

The Junod Collection. The man, the objects:
A colonial collection explored in contemporary times

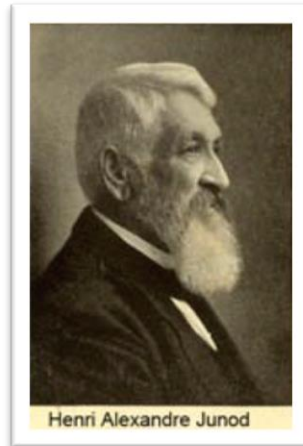


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By

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Declaration

I declare that this my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Masters in Heritage Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university. Nor does it contain, to the best of my knowledge and belief, any material published or written by another person except as acknowledged in the text



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Abstract

Collections which owe their origins to the colonial period in Southern Africa present unique curatorial challenges to the museum staff in whose museums' they are stored today. The motives of the collector are often difficult to ascertain. It is also difficult, and often impossible, to establish the original creators of the pieces in current collections. How does one incorporate the complex relationship between coloniser and colonised into the current study of these collections? How is their exhibition in the present affected and moulded by the characteristics of the time of their collecting? Using the insight of Clifford (2000), Clifford (1988), Harries (1986-2007), Leibhammer (2007), Byala (2013), O'Hanlon (2002) and others, this research report seeks to illuminate the context of a particular collection, the Junod Collection, which resides at the Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of South Africa in Pretoria.

Chapter 1: The project

1.1 Introduction

Our collections within South Africa which owe their existence to the colonial period present unique curatorial challenges. These include the lack of documentation as to their provenance; how collections came into being; and who the original creator, or creators, of the objects were. These collections also have more serious question marks hanging over them as they reside in museums today. How did the collector obtain them? What was the collector's reason for wanting possession of these objects? How is the complex relationship of coloniser and colonised reflected in these objects? These questions may not have clear answers but can be explored further by examining the context, as far as possible, in which an object was made and then collected (Leibhammer, 2007: 32). Missionary collections, specifically, are especially powerful in problematizing these questions. They are challenging in today's museums as they represent an interesting cultural context and involve a rich historical background (Clifford, 2000: 2-3). Clifford has argued that missionary collections in museums today need to be reinterpreted in order to break down stereotypes which have often been attached to them (Ibid: 2-3) These collections can only be examined thoroughly by exploring their "backstory" (Byala, 2013b: 90), in other words, exploring the collector, their motives, how they approached the missionary field and how the missionary field affected them. In this way we can get more clarity on why

and how collections contain what they contain and the possible meanings behind this.

The Junod Collection is one such missionary collection collected during colonial times. It is housed at the Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of South Africa. The objects were procured and collected during the period spanning the late 19th and early 20th Century. The collector, Henri-Alexandre Junod (H.-A. Junod), was a Swiss Missionary with the Swiss Mission Romande. All the objects were sent back to Switzerland by H-A. Junod, but they were returned to South Africa by his son Henri-Phillipe Junod, who felt that they belonged in their country of origin. The University of South Africa gained the objects under curatorship in 1975 and they have been part of the overall anthropological collections ever since (Museum files, 1975).

Many colonial collections owe their existence to the colonising of Africa, South America and the East by Western powers; the missionary activities in various countries; and many were collected under less than ethical circumstances. These non-western objects have been in a constant state of change, one moment seen as curiosities, then ethnographic specimens and even major art creations (Clifford, 1985: 351). African objects would initially be displayed in cabinets of curiosity during the 15th and 16th century, only available for viewing to the noble aristocratic classes. Their major public exhibition started with what is sometimes called the “museum period” (1840s -1850s) where private collections began to be placed in

national institutions for public display (Stocking, Jr., 1985: 7). This gradually took on a more nationalistic flavour with the Expositions (France), Exhibitions (Britain), or World's Fairs (USA), during the mid-19th century. These enormous events were practices meant to foster nationalism and to garner support for the colonial ventures of the colonial power. These "fairs" continued well into the 20th Century, with such large expositions such as the "Exposition Coloniale Internationale" in Paris in 1931 and the "Empire Exhibition" right here in Johannesburg from 1936 until 1937 (Findling, et al, 1990: xviii, 263, 282). Germany also undertook fairs known as *Völkerschauen*, where non-Europeans were put on display in public events (Penny & Bunzl, 2003: 6-16). Even though the collection and exhibition of colonial objects was often organised and controlled, there were often personal motives and differences across European societies in attitudes to collecting; these were not homogeneous and varied even from collector to collector and motives changed over time according to broader social and intellectual changes. The importance of missionaries and what they collected cannot be overstated, as they often had intimate contact with local communities and often studied their cultures as well. Even so, their motives for being in the colonies cannot be placed into a standard mould of activity. They were individuals, each with unique goals and methods (Clifford, 2000: 13). Therefore the challenge is to look at missionary museum collections not only for what they appear to be now: large collections of weapons and masks, with no written notes as to origin and maker; but the histories surrounding their collection and the individual responsible for their collection. By looking at missionary

collections on an individual basis, the unique ideological motives of a single person can be explored in relation to the broader social context. This person would have had a lifetime of education, politics and community influences from their home country. They would also be thrust into a new cultural world which would possibly alter and change their perspective, which would affect their interpretation of this new world (Clifford, 2000: 12-16). This is important as it breaks the stereotypes of missionaries as agents or forerunners of colonialism. In a similar way museum exhibitions and their purpose have changed and it has become the challenge to look at a museum collection not only for what it is now, but to the politics and challenges surrounding the history of collections. This is important because we need to problematize and explore the colonial/missionary encounter in an attempt to go beyond the static idea of colonial agents. These insights must then be taken further and used in exploring the role of exhibitions of colonial collections in contemporary society.

1.2 Aim

The purpose of this study is to examine a component of the Junod Collection, placing it in its time and place regarding when and how the objects were collected, as far as possible, and which factors affected this. The research to be undertaken will attempt to establish how Junod selected objects for collection (although this is often not possible and difficult to undertake) and how this selection was affected by his Swiss background and world view, but also how his work in Africa and the

people which he encountered also affected which objects he chose to collect and send back to Switzerland.

Critical questions will include:

How did Henri-Alexandre Junod's background, world view, outlook and daily work, affect what he selected for collection and how did his interests and world view change as he continued his missionary work within Southern Africa?

What sort of relationship can be read from the collection between H.-A. Junod, his life and his work in Africa.

1.3 Rationale

Various colonial collections have already been looked at closely and exhibited within South Africa and abroad. These include the Brenthurst Collection, in "Art and Ambiguity" (Johannesburg Art Gallery: 1991) and the Spiegel Stein-Lessing collection in "L'Afrique" (Knight: 2010), but these collections were collected during the mid-20th Century by collectors with no missionary links and quite strong art interests. It is therefore important to try and clarify what the context was of the initial collection of the objects, as this could contribute to the contemporary debate of how African objects should be displayed (Leibhammer, 2007: 32). This research report will analyse the Junod Collection in order to further unearth these questions, by exploring facets of Junod's collecting, why he selected certain objects and how they reflected his world view, but also

how his work amongst African people changed and influenced this world view.

The Junod Collection has never been studied in a critical way, taking into account the way in which Henri-Alexandre Junod went about choosing and collecting the objects and how the exhibitionary practices of these types of objects might be influenced by this. This collection has an important place within exhibitionary practices today as it could prompt different practices than conventional ethnographic ones. It is a large and varied collection of objects, in South Africa, gathered by a missionary in the late 19th century. Not only are 388 objects under curatorship at the Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology at UNISA, but a further 389 objects are also maintained at MuseumAfrica in Johannesburg. The selection of objects are broad including weapons, goblets, bowls, ritual items, beadwork, objects woven from grass, headrests, musical instruments and various objects which are difficult to categorise. The current knowledge we have around colonial/ missionary collecting needs to be augmented by using this collection in a valuable way to highlight how collecting practices were undertaken by one missionary, and how his choices and his background may affect the exhibition of these objects today.

1.4 Literature review

1.4.1 Missionaries role in tribal designations

The idea of bounded tribes who lived within clearly demarcated territories and spoke one definable language owes a lot to the work of missionaries; and the methods which were used by missionaries and colonial agents to create manageable, designated groups within their spheres of influence form an important background to this study (Harries in Vail: 1989; Nel, Nettleton, and Knight in Leibhammer: 2007). The writings by Leroy Vail, Patrick Harries (1989) and others are premised on the argument that the Tsonga as a bounded cultural and political group did not exist until colonial times. In Southern Africa the indigenous population had no word for “tribe”, only for “nation”, “clan” and “lineage” (Mafeje, 1971: 253-254). Traditionally people were identified by territory (Ibid: 254). The new method of organising people on the basis of tribes very probably had a profound effect on how objects were selected by missionaries. They often chose them as representative of particular groups that they were actually helping to bring into being. This has major implications for the study of the Junod collection, as it may put into question the description of the collection as “Tsonga-Shangaan”. The question of whether colonial collections can be ordered according to a set cluster of identifiable elements which relate to a certain “tribe” as in a Tsonga-Shangaan style of creation and whether there even is one, is discussed by Rayda Becker and Anitra Nettleton (Leibhammer: 2007). Other earlier writers such as Landau (2010) explores what he terms the tendency to tribalize South

Africa's past and the development of the "tribal idea" in his book "Popular politics in the history of South Africa, 1400-1948". Harries (1989) looks specifically at the question of the "creation" of a Tsonga cultural group as a tribe. The authors of "Embroided" (2011) discuss the way in which the Swiss missionaries imagined a certain community in Africa, by attributing a Tsonga ethnic identity to the people amongst whom they ministered (26). This identification came from the study of the language of the members of this Tsonga group, which missionary ethnographers standardised through their written orthographies and also the ethnographic studies undertaken by the missionaries (Jeannerat, et al, 2011: 25-26). The method in which languages were studied and classified according to particular traits in the 1890s to the 1920s by Christian churches, helped to create and consolidate new and wider ethnic identities, which roughly corresponded to the areas in which a particular missionary group practised (Chimhundu, 1992: 87). Interrogating these European ideas which were brought to Africa may open up interesting questions as to how a collection such as the Junod Collection may be described, explored and categorized. It is also hoped that this study will raise questions and provoke further thinking (given that many scholars have worked on this question) about how European ideas about Africa were constructed and how there may have been alternative forms of identification already present in Africa.

1.4.2 Missionary activities within Southern Africa

In order to understand the activities of the Swiss missionary societies working in Africa better, the relevant history of Switzerland is also explored. Scales and Zimmer (2005) give a thorough account of the secularisation which Switzerland was undergoing in the 18th century. The development of democratic values and how these intertwined with a more educated public and the development of the Free Church is also shown to be pivotal to the missionary work which was undertaken in Africa and other parts of the world (Coppola, 2005: 27). The Mission Suisse Romande, later known as the Swiss Mission in South Africa (SMSA) was the missionary organisation in Switzerland created by the Independent Church, and was tasked with sending missionaries to Africa (Jeannerat, et al, 2011: 16).

Books, journal articles and other literature (Harries: 2007a, b; Jeannerat et al: 2011; and Leibhammer: 2007) on the missionary activities within South Africa mention the originator of the collection, Henri-Alexandre Junod, but focus on the general missionary activities within Southern Africa and their effects on the local populations that were being ministered to. In "*Embroided*" (2011) it is explained that missionaries did not only minister to the groups within which they worked, but also undertook anthropological and ethnographic studies of them, in terms of the language and the culture which they encountered and constructed language and ethnic groups in the process. The method of studying the locals which the missionaries brought with them from Switzerland was affected by their

high levels of scientific education and their understanding of what it meant to undertake 'scientific' studies (Harries 2007a). "*Butterflies and Barbarians: Swiss missionaries and systems of knowledge in South-East Africa*" (2007a) by Patrick Harries explores the Swiss missionaries in terms of their values and world views and how they applied them to their work in South Eastern Africa. This book is not a biography of Henri-Alexandre Junod, but it gives clear insights into the world from which he came in Switzerland and the world which he found in Africa. It also looks closely at the education which Swiss missionaries received and their broad knowledge of the natural world and their penchant for languages, which was an important requirement as they had to minister to groups who spoke languages so different from their own.

1.4.3 Anthropology and colonial collecting

The subject known as anthropology, had been developing in Europe ever since its people had begun to explore the globe and consequently come into contact with peoples and places very different from themselves. Anthropology grew out of a wish to classify non-European humanity (Asad, 1991: 314). This wish to classify came from a long European tradition which saw classifying and collecting as a way of explaining rare and strange things in nature. This eventually developed into collecting for the purposes of classification as an explanatory tool (Pearce, 1995: 123). Within the 19th Century collecting in the natural sciences gained momentum and was linked with the notions of stratification and evolution. The publication of "*Origins of Species*" (1859) allowed for the

chronological structure and development of hierarchy for all life on earth and also allowed this life to be understood by grouping, listing and categorization (Ibid: 135). Within these scientific developments across Europe Junod grew up, worked and was influenced. To elaborate on these developments and explore their connections within Europe several publications are important. George Stocking's "*Objects and others: Essays on museums and material culture*" (1985) is a collection of essays which looks at the interplay between colonialism, collections made because of colonial activity, and the developments of museums to house these collections. It looks at two main figures, Pitt Rivers and Franz Boas, who were pivotal to exhibition practices in the 19th century. George Stocking's other publication, "*Colonial situations: Essays on the contextualisation of ethnographic knowledge*" (1991) is a close look at colonialism, the development of anthropology and Western hegemony which dictated the creation and development of knowledge from a Western view point. The last chapter, by Talal Asad, looks at anthropology developing out of Europe's colonial encounters. These publications are all important in creating a background as to how European thought was developing in the 19th century and how colonies were explored and managed, using the new sciences as guiding principles. Further to the exploration of Europe's development in the 18th and 19th century, I will also look at how nations developed with Anderson's (1991) argument that nations are a relatively recent phenomenon brought into being by a range of factors, including the printed word. The reinforcement of this national

sentiment was achieved through museums and exhibitions, which was how colonial collections were brought to the public.

1.4.4 Henri-Alexandre Junod's writings

Henri-Alexandre Junod's seminal work "*The Life of a South African Tribe, Volume 1 & 2*" (1927, 2nd edition) deals with his observations of the people he worked with. I found it to be a rich source of anthropological information. He goes into elaborate detail about the local people's customs, rituals, familial relations, fables and music. This interest in the local peoples came from his move from botany to anthropology as a topic of study (Michler, 2003: 40) and is not surprising considering the development of professional Anthropology in Europe in around 1890 (Stocking, Jr., 1985: 8). Unfortunately Junod deals with his collecting very briefly or not at all (Junod: 1927). This suggests strongly that to him collecting was an obvious extension of anthropological principles where collecting, categorising, listing and then extrapolating theories from this information, was how the objects of non-Europeans were dealt with "scientifically" (Stocking, Jr., 1985: 4). This was normal within the European tradition of the new sciences. But was it possible that even while Junod was imposing European systems on the local objects that the local ways and his interactions with local people were influencing what he was collecting?

Interestingly, when one reads Junod's work completely, in both volumes, one does get the impression that his view of the local peoples in the area within which he worked changed. He seems to become more

understanding of the methods which they use, seeing them less as simple “heathens” and more as products of their own environment, with a culture which was beautiful in its uniqueness. In Volume 2 Junod specifically mentions his friend, a local African called Spoon, who told him many stories of his culture (Junod, 1927, Vol. 2: 54). This is important, as it provides strong evidence for the view that the local people with whom Junod worked taught him and had a profound effect on how he saw things and how he interacted with them. Sekibakiba Lekgoathi writes about the relationship between the ethnographer and the local informant in his article “*Colonial experts, local interlocutors, informants...*” (2009). He discusses the important role of local informants in the ethnographic work of N.J. van Warmelo, who worked for the South African Native Affairs Department from 1930 until 1969 (61). Lekgoathi maintains that knowledge was constructed through the relationship between Van Warmelo and his local informants (Ibid: 62). Van Warmelo relied on these informants to provide him with information which would not have been accessible to him had it not been for them. In a similar way Junod was not simply an agent of the missionary movement, but was taught and changed by the people he came into contact with in Africa and his knowledge about Africa was constructed through his interaction with local informants.

1.4.5 Exhibitions and “othering”

Another important topic is the issue of “other” cultures and how they were viewed by Europeans. Much of the literature clearly relays how many of

Europe's exhibitionary practices situated non-western objects in such a way as to "other" the people who created them, placing them in an inferior position, both intellectually and morally (Coombes, 1994: 2). Edwards et al (2006) discusses the colonial legacy of collecting which favoured the Western gaze and how museums were used to order and control world cultures by placing them in understandable categories. Clifford (1988) discusses how new museums created the illusion of representation. Illusion because the objects had been removed from their original context and therefore their meaning had been changed irrevocably. The literature elaborates on the Europeans' pervasive view that non-European cultures were in a frozen state and that they needed to be guarded and protected, their objects collected and stored for posterity, as their culture was about to die out (Sardor: 2002; Coombes: 1994). The meaning of culture became intertwined with racial difference and the concept of "us" and "them", as described by Catherine Hall (2000). In "*Colonialism and culture*" (1992), edited by Nicholas Dirks, Anne Laura Stoler brings up the point of rethinking colonial categories and not accepting them at face value. Her methodology, of reading colonial archives against the grain, is important for this study, as the Junod collection needs to be studied, not only as an ethnographic collection, but also as an archive. Nicholas Dirks (1992) elaborates on colonialism and culture and how these two aspects fed into each other. European Imperialism justified colonialism by stating that Europe exported a superior civilization, be it by trader or missionary, and that African societies would develop better under their influence (Hall, 1984: 457). There seemed to be no understanding of the concept of all

cultures being in a constant state of change and flux which cannot be stopped by any one agent.

Some of the objects collected by Swiss missionaries, including Junod, were sent to Switzerland to be exhibited as part of the ongoing “marketing” of the missionary work to the Swiss people. Missionary propaganda often described Africa as the “Dark Continent” into which the missionaries carried spirituality and Christianity to light the way (Harries, 2007a: 3). These exhibitions took place in a makeshift museum in the Theological College at Lausanne, starting in the year 1883, which was the year the Swiss Mission Romande was created (Ibid: 2007, 46 & 217). This will not specifically be analysed and elaborated on, but will be touched on to create context around Junod’s collecting and the actual collection.

Questions we might pose include: did Junod adhere to these European principles when selecting and collecting objects, or in a more social way, as in receiving gifts and purchasing objects from the people with whom he worked? Did he collect objects only for their ethnographic values, or did he also collect objects because they were beautiful? Even a superficial look at the collection yields objects which are beautiful examples of carving and have no daily use or ritual purpose. It may even be that they were carved as gifts for Junod. The fact that he kept them and sent them back to Switzerland could cast light on how he viewed the Africa he worked in and how he was changed by Africa and its people.

Various individuals within the colonial system had different reasons for being in Africa. Even different missionaries had different reasons for being

in Africa. Junod was not only interested in evangelising, but also deeply interested in the natural and eventually social world in Africa, as shown in his written work. By looking at colonial collections in more depth, taking into account the background and education of the collector, it may be possible to elaborate on some of these motives. This will aid in deepening our understanding of the relationships between Junod as a missionary (but presumably also as a friend), and the people with whom he worked, lived and learnt from. Even as these collections appear mired within the colonial gaze, they can be unearthed again by looking at the collectors' background, writings, and in light of these, the actual objects within the collection.

1.5 Methodology

The Junod Collection, housed at the Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of South Africa, will form the basis of this research report.

In order to develop context and background to the actual collection I will be investigating the history of the missionary practices within Southern Africa, specifically looking at the Swiss Mission Romande to get a sense of how Junod came to be in Africa and what motivated him. Henri-Alexandre Junod and the collection which he put together during his work in Southern Africa will be the specific subject of this study, looking at how his home country formed him and how his missionary work possibly affected and shaped his view of Africa and what he selected for collection. I will undertake a close study of his seminal works "*Life of a South African*

Tribe, Volume 1 & 2" (1927) and some of his journal articles housed at the archives at UNISA. These will hopefully shed some light on his own thoughts around his collecting practices and how he selected objects to send back to Switzerland. In looking at Junod's anthropological works and his personal archived documents, I will take into account the theory of an "Ethnographic Allegory", which was introduced by James Clifford, which looks at ethnographies as not just scientific descriptions but allegory (Clifford: 1985). This theory sees ethnographic writing as allegorical in its content as well as what is implied by the way the content is textualised. This research will therefore look at ethnography as a "morally charged story about something" (Clifford, 1985: 100). In relation to Junod this means he always looked at and wrote about Africa in the context of where he came from and it was never purely scientific observation, even though he may have thought that it was. I would like to look at whether this was a constant in his work or if it changed, as Clifford points out in relation to informants in the field, the tendency to quote and name informants and further, whether locals affected Junod's collection choices.

Further I will employ a method suggested and used by Ann Laura Stoler (2000) in which she suggests that a colonial collection of objects be looked at in the same way as a colonial archive (86). For this study this means that the objects will not only be studied as representing the culture from where they originated, as I have indicated above how deeply problematic this is. It will rather be studied as a reflection of the relationship between Junod and the local people he interacted with. This

includes the profound truth that there were varied and different reasons why “colonial agents” were in Africa and that they often did not adhere to colonial policy. Speaking practically this would suggest that one look at the Junod Collection as a lens onto the person who collected the objects and his reasons for collecting what he did and what influenced his collecting. This is the archive as source becoming the archive as subject (Stoler, 2000: 86). I will also draw on Ann Wanless’ 2007 PhD thesis “*The silence of colonial melancholy*” in order to get an impression of another study into the background and motives of another collector of ethnography, Dr. Louis Fouries, who collected a broad range of items in the early 20th century in South Africa. Wanless (2007) also looks closely at Stoler’s methods in this research project, and asks questions as to the role of the original makers of the objects within the collection and whether their voices are still present in contemporary times (29, 49, 210-211).

Turning my lens onto the objects specifically I will attempt to ascertain whether the collection reflects only Junod’s upbringing and scientific leanings, or whether there are also nuances present of his African sojourn and how it affected him. Closely related to the collecting choices Junod made is the method with which they were exhibited in Switzerland. I will undertake an exploration of secondary sources related to Switzerland’s development as a nation and how this may have affected Junod’s ways of thinking. Did these influence what Junod sent back to Switzerland to be exhibited? I will undertake a study of the Junod Collection within the museum of Anthropology and Archaeology focussing mainly on those

items which will be shown to be a direct result of Junod's collecting. I will contextualise the collection by elaborating on its movement through the years and how it came to be at its current destination. Files from the Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology will be studied to discover this context, as well as files from MuseumAfrica, which relate to a section of Junod's collecting which was sold to this museum in 1939. The content of the collection, as well as absences, will be analysed as to possible reasons for collecting and a possible style of collecting. I will look specifically at whether Junod adhered to his background or varied from it. This will hopefully provide some insights into Junod's collecting habits by the forms the objects take and whether they have ritual or everyday purpose.

Chapter 2: Europe and the development of anthropology: The world

Henri-Alexandre Junod was born into.

“Culture or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (Tylor, 1871: 1)

“Let those who are prejudiced against the black race study more carefully its customs, its mind, such as it reveals itself in the old rites of the Bantu tribe. They will see that these natives are much more earnest than they thought and that in them beats a true human heart” (Junod, 1927, Vol. 2: 10).

2.1 Introduction

Henri-Alexandre Junod was born in Switzerland on May 17, 1863. This date needs to be placed in its historical context by looking at the developments that were in progress in Europe up to two hundred years ago, which influenced the country of Junod’s birth and fostered a certain worldview in the intellectual classes of the time. This chapter will attempt to elaborate on this concept and show that Junod lived in a time of great changes within Europe. Eriksen and Nielsen (2001) state that all writers mentioned in the history of anthropology are influenced by their time and their society (8). Junod was, in some sense but not completely, a person of his time and was affected by certain changes in Europe. These changes were at times subtle, at times unsettling for the populations of

Europe and also affected various regions of various countries differently and at different momentums. These developments would have had some type of effect on all people living in Europe at this time, especially those educated elites who were writing about and discussing new developments in the sciences and governments of the day including Henri-Alexandre Junod, as an educated individual who read and wrote on an intellectual level. Some of the major developments that will be looked at will include the development of the sciences, specifically anthropology; the development of the practice of collecting objects made by people; and their display in new institutions called museums.

2.2 The development of the sciences and a science of man

When people inhabiting the countries outside of Europe were first encountered during Europe's exploration of the globe, they were described in either travel writing or social philosophy. One question which kept being raised was whether people everywhere and at all times were the same or profoundly different. (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001: 8). These questions along with the profound changes experienced by Europeans during their contact with people from around the globe led to the development of a science of humankind and how humans may have developed. The changes in European society at the time, such as capitalism, nationalism, cultural reflexivity, secularised science and the acquisition of colonial entities, all had an effect on the creation of anthropology as a pastime and then a science (Ibid: 9). One of the reasons sciences flourished was because of colonial expansion, which

made it necessary to actively engage with and exercise the scientific imagination. Cartography, geography, botany and eventually anthropology all grew tremendously as subjects because of colonial expansion and the encounters with new peoples (Dirks, 1992: 6). Encounters with colonial “subjects” stimulated European intellectuals to see society as an entity undergoing growth and change from relatively simple small-scale communities, “them”, to large complex industrial nations, “us”. (Ibid: 9) and eventually led to the development in the 19th Century of Anthropology as an academic discipline. Culture, organised through the new discipline of anthropology was a powerful tool in the maintenance of colonial rule (Hall, 2000: 3-5). The idea of a cultural “tribe” lay at the heart of indirect rule (Ranger, 1997: 204). Tony Bennett (2004) explains how colonised people were placed in a space of prehistoric time, where, as explained by Mahmood Mamdani (2012) their culture was seen as cloistered and unchanging, a stationary society.

Scientific disciplines also allowed Europeans to claim cultural authority over those peoples they encountered and were used to enable them to imagine themselves as distinct from these peoples, placing themselves at a scientific apex (Ballantyne, 2004: xv & Stoler, 2000: 89). Edward Said (1978) also argues that forms of power were organised through these new disciplines and that history, anthropology and geography were used in the maintenance of colonial rule (39-40). He maintains that the growing systematic knowledge of “strange” cultures was reinforced by the colonial encounter as well as widespread interest in the alien and unusual (40). This interest was exploited by the developing sciences such as ethnology,

anatomy, philology, history (40) and finally also anthropology. But, central to Said's thesis is his argument that to have knowledge about something meant that it could be dominated and that there was authority over it (Said, 1978: 32). Culture as an anthropological concept may never have developed had it not been for the colonial activities of European states (Dirks, 1992: 3). Said (1978) explains that European culture gained its strength and identity by setting itself in opposition to the cultures of "non-Europeans" (3) and identifying themselves as a unity of "us" against the "non-European" "other" (Said, 1978: 7 & Edwards et al, 2006: 14).

Culture as a term developed a new meaning in the early 16th century where it became associated with the mind and the idea that only certain people were cultured, and this was associated with the arts, the upper classes and a general state of civilization. During the period of enlightenment (17th and 18th century) a third meaning came to be developed for "culture". This meaning was affected by the belief that all societies moved through stages of development and that Europe set universal human standards of the apex of civilization. Culture as a term became a way of giving meaning and value to sameness and difference, allowing distinctions to be created between civilization and anarchy, culture and nature (Hall, 2000: 10-11). Nature began to be seen as separate from humans and able to be studied like a machine, and the machine's component parts changed and controlled (Williams, 1980: 73-77) Culture was seen as a durable force and traditional societies encountered during colonial voyages were seen as "timeless", their culture having changed extremely slowly or not at all. Culture was

understood to be coherent and internally consistent, with change only coming about because of external forces (Dirks, et al, 1994: 3). This belief that primitive societies were smaller, static and timeless, lacking the capacity to change except by external forces also enabled Europeans to define their modernity by comparing it to the disorder of the primitive societies. In comparison to the “other” Europe was at the apex of development and therefore superior (Said, 1978: 7). Also, they felt they could affect and change these societies because they believed themselves to be at the apex (Edwards et al, 2006: 14).

By the 19th and 20th Century racial thinking had been shaped by arguments about cultural distinctions between peoples and the insistence that racial differences and how they affected development, were a fact (Hall, 2000: 19). Therefore not only were the new peoples which were eventually brought under colonial governance seen as being at an earlier level in this development, but even European communities which appeared to be at some phase of development before their current stage of civilization, were seen as savages. The discoveries in the fields of geology, biology and history were connected to each other to form a kind of time line of humanity where the narratives of the earth’s formation and the development of man were linked (Bennett, 1995: 39). Three stages of advancement were suggested: savagery, then barbarism and then the final stage, civilization. The savage represented the crude beginnings of the human’s stage in development. The savage was introduced to the Western world as a form of one’s own cultural ancestors and an essential contributor to the human history (Voget, 1975: 47-52). What was

established by the colonisers was the superiority of European governments and thus their right to rule others. They had made major discoveries in inventiveness, control of nature and had developed political and economic systems that they believed were more advanced than those encountered in colonised societies (Howe, 2002: 85).

Stoler argues however that not all the actors in the colonial landscape, from European governments; clerks working for European companies in the colonies; government officials, scientists, adventurers and missionaries etc; can be said to have been there for the same reasons or even to be in agreement with everything their country stood for (Stoler, 1992: 320-321). Said (1978) maintains that all colonial agents and Europeans viewed the colonies in a similar way. Stoler (1992) argues that there were more nuances in the European gaze and that there needs to be an exploration of the views and experiences of different agents in the colonies. The argument here is that even though the ruling powers, those people who occupied government posts in the metropole, had certain approaches in terms of colonies, there were various agents who worked within the system, but did not necessarily hold the same viewpoints as their governments. This is an important aspect of the time period in question, because Junod may have approached his missionizing work in a different way than expected by the missionary organization at home in Switzerland. A good example of this occurring in the extreme is the case of J.A. Winter, a missionary with the Berlin Missionary Society. Delius (2010) describes how he became deeply involved in the political situation of the local peoples living at the missionary station Botšhabelo in

Southern Africa, and was even accused of “going native” and living too closely with his converts (316). Therefore it is clear that not all missionaries held the same viewpoint and therefore Junod’s viewpoint within the system of colonial governance is important. His observations in Africa may have been greatly affected by his scientific education and his work as a missionary, but also by what he experienced in Africa, which may have allowed for a more nuanced view, rather than a homogenous “European gaze”.

2.3 Collecting and ethnographic objects

At the same time as these scientific discoveries were being made, changes were also being felt in the way objects were being collected and viewed. During the 18th Century there was a movement away from attributing importance to rare and curious objects to that of normal, everyday objects which could be used to reveal patterns of creativity and development (Pearce, 1995: 11). There was now a concentration on the measurement and distinction of objects and their classification in groups to reveal developmental changes (Ibid: 121, 123). Tony Bennett (1995) describes how collections began to be arranged in accordance with the principle of representation rather than that of rarity and there was a shift to the epistemic and utilitarian which searched for laws as revealed by recurrences at the level of the average and everyday (Bennett, 1995: 24, 39, 41). The category, referred to as exotic, which was used to describe these objects that had been brought back to Europe from distant lands was changed, and they were now called “ethnographic artefacts”,

therefore curiosities were transformed into objects of scientific interest (Davison, 1990: 150). These attitudes to collecting and placing objects in definable categories of development would have an effect on the way human development was viewed, as man would be split into different grades of biological and social difference (Voget, 1975: 56).

Artefacts, and the data extrapolated from them, gained a central role in the new study of man because of two main theories, which gained prominence before the 1920s. The first is evolutionism, which postulates that society develops from simpler to more complex forms, which in the 19th century also postulated that development proceeded from barbarianism to civilization (Partapuoli, et al, 2013). The second theory is diffusionism, which postulates that most changes in society are because of diffusion, which is the spread of linguistic and cultural practices within a community or between various different communities (Barnard, 2000: 47). A form of extreme diffusionism posited that different communities did not invent new tools on their own, the tool was invented once and then spread to different communities through diffusion (Ibid: 47). Therefore there was a belief that objects contained all the knowledge required to study man and that these theories could be encountered in objects created by man. Objects were also important as the groups from which they were being gathered had no written history, therefore it was believed the only way to capture their characteristics and how they expressed themselves was through the objects they manufactured (O'Hanlon, 2002: 5). Objects therefore became important in Anthropological study, as this science took as its subject matter peoples who had no written history. The objects were

also used to trace the evolutionary progress of groups, in that groups that had certain objects were seen to be at a certain evolutionary level (Ibid: 5). “Ethno” as used in the word Ethnology, denoted both racial and cultural difference and from a European point of view it drew a conceptual boundary between civilized and uncivilized peoples, “us” and “them”. Europeans saw themselves as having culture and civilization and saw “them”, as having a very basic, early form of culture and no strong level of civilization at all (Davison, 1990: 150). Anthropology as a developing discipline, created and documented the ‘primitive’ (Edwards et al, 2006: 16).

2.4 The development of anthropology

Social theorists in Europe at the time were proposing universal schemes of human development to explain the differences between European and non-European people (Liebersohn, 2008: 30). By the 1840s the progressivist theories, which held that development occurred in small increments over time (Farlax, 2013), had given way to a theory anchored in biological evolution, which stated that organisms went through successive changes over a long period of time, eventually developing into a higher, better form than before (Farlax, 2013 & Voget, 1975: 92). A very important event in the development of these evolutionary theories was the publication of two books by Charles Darwin: the first “*On the Origin of Species*” (1859), dealt with the genealogical links and interdependence of all life forms (Voget, 1975: 128-130). This publication was significant in the anthropology of race because it provided a theoretical framework for

orienting research and legitimising arguments which had already been in existence for a number of years. The second is "*The Descent of Man*" (1871), in which Darwin shows a very moderate belief concerning the ideas of "social Darwinism" (Glick, 2008: 225). He described these natural laws in terms of plants and animals and other scientists took these ideas and applied them to humans, using them to justify difference on a racial basis and managerial control over colonised groups (Ibid: 225). The impact of Darwinian evolutionary thinking on classificatory racial schemas of hierarchy from "savagery" to "civilization" was that these ideas became common (Hall, 2000: 19). Evolutionary thought equated a variety of other peoples with certain stages in time, which were points in the past surrounding the modern centre. The centre was the European metropolis and the peoples encountered in other parts of the world were points in pre-history found at varying distances from this centre (Thomas, 2000: 298-299). Social Darwinism was an ideology which was used by imperial powers to justify their control of and expansion into new territories already inhabited by other peoples. It justified the elimination or domination of indigenous societies as an inevitable social process (Griffiths, 1996: 11). The imperial powers maintained that these peoples were at a lower level of development and that they, as the pinnacle of civilization were bringing them civilization and religion, moving them out of the darkness of "savagery" (Gollwitzer, 1969: 13).

Professional ethnological (the French called it ethnography as well as anthropology) societies began to be created in Europe and America around 1839 (Honigmann, 1976: 113). These societies sponsored a

systematic assembly of material data in the field and their members were mostly trained as anatomists. Because of this there was a great interest in race and gathering evidence around it (Voget, 1975: 105). Scientists who were known as anthropologists were being offered positions at universities between 1839 and 1884. The subject was fast becoming a discipline in itself, with a reader being given a position at Oxford in 1884. Four years later Harvard in the USA established a department of archaeology and ethnology (Honigmann, 1976: 114). The International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology was convened for the first time in 1866 in Neuchâtel, Switzerland (Voget, 1975: 136). Henri-Alexandre Junod was born close to this town in Chezard Saint Martin in 1863 (Harries, 2007a: 27). By the 19th Century England and Germany had become important centres of anthropological activity and by 1890 France joined their ranks with a sociological slant to Anthropology. This would lead professional anthropologists to attempt to study 'primitive' cultures with what they thought of as an unprejudiced detachment. These cultures which were being encountered were the most immediate source of anthropological information, as they were seen as the precursors of modern civilization and as such could shed light on what developments man had gone through before being civilized, as the European man believed he was (Voget, 1975: 143).

Anthropological societies were rapidly created, in Paris (1859); London (1863); Berlin (1869); Vienna (1870); Stockholm (1873) and Washington in 1879; the Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory was founded in Berlin in 1869 (Voget, 1975: 133). The formation of these

societies showed that there was a movement to give the study of humankind a professional status. These developments were accompanied by the introduction and expansion of the training of anthropologists within university departments (Ibid: 136) and the first university departments of pure anthropology were founded in the 1890s (Leaf, 1974: 1). Even as anthropology was becoming a recognised science of man there were many individuals in the colonial landscape who were lay, or amateur anthropologists. Henri-Alexandre Junod was one such man, who came to Africa as a missionary and left as a recognised anthropologist, belonging to various societies in Europe and having published ethnographic articles widely in various scientific journals of the time (Harries, 2007b: 205).

2.5 The nation state and the development of museums

In the 18th century royal collections were made more accessible to a broader section of the population in new entities called museums. However museums had not yet developed into the spaces they were to become as the objects were royal property and did not belong to the state and only a very select upper-class section of the population was allowed access to them. Even so, the fact that these collections were being opened up to a new public, or certain publics, showed that there was a significant transformation in the way objects of interest were displayed and which sector of the society was allowed to view these objects (Bennett, 1995: 34-35).

The collapse of older political and cultural governing principles because of revolutions and political turmoil were a contributing factor to the

emergence of museums that were more accessible to a larger part of the population. One important example of this is the Louvre collection in Paris which was transformed from the king's property to the patrimony of the nation by a revolution (Siegel, 2008: 5). Further museums which opened their doors to the public during this time period were the Capitoline in Rome (1734); the Uffizi in Florence (1793) and the Pio-Clementino at the Vatican (1771) (Ibid: 6).

Museums were a key machine in the dissemination of the history of European countries as growing nation states and pivotal in the formation of the modern European state and fundamental to the state as the vehicle for education and civilization (Bennett, 1994: 129). Anderson (1991) maintains that the development of the national museum was a profoundly political move, in the regulation and education of the members of the new nation state (179). The nation as an imagined entity, as described by Benedict Anderson, came about because of a decline in certain long-held beliefs, including: privileged access to knowledge of how humans came to be on earth; monarchs as divine entities of rule; and that the origins of the world and man were identical. These declines occurred because of the new scientific discoveries that had been and continued to be made at that time (Ibid: 36). Forms of rapid communication about these new ideas, like the printing press, allowed ideas and discussions to be disseminated widely and in a form accessible to a large number of the population. A large new reading public was being created who were being exposed to new political and religious ideas (Ibid: 40) The fact that groups from Europe were encountering other peoples in their colonial ventures, also

deepened the questions about their own identity and their place in the world as a “civilizing agent” leading to further debates on nationalism and nation states. Anderson (1991) has also written that the “empire” attempted to maintain national identity by generalising a principle of innate, inherited superiority in which its own domestic position was based on the vastness of the overseas possessions.

Profound changes occurred in the sectors of agriculture and manufacture because of new production methods and steam power. Williams (1980) discusses how agricultural improvements and the industrial developments followed on from a description of nature as a machine, or a set of objects which man could scientifically understand, alter and control (77). The first major railways were built in the 1830s and the telegraph was developed in 1846. All these changes made the movement of vast quantities of information, raw materials, commodities and people possible all over the globe (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001: 15-16). This European industrialisation and development in the 19th Century seemed to set Europe apart from the world, and accentuated what they saw as their superiority as a group of developed nations (Liebersohn, 2008: 30).

The colonial mission was one of conservation of local customs, as posited by indirect rule, which was the British system used in Africa after the assimilationist project in India had failed. Indirect rule became a specifically British colonial strategy, as France used the assimilationist approach in their colonies, which accepted the Africans potential human equality and dismissed African cultural values (Thomas, 2000: 315). Parsons (2004) describes the process of indirect rule as a system where

“traditional leaders” and knowledge about local customs was used to manage the local people found in colonies (260, 268). This knowledge about local customs and how local peoples governed themselves was often gleaned from anthropological work done in colonies (Ranger, 1997: 604). Not only was culture used to build nations: as nationality necessitated the notion of culture in that one group was distinct from another in essential ways (Dirks, 1992: 3). But culture was also used to emphasise distinctions amongst the colonizer and colonised and to show the immutable character of racial difference (Hall, 2000: 19). Benedict Anderson (1991) argues that colonial racism was a major element in the conception of the nation. The idea being conveyed was that even as the upper classes were superior to the lower classes, the lower classes were still superior to the subjected “other” (Anderson, 1991: 150).

Even so, many populations within Europe seemed unaware of themselves actually belonging to a “nation” (Lawrence, 2005: 2-3). There was resistance to new governments which were formed and many people living outside of cities did not see themselves as part of the make-up of a state, which was seen to be based in the cities and towns. Michael Keating (1988) has noted that the peoples of most European countries in the 19th century failed to feel the spontaneous urge of nationalism and national feeling had to be created through education and socialization (45). Nationalism as a feature was the result of the elites, modernisers and progressives in a society, who sought to construct a politically and economically unified, modern, centralised and secular state, (Keating, 1988: 46) for their own purposes of the creation of wealth and influence in

their various spheres. The elite, socially and politically, were well read, educated and key to the growth of the sciences, within this political climate. The newly created governments used education as a means to foster nationalism, by educating people on the history of the new nation state.

Museums had not been particularly scientific during the 18th Century and focussed mainly on nationalist agendas or the display of “cult objects” or “savage utensils” which were kept to testify to the strangeness and inhumanity of the places where they came from, which included the West Indies, the Pacific islands, New Zealand, Australia and Africa (Goldwater, 2012: 159). Bennett (1995) describes how by the mid-19th century governments felt that high culture might be enlisted in the civilizing and educating of its populations (22). This exposure to culture, through museums, was to imbue members of society with the capacity for self-improvement and self-regulation. Women were especially important in this activity as they were perceived to have naturalised virtues which they could use to redress social problems and were actively encouraged to visit museums (Bennett, 1995: 24, 30). Museum institutions were involved in the movement of objects and persons from a private space to an open public area. Museums also became a vehicle for inscribing and broadcasting the state’s message of power throughout society. Visitors to museums were shown they were on the side of power, the viewer, but they were also the object of knowledge, being led and taught through these new public spaces (Bennett, 1994: 126).

What can also be seen developing within the museum sphere in the 18th Century and early 19th Century were two specific areas of exhibitionary practices. The one was more intellectual and educational, and concentrated on art, natural history, and the new developing science of anthropology and was reflected in the increasing development of important art and science museums, which were dedicated specifically to the education of the general public. These museums, that were purposely built and had educational exhibitionary practices became, over time, the public face of the new science of Anthropology (Coombes, 1994: 4). The other exhibitionary practice was events known as Expositions (France), Exhibitions (Britain), or World Fairs (USA) (Findling, et al, 1990: xviii, 3, 263) and *Völkerschauen* in Germany (Penny & Bunzl, 2003: 6, 16). These began to be organised in Europe in the mid-19th Century. They were enormous events meant to foster nationalism and to specifically garner support for the colonial ventures of that country. The first true world fair was “The Great Exhibition” which was held in London in 1851. (Findling, et al, 1990: xviii, 3, 263). When Prince Albert spoke about the exhibition he spoke of the unity of all mankind and the division of labour through which mankind approached the fulfilment of its greatest mission, that of using God-given reason to discover the laws with which God created the earth. By discovering these laws, man could conquer nature and use it for his own purposes (Stocking Jr., 1987: 3). Within this exhibition importance was shifted from the process of production to the actual product, with no sign of the one who had produced it and showing the power and capital of the state within the coordination of production. Importance was placed on

principles of classification based on nation, empire and race and this was done by developing separate pavilions for each participating country and later, even different pavilions for different racial groups. Therefore the rhetoric of progress was placed in racial terms. The 19th century exposition displays were transformed into signs of progress and to show that this progress was the result of a collective national achievement. The story being told was one of power (nation) and the object of power (peoples from the colonies). This power was illustrated by the representation of the “other”, “strange” peoples from the colonies (Bennett, 1994: 131 & 146). The “Greater British Exhibition” which opened in 1899 was a combination of circus, military and action entertainment and there were static and mobile displays. The centrepiece of this exhibition was “Savage South Africa” where Africa was shown as a place offering great wealth, excitement, promise and worthy of risking your life for. The display contained various groups from Africa, described in the brochure as Matabele, Basutos, Swazis, ‘Hottentots’ and even Boers (Johnson, 1994: 174-177). These types of “fairs” continued well into the 20th Century, with large expositions such as the “Exposition Coloniale Internationale” in Paris in 1931 and the “Empire Exhibition” right here in Johannesburg from 1936 until 1937 (Findling, et al, 1990: xviii, 263, 282 & Robinson, 2003: 759). The lessons were supposedly that not all men advanced at a similar pace, and some cultures were seen as “stationary”, especially what was referred to as the Orient, as opposed to the “progressive” Europe (Stocking Jr., 1987: 3). These national, international and colonial exhibitions can be described as scientific demonstrations; “popular entertainment” and

“spectacles” which mobilised the rhetoric of education and national coherence (Coombes, 2012: 261).

2.6 Conclusions

This is a broad analysis of the various arcs of change which traversed Europe between the 19th and 20th Century under the impact of its encounter with other continents and their inhabitants. Great movements were being made in thought and theory and the history of humankind. The new sciences and interest in studying changes in the natural world led researchers to look at objects differently and this included the objects which were collected and brought back during the period of colonisation. The objects of these distant peoples were first seen as strange and exotic, meant to elicit awe, but as the sciences developed it was believed that patterns and changes in the objects could give insights into the peoples who made them, and these could then help in the study of the development in all man and in administering colonial subjects. Having these objects collected in museums was a development which bolstered the development of anthropology, as museums needed staff to study and order the objects and, many museums even sent staff out on their own study expeditions to collect objects. Studying groups residing within the colonies and using the new science of anthropology to place them in designated “tribal” entities with matching linguistic traits was then used by colonial governments to aid the governing of colonies. Anthropologists specialised in the study of groups which had no written culture and could, so it was believed, be understood best by what they made. These

patterns and beliefs were visually realised within the museum space, which was used to educate and enlighten members of society. This method of exhibiting strange and unusual objects to awe and educate Europeans about their place in the world was also undertaken in huge exhibitions, which were erected on huge sites, and even included exhibitions of living peoples from the colonies. These exhibitions were important in showcasing the role of the European countries as colonisers who would bring civilization to far off lands. These developments, which are mostly discussed in England, Germany and France, were also felt in Switzerland. I will show in the next chapter how Switzerland also experienced important developments around sciences and museums and I will also elaborate on how the new economic situation in Europe created permeable borders which allowed influences and ideas to reach Switzerland. Even though Switzerland had no colonies, they were also active in the creation of museums, a nation state, and exhibitions and also undertook an active role in missionary work within the European colonies. These developments and how they may have affected the life of Henri-Alexandre Junod will be elaborated on.

Chapter 3: Switzerland and their missionary activities: The missionary, Henri-Alexandre Junod.

“Missionary activity is not a national project; it is a function of the church of Jesus Christ. As such, it is not fixed by any borders and includes all nations and races. Missionary activity expresses the evangelical message in all languages” (Alphons Koechlin in Debrunner, H.W. 1991: 173, translated from the German by Anneliese Mehnert)

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter a very elaborate look will be taken of Switzerland in the light of the developments in Europe, which were discussed in the previous chapter. It will be shown that Switzerland was not immune to the many ideas growing and moving through Europe and that the permeable European borders specifically allowed these ideas to spread and grow between the new states. The growth of missionary activity is important within this time period, as the reformation and its consequent developments created the will amongst protestant church members to spread the gospel to various parts of the world. Henri-Alexandre Junod was one of these members and would eventually become a missionary. Therefore the development of the missionary field in Switzerland and how it eventually spread out to Africa is important in the outlook and life of Junod, as it was his conceptual framework when he was working in Africa. In the section on the development of the Swiss Mission, Patrick Harries work “*Butterflies and Barbarians*” (2007a) is drawn on as this is the most

succinct and clear description of Swiss missionary activities in Europe and Africa. Developments in the sciences, discussed within a European context in the previous chapter, will be looked at in a Swiss context to show the burgeoning of the sciences in Switzerland and the effect this would have on Junod's father, who then passed these methods and practices on to his son. Junod's activities in Africa will be explored in terms of his initial activities there and also his activities when he returned to Switzerland between missionizing periods in Africa. His seminal work "*Life of a South African Tribe, Volume 1 & 2*" (1927) will be looked at as a good reflection of the type of observations he made of the people he was working with and might also give some insight as to the effect Africa had on him and his Swiss world view and whether this changed or not in the time that he spent in Africa.

3.2 Switzerland as a nation state within Europe

As a geographical area Switzerland had a unique development towards ideas of nationalism and a nation. The area did not have a single, formal language which could aid its people to a feeling of coherence, much like other European areas (Kaufmann and Zimmer, 1998: 488). Those who wished to create a nation of the Swiss could not refer to a shared ethnicity, or a shared ethnic descent (Zimmer, 2003: 10). Switzerland's political and cultural elites fostered an ideology of organic (rather than ethnic) nation hood, by claiming that the Swiss nation was both a voluntary and a natural community (Ibid: 10). What occurred in this area was a concept of nation which was drawn from the natural environment,

specifically the Alpine mountain range (Kaufmann and Zimmer, 1998: 488). According to Perry Anderson, the mountains of central Switzerland along with military successes of the Confederate peasant armies in the battles against the Habsburgs in the 14th Century, helped to prevent feudalism and allowed the Swiss confederation to emerge as a republic in Europe (Ibid: 489).

Switzerland was a confederation with no common government for about five centuries. The cantons which made up Switzerland were in effect independent, but had alliances and common interests (De Salis, 1971: 17, 19) as they were fully aware of the economic and political benefits of their association against their ambitious and powerful neighbours. Even so, its history before the 20th century is characterised by political and religious dissension and numerous civil wars (Barber, 1991: 17, 19). The reformation, which began slowly around the 16th century (Bonjour, et al, 1952: 141-142) and which brought Protestantism to Switzerland, was not accepted by the more conservative cantons that had a Catholic majority. These cantons wished to maintain autonomy of their own as separate entities. The liberal cantons, who were mostly urbanised and protestant, wanted a centralised constitution with a federal government (Barber, 1991: 19). Local skirmishes still took place in Switzerland before a true federal state could be established. In 1798 the French Army invaded and this effectively meant the end of the confederation of 13 cantons as the network of feudal obligations and aristocratic privileges could not be maintained with the introduction of the new thoughts which fostered the French Revolution (Schmid, 1981: 3). The Helvetic Republic was

instituted and the constitution of 1798 abolished all previous privileges and established the equality of individuals and territories, with a parliament representing the whole country (Ibid: 3). Although it was politically an unstable republic (Barber, 1991: 17) it is credited with creating a multi-lingual Switzerland, as they raised the French and Italian sections of Switzerland to the level of cantons with equal rights (Schmid, 1981: 3).

The Swiss Alpine environment was imagined as the birthplace of republican liberty and simplicity (Kaufmann & Zimmer, 1998: 490). Heroic myths and the history of the alpine area were also disseminated to a large portion of the population by the public education system. Therefore one sees a process of cultural purification occurring with the re-discovery of an ethnic past, and the process of selecting the stories better suited to the process of drawing people together under one national identity. The people were encouraged to learn and accept these stories, by the use of the public education system and national festivals and plays (Kaufmann & Zimmer, 1998: 500 & Smith, 1996: 451). Switzerland's educated and liberal elite also understood that a strong independent state depended on a well educated population and to this end they endeavoured to draw the majority of the population into a formal school system. Between 1871 and 1872 the federal authority received 28 petitions in favour of making primary school education compulsory and free of charge (Zimmer, 2005: 344-345). The constitution of 1874 made education compulsory, general and free and every child had to attend school for at least eight years (Schmid, 1981: 42).

After the acceptance of the new constitutions in 1848 and the creation of a Swiss federal state, cultural politics was undertaken with scores of public speeches, staging of public festivals and commemorations and the passing of new legislation to promote national art (Zimmer, 2003: 16). Extra funding was also made available to promote scholarly research into the national past (Ibid: 16). Radicals and liberals, during the time of the establishment of a federal state (1840s), wished to integrate different religious and linguistic groups into a single, federal state (Zimmer, 2003: 11). There was opposition to their plan by conservatives in Switzerland, especially the cantons with a majority of Catholics, as they did not agree with the separation of church and state (Ibid: 11). Zimmer (2003) states that these differences of opinion about the development of a federal state and the public debates which resulted, caused the local citizenry to be drawn into the national debate and therefore put it foremost in most people's minds (15). Harries (1998) points out that the constitution of 1848 had turned the confederation into one integrated space (50), by removing trade obstacles such as tolls and tariffs between cantons. This process became even faster with the construction of roads, railways, postal communications and a common currency (Zimmer, 2003: 133 & Harries, 1998: 50). The completion of the Gotthard Railway in 1882 was one of these projects, and it provided all-weather links between Germany and Italy and Switzerland (Barber, 1991:17).

Even though Anderson does make the point that Switzerland was minimally urban (6 %); with a large rural population; an area made up of various dialects as well as three distinct languages (Anderson, 1991: 137-

138) the un-urbanised nature of the country did not stop development as the watch, silk and cotton industries were developing in the non-urban areas of the country (Biucchi, 1969: 19). Also by the 17th and 18th century two thirds of the rural population were no longer peasants, or only seemed so because they still did small scale subsistence farming. Trade was situated in towns and industry in the countryside and this aided economic growth because expanding industries were exempt from restrictions imposed by corporations in urban areas (Ibid: 19). The industrialization of Switzerland was one of the most developed in the whole of Europe by the early 19th Century (Zimmer, 2003: 131). Therefore by the late 19th century the Swiss citizenry was identifying itself as a homogenous group, crossing boundaries of language and canton. Education was used as a key tool for the further growth of the new nation state and its wish for a cohesive ethnic past. Industrialisation was well underway, as in other European countries, and brought with it open trade and open borders between previous cantons.

During the 18th and 19th century the literary and artistic influences of France were also felt in Switzerland (Gilliard, 1955: 46-47, 74). Geneva and Basel (and Zurich in 18th Century literature) specifically, were the towns open to European intellectual influences and often provided a haven for intellectuals who had antagonised their own governments. Neuchâtel, which was a Prussian principality in 1814, but became the 21st canton of the Republican Swiss Confederation, had its students sent to Berlin where they came into contact with German advances in the fields of science and philosophy, and who then brought these ideas back (Harries,

2007a: 23). There was a widespread middle class which could be described as an “intellectual bourgeoisie”. They were influenced by French enlightenment and English utilitarianism and were strong and active in all the Swiss cantons and grouped together in numerous social and educational societies who spread these ideas by the new mechanised system of printing. This intellectual bourgeoisie was deeply affected by the economic philosophies of enlightenment and utilitarianism by means of exposure via the “*Bibliothèque universelle*” based on the earliest British Encyclopaedia and appearing from 1796 to 1815 (Biucchi, 1969: 26-27). The fact that Switzerland was affected by developments in other areas of Europe cannot be denied as the movement of the Reformation shows: It began in Germany in the 16th century and then spread to German speaking Switzerland, then to the French speaking part of Switzerland and then from here entered France (Thompson, 1996: 37).

The massive expansion of the printing press in Switzerland allowed information about science and politics to be disseminated at a pace never before seen within the country (Zimmer, 2003: 126). In the 18th and the 19th century Switzerland became associated with constitutional liberty because they provided free presses for the publication of a wide variety of works that were banned in other European countries (Barber, 1991: 42). The reading public also grew much larger (Zimmer, 2003: 126), not only because of the press but because by the 1830s many of the regenerated, liberal cantons had made school education compulsory (Ibid: 128), allowing for the fostering of a reading public. Literacy rates in Switzerland

in the early 19th century were one of the most developed in the European region (Ibid: 131).

3.3 The development of the sciences and museums in Switzerland

Konrad Gesner of Zurich was one of the founders of modern zoology and his "*Historiae animalium*" represented the first modern attempt to classify all recorded animal life (Barber, 1991: 63). By the mid-19th Century new ideas about the age of the earth were startling the Swiss, and many of them had their origins in Geneva. Charles Bonnet, a noted scientist, had discovered that micro-organisms could multiply without being of two different sexes. Georges Cuvier discovered the relationship between fossils of living organisms and the geological strata in which they were found (Harries, 2007a: 44), in effect creating a method for being able to extrapolate a rough time period for the organisms and therefore pushing the age of the earth back by millennia. Discoveries made in other European countries found their way to Switzerland by way of students of these scientists presenting lectures, specifically Louis Agassiz, who had been born in Neuchâtel and returned in 1832 to teach. He built up an internationally renowned research team and eventually moved to Harvard (Harries, 2000: 12). His work in glaciology and fossils led him to believe the world was far older than the 6000 years, as theorised from the bible (Harries, 2007a: 44). In the 1830s and 1850s a group of naturalists who were influential in their field called Neuchâtel home, and this helped the city become a centre of scientific research (Harries, 2000: 12-13). "*On the Origins of Species*" by Charles Darwin, published in 1859, appeared in

French in 1862. A German scientist, Carl Vogt, embarked on a lecture tour of Neuchâtel to discuss this publication. His lectures were well received in the working class towns and caused many to reassess their religious ideas in light of these recent scientific theories (Harries, 2007a: 24). In the course of the 18th century many other French writers utilised the printing presses of Geneva to publish works that were seen as too critical in their home country (Barber, 1991: 46-47). Arnold van Gennep became the first chair of Anthropology at the University of Neuchâtel in 1912 (Harries, 2007b: 218). This shows the steady growth of the sciences and anthropology to becoming fully-fledged, recognised fields in Switzerland, as in the rest of the world and North America. It also illustrates the radical new ideas which were opposing long held and accepted religious and political beliefs.

Switzerland boasts some of the oldest museums, but they did not begin with the development of National museums until the 1890s. The secularization of church treasures had been a gradual process, which had been continuous since the Reformation and so was on going before the creation of a national state agenda. This had caused the creation of many local and regional museums, which boasted some of the largest collections in the world. The Historischmuseum in Basel, which was a display of the cabinet of Boniface Amerbach, was one of the first “museum” displays, in the 17th Century. From the 1870s there was a large increase in the creation of local and regional museums. In 1889 a confederate study counted 40 museums and by 1913 this number had increased to 130 (Bodenstein, 2011: 903, 906). A federal parliamentary

act in 1890 created the first national museum, which opened its doors in 1898. The factors which contributed to its creation can be seen to be similar as those having taken place earlier in the rest of Europe: the development of nationalist discourses, a new culture of historical research, a developing art market and a desire to preserve Swiss art works and crafts for the renewal of traditional ones (Ibid: 911).

Expositions also took place in Switzerland and the “National Exhibition” took place in Geneva in 1896. What is interesting about this exhibition is that it contained a section known as “The Swiss Village”, which was made up of houses, chalets, stables and a church, and was inhabited by 353 people, all dressed in various national costumes. It even contained a 40 metre high mountain, as a symbol of the Alps. This very clear show of nationalism was juxtaposed with another village, the “Black Village”. This village contained 200 people brought from various colonised nations in Africa. There were craftsmen creating their wares and musicians playing traditional music (Berthoud, 2001: 90-91). This village was in clear juxtaposition with the high stage of development enjoyed by the Swiss, above that of the peoples coming from Africa. The developmental stages posited by the new science of the time, anthropology, in terms of the savage and the civilized, were clearly being illustrated.

The items which missionaries brought back from Africa were housed at the Theological College in Lausanne. These collections were first displayed at the Swiss National Exhibition in Zurich in 1883. It was again displayed at the National Exhibition in Geneva and at the Vaudois cantonal exhibition in Vevey in 1901 (Harries, 1998: 63).

3.4 The growth of missionary activity: men of “science and religion” (Harries, 2000: 13)

Missionary activity as a method of revitalising Christianity at home and in far flung areas of the world could not have existed had it not been for the Reformation, and consequent development of Protestantism. One important feature of the revival of religion was the belief that missionary work was a core feature of Christianity and had to be undertaken not only for the benefit of the lost souls, but also for the missionary himself (Harries, 2007a: 11-14). In Switzerland there was a concern with reforming the practices of the church, which started in Zurich, Berne and Basle. These reforms were linked closely with the humanist movement (Ibid: 7-8) and would lead to the concept in Switzerland of liberty and freedom for all men. This did cause dissension between the Catholic and Protestant cantons though, as massive changes occurred in the position of church and state. There had existed in Basel since 1780 a “German society for the promotion of pure doctrine and true godliness” and in 1815 the Basel Mission began a campaign in Europe and Switzerland to encourage missionary work in Africa (DeBrunner, 1991: 173).

Revivalists in Eastern Switzerland formed the Society of Evangelical Missions in 1821 with the main aim of sending missionaries to France, Vaud and Neuchâtel and to form new churches in Vaud and Neuchâtel. These churches were prohibited in Western Switzerland, because it was felt they would cause instability. This decision caused the educated elite to question issues of religious freedom and authoritarian suppression,

advocating for independent churches. This led to dissident churches being formed in Vaud. A strong Sunday school movement grew out of these developments and took root in Geneva, Lausanne, Vaud and Neuchatel. The Evangelical Missionary Society of Lausanne was formed in 1826 and within six years the first wave of missionaries was sent to Lesotho, but it was short lived and collapsed because of internal dissension within the missionary society (Harries, 2007a: 15). In 1847 a constituent synod established the Free Evangelical Church of Vaud and founded the Faculty of Theology in 1847, which became a centre of excellence and academia. Prior to the Free Church in Vaud there was only one state-controlled church in Vaud. In 1845 the radical government passed a law that allowed only the National Church to be legal and caused all pastors to lose the individual freedom in what they could teach (Ibid: 15). A revivalist movement known as “The Awakening” was created in this environment and pastors belonging to this movement refused to adhere to this act. This led to them creating the Free Church of Vaud. The essence of the revival was to inject a greater degree of spirituality into the church as opposed to the controlling, hierarchical structures of the state run churches. This movement gained great support in Vaud, especially amongst prominent pastors (Coppola, 2005: 23-25). Revivalists envisioned a church free of hierarchy where believers run the church, and they saw the state as a barrier to their relationship with God (Ibid: 24). These Free Churches were funded from the members’ own pockets and their membership was mainly drawn from the affluent intellectual and political elite of these cantons (Jeannerat, et al, 2011: 17).

There were still times of great religious upheaval which followed, but the missionary zeal of the Free Church was undiminished and Henri Berthoud and others created an Evangelical Commission (Harries, 2007a: 18). In 1873 the free church of the Canton of Vaud established its own missionary society (Jeannerat, et al, 2011: xiii). Missionary work became an identifying feature of the Free Church and a sign of devotion for its members (Harries, 2007a: 18). This was because the Free Church was founded on protestant and evangelical traditions as well as revivalist values. Spiritual rebirth and helping others gain this rebirth was important for personal salvation, which meant evangelising was an important factor (Coppola, 2005: 27). Missionary work was undertaken in Africa and India and those individuals who undertook it, mostly educated elite, became key to the study of humanity in Africa (Harries, 2007a: 18). Churchmen and missionaries undertook the study of nature as an intellectual challenge and were also members of scientific associations. Their wish was to glorify God's work by collecting, cataloguing and classifying plants, animals and minerals into understandable categories (Harries, 2007a: 205). Africa was on the educated Swiss' mind with the journal *Le Globe* (1860) and the monthly magazine "*L'Afrique explorée et civilise*" (1876) (Ibid: 20). This monthly magazine was published by the "*Association Internationale Africain*" (AIA) which was started by Swiss geographers (DeBrunner, 1991: 24). Geographical societies also brought information about Africa to the Swiss and gave emphasis to evangelisation in this region. The Sunday School Society was formed and along with religious training, encouraged the exchange of ideas and experiences. In four

years there were 10 000 Vaudois children in 250 Sunday Schools (Harries, 2007a: 20). The Theological College joined the independent church of Neuchâtel (Ibid: 26). These free churches took a firm stand in matters of social reform, shook off state control and had their members develop independent associations built on Christian values (Jeannerat, et al, 2011: xiv). Some of these associations included libraries, reading rooms for the working class and religious schools, or Sunday schools, for their children (Ibid: xiv). This is where the Sunday school movement was revitalised to educate the congregants' children.

In 1869 two young students of the Free Church Faculty, Paul Berthoud and Ernest Creux addressed their synod and urged them to establish an evangelical branch overseas (Coppola, 2005: 28). They succeeded and both founded Valdezia in 1875 at the foot of the Zoutpansberg in Southern Africa (Ibid: 31). Paul Berthoud's younger brother would precede Henri-Alexandre Junod to Southern Africa (Harries, 2007a: 22). As these changes occurred Vaud was still experiencing the upheaval of the separation of church and state (Ibid: 22). The Independent Church of Neuchâtel was formed in 1873 by a constituent synod of 21 evangelical congregations who were against the church passing into the hands of the liberal Christians of the newly elected radical government (Harries, 2007a: 25). This independent church joined the Vaudois independent church to form the Swiss Romande Mission in 1883 (Jeannerat, et al, 2011: xiii). Nine Swiss missionaries were sent to work in the Transvaal in 1884 because of this alliance (Harries, 2000: 29). One of the leaders of this independent church in Neuchâtel was Henri Junod, the father of Henri-

Alexandre Junod. Henri Junod was a staunch supporter of church independence and also ran a newspaper supporting this cause during the political crises which preceded the church's development (Harries, 2007a: 26). In 1842 he moved to Neuchâtel to study theology and became a minister in the local church in 1851 and an important figure in the new Sunday school movement (Ibid: 26). His generation was affected by the scientific developments in Neuchâtel at the time and they gathered evidence of the origins and development of the physical world and hypothesised about man's place within it (Harries, 2000: 13). Henri Junod married into an influential industrial family which was well established, well educated in principles of science, botany and industrial machinery and his wife was also supportive of missionary work. In 1861 he was posted to the town of Chezard St. Martin where two years later his wife gave birth to their first son, Henri-Alexandre Junod (Ibid: 27). Henri Junod was very involved in introducing his son to botanical diversity and encouraged him to collect and classify plants (Harries, 2000: 14). Henri-Alexandre Junod undertook various cultural and educational activities during his youth in Switzerland and he even headed the Neuchâtel chapter of the *Société de Belle-Lettres* where they wrote and performed plays, many about Africa (Harries, 1998: 59).

3.5 Henri-Alexandre Junod's time in Africa: A European outlook within an African landscape

Henri-Alexandre Junod spent four distinct periods of time in Africa. Between these periods he returned to Switzerland and produced written

works which were published in journal and book form (Michler, 2003: 40). His first period in Africa began after his wedding to Emily Biolley in 1889 (Ibid: 40 & Harries, 2007a: 36). He was based outside Lourenço Marques at Rikatla and took over direction of the mission station there (Ibid: 41 & 132). When Junod arrived in South East Africa in 1889 he described the area as:

“...a completely new environment...an entirely new world, full of surprises and still virgin” (Junod, 1896-1897: 77-78, quoted in Harries, 2007b: 213)

During this time Junod began to dedicate himself to learning the language which he perceived to be spoken by most of the people in the area. A black pastor educated by the mission, Matsivi (Calvin Mapopé), was his main informant (Macagno, 2009: 62). Harries (2000) points to Junod's passion for the natural world and for ordering it into categories when he notes that three months after Junod's arrival he had to reassure the mission council that all the time he was spending collecting plants, insects and butterflies were not negatively affecting his evangelical work (18). The sheer volume of his collecting gives some understanding as to his passion for the field: in 16 months he gathered over 300 different plant species (Ibid: 19). Because of his education and activities in Switzerland collecting plants with his father and teachers, he was deeply invested in collecting and naming plants in Africa as well (Harries, 2007a: 135). The school moved to Valdezia in the North of the Transvaal in 1893, and Junod followed. He then returned to Lourenço Marques in 1894 (Michler, 2003: 41). 1895 is seen by Harries (2000) and Michler (2003) as a watershed year in Junod's life, as he met Lord James Bryce, who is credited with

causing Junod's scholarly move to pure anthropology. This statesman and scholar caused Junod to understand that he was in the perfect position to record a native tribe whose culture would very soon die out (Ibid: 40). Junod (1927) himself mentions his meeting with Lord Bryce. He states that Lord Bryce observed how scant information was on the locals in Africa:

"This was quite a revelation to me (Junod). It was possible then, that these natives, for whose sake we went to Africa, would themselves benefit from such a study...they would be grateful to know what they had been..." (Junod, 1927, Vol. 1: 1).

Although Harries (2000) does also mention that there was quite a bit of competition in Delagoa Bay for the collecting of plant and insect species, and suggests that this may have been an added reason for Junod changing his part-time research to focus on human beings within the African region (20). This did not mean that he completely stopped collecting plants and insects though. Between 1903 and 1906, during his second period in Africa, he listed another 2300 plant species (Harries, 2000: 20). Junod's first period in Africa ended when he returned to Switzerland in 1896 and began working through his vast collection of insects and plants, which he had collected during his time in Africa. He listed 479 Beetle species and co-authored several articles with European experts (Harries, 2007a: 135). His first ethnographic article was published in *Revue de Missions contemporaries* and dealt with spirit possession amongst the locals living to the north of Delagoa Bay (Ibid: 209). The

Geographical Society published his 500 page work *Les Baronga* in 1898 (Ibid: 211).

In 1899 he returned to Africa to run the school for evangelists in Shiluvane in the Transvaal (Michler, 2003: 43). Here he met Mankelo, the son of the chief of the Nkula clan, who became his informant. According to Junod, Mankelo was quite active in the tribe as a general in the army, a doctor, and an important councillor (Macagno, 2009: 62). His other informant during his first period in Africa was Elias Libombo or "Spoon" (Harries, 2007a: 136). Junod writes that Spoon instructed him on how to throw the bones, and he even notes his date of death, 1924 (Junod, 1927, Vol. 1: 3). Another informant he had during his first period in Africa was Tobane of the "Mpfumo clan" (Ibid: 3-5). Junod says of him "I owe him most of what I know about the tribal systems of the Rongas" (Ibid: 5). He returned to Switzerland in 1903 for only one year and was back at Shiluvane in 1904 and then moved to Rikatla later in 1904. In 1909 he returned to Switzerland and during his four years there he began to work on "*Life of a South African Tribe*" (Michler, 2003: 44). The first edition of this two volume seminal work was published in 1912-13 in Neuchâtel (Harries, 2007a: 213 & Ibid: 45). It was hailed as an "important account", "of extraordinary merit", and praised in various journals and by various professionals in the new field of Anthropology (Harries, 2007a: 213). His only novel "Zidji", was also published during this time in Switzerland (Michler, 2003: 45). His final period in Africa began in 1913 when he returned to Rikatla in Mozambique and he left for the last time, returning to Switzerland, in 1920 (Michler, 2003: 46 & Harries, 2007a: 133).

His publications and activities in Africa and Switzerland as a missionary show that he was already looking closely at the local people and their customs and cultures during his first period in Africa. This may have been as a result of the very urgent need by the missionary to learn the language of the locals swiftly, in order to teach them the gospel. But Junod also compared the period in Switzerland, with rapid industrialization and rapid disintegration of regional cultures, to what he saw in Africa (Harries, 1981: 37). He felt that he had to record the daily life of the African tribe in order to preserve it for posterity, in the face of huge industrial changes also seen in Africa (Ibid: 38). In "*Life of a South African Tribe, Volume 1*" (1927), Junod actually mentions the economic conditions that the locals are experiencing and that it was transforming them into "mere hired labourers" (147). Vail (1997) explains that the people in the region of the rand were affected by the growth of the capitalist relations of production. The creation of "hired labourers" was aided by the imposition of taxes by the colonial governments which forced local people to seek work in the new capitalist enterprises as migrant labourers, as this was the only way they could pay the taxes (Vail, 1997: 59). Junod goes on to say that this situation was destroying the locals' picturesque and interesting industry. He explains that this was happening with carved spoons being replaced by tin and wooden goblets being replaced by enamelled cups. He laments the fact that the picturesqueness of Bantu life is disappearing, along with the incentive to develop their arts and crafts (Junod, 1927, Vol. 1: 147). Was it possible that he began collecting objects in order to keep preserved items of the "picturesque" local

lifestyle? This was a common method of collecting in the west where time was seen as linear and irreversible which implied a rescue of phenomena from inevitable historical decay and loss (Clifford, 1988: 231). Harries (2007b) writes that the form of Anthropology practised by Junod sought to salvage a picture of Europe's lost values and traditions from the study of present day African communities (216-217).

3.7 Conclusions

Switzerland had a unique development towards nationalism, but the fact that its development as a nation did occur, as in other European countries, is clear. This would lead those living in Switzerland to also foster ideas of unity and freedom, which were prevalent in other European countries. Ideas about nationalism, liberation and the sciences were able to enter Switzerland through the newly permeable borders within Europe, which were enabled by technological developments in travel and increased trade. Their development of museums also followed along the lines of the rest of Europe. One difference is that Switzerland began with the development of what could be termed museums much earlier than the rest of Europe. Industrialisation and the growth of cities also occurred in Switzerland, along with the social upheaval that these changes caused. When it came to church and state Switzerland underwent much strife in its separation and this continued until the legalising of the Free Churches, which were protestant.

Missionary activity within Switzerland was affected by various developments within Europe and within the Swiss Cantons. Ideas and

new ways of thinking in religion, science and politics spread through the permeable borders of Europe and affected a growing reading public who were exposed to these ideas by the proliferation of the printing press. All these developments had an effect on how members of the Swiss educated elite viewed the world and what they taught their children. Henri-Alexandre Junod was brought up in this environment. He was the son of a Free Church pastor, and was educated in the new scientific developments of the time, and the ideals of the Free Church in Switzerland. He was taught to have a deep appreciation for nature and spent his spare time undertaking nature walks and discussions. Therefore Junod was aware of the scientific methods of collecting natural specimens and was avidly interested in the world around him. When he became a missionary in Southern Africa he was in the ideal location to explore a world which was strange and new to him. His move to anthropological research seems only natural in light of his background. His consequent collecting of ethnographic material stemmed from his collecting of natural specimens and may also have been informed from the anthropological beliefs of the time. Yet he does seem sensitive to the changes, seen by him as negative, occurring in Africa. He even mentions these changes in his writings. He also mentions his informants, which is not as unusual as once thought, and is being studied further by Dr. Lize Kriel. Pels (1997) notes that because of the missionaries generally assimilationist attitude they were less prone to essentialise, because for them otherness was already in the past. They engaged with individual people in their congregations, and got to know them personally (172). This could also be true for Junod.

Even though he was affected by science and anthropology, he was also affected by the church AND by what he eventually experienced in Africa. Therefore there were many experiences which were continuously shaping the man. Does the actual collection corroborate this? If so how? The next chapter will attempt to bring clarity to this question.

Chapter 4: An analysis of the physical collection and a description of pertinent findings

“No missionary came to the mission field without preconceptions and very few retired without a changed worldview” (Clifford, 2000: 15).

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter it was shown how the growth of Switzerland as a nation state, its industrialisation and the development of missionary endeavours all had a strong effect on those educated elite residing in the small state. This included Henri-Alexandre Junod, who gained knowledge from his education during this time period, from the formal education system and also his family. In many instances he took his world view with him to Africa where he did missionary work. His move to anthropology and his scientific background may be one of the reasons he collected ethnographic objects and why he also sent items back to Switzerland to be displayed there. But a closer look needs to be taken at the actual collection to shed further light on why he collected and how he collected and whether his worldview was the only factor which affected his collecting, or whether there were other equally strong factors affecting what he chose to collect. It may have been that Junod developed a different view from other anthropologists of the time. Eriksen and Nielsen (2001) discuss how different individuals working in the anthropological field held different viewpoints and some did not agree with the very social evolutionist stance which came about in the late 19th century. By the early

20th century these ideas were strongly criticised by men such as Boas, Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown (Eriksen et al, 2001: 36-37). Harries (1981) maintains that Junod aimed to achieve neutrality in presenting the facts of his research, that would render his work scientific and that he could not resist interpreting his work by way of the theories of the time, such as evolution and diffusion (38-40). In terms of classification, Harries maintains Junod was “trapped by the limitations of his age” (48), but could it be that at the same time changes in Africa and how the local people were affected did change and affect Junod? Clifford (2000) warns that ignoring the unique socio-historical contexts of missionary collections is dangerous, as it creates generalizations which reinforce stereotypes and myths concerning missionaries, their work and their collecting (3). Hopefully an analysis of the collection will bring to light motives for collecting and also add nuances to Junod’s collecting habits, exploring his unique outlook in Africa.

The concern with collecting, classifying and studying artefacts was a strong part of anthropological research from the 19th century up until the 1920s. There was often a concern to rescue or “salvage” what was seen as a rapidly disintegrating “primitive” culture. Anthropological research from this time posits a belief that persons cannot be understood apart from the objects they create, that in fact “persons make things and things make persons” (Tilley et al, 2006: 2). This early anthropological view also caused a dearth in written notes concerning how and why certain individuals collected, what they collected and also the makers of the objects and what they were used for (O’Hanlon, 2002: 2). Artefacts were

regarded as possessing certain inherent qualities which did not require any record to be made about their makers (Ibid: 27) or why they were collected. O'Hanlon (2002) suggests that certain objects may have been left out of collections, as they were not representative enough of the culture, or they showed too many signs of cultural contact (23-24). Is this so for the Junod collection and if so are there other anomalies within the collection?

Two missionary collections which have been studied recently are the George Brown Goode Collection and the Gilbert Wilson Collection (Clifford, 2000: 18). George Brown shows a similar background to Junod. His childhood saw him exposed to the Linnaean systems by his father, who was an amateur botanist (Gardner, 2002: 37). Junod was also first exposed to the sciences by his father (Harries, 2007a: 46). George Brown's collecting changed over time. He at first preferred weapons and idols, and later in his career he collected mostly ethnographic objects like carvings and masks and natural history specimens (Clifford, 2000: 20). Rubel and Rosman (1996) believe that because of Brown's contact with the local people he worked with, he became interested in their language and culture and that this changed his world view (60). What is also interesting is that Brown did not record the acquisition of his artefacts, which he felt were self-evident, relating to his beliefs in anthropology and objects, reflective of the scientific attitude of the time (Harries, 2007a: 44) which posited a theory that the past could be read systematically on the basis of the physical qualities of artefactual remains (Bennett, 2004: 42). The Wilson Collection includes objects and oral histories and is kept at

several institutions in the United States. Wilson became deeply involved with one specific family during his missionary period in North Dakota from 1906 until 1918 (Clifford, 2000: 21). The reinterpretation of the Wilson Collection, in relation to his archival collection, showed him to more than just a narrow-minded missionary (Ibid: 22). With this research report a deeper look needs to be taken at Junod's time in Africa and his writings in relation to his objects, in order to understand a unique individual in unique cultural circumstances.

4.2 Establishing a context for the collection

To begin the analyses of any museum collection it is important to create a context in which the collection reached the museum and also to determine whether its contents changed over time. For the Junod Collection various documents were consulted to develop a clear understanding of the initial collection and how it came to be at the museum of Anthropology and Archaeology at UNISA. These include museum files from the Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology dating back to 1975, with documents contained therein which go back to 1970. Personal letters from MuseumAfrica were also consulted, as this museum also has in its possession a collection of objects collected by H-A. Junod. With the analysis of the collection Junod's seminal work "*Life of a South African Tribe, Volume 1 & 2*" (1927) is consulted extensively. Junod mentions several objects in both volumes and it is necessary to ascertain whether they are similar to those in the collection. This will aid in ascertaining

whether this collection came out of Africa with Junod and journeyed with him to Switzerland.

Some of the reasons Junod collected what he did will be related to his background and the culture and society in which he grew up and which he identified with (Wanless, 2007: 291). O'Hanlon's (2002) two areas of his three areas of collecting will be incorporated: "before" – the theoretical baggage which collectors took with them to the new area in which they worked in; and the "scene of collecting" which includes the impact of the local process of making the collection (9). It must be acknowledged that collectors also changed and developed over time and in terms of new environments in which they found themselves (Wanless, 2007: 291). One of the questions which need to be answered in light of this is whether Junod strictly adhered to his background or changed his approach to collecting as the situation changed and he encountered and interacted with his informants? This chapter will attempt to answer this question among others.

Undertaking discussions with individuals who have been with the museum for many years revealed that the collection is referred to as Tsonga-Shangaan. The museum files relating to the collection and its curatorship with the Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of South Africa contain a Notarial Deed of Trust which was signed between the university and a group of trustees representing the Tsonga-Shangaan nation. This document does not refer to the Junod Collection as a collection of Tsonga-Shangaan artefacts but as "A collection of Tsonga and other African artefacts" (Notarial Deed of Trust, Junod Collection File,

Museum File, 1975). The designation which the collection is known by “Tsonga” or “Tsonga-Shangaan” is problematic. This is because of the ways in which missionaries who worked in Africa standardised the languages they encountered and also designated certain cultural groups where, in fact, groupings were a very fluid concept. It has also been pointed out by Harries (1989) that numerous wars and famines had caused large numbers of peoples to move to new areas, being absorbed into other groups for protection. Therefore a “pure” cultural group as such did not really exist and objects which came out of these areas may have had characteristics from various groups. Karel Nel (2007) also pointed out that specialist carvers amongst the groups designated as Tsonga, used to adapt their skills to the needs of their clientele which included those designated as Zulu and Swazi (149). These simplistic tribal identifications need to be questioned and problematized in order for the collection to be viewed clearly in this modern time. I will not be referring to this collection by a specific designated group. I will however relate certain objects to objects identified as Tsonga today, in order to discern use and gender roles in terms of creation. A future exhibition could possibly raise the questions of tribal designations and its problems more clearly.

4.3 The history of the collection: Content and background

It is important to note that this is not the only collection in existence which Junod assembled. MuseumAfricA contains a large collection of items which were sold to them by Junod’s son, Henri-Phillipe Junod in 1939 for £250 (MuseumAfricA Archive, Letters between R.F. Kennedy, Director

and Henri-Phillipe Junod, dated between November 1938 and February 1939). This was at a time when MuseumAfrica was still known as the Africana Museum (Byala, 2013b: 91). Sara Byala has written both a book and a journal article on the founder of the Africana Museum, John Gubbins (2013a & 2013b). She speaks eloquently about the exploration of a museum and a museum collections' "backstory" being used to render the collections newly understandable (2013b: 90). Her look at John Gubbins' background and his reason for collecting has relevance here in that this research question also seeks to understand nuances in Junod's collection by looking at his background and his reasons for collecting. Just as Byala (2013b: 91) states

"despite the common conception that MuseumAfrica, as the Africana Museum, was a mere instrument of government, the history, starting with the institutions founder, is more complex".

Byala (2013a) also elaborates on how John Gubbins proposed the use of "three dimensional thinking" (54). He believed that "accustomed to two dimensions or binaries (coloniser and colonised), humankind was unable to see beyond opposites". He felt that small "squabbles" over religion, race and nationality were detracting from productive activities (55). What Byala (2013a) is stressing with Gubbins' views, is that homogenising and simplification of South Africa and its history is not helpful to the understanding of that history and does not expose any layers or depth of knowledge. In relation to Junod and his work in Africa this type of idea points to the fact that he cannot be merely seen as a colonial agent, as

the story of his collecting and his time in Africa is much more complex than that.

The collection at MuseumAfrica is made up of 389 objects which range from wood carvings, weapons, musical instruments, divinatory objects, calabashes and baskets (MuseumAfrica, Star CMS, accessed 20/06/2012). In a letter to the then museum director Mr. R.F. Kennedy, Henri-Philippe Junod explains that half the items are from his father's collecting and the other half are from his own collecting (Letter, 25th February 1939). Fortunately for future researchers the museum requested H.-P. Junod to draw up a list of all the objects to be sold to them and to indicate whether they came from his father's or his own activities. Even so, many of the objects do not have this allocation (MuseumAfrica archives, Junod Collection, 1939) which will make future research on Henri-Alexandre Junod's collection at MuseumAfrica difficult. This does however make it possible that the Junod Collection under research within this study may be a collection purely put together by Henri-Alexandre Junod. This will hopefully enable a "true", closer look at H.-A. Junod's collecting habits and why he may have collected what he did. It may not be possible to ever get a "true" picture of why and how Junod collected, but we will hopefully be able to consider the many different motives for collecting and sorting objects within a museum during the time under question. We may also be inspired to see collections as liminal and not stable, their meanings changing over time and therefore able to be thought about creatively by those viewing them.

An original fax sent from Henri-Phillipe Junod, the son of Henri-Alexandre Junod, lists how many boxes were to be shipped to South Africa from Switzerland and the contents of each box (Please see Appendix A, 1970). The following objects stand out as falling outside of H.-A. Junod's area of work during his time in Africa:

“Meat bowl is from Zambezi; three baskets from Zambezi; Carved objects from Central Africa; 4 Swazi head rests; 2 Chopi xylophones; 10 carved sticks in various woods from Uganda; 2 mats from the Tana Valley; 3 Ethiopian painting on cloth; Xhosa pipes; 6 Pedi dolls ” (Fax received from Junod, H.-P., 28 October 1970, Junod Collection File, Museum Files, UNISA).

There is no information in the file as to how Henri-Alexandre Junod came to be in possession of such a wide array of Southern African and African items, which is very revealing about classification habits of the time which did not require rigorous provenance of objects (Harries, 1981 & 1993) and could be the basis for asking very provocative questions in a revised exhibition. There is also scant description of the items, merely a brief name. The question right now is whether these objects should form part of this research report or not. All the objects should be considered as they may shed some light on H.-A. Junod's collecting habits and open up new areas of discussion in exhibiting such types of collections. Another interesting question relates to H.-A. Junod's motives and did he have far broader interests in Africa than simply the area that he worked in. When one looks at his seminal work, which he is so famous for, and one also casts a cursory glance at his personal papers in the Archives, they seem

to deal exclusively with the peoples he designated as Tsonga (Junod, H.-A., 1927, Archival Files, UNISA Library). Harries (1993) discusses the methods with which missionaries, and specifically Junod, used to educate the people to whom they missionized. An important component of the missionaries work was to learn the local language and then be able to teach the gospel in that language (Harries, 1993: 4). But they went even further and went on to portray certain groupings as part of one language group, which Harries points out may never have existed before Europeans came to Africa (Ibid: 6). Vail (1997) explains that missionaries were often instrumental in providing cultural symbols which could be organised into a cultural identity, especially a written language. Missionaries, and Junod especially, were highly skilled in linguistics and could reduce an unwritten language to written forms and then perpetuate the linguistic boundaries they created (62). Therefore he would have been deeply interested in the specific groupings whose language he was attempting to systematise and learn. Because of this he may have collected objects and placed them in these designated “cultural” groupings, as part of the physical aspect of that grouping. However this is not so simple because, as mentioned before, the situation on the ground with the displacement of peoples, wars, droughts and migrant labour, were already shifting cultural boundaries and it may not be possible to place what Junod collected under such simple cultural classifications.

Therefore it seems natural to assume that Junod would be more interested in collecting items from the areas within which he worked, which were Southern Mozambique and North Eastern South Africa and

amongst the people with whom he conversed. It is clear from the content of the collection that this is a false assumption and that Junod had a broad area of interests when it came to his collecting. Upon deeper inspection there are some items which relate to the Pedi, in terms of their methods of divining. Junod was very interested in divining methods within the groups in which he worked and much further afield. Therefore this could explain the fact that there is a set of Pedi divining dice within the collection (Junod H.-A., 1927 and Fax H-P Junod, 28 October 1970, Museum Files).

Another issue in terms of the content of the collection is raised by a letter written from H.-P. Junod to the head of the department of Ethnology at UNISA, dated 1 November 1982 (Junod File, Museum Files, UNISA). The letter accompanies a package of further objects to be added to the Junod Collection, objects collected by H.-P. Junod's wife. The head of the Department of Ethnology responds by letter on the 9th of November 1982, in which he confirms the receipt of the objects and states that "These eighteen objects will be registered with the numbers 1/75/338-355." (Junod File, Museum Files, UNISA). This causes some confusion for the researcher, as when one looks at these objects, especially a small collection of walking sticks, one assumes they are part of H.-A. Junod's collecting as they are numbered according to the year "1975" (1/75/...) which was the year in which the original group of objects were accessioned. If it were not for the proper provenance of these objects in terms of letters within the museum files and notes within the database, it would be impossible to distinguish them from the objects which H.-P. Junod originally sent to the University in 1975 and which were collected

by his father. Even though the walking sticks are beautiful examples of woodworking it is impossible to add these to the group under analysis as they were collected after H.-A Junod's time, by the wife of his son, and have no bearing on the current research question.

Fortunately the museum files do contain the initial list of objects sent to the University of South Africa as mentioned earlier. The files also contain a detailed list of the objects, with names and descriptions, which was drawn up by H.-P. Junod, probably before he shipped them to South Africa. There are 337 objects listed (Appendix B). This list of objects seems to designate the total number of objects which made up part of the group which was actively collected by H.-A. Junod during his time in Southern Africa and this can be verified in various ways. Several of the objects on the list and within the collection are mentioned in his book "*Life of a South African Tribe*" (1927). In Volume 2, H.-A. Junod wrote extensively about the subject of divination using the bones (547-549). He learnt how to read the bones and his divination set is part of the original collection. Also in Volume 2, there is an image of carved wooden spoons connected by a long wooden chain (Junod, H.-A., 1927, Vol. 2: 131). This very object can be found on the detailed list written by H.-P. Junod and is present in the collection today. In Volume 1 there are drawings of baskets which are exact copies of about 3 of the grass woven items in the collection (Junod, H.-A., 1927, Vol. 1: 24). In the Junod Archival Collection there are also hand written notes and sketches, made by Junod, showing Pedi divination tablets, and similar tablets are still part of the collection today (Junod Collection, UNISA Archives). Therefore he had access to

these objects during his time in Africa, he took them into his possession, sent them back to Switzerland and wrote about them in relation to his experiences in Southern Africa and they can now be found within the objects listed by H.-P. Junod, as part of his father's collection.

Of course Junod did also collect for museums in Switzerland and Harries (2007a) notes that Junod actually advised as to how the items should be displayed. He wanted them organised as to their "tribal" origin rather than evolutionary type, race or region. Therefore he did not adhere to some of the dominant ideas of the time, regarding race etc. but did adhere to "tribal" designations. He favoured dioramas and placing artefacts in their cultural settings (217). This is similar to ideas which were held by Franz Boas, who was an anthropologist in Germany. He posited the organization of collections according to the "tribe" which had created it (Jacknis, 1985: 75, 79). What does this tell us about the collection? One thing that one can assume is that these objects were not meant for a museum, as they never ended up in one, but remained with Junod and then his family after him. This could point to a much more personal collection which perhaps reflects Junod's own personal views. A new exhibition could make allowances for these personal ideas and fancies by concentrating more on how Africa as a time and place could have affected Junod, looking at items in the collection as a marker of his personal ideas.

4.4 The content of the collection in relation to Henri-Alexandre Junod's written work

Junod's seminal work, "*Life of a South African Tribe, Volume 1 and 2*" (1927), is important in researching the collection. His reasons for writing it were, obviously his move to anthropology and the need to study an African group before the disintegration of their way of life:

"Amongst those races so long stagnant, an evolution has started which is proceeding with great rapidity and a kind of fatality. I aim at being a faithful and impartial ethnographer in the study of customs which still exist but will soon have passed away." (Junod, 1927, Vol. 1: 11).

He also received support from the International Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910 (Harries, 2007a: 213). At this meeting Junod's ethnographic work was strongly supported and many representatives at the meeting supported the need to respect the cultures of the indigenous peoples and called on missionaries to study them vigorously (Ibid: 213). Junod mentions several ethnographic objects in great detail. He dedicated a whole section of Volume 2 to musical instruments and states that by studying the local musical instruments, the anthropologist can learn to understand the musical system used:

"...the following specimens will convey a fair idea of it (the music), and a study of their musical instruments will help us, in some measure, to understand their musical system" (Junod, 1927, Vol. 2: 276).

Junod had a great interest in systematising the knowledge he found in Africa and he did the same with what he believed was the local people's language: he defined and delineated the Ronga language just like beetles and butterflies and in 1894 published a Ronga reading primer and in 1896 a Ronga grammar (Harries, 1993: 6). Harries (1993) makes the point that Junod's real interest in the indigenous peoples began because he wanted to learn their language, firstly to facilitate evangelical work and secondly because he believed literacy was a major means of conquering "ignorance and superstition"(4). Junod describes a variety of the musical instruments, including *Shiwaya*, *nanga* or goatherd flute, *ndjwebe* and the *shitiringo* in LSAT (Junod, 1927, Vol. 1: 277). He discusses in detail what the instruments are made from, what type of sound they make and how the sound is produced. He even describes a competition where trained players compete to be the best players (Ibid: 277). Unfortunately the current collection does not have any of these objects, but it does have two xylophones (Figure 1), 3 xylophone sticks and a grass woven xylophone carrying basket (Figure 2). The objects are very large and from information in LSAT Volume 1 (1927) and Kirby (1953) it is noted that these items were made and used by men.

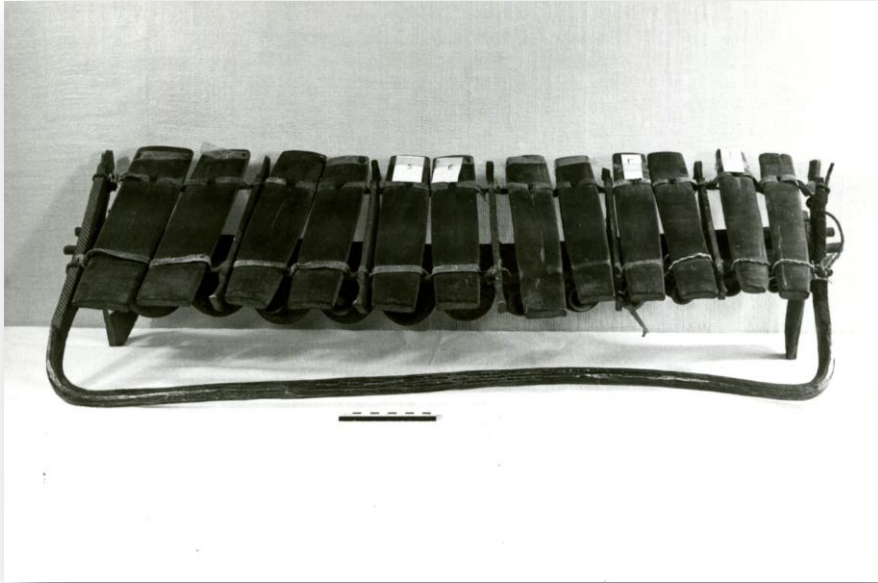


Figure 1: 1_75_293_A. Xylophone.



Figure 2: 1_75_41_A. Xylophone basket.

In Volume 2 Junod writes in great detail about objects produced by the tribe. Yet he does also state that their commerce is primitive and that they have a slow industrial development:

“...their exceedingly primitive commerce, and shall endeavour to find a solution of the several questions which will naturally be suggested by the extremely slow industrial development of these tribes” (Junod, 1927, Vol. 2: 91).

This is in line with what authors such as Caroline Jeannerat et al, (2011) have said about the Swiss missionaries: She writes that the paternalism which the Swiss missionaries displayed towards the locals did not mean that they believed in fundamental, natural given racial equality between Africans and Europeans. They did consider them equal in human terms, but the Africans as at a different stage of social development (Jeannerat, et al, 2011: 25). So even though Junod writes at length of the beauty of local industry, he always negates it somewhat by talking about how primitive and basic their industry is. This type of thinking can be contextualised in the broader European discourse around coming to terms with industrialisation, urbanisation and modernity, but is too broad for this current study. The contradiction holds many possibilities in terms of future exhibitions.

Junod writes about the manufacture of pots:

“It is astonishing to see the beautiful symmetry of these utensils, although these pots are fashioned without the aid of a wheel or measuring instrument of any kind” (Junod, 1927, Vol. 2: 113).

But he then continues:

“...such is the primitive method followed in the manufacture of all native pottery” (Junod, 1927, Vol. 2: 115).

He goes on to describe various different pots with their names (Ibid: 117). The collection does not contain any pots. Could this be because they broke too easily in transit? Pots were generally produced by women. This is a significant absence within the physical collection. This absence needs to be addressed in future exhibitions of the collection and this may be done by looking closely at local women’s roles in the activity of missionising. It may also be interesting to look at current examples of pottery designated as Tsonga Shangaan and compare them to images found in LSAT.

Junod also writes about basket making describing it as man’s work. He explains how the Ronga basket makers are known for decorating their baskets with black designs. He specifically mentions the *ngula* basket (Figure 5) whose shape is passed down from generation to generation “doubtless from prehistoric times” (Junod, 1927, Vol. 2: 120). He writes about this idea of the society as being unchanging in relation to the basketry:

“...it seems highly probable that the shape of their *ngula*, their *hwama*, and their *shirunju* (*xirhundzu*), their pillows, the construction of their huts, dates from a very remote antiquity” (Junod, 1927, Vol. 2: 148).

He describes in detail how the basket is made and what it is used for (Junod, 1927, Vol. 2: 120-122). There is even a photo which shows men manufacturing *ngula* in Spelonken (Ibid: 121). He also states that he brought several of them back with him to Europe, “such a basket is surely a work of art” (Ibid: 120). In LSAT Vol 2 there are sketches of items which look identical to those in the collection and are described as “Thonga basket work” (Ibid: 124), which gives some idea as to which group Junod designated as having produced them. It seems Junod was quite taken with this form of weaving, as he collected it extensively and mentions it as art. In the collection there are a large number of baskets, 49 in total. They vary from simple mats, to large and small baskets and of course the *Ngula* (Figure 5 and see appendix B). Terblanche (1994) discusses Tsonga basketry and also elaborates on which gender produced which pieces. She notes that men make all basketry, except the three sizes of the *Xirhundzu*, sleeping mats and hand brooms (62). There are only three *Xirhundzu* (Figure 3 & 4) and one hand broom in the collection. Women are however responsible for growing calabashes and then harvesting and reworking them to create various containers (Terblanche, 1994: 67). The calabashes in the collection, excluding the ritual items, number eight. They are a varied and interesting example of women’s handiwork and by their presence in the collection it can be seen that Junod perhaps did not favour men’s manufacturing, even though pots, women’s manufacturing, are lacking in the collection. One of the calabashes even depicts an aeroplane, which shows a modern design element to the traditional practice. These modern additions are not remarked upon in his writing,

which leads one to assume he did not really want to acknowledge them. But I want to argue that the fact that he kept them in the collection meant that he accepted them in some way, even if he could not elaborate on them in his scientific writing.



Figure 3: 1_75_25_A. A small *xirhundzu* basket.



Figure 4: 1_75_31_C. A large *xirhundzu* basket. It is finished off with a piece of wet cow hide stretched and sewn over the base (Terblanche, Vol II: 1994, 4).



Figure 5: 1_75_33_A. An *Ngula* basket

Junod describes objects carved from wood in detail. He mentions spoons, which he states are ornamental, with designs burned onto their surfaces with a red-hot poker. Goblets are also carved from wood and he notes that they are generally made with a handle (Junod, 1927, Vol. 2: 129-130). There are numerous spoons, goblets and bowls carved from wood in the collection. In fact, one of the objects, which Junod describes as “objet d’art”, is in the collection and the exact one photographed in his book (Ibid: 131): two spoons connected by a long chain (Figure 6).



Figure 6: 1_75_170_A. Two spoons connected by a chain, all carved from wood.

He goes on to explain that European joiners doubted whether an ordinary workman would be able to carve such a piece (Ibid: 130-131). Witt (1991) describes seeing spoons hanging from a chain made of links carved from

Nkuhlu wood. He describes how these chains are often found amongst what he describes as the “Northern clans” or Tsonga (97). He also maintains that chains were unknown to the local peoples until they were introduced by Westerners (Witt, 1991: 97) Items such as spoons, bowls and cups, which were produced from wood, were all produced by men for use by women (Terblanche, 1994: 68). The spoons connected by the chain has an exact duplicate in the Junod Collection held by Museum Africa. He also mentions snuff boxes and describes their artistic elements as “striking” (Junod, 1927, Vol. 2: 133). The collection contains eight snuff boxes and they are indeed striking in their creation and design. They are intricately carved with various designs, in various shapes and sizes and highly polished to produce very beautiful symmetrical pieces, some perfectly rounded and bulbous in shape. The question of how perceptions were influenced by overall contemporary perception in the view of African objects needs to be investigated further outside of this study. One snuff box (Figure 7) even has a metal chain attached to it, perhaps for carrying. This is definitely not modern as noted in Witt (1991) above. It is clear from the presence of the spoons connected by a chain and the snuff box with the metal chain, that Junod incorporated items into his collection which were affected by the introduction of Western wares into Southern Africa.

The wooden items by far dominate the collection. There are seven headrests in the collection, and many are small and obviously used for decoration. Only about two look as if they have actually been used. One of the head rests is even carved in the shape of a rifle (Figure 8).



Figure 7: 1_75_272_A. A small wooden snuff container.



Figure 8: 1_75_283_A. A head rest carved from wood.

In total, including head rests, there are 131 objects in the collection which have been made of wood. There are also numerous weapons in the

collection, varying from arrow heads, arrow shafts, spear heads, knobkerries, quivers and complete arrows and spears. Their total number within the collection is 52. Weapons in ethnographic collections were often collected in large numbers, often as a symbolic “disarming” of the locals (Eves, 1998: 49). This does not seem to hold true for this collection, as the amount of weapons are minimal in relation to the rest of the collection. There is an overwhelming total of 230 objects out of 337 which were produced by men. The beaded items which were usually produced by women (Nettleton, 2007: 79) number 19. Yet there is some overlap, where a knobkerrie is covered with bead work, and this is a ritual item, created by both men and women (Terblanche, 1994: 144).

Ritual items are also found throughout the collection. Junod states that he possesses a pair of *Hakati*: “The *hakati* shells are regarded as more or less childish “(Junod, 1927, Vol. 2: 539-541), but he does not go on to say how they came to be in his possession. These are stones from a fruit, which are split and a hole made in each half. This is to transport them on a string. There are six in total, three represent the male and three represent the female (Ibid: 539) and they are used to foretell the future. In the collection the *Hakati* only number four and have been incorrectly displayed with the divinatory bones. The divinatory bones are still numbered in Junod’s own hand, which coincide with their names in LSAT Vol 2 (557). He explains the divinatory bones (*Bula*) in detail and describes it as an admirable system of divination:

“The divinatory bones, on the contrary, constitute an admirable system of divination and play a considerable part in the life of the tribe...I was

initiated into the knowledge of this wonderful art by many masters” (Junod, 1927, Vol. 2: 541)

He mentions the “many masters”, including Spoon, Maselesele and Mankhelu and Junod actually mentions that he received a set of bones from Mankhelu (Ibid: 541). Junod speaks about his informants as “masters” in a very revered way, seeming amazed by the blind Maselesele who “knew his bones by mere touch” (Ibid: 541) and Mankhelu who he “spent many hours with, trying to fully understand his teachings, and he took great trouble to initiate me” (Ibid 541). There are two divinatory sets of bones in the collection. The collection also contains a set of four Pedi divinatory dice. Junod wrote an article about them in 1924 (UNISA Archives, Box 2, 218). The article contains detailed drawings of Pedi dice and also mentions that the dice were given to him by a local individual (Kros, C. Translation, 2013). Michler (2003) writes that a Rev. J. Lennox remembers Junod explaining the art of divination to members of staff, using a bag of bones which had been given to him by a diviner, thus displaying his impressive anthropological knowledge. Michler states that this account showed that Junod had sensitivity for the local customs and did not condemn them (Michler, 2003: 57). This may not be as clear as stated as Junod writes:

“I am convinced however high the degree of astuteness engendered by divinatory bones may be, they have been extremely detrimental to the intellectual and moral welfare of the natives...of course no sensible person would for one moment believe in the objective value of these

practices. But I am obliged to admit, Thonga system, far more ingenious than any other that I have met with" (Junod, 1927, Vol. 2: 542-572).

His collecting could therefore have been merely anthropological, collecting something to understand it, in order to show he could master it and study it with a scientific eye. That he had respect for it did not mean he did not judge it. It may also be possible that he had to write in this fashion in order to adhere to the anthropological audience he was writing for. As a "serious anthropologist" he had to create the impression that he did not actually take divination seriously. He may also have understood that European audiences would not accept a more enlightened view of divination in Africa. What his comment also points out is that he may have had contact with other divinatory systems being that he felt the Thonga system was the most ingenious he had encountered.

He may not have written about the industrialisation of Africa in his scientific papers, but he did mention social change in his private correspondence, mission reports and essays (Harries, 2000: 27). He also dealt with the subject in various other forms of writing like a novel and plays (Ibid: 27). The novel was "Zidji", mentioned in the previous chapter. Other works included plays with titles such as "*Le Perplexites Du Vieux Nkolele*" (1910) and "*L'Homme Au Grand Contelas*" (UNISA Archives, Junod Collection, Box 1).

4.4 A closer analysis of the objects: Further observations

As mentioned there are 337 objects in this collection. Roughly it is made up of items made out of wood (which include household items and decorative items), weapons (in various shapes and forms), calabashes, objects used in ritual (a large variety and selection), items woven of grass (basketry, a large selection of different shapes, sizes and styles), musical instruments, and objects which are not easy to define.

Looking at the objects made from wood they can be divided into roughly 3 categories: household item (bowls, cups, spoons etc.); snuff containers; and decorative items (animal and human figures carved from wood). They make up a very large number of the collection, totalling 131. There are a large number of spoons carved from wood. Spoons were usually carved by men (Witt, 1991: 89). They are very intricately and beautifully carved, but on closer inspection it is clear that they were never used. They have absolutely no use wear or patina and look brand new. There is an image of them in LSAT Vol. 2, which Junod titles "Thonga carvings" (Junod, 1927, Vol. 2: 128). There are examples of spoons, figures, a snuff container, a beaker and a head rest. The wooden beakers in the collection have a rather dark patina on them which looks like wear, but on closer inspection it seems they are made of a very dark wood and then polished. There are three wooden items which were obviously made for a European: a letter opener with a stylized head at the top (Figure 10); a figure of a man with an opening on his head for a candlestick; and a letter stamp carved from wood used to stamp the following in a circular fashion

as if as a letter head: “C.P.21L. MD *H.A.J.* RIKATLA” (Figure 9). The decorative items are a wide mix of animals including hippo, rhino, elephant, and several birds (Figure 11). I will also add to this category three birds which are carved from animal horn. I am including them in this group as carving work, like woodwork, was men’s work and they are decorative items. The decorative items do not have any particular style or characteristic. Some are very intricately made and beautiful and others are very simple and rough. Harries (1998) does note that Junod drew inspiration from the “primitive” art of the “Baronga” and sent many examples to the ethnographic museum in Neuchâtel (61). In Junod’s work “Baronga” (1898), translated by Harries (1998) he speaks about African art as “the product of individual genius” that it has a character of “sincerity, simplicity and beauty” and that these characteristics could not always be found in “products of 19th century European industry” (62). This obviously portrays the attitude that many Europeans had about African objects they termed “art” that they were young, innocent and simple pieces, which was something they believed Europe had lost. Junod grew up in a time when European regional cultures were disintegrating in the wake of industrialisation and mass production (Harries, 1981: 38). But it also shows Junod had a great appreciation for the pieces, having kept them with himself and not sending them to a museum.



Figure 9: 1_75_52_A. A stamp carved from wood. It reads: "C.P.21L.MD. *H.A.J.* Rikatla".



Figure 10: 1_75_177_A. Letter opener with a stylised head as the handle



Figure 11: 1_75_240_A. Grazing antelope carved from wood. The antlers are carved from horn.

The weapons make up only 52 items out of a total of 337. In relation to the rest of the collection it is a small number, but because of their size and shape they seem to dominate the collection. Long spears and arrows, large spear heads and elaborate axes all need quite a bit of obvious space to be exhibited. The items are overall of a similar quality in terms of condition: They all look as if they may have been used and some of them are damaged in some way or another. Whether this is from transit between Switzerland and Africa, or from use, is unknown. The fact that they are present in the collection is important as ethnographic collections all over Europe were known to include vast numbers of weapons. But their number in this collection is quite small and may be because Junod had unique reasons for collecting these objects and perhaps a much broader interest in collecting various different objects, not just weaponry.

The objects used in ritual are perhaps the most interesting component of the collection because they are unusual and different; Junod mentions them in his work (1927). He was also quite fascinated with the ritual activities within the groups he worked with and this is reflected within the collection. There are two divinatory sets, each made up of a collection of bone and shell (Figure 12). There is also a hakati, a divinatory set made up of pips and mentioned in the previous section. There is also a set of Pedi divining dice, also mentioned previously (Figure 13). This set is made up of four wooden blocks, each about the size of a small cell phone. They each represent: woman; pain; man-duty; and reward. These explanations are written on the back of the blocks. Junod's original stickers are also found on the back of the blocks. These labels are also encountered on pieces of the Junod Collection found at MuseumAfrica. The assumption is that they were attached by Junod, as they are very old and completely faded. There are also a number of strange objects in the collection which, for lack of a better description, have been described as ritual objects. Several small gourds, wrapped in skin and fur and one even with claws, can be found in the collection. There are five of them (Figure 14). These gourds have been sealed and from their weight it is obvious there is a substance sealed inside. The first instinct is that it is medicine which may have been given to a person in order to cure an ailment. This assumption is made because of the fact that the container is still sealed and also has a string wrapped around each of them with a loop, perhaps for carrying. This is confirmed by Terblanche (1994) as she refers to calabashes which look like little bottles and are used as medicine

containers and called *tinhunguvana* (67). There is also a piece of wood or stone which has been wrapped in a woven net and covered with a black substance. In H-PJ's notes it is stated that it is "very old" and from recent observations it seems to be true. These items are not a surprise in this collection, as Junod shows a great interest, in his writing, in ritual and divinatory aspects of the people he worked with, but they are a significant part of the collection. This is because they are mentioned so thoroughly in Junod's work. What is annoying is the lack of written accounts of how Junod came to have them in his possession, but this is frustratingly normal of ethnographic collections of the time.



Figure 12: 1_75_4a. Basket - *hwama* - filled with divining set: 1_75_9a-w.

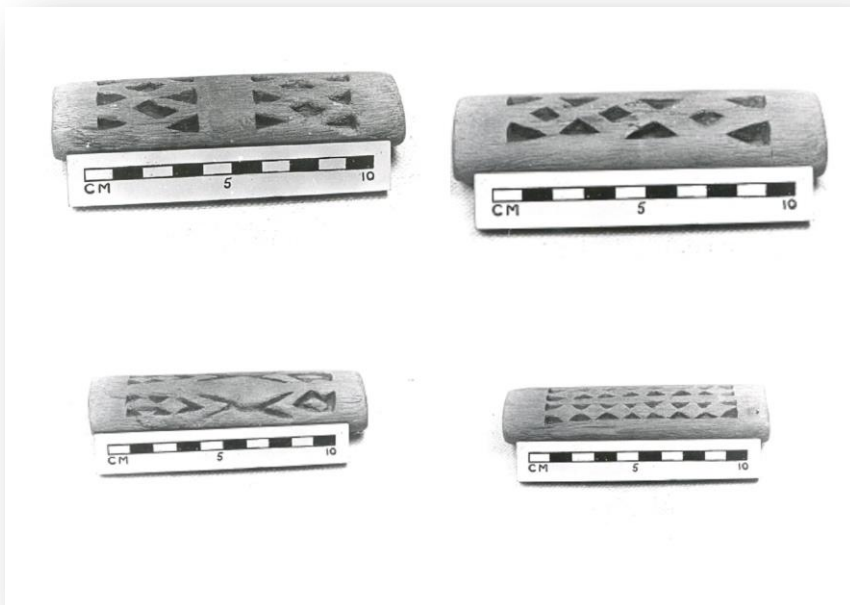


Figure 13: 1_75_263a-d. Pedi divining dice.



Figure 14: 1_75_200_B. Stoppered calabash with leather strap. It was used to carry medicine.

The items woven from grass, or grass like substances, are also found in medium numbers in the collection. There are 50 items in total. They are rather beautiful examples of woven work. These items are all in very good condition and look unused. Some of the patterns which have been woven into the pieces with brown dyed grass have faded, which point to their age and also the fact that they may not have been kept in ideal environments. As mentioned earlier there are several examples of the remarkable Ngula basket. There are even two European style hats woven completely from grass, which shows the effects of Western dress on the local artistry. It also points to the fact that Junod did not ignore objects which showed a Western influence, and collected them too.

Articles in the collection which were not so easily placed in a category include: 5 brass rings, each with an opening; a string of tiny sea shells; a cluster of black feathers; 8 plastic dolls, referred to as Pedi (Junod, 1975, Museum Files) depicting African women, men and babies. The women are dressed in European dress of blouse, skirt and head scarf and the men depict warriors (Figure 15). The two babies are slung to the women's backs.



Figure 13: 1_75_82_D. Doll with flower basket on her head.

A wooden mortar; a porcupine quill; a gold metal bee, with moveable wings; a brass lighthouse; a blueprint of a tombstone and a framed photo of Junod. It is clear that there is a mixture of ethnographic items and personal items in the collection and this may have been as a result of later collation of the collection with some of Junod's personal items which he may have had with him when he was working in Africa. There is a rumour that the items in this collection were items which he held dear and kept in his study (this is a story related by one of his grandchildren, who would see the items when visiting their grandfather in his study). This cannot be substantiated at this time, but it is a possible, tantalizing clue as to why so many ritual items and personal items came to be in the collection.

4.5 Synthesis

This chapter started with the important task of contextualising the collection within its current location and also its journey through time to reach it. The objects to be studied were isolated from superfluous added material not related to this study. This was undertaken in order to ensure that the collection to be studied is intact and to contextualise its history after Junod's death.

Junod's background is visible within the collection in terms of the large number of weapons, baskets and spoons in the collection: it seems to show a need to collect comparable items in order to study a type or style of production. There was an interest in weaponry, which may also have been for typology and also to show change over time in the objects. He also collected what he truly felt was a strong representation of local

industry, in the form of the *Ngula* basket and various other woven items. He also collected items which he wrote about, which shows the research value of these objects and their use in substantiating his writing. But Junod did not only collect objects which he wrote about: he wrote in great detail about the manufacture of pottery, but there is not a single pot in the collection. His collecting of divinatory and ritual objects might also point to his background, as he was attempting to understand and demystify the local rituals in order to gain mastery over them. Therefore Junod carried his theoretical baggage to Africa, but was also affected by the “scene of collecting” (O’Hanlon, 2002: 9) which may have had a profound effect on his collecting.

Junod did not leave modern items out of his collecting. There are pieces representing contemporary western aspects and items which were obviously made for a European to use in the home (candlestick, letter opener and stamp). Therefore Junod did not adhere to the notion of not collecting items which showed too much contemporary western influence. There are not many such items in the collection, but they are present. He also collected items which clearly show the influence of contemporary western objects on the local people’s mode of manufacture (woven hats, chain spoons, metal chain). Therefore in his collecting Junod did not ignore the effects of the contemporary west on the peoples with whom he had contact.

The fact that weapons make up such a small part of the collections leads one to assume Junod may not have been like other ethnographic collectors, who collected mostly weapons, but had a more open minded

and varied view of collecting. The small number of weaponry and also the presence of objects showing contemporary western influence and objects affected by contemporary western ideas, shows that this may be true. The objects in this collection were only sent to a museum in 1975. This may point to a different reason for collecting it, as Junod kept them in his possession. The objects are also very beautiful, so Junod may have had an aesthetic reason for collecting, but there are also rough and simple pieces in the collection, which point to his flexibility in collecting objects of different aesthetic standards. The fact that the collection was in the family's possession until 1975 may point to its personal nature. It may be possible that it is not only an ethnographic collection but also a personal collection of items which fascinated and intrigued Junod. It is possible that he gave large amounts of purely ethnographic objects to museums in Switzerland, but collected those items in the collection under study for different reasons other than display and education, perhaps more for personal enlightenment and research.

Conclusions

What I have undertaken with this research report is a multi-faceted approach as to how and why Junod collected the objects which he collected, while working in Africa; how his upbringing and time affected this process and whether or not he adhered to the generalised traditional ideas we have about colonial collections made by missionaries and others. I have attempted to give Junod and his collection a more complex, multifaceted character, which moves away from general stereotypes of missionaries, and their reason for collecting with a bearing on their actual remaining collections.

In the first two chapters I elaborate on the pertinent aspects of the historical and cultural aspects of European history and acknowledge that this would have created a certain worldview in various colonial agents, especially missionaries and especially in Junod, as a missionary from Switzerland. This is to show that Junod had a certain worldview which may have affected his collecting and how he viewed the people where he worked. In chapter 4, with an analysis and re-contextualisation of his collection, Junod is shown to be a complex, unique individual, with personal objectives and ideas, which went way beyond the stereotype of “colonial agent”.

The traditional ideas that missionaries only had a “European gaze” (Said: 1975) when seeing Africa; that they approached every facet of Africa from a predetermined set of standards fostered from a European upbringing and that they were untouched by what they experienced in Africa is too simplistic and I have aimed to problematize this idea with this study. These ways of viewing the missionaries’ work and how Africa impacted on them is one-dimensional and lacks important facets and nuances which have to problematize and complicate these traditional definitions. These nuances and facets come to the fore strongly when looking at Henri-Alexandre Junod’s life and work and the physical remains of what he collected during his time in Africa.

The most important component of this study is the analysis of the collection which Junod amassed while working in Africa as a missionary and which is stored at the Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology at UNISA. By close analysis of the objects, using some of Junod’s written work as corroboration, I undertook to ascertain whether Junod’s strong scientific background was visible in the collection. From this analysis I am suggesting that Junod did adhere to scientific criteria as they were understood at the time, which reflected his upbringing and world view. But, there are nuances which came to light within the collection analysis which points to a far wider attitude to collecting. Junod did not shy away from objects which showed marked western influences. He collected items which were purposely made for modern uses by the people with whom he worked. He also collected items which were altered with modern additions. When it came to artistic items he showed a great appreciation

for beautifully well-made objects, but also collected rough, simple pieces. This all points to a much more complex collecting habit, by an individual who understood and accepted the scientific principles of his time, but was also keenly aware of the changes in the cultural, industrial and artisanal life of the people he worked with.

The collection is a physical, tangible “archive” of what Junod, as a unique and complex individual, may have thought, felt and considered while working with the local people in Africa. It reflects his European and scientific sentiments, but it also reflects his appreciation for the industry of the local people whom he worked with. Therefore there is a dichotomy in how Junod behaved and collected in Africa. His background is only one side of the story, and nuances come to the fore when one looks at the collection and realises that it is not as simple as “missionary, anthropologist and collector” in the traditional sense of these descriptions. This study does not however, provide definitive conclusions, but with the re-interpretation of the physical objects and Junod’s writings, nuances can be revealed, which will enrich these topics.

This study gives insight into the interactions of a particular individual, who was so much more than lay anthropologist and missionary, and several individuals whom he encountered during his work in Africa. Junod and his informants are an important aspect of this report. Lekgoathi (2009) maintains the importance of the role of interlocutors in the work of N.J. van Warmelo (61). Van Warmelo’s work relied heavily on informants, and the information he gained may not have been accessible had it not been the informants he worked with.

Junod found himself in a new environment which contained a new cultural experience for him and he reacted to this environment in a very unique way, as a unique individual does. He did not simply adhere to his background and upbringing, which is always present, but he also experienced Africa with what he perceived as its beauty and its problems.

It is clear from this study and many others; Delius (2010) who looked at J.A. Winter, a missionary with the Berlin Missionary Society and Clifford (2009) who stresses the uniqueness of individual missionaries and their goals; that one cannot generalise about anthropology and evangelising when one is studying a collection created by an individual involved in both these sectors. The study has shown that this was a very personal collection and cannot be placed in a particular mould. What is seen within the objects of this collection is not a collection made for a museum, but a deeply personal collection, which points to various influences in the collector's life.

Further research on this collection will most certainly have to include the Junod collection sold to the Africana Museum in 1939. This collection may have other characteristics not seen in this collection and a comparative analysis may shed further light on both the collections and how they came into being. Further analysis of the collection will be aided by the translation of Junod's many French journal articles, which could not be undertaken for this study due to financial constraints. They may reveal more nuances in Junod's collecting habits, or they will reinforce or question what has been discovered in this report. Another important outcome of this research would be the possibility of erecting a new

exhibition of the collection. This exhibition would hopefully address some of the findings made in this report and perhaps raise some more questions as to the value of colonial collections in South African museum.

Leibhammer (2007) states that traditional South African collections present unique curatorial challenges and that these can be met by examining the nuanced historical context in which the objects were made and collected (32) Byala (2013b) is adamant in her assertion that histories, as a social construct, need to be explored by museums and that museums need to expose multiple, often competing truths, as part of their mandate (103). There needs to be an effort to also involve in the exhibition process, those individuals who created collections and were responsible for their movement through time and space (Hall, 2002: 78). This will hopefully be possible with the Junod Collection.

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Appendix A: Fax, sent 28 October 1970, from Henri-Phillipe Junod to the Department of Ethnology, University of South Africa (UNISA). Junod Museum File, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of South Africa (UNISA).

JUNOD COLLECTION OF OBJECTS OF BANTUCULTURE;

Five large cases and four parcels.

1. open basket, with a number of Central African objects; carvings: 1 buffalo, 2 statuettes kikuyu, 1 antelope, 1 hare, 1 snuff box, 2 spoons and 1 fork, etc. Other carvings; 1 zulu piece; counsellors sitting at court, a number of plates decorated, 2 head-rests, a few gombe cup (Chopi) a few rattles, Note a special very elaborate chain cut in one piece of wood with 2 spoons described by Dr HAJ Life II. p 31. another one is smaller spoons decorated. etc.
2. 1 rihlelo with a long handle. 2 swikelo to draw water with handle, one a very fine specimen, two conical baskets (swirundzu) of Ronga manufacture. in a Zambezi basket, 1 matlatia, very heavy old brass rings used formerly in lobola. 1 ngula basket with three calf rattles (macaca) 11 copper armlets, 10 fine snuff boxes mostly in ebony, quite a few bead girdles, etc. 1 Tana valley basket, covered with mud inside. 6 decorated calabashes. A few carvings of animals and birds.
3. small ngula basket with luck beads inside and the famous flute of heaven (Life II. 314) very rare. 1 small oval Zambezi basket with a set of Pedi divining woods and 2 sets of Ndau tihakata, 4 Swazi head rests. 1 mhalamhala horn, 2 mats of the Tana Valley 3 Ethiopian paintings on cloth. 2 minchalu, bark cloth Chopi. A few Pedi dolls (6) Xhosa pipes etc.
3. Zambezi basket, 3 calabashes, Ngula basket with Ndau exorcist apparel described by HPJ AFRICA VII. No 3 July 1934. Dans le ngula ovale, 4 ~~parures de divination~~ baskets among which the famous raki of Spoon described by HAJ in astragalomancy, with 36 divining bones and shells, etc. Photo Dr HAJ. Painting of Rikatla (PEA) where Dr HAJ's ashes have been buried. 1 diploma given HPJ by the Pretoria Tsonga people. Splendid.
5. Zambezi carved bowl with lid and fishes, carved by K. ng Lewanika himself, and collected by Dr de Cottens. 12 carvings inside, a number of arrows, metal weapons, small axes, etc. 1 mortar etc. in the parcels are 2 Chopi xylophones, 15 assésais (2 dancing ones) 10 carved sticks, one in various woods from Uganda, 2 arrow containers etc.

Geneva the 28th October 1970. Henri Ph. Junod.

Appendix B: Artefact list, undated, possibly 1970. Fax most probably sent by Henri-Phillipe Junod. Junod Museum File, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, UNISA

JUNOD COLLECTION OF ARTIFACTS

- J1 all basket with lid, woven animal design
- J2 very small, round basket with lid; triangular pattern
- J3 smallish pot-shaped basket with lid; checkered pattern (lucky beans inside)
- J4 small, plain, squarish carry basket with overlapping lid (hwama); filled with shell, bone, horn
- J5 small, squarish, black carry basket with overlapping lid (hwama)
- J6 round, flat basket with separate attached rim, chevron design
- J7 pot-shaped basket with cap-like lid
- J8 grain basket, approx. 15" diameter; two line design
- J9 medium sized cylindrical basket with flat lid containing pieces of bone, shell, and horn
- J10 sealed dance rattle; contains seeds; flat shape approx. 7½" x 9½"
- J11 cylindrical basket with flat lid; checkered design
- J12 cylindrical basket with flat lid; hour-glass design
- J13 large, round basket with flat lid; checkered design
- J14 flat, squarish case with overlapping lid; approx. 5½" x 4½"
- J15 squarish carry bag with overlapping lid; diagonal cross linear design
- J16 smallish, squarish basket with carry handle; diagonal cross design
- J17 smallish, squarish basket with overlapping lid and carry handle
- J18 wallet size basketwork case; blue hound's tooth design
- J19 small bulbous carry basket with handle; large criss-cross design, chevron pattern around top
- J20 medium sized carry basket with two handles; large weave and diagonal design
- J21 medium sized, squarish carry basket with two handles
- J22 medium sized, squarish carry basket with overlapping lid; diagonal cross design
- J23 medium sized, squarish carry basket with overlapping lid; diagonal cross design (older than J22)
- J24 small, round, pyramid-shaped basket with woven hook; circular bands design
- J25 large, round, pyramid-shaped basket; very faded chevron design near base
- J26 large, round, pyramid-shaped basket; circular band design

- 7 large, urn-shaped basket possibly lined with dung;
checkered pattern
- 8 large, plain, round basket; lop-sided
- 9 small, flower-basket-type basket, rounded bottom
with handle
- 0 flattish circular basket on pedestal; faded red
design of triangles and chevrons
- 1 medium sized, bowl-shaped basket; leather piece sewn
on bottom, circular band design
- 2 flat, bowl-shaped basket; checkered rim, four-petal
flower design with four diamond-shaped leaves
- 3 large, round basket (smaller than J13) with flat lid;
checkered pattern
- 4 cylindrical basket with flat lid; lid has triangle
design, base has honeycomb design
- 5 large, pot-shaped basket with flat lid; circular
bands: lid, stylized clover-leaf design; base,
extended diamond shapes
- 6 quiver-like basketwork cylinder; band designs on
one end, diagonal design on the other
- 7 woven beer sieve
- 8 woven head cap, quill-like fibres protruding from top
- 9 straw hat, damaged
- 0 straw hat
- 1 xylophone basket
- 2 woven leaf-shaped fan
- 3 small, round, pot-shaped basket with loop for hanging
- 4 small bowl-shaped basket with carved wooden rim;
triangular pattern
- 5 small, blackish basket with uncarved wooden rim
- 6 medium sized basket with triangular pattern, wooden
rim, and extended wooden handle (approx. 2 ft.)
- 7 medium sized basket with wooden rim; triangular pattern
- 8 large, oval shaped fish basket with occasional black
straw squares, two small handles on flat lid
- 9 woven mat; blue, cross-triangular design 6' x2'
- 0 woven mat; series of coloured bands with lettering
on some bands
- 1 A open brass ring
B open copper ring
C open copper ring (out of J12)
D open copper ring
E open copper ring

- J52 wooden letter stamp
- J53 finger piano
- J54 wax and twine companion rings
- J55 wooden egg-shaped snuff holder; orange and black
- J56 pipe-bowl of Western manufacture without mouth-piece
- J57 beaded knobkierie approx. 2' long; triangular pattern
- J58 bead-work bottle; zig-zag pattern
- J59 bead-work basket
- J60 beaded hand-broom
- J61 beaded pendant with pin; 3" x 4"
- J62 beaded pendant with pin, green and red motif, 2" x 6"
- J63 beaded belt, 2" x 28"
- J64 beaded knobkierie approx. 18" long
- J65 beaded knobkierie approx. 20" long
- J66 beaded belt 4" x 31½"
- J67 beaded belt 4½" x 30"
- J68 beaded necklace of lucky beads
- J69 eleven wound wire bracelets with copper beads occurring at intervals
- J70 bead-work purse with handle; red and green design
- J71 pipe with bead-work stem and two beaded strings
- J72 beaded gourd, predominantly orange, black and yellow with circular blue bands
- J73 cloth skirt, doll size, with white beaded decoration
- J74 beaded belt, 32" x 4"; green and pink fringe
- J75 beaded choker necklace with three long necklaces and pendants attached
- J76 strand of transparent beads
- J77 cluster of carved bone pieces
- J78 string of tiny sea shells
- J79 beaded belt 36" x 4"; green and pink fringe
- J80 cluster of black feathers with one mauve one
- J81 tangle of white, black, and green strands
- J82 black doll with flower basket on head; female, 7½" h.
- J83 black doll with firewood on head; female
- J84 black warrior doll, fur decoration; male, 5" h.
- J85 black warrior doll, fur decoration; male, 7" h.

- 4
- J86 black doll with green bundle on head; female
 - J87 black doll with white bundle on head; female
 - J87A beaded baton, approx. 18" l. (poor condition)
 - J88 wooden spear with large, flat blade, cross-hatch carving and wire winding
 - J89 long-handled scoop bowl (wood); twisted carving on handle
 - J90 hollowed-out koedoe horn
 - J91 wooden handled battle-axe with engraved metal blade
 - J92 wooden walking stick with carved human figure on top
 - J93 long, narrow, wooden handled spear with metal blade and wire-wound haft
 - J94 plain, long, narrow, wooden handled spear with metal blade
 - J95 wooden walking stick with carved head on top, burnt design along shaft
 - J96 wooden pestle
 - J97 long spear with bamboo shaft and metal blade; woven patch at blade base
 - J98 medium long spear, wooden shaft, metal blade; fibre wrapping at blade base
 - J99 long wooden bow with leather string
 - J100 spear of medium length with wooden shaft, metal blade; wire wrapping around haft
 - J101 shortish spear with wooden shaft, metal blade; two metal wrappings halfway down shaft
 - J102 bamboo spear shaft, no blade
 - J103 wooden spear shaft, no blade
 - J104 light, flexible wooden walking stick, small hole through top
 - J105 metal blade, 36" l., ending in split tube for haft
 - J106 bamboo arrow shaft with feather, no point
 - J107 long, plain spear, wooden shaft with metal blade
 - J108 arrow with bamboo shaft, feather, and spade-shaped metal point
 - J109 arrow with wooden shaft, feather, and leaf-shaped point
 - J110 arrow with wooden shaft, feather, and diamond-shaped point
 - J111 spear of medium length with wooden shaft, long blade, and wire wrapping at base of blade
 - J112 pole, approx. 5½ ft., intricately carved

- J113 arrow, wooden shaft, small blade, feather
- J114 walking stick of reddish wood with carved female figure at top
- J115 smallish spear with metal blade and wooden shaft; two skin wrappings on shaft
- J116 battle-axe, wooden shaft with six spaced wire wrappings, engraved blade shaft
- J117 carved wooden spear with large, flat wooden blade and rectangular sculpture on shaft
- J118 long bamboo shaft with burnt design; no blade
- J119 arrow with bamboo shaft, feather, and carved wooden point
- J120 awl-like spike with wood handle, metal blade
- J121 fly whisk with knotted string handle
- J122 arrow with wooden shaft, feather, metal blade, and fibre wrapping around haft
- J123 spear of medium length with wooden shaft, metal blade, and wire wrapping around haft
- J124 large, flat metal blade with engraved, split tube for shaft
- J125 intricately carved wooden arrow sheath 37" l. x 5" d.
- J126 intricately carved wooden arrow sheath 35" l. x 4" d.
- J127 wooden bowl-shaped scoop with carved handle
- J128 heavy, wooden knobkierie with three wire wrappings around the shaft at intervals
- J129 heavy, knobkierie of light and dark wood with three wire wrappings around shaft at intervals
- J130 gourd-shell rattle with wooden handle
- J131 wooden bowl-shaped scoop with ornate handle (twisted)
- J132 metal blade with wooden handle covered with engraved leather
- J133 axe with dark wooden handle and carved human head near thin metal blade (curved tang)
- J134 arrow with bamboo shaft, feather, and barbed point carved from wood
- J135 spear of medium length with metal blade, wooden shaft, and wire wrapping
- J136 spear of medium length with metal blade, wooden shaft, and leather wrapping
- J137 spear with a small metal blade, wooden shaft, and wire wrapping

- J13^a thick bamboo spear shaft, no blade
- J13^b walking stick of carved, light wood with bearded male figure at top
- J140 wooden spear with short handle and flat blade
- J141 arrow with metal blade and wooden shaft without feather
- J142 stick with oblique wrapping of fur at top
- J143 wooden arrow with carved barbed point
- J144 wooden arrow with carved barbed point
- J145 walking cane with ivory handle and wooden shaft
- J146 walking stick of light and dark wood with carved female figure at top and twisted carving on shaft
- J147 spear of medium length with metal blade and wooden shaft, and wire wrapping
- J148 small stick with hooked end and cross-hatch design on shaft
- J149 dancing stick with tufts of hide approx. 3½' 1.
- J150 arrow with bamboo shaft and carved barbed point
- J151 large spoon of light wood with keyhole-shaped aperture in handle
- J152 large, plain spoon of light wood
- J153 wooden ladle of medium size with hooked handle and burnt black band decoration
- J154 large wooden ladle with hooked, engraved handle
- J155 large ladle with spiral design on handle and triangular pattern on bowl
- J156 ornate spoon of dark wood with engraved handle
- J157 large spoon of light wood with spreading triangular pattern on bowl and encircling bands with ovals on handle
- J158 small ladle with elongated rectangular aperture in handle and burnt linear engravings
- J159 small ladle with triangles, bands, and criss-cross designs on handle
- J160 small ladle with linear burnt design near base of bowl
- J161 ladle with oval-shaped bowl and modified "X" design engraved on handle
- J162 small ladle with burnt checkered pattern and shaped aperture on handle
- J163 long-handled spoon of light and dark wood with scratch marks on underside of bowl
- J164 long-handled spoon with spot of dark wood on handle
- J165 spoon of dark wood with patch of light wood in bowl
- J166 small spoon of light wood with two square apertures in flared handle

- 7 ornate spoon of dark wood with stylized human figure for handle
- 8 ornate fork of dark wood with stylized human figure for handle
- 9 spoon of light wood with ladder design in handle aperture
- 0 two spoons connected by wooden link chain with top-hatted man's head on each handle
- 1 two small spoons with burnt engravings and connected by wooden link chain
- 2 spatula of light wood with stylized female torso and head as handle
- 3 spoon with spiral and triangular design (smaller than J155)
- 4 flat-bowled spoon with carved edge and triangular aperture in tip of handle
- 5 plain carved dagger of light wood
- 6 metal dagger in metal sheath with engraved hilt, blade, and sheath
- 7 ebony letter knife with carved head for handle
- 8 small axe with engraved metal blade and wooden handle
- 9 metal dagger in wooden case with carved-out carry loop and metal wire wrapping on sheath
- 0 wooden goblet with simple design
- 1 mug of dark wood with three-tier handle
- 2 two mugs of dark wood carved together, with three-tier handle
- 3 mug of light wood with burnt band around base and three-tier handle
- 4 mug of dark wood with small three-tier handle
- 5 goblet of dark wood with three rings forming a pedestal base (damaged)
- 6 goblet of dark wood standing on four legs (base damaged)
- 7 small bowl of light wood with burnt bands
- 8 oval-shaped bowl of light wood with spreading triangular design underneath bowl, two stubby handles, and four supporting legs
- 9 two oval bowls connected by handle-like carving with spreading triangular design underneath, one bowl having one leg and the other two
- 0 two round bowls connected with handle, burnt line design appearing underneath
- 90A two bowls connected by carved flat plank, the smaller with heart design and the larger with crest design
- 91 claw-like waisted bowl with large burnt-in designs underneath, four supporting legs, and circular handle
- 92 oval bowl with burnt line designs underneath, four legs, and extended handle
- 93 small gourd with engraved and burnt circular and triangular designs

- J194 large gourd with engraved and burnt designs of star, fish, star, anchor(?), and guinea fowl
- J195 highly decorated calabash with triangles, bands, and string carry-handle around neck
- J196 small, plain, calabash with string of beads around neck
- J197 small wood and skin drum with encircling zig-zag design
- J198 plain wooden bowl (old)
- J199 calabash with engraved and burnt designs of circular bands, three-leaf clover, chicken, and aeroplane
- J200 calabash with leather strap and stopper (old)
- J201 calabash in leather case with twisted strap (old)
- J202 calabash with leather frill around neck (old)
- J203 round gourd shell on a stick with cross-shaped apertures
- J204 carved stone beetle with elaborate engraving underneath
- J205 small calabash with triangular pattern and hole in top
- J206 braided pouch with strap enclosing a stone or piece of wood (old)
- J207 gourd-shaped wooden carving with linear design, metal wrapping around neck, and light wood stopper
- J208 calabash enclosed in skin pouch with knotted cord around neck (old)
- J209 small round gourd with linear design of attached metal wire
- J210 large wooden drum with carved pedestal and leather top
- J211 round gourd of medium size with band of triangles and small squares
- J212 large wooden drum with side pegs and handles but without membrane
- J213 wooden mortar, plain
- J214 large oval fish-bowl of wood with lid bearing symbolic carving of fish swimming toward net on lid
- J215 wooden mask, engraved
- J216 wooden male figure playing drum
- J217 symbolic female figure in wood with baby on back
- J218 male figure with walking stick
- J219 stylized figure of drinking male
- J220 carved boat with three baboon figures
- J221 wood carving of crocodile
- J222 stylized figure with large mask-like head

- J223 two seated male figures
- J224 black and white heron-type bird carved from horn
- J225 black heron-type bird carved from horn
- J226 white heron-type bird carved from horn
- J227 vulture-like bird carved from horn
- J228 engraved wooden carving of duck 8" h.
- J229 wooden carving of duck with wings in arched position
- J230 wooden carving of stylized baboon figure with teeth and severed arm
- J231 wooden carving of kiwi-like bird with an extended bill
- J232 small wooden carving of pelican-like fowl with long bill slightly parted at end
- J233 wooden carving of guinea fowl with large body, small head, and slightly curved beak
- J234 wooden carving of pelican-like fowl with shorter curved bill
- J235 meercat carved from dark wood
- J236 chameleon carved from dark wood
- J237 hippo carved from brown wood
- J238 rhino carved from brown wood (hind leg missing)
- J239 spotted hippo carved from light wood with burnt design on surface
- J240 wooden carving of grazing antelope with horns made of horn
- J241 wooden carving of Cape buffalo
- J242 large elephant carved from brown wood with ivory eyes
- J243 tiny elephant carved from black wood with ivory eyes
- J244 small elephant carved from black wood with ivory eyes
- J245 wooden carving of duck with engraved surface and inlaid red beads
- J246 hippo carved from brown wood with ivory teeth
- J247 hawk carved from light wood with engraved outstretched wings
- J248 snake carved from black wood with etched ridge down back
- J249 snake carved from light wood with burnt surface design and spotted engraving
- J250 wooden carving of snake with zig-zag pattern on body
- J251 wooden carving of crocodile with engraved lines, spots, and triangles
- J252 wooden carving of crocodile with engraved surface and closed mouth

- J253 crocodile carved from dark wood with chevron-shaped legs
- J254 gold metal bee, with mobile wings
- J255 dark horn with engraved zig-zag pattern, rope handle, and cork plug
- J256 wooden snuff box with triangular design, 6½" l.
- J257 wooden snuff box with linear pattern, 7¼" l.
- J258 wooden snuff box with alternating diagonal pattern 7" l.
- J259 wooden snuff box with linear band around middle and wire wrapping around neck 7" l.
- J260 wooden stick with two carved-out bands near top 15½" l.
- J261 flat circular-shaped stone with carved and painted facial design
- J262 small black calabash with stopper, fringe of fur, and animal claws strung around neck
- J263 A carved wooden divining tablet, nokwara (woman)
 B carved wooden divining tablet, chirumi (pain)
 C carved wooden divining tablet, tokwadzima (man-duty)
 D carved wooden divining tablet, kwami (reward)
- J264 large horn case with plug, rope handle, and hair fringe
- J265 pair of wooden castanet-like objects
- J266 plain ivory disc
- J267 wooden carving of male gendarme figure
- J268 wooden carving of male French peasant figure
- J269 tusk or bone encased in crocodile(?). leather
- J270 porcupine quill
- J271 engraved horn and plug in zig-zag pattern
- J272 small wooden snuff-box with varying triangular designs and shiny wire wrapping at neck 4½" l.
- J273 wooden carving of grenade shape with chevron and diamond design
- J274 small wooden carving of droplet shape with engraved diamond pattern, 4" l.
- J275 metal spear blade
- J276 elongated point or spike of copper
- J277 small metal spear blade with long tang
- J278 barbed wooden point
- J279 small, plain wooden point
- J280 two-tone wooden stick
- J281 small, plain wooden pipe
- J282 large, plain wooden pipe

- J283 wooden head-rest in shape of rifle
- J284 double head-rest connected with chain of wood
- J285 head-rest of wood with circular pedestal resting on base in shape of figure 8
- J286 head-rest mounted on snake
- J287 head-rest mounted on horse
- J288 large wooden double head-rest with board connecting bases
- J289 extended wooden head-rest with fluted stands at each end
- J290 small head-rest with diagonal stand and round base
- J291 A three rows of dance rattles bound together
B three rows of dance rattles bound together
C three rows of dance rattles bound together
- J292 xylophone
- J293 xylophone
- J294 A xylophone stick
B xylophone stick
C xylophone stick
- J295 shield of leather with handle and brown fur front
- J296 small skin shield covered with painted design
- J297 warrior shield of skin with black fur front
- J298 large dark brown shield backed by stout stick
- J299 A piece of leather material, blanket size
B piece of leather material, blanket size
- J300 painted cloth of crucifixion, tapestry size
- J301 triptych cloth painting of Christian religious scenes
- J302 plaited arm or leg band with fringe
- J303 A knee band with hair fringe
B knee band with hair fringe
- J304 plaited leg or arm band with fringe
- J305 square white cotton cloth with Arabic inscription
- J306 two black wound rings
- J307 framed water-colour painting of a house
- J308 photo of man playing xylophone
- J309 portrait photo of boy
- J310 photo of Tsonga girls standing in a row with pots at the water
- J311 photo of chief with warriors
- J312 photo of woman drying mandioca
- J313 photo of warriors travelling in a line

- J314 photo of girl drawing water
- J315 photo of tattooed woman
- J316 photo of dancing scene
- J317 portrait photo of woman and child (beehive hair-style)
- J318 portrait photo of older Shangaan woman with bead decoration
- J319 portrait photo of young girl
- J320 portrait photo of woman and child
- J321 portrait photo of old man in leopard skin
- J322 photo of two boys fishing
- J323 painting on paper of two women carrying baskets toward huts
- J324 framed photo portrait, Rev. H.A. Junod
- J325 blueprint of tombstone
- J326 meercat skin
- J327 piece of red printed cloth
- J328 piece of white cloth (dish-cloth)
- J329 seed pod
- J330 light, porous stone
- J331 miniature brass lighthouse
- J332 miniature photo, Rev. H.P. Junod
- J333 six small pieces of chipped stone
- J334 small copper bracelet
- J335 sealed dancing rattle made of reeds
- J336 large, flat wooden barbed fishing dagger^{with} triangular and zig-zag engravings
- J337 female fire-boring stick