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Visualizing *Volkekunde*: Photography in the Mainstream and Dissident Tradition of Afrikaner Ethnology, 1920-2013

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DECLARATION

I, Anell Stacey Daries, declare that "Visualizing *Volkekunde*: Photography in the Mainstream and Dissident Tradition of Afrikaner Ethnology, 1920-2013" is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Anell Stacey Daries
15 November 2019

This thesis is dedicated to my mother Elizabeth Beverley Ewertsen and godson Kaidah Struan Solomon.

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Abstract

This mini-thesis explores the role of photography in the mainstream and dissident tradition of Afrikaner ethnology (*volkekunde*) from the time of its establishment at Stellenbosch University in the 1920s through to its development at Pretoria University in the 1950s to 1970s, to its period of decline in the era of dissidence from the 1970s to the 2010s. I use a biographical approach, tracing the career biographies and photographic portfolios of three *volkekundiges*: the German-trained government ethnologist Nicolaas J. van Warmelo; little known dissident *volkekundige* Frans Hendrik Boot (1939-2010) who founded the *Volkekunde* Department at the University of the Western Cape in 1972 and for whom fieldwork photography was an expression of his humanist digression from the racialised mainstream *volkekunde* tradition; and Cornelis Seakle "Kees" van der Waal (1949-) whose 'Long Walk from *Volkekunde* to Anthropology' has been textually demonstrated but also takes on visual expressions in his use of photography. My thesis seeks to demonstrate that photography and visuality was important in displaying the different traditions of *volkekunde.* The central argument in this thesis postulates that fieldwork photographs, read in relation to the ethnographers intellectual focus offers us insight into an individual's orientation. Furthermore this thesis explores the degree of a photographers technicality and aesthetics skill.

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Introduction

This introduction will analyse two dynamic bodies of literature. The first is on the historiography of *volkekunde* in South Africa . The second is on the historiography of fieldwork photography in South African anthropology. In doing so the introduction will highlight the core focus of this thesis. Although my thesis will often make reference to photography, I use the term visuality as it denotes to a broader conceptual understanding of visual documents and their anthropological uses. Such documents include maps, diagrams as well as fieldwork photographs. As the literature on anthropology and photography very rarely refers to the field of *volkekunde,* I make use of some well-established literature on the relationship between social anthropology and photography in southern Africa as a framework through which to start my discussion on the topic.

Part I: The Historiography of *Volkekunde*

The majority of the literature on the Afrikaner ethnological tradition in South Africa offers a monolithic historiographical reflection of the discipline. Presented as having a single orientation and attitude towards anthropological theory and practice, the complexity and embedded tensions within the intellectual discipline have largely been overlooked. In one of the earliest studies taking an interest in the origins of *volkekunde*, John Sharp makes reference to an important issue that later accounts fail to expand upon. In his article, "The roots and development of *volkekunde* in South Africa", Sharp claims that "there are … a number of younger scholars in 1981 at various universities who express private frustrations at the disciplines uniformity imposed by the powerful and co-ordinated professoriate, most of whom are products of the Pretoria-Potchefstroom 'school"[1].

In the above mentioned statement there are a few key points that require closer analysis. Firstly, the group of younger scholars Sharp refers to were beginning to produce work that went against the core principles of the *volkekunde* tradition. One of key foundational concepts in the *volkekunde* paradigm was ethnos theory, which I will expand upon later. Sharp notes that during the 1980s ethnos theory was still formally taught at Pretoria, Potchefstroom and Orange Free State universities, whereas Stellenbosch and Rand-Afrikaans

[1] Sharp, J.S. "The Roots and Development of *Volkekunde* in South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 8(1) (1981): 20.

University had started to branch out in search of contemporary concepts that explored social change.[2] This difference is crucially important because ethnos theory offered a justification for racial and ethnic classification. Additionally, it obsessively championed the notion of cultural purity. A revolt against, or transition beyond, the use of ethnos therefore not only questioned the credibility of *volkekunde*, it jeopardised the very existence of the paradigm within the South African and the wider anthropological academy. It is the roots, ramblings and future development of this dissident tradition in reaction to the content of the mainstream pro-apartheid tradition, that this thesis seeks to examine.

Another important point raised by Sharp is the ominous nature of the "powerful and co-ordinated professoriate."[3] It is important to emphasise this issue as it sheds light on the possible reasons for the apparent absence of internal criticism from within the paradigm. By the 1960s and 1970s social anthropology had begun to take an introspective look at the effects its inquiry had on its subjects and constructions of African identity. According to Sharp, not only did the Global-South start to formulate its own critique regarding the purpose of anthropological research, this period also marked the initiation of an internal theoretical shift within social anthropology.[4]

The "private frustrations" Sharp mentions are most eloquently expressed in the deeply personal reflections of a trained *volkekundige* C.S. (Kees) van der Waal. In his paper, "Long Walk from *Volkekunde* to Anthropology", van der Waal provides a layered and dense account of his personal background and of the establishment, development and demise of *volkekunde* as an intellectual paradigm. What I find most striking in this paper is the vivid demonstration of divergence and difference embedded within the *volkekunde* tradition. On the one hand, he describes the mainstream tradition of the *volkekunde* paradigm based on his experiences of close personal contact with key figures in the discipline, notably his Pretoria University lecturer, Pieter Johannes (P.J.) Coertze, and his successor and son Roelof (R.D.) Coertze, who supervised van der Waal's M. A. research. As a student in the UP department in the 1960s, van der Waal vividly remembers P. J. Coertze as a grim, conservative and racially prejudiced "man who never smiled".[5] On the other hand, van der Waal explores the

[2] Ibid: 20.
[3] Ibid: 20.
[4] Ibid:17.
[5] Van der Waal, C. S. 2015, "Long Walk from *Volkekunde* to Anthropology: Reflection on Representing the Human in South Africa." *Anthropology Southern Africa* 38(3): 216-234.

origins of his later "dissident tradition". Here he identifies several key figures, including Brian du Toit, Mike de Jongh, Chris de Wet, Thea de Wet, Robert Gordon and Boet Kotzé as a group of *volkekunde* trained scholars who were no longer satisfied with the limiting and deeply conformist nature of the discipline.[6]

In his paper van der Waal highlights the contradictory intellectual orientations of his training ground, UP, and his adopted department from 1982, RAU (Rand-Afrikaans University). He makes note of the vast difference in teaching style, subject matter and interaction between these two *volkekunde* departments. Despite the focused analysis, he encapsulates the development of the dissident trajectory on a broader spectrum. According to van der Waal, Stellenbosch University had a longer history of dissidence than the universities to the north. Initiated in the 1960s under the leadership of Brian du Toit, the Stellenbosch University *Volkekunde* Department slowly became disenchanted with the inward-looking theoretical framework staunchly devoted to Afrikaner-nationalist ideals. He also notes that any form of revolt against the core principles of the *volkekunde* tradition often had major personal repercussions. Van der Waal states: "I speculate that the high price of cognitive reorientation and the breaking of social relations that often accompanied this type of paradigm shift correlated with several cases of depression amongst the dissidents, especially in a period when the conservative paradigm was seldom opposed among Afrikaners."[7]

It is apparent from the above statement that *volkekunde* was much more than just another academic discipline. This "paradigm", the term van der Waal borrows from Thomas Kuhn, encompassed the essence of Afrikaner ideals and principles, and deviation from the discipline had consequences academically, socially and personally.[8] Although written over three decades later, van der Waal brings Sharps' argument full-circle. *Volkekunde* as an operative discipline extended beyond the bounds of the academy. In the early 1980s, Sharp also opened up a discussion surrounding the unspoken complexity that existed within this seemingly hegemonic tradition. This thesis continues to pull at that very thread by tracing the presence of a divergent visual discourse within the *volkekunde* discipline. Using visuality as a framework for my analysis, I attempt to explore the differences in approach towards ethnographic research between the two paradigms both in the classroom and the field. In

[6] Ibid: 229.
[7] Ibid: 230.
[8] See Kuhn, S. 1962.*The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

order to provide a background for this analysis, I will reflect further upon the existing literature on *volkekunde*.

As noted above, John Sharp was the first to offer a comprehensive analysis of the *volkekunde* paradigm. In a short 1980 paper that preceded the published article referred to above, Sharp unpacks burning issues within South African anthropology under apartheid. He begins by making reference to the intense animosity between social anthropologist and *volkekundiges*, the two dominant traditions within South African anthropology during the twentieth century. In order to uncover the roots of the academic hostility between these two traditions, he attempts to understand the theoretical underpinnings of the *volkekunde* paradigm. He notes that according to P. J. Coertzes' 1973 definition, "*Volkekunde* studies people as complex beings as they lead a creative existence, following their nature and character, in changing social-organic entities, called *etniee* (ethnoses), which are in a process of active adaptation to a complex environment existing in space and time"[9]. Here "ethnos theory", as propagated by the Coertzes', can be described as a fixed inborn cultural identity, associated with individuals who were bound by "tribal" identities and organised into "tribal homelands" under apartheid. Across an array of *volkekunde* studies, ethnos as a concept is still considered even when the research explores instances of acculturation. Despite the limitations of the theory, *volkekunde* studies remained undeniably devoted to proving the efficacy of ethnos theory.[10]

Writing within the context of the first open debate between social anthropologist and *volkekundiges*, Sharp stressed the political nature of the *volkekunde* paradigm in general and of ethnos theory in particular. He states that *volkekunde* had its intellectual roots in Germany. Named after the German study *Völkerkunde*, the *volkekunde* paradigm was far more than just a branch of American cultural anthropology. According to Sharp, the sources of the key concept of ethnos theory could be found in the work of pro-nationalist German and Russian anthropologists of the inter-war period such as Muhlmann (1938, 1948) and the Russian Shirokogoroff (1924).[11] Sharp claims that: "It is Muhlmann's earlier work, written at the height of Nazi power and pretensions, that enjoys greater currency; little cognizance is taken of what seems to me a subtle, but no doubt strategic, shift emphasis in Muhlmann's later work…" The work Sharp refers to here, calls for a return to the study of *volkekundes'*

[9]Sharp, J.S. 1980. "Two separate developments: anthropology in South Africa." *RAIN* 36(1): 4.
[10] Ibid, 4.
[11] ibid: 5.

German heritage. In his analysis he states "… Herder, the Romantics… the theory of national characters and its latest manifestations in Bastian's *volke*-ideas... consciously gave *Völkerkunde* the task of once more becoming the science of the *volk* (ethnos) (Muhlmann, 1938, 227)"[12]. Here the origins of the nationalistic ideals of the *volkekunde* tradition are traced back to the pro-Nazi ethnologist Muhlmann. This helps to explain why v*olkekunde* was as much concerned with Afrikaner nation-building as it was with the ethnographic classification of African "tribes" and "races".

The German roots of the *volkekunde* tradition contributed to the foundational pillars on which the paradigm rested. Firstly, the most apparent of these is the manner in which the paradigm could be mobilised to support nation-building efforts. Most notably, this can be seen in the overtly political nature of *volkekunde* and its core concept, ethnos theory. The political nature embedded in ethnos theory gained currency and longevity in the *volkekunde* paradigm. Sharp mentions that the concept flourished is Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union.[13]The connections between these regions confirm the politics of authoritarianism associated with the theory. In the instance of South Africa, this is revealed through the close connections between the segregationist state and the Afrikaans academy. According to Sharp, "in this respect they have an important function as agents of socialisation justifying, rather than initiating, developments in the policy of Apartheid and the homeland system."[14]Ascribing to this approach, ethnos theory was a strategy to retain power and exercise governance: it was a form of power that not only benefitted the Afrikaner nation, but the white ruling class as a collective.

When considering the maintenance involved in upholding segregationist policy and white supremacy, Robert Gordon offers us insight into the systemic nature of the *volkekunde* paradigm. In his 1998 article, "Apartheid's Anthropologists: The Genealogy of Afrikaner Anthropology", Gordon not only constructs a genealogical narrative of the discipline, he provides the first broad account of the rise and expansion of the *volkekunde* tradition.[15] Employing a Foucauldian, post-structuralist theoretical framework, Gordon steers away from solely focussing on the individual. His approach sees individuals as being part of a larger operative system. Gordon offers a closer analysis of the extent to which state and secret

[12] Sharp, J.S. 1980. "Two separate developments: anthropology in South Africa." *RAIN* 36(1): 5.
[13] Ibid:5.
[14] Ibid:5.
[15] Gordon, R. 1998. "Apartheid's anthropologists: The Genealogy of Afrikaner Anthropology." *American Ethnologist*, 15(3):534.

organisations, notably the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs (SABRA) and the *Afrikaner Broederbond* (AB) influenced the trajectory of the *volkekunde* and the apartheid-state.[16]

Through engaging with the *volkekunde* paradigm as a form of knowledge and power, Gordon explores its distinctive profile. He describes it in Foucauldian terms as a "discursive formation". He proposes that *volkekunde* should be analysed as "a system of regular dispersion of statements, rather than as a narrowly and falsely limited expression in terms of particular objects, styles or concepts, arbitrarily restricted to 'academic' journals."[17] Apparent in Gordon's approach is the overarching notion that *volkekunde* formed part of the fabric of a segregated nation. In expanding upon his analysis of the political nature of *volkekunde,* Gordon later traced the life histories and ethnographic careers of two individual *volkekundiges* who became prominent Afrikaner intellectuals: P.J. Schoeman and J. P. Bruwer.[18] Using Collins' theory of 'Interaction Ritual Chains', Gordon argues that organisations such as the *Afrikaner Broederbond* and SABRA influenced Bruwers' perception as well as his findings.[19]

As mentioned earlier, the legacy of German romanticism formed a fundamental pillars of the *volkekunde* paradigm. Apart from the fact that *volkekunde* could be employed as a tool for nation-building efforts, the second influential aspect that the German Romanticism school of thought had instilled in the *volkekunde* paradigm was its linguistic orientation. *Volkekunde* was undeniably branded by its dedication to linguistic and philological discourses. In the simplest terms, language was seen in this tradition of "Afrikanistik" as the fundamental manifestation of culture and cultural essence. In her seminal book *Africa in Translation: A History of Colonial Linguistics in Germany and Beyond, 1814-1945,* published in 2012, Sarah Pugach explores connections between German linguists and a group of budding Afrikaner ethnologist who were trained in Hamburg in the early twentieth century. In the effort of tracing this interrelated history, Pugach records the legacy of the study of African

[16] Ibid:537.
[17] Ibid: 537.
[18] Gordon, R. 2018. "How Good People Become Absurd: JP van S. Bruwer, the Making of Namibian Grand Apartheid and the Decline of *Volkekunde*". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 44(1): 97-113.; Gordon, R. 2007. "Tracks which cannot be covered': P.J. Schoeman and Public Intellectuals in Southern Africa".*Historia,*52(1):98-126.
[19] Ibid.

languages in Germany, and more specifically the field later known as *Afrikanistik*.[20] *Afrikanistik* was made up of an academic collective including missionaries, linguists and language enthusiasts who worked to classify, codify and quantify African languages. She eloquently constructs a narrative that explores its development, starting with the pre-institutionalisation period on the mission field in the late nineteenth century and extending to its twentieth century context in the burgeoning metropolitan academic sector and thereafter its presence in Germany's colonies and beyond.[21]

Pugach identifies celebrated linguist Karl Meinhof as the academic source from which the leading Afrikaner ethnologists of interwar South Africa, including Nicolaas Jacobus van Warmelo, the focus in chapter one, received their training. In adoring tributes written after Meinhof's passing, formers students and followers acclaimed him for the influence he had on the theorisation of African languages. A tribute written by the South African and then UCT-based disciple, linguist G. P. Lestrade commended Meinhof for his work as a "teacher or guide of others interested in African languages and allied subjects."[22].Lestrade went further and praised Meinhof for mentoring "a school of followers", both in Hamburg and different geographical locations, devoted to the "quest for knowledge of the African and his tongue."[23] According to Pugach, as a descendant from a long line of pastors, Meinhof's thoughts were shaped within a world where the missionary was central. Trained and theorising in a context obsessed with identifying markers that unified the German nation, Meinhof's linguistic orientation went beyond personal interest and inquiry.[24]

By tracing the academic lineage of the key figures responsible for the establishment of the *volkekunde* paradigm*,* Pugach succeeds in identifying the extent to which the German legacy of paternalism, Christian nationalism, race and philology came to be entrenched in *volkekunde* theory, pedagogy and practice. In her book she reveals the ways in which the field of *Afrikanistik* was beneficial for German colonial exploits. Similarly, it has been argued that *volkekunde* was a tool that benefitted South African colonialism in South Africa (see chapter 1). For Sharp, however, South African anthropology as a collective had to be held responsible for the justification of colonialism. He claims that social anthropologists from the

[20] Pugach, Sara. 2019.*Africa in Translation: A History of Colonial Linguistics in Germany and Beyond, 1814-1945.* Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
[21] Ibid: 2.
[22] ibid: 1.
[23] Ibid: 1.
[24] Ibid: 4.

then English-medium institutions were not exempt from his critique, as they too benefitted from the segregationist nature of South African anthropology and the apartheid state.[25] Further expanding upon his 1980 paper and informed by a Marxist paradigm, he initiates his analysis by critiquing the anthropological academy as a collective. Sharp questions the prevailing assumption that research conducted by social anthropologists was in some way beneficial to any other group beside the ruling class. In essence, Sharp insists that social anthropology, alongside *volkekunde,* needed to be held accountable for the political consequences of its inquiry. Furthermore, he goes into greater detail into the possible reasons for the division in South African anthropology. By the late 1970s, social anthropologists were oblivious to the work being conducted at Afrikaans-medium universities, ethnic universities and state institutions. Sharps notes that "there are three main reasons for this which include; a lack of academic exchange and contact between Afrikaans and English academics, differences in language medium, and the fact that…work in *volkekunde* was unpublished."[26]

Along with these reasons, the division between social anthropology and *volkekunde* ran far deeper. For Sharp, there was a prevailing sense of indifference and general lack of interest from the side of the social anthropologists. In what he describes as "professional apathy", he critiques social anthropologists' stance of purposely avoiding any forms of critical engagement with *volkekunde* practitioners. He claims that "social anthropologists… have also often contrived to believe that their own reputations will be tarnished by their presence in South Africa or by association with *volkekunde,* because of their sustained contact with prestigious institutions and colleges elsewhere, chiefly in Britain and America."[27] As noted earlier, this sense of morality was, however, disturbed by the 1960s and 1970s, when the discipline was forced to reconfigure itself in order to guarantee academic longevity.
Prior to the spread of the discipline, South African anthropology operated as more of a collective, generating knowledge on the African 'native' population. In terms of understanding the orientation of the *volkekunde* paradigm, Sharp explains that:

> South African *volkekunde* deals in more than descriptive ethnography; it assigns an overwhelming explanatory power to the phenomenon of ethnicity, which it conceives in the narrowest, most rigid terms possible. Ethnos theory starts with the proposition that mankind is divided into *volke* (nations, peoples) and that each *volk* has its own

[25]Sharp, J.S. 1980. "Two separate developments: anthropology in South Africa." *RAIN* 36(1):5.
[26] Sharp, J.S. "The Roots and Development of *Volkekunde* in South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 8(1) (1981):16-36.
[27] Ibid.

> particular culture, which may change, but always remains authentic to the group in question. The entity comprising a group and its culture is an ethnos which, viewed over time and in relation to its physical and social environment, forms a life-process within which individuals exist.[28]

Ethnos theory proposes that an individual is born into and socialised within a particular *volk* (culture). Through this process the individual acquires and a *volkspersoonlikheid* (a cultural personality). The individual's actions and behaviours are therefore directly influenced by the social context of their ethnos membership.[29]

In the late 2000s there was a shift in the historiographical focus in the literature on *volkekunde*. Where the late twentieth century literature was deeply vested in locating the origins of the discipline and its operative system, twenty-first century perspectives shed greater light on public *volkekundiges* and *volksdiens* (civil service).[30] In the work of Andrew Bank, C.S. (Kees) van der Waal, Saul Dubow and others there is a focus on the extent to which white supremacy and race science was embedded in the *volkekunde* paradigm. In a series of essays, Bank argues that the *volkekunde* tradition established by the later 'architect of apartheid', Werner Eiselen, was a radically different enterprise from that of the functionalist, fieldwork-driven social anthropology, right from the time of the former's establishment at Stellenbosch University in 1926.[31] Here Bank challenges Sharp's 1982 argument that highlights the similarity between *volkekunde* and social anthropology. After Eiselen left Stellenbosch University in 1936, a bond had been forged between *volkekunde*, *volksdiens* (civil service) and politics. The work of this 'founding father' was continued by his leading students Pieter Johannes Coertze and Pieter Johannes Schoeman, who succeeded him as heads of department in *volkekunde* at Stellenbosch University.

Returning back from Hamburg, the Meinhof trained Eiselen trained the first generation of young Afrikaner ethnologists. Eiselen laid the groundwork for the tradition and formed the

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[28]Ibid:20.
[29] Ibid:20.
[30] It should be noted that John Sharps' 1981 paper, *the roots and development of Volkekunde in South Africa,* had intuited the discussions and research concerning individual contribution to *volkekunde* and Afrikaner nationalism.
[31] Bank, A. 2015. "The Berlin Mission Society and German Linguistic Roots of *Volkekunde*: The Background, Training and Hamburg Writings of Werner Eiselen, 1899-1924". *Kronos*,41(1): 166-197; Bank, A. 2015."Fathering *Volkekunde*: Race and Culture in Ethnological Writings of Werner Eiselen, Stellenbosch University, 1926-1936". *Anthropology Southern Africa,* 38(3-4):163-79; Bank, A.2015 "Broederbande [Brotherly Bonds]: Afrikaner Nationalist Masculinity and African Sexuality in the Writings of Werner Eiselen's Students, Stellenbosch University, 1930-1936", Anthropology Southern Africa. 38, (3-4):180-97; van der Waal, C.S. 2015. "Long Walk from *Volkekunde* to Social Anthropology". *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 38(3-4).

"Stellenbosch School of ethnology". According to Bank, the core features of this mainstream *volkekunde* tradition included the "dominance of male scholars, the lack of a tradition of extended and immersed fieldwork involving participant observation, a preoccupation with surface descriptions rather than deeper sociological analysis and, above all, an underlying orientation towards classification informed by concepts of racial difference and cultural essence…"[32]In addition to the emphasis placed on racial classification, sexual characteristics and "tribe", language was deemed as the 'soul' of culture. In keeping with their focus on racial, ethnic and "tribal" categorisation, *volkekunde* developed a close relationship with the Stellenbosch University ethnographic museum, one which offered a space to display artefacts gathered in the field.[33]

One aspect that most historiographical accounts of the *volkekunde* paradigm do not fully explore is the underlying current of race science in the *volkekunde* paradigm. Initiated in the work of Saul Dubow, and later explored and expanded upon in the doctoral dissertation of Handri Walters, we are made aware of the extent to which the study of biological race was embedded in *volkekunde*. Dubow's 2015 paper, "Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy in High Apartheid" builds upon his earlier research in the field of race science and physical anthropology.[34] It focuses on the popularity of race and genetic science in the post-Sharpeville apartheid era. For Dubow this moment of high-apartheid was marked by a revival of explicit "hyper-racism." Although this paper explores the career of J. D. J. Hofmeyr, a plant geneticist based at Pretoria University, Dubow looks at the ways in which the biological reasoning for race variations was picked up by leading *volkekundiges* like P.J. Coertze. According to Dubow, "the science of race that emerged in the 1960s was, on the one hand, directed outwards in order to position South Africa as part of the defence of Western civilisation … On the other, it was intended to reassure apartheid's supporters that the Bantustan policy of the ethnic self-determinations could be justified in biological as well as cultural terms."[35]

[32] Bank, A.2015, "Fathering *Volkekunde*: Race and Culture in the Ethnological Writings of Werner Eiselen, Stellenbosch University, 1926-1936" .*Anthropology Southern Africa.* 38(3-4):163-1790
[33] Van der Waal, C. S. 2015."Long Walk from *Volkekunde* to Anthropology: Reflections on Representing the Human in South Africa." *Anthropology Southern*. Africa 38(3-4):216-234.
[34] See Dubow, S. 1995. *Illicit Union: Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
[35] Dubow, S.2015. "Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy in High-Apartheid South Africa". *Kronos* 41(1): 238.

Dubow stresses the distinction between *volkekunde* of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s and the *volkekunde* of the high apartheid era, between 1960-1980. Mirroring the development of the apartheid states approach and the *volkekunde* tradition's orientation, Dubow claims that Christian-nationalist ideologies underpinned the origins of apartheid theory during the 1930s and 1940s.[36] These ideological grounds formed the base on which Hendrik Verwoerd and Werner Eiselen constructed their segregationist policies. Despite the dependence on Christian-nationalist ideas during what Dubow describes as the age of the 'dominee', hierarchical notions of race remained deeply rooted. According to Dubow:

> Verwoerd's strong support of anti-Semitism in the 1930s, and the overweening arrogance and paternalism with which he treated blacks and racially intermixed 'coloureds' as the master builder of apartheid in the 1950s and 1960s cannot be denied. His blunt refusal to accept blacks as political citizens and as thinking individuals, rather than representatives of government–defined 'groups', relied heavily on racial and ethnic stereotyping. So too did the system of 'Bantu' education, which he did much to devise and implement.[37]

Verwoerd's hierarchical ideologies of race, which placed the 'white man' at the pinnacle, were deeply engrained in his thought and manifested itself in his policies. As noted by Dubow, although race science may have been renounced in theory prior to the theoretical shift of the 1960s, it was still alive and well in a new form.

After Christian-nationalist theory became an inadequate justification for apartheid, the apartheid state moved away from the propaganda of Afrikaner nation-building to purporting notions of white preservation and survival. Using the Sharpeville massacre to mark the turning point in the apartheid state's approach, Dubow attempts to use this shift as a guide to explore the extent to which the change in the state's operations affected *volkekunde* practice and pedagogy. According to Dubow, P.J. Coertze's views were influenced by his Pretoria University colleague, the plant biologist J. D. J. Hofmeyr ,despite the fact that Coertze remained the more prominent figure. As Coertze held sway in academic circles, this resulted in race science forming a major part of *volkekunde* education.

When considering the emerging literature that explores the bond between race science, *volksdiens* (civil service) and *volkekunde,* we can take a look at work of Handri Walters. In

[36]Ibid. 292.
[37]Ibid: 244.

her PhD dissertation, Walters explores the connection between race science, *volkekunde* and Afrikaner nation-building at Stellenbosch University. Birthed out of the controversy surrounding the rediscovery of a collection of 'scientific' objects used for the study of racial variations, her dissertation grapples with issues regarding the presence of these objects in the contemporary moment. One of the strengths of her analysis is the manner in which her work opens up debates surrounding the processes of reformation and metamorphosis of Stellenbosch University from a dark racialised past.

The discovered scientific objects were used for the purpose of teaching racial classification at Stellenbosch University from 1925 right through to1984.[38] Walters's analysis highlights the ways in which Stellenbosch academics of the twentieth century used eugenics to connect white South Africans to their European counterparts. She argues that although the objects fell into obscurity, the repercussions of race science long outlived the discipline itself.[39] Expanding upon this work, Walters is currently exploring the influence of the social and political context in the formative years of race science at Stellenbosch University. Interestingly, this research shows how racial typology and anthropometric studies were used as a tool for the white settler populations to prove their European identity in the early 1920s.[40]

Part II: Fieldwork Photography of Individual Ethnographers in Southern Africa, c 1920- 1950

From the late 1990s there had been an upsurge in interest in the use of photography in fieldwork and anthropological practice, particularly in the 1930s. Described as "The Golden Age of South African Ethnography", this era was marked by the extensive use of visuals by ethnographers as well as in-depth monographs.[41] The majority of the literature on this period

[38] Walters, H. 2018."Tracing Objects of Measurement: Locating Intersections of Race, Science and Politics at Stellenbosch University." (PhD Thesis ,University of Stellenbosch)
[39]Ibid.
[40] Walters, H. 2018. "Eugenic Science and Nationalist Ideals: Imagining the Afrikaner Nation in 1920s South Africa" (11 October 2018, Stellenbosch).
[41] See Hammond-Tooke, W.D.1997. *Imperfect Interpreters: South Africa's Anthropologists, 1920-1990*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

in South African anthropology has been related to focusing on the individual and the specific archives dedicated to their fieldwork. This biographical slant emphasises the ethnographer's orientation and how it affects the way in which they use visuals.

It should be noted that I choose to use the term visuality instead of photography in order to extend my engagement and allow for a broader conceptual understanding of the contextual setting, composition, aesthetic appeal and perception of a photograph or illustration. In *Picturing Bushmen The Denver African Expedition of 1925* (1997), Robert Gordon discusses the aforementioned aspects in great detail.[42] His book offers a richly detailed historical account of the 1925-26 Denver African Expedition. This expedition set out to find what was said to be "the most primitive human population", or the "missing link" among the Heikom "bushmen" of the Kalahari. In his analysis of the widely circulated photographs that emerged from the expedition, Gordon sought to situate this type of photography within a broader discussion of anthropological photography and its relation to authenticity, evidence and aesthetic appeal. [43] For Gordon one of the greatest consequences of the Denver Expedition was its contribution to the romanticised image of the passive and simple 'bushmen'. His book looks at the way in which the exhibition photographer imagined, visualised and produced the image of the other, in this particular case the prevailing image of the innocent "bushmen" for an intended middle-class American audience.[44]

Gordon identities colonialism as the context, or social arrangement of the image. Without the authority of the South African and Namibian settler populations, the 1925 expedition would not have been possible. According to Gordon, the contextual setting had visual implications as the photographs reflect the paternalistic nature of colonialism. When considering the composition of the Denver Expedition photographs, Gordon claims that Paul Hoefler, the photo-journalist who was the expedition's main photographer, choreographed his subjects poses in order to invent an idealised image of the 'bushmen'. Gordon argues that these composed images should be read as an attempt to evoke notions of a perceived truth and authenticity.[45] These arguments are directly applicable to the staged images of South African "tribes", primarily of the " Zulu", that N.J. van Warmelo invented in the late 1930s, as we shall see in chapter 1.

[42] Gordon, R. 1997, *Picturing Bushmen: The Denver African Expedition of 1925*.Ohio: Ohio University Press.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.

Gordon argues that the Denver African Expedition photographs were constructed with pre-existing notions of who the intended audience was. This subsequently clouded the photographers' perception, as the captured images are consciously framed and captioned in order to meet the expectations of an anticipated audience. When thinking about the concept of framing, there are three features mentioned by Gordon. The first is the *context* in which a photograph is presented. Throughout the expedition Hoefler had his American middle-class audience in mind. With an imagined arena of presentation set in place, the photographs are shaped, framed and moulded accordingly.[46] The second refers to the broader *visual setting* in which the images are captured. If a photographer wishes to foreground specific aspects, and image is strategically altered by cropping unwanted elements out of the frame.[47]The last and most important aspect of framing refers to *captions*. Many of Hoefler's captions read like titles of silent movies from the early twentieth century. These suggest the influence of Hoefler's previous experience in film making. Gordon notes that captions have suggestive qualities and influence the way in which images are read. Hoefler's captions were often anonymous. They centralised the iconic symbol instead of the autonomous individual. Furthermore, the captions are gendered. As found in western photographic tropes of the early twentieth century, photographed men are described as athletic, whereas women are described using sexual themes. He recall the photographs of African women as "eroticised images in order to appeal to bourgeois ideals of aesthetic desire."[48]

In light of the importance of the contextual setting, composition and perception, my preliminary engagement with visual expressions in *volkekunde* has identified two distinctive modes in which visuality was implemented. The one mode relates to mainstream *volkekunde*. Here visuals were largely used for the purpose of colonial control, "tribal" classification, ethnographic distance, proof of cultural difference and governance. The second mode is characterised by a wave of intellectual, political and social dissidence against the conservative confines of this mainstream *volkekunde* paradigm. Photographic expressions from this branch of *volkekunde* commonly explore aspects that present the repercussions of apartheid policies and separate development as well as an experimental use of photography.

[46] Ibid:52.
[47] Ibid:66.
[48] Ibid:69.

The literature on the colonial gaze and the ways in which visuality was used in colonial spaces as a mechanism of control speaks directly to the visual themes in early Afrikaner ethnology. In the essay "Northern Exposures: The Photography of CHL Hahn, Native Commissioner of Ovamboland, 1915-1946" Patricia Hayes explores the South African colonial project through encounters with an ethnographic photographic archive. Despite the deep-seated cracks in its foundation, the colonial state attempted to project a sense of infallibility.[49] The 'images of control' produced through Hahn's ethnographic photography served the purpose of establishing and justifying colonial presence and rule of native' populations. Hayes argues that one of the characteristics of colonial photography is the triumphant portrayal of colonial victory over existing African societies, often depicted in trophy shots. Furthermore, colonial ethnographic photography sought to concretise notions of "authentic" African groups and their traditional practices.[50] By strategically planning visits in accordance with traditional ceremonies and instructing 'native' groups to perform dances, colonial officials aimed to perpetuate notions of African 'traditions' free from the complexities of modern life.[51] Again, her argument concerning colonial construction of "tribe" and "governance" are of direct relevance to the photographs of mainstream *volkekundige,* N.J. van Warmelo (see chapter 1), particularly since his photography extended into South West Africa during his state funded expeditions in 1946-1947 as well as 1954.

In reference to dissident *volkekundiges,* the literature on social anthropology and its use of photography and visual materials is directly relevant. Even though the majority of this literature deals with fieldwork photographs from the 1930s, the years in which some of the most intensive ethnographic expeditions were being undertaken, this work speaks directly to the fieldwork-centred approach adopted by the two dissident *volkekundiges* whose photographic work is analysed in chapter 2: Frans Hendrik Boot and Cornelis Seakle (Kees) van der Waal. In their use of fieldwork photography and diagrams, including maps and illustrations, social anthropologists sought to diminish ethnographic distance in the field. Similarly, I will argue that the two dissident *volkekundiges* used visuality as an attempt to evoke a form of intimate engagement in the field. When thinking about the move towards a more empathetic approach in the field, the photographic collection of Isaac Schapera comes to mind. In their introduction to *The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera* (2007), John L.

[49] Hayes, P. 1998. "Northern exposures: The photography of CHL Hahn, native Commissioner of Ovamboland, 1915–1946". *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History*, 171-87.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.

and Jeans Comaroff reveal the creative ability of Isaac Schapera as a photographer. His photographs, of which the majority date back to the years between 1929-1936, reveal an emotional investment in people's lived experiences as well as the aesthetic impulse of the photographer. For Schapera, the greatest truth was to be uncovered in the mundane. Unlike the posed, romanticised and iconic images of Paul Hoefler, his photographs sought to present remanences of life.[52] I will make a comparable argument for the more aesthetic photographs of Frans Hendrik Boot.

The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera was the most systematic attempt to relate the individual's personal orientation to the photographs they produced. Comaroff, Comaroff and James showcase the sophistication of Schapera's methods of fieldwork photography. Schapera was not only a meticulous ethnographer, he was a skilled photographer as well. He was concerned with methodically documenting detail in a way that matched his systematic fieldnotes. The Comaroff's claim that Schapera transformed the camera into a "visual notebook". Schapera's tendency to record everyday-life events made for a complex reading of Tswana society. Furthermore, as in the case of the dissident *volkekundiges* my research focusses on, Schapera took great pleasure in the photographic process, as well the photographs that emerged from his research. Schapera surrounded himself with these photographs, sharing them with colleagues and friends, and even making a few available for public consumption. Using Schapera's "picture making process"[53] as a framework to broaden the discussion on the potency of visuality in the field, makes space for rethinking the relationship between the photographer and the photographed, and even the ethnographer and their research subjects.

As part of the move towards foregrounding the individual alongside their fieldwork photographs, Marijke du Toit explores Ellen Hellmann's use of photograph and the manner in which she represent African women within the visual economy of the 1930s. According to du Toit, Hellmann's "*Rooiyard: A Sociological Study of an Urban Native Slum Yard*" is largely celebrated for its prolific detail and insight into the lived experiences of African families in urbanised spaces and the struggles associated with surviving in the urban space.[54]

[52] Comaroff, J. L., Comaroff, J and James, D.2007. *Picturing a Colonial Past: The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Du Toit, M. 2005. "The General View and Beyond: From Slum- yard to Township in Ellen Hellmann's Photographs of Women and the African Familial in the 1930s." *Gender & History* 17(3):593-626.

Du Toit attempts to engage not only with the photographs themselves, but with the "white-imagined" audience at which Hellmann's study was targeted. Additionally, du Toit argues that Hellmann's Rooiyard photographs destabilise the narrow view of African people that often manifested in images of "tribal" aesthetics. The author suggests that "this departure was closely linked to her [Hellmann's]documentary intent – to how she, as a social anthropologist, mobilised the photograph's indexicality – that is, the idea of the photograph as chemical trace, 'a physical, material emanation of a past reality'."[55] Du Toit has a strong interest in foregrounding the author's intent. Hellmann never discussed her use of the camera in her research, but in order to uncover her intent, du Toit explores Hellman's archive in relation to Hellmann's published text.[56] Similarly, in my research I use accompanying texts to assist in understanding the photographer's intentions in both the mainstream and dissident traditions (van Warmelo, Boot and van der Waal).

When considering the composition and interpretation of anthropological photographs, Patricia Davison and George Mahashe propose that the intellectual training and orientation of the photographer-ethnographer remains evident in the types of images they capture. In 'Visualising the Realm of the Rain Queen', Davison and Mahashe discuss the life of the Eileen and Jack Krige photographic archive. The authors argue that the transfiguration of photographs from the private to public domains affects the interpretative quality of the image. In broad terms, the Kriges' collection give us insight into the role of photographic practice in social anthropology during the developmental stages of the discipline. More closely, their paper intends to show how a very diverse collection of fieldwork photograph's taken in 1935-1936 were arranged into a visual narrative in their famous functionalist monograph of 1943, *The Realm of the Rain-Queen*, with illustrations to depict each of the inter-related cultural elements in a complex social system.[57]

Rui Assubuji's 2010 MA thesis offers a balance between close photographic engagement and historical analysis. Assubuji explores the anthropological fieldwork photography of Monica Hunter Wilson in Pondoland in 1931 and 1932, and her and her husband Godfrey Wilson's photography in BunNyakyusa in south-west Tanganyika from 1935 to 1938. Using the

[55] Ibid: 596.
[56] Ibid: 598.
[57] Davison, P., and Mahashe, G. 2010"Visualizing the Realm of a Rain Queen: The Production and Circulation of Eileen and Jack Krige's Fieldwork Photographs from the 1930s" *Kronos, Special Issue: Documentary Photography in South Africa*.38(1):80.

images as historical documents contributes to the richness of his study. By employing his skills as a professional photographer, he reads the photographs in a way that propels them beyond the status of mere ethnographic pieces of evidence.[58] To Assubuji, the photographs are not merely accompanying evidence, they are essential pieces of ethnographic documentation. The photographic depictions of people, the landscape and rituals are there to display a world to an outside audience. The reader therefore is not only guided through a textual encounter, but through a visual encounter as well. In a recent seminar paper, Assubuji contrasted the unnamed subjects in the portrait photography of Monica Hunter in Pondoland with the named and more intimate portraits she took in Bunyakusa years later. He relates this greater sense of intimacy in the second context to the nature of their work and the closer relationships they had established with individuals in the field.[59]

Despite the absence of literature focusing on visuality in the *volkekunde* paradigm, the literature on social anthropology and colonial photography offers a framework through which to discuss and analyse the variety of features embedded within the mainstream and dissident *volkekunde* visual discourses. Using this existing literature as a lens through which to trace transformation within the discipline opens up new and innovative ways of engaging with the issues surrounding ethnographic photography and visuality in anthropology. Furthermore, this literature offers conceptual tools that can be used to understand the relationship between visuality and anthropology, and through close engagement it is apparent that a critical discussion on the issue of visuality in *volkekunde* is worthwhile.

In chapter one of this thesis I explore the emergence of the mainstream Afrikaner ethnological tradition. In doing so I trace the extent to which the tradition went beyond the bounds of the academy. By focusing on the career biography of the prominent Afrikaner state ethnologist, Nicolaas Jacobus van Warmelo (1910-1989), we are not only given insight in to the emergence, establishment and proliferation of the *volkekunde* tradition, we are also able to explore the links between the Afrikaans academy and the state. Here I explore, for the first time, the extensive van Warmelo photographic archive digitised by the University of Johannesburg. This reveals the two key visual tropes in *volkekunde* practice, namely the display of "tribal" categories and colonial governance. In the second chapter of thesis, I

[58] Assubuji, R.2010. "Anthropological and Fieldwork Photography: Monica Hunter Wilsons In Pondoland and BunNyakyusa, 1931-1938". (MA Thesis ,University the Western Cape, 2010)
[59] Assubuji, R.2019. "Reflections on Wilson Photographs", (Seminar Paper presented at the Colonialism Photography and Visual Arts Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand)

explore the career biographies and photography of two dissident *volkekundiges*, namely Frans Hendrik Boot (1939-2010)and C.S. Kees van der Waal. Their careers offer us insight into the manner in which a presumed hegemonic tradition was challenged from within, primarily or partly through their use of photography.

Chapter One: The Visual Culture of Mainstream *Volkekunde*: "Tribe" and Governance in the Photography of N. J. van Warmelo, 1930-1960

V*olkekunde* was profoundly influenced by the political climate of its time. Accounts that explore the history of *volkekunde* rarely focus on the links between the *volkekunde* tradition and twentieth century segregationist politics, which later became the basis for the apartheid state. In contributing to the existing literature on *volkekunde*, this chapter seeks to focus on the connection between the state and Afrikaner ethnology by tracing the career narrative and visual representations of the segregationist government and later apartheid state ethnologist, Nicolaas Jacobus van Warmelo (1904-1989).

Figure 1.1: Dr Nicolaas Jacobus van Warmelo, c. 1975.

Van Warmelo's career as the full-time state ethnologist in the Native Affairs Department (NAD) spanned 1930 to 1969.[60] His department had been established in 1925. From its inception the research section of the NAD consisted of two separate entities. The one sector ensured the collection of data by trained ethnologists; the other the compilation and classification of existing ethnographic material. The department also established a section that would provide lectures and training for state ethnologists and officers in the Department of Native Affairs.[61] Long after retiring from his full-time position in 1969, van Warmelo continued to work in the Department of Native Affairs on a temporary basis. He went on to pursue his research interests until the day he died on 6 June 1989, leaving many unfinished research projects behind.[62]

A Contested Legacy

Reflecting upon the existing literature on van Warmelo's legacy, it is apparent that he is a contested figure in the historiography of South African anthropology. In one of the earliest accounts on van Warmelo, Roelof Coertze, the son and intellectual heir of Pieter Johannes Coertze, describes van Warmelo as one of the central figures in the *volkekunde* tradition. Lamenting his death, Coertze indicates that van Warmelo's many ethnographies and research projects contributed to state knowledge, which manifested in policies that dictated the ways

[60] Hammond-Tooke, W.D.1997. *Imperfect Interpreters: South Africa's Anthropologists, 1920-1990*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
[61] Rizzo, L. 2000. "NJ van Warmelo: Anthropology and the Making of a Reserve. in G. Miescher and D. Henrichsen (eds), *New Notes on Kaoko: The Northern Kunene Region (Namibia) in Texts and Photographs*. Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien: 189- 206.
[62] The N. J. van Warmelo Collection Inventory.(University of Johannesburg)

in which "native tribes" were governed and regulated.[63] By contrast, in chapter 5 of *Imperfect Interpreters* (1997) 'On Van Warmelo and the Ethnological Section', William David Hammond-Tooke presents van Warmelo as an ethnographer completely separate from the *volkekunde* tradition. He portrays van Warmelo as a loner driven by curiosity.[64] More recently, Peter Lekgoathi recasts van Warmelo as an energetic and dynamic producer of African knowledge. Lekgoathi discusses manuscripts written by African informants as evidence of van Warmelo's interest in foregrounding African oral traditions.[65]

In keeping with Coertzes' image of him, but from a critical perspective, Lorena Rizzo (2000) and Sarah Pugach (2009) track his intellectual genealogy and closely associates with the segregationist state and the Afrikaans academy's bid to classify and cement African "tribal" identities. Rizzo argues that van Warmelo was a government classifier of a rather rigid type, a man responsible for fixing stereotypical notions of "tribe" and race.[66] She questions the lack of scholarship analysing the Department of Native Affairs' contributions to the making of apartheid policies. Rizzo argues that the "neglect of van Warmelo as an ethnologist or even a scientist" can be attributed to the fact that the ethnographic research done by the Department of Native Affairs has been underexamined. She argues that this lack of analysis results in van Warmelo evading any form of scrutiny, as he has not been aligned directly with the *volkekunde* tradition.[67]

In her seminal article "Carl Meinhof and the German influence on Nicolaas van Warmelo's ethnological and linguistic writing, 1927–1935" (2004) and her subsequent book*, Africa in Translation: A History of Colonial Linguistics in Germany and Beyond, 1814-1945* (2012)*,* Sara Pugach explores the close connections between the racist, German nationalist linguist Carl Meinhof and van Warmelo, one of his numerous prized South African students, who became influential pro-segregationist social scientists after studying under him in Hamburg.[68] Understanding the ideological connections between Meinhof and van Warmelo marked a watershed as it places van Warmelo within the mainstream *volkekunde* tradition, that had its

[63] Coertze, R. D. 1989." NJ van Warmelo 1904-1989". *South African Journal of Ethnology*, *12*(3): 85-90.
[64] Hammond- Tooke, W. D. 1995. NJ Van Warmelo and The Ethnological section a Memoir. *African Studies,* 54(1):119-128.
[65] Lekgoathi, S. P. 2009. "Colonial' Experts, Local Interlocutors, Informants and the Making of an Archive on the 'Transvaal Ndebele, 1930–1989". *The Journal of African History*, *50*(1):61-80.
[66] Rizzo, L. 2000. "NJ van Warmelo: Anthropology and the Making of a Reserve.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Pugach, S. 2004. "Carl Meinhof and the German influence on Nicholas van Warmelo's ethnological and linguistic writing, 1927–1935." *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 30(4):825-845

intellectual and political roots in German cultural nationalism and racism in the age of the empire.[69]

Like Willi Werner Eiselen and Jan Antonie Engelbrech, the co-founders of the *Volkekunde* Department at Stellenbosch University in 1926-27, van Warmelo was trained in a linguistic paradigm that promoted a bounded and hierarchical understanding of language, culture and race. Tasked with the responsibility of mapping Southern African "tribes", the majority of van Warmelo's photographs display cultural types premised upon the core *volkekunde* concept of ethnos. Ethnos theory, as discussed by John Sharp ,was the underlying racial ideology that informed the development of *volkekunde* theory and apartheid state politics.[70] According to its basic premise, a person lived out their existence within the bounded confines of their cultural or "tribal" background. South African society was then seen to be comprised of discrete ethnoses, with each individual subjected to the ethnos into which they were born.[71]

From Budding Linguist to State Ethnologist, 1904-1920

Given the importance of the racialised German linguistic tradition in his thinking, it is necessary to devote some space to the consideration of his linguistic training in Germany in relation to his early career as government ethnologist in South African. Here I follow closely the pioneering analysis of Sara Pugach in *Africa in Translation.*

Nicolaas Jacobus van Warmelo, the only child of Willem van Warmelo, was born on 28 January 1904 in Pretoria. Described as a "linguist turned anthropologist", he displayed a great proficiency in language acquisition from a very early age. He matriculated in 1921 at *Hoërskool Oosteind* and commenced his studies at Stellenbosch University the following year. He obtained a B.A. and then an M.A. in Classical Languages (cum laude) in 1924.[72] His linguistic gifts are catalogued by his *volkekunde* peers. Roelof Coertze claims that van

[69] See. Pugach, S. 2012.Africa in Translation: A History of Colonial Linguistics in Germany and Beyond, 1814-1945. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
[70] Sharp, J.S. "The Roots and Development of *Volkekunde* in South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 8(1) (1981).
[71] Coertze, P.J.[et al]. 1960. *Inleiding tot die Algemene Volkekunde*. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers
[72] The N. J. van Warmelo Collection Inventory.(University of Johannesburg).

Warmelo was proficient in Afrikaans, Dutch, English, German and French, and was able to read Portuguese, Italian, Norwegian, Finnish, Swedish, Polish and Russian. In the course of his career he is said to have learnt several other Southern African languages, including Chopi, Karanga, Herero and Ovalimbo. Furthermore, journal records show that he could get along in Arabic as well.[73]

In his obituary, as noted above, Roelof Coertze directly includes van Warmelo in what I call the "mainstream" *volkekunde* tradition.

> From the perspective of the *volkekunde* tradition, South Africa lost one of its great sons on June 6, 1989. With the passing of Dr. N.J. van Warmelo *volkekunde* has lost a master ethnologist who established a standard of proficiency and knowledge production in the German tradition of Africanistics that will be very difficult to match. It is fitting for us to pay tribute to a man who, despite his unquestionable professional stature, set an example of modesty and unwavering self-discipline.[74]

Coertze notes that van Warmelo published 23 scientific articles and 17 books ,beginning with his doctoral thesis, *Die Gliederung der Südafrikanischen Bantusprachen* [*The Classification of South African Bantu Languages*] in 1927 and ending with *Venda Dictionary Tshivem!a-English* in 1989. In joint authorship, he wrote a further twelve books and two articles. According to Coertze, five of these books, on Venda Law, can actually be counted as his own publications.[75]

As part of a larger *volkekunde* network, van Warmelo served on various government committees and councils. These included the Language Councils for Venda, Northern Sotho and Tsonga, and the National Council for Place Names. He was honoured by the Afrikaans academy and the apartheid state for his contributions to *volkekunde.* He was awarded an Honorary Doctorate from UNISA (the University of South Africa) in 1973, the State President's Order for Excellent Service (Class 1, Gold) in 1987, and just months before his passing, another Honorary Doctorate, this time from the University of Pretoria (UP) on 23 March 1989.[76]

In order to understand the context within which van Warmelo operated, one has to explore the underlying ideological theories that sustained the *volkekunde* tradition. South Africa's

[73] Coertze, R. D. 1989. "NJ van Warmelo 1904-1989." *South African Journal of Ethnology.* 12(3):85-90.
[74] Ibid: 88.
[75] Ibid: 86.
[76] Ibid: 87.

first *volkekunde* department was founded at Stellenbosch University in 1926, the very period in which segregation was being consolidated in South Africa. Andrew Bank explains that "Stellenbosch University first mooted the idea of establishing a post in the field of Bantu languages as early as 1918. More active steps in this direction were taken in 1924 when the Afrikaner nationalist professor of history, S.N. Gie, motivated to Senate that in order to address 'the Native Question' from a different point of view, Stellenbosch University should establish a Bantu Studies department to rival UCT's School of African Life and Languages."[77] Appointed on 1 January 1926, Werner Eiselen was tasked with the responsibility of teaching ethnology, formally renamed *volkekund*e a few years later.[78]

In 1927 the department expanded and another Meinhof trained linguist, Jan Antonie Engelbrecht was appointed to lecture in the field of Bantu languages.[79] Their department was hugely successful: "in a university which enrolled around 1 000 students, Eiselen attracted 41 undergraduate students in his first year… he taught more than a hundred students in 1927, the year of Engelbrecht's arrival..."[80] Many of these students went on to follow careers in government rather than academia. In this they followed the career path mapped out by van Warmelo, the first formally trained Afrikaner ethnologist to make the shift from the academy to the state.

From 1925 to 1928 van Warmelo studied at the *Seminar für Afrikanische Sprachen* in Hamburg. In 1927 he obtained his doctorate (Summa cum laude) for a thesis titled *Die Gliederung der Süd-afrikanische Sprachen* [*The Classification of the South African Bantu Languages*].[81] Forming part of a larger collective of Afrikaner ethnologists who were selected to be trained in the field of African languages and having already displayed a keen interest in philology and linguistics, the opportunity to work under Carl Meinhof must have seemed an enormous privilege for the young van Warmelo. By the early twentieth century, Meinhof was regarded as the most authoritative European scholar of African languages.[82] In 1928 Meinhof invited van Warmelo to lecture at the *Seminar für Afrikanische Sprachen*.[83] Prior to van

[77] Bank, A. 2015."Fathering *Volkekunde*: Race and Culture in Ethnological Writings of Werner Eiselen, Stellenbosch University, 1926-1936". *Anthropology Southern Africa,* 38(3-4):163-79
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Coertze, R. D. 1989. "NJ van Warmelo 1904-1989." *South African Journal of Ethnology.* 12(3):85-90.
[82] Pugach, S. 2004. "Carl Meinhof and the German influence on Nicholas van Warmelo's ethnological and linguistic writing, 1927–1935." *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 30(4):825-845
[83] Coertze, R. D. 1989. "NJ van Warmelo 1904-1989." *South African Journal of Ethnology.* 12(3):85-90.

Warmelo assuming a post as Acting Head of the Department for Bantu Languages at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1929,Meinhof offered him a permanent post at the University of Hamburg.[84]

After returning to South Africa, van Warmelo worked on an English translation of Meinhof's seminal 1899 book, *Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen* [*Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages*], as commissioned by Meinhof himself.[85] In commenting on their working relationship, Pugach claims that although "they argued over various points in the translation, Meinhof was generally satisfied with van Warmelo's revisions, and concluded that van Warmelo was as much the author of the book's English version as Meinhof himself, even if he did not say this in so many words."[86] Van Warmelo was familiar with the field and had an understanding of South African languages and cultures that was not accessible to Meinhof himself.

Van Warmelo's 1927 essay "European and Other Influences on Sotho" was one of the first papers by an Afrikaner ethnologist to be published in the journal, *Bantu Studies*. The journal described itself as an academic space within which 'scientific studies' on the 'bantu' and 'bushmen' could be compared and verified.[87] It was the first attempt to unify anthropological, ethnological and philological methods and discourses in South Africa.van Warmelo's paper focuses on the extent to which northern Sotho had been influenced by Afrikaans and English. In keeping with the trend in African philology of the time, his paper centres the notion of language purity by juxtaposing vernacular language content with modern 'corruptions'. In this van Warmelo promotes the notion of language subcategories under the larger umbrella of the Sotho language. The evidence he uses to justify his arguments is the presence of a large number of loan words in modern Sotho. These loans words include individual words, expressions and turns of speech.[88] In the paper van Warmelo notes that

> The phenomena of loan-words in the native languages of South Africa seems to me one worthy of note. It is inevitable that the close contact with European life and thought possible in this country must, in the course of time, *corrupt* the vernacular to a considerable degree at least, insofar as they do not meet the requirements of the present age which are clearness, consciousness, and specialisation. Half of their

[84] Pugach, S. 2004. "Carl Meinhof and the German influence on Nicholas van Warmelo's ethnological and linguistic writing, 1927–1935." *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 30(4):825-845.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Rheinaltt-Jones, J.D.1926. "Scientific Methods".*Bantu Studies*.1(1)
[88] Van Warmelo, N.J.1927. "European and other Influences in Sotho". *Bantu Studies* 3(1), 406.

> undoubtedly rich vocabulary consists of terms and distinction which are becoming unnecessary, and which will be scrapped.[89]

Here he makes a contribution to the production of anthropological knowledge in the way that J. D. Rheinaltt-Jones had pleaded for in the first edition of *Bantu Studies*. In the inaugural edition, Rheinaltt-Jones raised an important issue concerning the state of anthropological studies in the early 1920s. He made an urgent call for the introduction of verifiable "scientific methods".[90] van Warmelo used his knowledge of a particular rural dialect of Sotho, in conjunction with his awareness of the rapidly changing social context of increasing industrialisation and urbanisation, to suggest that a group of urban Sotho speakers were deviating from a "pure" vernacular.

Early in his career van Warmelo made the decision to conduct his research outside the bounds of the academy. After turning down the teaching position at Seminar for African Languages in Hamburg, he went on to decline two more teaching posts, one as a senior lecturer in *Volkekunde* at the University of Stellenbosch in the early 1930s and the other as a professor in the *Volkekunde* and Bantu Languages department at the University of Pretoria in 1938.[91] This did not mark a departure from teaching altogether, as van Warmelo lectured part-time in the *Volkekunde* and Bantu Languages Department at the University of Pretoria from 1930 to 1933, while officially working as government ethnologist.[92]

In later years he had a profound influence on graduate students in the discipline. Van Warmelo's role as *volkekunde* teacher was not confined to the classroom. Coertze claims that "throughout Van Warmelo's time of service almost every other postgraduate student in *volkekunde* has been sent to talk to him. In doing so, he launched numerous anthropological research projects many of which were conducted outside his department and especially at universities."[93] Van Warmelo's style of research prescribed that a fieldworker records every detail of an interview. This record would then be published verbatim together with a translation and interpretation. He designed a standard of practice through which everyone within a research team was required to deliver work of a comparable quality, thus creating a

[89] Ibid.
[90] Rheinaltt-Jones, J.D.1926. "Scientific Methods".*Bantu Studies*.1(1)
[91]Coertze, R. D. 1989. "NJ van Warmelo 1904-1989." *South African Journal of Ethnology.* 12(3):85-90.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid, 87. [my translation]

verifiable data base for the published *volkekunde* texts. van Warmelo's method proved highly effective, as five of his students went on to become professors of *Volkekunde* and Bantu Language Departments at universities across South Africa.[94]

With regard to depth of the connection between the segregationist state and the Afrikaner academy, van Warmelo was not the only Afrikaner ethnologist to apply his academic training to government policies under apartheid. After leaving Stellenbosch University in 1936, Werner Eiselen worked for the Transvaal Department of Education for a decade and then contributed to the formulation of the apartheid government's policy of Bantu Education. Beyond Bantu Education, Eiselens' view on divided race relations culminated in the policy associated with what came to be known as "The Eiselen Line". As Secretary of Native Affairs in 1955, he was tasked with "the responsibility of assigning South African racial groups specific geographical locations in accordance with the racial categories defined and implemented by the apartheid state. He led the states' efforts to remove all black Africans from the Western Province."[95] The intention behind "The Eiselen Line" was to politically, socially and economically exclude black South Africans from the Western Province and declare the region a "Coloured Labour Preference Area", subsequently making black South Africans "foreign natives" in the province.

Figure 1.2 : Eiselen in his capacity as the Secretary of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, c 1960.

At the core of their research, both Eiselen and van Warmelo, displayed a concentrated focus on language and "tribe". The similarity in their subjects of interest, as well as their ultimate

[94] Ibid.
[95] See Snitcher, F. 1956."The Eiselen Scheme". *Africa South*. *1*(3):40-45.

career trajectories in the field of government administration, contribute to the argument that both Eiselen and van Warmelo contributed to a larger project of knowledge production within the *volkekunde* paradigm, a paradigm that was established in order to support the larger project of Afrikaner nation building and segregation.

The N.J. van Warmelo Photographic Collection at the University of Johannesburg

The N.J. van Warmelo's Photographic Collection was donated to the University of Johannesburg by his children, Prof. K.T. van Warmelo, Mr. W.L. van Warmelo and Mrs. Y. Iglauer. The physical collection is housed in the Archiving, Special Collections and Institutional Repository Sector of the University of Johannesburg's' Library Science Department. Catalogued in June 1997, the collection consists of vast a range of ethnographic research materials assembled by van Warmelo. It includes his photographs, microfiches, negatives, files with ethnological information, working material he used for compiling his dictionaries, material artefacts and beadwork pieces.[96] Van Warmelo's photographs, ethnographic fieldnotes and manuscripts are also available in digitised form on the University of Johannesburg and University of Pretoria's website. In this section I will focus on the digitised UJ photographic collection, as it is extensive and has not been analysed in the existing literature on van Warmelo. I also analyse a selection of his published photographs.

[96] The N. J. van Warmelo Collection Inventory.(University of Johannesburg)

The UJ digitised collection consists of 398 captioned images classified into sub-categories on the university's website by a contemporary archivist. These sub-categories consist of "location", "cultural group", and "cultural artefacts". With regard to "location", the inventory identities 37 Ovamboland (Namibia) photographs, 12 Oshikuku (Namibia) photographs, 22 Mpumalanga photographs, 21 Kwarrielaagte photographs, 21 Omusati Region (Namibia) photographs, 12 Kwa-Zulu Natal photographs and 11 Hoffenthal photographs. In reference to specific "cultural groups", the collection identifies 115 photographs of the Zulu, 16 of the Swazi and 16 of the Xhosa.

Frustratingly for the researcher, the vast majority of the collection is not dated. The only exceptions are some photographs taken in Namibia dated to 1954 and a few photographs taken in different regions of South Africa dated to 1938. It is, however, possible to date many photographs from the contextual information present in the records from his ethnographic expeditions. According to manuscripts in the van Warmelo Collection archived at the University of Pretoria, he conducted his fieldwork in the Eastern Cape and Kwa-Zulu Natal in the late 1930s. So despite the lack of dates in the captions, if the collection is read alongside his ethnographic writings, we can date most of the photographs of the Zulu, Swazi and Xhosa to around 1938. In the sections that follow I identify a progression in his photographic and ethnographic interests over time. In order to evoke a deeper conceptual discussion, I will consider the photographs in terms of core themes. The most prominent themes in my reading of the collection of digitised photographs are: the display "tribal" identity, institutions of "tribal" governance, material culture, and cultural re-enactments or performances, and the display of African people and their relation to mobility and travel.

I. Photographing "Tribes": Van Warmelo's Portraits of the Zulu and other South African Ethnic Groups, 1936-1958

In order to explore van Warmelo use of visuality, I will now analyze a selection of photographs from his digitized collection. In doing so, I will use these photographs as a medium to make sense of the way van Warmelo saw African cultures. This collection consists predominantly of unpublished photographs. In order to expand my analysis, I also refer to some of the photographs that appear in his ethnological survey, *New Notes on the Kaokoveld* (1950). By looking at his development as a photographer and ethnographer over

time, we are made aware of the way in which his focus changed over the years. Furthermore, by comparing unpublished and published photographs one is given insight into the intentions behind his choice of photographic subjects and his visual orientation. I read the photographs, where possible, in connection to his work as a state ethnographer travelling across different regions of Southern Africa in order to collect and archive ethnological data from the 1930s to the 1950s. I read his photographs from the late 1920s through to the late 1930s in relation to his interest in categorizing Southern African "tribes". I read the photographs taken in South West Africa in the mid 1940s and the mid 1950s in relation to his interest in colonial governance.

Van Warmelo's ethnographic research was an integral part of a political system that set out to accumulate knowledge on people in order to control them. The Ethnological Section of the NAD gathered information on the succession procedures of chieftaincy, genealogies of chiefs, "tribal history" and "tribal politics".[97] Data gathered by state ethnologists was used to advise the department in their policy making efforts. Under the leadership of van Warmelo, this ethnographic interest was extended in the form of publications. Between 1930 to 1969, the NAD produced 40 volumes of *Ethnological Publications*, half of which were written by van Warmelo himself. The series was subject to his control, with regard to its content and format.[98]

Van Warmelo's use of visuality is prominent, overt and purposeful. He uses photography to offer commentary on African culture. His photographs reveal his orientation to document scenes that occasionally display an interest in social change within the homestead or "Bantustan" context, but more typically present the fixed "tribal" identity of an individual. The collection is comprised of individual and group, usually a family, portraits. The photographs are taken in various registers and include some contextual shots of landscapes, showing the areas where he did his research. Although an interest in the individual is evident in some of these portraits, his engagement is always ambiguous and constrained by the limitations of his wider project of knowledge production in service of "tribal" governance. Before to delving into the collection itself, I wish to analyse van Warmelo's earliest use of photography in print.

[97] Rizzo, L. 2000. "NJ van Warmelo: Anthropology and the Making of a Reserve." .
[98] Ibid.

One of the first examples of photography in *volkekunde* research features in a joint article published by J.M. Watt and van Warmelo in 1929. *Volkekunde*, we should recall, had only formally been established three years prior to this publication. Visual materials are strikingly scarce in its early years. This is because Afrikaner ethnology had such a strong primary focus on language and texts. Watt and van Warmelo's "The Medicine and Practice of Sotho Doctor" is accompanied by four plates, displayed in figures 1.3 and 1.4 below. In the first plate the audience encounters the main research participant, the Sotho medicine man Monkwe Mojapelo. In the three subsequent plates the authors display the instruments used in the divination and medical practices.[99]

With regard to the paper itself, the authors explore the transfer of medical knowledge from generation to generation, and practitioner to apprentice. In the information gathered by the researchers, for whom van Warmelo was the interpreter, the participant comments on the ways in which the medical practices of indigenous Sotho doctors had changed in the early twentieth century. Sotho doctors were called upon to heal a variety of ailments using indigenous plants and animal products. In addition to this, they specialised in divination practices. According to Mojapelo, by the 1920s they were no longer dealing with major medical emergencies such as broken bones. Instead, their expertise in the field of divination was why they remained sought after. It is clear that the participant was aware of the advances and impact of Western medicine and how his clientele used medical services offered at clinics and hospitals.[100]

[99] Watt, J. M., and Warmelo, N. V.1929. "The medicines and practice of a Sotho doctor". *Bantu Studies*. *4*(1), 47-63.
[100] Ibid.

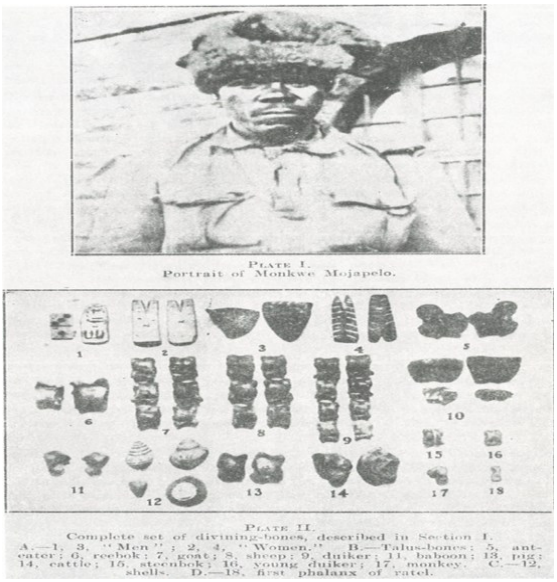


PLATE I.
Portrait of Monkwe Mojapelo.

PLATE II.
Complete set of divining-bones, described in Section I.
A.—1, 3, "Men"; 2, 4, "Women." B.—Talus-bones; 5, ant-eater; 6, reebok; 7, goat; 8, sheep; 9, duiker; 11, baboon; 13, pig; 14, cattle; 15, steenbok; 16, young duiker; 17, monkey. C.—12, shells. D.—18, first phalanx of rutel.

Figure 1.3: J. M Watt and N. J. van Warmelo, "The Medicine and Practice of Sotho Doctors". The first plate is a portrait of the research participant, Monkwe Mojapelo. The second plate shows a display of instruments used in the divination and medical practices of this Sotho doctor.

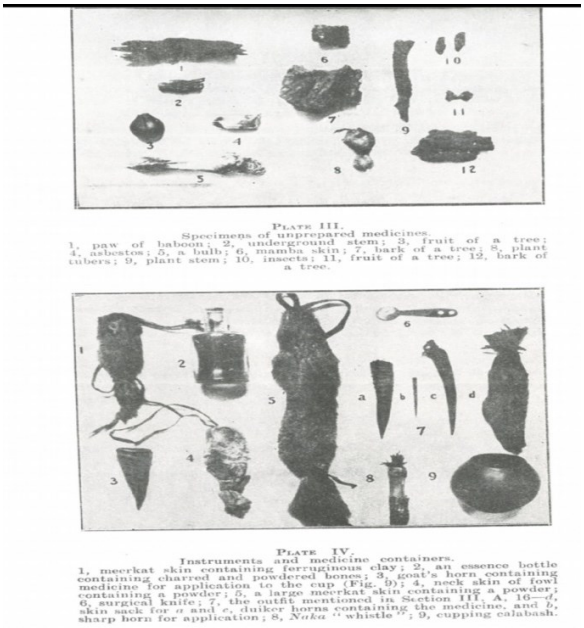


PLATE III.
Specimens of unprepared medicines.
1, paw of baboon; 2, underground stem; 3, fruit of a tree; 4, asbestos; 5, a bulb; 6, mamba skin; 7, bark of a tree; 8, plant tubers; 9, plant stem; 10, insects; 11, fruit of a tree; 12, bark of a tree.

PLATE IV.
Instruments and medicine containers.
1, meerkat skin containing ferruginous clay; 2, an essence bottle containing charred and powdered bones; 3, goat's horn containing medicine for application to the cup (Fig. 9); 4, neck skin of fowl containing a powder; 5, a large meerkat skin containing a powder; 6, surgical knife; 7, the outfit mentioned in Section III, A, 16—*d*, skin sack for *a* and *c*, duiker horns containing the medicine, and *b*, sharp horn for application; 8, *Naka* "whistle"; 9, cupping calabash.

Figure 1.4: The two subsequent plates show the "Specimens of unprepared medicine" and the "Instruments and medicine containers" used by of his medicines used by Majapelo.

In their efforts to gain insight into "tribal" divination and medical practice, the authors classify his objects into:" complete set of diving bones" (1-18), "specimens of unprepared medicine" (1-12) and "instruments and medicine containers" (1-9). In a museum cabinet like style, these objects are photographed as a display. Here it is apparent that classification rather than individuated life experience takes precedence. While van Warmelo's 1929 joint article does in some way diverge from his earlier language-centred research, his use of photography is consistent with his primary emphasis on classification and "tribe".

Objects of material culture are one of the core features of van Warmelo Photographic Collection. From the onset of his career, one of his concerns as a *volkekundige* and professional ethnologist was to preserve and document the "essence" of uncorrupted "tribal" identities. In his bid to distinguish between different "tribal" groups in South Africa, collecting artefacts and taking pictures of displays of material culture and cultural re-enactments were of great importance. Here van Warmelo's work aligns with the larger *volkekunde* project, as the research conducted by *volkekundiges* was intended to be displayed through spectacle in spaces accessible to the public. In order for these intentions to manifest, the relationship between the museum and *volkekunde* was essential.

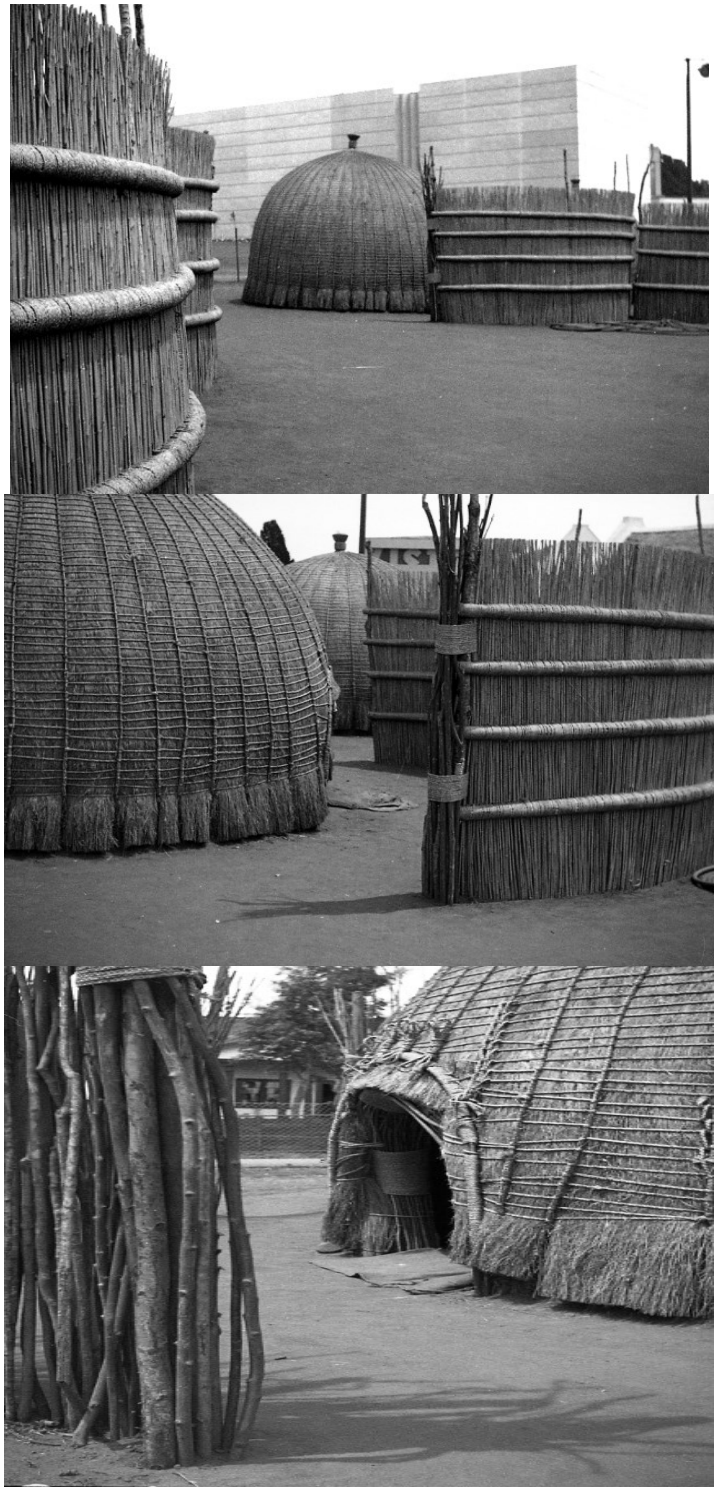


Figure 1.5 a-c: A series of photographs of the Swazi huts on display at the Empire Exhibition, Johannesburg, c. 1936.

The 1936 Johannesburg Empire Exhibition was the first of its kind to be held outside Britain. Prior to this, 'natives' had been taken abroad in large numbers and displayed in South African exhibitions.[101] Within the context of the world's fair tradition, African people, performances and cultural artefacts were the main features of the displays. In the photographs the Swazi huts are set against the urban city landscape in the background. Our attention is immediately drawn towards the huts as the central focus of each the images. These kinds of display make the presence of African ways of life seems out of place in the urbanised city. The contrast in building material and the scale of the large buildings in the background, set against the huts, creates the desired juxtaposition. Retrospectively, one is made aware that this narrative was tailored to cater for a specific audience: white viewers in a racially segregated modern metropolis.

In the collection, van Warmelo's photographs consistently display material culture in a reductive way, echoing his museum style orientation. van Warmelo had a personal interest in the museum world throughout his career. He deemed the making of museum displays an integral part of ethnographic work. In consultations with museum experts, he contributed to the compilation and construction of museum catalogues.[102] Despite the fact that he had an interest in the function of the objects, he usually chose to photograph artefacts apart from their environment. This was to draw the viewer's full attention to the object itself. The majority of the photographs in the collection that focus on material culture display jewellery or household objects, such as utensils, pots and other miscellaneous items. Commonly, they are arranged and set in focus in the centre of the frame against a blank backdrop. Occasionally the objects are set against the backdrop of a homestead. When photographing jewellery, however, van Warmelo usually chose to photograph them being worn by a subject. This is done in order to verify the cultural significance of the piece.

[101] Witz, L.2003. Apartheid's festival: contesting South Africa's national pasts. Indiana: Indiana University Press.
[102] See Shaw, E. M., & Warmelo, N. J. V. 1972. *Material Culture of the Cape Nguni*. South African Museum. Cape Town: Annals of the South African Museum.

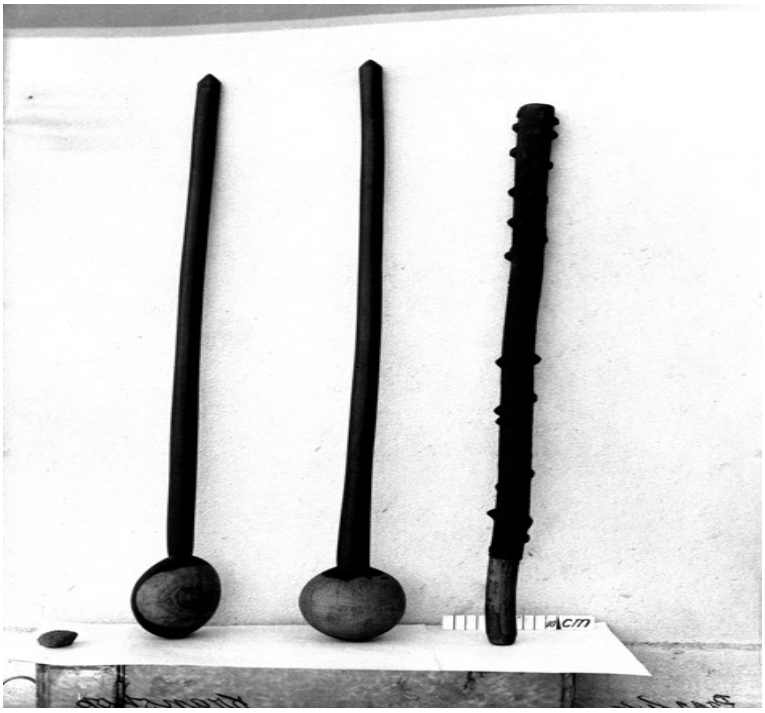


Figure 1.6: Photograph from the van Warmelo Collection taken in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa c. 1938. Van Warmelo identified the objects as two Zulu clubs or k*nobkerries* (*amawisa*) from the Kranskop, Umzinyathi district, KwaZulu-Natal and a Zulu girl's dancing stick of *umnungumabele* or *knophout* or woodland knobwood, Fagara capensis from Pietermaritzburg.

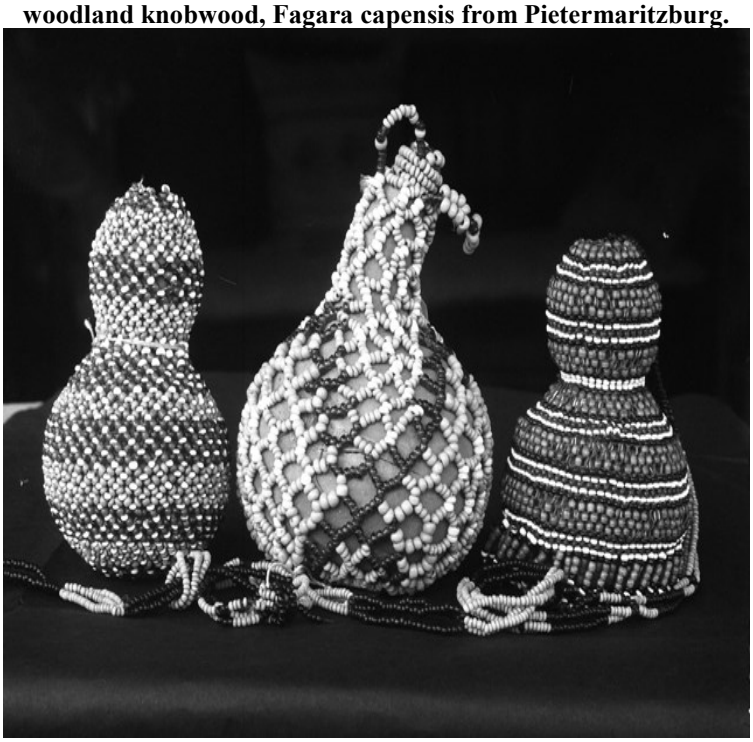


Figure 1.7: Three beaded calabashes from the Transkei, Eastern Cape, South Africa, c. 1938.

In figures 1.6 and 1.7 above, van Warmelo's make use of symmetry to display material culture. The objects are pre-arranged in such a way that draws the eye to the centre of the frames. The intention here is to foreground the objects using a clear backdrop of either black or white. In figure 1.6 the photographer chose to use the length of the sticks as a framing agent, which elongates the structure of the photograph making it appear narrow. The use of backdrop here is very light which results in the wood of the clubs to appearing darker. The contemporary curator responsible for the captions in the digital collection notes that: "although Van Warmelo translates *umnungambele* as *knoppiesdoring*, it is actually the woodland knobwood or knophout, Fagara capensis, not the *knoppiesdoring* or knobthorn tree, Acacia nigrescens. In addition, the knobs on the dancing stick are those of the knobwood and not the knobthorn tree."[103] Typically the descriptive section expands upon van Warmelo's title, but here the archivist refutes the accuracy of the original title. The backdrop in the photograph is white. In figure 1.7 he uses a black backdrop to draws out the intricacy of the beadwork. In other cases, he chose to the display jewellery worn an African subject.

Figure 1.8: Khuze girl (possibly engaged) with *umnqwazi* (beaded headdress), Centocow Mission, c. 1938.

In figure 1.8 the subject is not centred in the frame. The choice of a black backdrop emphasises the figure of the women and the piece she is wearing on her head. Unlike the preceding photographs, this backdrop was most probably achieved by shadowing, as revealed in the glimmer of light in the right corner of the frame. Here the subject is in the left corner

[103] The N. J. van Warmelo Collection Inventory.(University of Johannesburg)

and her back is turned to camera, which fulfils his purpose of displaying the piece. The piece is worn by a member of the Khuze clan of the Zulu "tribe" being researched. Her speculated identity as a betrothed women attaches social significance to the piece of jewellery. Van Warmelo's photographs of betrothed or married women often used the jewellery pieces they are wearing as proof of his claims regarding their changing or changed social status.

Posed shots of women, men, children and groups dominates the van Warmelo collection. The collection offers an array of choregraphed and staged images that display people in "tribal" dress, or a mixture of "tribal" and Western dress. Commonly, the cultural signifiers, displayed in attire, jewellery and objects, override the individuality of the person in the photograph.

Figure 1.9 -c: Portraits of a Zulu headman, Nocombotshe, Msinga district, KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa, c. 1938

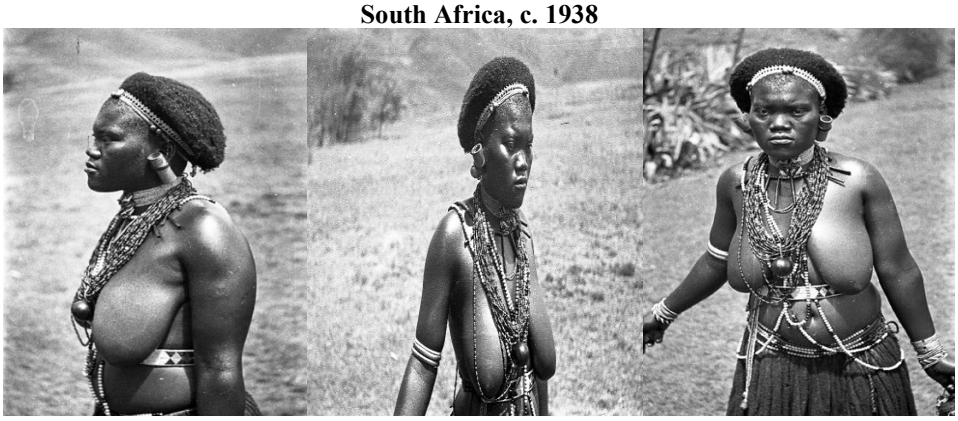


Figure 1.10 a-c: Photograph captioned as followed; A betrothed girl *(inhale*), Nomlandu. Van Warmelo provides the following detail about each jewellery piece: as shown by her hairstyle also called *inkhehl*i. Beadwork: 1) White beads (*ubuhlal*u - means bead or beads) round neck; 2) Long string of muti-coloured beads (*amaxube* - means a mixture of things); 3) String of beads worn bandolier style (*ucu lobuhlalu* - means a single string of beads); 4) String of beads worn around the belly (*ucu lobuhlalu* - means a single string of beads); 5) Wristlets (*ingusha*); 6) Armlets above elbows (*ubusengi*); 7) Waistband (*isifociya* - fibre belt worn by women). Leather skirt (*isidwaba)*. Nocombotshe, Msinga district, KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa.

Figure 1.9 a-c, shows a Zulu headman in the staged pose of a warrior. Adorned with animal skin, shield and *knobkerrie* in hand, the nature of the gesture is clear, but his weathered face

reveals a darker skin tone to that of the rest of his body.[104] This suggests that the regalia he is wearing in the photograph is not his usual attire. In the frame he is the centre focus, looking straight at the camera. He seems fully aware of the photographic process taking place in front of him, posing, one might assume, at the instruction of van Warmelo, the photographer.

By contest the Zulu women in figure 1.10 a is made to appear distant. She may be central in the image, but if the caption gives us any indication of the photographer's intentions, she is not the central focus. Her jewellery and beadwork, as well as her identity as a betrothed women, take centre stage. The front and particularly side shot strip away at her personality, as the photographer presents her as a mere archetype. The side image and full frontal photograph resonates with the visual style of "racial types" found in anthropometric photography.[105]

Other than the display of material culture, the van Warmelo collection reveals his interest in categorising "tribal" groups through focusing on the ethnic type instead of the individual. I have selected the portraits below as they feature "tribal" classifications in van Warmelo's own captions. With the exception of a few photographs, "tribal" identity is foregrounded in most of his captions. As noted earlier, 115 out of the 398 photographs are associated with "the Zulu". Many of these photographs share the choreographed aesthetic similar to those analysed above. In choreographed frames there are displays of different posed shots in which some subjects look directly at the camera, while others faced away from the camera. These images do not read as "visual fieldnotes" taken in passing as the Comaroff's suggest of Isaac Schapera's fieldwork photographs.[106] Thought was put into the composition and construction of these portraits. This required interaction between the photographer and the photographic subject. Figures 1.11 to 1.16 below provide examples of the way van Warmelo sought to reify Zulu "tribal" identities through staged imagery.

[104] Hayes, P. Personal correspondence. (1 October 2019).
[105] See Edwards, E.2001. Raw Histories: photographs, anthropology and museums. Berg.
[106] See Comaroff, J. L., Comaroff, J and James, D.2007. *Picturing a colonial past: the African photographs of Isaac Schapera*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Figure 1.11 a-c: Zulu man, Ncocombotshe, c. 1938

Figures 1.11a-c provide head-and-shoulder portraits of one "Zulu man". The generic side and frontal shots are in line with the discourse of physical anthropology, but here the intention is surely to display the mixture of his dress styles. A traditional garment is draped over his Western style shirt, creating a cultural contrast. The black and white animal skin shawl reflects against the range of greys in the background. The landscape orientates the frame, as the horizon creates a central line that provide symmetry for the image. Here the subject is in focus, in the centre of the frame.

Figure 1.12 a and 1.12 b: Zulu blacksmith, Maphophoma, Nongoma, c. 1938

Figure 1.12 a shows a Zulu blacksmith photographed in Nongoma in 1938. The Nongoma District was a favoured site for ethnographic fieldwork for many social anthropologist and *volkekundiges* in South Africa during the mid-late 1930s. Ethnographers such as Max Gluckman, Hans Holleman and P.J. Schoeman all did fieldwork in this district between 1936 to 1938. In 1938 Gluckman was formally expelled from Nongoma after he attempted to

intervened in Zulu royal politics.[107] So it is quite possible that van Warmelo interacted with fellow ethnographers in the field around the time he took the photographs above. The camera angle in figure 1.12 suggests that the photographer is standing. The choice to photograph this subject in this fashion may have been the result of the position in which the blacksmith did his work, as suggested by figure 1.12 b. With that said, the image displays a power relation between the photographer and subject: an aesthetics whereby the viewer looks down upon the subject. Once again the landscape is marginal to the frame. The focus is set on the man and the "tribe" he represents. By contrast to the Zulu warrior in figures 1.9 a-c, the Zulu blacksmith seems disengaged. The ring on his head carries heightened cultural significance. A "tribal" Zulu head-ring was a signifier of Zulu male identity, from the late nineteenth century when the use of these artefacts as symbols of male seniority was declining rapidly. Head-rings were only worn by Zulu men after marriage and were often associated with military prowess. [108]

[107] See Gordon, R.2018.The Enigma of Max Gluckman: The Ethnographic Life of a" luckyman" in Africa. Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press.
[108] Best account is given in; Macmillan, H.1995. "Return to the Malungwana Drift--Max Gluckman, the Zulu Nation and the Common Society." *African Affairs.* 94. (1995): 39-6 5.

Figure 1.13: Zulu boy, Ncocombotshe, c. 1938.

Figure 1.14: young Zulu girl, Ncocombotshe, c. 1938.

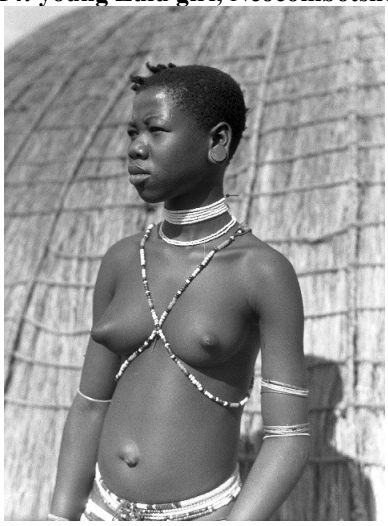


Figure 1.15: Young girl (*itshitshi*), Nocombotshe, c. 1938.

Figures 1.13, 1.14, 1.15 and 1.16 above and below show “Zulu” girls, a boy and a man photographed in a single location, Nocombotshe, on the same day, around the same time. In figures 1.13 and 1.14 we see van Warmelo’s experimentation with depth-of-field. This results in the subject being foregrounded with the background being out of focus. This experimentation makes for an interesting composition with heightened attention to the body. The girl in figure 1.15 is looking away from the camera. Her naked upper body is adorned with jewellery pieces and she fills up the centre of the frame. Our attention is drawn to her breast and the cross pattern of the beads on her chest.

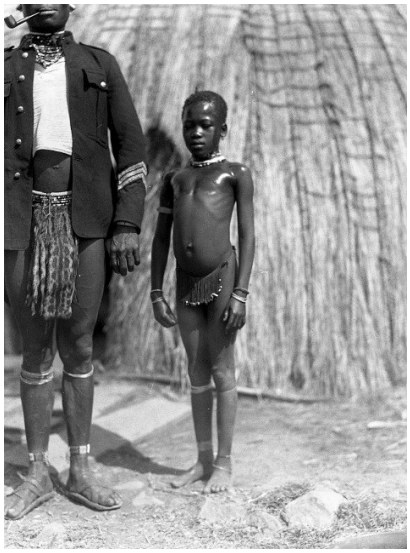


Figure 1.16: Young Zulu girl and man with ibeshu, Nocombotshe, c. 1938

The central subject in figure 1.16 appears tense. With his shoulders thrown back and his ribcage clearly visible, the “young Zulu boy” stands to as attention, as if mimicking the stance of the military man to his right in the photograph. The male figure in the frame is not meant to be the focus, but his presence creates some sort of disproportionate framing. With the top half of his face cropped out, our attention is drawn to the pipe in his mouth and his military jacket. He sports a mixture of traditional dress with beads and animal skin around his waist, and what appears to be a formal jacket and under shirt. This is striking, as it sets the contrasts between the unclothed boy and the clothed man; a military upper body and a ‘tribal’ lower body. This is all presented in a convincingly asymmetrical composition, illustrative of the gentle pace of social change. We might contrast this asymmetry with the meticulous symmetry of the objects of Zulu and Xhosa material culture analysed in figures 1.16 and 1.17.

Apart from visually documenting 'tribe', van Warmelo had also started working more closely with African informants in the 1930s, as Lekgoathi has highlighted.[109] One of his most popular texts of this period is the first edition of the Tshivenda-English Dictionary, published in 1937. He conducted his research using a detailed "tribal questionnaire". The questionnaire focussed on the cultural history of "tribes", manner of living, dress, governance, court procedures and legal rules, as well as the religion of each group.[110] He asked questions pertaining to the stages of life that the individual went through from birth to death. These questionnaires were translated into the vernacular languages and distributed amongst informants by van Warmelo's African research assistants. By 1939, nearly 1,500 typed pages had been collected using this method.[111] Eventually some 10, 000 typed pages on "tribal" groups" would be compiled, yet only a small portion of this ethnographic material was published. Most of the text remain unpublished in the Warmelo Collection under general manuscripts, at UP and UJ.

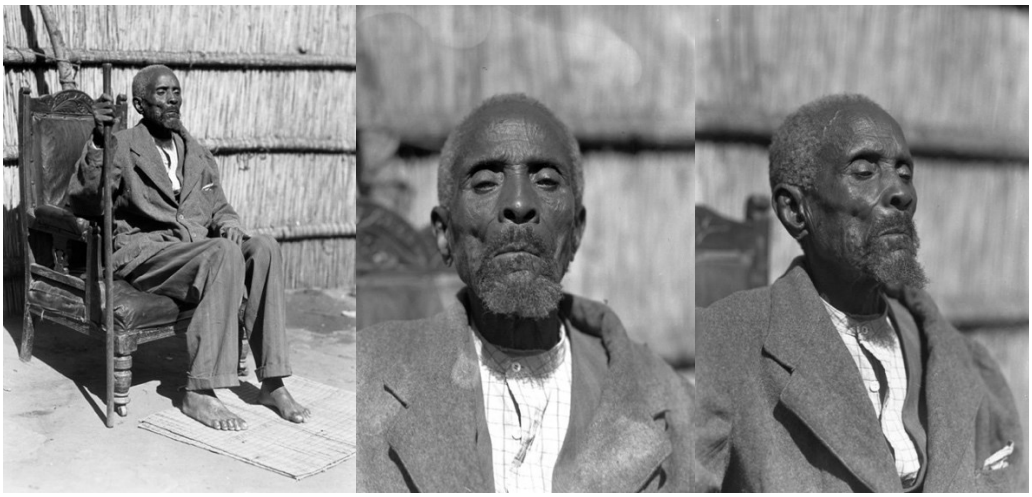
Van Warmelo insisted on establishing connections with African informants in the field. When looking at the large number of manuscripts written by key African informants, it has been argued that van Warmelo differed in his approach to research compared mainstream *volkekundiges,* like P.J Coertze, in the sense that he encouraged Africans to make contributions to his research projects in the form of manuscripts. This is the case set out by Peter Lekgoathi in his 2009 article 'Colonial 'experts, local interlocutors, informants and the making of an archive on the "Transvaal Ndebele'''. According to Lekgoathi, van Warmelo's findings were shaped by the perspectives of his African informants. Lekgoathi discusses these African informants as more than mere appendages in van Warmelo's research. Lekgoathi seeks to reallocate agency to those viewed only as research subjects. With regard to the extent of their input, African informants were responsible for writing manuscripts in the vernacular that would constitute part of van Warmelo's archive.[112] More specially, Lekgoathi's paper explores the process of producing knowledge on the 'Transvaal Ndebele'. In addition, the author provides an analysis of Van Warmelo's texts and of his researchers'

[109] Lekgoathi, S. P. 2009. "Colonial' Experts, Local Interlocutors, Informants and the Making of an Archive on the 'Transvaal Ndebele, 1930–1989". *The Journal of African History*, *50*(1):61-80
[110] Coertze, R. D. 1989. "NJ van Warmelo 1904-1989." *South African Journal of Ethnology.* 12(3):85-90.
[111]Ibid.
[112] Lekgoathi, S. P. 2009. "Colonial' Experts, Local Interlocutors, Informants and the Making of an Archive on the 'Transvaal Ndebele, 1930–1989". *The Journal of African History*, *50*(1):61-80

manuscripts. He notes that Africans themselves had a hand in moulding the 'colonial expert's' conceptions of Ndebele identity.[113]

This account is noteworthy as it removes van Warmelo as the main figure. We are introduced to a narrative that, refreshingly, foregrounds African contributions to the production of anthropological knowledge.[114] Yet one should remain cautious about too strong an Africanist orientation in van Warmelo's ethnography. As Lekgoathi himself concedes, van Warmelo was ultimately motivated by and responsible for "fixing" the notion of "tribe" in South Africa.[115] While the manuscripts written by Africans might lend themselves to contemporary re-reading, his photographic collection and published texts leave no doubt that the bounded notion of 'tribe' remained his central organizing concept.

Another common feature in van Warmelo's photographs is his interest in photographing genealogies and lineages through family portraiture. This can be seen in figure 1.17a-c and 1.18 a-b below. These choreographed photographs, shot against the backdrop of the residential space, centres on a single elderly subject in individual and group format.



Figures 17 a-c: A head and shoulders portrait of Msebenzi Hlongwane, probably a member of the Ngwane "tribe", at Butha Buthe, Lesotho, c.1938.

[113] Ibid.
[114] For another example of the foregrounding od African agency, see Bank, A., and Bank, L. J. (eds.). 2013. *Inside African anthropology: Monica Wilson and her interpreters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[115] Ibid.

Figure 1.18 a and b: Msebenzi Hlongwane and family group, Butha Buthe, Lesotho, c 1938.

I find these images genuinely captivating and intriguing. There is a sense of person, a humanist gesture one might say. Yet when scrutinising the intentions behind the photography, we should recall that van Warmelo saw African elders, like Msebenzi Hlongwane, as representative of an earlier more 'primitive' period in the histories of 'tribes', in this case the Sotho. His texts cast elderly people as spokesmen "who knew the period before the arrival of the Whites."[116] As he saw the numbers of this older generation rapidly declining, van Warmelo felt an urgent need for recording the information about "tribal" history and culture. Cultural artefacts, in this instance, were not necessary, as the individuals themselves are representatives of an archaic era, the remnants which required 'salvage'.

II. Photography and Governance: Van Warmelo in South West Africa, 1946-1954

[116] Coertze, R. D. 1989. "NJ van Warmelo 1904-1989." *South African Journal of Ethnology.*12(3):85-90

In the mid 1940s van Warmelo initiated what has been described as the most important project the Ethnological Section of the NAD had ever undertaken, namely its Ethnological Survey.[117] Rizzo notes that some of the findings of the survey were included in the *Ethnological Publications*. The survey also contributed to Lord Hailey's *African Survey,* under the auspices of the International Institute of African Languages. This project allowed van Warmelo to expand his staff considerably.[118] In effort to expand the project beyond the South African border, van Warmelo committed to doing a survey on Namibia. He took his first official trip to Namibia in 1946.

The Namibian landscape is one of the most prominent features in South West African section of the van Warmelo Photographic Collection. The core themes in the Namibia section of the collection are the labour recruitment system, 'tribal' governance, institutions of the colonial government and Africans in rural settings. Unlike the photographs taken in South Africa in the late 1930s, many of the captions do not foreground "tribal" identity. This signifies what I read as a shift in his inquiry from 'tribal' categorisation to 'tribal' governance. Now the prominent descriptive marker that was most widely used in the captions is that of places or regions, indicating his preoccupation with spatial control. As his ethnological work had hitherto been limited to South Africa, he may not have had a lot of knowledge about Namibian ethnic groups in the mid 1940s.

By the time van Warmelo initiated his Namibian research in 1946, apartheid was looming on the horizon. His ethnographic research resulted in the first professional publication on the Kaokoveld in 1951, *Note on the Kaokoveld (South West Africa) and its People*.[119] The second edition was publish in 1962 and the third in 1998.[120] According to Rizzo ,"not only do they to this day form the basis of all ethnological… and also social scientific works on Kaoko, but they are also drawn on as the authoritative work for the compilation of numerous tourist guide books and pseudo-scientific publications on the area."[121] Reflecting upon his objectives for the 1947 and 1948 research expeditions, in his introduction to *Notes on the Kaokoveld (South West Africa) and its People* van Warmelo explained:

[117] Rizzo, L. 2000. "NJ van Warmelo: Anthropology and the Making of a Reserve.": l89-206
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid:191.

> In 1947 and again in 1948 I was by the kindness of the Administration of South West Africa permitted to make brief visits to the Kaokoveld in the north-western part of the territory. The object was to make some observations with regard to the ethnic position there. The results of these short visits to only a few portions of the vast area and of only a few and brief interviews with some of the more important men follow hereunder.[122]

His brief trips to Kaokoveld and Sesfontein in 1947 and 1948 are noteworthy as they coincided with the restructuring of the colonial administration, which resulted in these areas being ascribed the status of reserves according to the Government Notice No, 374, 1947.[123] His research served to aid the legitimisation of South African colonial rule in South West Africa in the era of apartheid. Van Warmelo's research was welcomed by the South African and South West African colonial governments as it was in their interests to reconstruct and re-evaluate the "ethnic position" in the reserves. Indeed, Rizzo argues that van Warmelo was not only responsible for "fixing" notions "tribe", he was responsible for the invention of cultural groups by tying them to a specific reserve or region.[124]

His project is best understood by analysing the information in *New Notes on Kaoko.* It is structured in numerically sequenced single text sections. As explained by Rizzo, the presentation was the result of "van Warmelo following the method and formal standard of the ethnographic survey and minutely sticking to the points determined in there".[125] The aim of this format was to present content in the form of an inventory list. The 58 page book reads exactly the way it was intended to, as a survey filled with surface level descriptions offering a basic overview of the history of the region, the history of the particular 'tribes' and information on "tribal" cultural practices and customs. It was intended that this would allow for comparison with data collected later in other parts of Namibia.[126] In constructing his categories for the Kaokoveld "tribes", van Warmelo states in his introduction that:

> These are four [population groups] in number: the Bantu-speaking cattle people (Tjimba, Himba and Herero), the Hottentots, the Bergdama and the Bushmen. The last three are encountered only in the south…when referring to Sesfontein… There

[122] Van Warmelo, N. J. 1951'. Notes on the Kaokoveld (South West Africa) and its people. Government printer.26.
[123] Rizzo, L. 2000. "NJ van Warmelo: Anthropology and the Making of a Reserve." *New notes on Kaoko. The northern Kunene Region (Namibia) in texts and photographs.* Cape Town*, l89-206*
[124] Ibid.
[125] Van Warmelo, N. J. 1951'. *Notes on the Kaokoveld (South West Africa) and its people*. Government printer,26.
[126] Ibid.

> are also some Coloureds and Basters… Apart from Sesfontein, Kaokoveld may be regarded as entirely belonging to the cattle folk…[127]

The classification of general 'tribal', or here racial, types is mirrored in his choice of images for the book. The portraiture trope present in the van Warmelo Photographic Archive is visible here. However due to the fact that the photographs are accompaniments to an ethnographic text, they are used as mere illustration for the 'tribe' in question. The photograph shown in figures 1.20-1.23 below illustrate the "Black", "Hottentot" and "Bushman" racial types.[128]

[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.

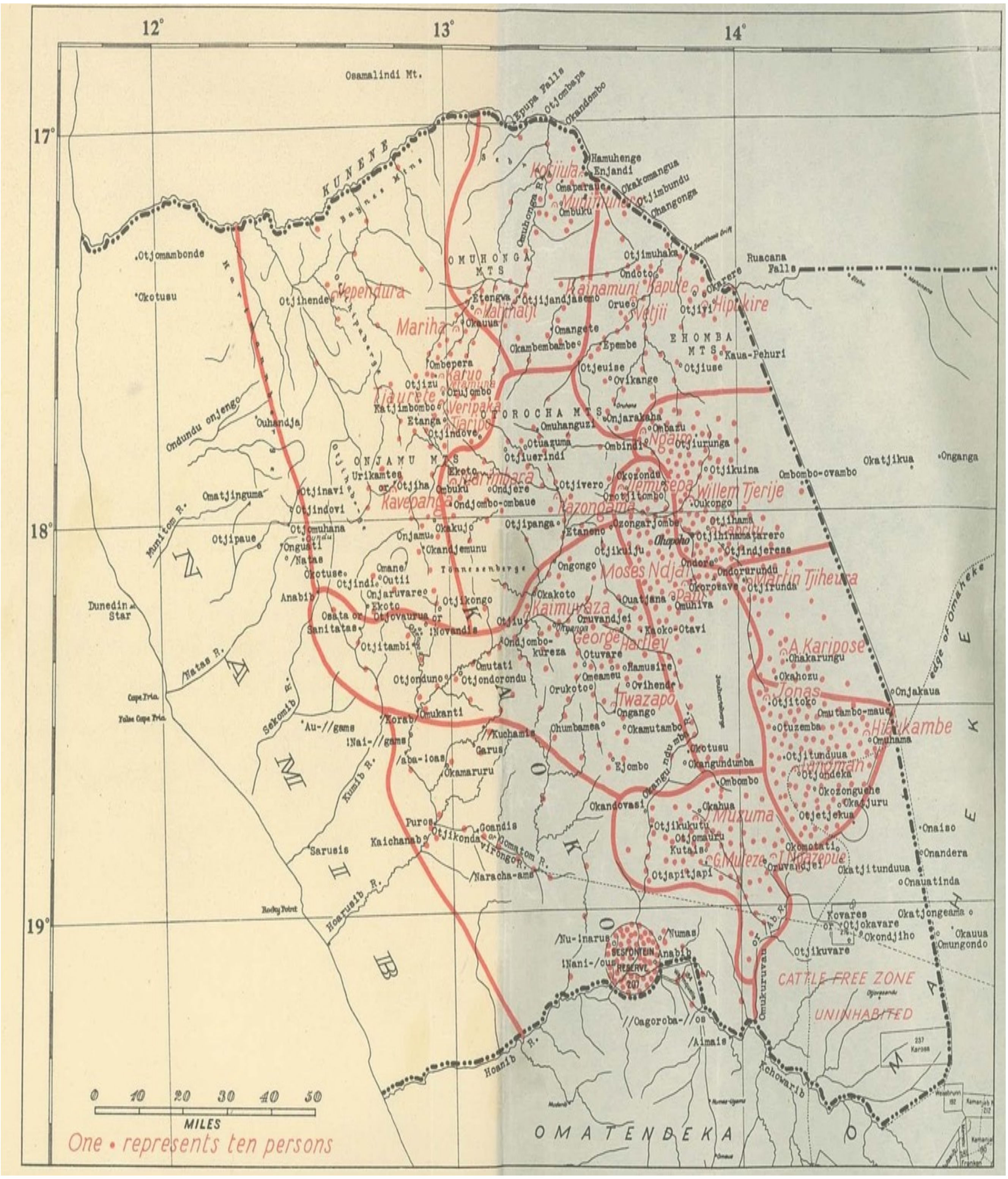


Figure 1.19: Map of Namibian used in *Note on the Kaokoveld* (1950).

Figure 1.20 Herero headman, 1946-1947.

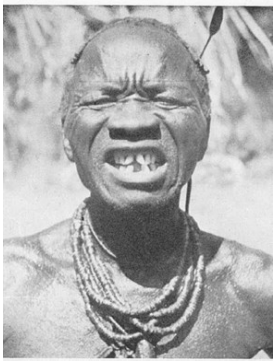


Figure 1.21: Incisors filed or knocked out (Himba),1946-1947.

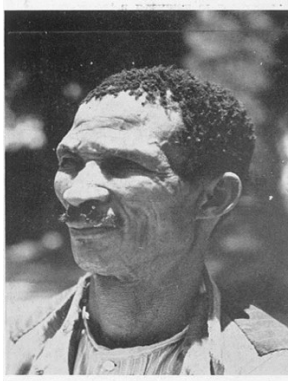


Figure 1.22: A Topnaar of Sesfontein, 1947-1947.

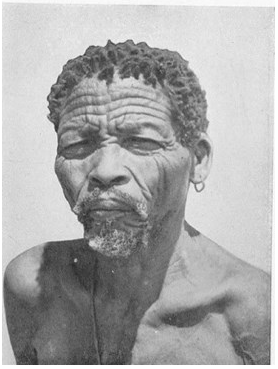


Figure 1.23: !Hu-!gaob, a Bushman at Sesfontein, 1946-194.

Through analysis and critical engagement with a selection of photographs from his September 1954 Namibian expedition, we are presented with the ways in which van Warmelo and his accompanying party made sense of the Namibian demographic. The majority of the photographs I encountered are not as rigidly choreographed as the photographs taken in South Africa. These photographs read like an ethnographic record which documents encounters and experiences. Evident in the blandly deceptive captions, these photographs form part of van Warmelo's professional task of categorising groups as 'accurately' as possible for the purpose of governance. Unfortunately, here we have no accompanying texts, published or unpublished, to give details about his motives and exact political and social context of his expedition.

Unlike the Kaokoveld region that was regarded as being more rural, Ovamboland had a longer history of migrant labour systems that dates back to 1926. By the 1950s the "systematisation" of the migrant labour system continued to expand rapidly. During this time the South African and South West African governments issued photograph that intended to display the various processes and medical procedures involved in the labour recruitment process, especially with regard to the Ovamboland region. Van Warmelo's 1954 expedition photographs attest to this, as it displays his adherence to the government interests.[129] Furthermore, the photographs display a familiarity with the field beyond Kaokoveld and Sesfontein. For the purpose of analysing the expansion of his ethnographic work, I explore his photographs displaying labour recruitment procedures and the expansion of colonial governance in S.W.A.

[129] See Hartmann, W., Silvester, J., and Hayes, P. (eds.).1999.The colonising camera: photographs in the making of Namibian history. Cape Town: Juta and Company Ltd.

Figures 1.24a-c: A meeting held under a baobab tree at Ombalantu, Omusati Region, and Ovamboland, Namibia, September 1954.

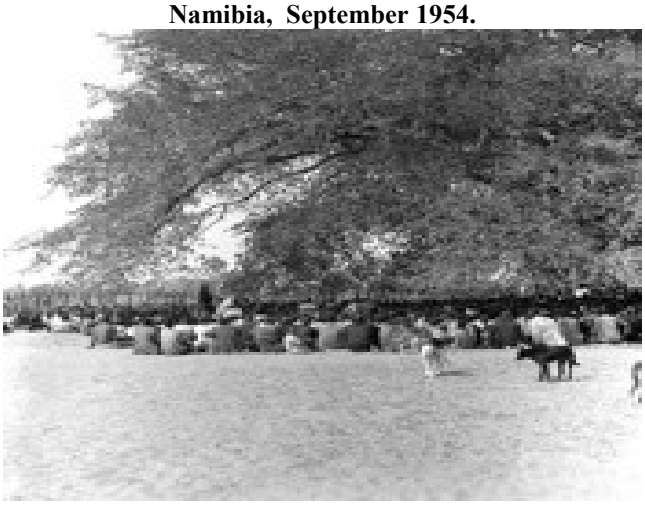


Figure 1.25 : Meeting at Ogandjera, 16 September 1954.

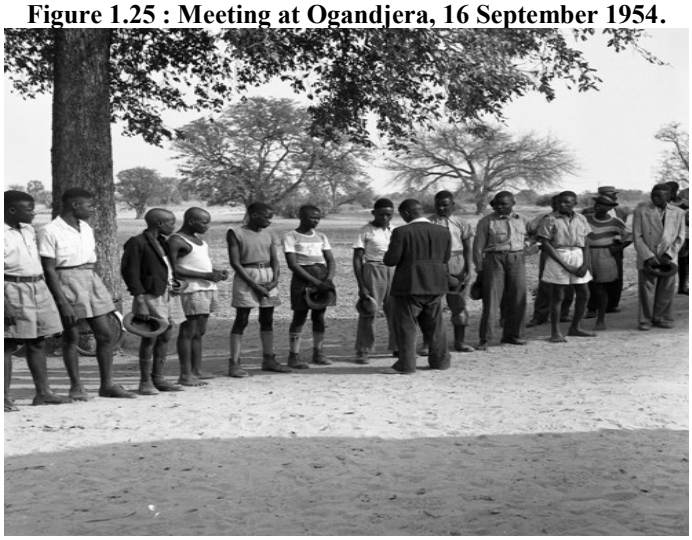


Figure 1.26: Ovambo mine labour recruits with the "tribal" secretary, Ohangwena, Ohangwena Region, Ovamboland, September 1954 .

Figure 1.27: Recruits outside the recruiting office, Ondangwa, Oshana Region, Ovamboland, Namibia, September 1954.

Figure 1.28: Recruits being attested (addressed), Ondangwa, Oshana Region, Ovamboland, Namibia, September 1954.

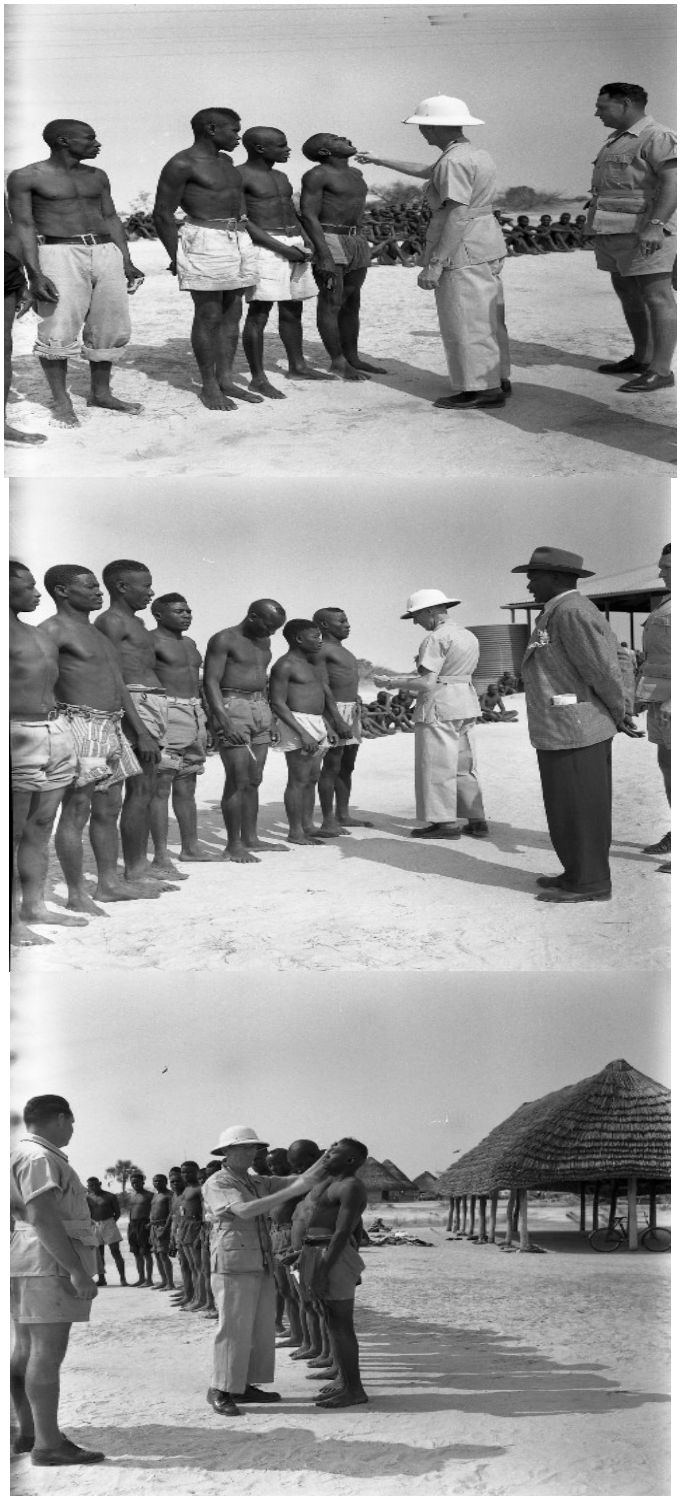


Figure 1. 29a-c: Recruits being examined, Ondangwa, Oshana Region, Ovamboland, Namibia, September 1954.

Figures 1.24 to 1.29 display the acquisition of African migrant labour. In figure series 1.24 and 1.25 our attention is drawn to a large gathering under a baobab tree. From looking at other photographs in the collection, one can surmise that the baobab tree was a meeting place where issues regarding colonial governance were discussed. The sheer magnitude of the crowd, dressed predominantly in western clothing, makes for a fascinating display. Here the photographer had no need to choreograph the image, because of the size and stillness of the crowd. It should be noted that these are two separate meetings. Figure 1.25 is an example of the very few images that have a precise date.

The lines of people standing in figure 1.26 to 1.28 frames the photographs. Prior to the inspection process, the migrant labourers are met by colonial officials. Here, too, and unlike many of the images in *Notes of Kaokoveld*, the photographic subjects are dressed in western clothing. Little is known about van Warmelo's interest in the migrant labour system, however these photographs indicate that he was interested in the bureaucratic processes involved in recruiting African migrant labour. Little is said with regard to the type of labour. In the description section of the photograph, it states that these may have been mine labour recruits.

Figures 1.29 a -c display the invasive and humiliating process by which migrant labourers were physically inspected by a white colonial official. In these photographs we can see the continuation of the line from the previous photographs. This could be read as in imposition of order, especially with regard to the scene depicting inspection. The colonial official probes at the men, looking into a man's mouth to inspect his teeth and examining his head. Unlike before, the men in these photographs are half dressed. The point of reference for the official examination procedure is medical, although no reference is made to it in van Warmelo's captions. One could speculate that these men have already gone through the other procedures and now being inspected for duty. As part of a larger state project, van Warmelo took these photographs to document the treatment of the migrant workers. As the Ovanmboland migrant labour system was becoming more standardised during this time, state ethnologists, such as van Warmelo, were often tasked with the responsibly of recording the systems processes.

Figure 1.30 : parcels awaiting delivery at the "tribal" depot, Ohangwena Region, Namibia, September 1954.

In light of van Warmelo focus on to historizes 'tribal' groups, these photographs complement his research on the development in rural areas. In figure 1.30 the magnitude of the mail overrides the image. Here van Warmelo's interest is on the scene and not on a particular human subject. Above the package we see the crowd. Although the faces are not detailed, their clothing is prominent. As a backdrop for the scene the vast open landscape crates a visual setting for the photograph. Across his photograph we see van Warmelo's attempt to identify the presence of 'tribe' within the colonial context. This resulted in his effectiveness as a state ethnologist. Working beyond the academy van Warmelo, research informed the ways in policies were adjusted in order to ensure their success.

Figure 1.31 a and 1.31b: People waiting to board the bus, Ondangwa region, Namibia, September 1954.

Figure 1.32: Ovamboland men and woman climbing into a truck, Enjana Ovamboland, September 1954.

Figures 1.31 a, and 1.31 b show people waiting to board the bus in the Ondangwa region. Figure 1.32 displays people climbing into a truck in Ovamboland. Nothing is known about the destination the vehicles. However van Warmelo's motivation to photograph these aspects is noteworthy. The stark difference in the content of his 1947 and 1948 research is apparent in the sense that these photographs show that people travelled and were not restricted to one area. Furthermore, as in the preceding photographs displaying the arrival of mail and parcels, people were not cut off from the outside world. With regard to *Notes on the Kaokoveld,* the lack of the visual display of movement and mobility may be due to the restrictions placed on the region, as it was declared a reserve. Furthermore, one should remain mindful of the intention of the book. Unlike his other research expedition in Namibia, the book was intended to offer an inventory like survey of the region.

Retrospectively, Van Warmelo's legacy has commonly been discussed beyond the bounds of the *volkekunde* tradition. What this chapter intended to do was contest this narrative and highlight the important role van Warmelo played in maintaining and advancing the *volkekunde* agenda. In doing I emphasize the reach of the tradition itself. It is apparent that *volkekunde* principles and segregationist politics were deeply intertwined. Warmelo did not operate in isolation. His work was directly aligned with the *volkekunde* theoretical

framework. His career biography reveals how deeply involved he was in the tradition and by analyzing his published text alongside unpublished photograph we witness the development of his focus. Starting with his focus on 'tribe', we are made aware of the apartheids state's need to establish clear divides between ethnic groups. His later focus on 'tribal' governance relates to the colonial state's interest in maintaining the established divides. Taking these issues into account, it become apparent that van Warmelo was a key player in the mainstream *volkekunde.*

Chapter Two: Visuality in the Dissident *Volkekunde* Tradition: The Photography of Frans Boot (1939-2010)and Kees van der Waal (1949-), 1970-2015

The previous chapter analysed visuality in the mainstream *volkekunde* tradition through a biographical case study of N.J. van Warmelo. This chapter seeks to explore the career narratives of two dissident *volkekundiges,* Frans Hendrik Boot (1939-2010) and Cornelis Seakle (Kees) van der Waal (1949-), and the ways in which they expressed their divergence from mainstream *volkekunde* through their photographs taken in the field.

As these figures shared similar personal backgrounds and training, what is most profound is their personal decisions to deviate from the standard practices of *volkekunde* and, subsequently, to defect from the tradition entirely. In this chapter I argue that visuality offered dissident *volkekundiges* a platform to mediate their changing perspective. It should be noted that the two individuals used visuality, and especially photography in different ways. Frans Boot photographs read like ethnographic records because of the manner in which he staged and complied his photographs. In the case of Kees van der Waal, his early use of photography should be read alongside his work as a trained *volkekundige* turned museum curator. It is his photographs from his later fieldwork expeditions we witness a greater interest in person beyond the bounds of "tribe". This may be due to the overt use of colour photography. However, his later iterations speaks to an openness to diversity and cross-cultural exchange.

By analysing these two career narratives, we gain insight into their approach to fieldwork and their attitude towards the *volkekunde* tradition in which they were trained. I will focus on particular expeditions in which each dissident *volkekundige* occupied the role of ethnographer and photographer. In the section on Frans Boot, I will explore his use of photography in his extensive field work in Zululand among the Mkhwanazi group in the 1970s and 1980s. For the section on Kees van der Waal I will explore his MA photographs in which he focussed on the lifestyles and home architecture of the Venda in the 1970s. In order to further contextualise his development as an anthropologist, I will analyse his much more recent photographs from his fieldwork in Pniel and Limpopo taken in 2008 and 2014.

Frans Hendrik Boot (1939-2010) and the dynamics of *volkekunde* outside the Afrikaans academy

Figure 2.1: Frans Boot (second to left) accompanied by UWC students on a field trip to Genadendal, c. 1980.

The legacy of Frans Hendrik Boot has largely been forgotten in the now Anthropology and Sociology Department of the University of the Western Cape today. Buried along with the institution's *volkekunde* past, I came across Boot whilst doing research for my B.A. Honours thesis in history in 2017.[130] Boot had been the first HOD of what was then called the Department of *Volkekunde* at UWC. He was first appointment as a member of the department in 1972.[131] Boot had a slim publishing record (see later). However, his love for fieldwork culminated in the creation of a vast photographic archive on the Mkhwanazi group in Zululand.[132] The collection is made up of developed and negative photographs, donated to me by his son in 2017. I will analyse selected sheets from the 360 photographs taken during Boot's fieldwork in Kwa-Zulu Natal over two decades. Apart from fieldwork, Boot was a passionate teacher who sought to cultivate a culture of immersive ethnographic practice

[130] Daries, A.2017 "Monica Wilson (1908-1982) and Frans Hendrik Boot (1939-2010): A Comparative History of the Social Anthropology Departments of UCT and UWC." Honours diss. Belleville: University of the Western Cape.
[131] Frans Boot, 2006 CV, 'Publications and Research Papers':2.
[132] Boot described thee Mkhwanazi group as a clan of the Zulu nation.

amongst his students. The photograph above show him accompanying UWC students on a field fieldtrip to Genadendal, c. 1980.

Before analysing his photographic collection, it is necessary to locate them in the context of his background and training in *volkekunde.* Boot and his twin sister Roelien were born on 26 September 1939 in the East-Rand of Johannesburg.[133] The son of Dutch immigrants, Adrianus Boot and Jan-Tina Boot, Frans Boot performed well at school and in his matric year he and his twin sister were elected head-boy and head-girl of Brakpan High School.[134] In 1958 Boot enrolled in a veterinary studies program at the University of Pretoria. As his father refused to finance his studies, he was forced to subsidise his own education by selling milk and eggs from his family farm.[135] Despite his initial interest in veterinary studies, he ultimately chose to pursue a BA degree.[136] In 1960 the 21 year old Boot graduated with a distinction in *Volkekunde*.[137]

BANTOEKUNDE-VERENIGING

Vanjaar bestaan die Vereniging uit twee subkomitees, nl. een Buitemuurs en een Binnemuurs, maar ons skakel nog t.o.v. die toer en jaarvergadering saam.

Voor, v.l.n.r.: F. Boot (penningmeester), C. Diederiks (Sekretaresse), B. Grobbelaar (Voorsitter).

Agter, v.l.n.r.: R. D. Coertze (Ere-President), A. Burger (add. lid), E. Hodgman (vise-voors.).

Figure 2.2: The *Bantoekunde-Vereniging* ('Bantu' Studies Association). In the photograph we see a young Frans Boot seated in the front row on the far left, c. 1961.

[133] "Die geskiedenis van Frans Boot", Boot Family Archive
[134] Daries, A.2017 "Monica Wilson (1908-1982) and Frans Hendrik Boot (1939-2010): A Comparative History of the Social Anthropology Departments of UCT and UWC." Honours diss. Belleville: University of the Western Cape, 2017.
[135] "Die geskiedenis van Frans Boot", Boot Family Archive
[136]Daries, A. 2017 "Monica Wilson (1908-1982) and Frans Hendrik Boot (1939-2010): A Comparative History of the Social Anthropology Departments of UCT and UWC." Honours diss. Belleville: University of the Western Cape, 2017.
[137] "Die geskiedenis van Frans Boot", Boot Family Archive

Figure 2.3: Boot as a student of the University of Pretoria c. 1960, standing in the back row to the far right of the frame. Seated on the far left is R. D. Coertze. Both P.J Coertze and R. D Coertze had a phenomenal influence on Boot's training. R.D Coertze, took over P.J.'s mantle and his austere legacy, c. 1961.

In his undergraduate years, Boot was profoundly influenced by the leading figures in *volkekunde* during the high apartheid era, namely Pieter Johannes Coertze and his son Roelof Coertze. P.J Coertze is recognised as the doyen in the *volkekunde* tradition. Following Eiselen's departure from SU in 1936, Coertze took over as the leading figure there. Thereafter he took the racialised *volkekunde* tradition from the University of Stellenbosch to the University of Pretoria in the late 1940s. By the late 1950s the *volkekunde* tradition started to regulate its pedagogical practice. Although Coertze is credited as the driving force behind this standardisation, the project was largely a collaborative effort.

The foundational framework for this mainstream brand consolidated ideologies taken from a Christian nationalist perspective as well as a race science perspective. This is best shown in the Coertze's *Inleiding tot die Algemene Volkekunde* [Introduction to General *Volkekunde*], published in the first of several editions in 1960. In the introduction to the textbook P.J. Coertze expresses the core purpose of the discipline. He states: "*Volkekunde* studies people as they live in cultural units…and the culture of people, as a result of a process of creation and social changes that exist as separate yet interconnected phenomena."[138] This process of

[138] Coertze, P.J.[et al]. 1960. Inleiding tot die Algemene *Volkekunde*. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers,11. [my translation]

studying people within "cultural units" analyses people using three components of analysis: cultural *volkekunde*, biological *volkekunde* and physical *volkekunde*.

With regard to the elaborate breakdown of each framework in the 1960 textbook it becomes apparent that Coertze, along with the other contributors, drew from existing anthropological traditions to formulate a suitable theoretical structure for the discipline. This structure had to encompass ideologies that supported a hierarchical portrayal of race and racial types.[139] In order to do so, Christian-nationalist language was used in order to mask the overt focus on race science.[140] Although the latter placed the creationist-model of the origin of human-kind into question, the point of combining a variety of theories was undertaken in order to use "scientific" evidence to support the bogus claims made by the tradition itself. As flawed as this approach was, it was necessary in order to catapult the *volkekunde* paradigm into a broader scientific discussion that was on the upsurge in the high apartheid era.

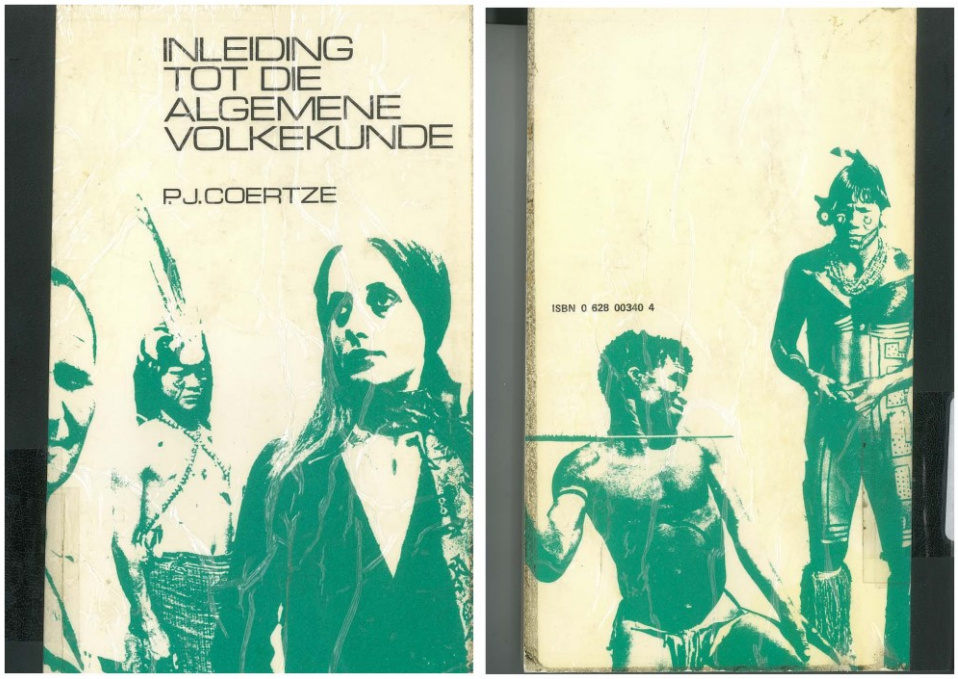


Figure 2.4: The cover of the 1973 version of the textbook, *Inleiding tot die Algemene Volkekunde.*

The illustration in figure 2.4 above is overt and purposeful in its intention. The cover was carefully selected to display racial types without the use of the actual terms of 'tribe' or

[139] Coertze, P.J.[et al]. 1960. Inleiding tot die Algemene *Volkekunde*. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers.
[140] Ibid.

'race'. It pre-empts the textbook's content by displaying the stark contrast between physical attributes. For example, the illustration of the Caucasian women displays her as is, holding no tools and wearing nothing overtly 'cultural'. The side profile of the 'bushman's' head makes an overt gesture to the textbook focus on racial types and anthropometric measuring techniques. Furthermore, the other figures in the illustration displays men with elaborate headdresses, adornments and clothing as well the use of tools, which in this case is a spear.

According to Coertze, "Biological *volkekunde*, or anthropology, as a branch of *volkekunde* pays particular attention to the biological side of man's existence". In the textbook it claims that the biologic *volkekunde* considers the following:

(a) Indication and description of the variety of human species (races) on earth, prehistoric and present .
(b) Classification of people according to their racial composition.
(c) The historical course of human existence on earth and the history of division into a variety of species.
(d) The factors responsible for the division of mankind into racial types and how they worked.
(e) Man seen against the background of his natural environment and its effect in his life.
(f) The determination of the position of man in the biological world.
(g) The relationship between racial and mental differences (according to Psychology)

Despite the initial aspirations to assimilate to an Afrikaner identity, Frans Boot's background as a Dutch immigrant always placed him on the periphery of mainstream *volkekunde* and Afrikaner nationalism. This, accompanied by his personal convictions concerning the flawed nature of race and gender prejudice prevalent in the Afrikaner circles he was a part of, ultimately resulted in him following an unconventional path, both professionally and personally.[141] After completing his one-year Honours degree in *Volkekunde* in 1961 under the supervision of P.J. Coertze, Boot was appointed as the first lecturer in the *Volkekunde* Department at the University of Zululand.[142] His teaching at this institution was profoundly enhanced by his three years of undergraduate training in Zulu which translated into fluency by the mid-1960s. In a late-life CV he noted: "I speak, read and write Afrikaans, English and Dutch. Besides knowing the grammar of Zulu well, I have a conversational command of the

[141] Johan Boot, personal communications.
[142] This followed a brief period of teaching English at a high school in Johannesburg immediately after graduation, further testimony to his multi-lingualism.

language. I also have limited proficiency in German, French, Norwegian, Swedish, Sotho and Xhosa."[143]

On a personal front Boot wed (the later renowned) Afrikaans actress, Marga van Rooy, in December 1965 in Burgerdorp. According to their son Johan's recollections, the Boot household was unconventional in the sense that Boot played the unusual role of house-husband. Marga was a talented actress and Boot supported her pursuits by taking on most of the domestic tasks in their marriage.

Figure 2.5: Frans Boot and Marga van Rooy on their wedding day, Burgersdorp, 1965.

Marga was a formidable and ambitious person. In her undergraduate days she had been the first woman to serve on the Student Representative Council at UP. They had formally met in the Dutch Reformed Church of which they remained life-long members, although they were both deeply critical of the way in which the Dutch Reformed Church supported apartheid. According to Johan, his parents remained strong Christians throughout their lives. However, he recalls an instance where his parents, in particular his mother, had a political disagreement with church leaders, and subsequently decided to leave the church for a period of time. [144]

Marga's charismatic personality and artistic potential started manifesting itself while she was pursuing her degree in Performing Art at the University of Pretoria. Marga and Frans made many compromises for one another. In 1966, following their nuptials, Boot agreed to relocate from the University of Zululand to the University of South Africa in Pretoria where Marga could pursue her budding career in theatre and film. But in 1972 she, in turn, was willing to

[143] Frans Boot, CV, 2006 in application for Ph.D. studies at the University of Stellenbosch, 3.
[144] Interview with Johan Boot, Cape Town, 15 August 2017

relocate to Cape Town so he could take up a post as the first member of the *Volkekunde* department at the University of the Western Cape.[145]

The move to Cape Town proved to be a major career sacrifice for Marga, and the Boot family as whole. In the years while Boot was at UWC, she was often obligated to be away from home for up to three months at a time. It was in these instances that Boot showed a significant support of his wife's career. Johan vividly recalls his UWC-based father waking up at 6 in the morning to read the newspaper, prepare lunches for his five children, and having their breakfasts ready, as well as the laundry washed and hung up by 7:30, before taking them to school. As Marga was never a skilled cook, Boot cooked most of the children's dinners. Johan recalls that "traditional gender roles did not exist in our home".[146] Boot's occupation as a lecturer provided the flexibility necessary for him to take on the domestic reins in the home.

Professionally, Boot's move to UWC marked his formal institutional break away from the Afrikaner academy. But his intellectual break can be dated to the Zululand fieldwork he started in the 1960s, into a research project on Zulu religion, with a particular focus on ancestral worship and traditional healers.[147] Boot's research methods and style deviated from standard *volkekunde* fieldwork practice. Unlike his colleagues, Boot engaged in a form of extended research that crossed the bounds of *volkekunde* ethnography and apartheid segregation laws. He lived among, rather than apart from, the Mkhwanazi group he studied, and even in later years took his children with him into the field.[148]

The human connections he developed during his field research forced him to question the racialised paradigm of his pro-apartheid *volkekundige* mentor, P.J. Coertze, and his son Roelof. In an interview I conducted with his son, Johan Boot for my 2017 honours thesis, he emphasised his father's great passion for fieldwork, "My father loved fieldwork. My mother always said that my father felt the freest when he was in Zululand."[149] Boot's innate curiosity and desire to establish human connections was reflected in the cross-cultural contacts he made in the field. His established lifelong connection and friendships with key informants,

[145] "Die geskiedenis van Frans Boot", Boot Family Archive
[146] Interview with Johan Boot, Cape Town, 15 August 2017
[147] "Die geskiedenis van Frans Boot", Boot Family Archive
[148] Interview with Johan Boot, Cape Town, 15 August 2017
[149] Ibid.

Michael Nkonazi and Frans Mathaba surpassed fieldwork.[150] His encounters in the field and close relationships with Zulu informants and community members led to increasing tensions in his relations with the Coertzes. His dissatisfaction with *volkekunde* would subsequently derail his pursuit of an MA or Ph.D. in anthropology and would have consequences for his career prospects.

According to the publications listed in his CV, Boot had a dual interest in Zulu history and culture, and in the history of South African anthropology. He lists five contributions to the 1972 edition of the *Dictionary of South African Biography*, three on nineteenth-century Zulu chiefs (Langalibalele, Mpande and Zibhebhu kaMaphitha Zulu) and two on South African ethnographers who had worked in a region (Henri-Alexandre Junod on the Tsonga, and Jack Krige on the Lovedu and the Zulu).[151] The weight of his publication records are in short entries in dictionaries, encyclopedias, and lesser known journals, which suggests that he was on the margins of the discipline in terms of his published output. This was presumably because his field-based studies in Zulu religion had not yet been completed.[152]

Boot's research achievements are best revealed in his remarkable photographic collection. The attention to detail in his images is astounding, especially in light of the fact that he was a self-taught photographer. When looking at the images, it is clear that Boot's intention was to uncover the subtle nuances of life amongst his research subjects and to convey an aesthetics appeal of their living environment. The printed collection is comprised of 360 photographs. In analysing each frame, it appears as though Boot communicated his thoughts through these images. The camera lens was his writing aid and I read the collection as a form of ethnography.

The photographs were intended to form the basis for his proposed Ph.D. at the University of Stellenbosch, along with an analysis of teaching methods in anthropology departments.[153] As part of his Ph.D. proposal, Boot scanned all his photographs with new technology. Although the photographs are devoid of captions, the sheets offer us some sort of story line. The way he grouped particular images informs the audience as to how he read the images.

[150] Daries, A. 2017 "Monica Wilson (1908-1982) and Frans Hendrik Boot (1939-2010): A Comparative History of the Social Anthropology Departments of UCT and UWC." Honours diss. Belleville: University of the Western Cape, 2017.
[151] Frans Boot, 2006 CV, 'Publications and Research Papers', 2.
[152] Kees van de Waal interview, Stellenbosch, 17 May 2017.
[153] Frans Boot, 2006 CV, 'Publications and Research Papers'.

Therefore when analysing these photographs, attention to the arrangement and composition of the frames are important. Boot himself was responsible for grouping each sheet together. The majority of the photographs appear to be choreographed and each frame is composed in a particular fashion, revealing specific details that the photographer chose to highlight. Some of the photographs feature elements of material culture, especially clothing. However, these photographs speak to a different kind of consciousness. In using a variety of angles of photographic subjects and landscapes, the aesthetic appeal of the photographs is profound. His interest is not static or reductive in nature. In this instance, choreography is used to evoke a different form of insight and, in many instances, beauty.

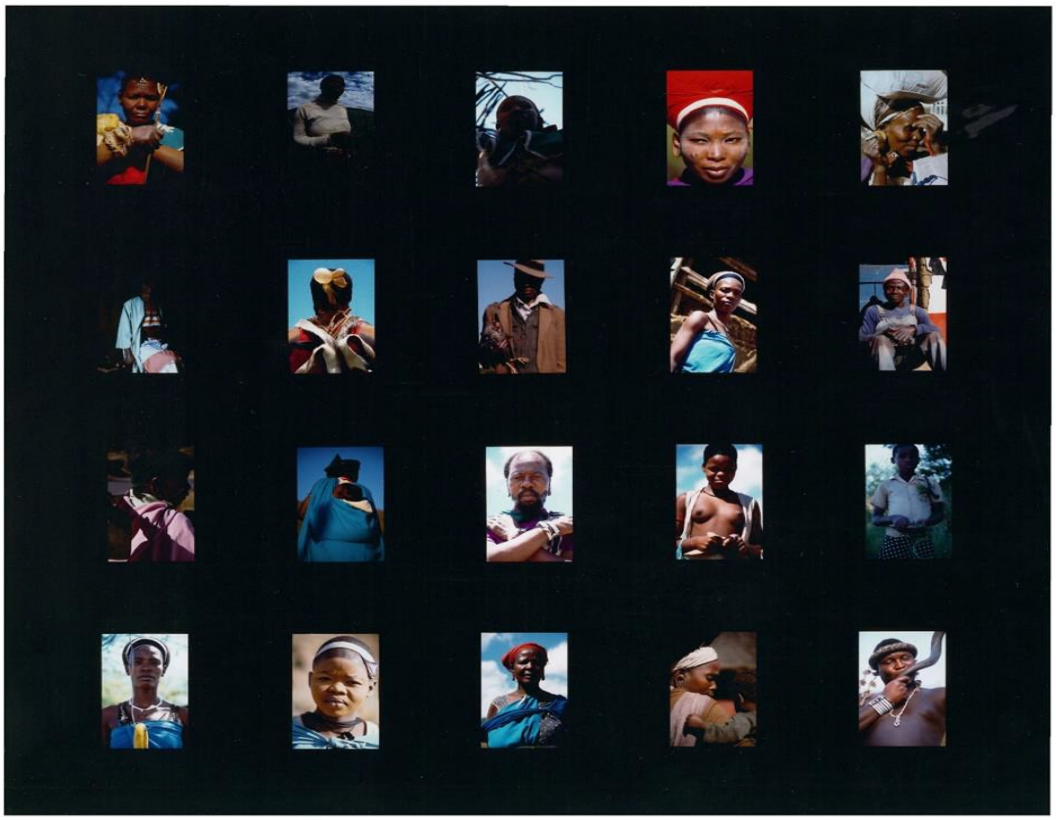


Figure 2.6: Sheet 1:oots ethnographic portraits from his Zululand fieldwork

Figure 2.7: Sheet 2 Boots ethnographic photographs from his Zululand fieldwork

Portraits are the most prominent genre in this collection. Out of the 360 photographs, 160 can be described as portraits. Although portraiture is a common features in mainstream *volkekunde,* Boot's portraits are vibrant and show detailed aesthetics. This is accentuated by his use of colour rather than black and white photography. Furthermore, Boot's research was fuelled by a personal curiosity and insight. Unlike many mainstream *volkekundiges,* Boot's research did not contribute to the larger state driven project of gathering information on 'tribes'. Although factors such as his severed relationship with the prominent Coertze's should be considered, Boot's sustained interest in his research, despite the lack of publication. I therefore read them as a reflection of his love for the process of fieldwork.

In the portraits specifically, photographic subjects are displayed wearing a mixture of Western and traditional dress. The person in each frame is made the central feature by the use of varied angles to emphasise the subject. Some are taken at the level of subject, but many are from below. The storyline in Sheet 1 relates to the person. A lot of the background is cropped out photographs and the subjects take up the majority of the space in the frames. Sheet 2

expands on this by situating many of subject in the larger context. As a contextualising agent, group portraiture and the inclusion of building and landscapes further locates their subjects.

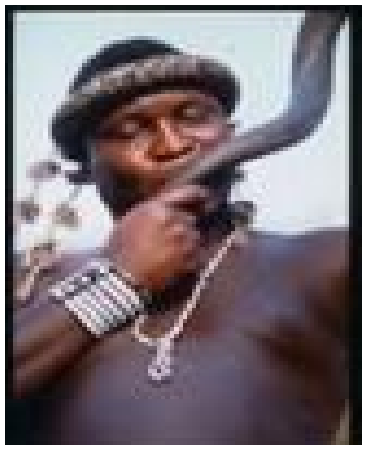


Figure 2.8: Portrait from Sheet 1.

Figure 2.8 affirms Boot's inclination to create balance in his portraits. The width of the subjects shoulders fill the frame. At the same time the subjects right shoulder is slightly forward in order to holds up the horn. The winding curves of the horn draws the audiences eyes upward and the frame is elongated in flowing asymmetry. At the other end of the frame, the tassels dangling from the Zulu head-ring (see chapter 1 on its symbolism) mirrors the asymmetric flow as created by the horn. In this instance, the eyes are drawn down as the tassels rest just above the beaded bracelet. The whiteness of the jewellery piece is striking. It stands out against the subjects deep skin tone.

Figure 2.9: Portrait from Sheet 1.

In figure 2.9 Boot's fascination with vibrant colours is further extended. What I find most strikingly is the depth of the redness in the headdress worn by this Zulu women. The white band creates a frame around her heart-shaped face. Furthermore, the crème lathered over her skin draws the viewer's attention to the subject's prominent cheek-bone. Her gaze off to the right side of the frame, accompanied by her slight grin, makes for an animated composition. The photographer's use of depth-of-field, further foregrounds the subject and draws our attention to her face. His choice to show her face in the foreground offers a sense of person and closeness.

Another common trope in Boot's photographs is his fascination with the sky and celestial symbols. In figure 2.8 Boot uses the sky as a clear powder-blue backdrop to make the subjects even more prominent. Boot's use of landscape and architectural photography supersedes a simple geographical layout of space. These photographs are complex in their composition. Choreographed to draw out specific features, the storyline of these photographs is a testament to the photographers familiarity and engagement with space.

Figure 2.10: Sheet 3: Spaces in Boot's ethnographic portraits from his Zululand fieldwork, 1970s.

Figure 2.11: Sheet 4: Spaces in Boot's ethnographic photographs from his Zululand fieldwork, 1970s.

Figure 2.12: Photograph from sheet 3, 1970s.

The photographs above subvert the audience perception of the building, as this is not the way in which the natural eye perceives the world. Here Boot's interest in architecture is apparent. The frame appears distorted which makes the photograph appear unsettling. The pink building seems to be towering over the viewer. As the eye is led upward, the sky offers some sort stability to the frame, whereas the sporadic clouds offer contrast. It should be noted that

Boot's use of the colour white is striking and shows how he made use of all the elements at his disposal in an intentional way.

Figure 2.13: Photograph from sheet 4.,1970s.

The photograph above subvert the audience's view of the space. In a way we can trace his obsession of photographing the sky back to his research focus on religion and religious practice. These images also display Boot's range of skills as a photographer. The white clouds here are the main feature. His use of shadows give the photograph an unsettling feel. Also this photograph is taken on a slanted angle which results in the creation of a rounded frame.

Figure 2.14: Other photographs from his Zululand fieldwork, 1970s.

The photographs above suggest a familiarity with the space, as well as an acute attention to detail. Boot's fieldwork was localised in specific area in Zululand. Each frame above seeks to show an area from a different perspective. Once again, the photographer's interest in nuance is apparent. The set above foregrounds a variety of features that range from remarkable shots of the moon, to a snowy landscape, to a barbwire fence with the sky as a backdrop and lastly

an image of the cloud filled sky that mimics the globe. Boot displays the complexity of the environment. There is an ethereal, other-worldly quality about his images of moon and sky, reflective of his ethnographic interest in religion and also of his deep Christian religious beliefs.

I turn now more briefly to his pedagogical passions. *Volkekunde* had been introduced at UWC in 1970. In its first year three lecturers from the University of Stellenbosch, G. M. K. Schuler, L. J. Botha and R. Gordon, offered classes to UWC students. According to Robert Gordon (who was not a *volkekundige*), the content that was taught at US was simply repeated in Afrikaans to a very small class of about 20 UWC students.[154] We should acknowledge that UWC of the early 1970s was deeply conservative and was predominantly white in terms of its management. Thus the structure of the institution aimed to limit the expansion of research interest and overall student development.[155]

As a teacher Boot sought to expand the syllabus to include more critical content. As the student numbers grew steadily, their dissatisfaction with the course content became more overt. Students demanded a political critique in their syllabus. Boot responded by getting guest lecturers from UCT's Social Anthropology Department.[156] The 1973 to 1974 UWC calendar indicates that Boot lectured students on "the theory of culture, social structure and social organisation, and political systems."[157] With regard to the subjects he covered in his lectures, his love for fieldwork crept into the classroom. In efforts to promote a passion for extended fieldwork in his students, Boot took them on regular fieldtrips. Zululand and the photographs he took on his fieldwork expeditions were frequently shown in class. He spoke so often of his one of his key informant, Frans Mathaba, that his students called him 'Frans Mathaba' in his absence, exclaiming upon his arrival "Hier kom Frans Mathaba!".[158]

The extent of Boot's commitment to teaching and fieldwork-based research is evident in a co-authored conference paper that he presented at the South African Association of Social Anthropologists held at UCT in 1987. His research explored teaching and pedagogical

[154] Daries, A. 2017 "Monica Wilson (1908-1982) and Frans Hendrik Boot (1939-2010): A Comparative History of the Social Anthropology Departments of UCT and UWC." Honours diss. Belleville: University of the Western Cape, 2017.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Interview with Rhoda Kadalie, 7 October 2017.
[157] The University of the Western Cape 1973-1974 calendar
[158] Interview with Rhoda Kadalie, 7 October 2017.

practice in South African anthropology departments. By this time he was training his UWC students to conduct independent anthropological research. He notes that: "While working in the Western Cape, I extended my research to a number of rural communities such as Genadendal and Mamre. This was done mainly to afford students at UWC exposure to field research. Topics included economic patterns and development issues. From the mid-1980s my own research interests broadened to include development theory and applied anthropology."[159] It was only in the late 1980s that he published parts of his research on Zulu religion. His first article was published in 1989 and a second 36-page analysis of "Religious Pluralism in a Zulu Kingdom" was published in an internationally edited collection, undoubtedly his fullest contribution as an ethnographer of Zulu culture.[160]

In 1989, Boot organised the first anthropology conference ever held at UWC, but later that same year, he resigned from his post. According to his son: "I think the conflicts with the all the powers that be… were difficult for him to sort of process… from the conflict at UWC to the conflict in Afrikaner identity."[161] As UWC had become highly politicised and teaching conditions became increasingly difficult, Boot himself felt deeply conflicted in the space and was could not see his way continuing his work at the University.

Cornelis Seakle 'Kees' van der Waal (1949-): The Flaws and The Fall of *Volkekunde*

Born on 22 October 1949 to parents Nolly Rakers and Kees van der Waal, Cornelis Seakle van der Waal immigrated with his family to South Africa from the Netherlands at the age of four. In the autobiographical essay referred to in the introduction of this thesis, van der Waal remembers idolizing figures like Hendrik Verwoerd who seamlessly integrated into and climbed the social ranks of Afrikaner society. In his early life he wanted nothing more than to mimic that same type of integration. The 1950s allowed for this, as it was a period in which Dutch immigrants were welcomed into Afrikaner society on the ground that they shared similar historical and religious identities. Van der Waal claims the integration of Dutch

[159]Daries, A. 2017 "Monica Wilson (1908-1982) and Frans Hendrik Boot (1939-2010): A Comparative History of the Social Anthropology Departments of UCT and UWC." Honours diss. Belleville: University of the Western Cape, 2017.
[160] Frans Boot, 2006 CV, 'Publications and Research Papers', CV.
[161] Daries, A. 2017 "Monica Wilson (1908-1982) and Frans Hendrik Boot (1939-2010): A Comparative History of the Social Anthropology Departments of UCT and UWC." Honours diss. Belleville: University of the Western Cape, 2017. .

immigrant communities into the Afrikaner fold involved particular "social cues for practising whiteness". Commenting on this integration, he notes that:

> In line with conservatives in the Netherlands, our group of immigrants resented the growing critique of apartheid by progressive Dutch politicians and opinionated leaders and showed their solidarity with Afrikaners by supporting nationalist politics and some Afrikaner cultural events. By the end of the 1960s, the mood in our congregation was positive about the ideals of apartheid. For instance, just after Hendrik Verwoerd's death in 1966, I asked for and received his published speeches as a birthday present, which reflects the veneration we had for him…By the mid-1960s, my father was preaching in Afrikaans, but it was clear that our ideological identity was strongly orientated towards the church and its theological silo in the Netherlands, distinct from the nationalism that permeated Afrikaans churches.[162]

Van der Waal's introduction to *volkekunde* did not occur at university level. Growing up in Pretoria in the 1950s, he recalls how *volkekunde* crept into various institutions of learning. One of his first encounters can be traced back to his church.[163] In the Pretoria based *Vrye Gereformeerde Kerk*, where his father was the minister, a missionary and African language specialist offered Sotho classes to school children in the church on Saturday afternoons. Apart from being introduced to Sotho, van der Waal recalls his teacher referring to *volkekunde,* one of the subjects he would later study at the University of Pretoria.[164]

He and his sibling attended the Afrikaans-medium school, Hendrik Verwoerd Secondary, where the school's culture overtly supported apartheid politics and was engrained in all aspects of teaching, extra-curricular activities and social life.[165] In his home ,however, his father's occupation as a minister and scholar allowed him to formulate a partial critique on the socio-political situation in country. His father trained a black evangelist in his home. Acknowledging the paternalistic nature of the exchanges between his father and black communities, van der Waal recalls how fondly black people spoke of his father. His father went as far as to insist that the evangelist attend their church services, but this was contested by the white church members.[166]

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[162] Van der Waal, C. S. 2015, "Long Walk from Volkekunde to Anthropology: Reflection on Representing the Human in South Africa." *Anthropology Southern Africa* 38(3), 216-234.
[163]Ibid.
[164] Kees van der Waal interview, Stellenbosch,12 August 2019.
[165] Van der Waal, C. S. "Long walk from Volkekunde to Anthropology: Reflections on Representing the Human in South Africa." *Anthropology Southern Africa* 38, no. 3-4 (2015): 216-234.
[166]Ibid

Van der Waal also remembers being taught a form of rudimentary *volkekunde* at school. After completing matric, he decided to start working and study on a part-time basis. Working in a library by day, van der Waal took up night classes at the University of Pretoria in 1967.[167] Initially, he was unsure about the academic direction he ought to take. In an effort to resolve this dilemma, he took eight different courses in the Humanities. His list of courses included *volkekunde,* archaeology, history, philosophy, Sotho, French, Latin and Greek. His choice to take up classical languages was in order to appease his father, who wanted him to pursue theological studies.[168]

Van der Waal recalls having had an interest in people and indigenous cultures of the world from a very early age. In this he acknowledges that this interest was cultivated through exposure to a "romanticized view of otherness".[169] It was this interest that nudged him the direction *volkekunde.* Upon choosing to pursue *volkekunde* in 1967*,* van der Waal notes that his "political naivety" shielded him from being aware of the depths and detrimental nature of the racial politics underlying *volkekunde* and the Pretoria University *volkekunde* department, then well established as the leading department in the country.[170] In line with this, his conservative Dutch-Afrikaner upbringing informed his political perspective. His ideas of race and culture at the time were cultivated in an environment that took segregation as a given. His views were validated in a department that openly endorsed the racist apartheid rhetoric. In light of this, van der Waal notes that as an undergraduate he "took in the information uncritically".[171]

[167] Kees van der Waal interview, 12 August 2019.
[168] Van der Waal, C. S. "Long walk from Volkekunde to Anthropology: Reflections on Representing the Human in South Africa." *Anthropology Southern Africa* 38, no. 3-4 (2015): 216-234.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.

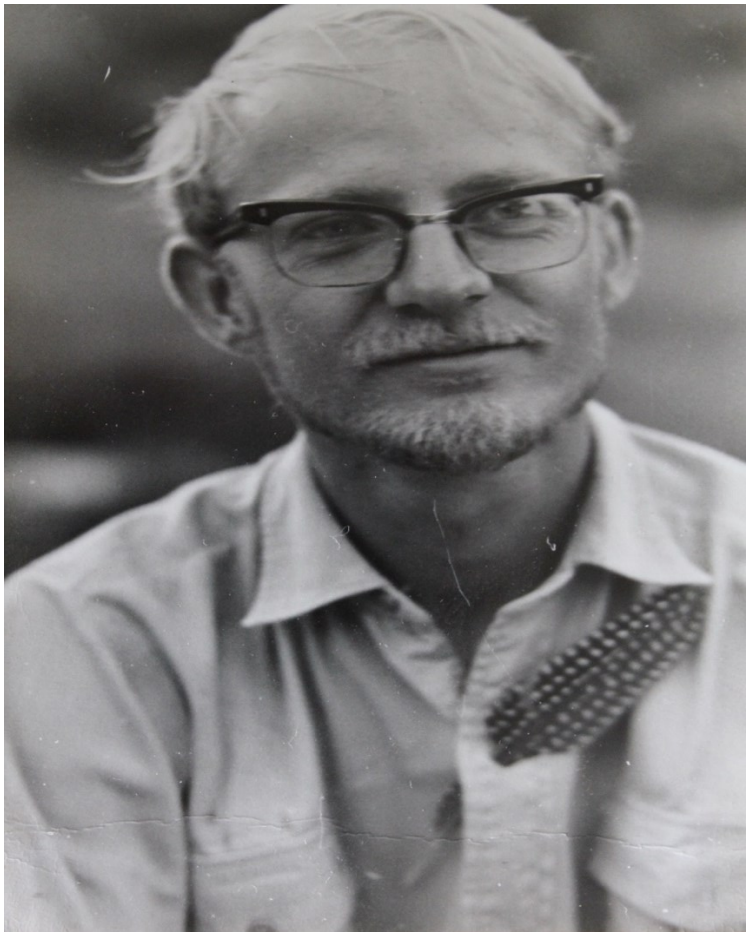

Figure 2.15: A photograph of a young Kees van der Waal in 1972. (C.S 'Kees' van der Waal Personal Archive)

Van der Waal notes that *volkekunde* had very little to offer in terms of in-depth research. By the 1970s visuality had not made great strides in the classroom. The only visual displays he can recall from his undergraduate years were those used archaeology classes, then a branch of *volkekunde* studies.[172] Reflecting on his undergraduate experience in the UP *volkekunde* department, he notes that the courses reflected the limited nature of the Afrikaner-nationalist, pro-apartheid tradition. According to van der Waal:

> The main text in *volkekunde* was the Afrikaans textbook *Inleiding tot die Algemene Volkekunde* [*Introduction to General Anthropology*] that was slavishly followed by lecturers. When not working from this single textbook with its low level of intellectual depth, we had mimeographed lecture notes that contained everything we needed to know. Some use was made of American cultural anthropology and reference was made to German authors such as Wilhelm Mühlmann, but on the undergraduate level we were not required to read widely. We were fed descriptive and ahistorical work on reconstructed African cultures and tribal history...The focus was

[172]Ibid.

> on traditional kinship and marriage systems, economic and political systems, and religion.[173]

Attaining good grades was relatively easy for van der Waal and it resulted in him getting a two-year undergraduate student assistant position in UP's *volkekunde* department. As he then intended to pursue a career closely aligned with *volkekunde,* he saw this appointment as a step in the right direction. By completing basic tasks such as copying notes, keeping roll-calls and filling out library orders, this administrative position allowed van der Waal to cement relationships with the influential intellectuals in his department. He recalls his deep initial respect for his professors, especially P. J Coertze and his son Roelof. But after two years of working in the department, he began to become aware of their conservatism.[174] van der Waal notes that Roelof embodied many of his father's qualities. However, Roelof insisted on implementing new technologies in the form of colour slides in the classroom to illustrate cultural differences.[175]

After completing his BA degree, van der Waal was appointed as curator in the ethnology section of the Pretoria National Cultural History and Open-Air Museum in Pretoria.[176] One of the main features that attracted him to the position was the promise of fieldwork. Throughout the 1970s van der Waal continued his work in the museum. From 1971 to 1977, he was responsible for collecting cultural artefacts in various "Bantustans" across the county. Looking back at this period of his career, van der Waal realises the "invasive nature" of this type of research.[177] On an institutional level, he notes that the Pretoria Museum was aligned with the apartheid ideological framework. Their displays exoticized and othered African people. When revamping the Museum's ethnology exhibition in 1976, van der Waal conformed to this standard by categorising the museum displays according to ethnic groups. In doing so, he kept true to the core principles of the mainstream *volkekunde* tradition in which the Coertzes had trained him.[178]

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[173] Van der Waal, C. S. 2015, "Long Walk from Volkekunde to Anthropology: Reflection on Representing the Human in South Africa." *Anthropology Southern Africa* 38(3), 216-234.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Kees van der Waal interview, 12 August 2019.
[176] ibid
[177] Van der Waal, C. S. 2015, "Long Walk from Volkekunde to Anthropology: Reflection on Representing the Human in South Africa." *Anthropology Southern Africa* 38(3), 216-234.
[178] Ibid.

I. The Flaws of *Volkekunde*: Kees van der Waal's Photographs of Venda Housebuilding (1977)

While employed at the Museum in Pretoria, van der Waal completed his Masters degree at UP under the supervision of Roelof Coertze. His thesis "Die Woning en Woonwyse onder die Venda" [The habitation and use of space by the Venda]*"* explores the utilization of space in central-Venda.[179] In his study van der Waal analyses the geographical layout of a Venda village. Furthermore, he explores the functions within village life and the methods Venda people used in the construction of houses and other structures.[180] The majority of the 130-page thesis gives a detailed outline of the background and history of the central-Venda and its people, the processes involved in housing construction, and the division of labour involved. When summarising his findings, Van Waal notes that:

> The structure and living areas in a village are closely associated with the various facets of Venda culture. The functioning of Venda society in the social, economic, religious and political spheres is always connected with specific living areas. The life in the village of a chief is especially characterised by specific activities…A village is not a static unit. Growth and sub-division are always taking place. Although there are ways to ensure continuity of occupation, a whole village or a portion therefore could under certain circumstances be shifted.[181]

Upon analysing van der Waal's MA thesis, it is clear that the subject matter was Venda architecture and construction methods in relation to the issues of "tribal" governance, religion, family structures, history and economy. The thesis includes 80 photographs, 2 maps and 30 drawn illustrations. Van der Waal's museum background is a major influence in this body of work and it shows in the detailed nature of each image. The images are arranged in order starting with the aerial maps, thereafter hand-drawn illustrations, and lastly photographs. [182]

[179] Ibid. [my translation]
[180] Ibid.
[181] Van der Waal, C. S. 1977. "Die Woning en Woonwyse onder die Venda". (University of Pretoria, MA Thesis).
[182] Ibid.

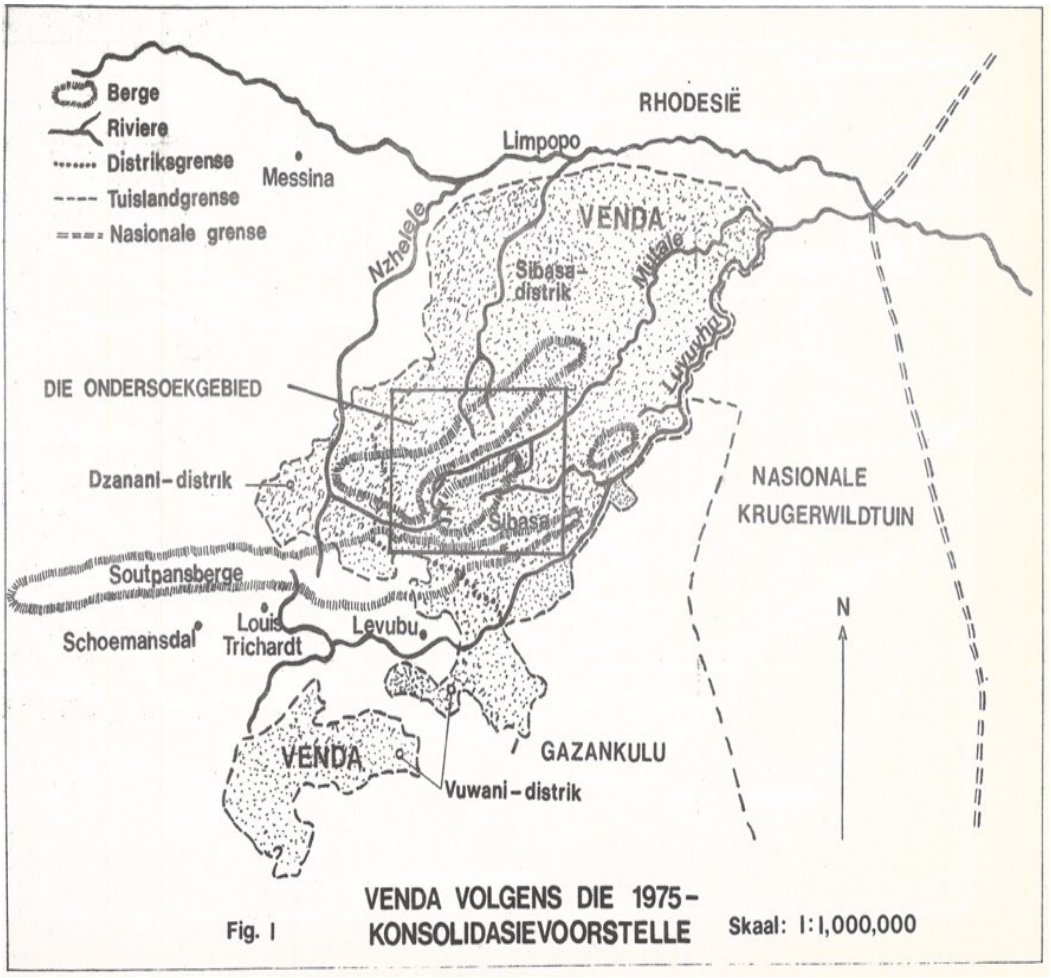

Figure 2.16: A Map of Venda from van der Waal's, "Die Woning en Woonwyse onder die Venda".

With the regard to the photographs, one of the main features is the focus on the stages of construction. The majority of the photographs seek to convey a sense of progression and movement. The photographs depict a variety of scenes, ranging from the gathering of building materials in the field to the building of the actual structure. Furthermore, the composition of the photographs does not appear to be significantly choreographed. Very rarely do subjects look directly at the camera. The focus is very much on the task at hand. This suggests that the photographer's interest was not on the person but on their actions. Furthermore, van der Waal's interest in displaying "function" is apparent in the photographs that show how the dwellings are used. In these images the subjects are displayed doing everyday tasks. Lastly, his museum background is prominent in the photographs displaying material culture. In these instances, objects are arranged and ordered to make them the centre focus in the frame.

Figure 2.17: The village of Captain Khakhu, 1974 from van der Waal's, "Die Woning en Woonwyse onder die Venda"(1977).

Maps are a common visual device in *volkekunde* photography, used to situate the study. The aerial shots, such as the one displayed in figure 2.17, is an example of the inward-looking nature of the *volkekunde* paradigm. This photograph is strategically displaying the village in isolation, cutting out any surrounding features, such as roads that might lead into the village. The clean rows of buildings contribute to van der Waal interest in construction and the way "the Venda" make use of space.

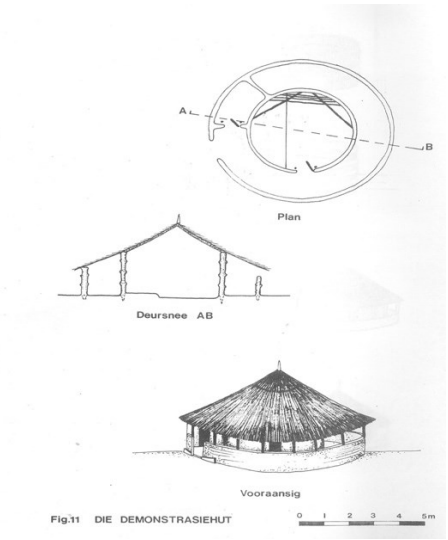

Figure 2.18: The model of a hut from van der Waal's, "Die Woning en Woonwyse onder die Venda"(1977).

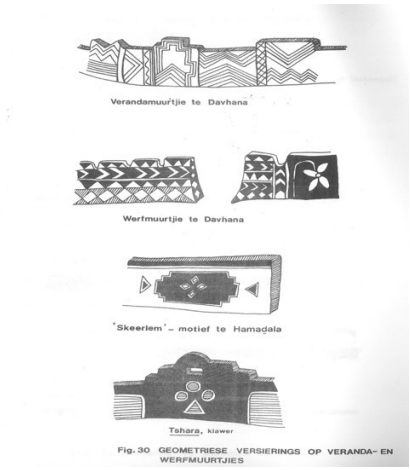

Figure 2.19: An illustration of geometric patterns painted on the walls of Venda structures, form van der Waal, "Die Woning en Woonwyse onder die Venda" (1977)

In van der Waal's early work visual detail was paramount. This is displayed in the illustrations of the dimension of a hut structure and types of patterns found on the walls of homesteads. These are model examples of van der Waals fixation with material culture. Unlike van Warmelo, van der Waal was not overtly interested in issues regarding 'tribal' governance, something he is retrospectively thankful for.[183]

Figure 2.20: The use of the cooking space in the yard of a cooking hut in Dzimauli, in van der Waal's "Die Woning en Woonwyse onder die Venda" (1977)

The photograph above shows the way in which a particular space was utilised. Although captured in the frames, the people are not the focus. The main focus is on the way in which cooking is done and area designated to food preparation. The photographer documents the

[183] Kees van der Waal interview, 12 August 2019.

woman seated on her mat with her arm out stretched stirring the pot in front of her. Children on either side provide balance and structure to the composition, but also allow the photographer to convey a sense of family or kinship context. The child on the left is nonchalantly crossing her arms, dressed in a torn oversized T-shirt. The child to the right is scantily dressed, with his back turn to the photographer. Several cooking pots are visible in the frame. Here van der Waal's interest is in depicting the process and space of cooking in a traditional Venda home.

Figure 2.21: The beginning of the roof construction van der Waal's "Die Woning en Woonwyse onder die Venda" (1977)

Figure 2.22: The four longest roof posts are set up, in van der Waal's "Die Woning en Woonwyse onder die Venda"

The use of black and white photography in van der Waal thesis, offers a documentary texture. Figure 2.21 shows the tying of the poles, then used in figure 2.22 to set up the framework of a hut. This sense of continuity is visible throughout the collection. Of the two images, figure

2.22 offers more detail pertaining to the context of the image. With rolling hills in the background, it creates a divide between the sky and the grasslands. The photographer uses this as the natural backdrop that foreground the men's efforts in setting poles in place.

Figure 2.23: The ring around the five main posts of the roof is reinforced with bark, in van der Waal's "Die Woning en Woonwyse onder die Venda" (1977)

I selected the image above not only because it continued from the two preceding photographs, but because of the expression on the man's face. This is one of the few scenes in which the participant looks at the camera. Whether done intentionally or not, this makes for a striking composition. Perched up high in order to tie the main poles, the participants hand are occupied, but his eyes are lifted away from the task at hand.

Figure 2.24: Making of a thatch roof. The sheaf, before spreading in van der Waal's "Die Woning en Woonwyse onder die Venda" (1977)

Figure 2.25: The cover grass is rounded with a large sheaf in van der Waal's "Die Woning en Woonwyse onder die Venda"(1977)

Arranged in a sequential way to display progress, it is clear that the photographs are to be in understood in context and alongside one another. As shown above, a scene displaying the construction of the thatched roof follows the making of the structure. The people in the photographs are depicted Western dress and, as stated earlier, the photographs do not appear to be staged in any particular way that is apparent to the viewer. As the photographer's intention here is to display a process, staging was not necessary. Upon reflection van der Waal notes that "While my research introduced me to everyday life in the Bantustans, I was intellectually severely restricted by my search for cultural purity."[184]

[184] Van der Waal, C. S. "Long walk from volkekunde to anthropology: reflections on representing the human in South Africa." *Anthropology Southern Africa* 38, no. 3-4 (2015): 216-234.

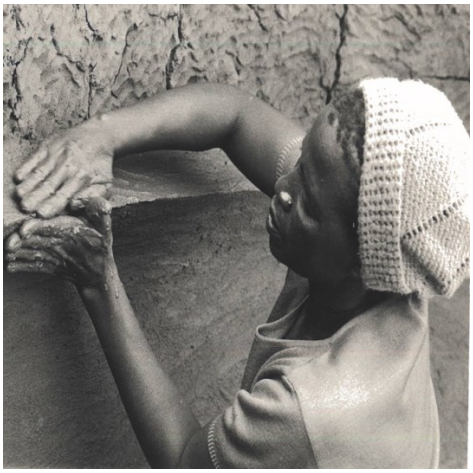

Figure 2.26: Sharp edges are formed over the reinforcements in the wall, in van der Waal's "Die Woning en Woonwyse onder die Venda" (1977)

Figure 2.27: Decorations are made, in van der Waal's "Die Woning en Woonwyse onder die Venda" (1977)

In continuing with the focus on process, van der Waal shows how women contributed to building project. What would be deemed as "men's work" and "women's work" is clearly defined and demarcated in the photographs. The building was usually undertaken by men. After the hut structures are completed, the women plaster, cement and decorate the hut structures as shown in figures 2.26 and 2.27 above

Van der Waal's interest in displaying material cultural through construction and the process associated with it was influenced by the museum context in which he worked. At the time, the National Cultural History and Open-Air Museum in Pretoria intended designate space to display re-enacted villages associated with specific ethic groups.[185] The museum was offered several areas in and around Pretoria in which this large-scale project could be erected. In order to fit in with the museums plan van der Waal went to Venda to conduct the first study on this particular group.[186] His study was focussed on documenting and providing information that would become the foundational research for the intended museum space. For his research, van der Waal used a 35mm museum owned camera for the purpose of creating colour slide and a Roli box camera for the black and white photographs. This equipment was effective for making enlargement for presentation purposes.[187] According to van der Waal, this project failed to manifest due to a lack of financial resources from the state. Although the museum plans of constructing a re-enacted museum space in Pretoria never materialised, van der Waal notes that the study was actualised in Venda itself. While not directly involved in the curation of the space, he gave a copy of his thesis to the Prime Minister of the then independent state of Venda in 1978. His research was used as the foundational bases for the project in Venda, and the selected authorities went on the build the open-air re-enacted village.[188]

Following the completion of his MA, van der Waal was employed in first teaching position in 1978 at the University of Pretoria. This was a major step-forward for van der Waal, as he still held true to his aspirations to assimilate to Afrikaner identity. In order to assume this position, he was required to complete an undergraduate course in Applied Anthropology, as the course he taught was mainly geared towards training government ethnologist.[189] Even in the late 1970s, the syllabus at UP had failed to incorporate any critical content. Van der Waals notes that the course was still mainly focussed on basic ideas about racial differences.

The UP department was a space in which conservative views of race were openly expressed. By this time Roelof Coertze had formally taken up the position of Chair in the UP *Volkekunde* Department, he continued to perpetuate the authoritarian atmosphere that his

[185] Kees van der Waal interview, Stellenbosch, 12 August 2019.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid.
[188] ibid
[189] Van der Waal CV, 2.

father had emulated. Although van der Waal's personal encounters with colleagues were pleasant, the now 30 years old van der Waal felt the need to confront the conservative nature of his personal perspectives and the social circles of which he was a part of. His opportunity to break away from the UP department arose when Roelof Coertze informed him of a post for a senior lecturer in *volkekunde* at Rand Afrikaans University (RAU). In 1980 van der Waal was appointed as a senior lecturer in what was then still the Department of *Volkekunde* at RAU in Johannesburg, where he from 1980 to 1984 the was able to make use of his extensive museum background as his teaching mainly focused on the anthropological museum.

II. The Fall of Volkekunde: Kees van der Waal's Personal and Photographic Paradigm Shift

The *volkekunde* department at RAU was radically different to that of the UP department. The individual who had the greatest influence on van der Waal was Boet Kotzé.[190] At the time of his appointment, Herman Mönnig was head of the RAU *Volkekunde* Department. Van der Waal notes that "While Mönnig was a *volkekundig*e with a strong orientation to *volksdiens*, Boet Kotze was ideologically much more independent and on his way out of Afrikaner nationalism."[191] According to van der Waal, Kotze was independent in his thinking and deeply critical of apartheid.[192] In 1982 RAU had started to publicly disassociate with the *volkekunde* tradition. Kotze was appointed to the position of chair and his inaugural lecture Kotze was overtly critical of ethnos theory. He spoke of himself as "a student of humans rather than of *volke."*[193] In taking this ideology further, the departments named was changed from *Volkekunde* to *Antropologie* following Kotze's appointment.

Although van der Waal had made the shift from UP to RAU, he was still connected to the department as Roelof Coertze was the supervisor for his doctoral thesis. In 1983, van der Waal officially broke away from the UP *Volkekunde* Department.[194] The severing of the intellectual tie with mainstream *volkekunde* was spurred on by debates he had with Kotze

[190] Van der Waal CV, 2.
[191] Van der Waal, C. S. 2015, "Long Walk from Volkekunde to Anthropology: Reflection on Representing the Human in South Africa." *Anthropology Southern Africa* 38(3), 216-234.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid: 225.
[194] Ibid.

concerning the effects of the Bantustan policy.[195] With Kotze as his new supervisor, van der Waals doctoral thesis focused on Venda and Ndebele craftwork and the informal sector in KwaNdebele and Venda. His 1986 doctorate was a very different to that of his MA. One of the most striking contrast between his MA and doctorate is that the latter included no photograph. According to van der Waal, his choice to shy away from the camera was motivated by the influence of Kotze. Kotze saw photography as one of many invasive procedures in *volkekunde* practice.[196] Although van der Waal was greatly influenced by Boet Kotze, Kotze was far more radical in his approach towards reform than van der Waal was. Accoridng to Van der Waal, Kotze attitude was spurred on by the close friendships he formed with young teenage boys in his fieldwork. With the financial backing provided by ABSA bank, Kotze and van der Waal created a bursary projects for high school pupils in the settlement in which they did their research.[197]

In a similar fashion to Kotze, van der Waal's fieldwork experience, effected his ideological perspective. From 1988, van der Waal started producing work that explored the issues surrounding the informal sector, informal settlements and rural transformation. In "The Anthropology of Anthropological Work: Reflecting on Research in an African Settlement" van der Waal argues that the ethnographic work has to become more personal. Shifting away from the notion of ethnographic distance established in *volkekunde* research, van der Waal states that fieldwork needs to be "more true to the experience of life situations, both in terms of communities and individuals studied and in terms of the ethnographers own experience"[198]. In this he attempt to advocate for fieldwork practices that value the "specificity" of the individual expertise, without forsaking the context in relation to the historical or political-economic situation. The context should therefore not be seen as a determining factor. He calls for a type of ethnographic practice that is an enlightening experience for the ethnographer.[199]

[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Van der Waal, C. S. 1992. "The anthropology of anthropological work: reflecting on research in an African settlement". *African Studies*, *51*(2), 167-184.
[199] Ibid.

From April to November 1988 and January to June 1991 van der Waal was the acting chairperson of the Anthropology Department at RAU. In 1993 the *Volkekunde* Department at RAU was closed.[200] One of the contributing factors was the departments low research output. Following this van Waal was redeployed as senior lecturer in the Department of Development Studies. In 1996 however he worked towards having the subject reinstated and he was subsequently granted permission to initiate a first-year course in 1996. In that year he was promoted to Associate Professor.[201] He facilitated the reintroduction of Anthropology as a subject in 1998. From 1998 to 2002 van der Waal was the Chairperson of the Department of Anthropology and Development Studies. He notes that: "By the time I left RAU to move to Stellenbosch in 2002, having held the chair of what was then known as the department of Anthropology and Development Studies, there was a healthy undergraduate student body. The resurrection of anthropology at RAU was a success, currently with higher student numbers in anthropology than in development studies."[202] In 2002 van der Waal left Johannesburg for Stellenbosch, where he took up the position of Professor in Social Anthropology.[203]

Van der Waal's ongoing research explores "the anthropology of development, ethnography of rural transformation in the Limpopo Lowveld; ethnography of Winelands, Wealth and Work in the Dwars River Valley, Stellenbosch; ethnography as a research method; identity politics of Afrikaners and Afrikaans; and history of Afrikaans anthropology (Volkekunde)."[204] One of the sustained threads initiated in his intellectual relationship with Kotze is the tendency to foreground presence of children, best displayed in the photograph below. Although his research focus is not centralised on children, his research does take them into account. According to van der Waal, children are key to accessing a community. Their curiosity and openness makes it easier to learn from them and the relationships are more manageable because "there isn't any contract or anything difficult about them".[205]

[200] Van der Waal, C. S. 2015, "Long Walk from Volkekunde to Anthropology: Reflection on Representing the Human in South Africa." *Anthropology Southern Africa* 38(3), 216-234.
[201] Van der Waal CV.
[202] Kees van der Waal interview, Stellenbosch, 12 August 2019.
[203] Van der Waal CV,2.
[204] Ibid:2.
[205] Kees van der Waal interview, Stellenbosch, 12 August 2019.

Figure 2.28: Girls fetching water, at Berlyn in Limpopo,2013. (C.S. Kees van der Waal Personal Archive)

The figure above captures the essence of van der Waal's late-life field research interests. Here we see children in Limpopo completing their daily of collecting water at the communal tap. On the right of the frame we see a wheelbarrow's handle. After school, the young girls are expected to fetch water using large containers, usually traveling far distances.[206] In our interview he emphasised their sense of playfulness whilst conducting this strenuous task. To the left of the frame the girls are smiling at the photographer. The feature that orients the image is the tap. With the young girls huddled around the central feature, the photographer creates a sense of closeness and intimacy and the cohesivity draws the viewers' attention. Furthermore, the depth conveyed in various shades of reds, deep oranges and greens makes the photograph appear more striking.

[206] Kees van der Waal interview, Stellenbosch, 12 August 2019.

Figure 2.29: Older and young Pniel villagers sing the '*dorpslied*' (town anthem) on the celebration of freedom from slavery day, Pniel, 1 December 2008. (C.S. Kees van der Waal Perconal Archive)

This photograph displays the Pniel community on 1 December, which is the day designated to the commemoration of the end of slavery. This photograph was taken in 2008. Pniel was a former slave community, established around a mission station and school in 1840.[207] Singing the Pniel anthem, the colours in the flags and landscape provides a depth and richness in the photograph. The lines people standing, frames the photograph in an interesting way. Van der Waal notes that the tradition forms part of a later move toward commemorating heritage, post-democracy. Also evident here is an overt sense of patriotism in the intergenerationally of the subjects in the photograph.

Upon my initial research on Boot and van der Waal, I assumed that their career trajectory was relatively similar. Despite them both coming from a Dutch immigrant background, closer analysis of their career biographies and photographic archives reveals the manner in which their paths diverged from one another. In Boot's case, the camera was a means through which he could make sense of his encounters in the field. Although he was not a prolific academic, he was an extraordinary photographer, interested in establishing genuine connection with people. Teaching was also one of his strongest assets and something that occupied the majority of his time at UWC. As for van der Waal, his extensive publishing and academic

[207] Kees van der Waal interview, Stellenbosch, 12 August 2019.

record is a testament to his development as an anthologist. His initial use of the camera was mainly influenced by his museum background and *volkekunde* training. However, his encounter at RAU and in the field pushed him in a different trajectory. Although he decided to put the camera aside for a period of time, van der Waal's late-life photographs display his current ethnographic interest. Unlike Boot who was unable continue a career in anthropology, van der Waal adapted by expanding his knowledge on anthropological theory and fieldwork practices. These two biographies serve as examples of the ways in which dissident *volkekundiges* dealt with the background, and it contest the notion of a hegemonic narrative.

Conclusion: The Legacy of *Volkekunde* With Particular Attention to Stellenbosch University

What is the legacy of *volkekunde* in contemporary South Africa 28 years after apartheid? This thesis has explored the politics and complexities of *volkekunde* as an intellectual tradition in twentieth century South Africa. I have done so largely through a biographical and visual methodology, tracing the career trajectories and extensive photographic portfolios of three volkekundiges: the mainstream government ethnologist N.J van Warmelo who photographed "tribe" and "colonial governance"; the dissident volkekundige Frans Boot who while not widely published used his truly remarkable fieldwork photographs in Zululand, of human and environmental subjects, as a mean of conveying his intense passion for the field; and lastly the volkekundige-turned-anthropologist C.S. (Kees) van der Waal whose changing uses of photography marked his transition from Afrikaner affiliate to self-reflective critic of the *volkekunde* paradigm and productive social anthropologist of development and community life. In these final pages I reflect on aspects of the contemporary resonances of *volkekunde* with particular attention to its birthplace, Stellenbosch University. This is intended as the tentative beginnings of a looking forward rather than a concluding restatement of my arguments.

The *volkekunde* tradition may no longer have an institutional presence, however, its archival presence still cast a shadow over the history of Stellenbosch University, which has not been widely recognized. Although the institution may have failed in terms of publicly dealing with this legacy, it has been taken up by particular individuals starting with John Sharp in the 1980s and recently in the work of Kees van der Waal, Andrew Bank and Handri Walters. This reflective ethos has not been adopted at an institutional level as of yet, which results is an overwhelming sense of amnesia.

In 2018, when I initiated my research, the Stellenbosch University Centenary Commemoration was in full swing. One thing that was clear to me as an outsider was the different ways in which the series of events in 2018 had been perceived. In most academic spaces I had noticed that the word commemoration was often used as a form of contemplative reflection and a way through which to challenge the institutions contested past. However, just by driving down Adam Tas one was bombarded by celebratory SU posters, placards and

billboards .[208] Visually this made for an atmosphere of celebration. The contradictory nature of the events were further extended in the universities formal research output. The Centenary publication, *Stellenbosch University 100: 1918-2019* offers very little insight into the university's controversial past and by extension the history of *volkekunde*.[209] In doing so, the university missed an opportunity to initiate necessary critical engagements on an public institutional level.

Earlier in this year, a SU study that discusses the "lower cognitive function of Colored women", made shockwave in media.[210] One of the first reaction I read was from Handri Walters. Walters provided a thoughtful contextual understanding and states that " The backlash to the article titled *Age- and education-related effects on cognitive functioning in Colored South African women,* as highlighted in *Daily Maverick* by Andre Ihsaan Gasnolar has been immensely criticized, and so it should be…While last year Stellenbosch University gave precedence to celebrating its 100-year existence, maybe this year should be dedicated to critically reflect on the history of science at this institution. A starting point could be a critical engagement with the practices and assumptions that informed "*Age- and education-related effects on cognitive functioning in Colored South African women*." Continuing the unproblematic implementation of racial categories means continuing to reinforce outdated beliefs and apparently-outdated scientific practices." [211] Her perspective is telling, and it not only situates this article within the history of race science at SU, it also offers cometary on the manner in which "outdated science practices" have been rebranded and carried forward.

In my own research and derived from Walters observation as well, this study was anything but an anomaly. Upon my first visit to the SU library compact cases, I recall coming across a plethora of studies and theses under the umbrella of the *volkekunde* tradition particularly focused on the study of 'colored' people and communities. In the same line as Walters, but from the side of the institution, Distinguished Professor in the Department of Education, Prof Jonathan Jansen, highlights the exclusionary politics embedded in ethnographic and physical anthropology research.

In Jansens inaugural lecture on 16 September 2019 Jansen, he states:

[208] The road that leads into the town centre.
[209] www.sun.ac.za/100/en/2018/03/su-launches-centenary-book-and-unveils-exhibition./
[210] Handri Walters, *Race Haunts the Halls of Stellenbosch University,* Daily Maverik, 8 May 2019.
[211] Ibid.

> The now infamous article about the intelligence of "coloured" women published earlier this year wasn't an aberration, but rather the latest in a long line of negative research about "coloured" people conducted at Stellenbosch University (SU)… It's not enough to say "coloured people" are bad, you must say they are bad in relation to someone else. The point of comparison is to warn you that "whites" are better and "coloured "people are worse… The function of disgust is to dehumanise an out-group in society. One of the main reasons is to keep people at distance[212]

In what could be described as SU first substantive acknowledgement of its *volkekunde* and in particular physical anthropology past, Jansen delves into the politics behind this type of research. It should be noted, that up till recently this type of analysis has been left up to the interested individual or more broadly a department willing to uncover the underlying issues fanning the flames of the institution's exclusionary stance. The ethos of the Social Anthropology and Sociology Department at SU is overwhelmingly forward-looking. Following the reform and rebranding of *Volkekunde* to Social Anthropology in the 1990s, alongside Sociology, the responsibility to deal the ideological legacy of *volkekunde* has been relinquished to key people in the department.[213] The work of Kees van der Waal, Steve Robins and Handri Walters has been ground-breaking in reference to both their findings as well as the context in which they produced their studies. At the same time, initiatives such as the Mellon Funded Indexing the Human Project is breaking new grounds in terms of the consolidation of the past and the present. Having attended a few of these seminars at the SU Social Anthropology Department myself, I have been exposed to type of energic, critical and reflective discussions hosted within the former *Volkekunde* Department. These type of initiatives could be used as a microcosmic example for the larger institution that proves that looking back while moving forward allows for a shift towards a more inclusive space.

[212]Prof Jonathan Jansen, Distinguished Professor in the Department of Education Policy Studies at SU, in his inaugural lecture on Monday (16 September 2019).
[213] Kees van der Waal interview, 12 August 2019.

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