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Colonial Collections at the Weltmuseum Wien

The Case of District Commissioner Alfred L. Sigl

Preamble

“As regards the lessons that we’re learning, one of the most important ones is the scale of the plunder.”

Njoki Ngumi¹

Current discussion of museum collections across Europe is no longer published exclusively in academic formats but can also be found in newspaper articles, tweets, blogs, or documentary films. The focus remains largely on the origins and past collection acquisition policies, with ardent demands for restitution. Social media play a crucial role in engaging a wider public in this discussion, which is even pursued by non-visitors to museums. It is no longer a strictly academic debate, with policies being discussed behind closed doors in the respective institutions. Rather, through various channels, many more people are able to participate in these complex discussions and make their voices heard, while also increasing the pressure on institutions to engage with their entangled histories, on political leaders to acknowledge historical wrongs and on all stakeholders to rethink the future of these collections. Within the German-speaking world, the focus, both within the general public and in academic debate, has been on ethnographic collections, particularly sub-Saharan African collections, as can be seen in conferences and projects of the past few years.²

At the center of these discussions are methods and strategies that public European museums should apply when engaging with the collections they keep. Apart from general observations, some core issues within current debate need to be understood from a museum perspective. Museums and other cultural institutions housing collections acknowledge the common history of these collections within Europe and their

links, for example, with the African continent. Large parts of ethnographic museum collections were compiled at the height of European imperialism, and non-European collections are thus entangled with colonial projects. Joint European and non-European provenance research is one of the keys to gaining additional layers of understanding and to conducting research into these collections. However, provenance research in colonial contexts should not be compared with other kinds of provenance research and should not focus exclusively on retracing the chain of ownership but also needs to take account of a plethora of other related questions.³ Although relevant, such research should go beyond simply identifying how an object became part of the collection and should consider the various meanings and perspectives in terms of anthropology and legality. Most importantly, there should be coordination and equal participation with stakeholders in the places the objects came from.

An understanding of the manifold history and context of our institutions and of the discipline is vital for any research into ethnographic collections. This article focuses on the collections assembled by Alfred Ludwig Sigl at the Weltmuseum Wien. Given the limited resources, especially with account taken of the need for genuine collaboration with the respective communities, I have decided to focus on the contextualization of Alfred Sigl himself as a starting point for future research. This will enable Austrians to better understand the complexity of our collections and could ultimately provide a more diverse perspective that goes beyond the colonial archives consulted.

Collections and debate

The majority of the Weltmuseum Wien's sub-Saharan African collections came to Vienna in the last quarter of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The people presently listed as collectors were in fact traders, missionaries, merchants, diplomats, colonial officers, members of the navy, (world) travelers, geographers, or members of the court. They came from the Austro-Hungarian Empire itself and from other countries. The first Austrian professorship in anthropology and ethnography was not established until 1913, so the collection context was shaped, especially at the beginning, if at all by natural science paradigms and interests.⁴

Collectors generally had one overriding interest but collected and worked in what was soon to constitute several disciplines. Ethnographic objects were rarely the focus of collections, as can be seen by the fact that collectors representing different scientific disciplines are shared by Austrian federal institutions. Beyond three-dimensional objects, collections thus also include human remains, photographs, film and audio recordings, measurements, body descriptions, drawings, or casts. This

history resurfaces in current discourse about ethnographic collections, with three key emphases:⁵

- Objects who are in actuality subjects, often framed as human remains;
- Religious or ritual objects with restrictions on their (public) viewing and handling;
- Questionable circumstances related to an object's acquisition, origin, production, or appropriation.

The collections from sub-Saharan Africa at the Weltmuseum Wien consist of around 37,000 inventory numbers or 848 “post numbers”, which register objects as clusters depending on the point of their entry into the museum. Until today, objects and subsequently curators' knowledge has been organized and understood by “region.” The first objects from this particular section of the collections were registered in 1862 by Josef Natterer (1822–62), a former consul to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in Khartoum (Sudan). The collections were assigned to the anthropological-ethnographical department of the Imperial and Royal Natural History Museum, which opened in 1889 and housed the ethnographic collections until 1928. The number of sub-Saharan African collections grew considerably and by 1918 already contained 21,129 objects.⁶ Today, most objects in the collections are from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, southeast Sudan and east Africa, with fewer pieces from southern and west Africa.

Currently, 48 percent of the sub-Saharan African collections were compiled between 1884 and 1918. These two dates are significant since they refer to the start of the Berlin conference (1884–85), where European powers discussed their colonial administration on the African continent in combination with trade laws, and the end of World War I, which effectively ended German administration of all colonial territories. Bearing in mind that absolute numbers give no detailed indication of circumstances or the significance of an object, these thirty-four years should be the focus when designing research strategies. Among the problematic, controversial, violent, or sensitive aspects to be considered in connection with Austrian collections are the *Völkerschauen* or human zoos, the role of colonial officials, the royal navy, war or famine, and the missionaries of different denominations. The investigation spans thirty-five nation states across the African continent.

East African collections

The east African collections at the Weltmuseum Wien are particularly interesting since they enable us to make connections with collections in German ethnographic museums and ultimately help to understand the network of European actors actively engaged during German colonial rule in East Africa. Given the detail and diversity of

the collection contexts, this network offers a less fragmented understanding of individual ethnographic collections. Even at this point, it is interesting to compare the collections in Vienna with their German counterparts. In Vienna, geographical expeditions, whether intentionally or not, facilitated the colonial project through their cartographic information; missionaries, entrepreneurs, travelers, members of the navy, and colonial administrators themselves can also be found among the collectors in East African countries until German colonial rule politically ended with the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. While some of their names appear only in the Viennese collections, they are still interwoven within the European imperialist experience, and some of these men knew each other personally or through their publications.

Case study: Alfred Ludwig Sigl, Tanzania

To provide a context for ethnographic collections from Tanzania, several historical factors are relevant: the major trade routes established before European colonial expansion; the political equilibrium between the Sultan of Zanzibar, local mainland rulers, and traders; and the details of German (and British) occupation of Tanzania. While the colonial history of Tanzania in German-speaking countries is associated with many names, Carl Peters (1895–1918) is often referred to as the instigator of what later became known as German East Africa. His actions and ideas influenced the collections by Alfred Ludwig Sigl at the Weltmuseum Wien through his career with Peters. They consist of 1,795 inventory numbers, which were acquired by the museum in 1893 and 1896. For the earlier date Sigl (1854–1905) was a station commander in Tabora, a location that was of strategic importance in many ways at the time. It was central to trade and caravan routes because of its location inland towards eastern Congo, between Lake Tanganyika in the west and Lake Victoria Nyanza to the north. It is important to bear this strategic location in mind when taking a closer look at the collections. They come from several of today's nation states, mirroring the trade connections Sigl had in his various positions. Both collections were acquired with financial support from Georg Haas von Hasenfels (1841–1914), an industrialist who regularly contributed funds to the museum in the (successful) hope of receiving a title from the Austro-Hungarian crown. By tracing Sigl's biography, interweaving known battle sites with geographical collection points, as well as his extended stays within mainland Tanzania, an outline of his intentions and the collection context can be drawn.

The constitution of the collections is diverse: objects used for hunting, as markers of status and in violent contexts, such as lances, arrows and quivers, swords, shields,



Fig. 1 Pair of sandals, inv. no. 47.187 a & b
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clothing, and jewelry, make up a little less than half of the collections. Numerous objects of daily use such as containers and vessels, wooden sticks for dental hygiene, sandals, head rests, seats, tobacco containers, and medicine constitute the other half. Indications of a brutal history are clearly inscribed in some of these objects or recorded in the inventory books. A pair of sandals (inventory number 47.187 a & b) is recorded as “captured during

battle in 1889” (fig. 1), a shield (inventory number 47.194) contains “traces of stabbing from spears as well as bullet holes”, and fifteen arrows in a quiver (inventory numbers 47.569 to 47.584, fig. 2) were “taken from the people of Mohammed ben Kassum” (fig. 3).⁷ Objects attributed specifically to warriors such as headdresses, belts or a “rifle charm” were also used within a caravan. The collections mirror the organization and social stratification of caravans, even though European interest in them was limited to practical questions of employment for Sigl and his peers operating in Tanzania. Before he became a member of the German *Schutztruppe* (Colonial Protection Forces) in 1890, Sigl was employed as military leader of the caravan led by Charles Stokes (1852–95).⁸ Through his stations and when traveling within the country as a colonial officer he would also certainly have encountered caravans of various sizes. Object examples in the collections also include a rattle (inventory number 47.264, fig. 4), “a toy from the carriers during the march”, or status symbols such as a parasol, a rifle, or a pair of bells worn around the ankles of the caravan leader. Sigl provided these details in the collection records and in their formal description to the curator Michael Haberlandt in person.⁹ No photographs or other materials at the Weltmuseum Wien are attributed to Sigl or his family. There is a Qur’an board in the collections of the Grassimuseum Leipzig, which Sigl’s wife Maria Anna donated in 1915.¹⁰ Other than that, there are no known ethnographic collections connected to Sigl in German-speaking museums.

Alfred Ludwig Sigl was born in Vienna in 1854 as the only son of the Viennese industrialist Georg Sigl (1811–87) and Franziska Sigl (died 1901) and had two sisters. He completed his higher education in Berlin, where his father installed his first factory for letterpress printing machines in 1844. Thereafter, Alfred studied mechanical engineering



Fig. 2 Arrows and quiver, Tanzania, inv. nos. 47.569 to 47.584 © KHM-Museumsverband, Weltmuseum Wien

in Manchester, UK, and worked in his father's company. He then proceeded with a military career in the Austro-Hungarian army for at least seven years, starting in 1875 as hussar and then a dragoon.

In 1886, he undertook a study trip to Madagascar and East Africa, of which no details are recorded. A year later, in 1887, he joined Carl Peters' German East Africa Company (DOAG).¹¹ It is currently unclear where and how Sigl first encountered Peters' ideas and possibly Peters himself. Whether through a personal encounter at one of Peters' public speeches or through his publications, it is important to keep in mind that Peters strongly emphasized pan-German ideas in his advocacy of German colonial expansion.

The DOAG was present in east Africa from 1885 to 1890, with diminishing presence from 1888. Its strategy was to sign "treaties" with local dignitaries and subsequently to occupy their land through the construction of stations. It should be noted, however, that these treaties were understood within European concepts of territory, property, and law, disregarding local understandings. Furthermore, they were signed by whoever the Europeans perceived to be local rulers, without an in-depth understanding of local political structures.

The political engagement of the German Reich was diverse. On the one hand, in the relatively newly established Reichstag, Chancellor



Fig. 3 Basket for Pombé beer, Tanzania, inv. no. 47.293 © KHM-Museumsverband, Weltmuseum Wien



Fig. 4 Rattle, Tanzania, inv. no. 47.264 © KHM-Museumsverband, Weltmuseum Wien



Fig. 5 Sigl and his family in Pangani, *Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung*, 30 April 1905

Otto Bismarck argued against political involvement in German colonial endeavors. On the other hand, Emperor Wilhelm I's commissioned *Schutzbrief* (protective charter) established state involvement directly after Peters' initial trip to East Africa already in 1885.¹² Despite complaints about the DOAG's agents and their brutal methods, both by politicians in the Reichstag and in the newspapers, the government repeatedly helped to keep the company financially afloat. The chronic lack of financial resources was also due to the discrepancy between Peters' extensive plans and the available resources. The restructuring of the DOAG in 1886, including the appointment of three company board members by the Chancellor himself, is another indication of government involvement from an early point. On 14 February 1891, Julius von Soden was appointed the first governor of German East Africa, marking the official beginning of German administration in the region. While Sigl's collections are from today's United Republic of Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), German East Africa consisted of present-day Rwanda, Burundi, the continental portion of Tanzania as well as a small section of Mozambique. It is unclear at this point whether Sigl was in the DRC himself, but he certainly also resided in Zanzibar, working in the customs house during his initial engagement with the DOAG.

The only known photograph (fig. 5) was taken in Pangani and published on 30 April 1905, approximately two weeks after Sigl's death.¹³ The small coastal town of Pangani is the first known point of military action where Sigl was commissioned by Karl August Deinhard to lead the navy troops.¹⁴ It was also in Pangani where he served

his last four years as District Commissioner from 1896 to March 1900. He lived there in a house known to be previously owned by Hamed ben Abdalla, called Magongo.¹⁵ According to the 1901 German Colonial Handbook, the Pangani district had a total population of 65,385.¹⁶

Alfred Ludwig Sigl is depicted with his family, sitting on the far right. Seated next to him is his wife Maria Anna Sigl, next Lilli Sigl, one of two African orphans the family “adopted,” a term used in several obituaries.¹⁷ There are no details about the circumstances of these “adoptions” or about their lives before arriving in Germany or their names and other personal details. The other four men are not referred to by name, although the two seated men can be identified as government officers. This European view clearly illustrates well the information that was felt to be most important.

While there are several reports by Sigl in the *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, he is seldom mentioned in other resources or by the main figures in German colonial expansion in East Africa. It is thus axiomatic to assume that he did not rank highly in the colonial scheme, possibly also because of his early involvement with the DOAG and subsequent early death. It is difficult to trace how involved he was in the wars of resistance of the coastal population in Tanzania against the DOAG’s attempt at colonial possession of the entire inland from August 1888. From June 1889, he was the military leader of the Irish missionary/trader Charles Stokes (1852–95). Interestingly, this indicates a different involvement at least during the beginning of the coastal uprising, since no date can be determined for the aforementioned command of the navy troops. On 1 March 1890, he became a member of the *Schutztruppe* (Colonial Protection Forces) under Hermann Wissmann (1853–1905), marking the end of his involvement with the DOAG which was to transfer their land claims to the German Reich.¹⁸

Other posts in his career were as head of the stations at Matimule (also in 1888, the hinterland of Bagamoyo), Saadani (1890) and the strategically important Tabora (1891), which he participated in occupying prior to being officially posted there. In 1892, he was awarded German citizenship and the Crown Medal 4th Class with Swords in the name of the German emperor. In 1905, he died of influenza after having requested early retirement on health grounds. His body was then transferred from Weimar back to the Viennese family grave, which still exists today. His wife remained in Weimar with their two children as well as the two girls from “south[ern] Africa” described as orphans.

Participation in violent contexts

Sigl's most prominent posts were those of a "Bezirksamtsmann" (district commissioner) in the coastal cities of Tanga (1894–96) and Pangani (1896–1900), following his final departure for Europe in May 1900. His participation in violent contexts and war-like encounters can be traced through his own publications as well as those of contemporaries with specific references to him. These sources reveal the language and European attitudes of the time. One example is "expedition," which refers to different actions, effects, and motives. Strikingly, European sources rarely name African participants, and they are depicted on the sidelines of photographs or postcards circulated to manifest success in European colonial endeavors. This is in stark contrast to the fact that the majority of people involved in anything termed expedition were locals, without whose services in carrying, cooking, battle, military actions, or trade would have been impossible.

In an 1894 report published in the *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, Sigl refers to "a punitive expedition against an insubordinate chief."¹⁹ He described this military campaign explicitly as a punitive expedition, which lasted from 8 to 16 December 1893 and was directed against Sultan Kandi. The museum's archive gives little information about Kandi. His area of influence extended from Tabora to Victoria Nyanza on one of the main Kahama caravan trade routes. Influence over the trade routes was essential from the outset for the Germans and remained important after the Heligoland-Zanzibar agreement of July 1890, which settled the disputed German and British land claims and ultimately diminished Zanzibari rule on the mainland. Four objects in the museum's collections were recorded in 1896 as being from "Kahama, Sultan Kandi," noting in addition that Kandi was "now interned in Tabora." The inventory lists two seats, a game board, and a throne seat as Kandi's former possessions.

Alfred Sigl justifies his punitive campaign against the local power in his report as follows:

"Kandi has not sent any representatives (waniamparas) to the Tabora station since October 1891 and refused to have the numerous caravans traveling for the coast controlled by the government. [...] He publicly declared himself to be an enemy of the Europeans generally and the German government in particular, since they annihilated his friend Siki. He has tried to incite the Waniamwesi sultans against the German government and called for a common rebellion [...]."²⁰

Consequently, he states that "[t]his fresh behavior by Kandi clearly shows how justified the complaints against him were, and thus I decided the immediate eradication of

this insubordinate chief [...].” He records the entire campaign as a success: “Even though in the course of the expedition there were no opportunities for glorious armed actions, after Kandi and his people, as a result of the surprise attack, gave up their resistance, there were significant prospects for political relationships [...]” As an addendum he noted that “costs of the expedition were covered through the ivory and cattle captured during the same.”

In the same publication, Lieutenant Bernhard von Bothmer²¹ describes the military action in more detail, listing 122 men with 250 cartridges each and two ordnances for the entire expedition. He names the seven participating Europeans, while the vast majority of the 115 African soldiers and 120 bearers remain nameless. After listing the booty, as termed by von Bothmer, he writes: “In the afternoon, I ordered the quikuru²² to be burnt and the destruction to be completed on the 15th. The palisades, huts, and tembes were destroyed by the fire, the wall was demolished, the tall trees obstructing the view disposed of through axe and fire.”²³ These accounts are taken from European sources and thus give only the perpetrators’ perspective.

Sigl took part in this punitive expedition at his own request, serving as platoon commander. One of the results was the expulsion of Sultan Kandi and his family from their land. The area was then administered by neighboring rulers, whose attitude toward the German colonial administration was deemed more positive. Given the detailed historical accounts by these two colonial officers, it is evident that the four objects in question were acquired in violent colonial circumstances. At the same time, this is not necessarily true for all objects listed as Sigl’s collections.

Another example revolves around the well-known merchant/trader Tippu Tipp, whose full name was Hamed ben Mohammed ben Juma el-Murjebi. He gave Sigl a “seat of a sultan” (inventory number 47.431, fig. 6), acquired by the museum in 1893. El Murjebi dictated his autobiography in Swahili, which was subsequently translated into English, and remains a vital historical source today. He accumulated influence



Fig. 6 Richly decorated seat from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, given to Sigl by Tippu Tipp
Inv. no. 47.431 © KHM-Museumsverband, Weltmuseum Wien

and wealth trading in ivory and slaves as well as arms. European actors of his time, including politically influential men such as the Sultan of Zanzibar and delegates from King Leopold II, relied on him since his influence extended over the province of Maniema in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

It is not known how Tippu Tipp acquired this seat. Given the precious materials used, such as cowrie shells, blue glass beads, and leopard skin on the inside of the seat legs, we must assume that it belonged to a high-ranking person. While it is not likely that it was Tippu Tipp's personal object, he might have acquired it as a gift or purchase, or during a raid. In determining why it was given to Sigl and under which circumstances, a closer look at the two men's relationship might be of use. Until now, the only reference is in a Viennese weekly newspaper from 1892 mentioning that Tippu Tipp was to visit Sigl in Vienna en route to Berlin and that Sigl helped the merchant when the latter fell ill in Tabora.²⁴ Given the time, we have to be critical of the enthusiastic tone in the article emphasizing the close relationship between the two men. Nonetheless, in 1898, four additional inventory numbers were registered referencing a "gift from Tepoteb [Tippu Tipp] and his wife" with no reference to Alfred Sigl. Research has so far not revealed any indication as to how, when, and why these arm rings and necklaces were given to the Viennese museum specifically, but it is interesting that they were given directly and not through an intermediary.

The details of the raid against Kandi is one example of a violent conflict providing the context for several objects in the Viennese collections. However, the majority of object inventory entries cannot be attributed and connected to any specific person. Within the collections attributed to Sigl, several other names of local rulers or traders appear, with few or no available historical references in European archives and with Tanzanian archives yet to be consulted. Oral history, while a different resource, can potentially also reveal vital information on objects. Strikingly, the majority of objects attributed to specific persons, such as spears, are in connection to war or war-like encounters. In two cases the inventory entries even state that the "[...] medicinal spears [were] excavated from the grave of a sultan," not indicating any names.²⁵ This can serve as a different example for violence-related acquisition.

It is through biographical information that we might trace the origin and provenance in our collections. In this case, by combining documented participation in battle or other violent actions by Sigl with places of residence and the geographical reference given in the inventory books, we can obtain a more detailed understanding of parts of the collections. This should not be understood as final knowledge about the

collections but rather as a starting point for further research and, more importantly, cooperation with local East African historians and experts.

Conclusion

The objects from Alfred Sigl's collections and the details uncovered to date illustrate several aspects of the complexities. First, they disprove the argument that Austrians were not part of any colonial endeavors, given that Sigl was born in Vienna to Austrian parents and was working as a colonial officer for Germany while he sold his collections to the Viennese museum. It also relates to the German colonial experience, as Sigl was part of the era before established colonization as well as the official German administration.

Given the intricacies and multiple contexts as well as the sheer number of objects that are possibly connected with colonial violence and other sensitivities, there is no point in making generalizations. The historical complexities of collecting in the nineteenth century and the accompanying documentation rarely put focus on non-European perspectives but crucially have to be read from a specifically European perspective. Notwithstanding, the acquisition of collections from this period was not passive but influenced by the relationships with and intentions of the people who created them. This active influence in collections dramatically surfaces with war-related objects, such as a shield punctured by a bullet or spear. The same element of actively shaping collections can carry considerable weight in collaborative research of colonial contexts through dialogue and cooperation with persons from the original context. It is thus unimaginable for any research on non-European collections to be carried out from a strictly European viewpoint precisely because history is never just one perspective. Collaboration and consultation of non-European archives are crucial elements for gaining even a basic understanding of the history of museum collections.

Apart from new relationships, perspectives and knowledge about the collections, this work can potentially also focus on providing space for voices whose often traumatic and painful experiences have long been deliberately disregarded. Colonial contexts contain violence and trauma, possibly translated through generations. Discussion about objects from these particular contexts cannot be seen and understood apart from the human tragedies of the time. This aspect can also be clearly understood when listening to the vehement demands by activists and should definitely be taken into account when dealing "exclusively" with objects. Discussion about restitution, repatriation or simply ethnographic objects in European museums is often highly emotional. Our institutions, and more importantly the people behind them, need to

learn to deal with their own emotions as well as the emotional components that our counterparts confront us with. We need to take into consideration that the historical multidimensional interruption as a result of objects leaving their original contexts also has multifaceted consequences today.²⁶

Provenance research in collections with colonial contexts provides a more nuanced picture of these collections and, by expanding the ways in which a museum investigates its history, will remain relevant in the future. Historical connections between institutions and across continents will make it easier for future networks of Austrian institutions with a transdisciplinary perspective to examine questions of colonial contexts. Any collaboration demonstrating the latent potential of collections while expanding our perspectives broadens the discussion of restitution and repatriation. New, long-lasting relationships, ideas, and knowledge about the collections will benefit museums in the long term and have the potential to transform these institutions.

Trained as a cultural and social anthropologist, Nadja Haumberger is the curator responsible for the sub-Saharan African collections at Weltmuseum Wien.

Notes

- 1 Njoki Ngumi. *Restitution Dialogues*, webinar recorded on 26 August 2020 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jOhrzS9sNK0>> (21 September 2020).
- 2 For a list of current projects with colonial contexts in the German-speaking world, compiled by the members of the Colonial Provenances working group, see <<https://www.postcolonial-provenance-research.com/ag-projekte/>> (21 September 2020).
- 3 For an introduction to ethnological provenance research, see Larissa Förster, “Der Umgang mit der Kolonialzeit: Provenienz und Rückgabe,” in Iris Edenheiser and Larissa Förster (eds.), *Museumsethnologie – Eine Einführung: Theorien – Debatten – Praktiken* (Berlin: Reimer, 2019), 78–103.
- 4 Christian F. Feest, “Das Museum für Völkerkunde,” in *Museumskunde* 1 (1980) vol. 81: 13–34.
- 5 Anna-Maria Brandstetter and Vera Hierholzer, “Sensible Dinge: Eine Einführung in Debatten und Herausforderungen,” in *ibid.* (eds.), *Nicht nur Raubkunst! Sensible Dinge in Museen und universitären Sammlungen* (Göttingen: Mainz University Press, 2018), 11–28.
- 6 Barbara Plankensteiner, “African Art at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna,” in *African Arts* 38 (2005) 2: 12–37.
- 7 This and all following references are translations by the author from the inventory records at the Weltmuseum Wien.

- 8 The death of the Irish missionary/trader Charles Henry Stokes in the Congo Free State, known as the Stokes affair, gave rise to debate with the European powers at the time. One of the outcomes was that Europeans were no longer allowed to sentence other Europeans without trial, which is what led to Stokes' death. However, these rules did not apply to African or other international allies or enemies.
- 9 Haberlandt (1860–1940) was curator in the anthropological-ethnographical department of the Museum of Natural History and later founded and directed the Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art (Volkskundemuseum), while also promoting a German Nationalist, antisemitic, racist, and pro-colonial philosophy. For a more detailed report, see Birgit Nemeč's entry in Peter Auten-gruber et al., "Straßennamen Wiens seit 1860 als 'Politische Erinnerungsorte,'" Final Research Report, Kulturabteilung der Stadt Wien (MA 7), 2013.
- 10 E-mail communication with curator Silvia Dolz, May 2017.
- 11 The official title of the company was Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft. Carl Peters und Genossen, registered on 2 April 1885, see Carl Peters, *Die Gründung von Deutsch-Ostafrika. Kolonialpolitische Erinnerungen und Betrachtungen* (Berlin, 1906).
- 12 The charter was published in the *Reichsanzeiger* on 3 March 1885.
- 13 Front page of *Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung*, 30 April 1905 no. 31 vol. XIV, Vienna, from ANNO/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.
- 14 During the coastal uprising, Deinhard (1842–92) commanded the naval squadron as part of the blockade of East Africa by the German imperial navy.
- 15 Rudolf Fitzner, *Deutsches Kolonial-Handbuch: Nach amtlichen Quellen bearbeitet* (Berlin, 1901), 294–95. Unfortunately, no references to the previous owner's history could be found in the colonial sources.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 294.
- 17 *Neue Freie Presse*, no. 14605, 20 April 1905, p. 8; *Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung*, issue 31, vol. XIV, 30 April 1905, p. 765.
- 18 In 1888, Hermann Wissmann was commissioned to establish and command the military and police units in East Africa, known as "Wissmanntruppe." He suppressed the coastal revolt against German colonial rule and was rewarded with the appointment as governor of German East Africa in 1895. He was heavily criticized in public for his brutal tactics and intolerance of opposition, even during his time of active duty.
- 19 Alfred Sigl, "Ueber einen Strafzug gegen einen unbotsmäßigen Häuptling," *Deutsches Kolonialblatt. Amtsblatt für die Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee, Nachrichten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten. Deutsch-Ostafrika* 5, from 15 April 1894, 10: 206–9.
- 20 Siki's real name was Isike of Nyamwezi, a powerful man in west central Tanzania. He was defeated after several attempts by the German Tom Prince (1866–1914) in a maneuver in late 1892 to early 1893. This also prevented an alliance between Isike and Mkwawa, which would have jeopardized German interests. Prince chronicled his attack in his "Bericht des Lieutenants Prince über die Niederwerfung des Häuptlings Sike von Tabora," *Deutsches Kolonialblatt. Amtsblatt für Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee, Nachrichten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, (1893) 4: 189–91.

- 21 Berhard von Bothmer (1860–94) had a similar career to Sigl, and the two men must have known each other, as the records show that the expedition against Kandi was not the only occasion on which they were at the same place at the same time. Von Bothmer was District Commissioner of Tabora at the time of the expedition. Given that he was also a collector, it is interesting that Sigl could add these specific objects to his collections. For a short biography of von Bothmer, see “Bernhard von Bothmer,” in Alexis von Poser and Bianca Baumann, eds., *Heikles Erbe: Koloniale Spuren bis in die Gegenwart* (Dresden, 2016), 196.
- 22 A quikuru is a “[f]ortification, usually also serving as a local sultan’s administrative center,” see Erick J. Mann. *Mikono ya damu: “Hands of Blood”: African Mercenaries and the Politics of Conflict in German East Africa, 1888–1904*. (Frankfurt/ Main, 2002), 295.
- 23 Ibid., 208.
- 24 “Tagesneuigkeiten: Heimkehr aus Ostafrika,” *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 12 July 1892, no. 1265, p. 3.
- 25 Translation of inventory entries of numbers 55.855 and 55.856 in 1896.
- 26 As indicated with the introductory quotation, for more in-depth discussions on the relationship between objects and current issues as well as the layers of restitution, see: Njoki Ngumi. Restitution Dialogues, webinar recorded 26 August 2020 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jOhrzS9s-NK0>> (21 September 2020).