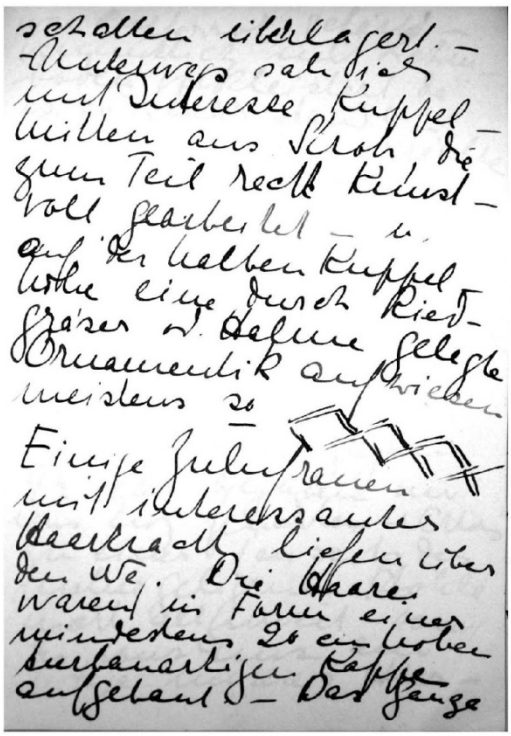
In the next section I conduct a textual analysis of excerpts from Weyersberg's notebooks, ultimately working towards bringing these two mediums into a dialogue with each other.

Textual Analysis of the Diary Entries

Within the archive, the photographs are more directly 'accessible' in view of their visuality and indexicality whereas the notebooks require a very involved process of transcription and translation (even hard for native German-speakers). It is my sense that this reveals something of a 'preference' for, or the greater perceived significance of, photography in the archive. It also means that the photographs are more likely to be used by researchers, whereas the notebooks remain opaque and under-utilised. This appears to contradict what Edwards sees, drawing from European anthropologist and archaeologist Daniel Miller's research, that there are 'ingrained assumptions concerning the superiority of language over other forms of expression such as visual and material forms' (Miller 1987: 96–99 cited in Edwards 2002: 69). In a wider societal context surrounding the

production of knowledge, there is a preference for ‘reading’ and ‘text’, a general anti-visualism. However, in navigating through and trying to make sense of the more intimate space of the archive, it is the visual content that guides us more powerfully than the writing. Professor of law at New York Law School Richard Sherwin co-editor (with Anne Wagner) of the book *Law, Culture and Visual Studies* (2014) states that images can often be grasped at once while engaging with texts is a time consuming process that can be viewed as a daunting task to some people (2014: xxxiv). While the process of engaging with photographs can be viewed as easier than engaging with texts, one must remember not to overlook or undervalue the process of reading an image and the information it provides as well as the value of reading the photographs and the texts alongside one another.

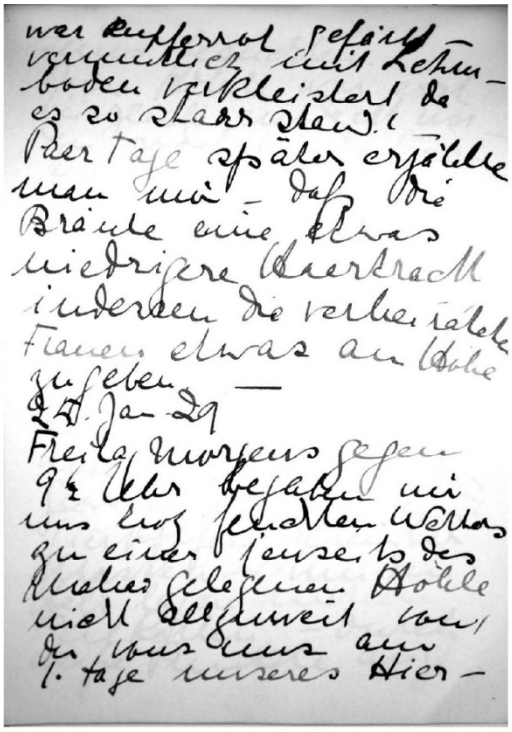
Within this section, I first present the diary excerpts as they are and then I proceed to analyse them.



[...] schatten überlagert. Unterwegs sah ich mit Interesse Kuppelhütten aus Stroh, die zum Teil recht Kunstvoll gearbeitet, u.[-nd] auf der halben Kuppelhöhe eine durch Riedgräser od.[-er] Halme gelegde Ornamentik aufwiesen meistens so [Skizze]. Einige Zulufrauen mit interessanter Haartracht liefen über den Weg. Die Haare waren in Form einer mindestens 20 cm hohen Ausbauartigen Kappe aufgebaut. Das Ganze [...]

[..] with cloud shadows. On the way I observed with interest dome huts from straw, some of which were skilfully crafted, and halfway up the hut walls [a] decorative pattern made from sedges or hay most often like this [sketch]. Some Zulu women with interesting hairstyles were walking along the way. The[ir] hair was shaped into puffed-up coifs at least 20cm high. All of them [..]

Figure 12: Photographed copy of Weyersberg’s diary 1929a page 83. Photograph taken by Wintjes (2010).



[...] war Kupferrot gefärbt vermeutlich mit Lehmboden verkleistert da es so starr stand. Paar tage später erzählte man wir, daß die Braute eine etwas niedrigere Haartracht indessen die verheirateten Frauen etwas am Höhe zu geben.

25.Jan.29

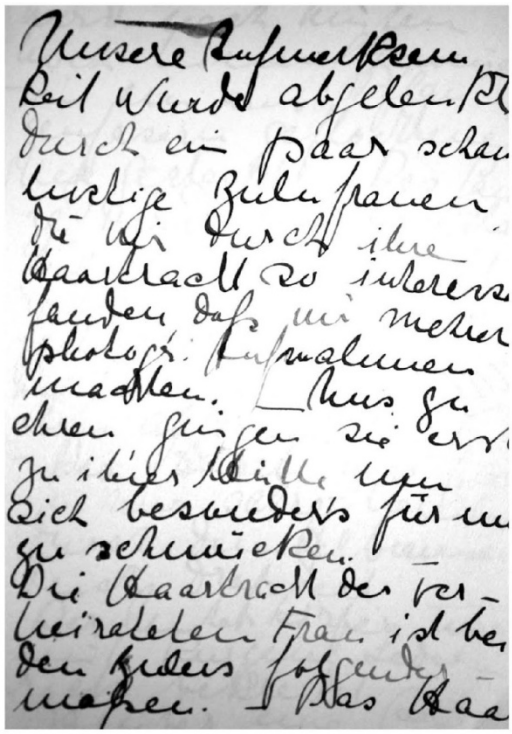
Freitag morgens gegen 9 ½ Uhr begaben wir uns trotz feuchten Wetters zu einer Jenseits des Mahai gelegen Höhle nicht allzuweit von der ? uns am 1te tage unseres Hier- [...]

[...] were painted copper-red probably stuck together with clayey soil for it to stand so stiffly. A few days later we were told that women who are getting married wear slightly lower hairstyles, whereas married women wear something higher.

25 January 1929

Friday morning towards 9:30 we left despite wet weather to a cave located beyond Mahai not too far from ?where we were? **[N.2?]** on the first day of [...]

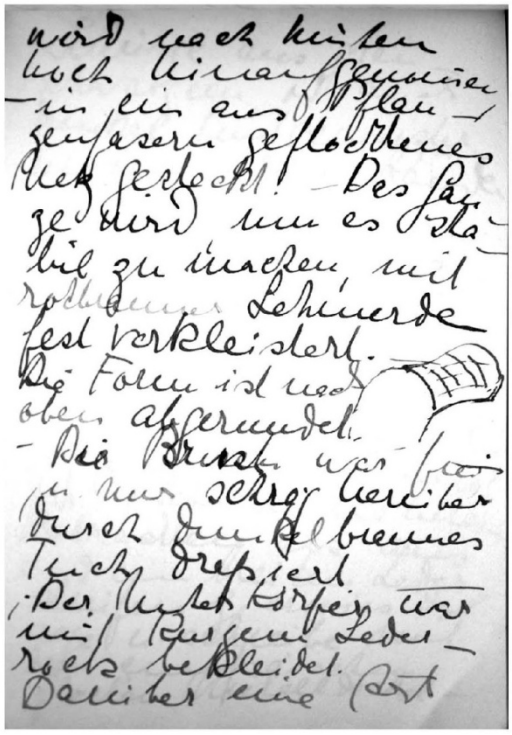
Figure 13: Photographed copy of Weyersberg's diary 1929a page 84, photograph taken by Wintjes (2010).



Unsere Aufmerksamkeit wurde abgelenkt durch ein paar schaulustige Zulufrauen, die wir durch ihre Haartracht so interessant fanden, dass wir mehrere photogr.[-aphische] Aufnahmen machten. Uns zu ehren, gingen sie erst zu ihrer Hütte um sich besonders für uns zu schmücken. Die Haartracht der verheirateten Frau ist bei den Zulus folgendermassen. Das Haar [...]

Our attention was diverted by a few onlooking Zulu women, which we found so interesting because of their hairstyles that we made several photographic recordings. In our honour, they went first to their hut in order to decorate themselves especially for us. The hairstyle of a married woman is as follows among the Zulus. The hair [...]

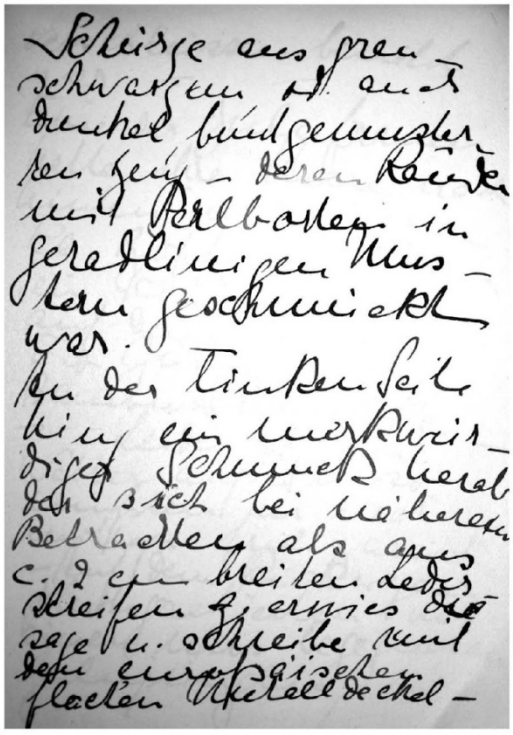
Figure 14: Photographed copy of Weyersberg's diary 1929a page 90, photograph taken by Wintjes (2010).



[...] wird nach hinten hoch hinaufge?nommen? in ein aus Pflanzenfasern geflochtenes Netz gesteckt. Das Ganze wird, um es stabil zu machen, mit rotbrauner Lehmerde fest verkleistert. Die Form ist nach oben abgerundet [Skizze]. Die Brüste war frei nur schräg herüber durch dunkelbraunes Tuch drapiert. Der Unterkörper war mit kurzem Lederrock bekleidet. Darüber eine Art [...]

[...] is taken high up at the back, inserted into a woven plant fibre net. To make it stable the whole thing is set with reddish-brown clay. The shape is rounded upwards [sketch]. Her breasts were bare, only draped obliquely with dark brown cloth. The lower body was clothed in a short leather skirt. In a kind [...]

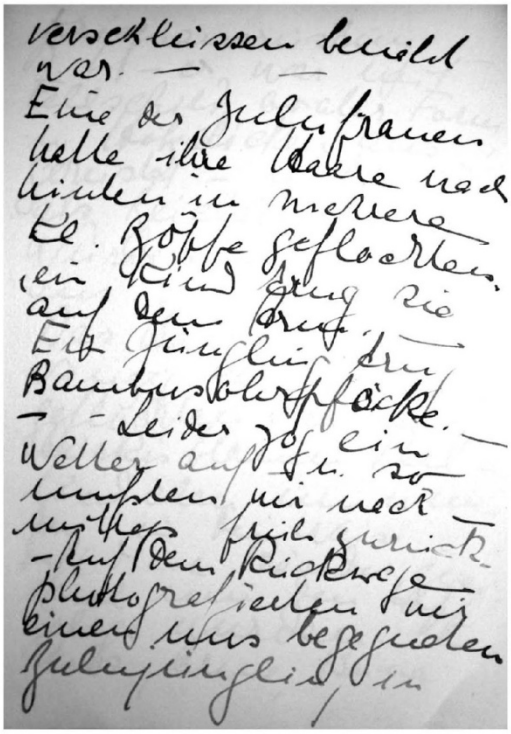
Figure 15: Photographed copy of Weyersberg's diary 1929a page 91, photograph taken by Wintjes. (2010).



[...] Schürze aus grau-schwarzem oder auch dunkel, bunt-gemustertem zeug, deren Ränder mit Perlborten in geradlinigen Mustern geschmückt war. An der linken Seite hing ein merkwürdiger Schmuck herab, der sich bei näherem Betrachten als aus c. 2 cm breiten Lederstreifen erwies, die sage und schreibe mit den europäischen flaschen Metalldeckel- [...]

[...] of greyish-black skirt or out of darkly patterned cloth, the edges were decorated with braided strands of beads in rectilinear patterns. On the left side two extraordinary decorations hung down, which on closer inspection proved to be ca. 2cm wide leather strips, sewn believe it or not with metallic European [...]

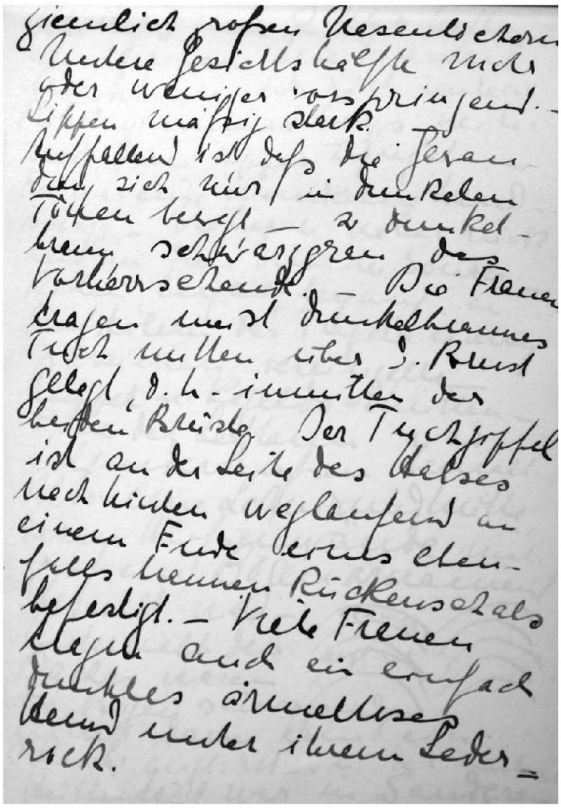
Figure 16: Photographed copy of Weyersberg's diary 1929a page 92, photograph taken by Wintjes (2010).



[...] verschlüssen benäht war. Eine der Zulufrauen hatte ihre Haare nach hinten in mehrere kleine Zöpfe geflochten, ein Kind trug sie auf dem Arm. Ein Jüngling trug Bambusohrstöcke. Leider zog ein Wetter auf und so mussten wir nachmittags früh zurück. Auf dem Rückweg photografierten wir einen uns begegnenden Zulujüngling in [...]

[...] bottle-caps. One of the Zulu women had her hair braided back in small strands, and carried a child in her arms. A young man wore bamboo sticks through his ears. Unfortunately a storm moved in so we had to return in the early afternoon. On the way back we photographed a Zulu youth we encountered in [...]

Figure 17: Photographed copy of Weyersberg's diary 1929a page 93, photograph taken by Wintjes (2010).



[...] ziemlich grossen Nasenlöchern. Untere Gesichtshälfte nicht oder weniger vorspringend. Lippen mässig stark. Auffallend ist, dass die ¥ sich nur in dunkelen Tüchern bewegt ?zu dunkelbraun schwarzgrau das Vorherrschende. Die Frauen tragen meist dunkelbraunes Tuch mitten über die Brust gelegt, dh inmitten der beiden Brüste. Der Tuchzipfel ist an der Seite des Halses nach hinten weglaufend an einem Ende eines ebenfalls braunen Rückenschals befestigt. Viele Frauen tragen auch ein einfach dunkles ärmelloses Hemd unter ihrem Lederrock.

[...] fairly large nostrils. The bottom half of the face not or only slightly protruding. Lips moderately thick. ?What was striking is that the ¥ were only in dark fabrics ? ? dark-brown black-grey predominant(?ly)?. The women wear mostly dark brown fabric down the middle over the breasts, ie between their breasts. The corner of the fabric is attached on the side of the neck around the back to the end of brown back shawl. Many women also wear a simple dark sleeveless shirt under their leather skirt.

Figure 18: Photographed copy of Weyersberg's diary 1929B page 3, photograph taken by Wintjes (2010).

The two relevant notebooks are labelled as Manuscripts LF 463 and LF 464 within the Frobenius Archive. LF 463 contains 113 pages of hand-written notes by Weyersberg, of which 96 pages provide a detailed account of their travels while the last 17 pages provide a detailed list of the expenses incurred. LF 464 comprises 98 pages of hand-written notes, with 80 dedicated to a narrative account and 18 to expenses. The notebooks are quite small in size, slightly smaller than A5 and Weyersberg has used the pages in a portrait orientation.

Unlike the photographs within the Archive, the notebooks have not been formally digitised. I have worked from photographs of the pages taken by Wintjes in 2010, transcribed and translated by her. The words that have been placed into square brackets are editorial insertions by Wintjes (Wintjes 2012: 200). On the inside cover of LF 463, Natal is not listed as one of the geographical regions covered in the notebook, however, the first segment of the Natal leg, including the journey to the Natal National Park as well as the first part of the three artists' time in the Cinyati area is documented over the last 19 pages (Wintjes 2012: 218). This points to incomplete or erroneous captions within the Frobenius Archive, indicative of the errors that are inevitably generated when cataloguing documents in an archive.

The artists' journey to the Natal National Park, where they stayed during their time in Cinyati, some of the encounters they had as well as the rock-shelter are documented over 16 pages (81–96) in LF 463. Weyersberg's notes on Cinyati continues into LF464, and cover the first six pages of this notebook, documenting their time at 'Lower Cinyati' over the first three pages (1–3) and 'Upper Cinyati' over the next three pages (4–6). 'Upper Cinyati' was a 'lesser-known' shelter about seven kilometres in a south-westerly direction upstream from the lower site, towards higher escarpment' that Weyersberg went to without her colleagues but in the company of several guides (Wintjes 2013: 179). From the total of 19 pages across both notebooks documenting the lower, primary Cinyati site, I have selected seven to analyse. As with my selection of photographs, this selection is large enough to give an idea of the content across the full set of Cinyati-related notes collected by Weyersberg.

The diary entries have been written in cursive using a black pen on paper without lines resulting in the sentences often curving slightly downwards to the right, which probably reflects something of the uncomfortable field conditions in which Weyersberg was writing. The hand-writing is quite large in size but it is not always legible. When transcribed, each extract is therefore quite short, containing approximately three to four sentences. In most cases, the writing is in note form rather than consisting of whole sentences. Quite often the sentences continue onto the next page, not having a clear ending at the bottom of each page. Wintjes has added punctuation to help clarify meaning (Wintjes 2012: 218, 235). The notes are impressionistic and descriptive, written in the first person, and two of the seven extracts include small in-text sketches, showing that Weyersberg

occasionally felt the need to illustrate something visually rather than only describing it in writing.

The information within the diary entries sometimes offers detailed insight into the time of day certain activities took place. For example, Weyersberg mentions 'Friday morning towards 09:30 we left despite wet weather to a cave located beyond Mahai[10] not too far from where we were…' (1929a: 84), while the light in a photograph can give an indication of what time of day they were taken because of the position of the shadows, the diary excerpt provides an actual time. Within this extract Weyersberg mentions the wet weather they travelled in, while a photograph can also offer insight into the weather conditions, it records the weather at the moment of the photograph. This excerpt offers information into a moment that was not captured in a photograph. Some of Weyersberg's notes offer aesthetic appreciation of things they observed while in most of her notes she has recorded her opinion on what she witnessed during her travels, making a comment on how some huts were 'skilfully crafted' and this can be viewed as valuing or interpreting in a more subjective rather than the objective descriptions that ethnographic documentation often aspires to.

Weyersberg's diary meanders somewhat, without a clear purpose, but offers some insights into the personal interactions that took place through the process of documenting encounters with the local community and the Cinyati rock-shelter, consisting of a personal exploration rather than objective recordings that create a clear distance between the observer and the observed. The diary also offers us insight into what Weyersberg found interesting and unusual, for example the skirt decorations on two of the women (Figure 9), which 'on closer inspection proved to be ca. 2cm wide leather strips, sewn believe it or not with metallic European bottle-caps' (Figure 17) (Weyersberg 1929a: 93–94).

The Complementarity of Writing and Photography

As mentioned earlier the two media are different in their visuality, temporality and materiality. The genre of portraiture embodies a three-way relationship, between photographer, sitter and viewer. The temporal relationship continually changes as the images are reengaged by different viewers at different times: they existed in the time of creation but are being reengaged almost 90 years later as a part of my research. Part of this re-engagement involves repeat photography, as I re-took several of the photographs during our field visit to the site in September 2016, which I have curated into a separate creative component that accompanies this essay. The creative component comprises the groups of image-text juxtapositions I formed from the archival materials, the re-staged photographs I took on my field trip as well as documentation of this fieldwork. I re-staged the photographs with the help of three students from the African Art History Course, Lesemane,

[10] Mahai is a tributary to the Thukela River, located to the west of the Natal National Park hostel where they were staying, and is also the name given to one of the other rock art sites they recorded ('Upper Mahai' N.6: Wintjes 2014: 222).

Slabolepszy and Mather, as well as with the help of Wintjes and Msimanga. The collection of images I took during the field trip comprises mainly of Slabolepszy and Mather re-enacting the poses and positions of the women, presumably belonging to the local AmaZizi[11] community, captured by the three artists. For each photograph that I re-captured, I also documented the landscape without a human presence.

The practice of repeat photography, or perhaps more precisely in this context, re-enacted photography, that I engaged in during my field trip to Cinyati (Busingatha) allowed for me to experience certain aspects of fieldwork experienced by the Frobenius team. Carrying equipment across the landscape to the rock art site, crossing a shallow river in order to reach the shelter and climbing up steep rocks to view the remnants of the rock art and to re-enact the photographs offered some insights into the difficulties experienced during fieldwork. Here the productive relationship between archival work and fieldwork needs to be acknowledged as it is virtually only from first-hand knowledge of the physical rock-shelter that one can situate the pictures of people at such a precise location, and it is rare to have photographic portraits from this time period that can be so precisely located in the landscape (Wintjes 2017, pers. comm., 8 February).

Edwards (2002), argues that the experience of reading an image differs according to the medium in which you engage the image; a digitised photograph, viewed on the screen of a computer, leaves a viewer with a different experience to the reading of a printed photograph within an album. The physical composition of the photograph, the paper it has been printed on, the quality of the print, whether it is gloss or matt, the toning within the image, what is represented within the frame and what is not, as well as any annotations that may be attached to the image, all contribute to the materiality of the photograph. There is materiality in the creation of the image as well as in the presentation of the image and these two factors hold traces of the usages and purposes of the images as well as the time in which they were created (Edwards 2002: 68). My engagement with the materials from the Frobenius Archive has been through high-resolution scans of the photographs, the online database as well as photographs of the photo-albums, notebooks and storage areas taken by Wintjes. So, while I have not been to the physical archive, I have a sense of the different iterations of these images and how the readings are different in the different contexts. Edwards discusses the different experiences of viewing photographs depending on the format they have been designed to be read in. Single small photographs make the reading experience quite individual however large albums that need to be supported on a table-like surface can often become a group reading experience (Edwards 2002: 72). Digital images open up a new degree and kind of sharing and viewing that transcends the small format of the original photographic material.

[11] AmaZizi refers to the people belonging to the 'AmaZizi Traditional Authority Area of the northern KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg' (Wintjes 2013: 173).

As Harris observes, '[t]he archival record, both oral and documentary, is but a sliver of social memory, and the archival residue in documents is but a sliver of the documentary record' (2002: 135). While Harris is discussing archival material in general, each of the photographs, and each of the diary entries, can be thought of as a sliver. The formal manner in which a photograph is selective through the rectangular lens on a camera results in a slice or tiny section that is removed from its context and surroundings being captured, instead of the encapsulating reality that one experiences within the landscape. This results in photographs being selective as well as constructed. Weyersberg's diary entries in the form of short phrases sometimes refer directly to what is depicted in the photographs, but mostly offer insights into moments that occurred between the recorded fragments in the photographs.

The medium of photography still had a rarity to it in 1929, as photographs were relatively expensive and time-consuming to produce (although much quicker for the level of recorded detailed than other forms of fieldwork documentary practices such as sketches). The photographs present in the archive must therefore be considered unique individual frames that were the result of a conscious and deliberate gesture, contrasting with the spontaneity and instantaneity of digital photography today.

This fragmentary nature of a photograph causes a dislocation between the content of the image and its context. The housing of the Frobenius Archive in Frankfurt, with sometimes erroneous captions or labels, which in any case offer very little information into the content or context of the photograph, creates a further dislocation or confusion. While there is a process of archival distancing throughout the history of the archive, the images circulate at an even further distance in the digital realm. Fabian discusses the virtual archive within the digital realm as an opportunity for ethnographic texts to be more easily accessible, and understood as layered by a range of processes of making that went into them, than through a published book (2008: 4).

Michel Foucault in the chapter 'Self Writing' in his book *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, (1994) discusses the thought process associated to writing as an exercise of linear or circular thought (1994: 209). Foucault describes the linear 'series' as a 'labour of thought, a labour through writing, labour of action', while circular thought is a process in which meditation takes place before the writing and sets up an opportunity for rereading and remediation (1994: 209). It is my sense that my engagement with Weyersberg's text and the photographs, including a process of pairing the texts with images as well as re-enacting certain images, becomes a particular kind of rereading and a remediation. Foucault also discusses the concept of 'hupomnemata', which he defines as 'account books, public registers, or individual notebooks serving as memory aids' (Foucault 1994: 209). However these should not be viewed only as notes that support memory; they are the structural framework that rereading and meditation relies on, they are the foundation of 'conversing

with oneself and with others' (Foucault 1994: 210).

What we can already see emerging in the analysis of the photographs and texts above is the potential for a deeper understanding of the personal network within which these selections were produced. In the following sections I deepen this analysis to reveal this constructed nature and in some way undo this excision while selecting and constructing anew with the purpose of exploring the relationship between writing and photography.

In order to investigate the relationship between writing and photography in a different context, I first analyse specific pages of artist Bruno Boudjelal's book *Disquiet Days* (2009), as an example of a completed contemporary artwork that grapples with the archival relationship between text and photography in a context of travel. I look to this consultative example to inform my own visual essay which appears in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: The Image-Text Work of Bruno Boudjelal

Boudjelal and his artistic practice (in some ways similar to the Frobenius expedition and its documentary achievements) has limited literature available, however, despite this I intuitively selected his work as a possible comparative and consultative body of work at the beginning of my project. My interest in his work in this context was focused around the use of self-writing and photography as well as the themes of the personal and of travel that I found common to Boudjelal's practice and the Frobenius materials I was working with. While the theme of travel between Europe and Africa, and perhaps also the notion of a return to an 'origin', is common to both Frobenius and Boudjelal, they manifest very differently in their purpose and detail.

I have since deepened my understanding of several dimensions of his work that have guided me effectively in my own research in the Frobenius Archive. Within Boudjelal's work there is a link between the past and present, between anthropological and ethnographic practices as well as an exploration of the personal. The Frobenius Archive contains similar anthropological and ethnographic dimensions, allowing me to re-engage with the archival materials in a creative manner with a particular view to make visible the personal realm embroiled in their making. Boudjelal's work can be described as a combination of an anthropological and a contemporary art practice as he is looking and recording but at the same time clearly highlighting his subjective position through the use of diary entries as well as descriptive texts and excerpts from archival documents.

Boudjelal was born in Montreuil in 1961, to a French mother and an Algerian father. He grew up in Paris and much later in his life he travelled to Algeria. His artistic exploration was conducted over several trips that took place over a ten-year period between 1993– 2003. His interest in Algeria is rooted in his exploration of his origins, background and identity, through exploring the birth country of his father (Jackson 2014: 201).

The Algerian Civil War started in 1991 (BBC 2016), two years before Boudjelal's first visit. In that year, the second round of legislative elections were due to take place and the war started due to the cancellation of these elections by the Algerian Military. During the war many Algerians lost their lives or went missing, and the situation did not receive the necessary attention as there was a mass departure of writers, artists, intellectuals and international news agencies to Europe and the United States of America. The local news agencies and media companies were restricted by censorship laws (Jackson 2014: 207– 208). Boudjelal's body of work, while rooted in the realm of personal experience, addresses many issues faced by Algerian citizens, offering a representation of the war through the ways in which it affected everyday life.

During his visits he created numerous artworks with ties to auto-ethnographic and self-writing practices. ‘Jours intranquilles/Disquiet Days’ (2009) is a compilation of three bodies of work: ‘Sétif; a Series of Family Portraits’ (1993–1997), ‘Restless Days: Algeria from East to West’ (2001–2003), and ‘Bentalha’ (2002). Boudjelal travelled alone on his first trip to Sétif and this trip was focused around tracing and meeting his family. He travelled to Sétif again in 1997 accompanied by his father, and when he went back from 2001–2003 to travel from the east of Algeria across to the west he travelled with friends (Jackson 2014: 201).

The book contains 232 pages and is a combination of photographs that he took during his visits as well as older family photographs. Among the digital photographs, polaroid photographs and found images, Boudjelal has added documents — hand-written notes that he produced over this time-frame with painted additions (Casper 2014; Jackson 2014: 201). Within my analysis of his work I conduct five concise visual studies of various forms of portraiture focusing both on individual photographs as well as entire pages within the book. This selection is representative of the larger body of work in the sense that a similar argument of a dialogical relationship forming between image and text can be carried through other excerpts, and Boudjelal’s practice as a whole.

Boudjelal’s practice can be seen as a quest in process towards grappling with and materialising his own identity through engaging in auto-ethnographic practices. His search for identity and foregrounding of his personal experiences resonates with the way in which my subjective position comes to the fore in my construction of the image-text juxtaposition.

The relationship between text, photographs and diary entries moves Boudjelal’s practice away from an apparently ‘objective’ documenting of various places within Algeria and allows for the personal and subjective nature of auto-ethnographic practices to be acknowledged and made visible, while still being rooted in a specific historical context. The image-text juxtaposition allows for a focused look at Boudjelal’s personal journey and his experiences of the different places within Algeria while simultaneously offering insight into and creating a dialogue around the daily life experiences of Algerian people.

Jours Intranquilles/Disquiet Days

Figure 19 is a blurry photograph of a poster. The poster depicts two rows of six images each, a total of 12 small portraits in black and white. The individual facial features of the people are not visible, and the text underneath each portrait is not readable due to the out-of-focus nature of the photograph. The blurriness of the image creates the effect of an ‘in-between’ portrait, offering enough information for each of the small portraits to be recognised as a different person, but without offering any further specific information as to who these people are, or why their pictures appear on a poster. The classical purpose of a portrait is to capture a resemblance and the

purpose of a poster is to offer information, and Boudjelal is evidently challenging the intended function of both. It is my sense that not being able to access this information keeps the viewers at a distance but also portrays Boudjelal as removed from his subject in a slightly confused and disempowered position.



Figure 19: Bruno Boudjelal, *Disquiet Days*, 2009 © Agence VU.

One can look to the historical context in which Boudjelal was working to understand something of this strategy. According to European doctoral student in History of Art Katarzyna Falecka in her essay 'In and Out of Algeria: Bruno Boudjelal's Documentary Affect' (2016), during Algeria's civil war, many people went missing:

> 'The Algerian state was certainly involved in the large number of forced disappearances — estimated by Amnesty International to be around 7000 — in the 1990s, and it is largely accepted that the army was complicit in the massacres […] if not a direct participant' (Jackson 2014: 207).

In an attempt to find the missing people, posters such as the one photographed by Boudjelal (Figure 19) were created. One can question why, if these posters were so important during the civil war and the issue of forced disappearances needed to be highlighted in as many ways as possible, did Boudjelal capture an out of focus image? Is his intention to highlight something about the inability for many individuals to assist with the situation, the helplessness one can feel when faced with such a violent and large-scale problem? Or is his intention to focus on the general issue of masses of missing people rather than a few individuals? His technical choice of blurring the photograph evokes a sense of detachment that he possibly felt as something of an 'outsider' to the situation, someone who could also escape it, since he had a home in France.

The paper on which the images are printed seems to be stuck onto a metal grid of some kind, perhaps a fence. The paper is torn on the left and is yellow in colour with darker areas of brown indicating that it is either quite old or it has been exposed to the elements suggesting an outdoor, public or urban context of display. The top row of the poster has been cropped by the edge of the photographic frame, showing only the neck and shoulders of the sitters and all of the visible portraits are frontal photographs of men cropped in the same way. For this reason, the individual portraits also resemble photographs taken for identity documents and passports, which is a category of portrait that is a means to be identified for bureaucratic purposes, resulting in external control rather than a fully acknowledged subjective position.

Edwards acknowledges the presence of subjectivity within the medium of photography and she also claims that the medium of photography has the ability to portray 'compelling narrative[s] (the expressive), and rigorous analysis (of which photography is the documenting tool) [and that these two categories] might be complementary rather than mutually exclusive' (1997: 57). It is my sense that Boudjelal's work sits between the expressive and the documentary, through his technical choices of blurring the image, the precise selection of what sits within the photographic frame and the choice of subject, as well as through the scrapbook-like format (see Figures 21, 22 and 23) in which he chooses to present these images. Edwards argues for the expressive to have a place within the genre of photography, and for one to be aware of the ties that the expressive has with memory, vulnerability and allegory, dimensions that move beyond the object itself (1997: 59).



Figure 20: Bruno Boudjelal, Restless Days: Algeria from East to West in *Disquiet Days* 2009 © Agence VU.

Figure 20 is not a conventional portrait and could be classified more easily as a landscape however the viewer is extremely aware of Boudjelal's presence even though he is not visible within

the frame. South African Emeritus Professor of History of Art Michael Godby in his book *The Lie of the Land: Representations of the South African Landscape* (2010) discusses in detail the genre of landscape. He provides five thematic categories useful when engaging with, and navigating through, the vast genre, namely: Interface, Contestation, Interventions, Inventions and Interrogations. Here it is particularly the theme of Interface that seems an apt analytical tool. Godby defines the theme of Interface as acknowledging the vast and 'essentially unknowable' aspect to a landscape (2010: 62). He explains that 'there is a necessary separation between the position of the artist and the phenomenon he or she is representing' (Godby 2010: 62). The landscape Boudjelal is trying to represent speaks of an interface of a different order and Godby's concept helps with understanding Boudjelal's use of a kind of interface as a thematic and visual device. The concept of interface within Boudjelal's work can be defined in terms of a different kind of inaccessible and unknowable — another country, familiar yet strange, a set of historical events and circumstances that did not affect him directly, a childhood that he could have lived but did not, an interface between insider and outsider. In Figure 20, the camera's focus is on the car's windscreen clearly capturing the two cracks in it and emphasising the glass barrier between Boudjelal and his subject, portraying him as removed from his surroundings while searching for something. The photograph can also be read as a 'portrait' of a part of an Algerian cityscape, as this is likely to be a distinctively recognisable part of the urban landscape of a specific city.

The windscreen, the road and car up ahead help the viewer identify that this image has been taken from inside a car and the blurriness of the landscape suggests that the photograph was taken in movement. Large buildings are captured on either side of the photographic frame forming a tunnel vision effect. There are two stickers placed next to each other on the top right of the windscreen. One of the stickers has been cropped almost entirely out of the photographic frame however a viewer is able to make out what seems to be part of an emblem. The second sticker has Arabic writing on it and Falecka translates this text as 'Vote for Him! He has a heart' (2016: 6). This statement is most likely promoting a candidate for the local elections that were meant to take place. The presence of this reference to democratic processes of voting also speaks to the helplessness of the individual and smallness of the subject which is often lost in a larger bureaucratised political structure and process.

In one of the diary entries Boudjelal describes that on his first day in Algeria he was shoved to the ground by two special force agents and aggressively searched (Jackson 2014: 205–206). Perhaps this violent encounter endorsed Boudjelal's experience of being a foreigner, and could be part of the reason he has chosen to distance himself in Figures 19 and 20.

This relationship between Boudjelal and the way he has positioned himself in reference to his subject is the main reason I have selected these two photographs (Figures 19 and 20). Boudjelal's

exploration of his connection to Algeria and the role it plays within his identity is expressed through the uncertain manner in which he positions himself to his subject matter.

American art critic David Levi-Strauss states that:

> ‘Photographs by themselves certainly cannot tell ‘the whole truth’; they are always only instants or ‘slivers’. What they do most persistently is to register the relation of photographer to subject — the distance from one to another — and this understanding is a profoundly important political process.’ (Levi-Strauss 2005: 10 quoted in Falecka 2016: 7).

What Levi-Strauss argues in this quote is something similar to Edwards’s ideas around objects being understood in relation to other objects, seeing as they do not exist as individual, single points (Edwards 2002: 68). Levi-Strauss also addresses the relationship between the photographer and subject, a relationship that is highlighted in some aspects of Boudjelal’s work (Figures 19 and 20).



Figure 21: Bruno Boudjelal, Algerian Scrapbooks in *Disquiet Days,* 2009, © Agence VU.

This photograph is of a double page of the scrapbook (Figure 21) and is titled ‘Missing person’s mother’. In it we see a large black-and-white photograph placed centrally over two pages. The photograph depicts a woman holding a large sheet of paper that has been folded down the middle, resembling a newspaper format, but the text is large and hand-written. The woman is seated and has her head turned away from the camera, gazing down to the left of the image. The woman’s demeanour can be read as despondent and perhaps sorrowful, and the shadow falling on the right side of her face adds to the despairing emotions captured by Boudjelal. In the photograph she is positioned centrally, being framed by the patterned wall on either side of her, which seems to be emphasised by the painted pattern Boudjelal has bordered the photograph with.

The piece of paper the woman is holding has quite a large photograph of a young man on it, creating a portrait within a portrait as well as a photograph within a photograph within a photograph. The portrait of the man takes up most of the left side of the paper and is surrounded by hand-written text in French. The last lines of the text read:

> 'À 11h du matin devant plusieurs témoins
>
> Où est la justice?
>
> Est-ce qu'elle existe?' (Boudjelal 2009: unpaginated).

Translated into English this means: 'At 11 in the morning in front of several witnesses — Where is justice? Does it exist?'. While one is not completely certain what this quote refers to, one can assume that it refers to an execution perhaps of the man portrayed on the woman's paper or another act of injustice that was witnessed by several people.



Figure 22: Bruno Boudjelal, Algerian Scrapbooks in *Disquiet Days*, 2009 © Agence VU.

The next scrapbook excerpt I have selected, Figure 22, is constructed over a double spread but seems to have two distinct parts to it. The left page has a black-and-white photograph containing twenty full-length portraits in a grid similar to that seen in Figure 19. The photograph is quite large in size, covering almost the entire page except for a painted black border. The right page has two black-and-white photographs and two hand-written paragraphs. On the right-hand side of this excerpt, one can see that these images have been placed on lined paper making visible the 'scrapbook' mode and materiality of the work.



Figure 23: Bruno Boudjelal, Algerian Scrapbooks in *Disquiet Days* 2009 © Agence VU.

Figure 23, similarly to Figures 21 and 22, is constructed over two pages. It has nine black-and-white photographs which are all roughly the same size. The photographs have been arranged in three rows consisting of three images each, creating a narrative sequence from one image to the next as well as creating a narrative from the entire group of photographs. Edwards and Hart argue that photographs exist in relation to other photographs and objects, and cannot be viewed as self-contained entities (2004: 48). Boudjelal's grouping of images as well as the added annotations creates multiple narrative and meaning-making possibilities from this scrapbook excerpt. The images depict scenes of everyday life in various locations. Around the images Boudjelal has painted a blue background and has added hand-written annotations in white. Not all of the words are legible however I am able to make out the work 'Mourri' which is probably a name (maybe a surname) that has been placed on the top left corner of the page, next to a photograph of four figures at a beach. Below the last row of photographs four further names are visible, 'La Pointe' being the third. Ali Ammar, also known as Ali La Pointe, fought for the independence of Algeria and was killed during the liberation struggle (Royer 2011: 11), suggesting that the other names may also be of people connected in some way to the liberation struggle in Algeria.

These works portray the different aesthetic styles that Boudjelal uses, from black-and-white to colour images and from blurry to focused images. The use of a blurry effect in his photographs challenges the factual association that documentary photography holds in the documentary genre which enforces the idea of showing and looking. On the surface it denotes technical imperfection, but is of course a deliberate strategy to subvert the clarity of the documentary by making the image less accessible to the viewer, evoking something of a fuzzy visual memory rather than a

photograph. There are quite a few technically 'imperfect' photographs preserved in the Frobenius archive (Figure 24) and not surprisingly there is a general preference for the technically 'perfect' ones when it comes to publications and exhibitions. But, although they were not deliberately 'damaged', the presence of these 'imperfect' frames prompts a search for the contingency of knowledge in the archive, and they evoke the realm of personal memory in relation to the subjects and their photographers.



Figure 24: An example of a technically 'imperfect' photograph capturing a man from the Cinyati area, and probably the AmaZizi community. Image reproduced with permission from the Frobenius Institute.© Frobenius Institute Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Germany (FoA 09-10583)

The hand-written notes that are a part of Boudjelal's book highlight the fact that this is a process of subjective looking. The personal presence of the artist is made clear to the viewer, moving Boudjelal's artistic practice away from a simple documentary practice that Edwards describes as a telling of 'this-is-how-it-is' (1997: 59). Boudjelal's work becomes a telling of his experiences which then allows the viewer to interpret the images taking into account the presence of the personal:

> '[O]ver time, as I made more trips to Algeria, a narrative took shape little by little, mixing documentation and story-telling. A narrative told in images, trying to grasp a complex reality. But the more complex this reality was, the more interesting the diffraction of points of view. And thus autobiography mingles with the making of a diary in pictures, a sort of logbook where my impressions, my feelings and my thoughts of the moment are printed, with added to that a documentation on the living conditions of the Algerians that I met' (Boudjelal 1997).

The above quote taken from Boudjelal's description of his work Restless Days: Algeria from East to West (2003) shows the ways in which his practice embodies aspects of the personal as an archival medium, in my definition. Edwards argues that drawing on discourses outside of anthropology shows the merit of contrasting concepts held in different disciplines. She states that moving beyond discipline boundaries allows for a meaning-making process that is not singular (Edwards 1997: 56). Edwards explains this concept of moving beyond disciplinary boundaries by drawing on Austrian Philosopher of Science Paul Feyerabend's argument of not simply relying on an analysis

of the actual object (Feyerabend 1993 cited in Edwards 1997: 56). Edwards argues that working in the space between the discourses of visual anthropology and contemporary art practices 'enable[s] still photography to constitute an active and individual voice within the discipline, premised on the expressive rather than the realist' (Edwards 1997: 56).

Consolidation of Findings from my Examination of *Disquiet Days*

Boudjelal's body of work offers insights into the ability of the personal to engage with larger social and historical moments, which embodies Behar's argument for a methodology of anthropological writing that uses emotional responses or cues as a way to critically reflect on the experience of immersion into field work (Behar 1996: 32–33). In Figures 19 and 20, Boudjelal highlights his position as a recorder, emphasising the complexities around the act of documenting and the presence and agency of the observer. While these are not human subjects that he is documenting, a similar complexity in the relationship between the observer and human subject can also be discerned within the Frobenius Archive. It is my sense that the relationship between the photographer and subject within the Frobenius Archive holds some uncertainty around the extent to which the subjects are active participants as well as uncertainty around which of the three artists captured each image, blurring the edges of personal agency and experience.

Behar regards the personal as an attempt to deal with what is lost in the reproduction of observed moments, acknowledging the impossibility of reproducing a moment exactly as it occurred (Behar 1996: 7). Boudjelal through the medium of a scrapbook, logbook or travel journal, embraces the diffraction of experience, and highlights his agency as the documentarist and author. He asserts this through the tension that occurs between the information he makes easily accessible and the information that is lost to the outside viewer of this intimate space, through, for example, the inability to read his hand-writing, the visual devices of photographic cropping and blurring as well as language or visual barriers. This reinforces the idea of privacy and withheld information within a journal or diary. The way in which a photograph is presented or stored also plays a role in how the image is received and read (Edwards 2002: 68). Boudjelal's use of the form and layout of a 'scrapbook' continuously enforces his subjectivity and this plays a role in the way in which we as viewers engage with and read his photographs.

Boudjelal's work is more than just an investigation of personal identity; it becomes an investigation into the personal relationships through which documentation takes place. It is this foregrounding of the personal and subjectivity, and interpersonal and intersubjective processes, within documentation that I apply to the reconfiguration of the Frobenius Archive, with a focus on the information contained within Weyersberg's notebooks, and its relationship to the photographs. While Boudjelal's process is individual it acknowledges the social context in which it unfolds. My use of his work as a point of departure for a relooking at some of the materials generated at

Cinyati, on the Natal leg of the Frobenius expedition, allows for a focus on the collaborative nature of this production, and an exploration of the ways in which revealing these relationships also tells us something about the social processes through which individual experience is forged and knowledge is produced.

Chapter 5 Image-Text Juxtaposition

Configuring an Image-Text Work

Edwards states that '[t]he way in which images were absorbed into anthropology and described as 'ethnographic' or 'scientific' reveals the archive as a material object in its own right' (2002: 68). The notion of the archive as a material object constructs the way in which it projects its physical contents to its viewers. It provides a structure of categories and labels that I and other researchers are able to engage with and use as a starting point for a process of reconfiguration. From my initial engagement with the archival materials produced at Cinyati, I was interested in exploring Weyersberg's diary entries, with a specific focus on what the personal can offer within interpreting and understanding the archive. The photographs within the Frobenius Archive capture in great detail moments that are quite difficult to describe and to translate into a text and when reading the diary entries, I felt as though Weyersberg's descriptions would also supplement the information provided in the captions in the photo-albums, which do not contain much detail and sometimes contain erroneous information.

In the proposal phase of this research report I imagined that the image-text juxtaposition would be a simple binary pairing, as I could already see various links emerging. I expected it to be a process of one image paired with an excerpt from the diary that would clearly strengthen the initial links I identified. However through the process of trying to put an image and text into a pair, I realised that in practice it is more complex and impossible to place into a simple linear and binary relationship.

After many weeks of re-reading Weyersberg's excerpts and re-looking at the photographs I reached a point where I decided that instead of binary pairs I would group the materials into variations of groups of photographs and diary excerpts.[12] From the five images and seven diary excerpts I have formed three composites: the first comprises two images and four 'texts', the second one image and two 'texts', and the third two images and one 'text'. Before I reconfigured the selection into these three composites, there were many variations of these image-text composites that I worked through. I started my textual analysis with five excerpts and it became clear at the beginning stages of the image-text juxtaposition that there were images I had selected that could not be matched up with any one of the five excerpts. Furthermore, the image-text links are not always as clear as I would like them to be, however the process has the merit of showing the diary excerpts and photographs together, alongside one another in an entanglement that reflects something of how they were produced in the field, as there is at least one point of resonance within each composite. In the cases where the whole extract is not relevant, I have

[12] The image-text juxtapositions I created are seen within Composite 1–3, however, these are included in full in the creative component (Annex 1).

highlighted the part of the text I am drawing from to relate to the photograph.

Within the first composite (Composite 1), the two photographs, illustrated as stand-alone images in Figures 8 and 9, are grouped together to portray the methodological practices of the artists as discussed in the visual analysis of photographs section above. Two of the four selected texts, Figures 16 and 17, are consecutive excerpts within Weyersberg's diary, page 92 and 93, allowing for these two excerpts to be read one after the other in a flowing fashion.



[...] of greyish-black skirt or out of darkly patterned cloth, the edges were decorated with braided strands of beads in rectilinear patterns. On the left side two extraordinary decorations hung down, which on closer inspection proved to be ca. 2cm wide leather strips, sewn believe it or not with metallic European [...]



[...] bottle-caps. One of the Zulu women had her hair braided back in small strands, and carried a child in her arms. A young man wore bamboo sticks through his ears. Unfortunately a storm moved in so we had to return in the early afternoon. On the way back we photographed a Zulu youth we encountered in [...]

Composite 1a: A selection of photographs and excerpts from the first group of image-text juxtapositions I created (Cited in the text as Figures 8, 9, 16 and 17).

These four elements form a cohesive group, however, I have included two more diary excerpts within this Composite. The excerpts from page 83 and 90 (Figures 12 and 14) to my mind also have moments of resonance with the photographs (Figures 8 and 9). Within the excerpts from pages 83 and 90, Weyersberg describes the intricate hairstyles as 'puffed-up coifs' and notes that they were particularly interested in the hairstyles worn by the women in the AmaZizi community (Weyersberg 1929a: 83 and 90). The phrase 'puffed-up coifs' is an evocative description of the

hairstyle, allowing for a reader to begin to visualise it in their minds, but that the delicate complexity of the hairstyle can be grasped more fully through the indexical information provided by a photograph.

[...] with cloud shadows. On the way I observed with interest dome huts from straw, some of which were skilfully crafted, and halfway up the hut wall [a] decorative pattern made from sedges or hay more often like this [sketch]. Some Zulu women with interesting hairstyles were walking along the way. The[ir] hair was shaped into puffed-up coifs at least 20 cm high. All of them [..]

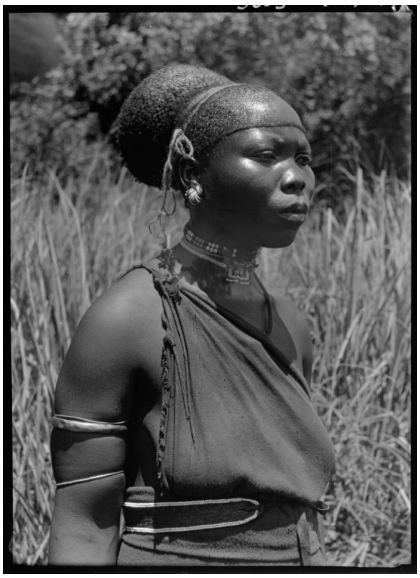
Our attention was diverted by a few on looking Zulu women, which we found so interesting because of their hairstyles that we made several photographic recordings. In our honour, they went first to their huts in order to decorate themselves especially for us. The hairstyles of a married woman is as follows among the Zulus. The hair [...]

Composite 1b: Excerpts from Weyerberg's diary that form part of the first group of image-text juxtapositions (Cited in the text as Figures 12 and 14).

As discussed in the section 'Defining the Archive', the overarching findings that are presented within Frobenius's work tend to eclipse the agency of both the artists and the members of the local AmaZizi community that have been captured in the photographs. Weyersberg's diary excerpts provide information from the expedition as a primary yet isolated source. Viewing these excerpts in relation to the photographs starts a process of unravelling the coherent narrative that is provided by the distilled information presented in the Frobenius publications. Engaging with the diary excerpts allows for new narratives that do not necessarily fit into the overarching findings. Weyersberg notes in her diary on page 90, (Figure 14), 'In our honour, they went first to their hut in order to decorate themselves especially for us' (Weyersberg 1929a: 90). This quote highlights the agency of the members of the AmaZizi community and also demonstrates what Behar expresses as an inevitability of subjectivity in ethnographic practices on the part of both the observer and the observed. Behar states '[t]he observer never observes the behavioural event which 'would have taken place' in his absence, nor hears an account identical with that which the same narrator would give to another person' (Behar 1996: 6).

The diary excerpts that form Composite two are consecutive entries to those in Composite one. They fit into group one, offering information to the photographs in that group as easily as they do in group two. The same woman is present in the photographs in group one and group two and it is my sense that one could easily group all of the elements in these two groups together. Nonetheless I decided to create two groups as I felt an analysis of smaller groups would allow for more specific links.

Weyersberg continues to describe the hairstyles in these two excerpts. She notes that the puffed-up coifs are moulded with copper-red clay. These diary entries provide us with information that the black-and-white photographs and brief captions do not offer (Weyersberg 1929a: 84). The text also provides insights into the differences between married and unmarried women's hairstyles, as well as the kind of materials that are used within the hairstyles such as plant fibre net and clay. One is not always able to identify these materials when simply viewing the photographs in isolation. The text, however, offers cues to guide our looking.



[...] were painted copper-red probably stuck together with clayey soil for it to stand so stiffly. A few days later we were told that women who are getting married wear slightly lower hairstyles, whereas married women wear something higher.

25 January 1929

Friday morning towards 9:30 we left despite wet weather to a cave located beyond Mahai not too far from ?where we were? [N.2?] on the first day of [...]

[...] is taken high up at back, inserted into a woven plant fibre net. To make it stable the whole thing is set with reddish-brown clay. The shape is rounded upwards [sketch]. Her breasts were bare, only draped obliquely with dark brown cloth. The lower body clothed in a short leather skirt. In a kind [..]

Composite 2: Group two of image-text juxtapositions (cited in the text as Figures 7, 13 and 15).

In the last image-text juxtaposition (Composite 3) that I have created, the entire excerpt does not apply to both of the photographs I have grouped it with. Weyersberg describes the facial features in this excerpt and goes on to describe their clothing, observing that '[t]he women wear mostly dark brown fabric down the middle over the breasts, i.e. between their breasts' (Weyersberg 1929b: 3). The woman depicted in Figure 11 however does not have any fabric covering the upper part of her body. While this sentence is not relevant to this image, the rest of the information captured within the excerpt is applicable. As discussed within the second group, Weyersberg's diary excerpts offer information about the colour of certain objects in the images, in this case stating that the fabric worn by women in the Cinyati area was mainly dark brown in colour adding a chromatic richness to our reading of the black-and-white images.

What the third group offers to the process of creating an image-text juxtaposition with the aim of forming a dialogical relationship is that the texts or images as a complete object do not always fit neatly together, but nonetheless there are elements within the photograph or sentences in the excerpt that will add to the reading of these archival materials in conjunction with each other.



[...] fairly large nostrils. The bottom half of the face not or only slightly protruding. Lips moderately thick. ?What was striking is that the ¥ were only in dark fabrics ? ? dark-brown black-grey predominant(?ly)?. The women wear mostly dark brown fabric down the middle over the breasts, ie between their breasts. The corner of the fabric is attached on the side of the neck around the back to the end of brown back shawl. Many women also wear a simple dark sleeveless shirt under their leather skirt.

Composite 3: Group three of image-text juxtapositions (cited in the text as Figures 10, 11 and 18).

Reflecting and Concluding on the Reconfigured Archive

Through reading the text in relation to the photographs and focusing on the way in which the pictorial content of the writing comes to the fore, and the photographs become enhanced by the annotations, I argue that the relationship between the text and the photographs is dialogical and helps us to move away from seeing archival knowledge as 'objective', distilled information. Viewing these archival materials together allows for these mediums to evoke a sense of the personal and nuanced moments within archival and ethnographic practices as well as a complexity of agency.

The process of grouping and regrouping the archival materials foregrounds the role of the personal in my reconfiguration of the photographs and diary excerpts. Enwezor highlights in his text that queries have emanated around what has been recorded, what has been left out, as well as an acknowledgment of the position of the person who constructed what has been recorded (2008b: 23–25).

Behar complicates the understanding of subjectivity that the observer occupies. More specifically, she explores how subjectivity influences both the writing and understanding of what is being observed (1996: 5). Weyersberg acknowledges the impact the artists' presence had on the Zulu-speaking women they were recording in the excerpt on page 90 (Figure 14). Does the fact that the women dressed up specifically to be photographed alter the documentary and archival value of

these photographs? It is my sense that the recognition of the impact of the presence of the observers acknowledges and enhances our understanding of the subjectivity within photographs, archival practices and ethnographic writing.

Weyersberg recorded her surprise at the use of metal bottle caps as well as expressing that the weather did not allow the three ethnographers to stay at the site for as long as they would have liked (Figure 16) (Weyersberg 1929a: 92). In the photograph the sky is not present, and the reflection of the sun on the leaves and grass within the background allows one to assume that it is a bright clear day, however Weyersberg recorded an early afternoon storm in her writing (ibid.). Insight into the weather experienced allows for a fuller understanding of the conditions the fieldwork was conducted in during the expedition but also offers information into the interpersonal relationships through which these materials were collected as it acknowledges in many cases the agency of the observed.

In the Frobenius Archive (as in so many other archives), writing and photography are refracted into separate spaces and as a result treated as separate components of the archive, separate sets of materials with different technological origins and storage requirements. However, it is important to recognise that they were produced alongside one another in the field, and are intrinsically entangled through experience and landscape. In this research report I demonstrate that writing and photography can be brought back together in order to restore something of the original encounter and this offers an opportunity for a new dialogue and a new understanding to be achieved. It also makes a contribution to forging a new genre that has a visual focus and integrates the information provided by these modes of documentary. This new genre changes the nature of both writing and photography and, through this dialogical relationship that is formed through the process of image-text juxtapositions, a third, more complex and reflexive form of self-writing and self-representation is formed in which the personal emerges as an integral part of the medium. In this research report I demonstrated how the practice of recording the ‘other’ thus becomes a form of self-writing and is essentially a personal experience.

My findings in the reconfigured archive were enabled through an integration of the two mediums of photography and writing. The notion of knowledge and concepts becoming interdisciplinarily is important as the blurring of boundaries between anthropology and the contemporary arts is significant in understanding the possibilities of reconfiguring archival material. Boudjelal’s artistic practice provides an example of an image-text juxtaposition that I have used to guide and inform my reconfiguration of the Cinyati sub-set from the Frobenius Archive. I foreground the personal within the archive as well as demonstrate that an examination of the role of the personal within documentary practices should be considered as an effective methodology. This approach separates itself from the notion of fixed archival knowledge and allows for an acknowledgement of

individual interpretation and for the process of meaning-making to be continuous and dynamic. It opens up the possibility to re-narrate and reconstruct archival knowledge and by extension, potentially the public knowledge that has formed, or may be formed in the future, from this. It reinforces an acknowledgment that no archive provides a single truth or a complete picture, and that one has to work actively with the archival links to create multiple narratives and multiple truths.

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