

The Charles Lemaire Expedition Revisited

Sammy Baloji as a Portraitist of Present Humans in Congo Far West

Sammy Baloji (photography) and Maarten Couttenier (text)

On May 11, 2011, the Royal Museum for Central Africa (RMCA) in Belgium opened the exhibition “Congo Far West: Artists in Residence. Sammy Baloji & Patrick Mudekereza,” curated by Sabine Cornelis (RMCA) and Johan Lagae (Ghent University).¹ Parts of the exhibition were selected for the contemporary art exposition “Newtopia in Mechelen” (Gregos and Sorokina 2012:158) and the results were also shown in Lubumbashi (Democratic Republic of Congo, DRC) in the Institut français-Halle de l’Etoile (July 2013), the Musée national de Lubumbashi (September 2013) in collaboration with RMCA, and Picha. A previous article in *African Arts* (Mudekereza 2011a) already explained how Sammy Baloji and Patrick Mudekereza set up the latter cultural center, using it as a platform to organize the 2008 and 2010 photography biennales (Njami 2012). At the same time, during their residency at the RMCA in September 2008 and the winter of 2010–2011, they took a fresh look at the museum’s historical, ethnographical, and musicological collections (Cornelis and Lagae 2011). Although, of course, not entirely new in its concepts, an artist-in-residence program with Congolese intellectuals in a Belgian former colonial institute can be seen as an important step in the rethinking and renovation of the museum. Author Patrick Mudekereza decided to work on treaties between the Comité d’Études du Haut-Congo and local chiefs, who, unable to write, signed with an X. He wrote intriguing “parasite texts, which feed upon the treaty and drain it of its essence” (Mudekereza 2011b). Through a form of resistance poetry, Mudekereza also offered a new interpretation of the early twentieth century *L’Art au Congo*, a kitsch bronze sculpture holding two ivory tusks, made by Auguste De Wever and an anonymous African artist who once again found his voice.

In this article, I shall focus mainly on my collaboration with photographer and video artist Sammy Baloji, who was fascinated, for the purposes of this residency, by Congolese masks, physical anthropology, and colonial art work and photography. Finally he decided to work on the 400 or so photographs by François Michel and the 300+ sketches, drawings, and paintings by Léon Dardenne, who were both responsible for creating a visual record of the Charles Lemaire expedition (1898–1900). This scientific expedition, carried out at the request of the Congo Free State (CFS), traveled through Katanga, the region where Sammy Baloji was born and raised and that had already featured prominently in projects such as *Vues des Likasi* (2005), *Lubumbashi Wantashi* (2006), and *Mémoire* (2006). Since I had already published on the Lemaire expedition based on archival research in Belgium during my PhD training in Social and Cultural Anthropology with Prof. Dr. Filip De Boeck at the Catholic University Leuven, I was brought into contact with Sammy Baloji, the start of an intense and always enjoyable collaboration. My very first scientific publication (Couttenier 2003, see also Couttenier 2005:178–96) in fact dealt with the textual and museological representations of the Lemaire expedition. Famine, sickness, and death, omnipresent in colonial reality and in the diaries of Lemaire, tended to be “forgotten” once Lemaire returned home and the results of his work were published and exhibited, creating a “saving lie” (Clifford 1988:99) that provided an answer to processes of dislocation and feelings of loss generated by colonial experience (Terdiman 1993).

At the end of the first residence in the RMCA in 2008, Sammy Baloji presented two works in progress. In one collage he merged black-and-white portraits by Michel in colored aquarelles of Dardenne. By confronting two different styles, “objective” photography and “expressive” artwork, questions were raised about the role of the artist and different uses of media (Baloji 2011).



1 Part of the itinerary of the Lemaire expedition in Katanga (1898–1900) with indication of today's borders and countries. The "Mission Lemaire" entered the CFS territory in Moliro at the borders of Lake Tanganyika and travelled to Lake Dilolo. Names of cities with an asterisk were not visited by Lemaire or were created after Lemaire passed through the region, for example Dilolo (created in 1903) and Elisabethville (now Lubumbashi, created in 1910). MAP: BENOÎT HARDY, RMCA

In a second proposal, a Michel picture of the Urua chief Kalamata was inserted in a recent Bunkeya landscape photographed by Baloji, a photomontage technique he had already used in *Mémoire*, also presented in Washington during his solo exhibition "The Beautiful Time in Lubumbashi" (Jewsiewicki 2010a).² As already discussed by Francine Weiss in *African Arts*, this series consisted of contemporary images of derelict industrial sites in Katanga and historical black-and-white photographs from the "belle époque" of the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga (UMHK) (Weiss 2011). During Baloji's childhood, the State mining company Gecamines (La Générale des Carrières et Mines, created in 1967 by nationalizing UMHK) was omnipresent and one of the main employers in Lubumbashi. However, when he revisited the mining sites in 2004 after the death of Mobutu and the ensuing political changes, buildings were abandoned, workers had left, and production had declined dramatically. By photographing what had become "industrial archaeology," Baloji simultaneously tried to capture the lost memory of both the heyday and decline of UMHK/Gecamines. Later on he found historical photographs in the Service of Public Relations that documented the origin of industrial activity in Katanga and the treatment of African workers. By inserting portraits of former workers in today's context, although not necessarily in the same geographical space, the initial documentary project took a creative turn. The montage made the pictures more eloquent and spoke about the rise, heyday, and fall of a more global, colonial, and postcolonial economic exploitation.³ In this context, Bogumil Jewsiewicki referred to Sammy Baloji as a "portraitist of absent humans" (2010b:1085).

However, this inventive use of photomontage in *Mémoire* seemed not suitable for "Congo Far West." Sammy Baloji rather wanted to bring the museum collections, which have tended

to present a one-sided, Eurocentric view of the colonial world, back to DRC to confront them with today's Congolese memory. During fieldwork in August and September 2010, we toured three areas already visited by Charles Lemaire: Bunkeya-Kyubo, Tenke-Kyamakela, and Lukafu-Lofoi (Map 1). We met local experts and gave them the opportunity to react to Michel's and Dardenne's photographs and paintings with their knowledge and memories. These African "historiologies" (Vansina 1985:196, Fabian 1996:249, Roberts 2013:8) or accounts of how people today interpreted the past, partly counterbalanced, corrected, but also contradicted the "image world" (Geary 2002:17) of colonial archives, collections, maps, paintings, and photographs (see also Edwards 1992, 2001), as will become clear in this article. In *Mémoire*, man had almost become absent and inferior to the buildings he once created and now was unable to maintain. However, during fieldwork for "Congo Far West," people and their memories were always very present and therefore could not be ignored. As a "portraitist of present humans," Baloji now employed a brand-new technique by creating diptychs of François Michel's and his own new photographs, allowing him to provide a prominent place for Congolese expertise.⁴



2 The site where Bodson died despite the ministrations of Dr. Joseph Moloney, a member of the Stairs expedition.

PHOTO: SAMMY BALOJI, BUNKEYA, 2010

"A history of M'siri has been written, from which I will prudently refrain from borrowing, as there is no assurance of any sort concerning the narratives taken from the mouths of either the natives or the missionaries, who were long prisoners of that chief." Charles Lemaire, 1899.

As becomes clear by looking more closely at the diptychs, people who showed us the way and provided us with valuable historical accounts are integrated in the Baloji pictures as a sign of recognition. The diptychs therefore go further than merely "re-photographing" present-day locations familiar from old photos. By means of portraits and images of landscapes, ruins, graves, monuments, architecture, and interiors, they provide a penetrating glimpse into a historical and contemporary African reality, in which material and immaterial traces of the precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial past are ever present. The relationship between the photographs, which is not immediately apparent, gives rise to the creation of microhistories that all seem to be interconnected, ultimately focusing attention on macrohistorical issues such as power, violence, and imperialism. This approach is in stark contrast to the often limited interest of Belgian historians in the "effective work of memory" (Jewsiewicki 2010b:1080).

Besides the choice to highlight the presence of human agency and the use of diptychs, the exhibiting style of "Congo Far West" was also unique. First, Baloji choose not to retouch the historical photographs by Michel, in contrast to the "Congo belge en images" exhibition in which the Magnum photographer Carl De Keyser opted for a very thorough and time-consuming reworking of the historical photographs in the Tervuren AP-collection (AP stands for *Anciennes Photos*, or old photographs) (De Keyser and Lagae 2010).⁵ In "Congo Far West," François Michel's pictures were presented as archival documents, with their defaults

and traces of use. Second, the historical and contemporary photographs selected by Sammy Baloji were accompanied by quotes from journals and publications I found in the archives and from interviews that we recorded during our trip to Katanga in order to avoid "informants" being "seen rather than heard" and to "stress the communicative exchange" (Fabian 1996:x, 221). The combination of text and image created dialogues between photographs, between pictures and quotes, and even between quotes. It made the project more complete, as the texts served as a guideline for the public, but also more complex. Therefore, visitors intrigued by the quotes were able to find further historical background on a touch screen, a context that will also be addressed in this article.

"NARRATIVES TAKEN FROM THE MOUTHS ..."

Charles Lemaire had a military education and was appointed as head of a scientific expedition in Katanga (1898–1900) after serving almost ten years in the Force Publique (FP) ("Public Force," the colonial armed force of the CFS). He was commissioned to produce maps of the region and start collecting items for the Congo Museum, which only became a permanent museum and research institute a year after the Brussels-Tervuren World Fair held in 1897. Lemaire, accompanied by the caravan train leader Justin Maffei, escort leader Achille De Harinck, photographer François Michel, artist Léon Dardenne, and geologists Jean De Windt and William Caisley, set off on April 14, 1898, heading for the east coast of Africa via the Suez Canal. A

3 As well as the names of his sixteen predecessors, Chief Mpanga still remembered the name of Charles Lemaire.

PHOTO: SAMMY BALOJI, KYUBO, 2010

"Lemaire came here with a large group of people. There was also a painter working for the white men. He painted on wood." Chief Mpanga Masangu, 2010.



journey of 6,600 kilometers, lasting more than twenty-seven months, would take them south of Katanga to Lake Dilolo in Angola. The expedition traveled down the River Congo to reach the west coast of Africa on their way home (Fig. 1).

The journey to Lake Dilolo took the expedition past Bunkeya, the capital of the Yeke Kingdom, created by Msiri: this was our first stop on August 19, 2010. It would quickly become apparent that Lemaire's passage had left few traces in oral tradition. Mwani Mukonki Shita and Marcel Mukanda-Bantu, Msiri's great-grandsons, carefully explained to us the history of the Yeke and the arrival of the Belgians. The Yeke people originated in Nyamwezi (Tanzania), and over a relatively short period in the second half of the nineteenth century they built up an important center of political power the size of France in what is now Katanga. From here they maintained trade links extending as far as the west and east coasts of Africa.⁶ Recent publications, as well as studies published during the colonial period, by Congolese experts, Belgian colonials, and academics have documented the rise and fall of the Yeke kingdom and Msiri (Grévisse 1937, Verbeken 1956, Munongo 1967, Legros 1996).⁷ Thanks to oral testimonies and archival research, we know that both British and Belgian expeditions were dispatched to persuade Msiri to sign a treaty so that Katanga, with its "rich" soil, could be annexed. The colonial powers wrongly thought that Katanga was the exclusive territory of the Yeke, a view that ignored the complex political reality. Msiri's power was already severely curtailed by protracted wars against the Lunda, Luba, and Sanga peoples, among others, but was eventually to be completely destroyed by European intervention in the region.

Partly due to the accidental explosion of a stock of munitions held by the Belgian expedition led by Paul Le Marinel, Msiri managed to avoid having to sign a treaty and raise the CFS flag in April 1891. He was even able to stop the Belgians setting up camp close to Bunkeya. Msiri sent them sixty kilometers further east, to the banks of the Lofoi River, a site prone to frequent flooding

and plagued by mosquitoes and malaria. In May 1891 Alexandre Legat (a.k.a. Leka) and Edgard Verdick (Bwana Kaseya, or Mister Bird) began building a colonial outpost that was named after the river. Alexandre Delcommune also tried to persuade Msiri to sign a treaty, but to no avail. The confrontation on December 20, 1891, with Omer Bodson, member of the Stairs expedition, eventually led to the death of the *mwami* (king). In the exchange of fire, Msiri's son Masuka and Bodson himself were also killed (Fig. 2). During his life, Msiri had beheaded military adversaries and impaled their heads on stakes; now he suffered the same fate (de Pont-Jest 1893:260). Colonial written accounts of the events all state that Msiri first tried to attack Bodson and that the latter shot Msiri in self-defense (Stairs 1893, de Pont-Jest 1893, Moloney 1893). According to Mukanda-Bantu, another son and successor of Msiri, the Belgian colonizer was the initial aggressor (Mukanda-Bantu 1948:225).⁸ Today, his grandson Marcel Mukanda-Bantu, standing in front of the former residence of the Yeke chief, convincingly acts out for us how Bodson shot Msiri once in the shoulder and twice in the back. The last shot was fired when Msiri was lying on the ground at the entrance to his palace. "Here [Msiri] had only a fly swatter. He wasn't armed. He was in his own house, his private place, with his wives."⁹ Contradictions between historical European and contemporary African productions of knowledge and narratives make clear that "memory is a dynamic social process of recuperation, reconfiguration, and outright invention" both in performance and in written accounts, "serving purposes of the present" (Roberts and Roberts 1996:17, 29; see also Halbwachs 1950:5, Vansina 1985:xii).

Marcel Mukanda-Bantu also explained to us how Msiri was decapitated and what happened with his head:

... they had to send it to the Museum of Belgium. For two reasons: at that time, after the war, they had to take the head with them to show the highest authorities that we had conquered this person. The other reason was, at that time, they had to study the head of the man who had ruled over the whole of Katanga When King Leopold sent Cap-



4 Camp at the Zilo Falls, on ration distribution day. (The original captions to François Michel's black and white photographs have been retained and translated.)

PHOTO: FRANÇOIS MICHEL, ZILO FALLS, 1899. RMCA COLLECTION, AP.0.0.1219, RMCA TERVUREN ©

"Once again, we cannot but do justice to those 'foul niggers,' without whom we would cut a sorry figure, or rather, we would cut no figure at all in Africa, since we would not be there." Charles Lemaire, 1898.

tain Bodson, it was for him to annex Katanga to Congo. Before that, Katanga was really a separate country. With Msiri dead, they were able to annex Katanga to the Congo because Captain Bodson was the illegitimate son of King Leopold II. And then, with the head, they went on the road And each time, after a few meters, the head would ask for a rest. And each time, after they had rested, there were deaths. And at this place, they ... placed some stones. And they continued on their way After a few kilometers, the head asked again: "Let me rest here." After the rest, there were always deaths. And so on, until they exclaimed: "The head is going to exterminate us all." They decided to abandon the head. They were far away near the river between Zambia and the Congo They didn't bury the head, the head rolled into the water. So that was the tragic death of our King Msiri.¹⁰

There is no direct evidence that Bodson was the illegitimate child of Leopold II, but the fact that Stairs took away Msiri's head is documented by several witnesses. According to Daniel Crawford, a Scottish missionary at the Plymouth Brethren's Garenganze Evangelical Mission, the head was transported in a petroleum tin (Crawford 1912:309, Verbeken 1956:250). In a 1950 interview in Kienne near Lofoi, a former carrier named Mundu, who had known Stairs, Delcomunne, Legat, Verdick, and other colonials, declared he had seen the head of Msiri on its way to the east coast, but he said the head was in a wicker basket (Anonymous 1950, Verbeken 1956:251). Even today, various memorial stones marking

the point where Stairs's expedition halted can still be seen to the east of Bunkeya. The present head of the village of Samba points to three seemingly unremarkable stones on the side of the road. "Oh yes, that is the tomb of a slave. They buried him alive. Each time they put down the head—Msiri's head was talking and he would ask them to stop, saying 'I have to rest'—they also buried a slave alive. On the other side of the road he rested. This place is called *Kayala lobe* which means 'stay behind alone, we will leave, you will stay.'¹¹ The place where Msiri's head was laid to rest is marked by a heap of stones, piled up by passers-by over the years. The head was eventually left behind for fear of causing further casualties.

According to Marcel Mukanda-Bantu, the head rolled into a river, while others, such as Mundu, claim that the skull was buried near Pweto (Anonymous 1950, Legros 1996:23). In a painting by



5 Geodetic marker at the Kyubo Falls.

PHOTO: FRANÇOIS MICHEL, KYUBO, 1898. RMCA COLLECTION, AP.0.0.994, RMCA TERVUREN ©

6 The markers were destroyed by the local population under the pretext that they concealed a treasure trove of ores hidden there by Belgians. In the picture: Mwenze Augustin, Chief Mpanga's grandson, and Seya Faustin.

PHOTO: SAMMY BALOJI, LUPIRI LUA BALUBA, 2010

"The travellers will find those altitudes on the geodesic columns left by us in several places: Moliro, M'pwéto, Lofoi, Lou-Kafou, Baudouin-Ville, Lou-Saka, M'pala, M'towa, etc." Charles Lemaire, 1902.



tory. In Kyubo, our second stop, where we and the members of the Lemaire expedition admired the famous waterfalls, Chief Mpanga Masangu (Fig. 3) remembers his parents telling him about the Lemaire expedition:

Lemaire came here with a large group of people. There was also a painter working for the white men. He painted on wood. Everyone ran away from the village, but Lemaire called them back. He didn't hire any porters, he used his own people. The people sang and danced for Lemaire. He took away with him the old drums that had been made here. He stayed for two years. Lemaire was looking for minerals, but we didn't know what exactly. He also made piles of stones, or *kolongo*, in the bush, signs of some kind, but the reason for them was not clear. It's only recently that work has started on investigating these piles to see what is inside, but their purpose is still unclear.¹⁴

"FRIENDSHIP, SOLIDARITY, JUSTICE"

As Chief Mpanga Masangu said, the European members of the Lemaire expedition did not travel alone and were largely dependent on the local population (Fabian 2000:28–33). Sammy Baloji selected one of Michel's few photographs showing African personnel in the caravan train or local villagers fascinated by the expedition material and members (Fig. 4). The expedition relied on local collaboration, expertise, and much-needed food resources. In addition to the small European contingent, the caravan train was made up primarily of hundreds African porters, soldiers, guides, cooks, translators, and "boys." Lemaire needed manpower to transport 850 loads, weighing more than twenty tons in all, comprising canned food, alcohol, tobacco and cigars, medicines, camping material, cameras, scientific instruments, and even an aluminum canoe made by Cockerill, which could be dismantled into separate sections. Once it was put together, the craft went by the name *Lady Lolo*, probably a pun on "Lac Di-lolo," the expedition's ultimate goal. The name may also have been inspired by the travel tales of Henry M. Stanley, in which boats were named after women (Couttenier 2010:133–34, 139).

Tshibumba Kanda Matulu, one can see how Msiri's head left with the Stairs expedition to "an unknown destination." The Congolese painter explained to Johannes Fabian: "In all truth, we don't know where this head went. Is it in Europe, in some museum or in the house of Leopold II, or with whom? To this day, we don't know..." (Fabian 1996:43). If the head was to be sent to Europe, its intended destination is not entirely clear, since in 1891 the Congo Museum in Tervuren did not yet exist. From the 1880s, however, collections of Congolese objects were kept in the Royal Natural History Museum (now the Museum of Natural Sciences, MNS) and at the CFS's premises in Rue de Namur in Brussels (Couttenier 2005:125–26). Stairs did not survive the journey either. He died in June 1892 and was buried in Chinde at the East African coast without ever mentioning taking Msiri's head with him (Stairs 1893).¹²

Although the fate of Msiri is still very much alive in the social memory, Charles Lemaire, who briefly visited Bunkeya in 1898, just seven years after Msiri's death, says little or nothing about the Yeke chief in his journals and publications.¹³ Lemaire did not explore oral tradition and also had little faith in publications by a Scottish missionary (Arnot 1899) who lived in Bunkeya for two years: "A history of M'siri has been written, from which I will prudently refrain from borrowing, as there is no assurance of any sort concerning the narratives taken from the mouths of either the natives or the missionaries, who were long prisoners of that chief" (Lemaire 1902:311). The fact that Lemaire's passage is still retained to this day in the social memory is in stark contrast to the limited attention that Lemaire paid to local his-



7 View of the Kyubo Caves.

PHOTO: FRANÇOIS MICHEL, KYUBO, 1899. RMCA COLLECTION, AP0.0.898, RMCA TERVUREN ©

"Most lodge in very extensive galleries dug into the mountain, and whose entrances resemble tiny gates to Egyptian temples, dotting the red cliffs of Kundelungu." Clément Brasseur, 1897.

8 The caves in Kyubo are still used by the village sorcerer and his followers for their incantations.

PHOTO: SAMMY BALOJI, KYUBO, 2010

"The Balamotwas are far to the east and north-east, toward the mountains; they have no caves." Anonymous, 1899.

Despite its name, the boat never made it to Dilolo because it was too large, unstable, needed too many porters, and was holding up the expedition. The porters also carried the European expedition leaders in hammocks when they were injured, sick, or tired. In return for their services, the porters were given food and "paid" in pearls, spoons, mirrors, cloth, etc.

Living conditions in the caravan train were very tough because of the hard work and the long distances covered. Lemaire was a strict leader. Anyone suspected of theft was flogged with the *chicotte*, a whip made from dried hippo hide. The journey from the colonial outpost of Lofoi to Dilolo and back was particularly taxing, leading to physical exhaustion, hunger, and thirst. Many of the people in the caravan train ran away or died. Lemaire recorded

and numbered the hundreds of porters in his *Diary Concerning Porters and Luggage*. Porters who were sick or had "disappeared" are marked with a blue cross, those who died with a red D (*décédé* or died). Articles in journals like *La Belgique Coloniale* made no mention of the difficulties, although Lemaire did report that some Africans died after eating poisonous mushrooms (Lemaire 1900b:160). Lemaire rarely showed any respect for the porters, whom he referred to as "animals" with a "head of stone"; when he did offer any praise, it was with a cynical undertone: "Once again, we cannot but do justice to those 'foul niggers,' without whom we would cut a sorry figure, or rather, we would cut no figure at all in Africa, since we would not be there" (Lemaire 1902:100).

Feelings ran high among the European expedition members on occasion, however. Though Elisée Reclus wrote in his introduction to Lemaire's journal that "[...] the ideal of one had become the ideal of all; the expedition was perfectly consistent, forming a collective individual, one body and one soul. Apparently authority had no reason to show itself; it took the form of friendship, solidarity, and justice," this was a somewhat idealized version of reality (Lemaire 1902:x). All European members of the expedition suffered serious illness, which slowed progress, jeopardized the scientific work, and led to frustration. Lemaire described his "trans-African stroll" as "long but easy," but sometimes his *Journal de route* reads more like a medical encyclopedia. He mentions asthma, migraine, toothache, diarrhea and vomiting, spleen, dysentery, exhaustion, depression, and of course malaria fevers. Lemaire confessed: "I slept with Dame Fever, a companion as fiery as she is troublesome" (Lemaire 1902:166). In his travel journal, Lemaire explained that he refused to take medicines and tried to recover by bathing, sweating, resting, and eating properly. Traveling was also considered to have a healing effect. Elsewhere, however, it is clear that he also sought refuge in alcohol, purgatives, quinine, and opium



9 A cordial reception in Litupisha village, northwest of Lukafu.

PHOTO: FRANÇOIS MICHEL, LITUPISHA, 1898. RMCA COLLECTION, AP0.0.1021, RMCA TERVUREN ©

"Our hosts wish to demonstrate, without delay, their joy in sheltering us; we must receive their homages; a documentary photograph will give some idea of everything we were offered by the numerous givers. For it was not only the chief and his ministers, but also women and children who each welcomed us with a gift." Charles Lemaire, 1899.

10 Chief Mwaka-Adolphe posing on the remains of Mukanda-Bantu's house.

PHOTO: SAMMY BALOJI, KYOLOKOSA, 2010

"In 1891 Msiri was replaced by his son, Mukanda Bantu. When he saw that his father had been murdered, he thought it preferable to retire to Bunkeya and it is thus that he came to sit here in Litupisha." Mwaka-Alphonse, 2010.

(Lemaire 1902:128, 183, 229; see also Fabian 2000:58–71, Roberts 2013:99–100).¹⁵ Maffei, who was suffering from hepatitis, had to be repatriated in October 1898. Lemaire tried in vain to ease his pain with a bottle of Bordeaux wine.¹⁶ Maffei returned to Belgium and was replaced by Julien Fromont, a second lieutenant in the FP. De Windt and Caisley would never return. Together with six Africans, they drowned during a storm over Lake Tanganyika. The eight bodies were covered with the blue colonial flag with a yellow star and buried in Moliro. De Windt and Caisley were replaced by geologists Louis Questiaux and Kemper Voss.

The scientific work continued despite the long spells of sickness. Nearly every member of the expedition hunted for natural resources such as copper and gold. Lemaire himself carried out an enormous number of geographical and meteorological measurements, which he recorded in dozens of notebooks with unprecedented diligence. Thanks to his nocturnal observations of the stars and the use of a sextant, Lemaire was able to give a number of villages and rivers a new place on twenty-seven detailed maps, contributing to the process of "filling gaps" and the "representation of space" (Lemaire 1901a, 1901b, Fabian 2000:203–204). Several places were also marked in the landscape, as Lemaire ordered geodetic markers to be built in the form of heaps of stones (Fig.



5). The local population did not always understand the purpose of these piles. Called *kolongo*, they were often interpreted as waypoints to help the expedition find its route on the return journey. Allen Roberts has already shown us that European "conceptions of colonial landscape of memory differ from the landscapes as memory understood by local people" (Roberts 2013:106). Traces of these piles of stones can still be found today, for instance near Kyubo on the Lupiri lua Baluba, or hill of the Baluba (Fig. 6), so named because it was from here that the Luba people attacked the Sanga people in the belief that they buried their chiefs with vast stores of ivory. After several fruitless attempts to dig up the ivory, the Luba were driven north by Msiri in 1885. His father had previously entered into an alliance with the Sanga. A tough climb up the hill is rewarded with the sight of the stones, once carefully piled up but now scattered around. The stone heaps were believed to mark sites at which valuable minerals such as gold, cobalt, copper, and diamonds had been found. The heaps were therefore pulled down in order to find out whether valuable stones were concealed beneath them.

Lemaire was interested in ethnography as well as geography and geology. He collected items for the museum in Tervuren such as musical instruments, as Chief Mpanga Masangu mentioned, and also weapons, regalia of local chiefs, and ancestral figures. Lemaire paid scant attention to the local context, however, which could not be studied in any great detail during the brief stops made by the expedition in its haste to reach its goal. He seemed to be particularly fascinated by the theory that there were still cave dwellers in Katanga. When he visited the Antwerp World Fair in 1894, he admired a reconstruction of a Katanga cave in the "Negro village" (Lemaire 1894). Questiaux and Voss embarked on an extensive search but found no troglodytes living in the present. The caves were used as a temporary refuge only when danger threatened. Lemaire's opinion was that the only cave dweller in Africa was the termite (Figs. 7–8).



11 Mukanda-Bantu, Msiri's son.

PHOTO: FRANÇOIS MICHEL, LITUPISHA, 1899. RMCA COLLECTION, AP0.0.1260, RMCA TERVUREN ©

"Mokandé-Bantou loves to dress in European style, and as shown in the picture we took of him, he certainly does not have the too often grotesque bearing of the Negro attempting to be fashionable or bedecking himself in carnivalesque attire." Charles Lemaire, 1899.

12 Marcel "Barasseur" Mukanda-Bantu had only recently seen a photograph of his grandfather for the first time. The likeness is striking.

PHOTO: SAMMY BALOJI, BUNKEYA, 2010

"What may be said of those Negro chiefs? They make a painful impression with their European-style clothing, which deprives them of the character bestowed on them by their traditional costume as sovereign, with their large necklace and their multi-colored loincloths. Indeed their authority is illusory, and few chiefs have retained true prestige in the eyes of the natives." Prince Albert, 1909.

"CONGO-MINOTAUR ... CEMETERY OF THE WHITE MEN ..."

According to the colonial press, the scientific study of Katanga was the main purpose of the expedition, but it clearly had a political role as well. This is evident from the fact that Lemaire was being urged by Brussels to have local chiefs sign treaties.¹⁷ Lemaire also provided military support in the conflict against the Sanga people, whose relationship with the Yeke people was already deteriorating before the arrival of the Belgians. Trade caravans traveling from Angola to Bunkeya were stopped, and a guerrilla war led to the destruction of villages, livestock, and crops. Msiri tried in vain to engage the Belgians as allies against the Sanga. A few days after his father's death, Mukanda-Bantu signed an act of submission with Stairs and the flag of the Congo Free State was hoisted in Bunkeya (Stairs 1893:205). Later on he entered into a marriage of convenience with the Belgians. With a much-depleted group of followers, Mukanda-Bantu settled in Litupisha on the banks of the Lufira (Fig. 9), closer to the colonial outpost of Lofoi, after which a joint battle against neighboring chiefs was waged. It is telling that a gigantic political map on one of the walls of the new Belgian Congo Museum inaugurated in 1910 no longer showed Bunkeya. Colonial memory and forgetfulness created and erased identities and the struggle for power and dominance (Le Goff 1988:174–75). Mukanda-Bantu did retain some autonomy despite the cooperation between the Belgians and the Yeke. He had his own legal system, for instance, under which anyone found guilty of a crime was thrown into the Lufira. "While he was fighting against death, he [Mukanda-Bantu] had a good laugh. He went 'he he he he'.

Mukanda-Bantu had a good laugh."¹⁸ The remains of Mukanda-Bantu's residence are to be found in the midst of the manioc fields of Mwaka-Alphonse, the chief in present-day Kyolokosa, a small town named after the chief who set up home there in 1887 and whose sister was married to Msiri (Fig. 10).

It was in Litupisha that Lemaire, or "Lukuka" as he was called by Mukanda-Bantu, met the second *mwami* (Mukanda-Bantu 1948:240). The good relationship between Mukanda-Bantu and the Belgians influenced the chief's apparel (Figs. 11–12). "Mokandé-Bantou loves to dress in European style, and as shown in the picture we took of him, he certainly does not have the too often grotesque bearing of the Negro attempting to be fashionable or bedecking himself in carnivalesque attire" (Lemaire 1902:311). Towards the end of his life, Mukanda-Bantu also received Prince Albert in Litupisha, the first member of the Belgian royal family to visit Congo, in 1909. Surprisingly



enough, the prince also commented on the *mwami's* unusual garb, but he was less enthusiastic than Lemaire: "What may be said of those Negro chiefs? They make a painful impression with their European-style clothing, which deprives them of the character bestowed on them by their traditional costume as sovereign, with their large necklace and their multicolored loincloths. Indeed their authority is illusory, and few chiefs have retained true prestige in the eyes of the natives" (Buren 2008:123).

Close to Litupisha stood the colonial outpost of Lofoi (Figs. 13–14), which had already been described by Jules Marchal as "the vanguard of terror" (1996:25), the base of operations for

15 A group of Europeans in Lofoi.

PHOTO: FRANÇOIS MICHEL, LOFOI, 1898. RMCA COLLECTION, AP0.0.931, RMCA TERVUREN ©

"White women can certainly in comfort and with precautions, follow the men to the Congo." Prince Albert, 1909.

16 Flore Cercel's identity was unknown until we stumbled across her tomb, desecrated in search of ore.

PHOTO: SAMMY BALOJI, MBONGE, 2010

"Congo-Minotaur... Cemetery of the white men ... That was, and still is, what the masses think." Charles Lemaire, 1897.



13 A shelter in Lofoi.

PHOTO: FRANÇOIS MICHEL, 1898, LOFOI. RMCA COLLECTION, AP0.0.928, RMCA TERVUREN ©

"The new location was dry but surrounded by flooded land and infested with mosquitoes. Life there was unbearable." Verdick, 1897.

14 Lofoi encircled by flames. When we arrived at the former colonial outpost the long grass was set on fire and the resulting bush fire revealed the remains.

PHOTO: SAMMY BALOJI, MBONGE, 2010

"That is how my education began under cannon fire and gun-fire, in burning villages: in a word, in the abuse and rank abuse of force with every possible excess." Lemaire, n.d.

the military subjugation of the region. Clément Brasseur, who replaced Legat, moved the outpost 600 meters to the north in order to avoid flooding. He built a military fort in the shape of a pentagon with four towers and a palisade. Together with Mukanda-Bantu, Brasseur, Verdick, and Henri Delvaux eliminated a number of local chiefs. People were maimed or murdered, villages burnt down, crops destroyed, and ivory seized. The *Biographie coloniale belge*, in which Mukanda-Bantu is one of the few Congolese to have an entry, states that until then historians had largely ignored his role in the "pacification of the region" (Grévisse 1955:643). The good relationship between Mukanda-Bantu and Brasseur is indeed still reflected today in Marcel Mukanda-Bantu's nickname of "Barasseur." Towards the





end of 1897, Mukanda-Bantu, Brasseur, and other colonials made an attempt to eliminate Chief Shiwala. Brasseur was shot in the liver and died. Verdick was deeply moved: “We had to hide our tears. For me, his death was to be one of the saddest memories of my life in Africa” (Verdick 1952:77). Brasseur was buried where he fell, the doors of the palace of the fleeing Shiwala serving as a coffin. But the grave was soon desecrated, with only his skull and a few bones left behind. His remains were taken to Lofoi, where a brick mausoleum was erected (Fig. 19). The fact that a son of Mukanda-Bantu died during the same attack was not mentioned in European sources (Mukanda Bantu 1919:521).

Verdick took charge of Lofoi, where Edgard Cerckel also stayed along with his wife, which was very unusual in the early part of the colonial period (Fig. 15). This is because it was feared that women would perish or become infertile. Before leaving for Katanga, Lemaire said: “Congo-Minotaur” ... Cemetery of the white men... That was, and still is, what the masses think” (Lemaire 1897:251). Their daughter Flore Cerckel was born on December 9, 1896, in Lofoi, but died on May 25 the following year. Her grave was also recently desecrated by treasure-hunters searching for ore (Fig. 16). Despite Brasseur’s work moving the outpost, Verdick thought that the situation was still untenable. “The new location was dry but surrounded by flooded land and infested with mosquitoes. Life there was unbearable” (Verdick 1952:74). Two years after the death of Flore Cerckel, Verdick moved the Lofoi colonial outpost to Lukafu, fifty kilometers to the south. He had a number of brick houses with straw roofs built for Europeans, as well as a munitions depot, prison, kitchen, and mess. An avenue lined with eucalyptus and mango trees led to a central square where the flag was hoisted each morning. Prince Albert visited the “native camp” (Figs. 17–18) in 1909: “The soldiers’ camp is clean and tidy; they have fine huts where they live with their wives” (Buren 2008:125). Brasseur’s skull also received a new resting place. His grave, containing remains that are a macabre reverse image of those in Msiri’s grave, can still be seen today in the “pioneers’ graveyard” (Fig. 20). The site was classified as a historic monument during the colonial period and has been restored several times. Visitors can also admire the bed in which Prince Albert slept, which is kept nearby. A small pyramid was erected at the abandoned Lofoi outpost in 1951. This monument also failed to escape the feverish hunt for ore and was excavated thoroughly by treasure hunters. The presence of white people in Katanga is still associated with excavation and trade in

17 The Lukafu Station. The avenue of the native camp.
PHOTO: FRANÇOIS MICHEL, LUKAFU, 1899. RMCA COLLECTION,
AP0.0.1257, RMCA TERVUREN ©

18 Msiri concession. Typical buildings for the local population at the Tenke Fungurume Mining Company concession.
PHOTO: SAMMY BALOJI, FUNGURUME, 2010.
“The soldiers’ camp is clean and tidy; they have fine huts where they live with their wives.” Prince Albert, 1909.

minerals, as evidenced by the fact that the former colonial outpost of Lofoi is still known as “Mbonge,” derived from the French term *bon gain*, or “good profit”.

“WHAT A TERRIBLE RELIC”

Lemaire claims that he tried to keep the use of firearms during his expedition to a minimum. This attitude is quite different from the views that Lemaire expressed during his first two periods of service in the Congo. Elsewhere he admitted that his “[...] education began under cannon fire and gun-fire, in burning villages: in a word, in the abuse and rank abuse of force with every possible excess” (Thurniaux-Hennebert 1968:1–2). Nevertheless, during his Katanga expedition Lemaire would openly support the armed conflict against the Sanga people. He sent 100 soldiers from the expedition and provided Verdick with ammunition. He also drafted Julien Fromont, to the considerable displeasure of Dardenne, who would have liked to fight himself: “Today I am going to see the parade of the soldiers who will be setting off tomorrow and to watch the cannons being prepared for departure. What a pity that I can’t slip into a box of shells” (Devroey and Neuhuys-Nisse 1965:69).

Mukanda-Bantu supplied fifty soldiers, and at Kyamakela the joint force launched its attack against the Sanga chief Mumba Shinka, better known by his honorary title “Mulowa Nyama,” which means “he who kills the animal.” Since 1891, Mulowa Nyama, who was thought to be responsible for blockading the trade caravans coming from Angola, had been in conflict with Msiri and Mukanda-Bantu, who described the Sanga people as “forest brigands” (Mukanda-Bantu 1948:218). Although Mulowa Nyama already signed an act of submission with Stairs after the death of Msiri (Stairs 1893:205), he refused to accept the author-



19 The tomb of Commander Brasseur in Lofoi.

PHOTO: FRANÇOIS MICHEL, LOFOI, 1898. RMCA COLLECTION, AP.0.0.934, RMCA TERVUREN ©

"We had to hide our tears. For me, his death was to be one of the saddest memories of my life in Africa." Edgard Verdick, 1897.

21 The scientific mission pays homage at the tomb of the late Lt. Fromont.

PHOTO: FRANÇOIS MICHEL, 1899. RMCA COLLECTION, AP.0.0.1261, RMCA TERVUREN ©
 "If some day foreigners were again to make claims on those far-off regions of the Congolese State, we would be able to respond: the country is ours, by the right of the first occupier. One of our men is buried there!" Emile Francqui, 1893.



20 The pioneers' graveyard where, among other remains, Brasseur's head is buried.

PHOTO: SAMMY BALOJI, LUKAFU, 2010

"On the road leading to the kitchen garden we paid our respects to the grave of the late commander Brasseur, killed by the enemy." Charles Lemaire, 1899.

22 Aloïs Mudjimba at Fromont's tomb in the "Msiri Concession" of TFM.

PHOTO: SAMMY BALOJI, FUNGURUME, 2010

"What a terrible relic for the parents." Léon Dardenne, 1899.





ity of the Congo Free State. The attack was launched on March 20, 1899. Fromont was killed almost immediately, after being shot in the heart (Fig. 23). “Bwana Pomo,” as he is known locally, was buried a little further away on Yeke land in order to protect his grave from desecration (Figs. 21–22). His shirt, with a hole in the left side, was sent home. “What a terrible relic for the parents” (Devroey and Neuhuys-Nisse 1965:72).

During the attack, Mulowa Nyama and his followers sought refuge in a cave, which was a standard tactic. For three months the joint force attempted, unsuccessfully, to smoke them out, during which time Mukanda-Bantu organized a dance performance with musicians and Verdick began military exercises. Various attempts at negotiation failed, and the CFS flag was eventually hoisted. It was not until June 28 that the entrance to the cave was unblocked, after only a few people had managed to escape. In his journal, Delvaux describes what he called “amateur excavations”:

After three days of difficult and dangerous work, in an atmosphere poisoned by the stench of dead bodies emanating from the hole whose entrance we were clearing, my soldiers managed to shift and smash the blocks of stone that were in the way. Our excavations revealed 178 corpses! Everyone was dead; it was a mass grave. I think they died of asphyxiation; the position of the bodies does not indicate any suffering. Some of them were lying down, others seated. We found 41 rifles. The sight made a great impression on the natives. You need a certain amount of courage and a stout heart to bear staying for half an hour in this chamber of death, which some of the soldiers do.

23 Entrance to the Kyamakela Caves.

PHOTO: FRANÇOIS MICHEL, KYAMAKELA, 1899. RMCA COLLECTION, AP0.0.1209, RMCA TERVUREN ©

“Note was then taken of the presence of 178 corpses in the gallery,” Henri Delvaux, 1899.

24 Monument marking the place where Lieutenant Fromont was killed during the battle against Mulowa Nyama. Presently a concession of the Tenke Fungurume Mining Company. In the picture: Mumba Wa Mukekwa, grandson of one of the seven survivors of the Kyamakela Cave massacre.

PHOTO: SAMMY BALOJI, KYAMAKELA, 2010.

“In any case, one may not have the impression that it was due to the lack of generosity that all those poor wretches perished.” Edgard Verdick, 1899.

A few days later Fromont’s murderer was tracked down and executed: “[...] it is dangerous to leave people who can shoot white men so well at liberty.”²⁰ Jules Marchal was unable to locate Kyamakela, which is on land now owned by the Tenke Fungurume Mining concession, but in 1996 he referred to the village as “a key site in the history of the Congo” that would one day “reappear” (Fig. 24).

Verdick eventually ordered Delvaux to burn and blow up everything. When Lemaire arrived, he could only conclude that a “natural landslide” had occurred, blocking all access. The dead were being buried in Kyamakela at this time. Dardenne described the funeral: “Mulume was half-lying on fabrics, surrounded by six women; the other bodies in very natural positions, eyes wide open, seeming to stare at passers-by. The stench was horrendous” (Devroey and Neuhuys-Nisse 1965:76). A day later the caravan train passed Fromont’s grave. Dardenne, and probably the entire group along with him, feared that the Sanga people would take revenge by setting fires in the bush, as a result of which “our 400 men and ourselves would be roasted like chickens” (Devroey and Neuhuys-Nisse 1965:77).

25 The remaining European members of the Lemaire expedition 1898–1900. From left to right: Voss, Questiaux, Dardenne, Lemaire, and Michel. UNKNOWN PHOTOGRAPHER, DATE, AND PLACE. (LEMAIRE 1902).



“WHAT A DISAPPOINTMENT”

The members of the expedition finally reached Lake Dilolo on September 11, 1899, seventeen months after leaving Antwerp. Dardenne felt sorely let down: “What a disappointment: A marsh in the Campine²¹ is infinitely more beautiful! The people look at us as if we were animals in the zoo. It’s the mirror image of what we used to see in the Castan Museum, when Negroes were put on display!” (Devroey and Neuhuys-Nisse 1965:79). Maurice Castan was the owner of the Musée du Nord in the Northern Gallery in Brussels, where Siamese twins, Aborigines, Onas Indians, and “Hottentots” were displayed as “living exhibits” in front a diverse audience, including Dardenne. Lemaire remained optimistic, though. After meeting Portuguese traders, who were using ox-carts to transport rubber to the west coast, Lemaire used a medical metaphor to describe how a railway could easily follow this “penetration route,” with the result that “the blood of races with a powerful civilization must be transfused more and more

into the veins of a country that is crying out to be developed, but whose own barbarity has bled it dry, left it in a weakened state, incapable of aspiring to a better life” (Lemaire 1900c:341).

On his return journey, Lemaire led the caravan train through very difficult terrain back to Verdick, who had in the meantime moved the colonial outpost to Lukafu. After resting for a while, they followed the River Congo downstream to the west coast. De Harinck stayed behind in the Congo and died shortly afterwards in Stanleyville (Kisangani). A banquet was held in Nouvelle Anvers (Makanza) to celebrate Lemaire’s arrival. This was the start of a whole series of celebrations both in Africa and in Europe after their return in September 1900 (Fig. 25). Lemaire received various honors and published widely about the expedition. He spoke at more than sixty conferences and became a member or honorary member of various geographical societies in Antwerp, Liverpool, Nancy, and Paris. Objects gathered during the expedition were exhibited in Tervuren and the Antwerp Zoo. According to

Lemaire, an explorer who wanted to be worthy of the title “scientist,” like Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen, who won the Nobel Prize in 1902, should not trouble himself with business and finance, but should concentrate on disseminating his knowledge so that it could be verified by others (Lemaire 1902:4).

Verdick, who, after the departure of the Katanga expedition, lived in Lukafu until 1901, established a herbarium on Lemaire’s instructions and carried out an impressive 3,700 physical anthropological measurements using instruments from the Lemaire expedition and a manual (Broca 1879). A hundred individuals were recorded in tables. This immediately became the most accurate set of records in the history of Belgian physical anthropology. When Léon Vandenbroeck arrived in Lukafu to take his place, Verdick returned to Belgium with a caravan train transporting large quantities of rubber and ivory. By around the turn of the century, however, physical anthropology was no longer accepted as a fully fledged science, which meant that the results of his research were never published.

Mukanda-Bantu remained an ally of the Belgians after Lemaire and Verdick had departed. Vandenbroeck, known locally as Kapite, gave him a piece of good advice at the time: “Stick to the white man, listen to him, behave with him as you did with me.” Mukanda-Bantu seemed to agree: “That’s fine, to me they are all my fathers; even if a very strict one or a young one comes along, he’ll still be a father” (Mukanda-Bantu 1948:241). Yet according to Mwaka-Alphonse, the present chief in Kylokosa, Mukanda-Bantu refused to submit to the Belgians, which eventually led to his death. “No, he refused to put the flag up, and to submit the kingdom to the CFS, to do what they wanted. He was like

his father Msiri. The white people said to themselves: ‘No.’ To eliminate that person and put up the flag, they used lies, telling him that here are many insects in this place. ‘It would be better if we took you back to Bunkeya where you were before.’ By leaving, they did him wrong.”²² Belgian doctors came to treat Mukanda-Bantu after he had been bitten by insects. They gave him drugs and injections, but Chief Mwaka-Alphonse believes that he was in fact poisoned. Mukanda-Bantu’s character was too rebellious for the Belgians, who wanted to have him replaced by his younger brother Kitanika, who had been educated at a Protestant mission.²³ In any case, towards the end of his life, Mukanda-Bantu left Litupisha after the region was struck by sleeping sickness. He returned to Bunkeya, where in return for services rendered the Belgians gave him control over a chiefdom that incorporated part of the Sanga people’s land between Likasi and Fungurume. Mukanda-Bantu died in 1910 in Bunkeya and was succeeded by his brother Kitanika.

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Notes

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¹ This exhibition ran until September 4 and was made possible thanks to collaboration with the Belgian Directorate-General for Development Cooperation (DGD).

² The photos of *Mémoire* were exhibited in the

National Museum of Lubumbashi, the Sidney Mishkin Gallery in New York, and the Museum of Natural History of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington.

³ Sammy Baloji, interview with Maarten Couttenier, February 12, 2013.

⁴ Sammy Baloji, interview with Maarten Couttenier, February 12, 2013.

⁵ Some of the selected photographs were made by François Michel during the Lemaire expedition (De Keyser and Lagae 2010:xiv, xv).

⁶ Mwani Mukonki Shita, interview with the authors, August 20, 2010. Marcel Mukanda-Bantu, interview with authors, August 20, 2010.

⁷ Many studies of the history of the Yeke people concentrate on the period from 1850 to 1891 and on Msiri as an individual. This article will focus on the interesting two decades that followed.

⁸ In 1909, Mukanda-Bantu wrote a letter to Prince Albert, who visited the Yeke chief in Litupisha during his voyage from Cape Town to the Belgian colony. The document in Kisanga was translated in French by Léon Gheur (Mukanda-Bantu 1919) and Antoine Munongo (Mukanda-Bantu 1948).

⁹ Marcel Mukanda-Bantu, interview with authors, August 20, 2010.

¹⁰ Marcel Mukanda-Bantu, interview with authors, August 20, 2010.

¹¹ Samba chief, interview with the authors, August 21, 2010.

¹² Stairs archive, RMCA, HA.01.0246. The notes were translated in French and published by Alphonse de Haulleville, director of the Belgian Congo Museum, in the period 1910–1927 (Stairs 1893). Stairs was by no means the first colonialist to try to take the heads of African chiefs back to Europe. Prof. Allen Roberts just published

a fascinating book, *A Dance of Assassins: Performing Early Colonial Hegemony in the Congo*, on the confrontation between Emile Storms and Lusinga (Roberts 2013). Both the Anthropological Society of Brussels and the Congo Museum possessed physical anthropology collections, now kept in the Université libre de Bruxelles and the MNS (Couttenier 2005:81–89; Couttenier 2009:89–101, Couttenier forthcoming). Sammy Baloji also became fascinated by the history of physical anthropology and photographed the skull of Lusinga in the MNS, where he was welcomed as a natural scientist. As instructed, Baloji took a series of photographs of the skull of Lusinga, five of which he included in *Aller et retour* (Njami 2010:156): frontal, side, and rear views as well as views from above and below. There was space for a sixth photograph, but this was left black to indicate the lack of context in which the remains are kept (Arndt forthcoming).

¹³ The extensive Charles Lemaire archives are also kept at the RMCA (1962:45). For an inventory, see Thuriaux-Hennebert 1968.

¹⁴ Chief Mpanga Masangu, interview with Maarten Couttenier, August 24, 2010.

¹⁵ See also Lemaire archive, 62.45.49, 21; 64.45.4, 67.

¹⁶ Lemaire archive, 62.45.30, 56.

¹⁷ Lemaire archive, 62.45.111.

¹⁸ Chief Mwaka-Alphonse, interview with the authors, September 9, 2010.

¹⁹ The Minotaur is a creature from Greek mythology with the body of a man and the head and tail of a bull. Because it ate human flesh, it was confined to the Labyrinth of Daedalus, into which seven children from Athens were thrown every year. Theseus eventually defeated the Minotaur and found his way out of the labyrinth thanks to Ariadne’s thread.

²⁰ Delvaux archive, RMCA, 735, travel journal, July

4, 1899.

21 The Campine is a natural region situated in northeastern Belgium and the southern part of the Netherlands.

22 Chief Mwaka-Alphonse, interview with the authors, September 9, 2010.

23 A portrait of Mwami Kitanika Mabumba Mushalila (the third Mwenda) and his wife by Léopold Gabriel is reproduced in Geary 2002:108.

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