UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

Chains of Memory in the Postcolony: Performing and Remembering the Namibian Genocide

Pedzisai Maedza

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Centre for Theatre, Dance and Performance Studies
University of Cape Town
South Africa

Supervised by Associate Professor Veronica Baxter & Professor Doctor Carola Lentz

March 2018

Plagiarism Declaration

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and to the best of my knowledge it contains no materials written by another person, or substantial proportions of material which have been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at UCT or any other educational institution, except where due acknowledgement is made in the thesis. Any contribution made to the research by others, with whom I have worked with at UCT or elsewhere, is explicitly acknowledged in the thesis. I also declare that the extent that assistance from others in the project's design and conception or in style, presentation and linguistic expression is acknowledged.

Signed: Pedzisai Maedza

Date: 20 March 2018

ABSTRACT

This research project is an interdisciplinary investigation of the memory of the 1904-1908 Namibian genocide through its performance representation(s). It lies at the intersection of performance, memory and genocide studies. The research considers the role of performance in remembering, memorialising, commemorating, contesting, transmitting and sustaining the memory of the genocide across time and place. The project frames performance as a media through which history is narrated by positioning performance as a complex interlocutor of the past in the present. This claim is premised on the assumption that the past is not simply given in memory 'but it must be articulated to become memory' (Huyssen, 1995:3).

The research considers commemoration events and processes as fruitful performance nodes to uncover the past as well as the politics of the present. It makes the case that while the Namibian genocide has so far been denied official or state acknowledgement, it is chiefly through the medium of performance that the genocide memory is remembered, contested and performed. The project offers a variety of perspectives on the relationship between genocide violence, memory and space by focusing on what is remembered, how it is remembered and by paying attention to when it is remembered. The research contributes to an understanding and reconstruction of memory and performance of the Namibian genocide on two fronts. Firstly, as a cultural phenomenon and secondly, as a form of elegy and memorial in contemporary times. These insights contribute to the emerging body of scholarly work on performance and the cultural memory of the Namibian genocide.

The project also charts avenues of inquiry in the production and transmission of memory across time and generations, within and beyond Namibian national borders. It pays close attention to performance's contribution to the formation of cultural memory by exploring the conditions and factors that make remembering in common possible such as language, images, rituals, commemoration practices, exhibitions, theatre and sites of memories. Through examining the specific role of performance as a medium of cultural memory of the Namibian genocide the study considers 'memory as performing history' (Shuttleworth et al., 2000:8). The research interrogates how contemporary artistic performance representations and interpretations from within and outside of Namibia inform the way societal history and the present are presented and remembered. Performance becomes an aperture to investigate the enduring contemporary role of the memory of the Namibian genocide as well as its simultaneous reconfiguration. This enables the project to investigate how memories circulate across time and place - transnationally and across generations. This cross-border and trans-generational reflection is essential to understanding how the Namibian genocide has and is articulated, circulated, structured and remembered through performance in the postcolony.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This split-site research project was made possible by the generous funding support of the Canon Collins Trust, United Kingdom; the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD); the Sulzmann Foundation, Germany; the Social Science Research Council, New York, USA- Next Generation Social Sciences in Africa and the University of Cape Town's Rosalie van der Gucht and International Scholarships.

Prof Veronica Baxter and Prof. Dr Carola Lentz my academic supervisors deserve special mention for being the project's intellectual anchors. They both nurtured and challenged my research ideas and enriched my sojourn at the Centre for Theatre, Dance and Performance Studies, University of Cape Town, South Africa and at the Institute for Anthropology and African Studies, Johannes Gutenberg University-Mainz, Germany.

While a lot more people deserve credit for the completion of this work, for any and all mistakes and inaccuracies contained in this work, though not intentional I take full and sole responsibility.

Jessie, Rutendo, Takudzwa, Tariro, Raphael, Kuzivakwashe and Kudakwashe my beautiful nieces and nephews this is for you.

This thesis is dedicated in loving memory to a candle blown out too soon,
Keith Tawananyasha Maedza
(27 September 2006 - 05 April 2017)

Table of Contents

Chains of Memory in the Postcolony: Performing and Remembering the Namibian Genocide

TABLE OF FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This study is an interdisciplinary investigation of the memory of the 1904-1908 Namibian colonial war and genocide. It lies at the intersection of performance, memory and genocide studies and uses performance analysis to investigate the postcolonial remembrance of the German colonial genocide in Namibia. The research considers the role of performance in remembering the 1904-1908 German frontier war and genocide as well as its memorialisation through performance in and outside of Namibia. It argues that performance is a complex interlocutor of the past in the present, through which the history of the Namibian genocide is narrated and remembered. It frames the past as not simply given in memory 'but it must be articulated to become memory' (Huyssen, 1995, p. 3). The study pays close attention to corporeal performance contributions to the social formation of cultural memory by exploring the conditions and factors that make remembering in common possible such as language, rituals, commemoration practices, theatre and sites of memory. In this way, the study brings to the fore how contemporary communities remember, produce, commemorate, transmit and sustain the memory of the 114-year-old contested genocide across time and place through performance.

This study suggests that the Namibian genocide is an example of a 'historical catastrophe' (Bogues, 2010, p. 40). A historical catastrophe refers to events whose scope and extent lie beyond 'a singular one that we mark off with periodisation boundaries, including a prelude and an aftermath. Rather, a historically catastrophic event is one in which (trauma) wounds are repeated over and over again' (Bogues, 2010, p. 40). The study contributes to furthering our understanding of how the memory of the German colonial genocide and historical catastrophe in Namibia is articulated, structured, circulated and remembered through performance. This study grounds its investigation in case studies of the Herero *Red Flag Day*, William Kentridge's *Black Box/ Chambre Noir, Exhibit B* by Brett Bailey, *SOLD!* devised by Themba Mbuli and Unmute Dance Company as well as *We Are Proud to Present a Presentation About the Herero on Namibia, Formerly Known as Southwest Africa, From the German Südwestafrika, Between the Years 1884-1915* by Jackie Sibblies Drury. Using these five performances drawn from a wide spectrum of Namibian genocide remembrance culture, the study suggests that performance provides a useful aperture to investigate the enduring contemporary role of German colonial genocide memory as well as its simultaneous reconfiguration.

The selected performances were and are staged inside and outside of Namibian borders and I investigate how the memory of the genocide is framed and remembered across borders and time. The case study selection approach is not meant to compare and rank memory discourses in and outside of Namibia. Instead it enables the study to reflect on and investigate how genocide memory circulates transnationally and across generations and time through performance. This approach is necessary to problematise and counter the silo effect that often results from single country genocide memory, history and performance studies where nationalism as an analytic frame is not subjected to closer scrutiny.

The choice of postcolonial Namibia and its diaspora critiques Pierre Nora's definition of the nation as 'a (mnemonic) space for each race' (1996, p. 13). This study recognises the limitations and value of Nora's approach in framing the nation-state as an important analytic frame to engage with memory constellations. It follows Astrid Erll in approaching Nora's work as a conflation of 'memory, ethnicity, territory, and the nation-state together' (2011, p. 7). To address this limitation, this research suggests that the nation is not the 'sole arbiter of cultural memory' by incorporationg performances staged in and outside of the Namibian nationstate (Erll, 2011, p. 8).

The status of German's colonial conduct in Namibia as genocide is widely acknowledged in academic literature where it has been dubbed 'the first genocide of the 20th Century' (Melber, 2005, p. 139). This position is, however, yet to be adopted as an official position by any German administration or to be translated into policy. It is essential to reflect on these postcolonial developments since present concerns and particularities hold sway over the past, so much so that the past should more accurately be understood as a result of the present (Kubal, 2008). The five performances discussed in this study as cultural memory traces do not only reflect the past. They play a pivotal role in informing the present by serving as the 'symbolic frameworks' through which people make sense of their place and being in time (Misztal, 2003, p. 13).

Using the five selected contemporary artistic and cultural representations, this study investigates how performance informs the way societal history is presented and remembered. It suggests that it is chiefly through the medium of performance that the German colonial genocide memory is remembered, contested and transmitted across time and space. The research approaches commemoration events and processes as fruitful remembrance nodes to uncover the past as well as the postcolonial politics of the present. The political urgency of this is particularly evident in the ongoing efforts by the Namibian descendants of the survivors and victims of the colonial violence and terror to push and sue the German government to

unconditionally acknowledge, apologise and pay restitutions for the 1904-1908 colonial genocide.

Through every chapter this study investigates various aspects of the memory of the Namibian colonial genocide by questioning what aspects of the genocide are being remembered, how this is performed and by reflecting on the consequences of these performances. This is done to examine the specific role of performance as a medium of genocide cultural memory. The study considers 'memory as performing history' and contributes to an understanding and reconstruction of memory and performance firstly as a cultural phenomenon and secondly as a form of elegy and memorial in contemporary times (Campbell et al., 2000, p. 8). Corporeal performance is framed as a medium where people and societies both articulate and embody their subjective sense of time past in the present. The research incorporates annual calendrical commemorative events, travelling performance exhibitions, dance and theatre in the analysis. These are framed and analysed as seminal nodes of memorial practices under the rubric of performance. They constitute the units of study that show how the Namibian genocide as a historical event is remembered through a repertoire of contemporary performances.

This is an extension of Steven Bottom's usage of the term 'performance' to incorporate 'everything from written plays to group-devised performances to street interventions to installation art as existing on an identifiable continuum of performance practices, and as engaging in different ways with underlying questions of site, text, spectatorship, representation, cultural context' (2003, p. 173). This conception of performance follows on Diana Taylor's argument that when performance is understood as an object of analysis it facilitates the 'examination of discrete embodied acts…[and] constitutes a repertoire of embodied knowledge, a learning in and through the body, as well as a means of creating, preserving, and transmitting knowledge' (2003, p. 16).

Defining Genocide in the Postcolony

This section outlines working definitions of select terms and concepts that are used beyond their disciplinary specificity in this study. It starts with the genealogy of genocide before moving on to formulate a working framework for the postcolony, memory and remembering genocide. The concept of genocide as we now know it was introduced into the lexicon in 1944 by Raphael Lemkin (1900-1959). The word genocide was coined from the Greek word '*genos*' meaning 'race, nation, kind or tribe' and from Latin '*caedere*' which means 'to kill' (Lemkin,

1944). Lemkin created the term and expanded on it through his work on international law against the mass murders committed by Nazi led forces during the Second World War. Lemkin's advocacy is largely credited for the formulation of the 9th of December 1948 United Nations (UN) Genocide Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The UN Convention serves as a comprehensive albeit contested universal definition of genocide. The UN Convention defines genocide in the following terms:

> Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:
> (a) Killing members of the group;
> (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
> (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
> (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
> (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.
>
> (UN General Assembly, 1948).

Article III of the UN Convention states that 'genocide; conspiracy to commit genocide; direct and public incitement to commit genocide; as well as complicity in genocide' shall be punishable acts (UN General Assembly, 1948).

This study's analysis of colonial German conduct in Namibia as genocide is guided by the UN Convention and by Helen Fein's definition of genocide as the 'sustained, purposeful action by a perpetrator to physically destroy a collectivity directly or indirectly' (2002, p. 82). Fein's concept of 'scenarios of genocide' frames my reading of narrative models or historical patterns of genocidal actions (1984, p. 3). As a frame of analysis Fein's 'scenarios of genocide' concept is fruitfully applied to all the five selected performances in this study (1984, p. 3).

The concept of the postcolony is used to define the contemporary moment in which the remembering is happening. It refers to the now moment after the power structures of slavery, colonialism, apartheid and neo-liberal forms of democracy (Mbembé, 2001). On a historical path understood in linear terms the 'postcolony' identifies 'societies recently emerging from the experience of colonisation and the violence which the colonial relationship, *par excellence*, involves' (Mbembé, 1992, p. 3; italics in the original). On the African continent and as is the case elsewhere, such a time is not a precise event since it is impossible to demarcate the end of colonialism with calendar date precision. Understood as a process, the postcolony defines an epoch characterised by 'chaotic plurality', 'contradictions', 'improvisations' as well as a 'tendency to excess and disproportion' (Mbembé, 1992, p. 3). Mbembé is sensitive to the

conceptual challenges of thinking and defining Africa as an ontological and cosmopolitan space in rational and subjective terms. In an interview, Mbembé describes the postcolony as a 'timespace characterised by proliferation and multiplicity…an era of displaced entanglements, the unity of which is produced out of differences' (Höller, 2002).

Analytically distinct practices are often combined in memory literature. At its core memory denotes the action or means by which past events, experiences or impressions are recollected and preserved. Memory is not defined by the degree of its correspondence or accuracy or validity of its accounts (Bell, 2006). Memory can be understood as *'knowledge from the past.* It is not necessarily *knowledge about the past'* (Margalit, 2003, p. 14; italics in the original). That is to say, memory is an active attempt at 'thinking of things in their absence' (Warnock, 1987, p. 12). For a study like this one, which approaches genocide memory through the caveat of performance 'memory is the experience of the past mediated by representation, so it is the construction of images that puts memories before our eyes and which reveals what experience means' (Misztal, 2003, p. 119). Although imagination is perhaps not essential to all types of memory (e.g. habitual memory, which incorporates practical and usable knowledge of the world and does not rely on the deployment of images), exploring something imaginatively requires memory.

In practice memory and remembering are cognitive processes that happen in individuals' brain. However, this study is concerned with the notion of memory beyond the body's neurocognitive capacity. The study's application of memory to non-human subject matter is an enabling metaphoric device. It enables this study to explore memory firstly as an information storage facility. Secondly as information in storage. Thirdly memory is analysed as the process by which this information is retrieved or a consciousness of remembering (Tulving, 2000). Of particular concern in this study is the relationship and constitution of individual and collective identities, as well as the manner in which the personal and the collective are created and reproduced in remembering the Namibian genocide (Bell, 2006).

Maurice Halbwachs is credited for introducing the concept of collective memory. Halbwachs used the concept to suggest that present concerns inform what past and how the past is remembered (Bell, 2006). According to Halbwachs 'memory denies the pastness of its objects and insists on their continuing presence' (Novick, 2000). Collective memory is always 'socially framed' because social groups influence what is regarded as 'memorable' as well as how it should be remembered. On the interplay between the individual and collective memory Halbwachs argues that 'one may say that the individual remembers by placing himself in the perspective of the group, but one may also affirm that the memory of the group realises and

manifests itself in individual memories' (Halbwachs, 1925/1992, p. 40). This means that 'the individual calls recollections to mind by relying on the frameworks of social memory' (Halbwachs, [1941]1992:182). For the purposes of this study, collective memory is defined 'as the representation of the past, both that shared by a group and that which is collectively commemorated, that enacts and gives substance to the group's identity, its present conditions and its vision of the future' (Misztal, 2003, p. 25).

Barry Schwartz's thinking on collective remembering is especially useful to this study since it foregrounds the shared and communal dimensions of collective memory which manifest in Namibian genocide remembrance performances. He defines collective memory as 'a representation of the past embodied in both historical evidence and commemorative symbolism' (Schwartz, 2000, p. 9). Collective memory is not only '*commonly shared*' but is also '*collectively commemorated*' (Misztal, 2003, p. 13; italics in the original). That is to say collective memory is defined and reinforced by the joint remembering of a shared past (Schwartz, 2000, p. 9).

The centrality of commemorative events in group identity and meaning making leads some observers to argue that if 'there is such a thing as social memory . . . we are likely to find it in commemorative ceremonies' (Connerton, 1989, p. 4). Cultural memory is 'the characteristic store of repeatedly used texts, images and rituals in the cultivation of which each society and epoch stabilises and imports its self-image' (Assmann, 1995, p. 132). This 'highlights the extent to which shared memories of the past are the product of mediation, textualisation and acts of communication' (Rigney, 2005, p. 14). Furthermore it is 'a collectively shared knowledge of preferably (yet not exclusively) the past, on which a group bases its awareness of unity and character' (Assmann, 1995, p. 132).

Cultural memory has two interlinked dimensions. On one hand, it refers to the memories that people establish from the cultural practices that they are exposed to. On the other hand it refers to the cultural practices that people use to construct a relationship with their past (Schudson, 1995). That is to say cultural memory is 'embodied in objectivations that store meaning in a concentrated manner' while it can also continue separately of its carriers (Heller, 2001, p. 103). Cultural carriers exist in tangible and non-tangible forms. They manifest in 'social institutions, cultural artefacts such as films, monuments, statues, souvenirs and so on' (Misztal, 2003, p. 12).

This study is primarily interested in exploring genocide cultural memory expressed through performance. The study argues that the five performances discussed in this project constitute

part of the cultural memory of the Namibian genocide atrocities. They individually and collectively reconstruct the contemporary memory of the colonial genocide through 'appropriation, sometimes by criticism, sometimes by preservation or by transformation (Assmann, 1995, p. 130).

Remembering Genocide

Remembering genocide in the postcolony is a contested social, political and cultural action and activity. This is because genocide is a charged and contested term that is applied in various spheres: in international law, in academic analyses of genocide, past and present, and in political claim-making. While committing genocide has been described as 'the ultimate crime in the evolution of modern human conflict', historical precedence suggests that once this crime is committed it seems to fall into oblivion (Dadrian, 1993, p. 173). In most of postcolonial Africa with the exception of the Great Lakes region it can be said that officially 'most events of genocide are marked by massive indifference, silence, and inactivity' (Charny and Rapaport, 1982, p. 284). In such instances genocide remains 'the nameless crime' (Churchill, 1941, p. 4). This project interrogates this 'nameless' status ascribed to the Namibian genocide in some literature. It suggests that this status persists due to various reasons, among them being the emotive contestations that come with using the word genocide, the time that has passed and mostly due to the active denial and dismissal by perpetrators and beneficiaries. This is compounded by the lack of a universally shared and agreed upon binding definition and interpretation of genocide, including the UN Convention on Genocide.

This study fills the gap in the literature about how Namibia as a postcolonial sub-Saharan African society deals with its genocidal past. This happens at a time where there is increasing potential for contemporary violent conflict over unequal land and wealth distribution and ownership influenced by colonial terror and genocide. The study follows Frederic Charles Bartlett's definition of remembering as 'effort after meaning' (1961, p. 213). Remembering the over a century-old Namibian genocide becomes 'an imaginative reconstruction, or construction, built out of the relation of our attitude towards a whole active mass of organised past reactions or experience, and to a little outstanding detail' (Bartlett, 1961, p. 213). The study follows Jan-Werner Müller's call that 'memory matters' and analyses how colonial genocide pain is historically constituted and expressed through performance (2002, p. 1). It suggests that how communities remember shows the participants' concern with how the past is structured and is framed in the present to serve the remembering community.

The politics of official genocide acknowledgement and apology spearheaded by some Namibian descendants of the victims and survivors, punctuate this investigation. Herero and Nama groups call for the 1904-1908 genocide pain to be publicly shared and recognised. Calls for public apologies have at times been described as an expression of 'a new and universal moral propensity to feel guilt and empathy' (Feuchtwang, 2006, p. 179). This study considers these ongoing calls for an apology as 'a civic ritual of recognition' essential to reconciliation. Feuchtwang suggests that 'an adequate apology is likely to entail some resolution of the shame, humiliation, and sheer negation of worth that an act of injustice created, feelings that have been perpetrated by various means' (Feuchtwang, 2006, p. 179). Most importantly for postcolonial Namibian racial relations, it is a question of justice and engaging with memory and history as a responsibility and responsibly.

Following Sigmund Freud (1922) this study suggests that the past is not sealed off from the present; instead it lays obligations on it. The past is a source of meaning, a place that is necessary to visit if the present is to make sense. This study becomes particularly necessary and urgent when one considers pain beyond the singular bodies who experience it and considers it at a social level. This social dimension of pain is a result of the many ways in which the 'social world and the body-self interfuse' (Kleinman, 1999, p. 143). With Pandolfi (1990) this study examines the argument that painful symptoms can in some cases be read as a kind of archive of historical memories. 'The social and historical nature of pain and the variable ways in which it can be interpreted mean that pain is also political' (Cole, 2004, p. 87). This closer analysis of the 1904-1908 colonial genocide recognises that 'the roots of pain and the way people respond to it' is essential since such responses 'may challenge the existing distribution of power' (Cole, 2004, p. 88).

The material existence of the Namibian genocide stands as a historical instance of injustice. The continued and disputed memory about the genocide among some of the descendants of victims and perpertrators of the genocide brings about questions about obligations and the need for postcolonial rectification of the past. Descendants of victims and survivors often make the case that the memorialisation of pain is crucial for them as they consider this pain an integral part of their sense of being. Victims of systematic violence and their descendants often argue that 'to rob us of memory is to destroy a part of us, something essential to who we are, something arguably as crucial to our identity as our physical person' (Booth, 1999, p. 258). Against this background 'memory is a powerful tool in the quest for understanding, justice and knowledge. It raises consciousness. It heals some wounds, restores dignity, and prompts uprisings' (Hacking, 1995, p. 3).

In some countries the moral absurdity that underlies refusals to acknowledge genocides has been seen to warrant legal condemnation. In countries like Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Israel, Ireland, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Romania and Sweden, genocide denial has been outlawed on the conviction that to deny such pain is an affront to the victims and survivors. The rationale forwarded for such legislations being that genocide denial is morally just as bad as the actual genocide. Genocide denial is considered a potential precursor for incitement and repeat genocide. In states where this is the case, this provision is extended only to the Nazi-led genocide. This study re-considers the question of genocide denial in relation to the lesser known German colonial genocide in Namibia which occurred thirty years prior to the one in Europe. This is done at a time when revisionist scholars like Bruce Gilley are making callous pro-Western colonialism calls arguing that 'the time may be ripe', 'to reclaim colonialism' as a governance structure and to 'recolonise some areas' (2017, p. 1; 2). Gilley claims, despite facts on the contrary, that colonialism was 'as a general rule, both objectively beneficial and subjectively legitimate in most of the places where it was found' (2017, p. 1).

Performing Genocide

By making performance the focus of research, this study reiterates the place of performance as a valid pathway to memory and history. Performance leads to an 'understanding of embodied practice as an episteme and a praxis, a way of knowing as well as a way of storing and transmitting cultural knowledge and identity' (Taylor, 2003, p. 278). As a medium for remembering historical genocide, the selected performances inform not only how the past is told but also influence how that past is perceived and interpreted. For Schwartz 'memory at once reflects, programs, and frames the present' (2000, p. 18). This echoes Derrida's argument that 'the technical structure of the archiving archive also determines the structure of the archivable content even in its very coming into existence and its relationship to the future. The archivization produces as much as it records the event' (Derrida, 1995, p. 41).

This study refutes the oft-repeated claim about the inferiority of artistic imagination when applied to historical genocide events and experience (Skloot, 1988). The decision to dwell on performance as memory follows on the observation that culture attains visibility through its representations (Jones and Olomo, 2008). That is to say through its 'structures, drama, symbols, metaphors, habits, everyday practices, landscape, language patterns, etc., performance (those embodied enactments formed by and embedded in these representations)' assume a cultural materiality in remembering (Jones and Olomo, 2008, p. 104). In genocide discourse 'memory matters' (Müller, 2002, p. 1) and 'the root of oppression

is loss of memory' (Gunn, 1999, p. 589). For the victims and survivors of genocide as well as their descendants a 'parallel history of … victimisation' becomes necessary in the pursuit of social justice through ethical remembering and memory (Ricoeur, 1999, pp. 5–11).

Performance provides a platform and serves as the most visible manifestation of how communities remember the 1904-1908 genocide. Performance becomes a fruitful site to engage with the memory of the Namibian colonial genocide because it is 'particularly well attuned to the slightest tremors of our collective psyche' (Greene, 1999, p. 5). The selected performances in this study can be regarded as a subjective barometer to read the contestations over the memorialisation and commemoration of German colonial violence in Namibia. The performances are cultural traces that serve as seismographs of the various perspectives and interest groups in remembering the Namibian genocide in the epochs of their creation and staging.

The five selected performances are particularly suited to address genocide remembrance, since they give expression to sentiments that lie beyond the verbal form or are resistant to articulation or whose articulation is resisted and suppressed (Greene, 1999). The selected performances have the capacity to express ideas, ideology, from the state to public representations. The performances are also expressive of the ways people act, shape and are shaped by internalising, changed and changing images of the past. Through these selected performances we can interrogate how cultural memory structures behaviour and thoughts (Confino, 2010). This extends to how and who should commemorate the dead and living victims of genocide and the manner and the form that such commemorations ought to take.

In performing genocide, the selected performances staged in and outside of Namibia - individually and collectively- serve as sites where time and 'landscape' intersect. The landscape according to Tim Ingold is 'an enduring record of - and testimony to - the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing, have left there something of themselves' (1993, p. 152). For Ingold, 'to perceive the landscape is therefore to carry out an act of remembrance' (1993, p. 152). In such an engagement 'remembering is not so much a matter of calling up an internal image, stored in the mind, as of engaging perceptually with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past' (Ingold, 1993, p. 152). This study suggests that the five selected performances perform memory as storages enveloping colonial genocide memory. In analysing these performances, attention is paid to how they shape, contest, mould and remember the German colonial genocide in Namibia.

The selected performances are regarded as valid traces and pathways to examine memory of the past in the here and now. They embody resistance against 'the temptation to assume that since stories are stories they are, in some sense, unreal or untrue' (Ingold, 1993, p. 154). Ingold argues against the fallacy of superficial positivist objectivity that supposes that 'the only real reality, or true truth, is one in which we, as living, experiencing beings, can have no part at all' (1993, p. 154). By investigating the representation of colonial genocide through performance, this study acknowledges that 'in habitual memory the past is, as it were, sedimented in the body' (Connerton, 1989, p. 72). The body and the resultant performances that make use and are constituted by that body convey and sustain memory since they are shaped and embalm the practices and knowledge systems of the culture making that performance.

Historians have long shown that it is crucial to understand the definitive nature of genocidal moments in history. Cultural products like the five selected performances in this study enable us to interrogate how the Namibian genocide is represented and remembered in the postcolony, as well as challenging its invisibility in history. This study argues that there is need to understand the meaning that genocidal violence produces and accrues in societies, not only during the events but also after the attacks or the aftermath. Sentiments like revenge, hatred, fear, mutual stereotypes, denial, desensitisation, generalised mistrust or suspicion, among other effects. Through genocide performances we are able not only to review the intentions of group destruction, but to also engage with the different consequences of the destruction in its aftermath (Skloot, 1988).

This study's focus places it under what has been described as the 'performance turn' in the humanities and memory studies (Burke, 2005; Erll et al., 2008; Olick and Robbins, 1998; Taylor, 2003) in the 'performing century' (Davis and Holland, 2007, p. 18). The performance turn is characterised by increasing scholarly attention to processes, rather than physically static products or 'sites' to performances (Rigney, 2011, p. 77). This shift and expansion in object of study has also led to an expansion of the theoretical lenses used to engage with performance in memory work. Prior to the performance turn notions of 'collective memory' defined as a communal repository dominated the analysis (Connerton, 1989, p. 1).

As an analytic framework, focussing on performance de-couples memory from being the preserve of physical space, as articulated through notions about 'sites of memory' (Nora and Kritzman, 1996). Nora defines sites of memory as locales that serve as reference points for survivors of traumatic events and their descendants who remember the events. Sites of memory serve as the areas where people congregate to publicly express 'a collective shared

knowledge […] of the past, on which a group's sense of unity and individuality is based' (Assmann, 1995, p. 126). This study expands on Nora's original use of sites of memory to reconsider static locations. Attention is paid to how human actors, actions and practices 'animate' such sites through performance ensuring their continued interpretation and survival. In this way sites of memory become 'places where people remember the memories of others, those who survived the events marked there' (Winter, 2010, p. 62). Drawing on notions of 'mnemonic practices' and 'cultural remembrance' this study focuses attention away from place to the corporeal embodiedness of practices of remembrance (Rigney, 2011, p. 77). Under the performance turn memory is extended beyond individual experience. One 'remembers' what they did not personally experience. In other words '"memory" becomes a metaphor for the fashioning of narratives about the past when those with direct experience of events die off' (Winter, 2010, p. 62). This extends what is deemed as the site of memory from referring solely to physical place to encompass the people gathered in place. A performance turn perspective covers how people use their bodies through performance to express, articulate and commemorate their shared understanding of the past. This study suggests that where such gatherings are cyclical, or annual calendrical occurrences, successive gatherings inherit the meanings that preceding gatherings render to the event and or place. The reiteration of the performance events also attaches, challenges and adds new meanings to the event (Winter, 2010, p. 61). As a result of this 'human beings participate in history both as actors and as narrators' (Trouillot, 1995, p. 2).

Conceptual Framework

The selected performances in this study are considered as being constitutive of the history they express. As cultural frames, they make memory legible through performance. The selected performances are read firstly as a media of remembrance. Secondly, they are regarded as the object of remembering the Namibian genocide. Thirdly the performances allow us to observe how different groups produce cultural memory.

The study investigates how different performance genres shape, negotiate and contest cultural memories over the historical past in Namibia. That 'memory is pliant to power' has become a truism (Kubal, 2008, p. xiii). Scholars like Hobsbawm and Ranger have demonstrated the 'invention of traditions' (1983, p. 1) by power. While Terdiman has shown how 'memory has seemed the mechanism by which ideology materialises itself' (1993, p. 33). A less commonly asked question, which this study grapples with is: can and when can the 'powerless' rewrite the past (Kubal, 2008). Bringing this focus to bear helps us to gain a more holistic understanding of memory contestations. This is essential as Said reminds us because

‘collective memory is not an inert and passive thing, but a field of activity in which past events are selected, reconstructed, maintained, modified, and endowed with political meaning’ (2000, p. 185). For Said contestations over memory and representation do not only speak to concerns about what is selected as being worthy of remembering and what form the remembrance will take. Said shows that ‘memory and its representations touch very significantly upon questions of identity, of nationalism, of power and authority’ (2000, p. 176).

Marianne Hirsch’s notion of ‘post-memory’ is used to make the case that for those involved and affected, the effects of the colonial genocide form and constitute the present self identification and memory (Hirsch, 1992, p. 8). Post-memory offers a conceptual way to understand the significance of the 2016 decision by Germany to formally set in motion the process to negotiate terms that would guide the official recognition and apology for the 1904-1908 Namibian colonial genocide (Huggler, 2016). The 2016 decision followed ongoing sustained lobbying campaigns for justice for a cause that is over a century old by Namibian descendants of the victims and survivors alongside solidarity groups.

This study explores the intrinsic link between culture and memory through performance (Assmann, 1995). Culture is understood as ‘the memory of a society that is not genetically transmitted’ (Lotman et al., 1978, p. 213). The selected performances as culture serve as the ‘chain of memory and of the tradition which assimilates it that enables societies to go on reproducing themselves while also changing’ (Shils, 1981, p. 167). The selected performances are exemplars of the cultural embodiment of the memory of the Namibian colonial genocide. The performances consist of ‘that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose “cultivation” serves to stabilise and convey that society's self-image’ (Assmann, 1995, p. 132). Through performance culture people are connected through external symbols with their predecessors, peers and successors.

The idea that the past is not simply given in memory ‘but it must be articulated to become memory’ helps to frame this work (Huyssen, 1995, p. 3). That is to say ‘memories of a shared past are collectively constructed and reconstructed in the present rather than resurrected from the past’ (Rigney, 2005, p. 14). This study makes the case that the selected performances are living monuments embalming the memory of genocidal atrocities (Schneider, 2011). This suggestion applies André Bazin’s idea that pictures serve a curatorial role in the ‘mummification’ of human experience to performance (Ruchatz, 2008, p. 369). The study investigates how the selected performances envelop time and create an alternate historiographical repository of the genocide. It argues that through its performativity,

performance serves as an event preservative and possible balm to the communities in which performances takes place.

Historical Overview

The dates 1904 and 1908 frame an era of intensified colonial German violent warfare and terror against the indigenous people settled in what is now Namibia which I will briefly outline and summarise. Comprehending these historical events is essential to understanding the selected performances in this study as acts of translation, commemoration and memorialisation of the colonial genocide. German colonial violence and terror peaked after the Herero and later the Nama rebelled against the colonial conquest of their land. The colonial war and genocide led to the extermination of the Herero, Nama, Damara and San indigenous people. I focus on the fate of the Herero as they were the primary and biggest target of the German colonial regime as evidenced by the proclamation of the extermination order given by General Adrian Dietrich Lothar Von Trotha (Gewald, 2003).

A Forgotten genocide

Today German involvement in the colonisation of the African continent broadly, of Namibia as a country in particular, as well as the 1904-1908 genocide that marked this conquest, is sometimes described as the 'forgotten history' or a 'forgotten genocide'. Some postcolonial scholars have taken it upon themselves to dispel this 'social amnesia' (Erichsen, 2005; Khan, 2012; Lemarchand, 2011; Olusoga and Erichsen, 2010). These scholars deplore the fact that when and where German's colonial role is mentioned, it is often in passing reference to the legacy of the Berlin Conference. The conference is at times referred to as the Berlin West Africa Conference or by its German title, *Kongokonferenz* (Congo Conference), or *Westafrika-Konference* (West Africa Conference) (Shepperson, 1985, p. 37). The conference's legacy was the partitioning of Africa with artificial, arbitrary borders that have paradoxically endured and continue to define postcolonial African cartography and nation states.

At the request of Portugal, German Chancellor Otto van Bismarck (1815-98) called for a meeting at his official residence in the Wilhelmstrasse to avert war amongst European countries who were contesting African territory (Shepperson, 1985, p. 37). This conference sought to regulate the partitioning of the African continent. That Bismarck convened and hosted this conference shows Germany's central role in the 'Scramble for Africa' (Chamberlain, 2009). The conference opened on November 15, 1884 before adjourning for a short Christmas and New Year break before closing on February 26, 1885. This was the first

international conference to solely concern itself with the systematic wholesome plunder of Africa. In attendance were fifteen imperial countries listed here alphabetically; Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden-Norway, Turkey, and the United States of America (Shepperson, 1985, p. 37). The Conference and the General Act of the Berlin Conference of February 26, 1885 became the seminal blueprint that defined the colonisation of the African continent (Shepperson, 1985, p. 38).

The forgotten status ascribed to the 'first German genocide' is not universal (Zimmerer, 2008, p. 41). This social and or colonial amnesia seems to characterise the current place of the Namibian genocide in the German public consciousness. For over a century the German government has refused to officially acknowledge the genocide, offering an ambiguous apology and development aid instead (Steinmetz and Hell, 2006a, p. 157). Since 2017 the German and Namibian governments have engaged in protracted negotiations to avoid reparations as one of preconditions for acknowledgement. The direct descendants of the victims and survivors of the genocide were and as of 2018 remain excluded from the talks. What is often overlooked in the literature and perspective that frames the 1904-1908 genocide as 'forgotten' is that across Namibia, German colonialism and the genocidal war were and are some of the most widely contested and commemorated historical processes (Biwa, 2012, p. 7). Regarding the 1904-1908 genocide as forgotten reveals a bias towards looking at textual documents from one world-region ahead of the other media through which the commemoration and transmission of memory occurs. This bias leads and results in the ontological and epistemic invisibilisibility and erasure of non-textual modes of remembering that are widespread in the postcolony.

A textual bias is built on the fallacy of 'performance's ontological ephemerality' (Aldarondo, 2013, p. 96). This bias does not recognise the segments of the population who learn, teach and transmit knowledge formally and informally through embodied practises to complement and in some case in the absence of inscription (Connerton, 1989, pp. 72–73; Taylor, 2004, p. 358). The tyranny of this textual bias is such that 'for people whose cultures were preserved not through writing but through oral and performative modes, the archive produced their epistemological erasure in a manner that mirrored their physical and social extermination' (Aldarondo, 2013, p. 90).

This dismissal and obliteration of performance and other non-textual or archival ways of knowing and knowledge formation and transmission is patriarchal according to Schneider (2001) and colonial for Roach (1996) and Taylor (2003). Taylor terms embodied preservation

of knowledge through performance 'the repertoire' and argues that it 'decenters the historic role of writing introduced by the Conquest' that is represented through the archive (Taylor, 2003, p. 17). Following these thinkers, this project considers performance alongside the archive as an episteme and a legitimate source of knowledge about the Namibian genocide (Taylor, 2003, p. 17). It suggests that through the Red Flag Day Commemorations knowledge about the genocide is not only formed but endures and is transmitted across temporal, spatial and generational lines as shown below.

The tendency to overlook remembrance repertoires can be understood through Judith Butler's notion of 'recognisability' which 'characterises the more general conditions that prepare or shape a subject for recognition' (2009, p. 5). It is 'recognisability' which 'precedes or makes possible the act of recognition' while 'memorability facilitates the act of remembrance' (Bijl, 2012, p. 444). The Namibian genocide is 'forgotten' when the remembrance repertoire is dismissed and the archive valorised. The demand for official recognition of the Namibian genocide stems from the institutional silence by the German government, that is not innocuous because it can be can be equated to denial. Namibian Parliamentarian Usutuaije Maamberua forwarded a motion calling for the renaming of the Independence Museum situated on the former Orumbo rua Katjombondi concentration camp in Windhoek to Genocide Remembrance Centre. In his plea he argued, 'Denial…is the most diplomatic stage of genocide, it is the calmest, it is the most academic, it is the most imaginative and the most eloquent and yet in the same breath it is by far the deadliest' (Hamrick, 2013, p. 95). This reading of silence in the official German position is informed by and echoes Stanton's Ten Stages of Genocide where denial is the last stage (2013).

Historians often segment the resistance to the German conquest of Namibia into periods. The resistance mounted between 1904-1908 is often defined as the 'Herero-German war' (Adhikari, 2008; Bley, 1996; Dedering, 1993, p. 80; Gewald, 1999a; Zimmerer, 2008). This is in variance to the 1904-1907 designation proposed by Drechsler (1980) and Schaller (2011). These dates are disputed in the oral history of the descendants of the war victims and survivors who include the 1893 massacres of the /Khowese people, and the 1896 public execution of King Kahimemua by German colonial forces as precursors of the war (Biwa, 2012, p. 21).

Questions about temporality and the periodisation of time speak to the contestation in validating and framing experience, and more importantly the 'recognisability' and remembrance of the Namibian genocide (Butler, 2009, p. 5). For Trouillot writing of similar contestations 'what we are observing here is archival power at its strongest, the power to

define what is and what is not a serious object of research and, therefore of mention' (1995, p. 99). I adopt the notion of 'historical catastrophe' to think through how dates are used mark experience (Bogues, 2010, p. 40). Dates are used to 'frame' historical events which serves to 'contain, convey, and determine what is seen' (Butler, 2009, p. 11). The notion of historical catastrophe problematises these time frames and recognises that while dates can mark the genocide off, the nature of violence 'is not a singular one that we mark off with periodisation boundaries, including a prelude and an aftermath. Rather, a historically catastrophic event is one in which wounds are repeated over and over again' (Bogues, 2010, p. 40).

The Herero War

Current scholarship conducted mostly by historians and anthropologists suggest that the genocidal response to the Herero and Nama uprising was motivated by a confluence of factors, the primary ones being the colonial policies of the German state at the time. These came to bear particularly because of the importance Namibia held for the German colonial project. At the turn of the twentieth century Namibia or German South West Africa as the colonial invaders called it, was Kaiser Wilheim II's first African colony having 'acquired' it as a protectorate on 24 April 1884 (Steinmetz and Hell, 2006a, p. 148). The genocide was initiated and sanctioned by Kaiser Wilheim II with the double objective of grabbing more territory and to restore German pride, after the initial military victories of the resistance guerrilla forces and tactics. The indigenous Herero and Nama resistance's initial victories were particularly stinging and unacceptable for those in the colonial establishment who considered Africans as racially inferior.

The first comprehensive written catalogue and study of the German colonial regime's atrocities between 1884 and 1914 was done by Major O'Reilly and published in the *Blue Book* in 1918. This book was a report compiled as an evidence dossier for the League of Nations by the British-led South Africa Administration after Germany's defeat in the First World War. The Union of South Africa commissioned Major O'Reilly to compile the dossier on German South West Africa for two related ends. The *Blue Book* was created to document proof that Germany was not fit to administer the colony, and secondly to position the British through the Union of South Africa to be granted leave to annex the territory under the colonial discourse of 'protecting the natives' (Silvester and Gewald, 2003, pp. xv–xvii). This condescending tone was extended to the defeated German settlers whom Major O'Reilly described as 'simple-minded people who really believed in the superior '*Kultur'* of their race' (Silvester and Gewald, 2003, p. 111). Most settlers probably shared this belief which Governor Theodor Leutwein called 'the higher culture of the Whites' (1908, p. 415).

The political ends to which the report was compiled have been used to discredit the historicity of its narratives without due attention being paid to the accounts narrated. It is instructive that at the time, and as is the case now, Germany did not officially protest or dispute the contents of the report. Instead, its rebuttal was a tit-for-tat publication of its own report detailing British excesses in its colonies. This rebuttal might have been intended to relativise German actions and activities as the *modus operandi* of colonialism. The German rebuttal pointed out that the British establishment was just as guilty of similar crimes and terror it was levelling. However, the propaganda intentions and ends to which the evidence was gathered and used cannot be accepted as a sole reason to dispute the veracity of the report. The *Blue Book* contains statements of survivors who were victims and witnesses collected under oath, photographs, and German official documents. The report documents the experiences of injustice from the first contact between the Germans and the Herero, through the military campaign against the Herero, and the Nama to the treatment of prisoners of war. The second part of the book details the inconsistencies and disproportionate use of force in the German administration of justice, under 'natives and criminal law'.

A missionary only identified as Elger for example, who observed the conduct of colonialists opined: 'The real cause of the bitterness among the Hereros toward the Germans is without question the fact that the average German looks down upon the natives as being about on the same level as the higher primates (baboon being their favourite term for the natives) and treats them like animals. The settler holds that the native has a right to exist only in so far as he is useful to the white man. It follows that the whites value their horses and even their oxen more than they value the natives' (Drechsler, 1966, p. 349). The Herero uprising against this treatment and the loss of their lands, livestock and autonomy was met by an escalation in the racist discourse into extermination/annihilationist rhetoric. News of the Herero rebellion was met with paranoia and fabrications that the Herero were on a rampage raping European women and children and cutting off the noses and testicles of European men. This was contrary to the adherence of the Herero soldiers to express orders given by Samuel Maherero not to harm women and children (Olusoga and Erichsen, 2010, p. 130). One missionary observed that 'the Germans are filled with fearful hate and a frightful thirst for revenge, I must really call it a blood thirst, against the Hereros. One hears nothing but talk of "cleaning up", "executing", "shooting down to the last man", "no pardon"' (Drechsler, 1966, p. 166).

These sentiments were widely shared among the European settler population with the chief engineer of the Otavi Construction Company being recorded as saying 'everyone here believes that the uprising must be smashed ruthlessly and a *tabula rasa* created' (Drechsler,

1966, p. 166). The Herero uprising resulted in the arbitrary arrest and detention of all Herero working for Germans regardless of their participation or lack thereof in the uprising (Olusoga and Erichsen, 2010, p. 129). In the German metropole, the German Colonial Society was proclaiming that 'anyone familiar with the life of the African and other less civilized non-white peoples knows that Europeans can assert themselves only by maintaining the supremacy of their race at all costs. Moreover…the swifter and harsher the reprisals taken…the better the chances of restoring authority' (Drechsler, 1980, pp. 141–2). In the *Reichstag* (Parliament) the German Social Party was calling for the creation of 'virgin territory . . . with streams of blood' (Madley, 2005, p. 440).

By 1904 using language that was to gain global notoriety and reverberations three decades later, it was argued that '*die Endlösung* (the final solution) to the native question can only be to break the power of the natives totally and for all time' (Madley, 2005, p. 440). This was laced with dehumanising rhetoric from the colony to the corridors of power in the German metropole. For instance on 17 March 1904 while calling for more colonial military intervention to fellow Reichstag legislators, Ludwig zu Reventlow argued, 'Do not apply too much humanity to bloodthirsty beasts in the form of humans' (Madley, 2005, p. 440). This was augmented with public health discourse that equated Africans to 'infection' and pests to be eradicated. By the 2nd August 1904 General Luther Von Trotha before heading to Namibia to take charge of the Kaiser's Army was publicly proclaiming in *Berliner Lokalanzeiger*, 'no war may be conducted humanely against non-humans' (Hull, 2005, p. 154). Dehumanisation serves to deny and question the humanity of victims, and is considered crucial in Stanton's Ten Stages of Genocide (2013).

The German establishment cast its invasion of African territory and the resistance as a '*Rassenkampf*, or race war' (Madley, 2005, p. 442). This served to remove any sense or obligation to exercise restraint and justified the annihilation of the local population through a *Vernichtungskieg* (war of extermination) (Madley, 2005, p. 442). This strategy legitimised the systematic murder of both civilians, and captured combatants taken in as Prisoners of War, against all dictates and tenets of conventional martial conduct. General Von Trotha arrived in Namibia to take charge of the German Imperial Army with express orders from Kaiser Wilheim II to 'crush the rebellion by all means necessary' (Dedering, 1999, p. 208).

Schrecklichkeit (Extermination Order)

The casualties of the war were officially escalated into a terrorist and genocide campaign after Von Trotha assumed command of the German army. Von Trotha did not wish to broker for

peace as he was convinced that the 'uprising is and remains the beginning of a racial war' (Drechsler, 1980, p. 161). He ordered and authorised the wholesale slaughter of all Herero people, including non-combatant civilians by issuing an extermination order '*Vernichtungsbefehl* / *Schrecklichkeit*' (Drechsler, 1980, p. 156). The German army shot, bludgeoned, hung, and set people and their huts on fire, drove survivors into the Omaheke desert where an undetermined number died of starvation and thirst, or from drinking from poisoned water wells. With the order, Kaiser Wilheim II's army officially launched a '*Vernichtungskrieg*, or war of annihilation' (Madley, 2005, p. 441). It was anticipated that if some Herero broke through the German column at the battle of Waterberg and escaped into the desert the 'waterless Omaheke was expected to complete that which the German troops had begun: the annihilation [*Vernichtung*] of the Herero people' (Madley, 2005, p. 442).

Von Trotha's written extermination order is now one of the main cornerstones for Herero calls for formal genocide acknowledgement, apology and reparation. Drechsler's (1980, p. 161) translation of the order reads;

> Osombo-Windimbe October 2, 1904
>
> I, the Great General of the German troops, send this letter to the Herero people. Hereros are no longer German subjects. They have murdered, stolen, they have cut off the noses, ears, and other bodily parts of wounded soldiers and now, because of cowardice, they fight no more. I say to the people: anyone who delivers one of the Herero captains to my station as a prisoner will receive 1000 marks. He who brings in Samuel Maherero will receive 5000 marks. All the Herero must leave the land. If the people do not do this, then I will force them to do it with the great guns. Any Herero found within the German borders with or without a gun, with or without cattle, will be shot. I shall no longer receive any women or children. I will drive them back to their people or I will shoot them. This is my decision for the Herero people.
>
> Signed: The Great General of the Mighty Kaiser, Von Trotha[1]

This order could be interpreted as licence to kill all Africans, as it is not clear as to how the German Imperial Army was to decide who was or was not Herero, Damara, Ovambo and San (Olusoga and Erichsen, 2010, p. 153). Recorded testimony from Von Trotha's personal aide Manuel Timbu says 'I was for nearly two years with the German troops and always with General Von Trotha. I know of no instance in which prisoners were spared' (Madley, 2005, p. 443). News of the German army's terrorism spread, attracting negative publicity in some German press and condemnation by liberal Social Democrats in the *Reichstag* (Drechsler, 1980, p. 151).

[1] On the day that the proclamation was issued Trotha wrote in a letter:
"Now I have to ask myself how to end the war with the Hereros. The views of the Governor and also a few old Africa hands [alte Afrikaner] on the one hand, and my views on the other, differ completely. The first wanted to negotiate for some time already and regard the Herero nation as necessary labour material for the future development of the country. I believe that the nation as such should be annihilated, [...]. My intimate knowledge of many central African tribes (Bantu and others) has everywhere convinced me of the necessity that the Negro does not respect treaties but only brute force. [...] I find it most appropriate that the nation perishes instead of infecting our soldiers and diminishing their supplies of water and food. Apart from that, mildness on my side would only be interpreted as weakness by the other side. They have to perish in the Sandveld or try to cross the Bechuanaland border." (Pool, 1991, pp. 272-274. *Samuel Maharero*; Jan-Bart Gewald. *Colonization, Genocide and Resurgence: The Herero of Namibia 1890-1933*).

Kaiser Wilheim II's army actions in Namibia cannot be dismissed as the actions of a few rogue elements as some now attempt to do. For example, on 14 August 2004 Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, German Minister of Economic Cooperation and Development attempted this line of defence while speaking at a Red Flag Day commemoration. Offering what has been understood by some as the first apology by a German official, Wieczorek-Zeul acknowledged that the Imperial Army's conduct and the 'atrocities committed' would 'today be termed genocide' before promptly fingering Von Trotha and not the state he represented (Schaller, 2011, p. 40). Wieczorek-Zeul suggested that had it been today the commander 'would be prosecuted and convicted' (Schaller, 2011, p. 40).

This approach which is advanced by the German government to sidestep acknowledging the 1904-1908 genocide is a deliberate departure from the fact that the army's conduct was known and debated publicly in Germany. The *Vernichtungsbefehl* (War of annihilation) was reported widely by the media. It also featured in book publications like Conrad Rust's 1905 war memoirs *Krieg und Frieden in Hereroland: Aufzeichnungen aus dem Kriegsjahre 1904*. From the on-set of the war Catholic clerics led the opposition chorus. By March 1904 vocal critics of the war like August Bebel were denouncing the war as 'not just barbaric, but bestial'. Left leaning liberals like Karl Schrader called on the *Reichstag* to consider the humanity of the Herero arguing 'these people are also human'. Preachers like Adolf Stoecker called on the legislators to realise that 'one may not judge the Herero as beasts' (Madley, 2005, p. 445). With more territory secured Kaiser Wilheim II finally bowed to domestic pressure and extensive missionary lobbying and lifted the *Schrecklichkeit* (Extermination Order) on 9th December 1904 (Steinmetz and Hell, 2006a, p. 160).

Konzentrationslager (Concentration Camps)

The lifting of the extermination order marked a new phase of the Namibian genocide. In a letter dated 11th of December 1904, German Chancellor Von Bülow ordered General Von Trotha to revoke the extermination order in-line with the Kaiser's directive. Von Bülow ordered Von Trotha to 'establish *Konzentrationslager* [*Concentration Camps*] for the temporary housing and sustenance of the Herero people' (Nuhn, 1996, p. 351). Von Trotha developed two variations of camps both aimed at killing the prisoners; death camps like the 1905-1907 *Haifischinsel* (Shark Island) and labour camps. Herero possessions were confiscated, and new legislation enacted which forbid them from owning land or livestock. Herero survivors who surrendered or were captured were rounded up and chained. Those who refused to disclose where caches of weapons were hidden were shot. The survivors had the letters GH (*Gefangene Herero*) branded on them and were deported to concentration camps where they

were imprisoned as forced labourers and were made to wear a metal badge bearing a number around their necks (Gewald, 2000, p. 209).

The concentration camps conditions were atrocious. According to historian Geward, 'When missionary Vedder arrived in Swakopmund in 1905 there were very few Herero present. Shortly thereafter vast transports of prisoners of war arrived' (1999a, p. 188). The new arrivals 'were placed behind double rows of barbed wire fencing, which surrounded all the buildings of the harbour department quarters [*Hafenamtswert*], and housed in pathetic [*jammerlichen*] structures constructed out of simple sacking and planks, in such a manner that in one structure 30–50 people were forced to stay without distinction as to age and sex' (Gewald, 1999a, p. 188). The historian claims that 'from early morning until late at night, on weekdays as well as on Sundays and holidays, they had to work under the clubs of raw overseers [*Knutteln roher Aufseher*], until they broke down [*zusammenbrachen*]' (Gewald, 1999a, p. 188).

Massive starvation marked life on the camp as 'food was extremely scarce. Rice without any necessary additions was not enough to support their bodies, already weakened by life in the field [as refugees] and used to the hot sun of the interior, from the cold and restless exertion of all their powers in the prison conditions of Swakopmund' (Gewald, 1999a, p. 188). He describes the high mortality through metaphor noting, 'Like cattle hundreds were driven to death and like cattle they were buried' (Gewald, 1999a, p. 188). Anticipating responses of disbelief the historian writes, 'This opinion may appear hard or exaggerated, lots changed and became milder during the course of the imprisonment…but the chronicles are not permitted to suppress that such a remorseless rawness [*rucksichtslose Roheit*], randy sensuality [*geile Sinnlichkeit*], brutish overlordship [*brutales Herrentum*] was to be found amongst the troops and civilians here that a full description is hardly possible' (Gewald, 1999a, p. 188).

In the camps many were worked to death, and were plagued with illness, starvation, beatings and wanton rapes (Totten et al., 2004, p. 30). At the Swakopmund labour camp, the German authorities kept a register of prisoners. They classed prisoners as either men, women and children and kept a tally of how many were fit or unfit for labour. The authorities also kept a *Totenregister* (Death Register) to keep track of the death toll. The Death Register listed exhaustion, heart failure, bronchitis and scurvy as standard causes of death. The death rate was so high that they kept pre-printed death certificates with the cause of death already filled in as 'death by exhaustion following privation' (Gewald, 1999a, p. 189). The wanton abuse and rape of Herero women intensified, with some being forced to become sex slaves for the settlers and soldiers. Some survivors were deported from Okajandja to the Coast and some

were sent as far afield as to other Germany colonies of Togo, Cameroon and Tanzania (Gewald, 2009, pp. 108–109; Steinmetz and Hell, 2006a, p. 157).

The survivors were condemned into slavery in German military and civilian public works and private institutions, like ranges, farms and private companies. Entities like *Firma Lenz* a company charged with building the South railroad embankment, used Herero slaves (Erichsen, 2005, p. 59). Public work projects like the construction of the Swakopmund railroad line led to the deaths of about 1359 of the 2014 forced labourers deployed, representing a 67% death rate between January 1906 and June 1907 (Erichsen, 2005, pp. 131–2). Estimates of the total number of prisoners of war (*Kriegsgefangenen*) range from 10,632 women and children, and 4,137 men (Drechsler, 1980, p. 208; Imperial Colonial Office, 1904, p. 44. File No. 2119) to 17,018, comprising of 4,870 men, 7084 women and 5064 children (Erichsen, 2005, p. 58). These figures excluded the prisoners kept at the most notorious concentration camps of Shark Island, Keetmanshoop and the Bondelslokation by Warmbad (Erichsen, 2005, p. 58).

In one dispatch of 1,795 prisoners of war held captive on Shark Island, 1,032 died over a period of eight months. These and similar figures have led researchers to place the mortality rate on Shark Island at more than 90% percent (Steinmetz and Hell, 2006a, p. 164). Rhenish Mission Society missionary Laaf posted at Lüderitz and who frequented Shark Island wrote to his Germany headquarters, and his letters were taken to the Colonial Office in Berlin. In one such correspondence from 1906 he wrote, 'the dying… is frighteningly high… Today Samuel Izaak (*Sic*.) told Brother Nyhof: "The community is doomed" [*Dat Volk is Gedaan*]. If it continues like this, it will not be long before the entire people has completely died out' (Erichsen, 2005, p. 125).

Shark Island is a bare granite island off the coast of Lüderitz in the South Atlantic Ocean. German officers called it '*Todesinsel* (Death Island)' due to the high mortality rates witnessed there (Erichsen, 2005, p. 120). *Schutztruppe* officer Mohr, posted on Shark Island described it to his contemporaries in these terms, 'On the south-western side of the island there was a camp of up to 3000… prisoners. This part of the camp was separated from the rest by a barbed wire fence and on top of that was also guarded. . . .The cold nights and probably also the misery of their fate, as well as outbreak of disease, resulted in the poor souls dying in large numbers' (Erichsen, 2005, p. 121).

Herero Chief Daniel Kariko, a survivor of Shark Island who was detained in September 1905, and gave this testimony thirteen years after his release, said:

> I was sent down with others to an island far in the south, at Lüderitzbucht. There on that island were thousands of Herero and Hottentot (Sic.) prisoners. We had to live there. Men, women and children were all huddled together. We had no proper clothing, no blankets, and the night air on the sea was bitterly cold. The wet sea fogs drenched us and made our teeth chatter. The people died there like flies that had been poisoned. The great majority died there. The little children and the old people died first, and then the women and the weaker men. No day passed without many deaths. We begged and prayed and appealed for leave to go back to our own country, which is warmer, but the Germans refused. Those men who were fit had to work during the day in the harbour and railway depots. The younger women were selected by the soldiers and taken to their camps as concubines (Erichsen, 2005, p. 95).

Chief Kariko's testimony can be corroborated by reports of other witnesses who came across other concentration camps. Three migrant workers from Cape Town stationed in Swakopmund, said of the camps and camp conditions there;

> These unfortunate [POW] women are daily compelled to carry heavy iron for construction work, also big stacks of compressed fodder. I have often noticed cases where women have fallen under the load and have been made to go on by being thrashed and kicked by the soldiers and conductors. The rations supplied to the women are insufficient and they are made to cook the food themselves. They are always hungry, and we, labourers from the Cape Colony, have frequently thrown food into their camp. The women in many cases are not properly clothed. It is a common thing to see women going about in public almost naked. I have also noticed that … old women are also made to work and are constantly kicked and thrashed by soldiers (Erichsen, 2005, p. 61; Seti et al., 1906).

The conditions on the island were so dire and were meant to ensure the deaths of all inmates. This is strikingly confirmed by a response given in 1907 by acting Governor Oskar Hintrager who refused a request to remove 230 women and children wrongfully sent to Shark Island through an administrative gaffe. Governor Hintrager in response argued that, 'Those prisoners transferred to Shark Island through trickery will not likely forget their time of imprisonment on the island any time soon; [if] they are let loose they will spread their stories of hate and mistrust against us. It will not be possible for them to return to their homes and to tell others of their treatment there' (Erichsen, 2005, p. 153).

Heinrich Vedder who later became an ardent Nazi party supporter and Apartheid South Africa National Party senator, witnessed the camp's conditions and wrote about it. He noted, 'During the worst period an average of thirty died daily … it was the way that the system worked' (Madley, 2004, p. 188). Before adding, 'General Von Trotha gave expression to this system in an article he published in the *Swakopmunder Zeitung*: 'the destruction of all rebellious tribes is the aim of our efforts'' (Madley, 2004, p. 188). Von Trotha proclaimed 'The exercise of violence with crass terrorism and even with gruesomeness was and is my policy. I destroy

African tribes with streams of blood and streams of money. Only following this cleansing can something new emerge, which will remain' (Kühne, 1979, p. 85).

The existence and conditions of Namibian concentration camps was known, or at the barest minimum was suspected in Germany. This is because a similar approach had been instituted by the British in South Africa during the 1899-1902 Anglo Boer war. The British kept Boer women, children and African workers captured on Boer farms in concentration camps as prisoners of war. The fate of the defeated Herero and Nama as well as the conditions on Shark Island were subject of debate in the metropole public and in the *Reichstag.* In December of 1906 legislator Ledebour, a Social Democrat quizzed Chancellor Von Bülow, and Colonial Minister Dernburg about a letter from a German settler at Lüderitz dated September 20, 1906. The letter was published in the *Koenigsberger Volkszeitung* and stated that, 'Around 2,000 are presently under German imprisonment. They surrendered against the guarantee of life, but were nevertheless transferred to Shark Island in Lüderitz, where, as a doctor assured me, they will all die within two years due to the climate' (Erichsen, 2005, p. 155). Ledebour then moved to address the Chancellor and Minister directly adding, 'I direct a question to the gentlemen dealing with colonial administration about what they know about Shark Island. It is self-evident that they have been receiving information about conditions in the prisoner camps, and I demand that you communicate this information to us about the extent of mortality rates on Shark Island and in other camps' (Erichsen, 2005, p. 155).

In August 1906, the concentration camps were closed, partly to stop the inmates from re-organising and rioting again (Drechsler, 1980, p. 208; Totten et al., 2004, p. 31). Officially the camps were closed due to the benevolence of the Kaiser. This was reinforced by timing the closure to coincide with the Kaiser's birthday. When Shark Island closed 193 members of the last 3500 prisoner dispatch walked out alive (Madley, 2004, p. 188). Survivors were parcelled and dispersed into smaller groups to work on German farms and ranches across the country. The Herero population was considered Crown property such that when a German settler was dissatisfied by the performance, defiance, or desertion of the enslaved, they could return them to the local authorities for punishment, which was often meted out as flogging (Totten et al., 2004, p. 31).

The flogging by the authorities was considered as parental chastisement emphasising the racist patronisation of the local population (Werner, 1990, p. 477). Flogging Africans was considered '*Väterliche Züchtigungsrech*t' or 'paternal right of correction' (Soggot, 1986, p. 7). German settlers were known to administer their own punishment and the Herero were

routinely exposed to corporal punishment. For instance, a farmer only identified as Kramer was found guilty of the aggravated abuse of a man and seven women forced to work for him. All the people who worked for him were found to be suffering from festering, whip inflicted wounds (Totten et al., 2004, pp. 31–32). Kramer was charged for flogging the man over the course of the afternoon, and the women through the evening. Two women had miscarried after being flogged over two successive days, and two more had died from their injuries. Kramer was fined 2700 marks and served three months in prison not for the harm done but for damaging crown property (Drechsler, 1980, p. 235; Totten et al., 2004, p. 32). The brutality of the beatings was indiscriminate of Herero structures such that even Herero Chief Assa Riarua 'was flogged until the blood ran' (Drechsler, 1980, p. 136).

After the genocide, German authorities moved to prevent the re-emergence of traditional and cultural lifestyle by appropriating all Herero territories, property and livestock through the law. Herero traditional religion and rites like paying homage to ancestors and maintaining *Okuruo* (Holy Fire) were banned. All Herero traditional, cultural, economic, social and spiritual leaders were either killed, imprisoned, or exiled while traditional leadership structures were dismantled and replaced with Christian evangelists. The evangelists were the only ones granted mobility and allowed to acquire literacy skills. Young boys were drafted to serve in the colonial army (Gewald, 1998, p. 137). To ensure total or near total Herero cultural destruction, and to control and monitor movement across the annexed lands, all Hereros, Namas and Damara older than seven years were forced to wear numbered metal tags, and to carry a *Dienstbuch* (service book) (Werner, 1990, p. 477). The African population was declared vagrants and had to account for their mobility and possessions. Deputy governor Hans Teckenberg said of the system;

> The tribal property of the tribes fully or partly involved in the rebellion will be subject to confiscation. Whether they have carried out, or aided and abetted, warlike acts will make no difference. It would be a sign of weakness, for which we would have to pay dearly, if we allowed the present opportunity of declaring all native lands to be Crown territory to slip by…With the confiscation of their land, the natives will be deprived of the possibility of raising cattle. All objections notwithstanding, they must not, as a matter of principle, be allowed to own cattle because they cannot be conceded the grazing land required for this purpose.
>
> (Imperial Colonial Office, 19XX; Totten et al., 2004, p. 31).

The devastation of the genocide was such that official Germany historians proclaimed 'The Herero ceased to exist as a tribe' (Grosser Generalstab, 1907, p. 214; Totten et al., 2004, p.

31). In 1907 Kurt Schwabe titled the last chapter of his war memoir, 'The End of the Herero People' (Madley, 2005, p. 440). In 1911, a German official classified the Herero as part of 'dissolved native tribes (*aufgelöste*[n] *Eingeborenenstämme*)' (Gewald, 1998, p. 137). According to a 1911 census, out of an estimated population of 80,000 people prior to the war and genocide 15,130 survived (Cooper, 2007, p. 114). The Herero community was obliterated from functioning as an autonomous political, social, and cultural entity (Totten et al., 2004, p. 31). To appreciate the scale and impact of the genocide it is worth reflecting on the current demographics. The Herero are now a minority people that constitutes an estimated 7% of the total Namibian population (United States of America Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 2017). It has taken 95 years for the Herero population to grow to the current 170,552,83 people which is over 2,5 times the estimated 100,000 people before the genocide. The devastation is felt today in Namibian postcolonial democracy politics where numbers matter, as voting patterns at times follow ethnic loyalties.

Colonial Science

German scientists seized the opportunity presented by the genocide to escalate human experiments in the concentration camps. Some scientific researchers conducted post-mortems of the people killed in concentration camps. Scientists like Prof Klaatsch from the University of Breslau initiated the collection of mortal remains from the concentration camp death factories. Scientists arranged for soldiers to preserve the mortal remains of executed people and ship them along with skulls and skeletons to European research and individual collections (Krieger, 1973, pp. 105–6). The work of these scientists was underpinned by profound racism and proved pivotal in packaging colonial and genocidal brutality into a scientific discipline (I expand on this in greater detail Chapter 4 and 5). This practice was given bureaucratic credentials, respectability and further endorsement by the German state in 1908 with the establishment of the Colonial Institute in Hamburg.

Scientists like Eugen Fischer visited the country in 1903 and conducted eugenics research on 310 Basters children. The children that Fischer studied were an Afrikaans-speaking minority of mixed descend from sexual liaisons among the British, Boers, Germans and Khoi-Khoi. Fischer used physical features like eye and hair colour collected from the children to determine which behavioural traits were inherited from which parent to draw up conclusions that correlated physical traits and intelligence. Fischer published his research in *Die Rehobother Bastards* to critical and popular acclaim in 1913 Germany. The study claimed among other things that children of mixed heritage are of 'lesser racial quality', as there was an inverse proportion between cognitive ability and African physical features (Madley, 2005, p. 454).

Fischer's conclusion was the dubious claim that 'without exception, every European people that has absorbed the blood of the inferior races – and that of Negro Hottentots, and many others are inferior is something that only dreamers can deny – have paid for this absorption of inferior elements by intellectual and cultural decline' (Madley, 2005, p. 454). Fischer concluded his work with a genocidal echo that such people should live only for as long as they were of utilitarian value to Europeans. He argued, 'One ought to give them the amount of protection that they need, as a race inferior to us, so that their existence will last. They ought to be given no more and it should only be for so long as they are useful to us. Otherwise free competition, will mean in my opinion, their extinction!' (Madley, 2005, p. 454).

Conclusion

This study investigates how performance representation(s) enact memory in response to the 'social amnesia' that seems to follow the colonial extermination of indigenous people in Namibia by the German colonial government. Though situated in the past, this study is very much concerned with the present. The study argues that the memory and legacy of the 1904-1908 Namibian genocide had far reaching repercussions which still resonate to this day. For example, the Eugenics pseudoscience from this era led to the German Nuremburg race laws of 1935, upon which South Africa's Apartheid laws were later modelled. These race laws governed Namibia as a South African protectorate till 21 March 1990.

Structurally the chapters in this study bear upon different strands of remembering the 1904-1908 colonial genocide in Namibia. Every chapter approaches the selected performance as performing history. The study comprises of seven chapters. This introductory Chapter One outlines the historical events of the genocide and raises the broad research concerns and questions that the study grapples with. This is followed by an analysis of the annual Herero Red Flag Day Commemoration as performance in Chapter Two. Chapter Three investigates William Kentridge's *Black Box/Chambre Noire* which toured from 2006 to 2016. Brett Bailey's 2013 to 2017 *Exhibit B* and its representation of the fate of African women who lived through the Namibian genocide occupies Chapter Four. In Chapter Five the study uses the 2016 production of *SOLD!* by Themba Mbuli and Unmute Dance Company to investigate the intersection of dance, death and disability in remembering the colonial genocide. Jackie Sibblies Drury's *We Are Proud to Present a Presentation About the Herero of Namibia Formerly Known as Southwest Africa, From the German Sudwestafrika, Between the Years 1884-1915* occupies Chapter Six, followed by the Conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO
Red Flag Day: The Aesthetics of Memory and Commemoration since 1923

This chapter investigates the role of the Red Flag Day commemorations in remembering the Namibian genocide. The Red Flag Day is also known as the Otjiherero, Otjiserandu, Herero Day and Red Flag Heroes' Day. It is a three day long gathering and celebration of the Herero people at the Kommando in the city of Okahandja located 70 km due north of the capital Windhoek in the Otjozondjupa Region of Central Namibia. The day was first convened on August 26, 1923 for the interment of Paramount Chief Samuel Maherero who ascended to the Herero chieftaincy in 1894 with the aid of German settlers, whom he later turned against in the 1904 to 1908 war. This war ended in genocide, with Maherero and around a thousand followers surviving the exodus across the Omaheke desert into exile in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (present-day Botswana). An unknown number died of hunger and thirst en-route across the desert (Madley, 2004, p. 188; Totten et al., 2004, p. 33). Maherero was granted asylum in the British occupied Tsau, Botswana and later in the Transvaal, South Africa.

After his death in exile on 14 March 1923 Maherero's remains were repatriated and arrived back in Okahandja, his native capital and former seat of government on 23 August 1923. His body lay in state for three days before being accorded a state funeral on 26 August 1923 (Totten et al., 2004, p. 33). Maherero's repatriation and funeral was approved by the South African Union government which had taken over the administration of Namibia on a League on Nations mandate from the German government after World War One. Maherero was reburied 'with full traditional rites in the family grave where Tjamuaha (his grandfather) and Maherero (his father) were buried in 1861 and on 7 October 1890 respectively' (Ngavirue, 1972, p. 261).

Samuel Maherero's funeral procession was an extravagant mass spectacle comparable to those accorded to high ranking German military officers who died in combat. 170 Herero soldiers on horseback, riding four abreast led the procession (Krüger and Henrichsen, 1998, p. 157). A military brass band playing German funeral marching music followed behind. The pall bearers were accompanied by a guard of honour of Herero soldiers attired in German military uniforms and ranks. The Herero soldiers executed German military marching drills before the sea of assembled Herero and other mourners (Hamrick, 2013, p. 38). This funeral brought together over 2500 Herero soldiers who came in military uniforms and an unspecified amount of Herero women and children who had been scattered and displaced across the country and region (Hamrick, 2013, p. 39).

In attendance were Herero and allies from across Namibia, Botswana and South Africa, and representatives of the Union of South Africa government (Gewald, 1999a, p. 274). The funeral was the first occasion when the locally based and diaspora Hereros gathered en-masse on one location since their defeat in the 1904-08 genocidal war (Gewald, 1999a). The assembly under the leadership of Chief Hosea Kutako decreed to meet annually to remember and organise as a community. The Herero community uses the Red Flag Day to not only commemorate and mark the death of Maherero, but to re-affirm the Herero constitution as a distinct community and nation (Kössler, 2015, p. 183). Samuel Maherero now stands as a surrogate for all the dead and displaced who led the resistance against colonial occupation. The mass assembly at the funeral in 1923 was possible due to many reasons, primarily that the German regime had lost control of the territory. The Union of South African government had invaded the country with support from Maherero's soldiers and was yet to consolidate its grip on the territory (Gewald, 1999a, p. 274).

This was complemented by the Union of South Africa government's attempts to present itself as different from the defeated repressive German establishment and an ally of the Herero. Secondly, the time lag between the end of the genocide in 1908 to Maherero's death in exile in 1923 allowed for fifteen years to pass. This pastness is vital in that it enables remembrance to occur, since it is difficult to memorialise ongoing trauma. The passage of time allows for the trauma to recede into memory which creates a boundary between the present and the past. For the sake of space and illustration my focus will be on the 95th anniversary of the Red Flag Day. I draw particularly on my observations of the 2015 edition of the commemoration to argue that Namibian communities have developed distinct public performance practices to remember, commemorate, contest and transmit the memory of the genocidal war.

The colonial war and genocide have had an enduring influence on Herero identity and memory. This chapter shows how this is particularly evident on Herero dress, religious practices and in the Red Flag commemoration. I suggest that the Red Flag Day can be read and understood as a cultural performance which represents and shapes the memory of the past and the community's relationship with the genocide. The Red Flag Day is an expression of a political imaginary that uses performance, verbal and written narratives, ceremony, ritual, symbols, paintings (Fig.1), and sculptures to produce an affective response to the past through space and time. The commemoration and pilgrimage are an amalgamation of ephemeral ideas, knowledge, cultural practice, rituals and the materiality of land and space to foster remembering. In interrogating the Red Flag Day as a performance within the Namibian genocide remembrance culture this chapter investigates three interlinked themes. Firstly, it

traces which aspects of the past are remembered through the annual commemoration. Secondly, it investigates how this past is performed and lastly, it explores the potential consequences of these performances in remembering.

Figure 1. A painting showing a scene from the war, on display at the commemoration. Photo by Pedzisai Maedza

Red Flag Day as Performance

The Red Flag Day commemoration is a polyvocal performance of the 1904-1908 genocide through cultural memory. It follows a set and established structure to form 'islands of time' that transmit memory (Assmann, 1995, p. 129). The Red Flag Day can be described as a 'cultural performance' in that it possess a 'limited time span, a beginning and an end, an organised program of activity, a set of performers, an audience, and a place and occasion' (Singer, 1959, p. xiii). To fully comprehend the place of the genocide in Herero culture it is not enough to pay attention only to what is remembered, but it is essential to reflect on how that remembrance is framed and constituted. To achieve this, the events that mark the fiesta are described in chronological order to capture the main features of the memorial's dramaturgy.

The Red Flag commemoration is a three-day annual community gathering to reaffirm and celebrate Herero culture, history, traditions and fallen heroes. The commemoration is an imaginative genuflection and ventriloquizing of the memory of Samuel Maherero who led the resistance and frames him as a symbol and surrogate of the Herero war against German

occupation. It is a symbolic sainthood of Maherero and other fallen forbearers who are cast as martyrs. This is evident in the fact that the commemoration is usually slotted for the weekend closest to the 23rd of August to coincide with the anniversary of Maherero's burial. The fiesta is an immersive experience which renders memory visible, through bodies, images and space, affording audiences and participants a second look at history.

The commemoration is a creative memory bridge that fills the temporal and spatial gap between experiencing the colonial genocidal war and Maherero's funeral for the contemporary generations remembering them. This is achieved through dress, ritualised performance of song, dance, elaborate paramilitary infantry and equestrian drills and marches, speech acts on communal history and genocide reparation claims. A church service is also conducted, along with open air theatre. Material culture is put on display at sites of memory and monuments. Educational and vendor booths are also set up at the Kommando centre in Okahanja. Recent editions of the commemoration have also paid attention to the reclamation and repatriation of human remains of community members dispersed by the war across the country and of bodies exported to Europe. Locally based and diaspora Herero men displaced from Okahandja by the genocide turn up attired in 20th century style German military garb, while women dress in long Victorian era inspired dresses accompanied by distinctive cattle horns styled hats (Fig.2). The uniforms and other symbols of the German establishment were assimilated by the Herero in the post 1904-08 military defeat, and identification with the aggressor (Steinmetz and Hell, 2006a, p. 165).

The Red Flag Day as a performance stands in conversation with other genocide remembrance commemorations. For example, Herero people resident in central Namibia and the surrounds hold a complimentary assembly at the Cultural Centre on the edge of the town of Okakarara. This minor gathering commemorates the 1904 Ohamakari (Waterberg) battle where Von Trotha's extermination order was proclaimed. Beyond the Herero, the colonial war and genocide is commemorated by Namibians associated with the Zeraua royal family who convene the White Flag Day annually in October in Omaruru. The Green Flag Day commemoration is convened every April in Okahandja and on a farm near Gobabis in August by the Mbanderu and Gaogu Gei-tses. The Fees[2] commemorations are staged by the !Aman, /Khowese, Kai//khaun, !Gami≠nun, Gai//Khaun and the Vaalgras people in Southern Namibia. The /Khowese commemorations began in 1906 to mark the first anniversary of the death of Gaob Hendrik Witbooi (Zondagh, 1991, p. 165).

[2] The word Fees also means feast/fiesta/festival, in Afrikaans/Dutch

Figure 2. Herero women in traditional Victorian era inspired dress and cow-horn hats. Photo by Pedzisai Maedza

The Red Flag Day as a commemoration is effective because the Herero condense and focus the remembrance of events and processes that occurred in the past over a single three-day weekend defined timeframe (Podeh, 2011, p. 16). To better grasp the Red Flag Day effectiveness as a mnemonic device it is essential to appreciate the commemorations' form or dramaturgy alongside the content. The fiesta kicks off on Friday and on Saturday with guests and participants arrival while the main ceremony is held on Sunday. On the first day and through the second day the pilgrims set up tents, caravans and other temporary shelters and stables for the horses around the Kommando centre. These tents can be erected up to a week before the commemorations, as some people arrive early from different places using different modes of transportation. The tents and mass gathering do much more than provide accommodation. It is an act of land occupation, albeit temporarily, that uses history and memory to lay claim to space and community.

Attendees register their presence and are introduced to the ancestors as and when they arrive. Family heads and or representations append their names to register their presence annually in a book of attendance records. This textual register complements another ritual register whereby all visitors individually report their presence to a traditional High Priest who sits at the

Okuruo (sacred hearth/Holy Fire). The High Priest sits facing south with his back to the Kommando with a bucket of water and cup at his feet. Every visitor pays the High Priest a courtesy call and kneels, sits, or crouch at his feet. Through this posture, every visitor embodies and makes visible their subordination to the authority of the community. The visitors introduce themselves and states their family line, origin and where they have come from. The priest cleanses the visitors who face the Kommando by saying a prayer of welcome and protection. He finishes the ritual by rubbing water and ash on the visitor's forehead and behind the left ear with his right hand to connect the supplicant to the spirits of the land.

After being cleansed attendees are permitted to participate in one of the most important and sacred features of the commemoration which revolves around the ancestral holy fire. The location, direction and handling of the holy fire and *Otijiha* (fire sticks used to light the holy fire) is controlled and guided by strict codes of confidentiality. Congregants gather around the fire to pray, seek guidance, protection and to avow their loyalty to the Herero nation. Attendees then greet and mingle with friends and relations and conduct rehearsals of their performances. Mounted Oturupas (covered in detail in the section below) groom their horses and ride around the Kommando in various battle formations (Fig.3). All attendees share the evening meals together. After the meal, men and women sing and dance. The gathering sing *ombimbi* (praise songs), traditional odes and dances that can be traced to precolonial times where they were sung after successful hunting and war raids. Some of the culinary, linguistic and performance practices that mark Red Flag day are 'vortices of behavior' that have been passed across generations from the precolonial era through the genocidal war to today (Roach, 1996, p. 26).

Figure 3. Mounted Oturupas riding around the Kommando. Photo by Pedzisai Maedza

Some of the songs have been adapted to refer to the anti-colonial war and genocide. The all-night dancing and singing are characterised by loud and bold conviviality. Dance and dancing as cultural performances play a constitutive role in the articulation of Herero identity. The corporeal bodies of the dancers are considered as a producer, not just a reflection of identity and a contribution to its preservation. This is because dance embodies the memory and knowledge of community values, beliefs, cosmological and philosophical worldviews. The all-night dances echo those that alarmed European missionary sensibilities who sought to ban Herero cultural dances. The 1915 account of a Rhenish missionary Pardey who witnessed the revival of cultural dances and singing in the wake of the South African Union Army's advance and routing of the Germany army is worth citing at length. The missionary wrote:

> Most Natives believed, that the golden age of *Omaere* (fermented milk) drinking had dawned, an age in which they could, as they had in the past, live in the field and on cattle posts, without being drawn into labour. [...] heathendom resurfaced [...] heathen dances once again became fashionable, even amongst the Herero who usually seldom indulged in dancing. Whole nights long one could hear the howling (*Gejohle*), it also happened that on Sundays they danced in church. My rebukes had little effect. As soon as the people saw me they walked away, only to return later to make things worse. Eventually I asked the native commissioner to take steps against the ever increasing dancing (Gewald, 2000, p. 213).

The Procession

The pilgrims emerge at the break of dawn on Sunday, singing in costume, and assemble in marching formation at the Kommando parade grounds. At sunrise with the blessing of the *Ovandangere* (priests and spiritual leaders) the gathering heads off to the graves fronted by the spiritual leaders followed by the mounted horsemen (Fig.4). The march to the graves is staged as a procession through the streets by the pilgrims from the Komando to and from to the Okahanja cemetery. Every year the historical military escort march of 1923 is repeated. The procession to the graves and back is a mass spectacle of crowd choreography. The attendees serve as the Boalian 'spect-actors' in the cultural performance, while non-Herero visitors, tourists and townspeople who come to witness the spectacle serve as on-site audiences. They all form part of the collective scene that is experienced by the virtual audiences that follow proceedings via television and radio broadcast. The Herero partake in the procession to demonstrate their identity and continuity through performance, mass participation and annual procession. The procession (and Red Flag Day) is a 'theatre of memory' whose re-enactment reminds the community and outsiders that the marching survivors as individuals and as members of the Herero group embody a distinct identity and past. The genocide and Samuel Maherero are cast as a 'master narrative' that arouses a sense of a 'collective autobiography' (Connerton, 1989, p. 70).

The procession is led by *Oturupa* regiments, disparagingly called the *Truppenspieler* (play/wannabe soldiers) by colonialists. The *Oturupa* are a Herero adaptation of the 'troop players' in colonial German army regiments and they lead the march to and from the graves and at the Kommando (Steinmetz and Hell, 2006a, p. 165; Werner, 1990, p. 480). Present day postcolonial *Oturupa* are age specific regiments that receive instructions about Herero history and memory and undertake communal work for the survival of the community.

Figure 4. Oturupa Mounted horseman participating in the break of dawn march to the graves. Photo by Pedzisai Maedza

The *Oturupa* observe their ranks in the marching arrangements, with higher ranked officials marching ahead of lower ranks. Strict gender and age lines are observed with men marching ahead of women, and the youngest ones bringing up the rear alongside a sizable group of tourists and town-folk who gather for the spectacle. Maintaining the same marching formation and the same route is considered essential to give the contemporaneous attendees direct contact with close to a hundred years of history, linking the memories of the past with present-day actions. At the cemetary the priests and spiritual leaders pray for permission for the assembly to enter and pay homage inside the fenced enclosure graves of the Tjamuaha-Maherero royal family. In one enclousure are the graves of Tjamuaha, Samuel Maherero, Friedrich Maherero and Kaimbire Tjamuaha. In the second enclosure are the graves of Kuaima Riruako, Clemens Kapuupo, Hosea Kutako and David Ndisiro. The procession enters in single file, touching and weeping at every grave in turn (Fig.5). The Herero pay homage at

every individual grave and commune with the deceased. The solemnity, marked with literal weeping for the dead, and the prominence of the grave visits and maintenance during the Red Flag commemorations speak to the value that deceased fore-bearers and ancestors are given over the living. Portraits of the dead chiefs are hung on the graves while that of the reigning OvaHerero Paramount Chief Advocate Vekuii Reinhard Rukoro is printed on t-shirts, clip-on badges and wrap around clothes.

Figure 5. Part of the Herero procession at the cemetery. Photo by Pedzisai Maedza

The chiefs, particularly those who died in the colonial war and genocide are framed and eulogised as martyrs who perished in the struggle for collective redemption. The agony of loss and the lamentation that marks this ritual illustrates that for the attendees the past and the present are perceived and experienced as synchronous to each other. This rite of ancestor reverence is one of the most important rituals of the commemoration. The graves provide a focal site to observe the rites of remembrance, worship and to commune with the ancestors. The sanctity of the occasion is reinforced by the fact that collective community visits to the graveyard are only sanctioned on this occasion and for actual burials (Biwa, 2012, p. 170). The communion with the ancestors at the gravesites is a form of 'praesentia', a religious notion that refers to 'a social encounter' of the living 'with the presence of the absent' (Brown, 1981, p. 86; Petersson, 2004, p. 121). Praesentia is more commonly exemplified in the Catholic

belief in the actual, physical, literal presence of Jesus in the Eucharist, or the belief that saints are present in relics and places that are accepted as holy and sacred (Petersson, 2009, p. 141).

In 2015 the Red Flag Day commemoration included the official unveiling of the tombstone of the late Paramount Chief Kuaima Isaac Riruako (24 April 1935- 02 June 2014). This unveiling ceremony was led by a Christian minister who read from the bible, preached and said a prayer followed by more singing. A chronicler then got up to narrate the genealogy, life, character and achievements of the late nationalist chief and politician. The current OvaHerero Paramount Chief Advocate Rukoro was then asked to formally unveil the tomb and lead the people out of the cemetery. The gathering left the Royal Cemetery and crossed the road to an adjacent church, where German officers and Herero people lie buried in the graveyard. According to oral sources, during the genocide some Hereros sought refugee in the Church and were welcomed by German Missionaries. The missionaries then clandestinely informed the colonial army about the presence of the refugees and the church was barricaded from the outside before being set on fire.

This church graveyard also has the remains of Herero people who fought against German colonialism and South African domination and apartheid. Paradoxically the assembly also pays homage to fallen German officers who fought as part of the *Schutztruppe*, or German Imperial colonial army against their fore-bearers. Afterwards the gathering reforms into its marching parade back to the Kommando led by the horsemen. The procession and praesentia forms a chain of memory that links the dead to the living. It is a bond of memory that publicly performs Herero identity and heritage. Herero identity is proclaimed through participation rather than on territorial or birth right. This is partly due to the forced dispersal of the community locally and into the diaspora during the 1904-1908 colonial genocidal war.

The Graves

Graves are an enduring visual and physical marker of change in the burial rites of the Herero community prior and post the genocide. As an ‘epoch of space’, graves reflect and bear testimony to the society’s observance of certain political, religious structures, cultural values, social order and change in these influences over time (Foucault, 1986, p. 22). Most of the post genocide graves reflect European Christian influence in their construction. Europeans funeral rites began to take hold in the mid-nineteenth century, and were consolidated with the mass conversion of Herero in concentration camps between 1904 and 1908, after more than half a century of resisting missionary adulation (Steinmetz and Hell, 2006a, p. 165). Such graves

have a head stone, sometimes with a name and short biography of the deceased. These are used alongside traditional Herero graves, where the status of the deceased was and is indicated by the number of sacred cattle skulls that are placed on a giraffe tree and placed on the western side of the grave. Some graves integrate the two customs by adding a sacred cow skull on to a European Christian style headstone (Steinmetz and Hell, 2006a, p. 168).

The gravesite visits are also used to remember those who were killed in the genocide and were not afforded the decency of graves or were buried in mass graves. Mass graves feature prominently in the war memoirs of soldiers, with Erich von Salzmann including a photo in his 1912 memoir tagged 'mass grave at Owikokorero' (Madley, 2005, p. 443). As part of the shoot on sight extermination order and to terrorise the Herero, some colonial troupes refused to grant the dead burials and instead burned the bodies. This is most evident at sites of battles from the colonial war where one only finds the graves of colonial army soldiers and not their opponents. The Omaheke desert is strewn with the skeletal remains of livestock and of those who died from German bullets or were left to die due to injuries, illness, starvation, thirst or after drinking from poisoned wells as the community fled.[3] Contempory graveyard visits can thus be understood as a practice of mourning stemming from a 'recognition of the need to acknowledge and account for the victims of war' and the subsequent genocide (Winter, 2006, p. 54).

Remembering the Namibian genocide and preserving the memory of the dead becomes 'an ethical act, a moral duty' where participating in the commemoration, making, preserving and transmitting genocide memory becomes as Primo Levi calls it a 'duty to remember' (Pine, 2011, p. 13). This duty to remember lies not 'only in having a deep concern for the past but in transmitting the meaning of the past events to the next generation' (Ricoeur, 1999, p. 9). It is 'a duty to teach' and complements 'the duty to forget' which 'is a duty to go beyond anger and hatred' (Ricoeur, 1999, p. 11). The Red Flag Day has and continues to contribute to keeping 'alive the memory of suffering over against the general tendency of history to celebrate victors' (Ricoeur, 1999, p. 9).

---

[3] A German officer who took part in the campaign wrote;
"[...] I followed their spoor and found numerous wells which presented a terrifying sight. Cattle which had died of thirst lay scattered around the wells. These cattle had reached the wells but there had not been enough time to water them. The Herero fled ahead of us into the Sandveld. Again and again this terrible scène kept repeating itself. With feverish energy the men had worked at opening the wells, however the water became ever sparser, and wells evermore rare. They fled from one well to the next and lost virtually all their cattle and a large number of their people. The people shrunk into small remnants who continually fell into our hands [unsere Gewalt kamen], sections of the people escaped now and later through the Sandveld into English territory [present day Botswana]. It was a policy which was equally gruesome as senseless, to hammer the people so much, we could have still saved many of them and their rich herds, if we had pardoned and taken them up again, they had been punished enough. I suggested this to General Von Trotha but he wanted their total extermination.": Jan-Bart Gewald. Colonization, Genocide and Resurgence: The Herero of Namibia 1890-1933, pp. 116-117, [JBG's translation].

All graves are framed as sacred spaces and the living honour and do not strive or desecrate the dead. The sacredness of graves is a time-honoured Herero belief and culture. According to a 1905 account by Ludwig Conradt, a German trader and Samuel Maherero confidante the 'desecration of the graves of Okahandja' by German tomb raiders was 'one of the main reasons why the Herero had risen up' (Olusoga and Erichsen, 2010, p. 128). The reverence for the dead might explain the reticence against altering offensive colonial era graves and monuments that glorify European soldiers and settlers who orchestrated and perpetrated the genocide (Steinmetz and Hell, 2006a, p. 169). I expand on this theme in chapter three and four where I engage with the ongoing calls for the repatriation and return of Herero skulls and bodies robbed and shipped off to European collections supposedly for further scientific research.

Kommando as a Site of Memory

Okahanja, specifically the place called the Kommando, is the stage upon which the majority of the Red Flag commemoration rites are staged. The place is significant to Herero memory as it was the site of Samuel Maherero's funeral wake in 1923 and serves as a bridge linking the past and the present. The place recalls the past and is used to create contemporary experiences that foster the memory of the genocide. The main attraction of Okahanja as a site of memory is that as a space it fosters 'the illusion of not changing across time and of finding the past in the present' enabling the Herero as 'a group to organise its actions and movements in relation to the stable configuration of the material world' (Halbwachs, 1997, p. 236 [Ann Rigney translation]). The Red Flag Day as memory is 'a representation of the past embodied in both historical evidence and commemorative symbolism' (Schwartz, 2000, p. 9). At Okahanja through ritualised performance, commemorations and monuments the genocide produces a 'mental geography in which the past is mapped in our minds according to its most unforgettable places' (Hutton, 1993, p. 80).

At the Kommando speeches, open air re-enactments of battle and flight scenes pitting Herero and German soldiers are staged. Speeches about Herero history, aspirations, virtues, culture are given. The speeches were delivered with song, battle formations, fighting sequences, dance reenactments and horse-riding intermissions. The reenactments and speeches showcase and eulogise the heroics of Herero soldiers in the colonial war. The commemorations have become part of a call for justice for the genocide. This was most evident when members of the Genocide Committees entrusted to spearhead negotiations for recognition delivered their annual background and progress reports to the assembly.

Paramount Chief Advocate Rukoro then got up to address the gathering. The Herero chief's address was followed by a marching contest of the different age regiments, starting from the very young to the old men. The best marchers among the troupes were decided by the watching public who indicated their approval and admiration through loud cheers.

The chief's address covered the re-unification efforts with the Samuel Maherero royal house, the modalities of the repatriation of Hereros still living in Botswana and the 2015 foreign tours he had undertaken to lobby national and international partners in the USA, Canada, and United Kingdom to facilitate the formal German acknowledgment of the genocide, apology and reparations. His speech dwelt on the need for reparations, land and livestock restitution to address historical imbalances. The speech repeatedly stated that a formal, unconditional German apology is a necessary component of the genocide acknowledgement. A public apology and/ or with reparations is considered as 'a civic ritual of recognition' essential for reconciliation (Feuchtwang, 2006, p. 194). Chief Advocate Rukoro said he was keen on a diplomatic settlement but would pursue and seek legal recourse if Herero demands were not met. He spoke about the legal challenge that his predecessor Chief Riruako had mounted in American courts against German multinational firms like Deutsche Bank that financed the genocide and Woermann Line, a firm that bought prisoners of war as slaves before the decision went against the Herero on a technicality (Bracht, 2015, p. 35; Grofe, 2002). In 2017 the Herero and Nama people represented by David Frederick formally launched another court action against the German state in New York which is ongoing after being repeatedly left out of the genocide acknowledgement talks between the Namibian and German governments (Huggler, 2017).

One of the highlights of the 2015 commemoration edition was a change of guard ceremony arranged for retiring *Oturupas* too old to continue with their marching duties. The retiring regiment presented a horse head taxidermy to the Paramount Chief (Fig.6) who in turn awarded them with long and loyal service medals (Fig.7). Those who were scheduled to partake in the retiring ceremony and had passed on were represented by their sons who received the medals in their stead as emissaries of their families' lineage (Fig.8). They wore their fathers' medals, uniforms and rank in the regiment's final march. The sons partaking in this final parade were not merely representatives of the dead, but they become their fathers.

We can understand the process of sons marching in their deceased fathers' stead as substitutes (Fig.8) using Roach's notion of 'surrogation' (1996, p. 121). 'Surrogation' entails 'auditioning stand-ins' and 'trying out various candidates' that can serve as imperfect but adequate alternates for missing and absent bodies and erased details about the past (Roach,

1996, p. 121). At the Red Flag Day, the sons stood 'into the cavities created by loss through death or other forms of departure' (Roach, 1996, p. 121). The sons stood in as substitutes to 'represent' their absent fathers. The sons '*represent*' in the literal etymological sense of the word which means '*to cause to reappear that which has disappeared*' (Lévy-Bruhl, 1935, p. 123). Through their corporeal bodies sons are understood as being the surrogates through which their dead fathers reappear at the memory commemoration (Lévy-Bruhl, 1935, p. 123).

Figure 6. A horse taxidermy presented as a gift by retiring Oturupas to the Herero Chief. Photo by Pedzisai Maedza

Figure 7. Retiring Oturupas with their long and loyal service medals with the chief dressed in red. Photo by Pedzisai Maedza

Figure 8. A son wearing his late father's long and loyal service award medal and uniform. Photo by Pedzisai Maedza

Oturupa

The genesis of the *Oturupa* as a Herero association is hard to ascertain with absolute certainty. The first documented reference of 'troop playing' comes from 1906. Jakob Irle a missionary operating at Otjosazu Mission in Okahandja observed young Herero men 'playing soldiers' from the mid-1890s (Werner, 1990, p. 481). Irle suggests that Chief Samuel Maharero instigated the movement by distributing red hat bands to young Herero men. For Irle, 'It was as if these red bands introduced a spirit of rebellion among the youth. People drilled, swore, drank excessively and aped the German soldiers. Our young girls were also affected by this evil spirit' (Irle, 1906, p. 299). Some oral sources suggest that the *Oturupa* emerged in German military camps where some Herero were conscripted into the Imperial army.

After the closure of the concentration camps and dispersal of the Herero around the country on farms, ranches and other German run establishments the military drills were carried over and the regiments were re-organised to coincide with administrative districts. The drilling exercises were used to bring together people dispersed across vast administrative zones to form social solidarity, cooperation and welfare networks (Werner, 1990, p. 476). It has been suggested that the *Oturupa* movement 'was a symbolic resurrection of the Herero army in the

eclectic style which it adopted before the risings of 1904 and 1907' (Ngavirue, 1972, p. 262). The performances of the Herero regiments was cause for alarm for some farmers and settlers who feared the possibility of another uprising.

The *Oturupa* movement intensified after the destruction and banning of most Herero social, cultural and political institutions. Herero survivors, mostly children and young adults began to remodel and transform their social and cultural lives around the regimented structures of the colonial army (Gewald, 1998, p. 139). After the defeat of the German army in 1915 Herero soldiers and the *Oturupa* appropriated, revived and re-purposed some institutions and structures of the German colonial administration for their own purposes. Members of the *Oturupa* imitated and adopted the imperial army drills and substituted sticks for rifles, since all their weapons were confisticated. They set up a nation-wide social network that was grafted in and imitated the vanquished German army. The *Oturupa* regiments mirrored the colonial army in organisation and ranking with Herero men often adopting the names of the German officers who occupied the ranks they were aping and distinct uniforms were used for the respective regiments (Steinmetz and Hell, 2006a, p. 165; Werner, 1990, p. 483). The Herero used the defeated German communication network going as far as to issue handwritten telegrams, military passes, pay books, orders and requests in Deutsch (Gewald, 1998, p. 139).

The *Oturupa* network was so extensive that in 1917 a worried German settler W. Eichhoff, who resided on a farm in Okamarangara in Otjiwarongo wrote an official letter of complaint to the military magistrate alleging that the Herero had mobilised '17 companies, spread over the whole country. Here in Okamatangara there is part of the 8th company. I am of the opinion that this forming of companies is due in play and for love of playing at soldier. Still in serious cases the Hereros might use their organisation for turning against the authorities' (Eichhoff, 1917). The farmer's concerns were probably widely shared since an official circular was distributed to Military Magistrates and Native Commissioners two months later ordering them to ban the drilling by *Oturupas*. The circular noted that in many districts the 'drilling of Herero natives has assumed extensive proportions' resulting in 'a state of unrest and suspicion has been occasioned amongst other native tribes and the farming population' (ADM 117, 3979, 1920; Eichhoff, 1917; SWAA A 396/1, 1917, pp. 2–3; Werner, 1990, p. 483). It was this unrest that was used as a pretext for the ban.

Red Flag

That the 1904-1908 genocide commemoration's most popular name is Red Flag Day reflects the power of national symbols to evoke impassioned feelings and actions of identification, self-

sacrifice and allegiance. The use of a flag as a symbol of the nation can be understood as an imitation and adaptation of European heraldic symbols of power and autonomy influences. The prominence of this symbol in Herero culture, memory and identity exemplifies how 'the flag is not an object but a relationship' (Firth, 1973, p. 361). The Latin word for flag '*vixillium*' which translates to 'guide' is an apt descriptor of the community's relationship with the symbol (Amavilah, 2008, p. 2). The Herero community uses the symbol as a memory and identity guide. They use the Red Flag for the 'imaginary institution of a society' as it is 'a sign of recognition and for rallying round…that one can and must die for and what sends shivers down the spine of patriots as they watch the military parades pass by' (Castoriadis, 1987, p. 131).

There is no consensus about the exact origins of the Herero red flag. What is evident is that Samuel Maherero's 1923 funeral and the annual memorials provided a context, and occasion to once again wear, wave and bear the Red Flag and red scarves which 'had been worn by the Hereros as a symbol of unity and loyalty, particularly in times of war' (Ngavirue, 1972, p. 261). The Red Flag which had been banned after the 1904 defeat was flown once again in honour of Samuel Maherero and the community came dressed in red apparel. According to one oral tradition, during the German flag ban only one survivor said to have been mentally disturbed by the war and the subsequent concentration camps defied the German authorities ban and wore the red colours. Another oral tradition traces the formalisation of the red flag to Samuel Maherero's funeral. It is said that the logistics and preparations for the funeral led to the establishment of 'a Herero association, Otjiserandu or Red Band Organisation' which served as the funeral steering committee (Ngavirue, 1972, p. 262). When it was decreed that the Herero nation meet annually to remember Samuel Maherero and the war dead this association assumed the responsibility of organising the annual commemoration (Ngavirue, 1972, p. 262). It is possible that some members of the organisation subscribed to the idea that it was Samuel Maherero himself who had introduced the red bands in the 1890s. It is equally possible that it was this organisation or some of its members who 'invented' and popularised the 'tradition' that it was Maherero who had initiated the red band movement (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983, p. 1).

Ngavirue argues that the revival the Red Band by Samuel Maherero's followers led to split loyalty in the broader Herero chieftaincy under three flags *Omarapi* (from Dutch *lapje* piece of cloth) (Gewald, 1998, p. 132). This led the Mbanderu section of the nation to adopt the *Otjizemba / erapi rotjigreen* (Green Flag). The followers come from the Kahimemua royal house and meet in Okahandja, Okaseta and in Botswana. Some followers of the green flag insist on defining themselves as Ovambanderu and as being different from the Herero (Gewald, 1998, p. 132). The followers of Chief Manasse of the Zeraua Royal House of

Omaruru in Western Namibia adopted the *Otjizemba / erapi rotjizemba* (black with white dots flag) (Ngavirue, 1972, pp. 264, 267). The *erapi rotjiserandu* (Red Flag) is currently the most popular and has the biggest following. It draws its supporters from the Tjamuaha Royal House and congregates in Okahandja, Central Namibia (Gewald, 1998, p. 132). Some accounts from the 1920s suggest that *Oturupas* possibly adopted either the red, white or black colors from the German flag (Steinmetz and Hell, 2006a, p. 166). Some elders suggested to me that the red flag was not adopted from the German army flag, but rather from the tribe's sacred bird the crimson-breasted shrike (Laniarius atrococcineus). It is hard to verify this claim as the same bird was also adopted as the national bird by the colonialists because its colours matched those of the Imperial German flag.

Bodywork: The performativity of Herero dress and uniforms

In this section I engage with the notion of authenticity as it is defined and applied with regards to Herero cultural performances. The image of Herero people in cultural vestments has become the de-facto icon of Herero culture and postcolonial Namibia as a country (Fig.2). Observers of the Red Flag Day who encounter the Herero in cultural costumes are often struck and comment on the similarity in the *Oturupas*' costumes with 19th century Imperial German army uniforms, and the Victorian-era inspired dress and the cow-horn hats for women. I investigate the performativity of Herero dress as a cultural and identity symbol. This is important as Geward reminds us because 'it must not be forgotten that these women are defined as Herero precisely because they wear particular forms of clothing' (1998, p. 131).

Through dress Herero men and women bear or wear the burden of ethnic representation. Where parallels can be drawn between the Imperial German army and the *Oturupas*, Herero woman put on distinct Victorian-era inspired dresses. The dress highlights the wearer's height and mass. The dress makes the wearer look fuller through several layers of puffed mutton sleeves and billowing skirts. The *Otjikayiva* (headdress) occupies the pride of place in the costume. The headgear is created from a base scarf that is intricately curled together with a smooth and exquisite top scarf that is rolled up to form two horizontal *Ozonya* (cowhorns). The exact moment at which the dress was adapted by the Herero is not known.

Some informants suggested that the dress was adapted to pay homage to the English Queen Victoria. It has also been suggested that the Herero began to wear the dress in the 19th Century, adopting it from Nama people who migrated from the Cape Colony in South Africa and settled among the Herero (Hendrickson, 1992). A third suggestion is that the Herero who converted to Christianity adopted it from missionaries and other well to do families who were

trading with Europeans before colonisation and acquired the dress from this contact (Durham, 1999, p. 400). It was only after the war and genocide of 1904-8 that large sections of Herero survivors began to wear the outdated Western fashion (Vedder, 1928). It is also possible that all these streams had an intertwined influence in the processes that marked the adoption of the dress as a cultural artefact. Today the dress is worn at all formal social and cultural occasions like the Red Flag Day, funerals, weddings and other community gatherings. A few Herero women wear the dress everyday varying the fabric quality depending on the occasion.

At times Herero women will wear similar dresses. This often happens where women pool resources together to purchase the fabric and get a common tailor to make the dresses. This collective action also occurs when the dress in question is being made to serve as a 'uniform' to mark affiliation with a particular social club like a choir, burial society or occupational club or cultural group (Comaroff, 1985, pp. 205,220–1). Wearing the dress at the Red Flag Day commemoration is considered as more than observing tradition, gender or style but as a manifestation of identity and culture.

The Herero dresses for women and uniforms for men are often complimented with symbolic accessories and insignia like medals, images, badges, scarfs, quilts, shawls, neckties, flags, posters and banners which are worn at different occasions during the fiesta (Fig.9). These symbols aid in the recollection, retelling and embodiment of Herero history and memory. These material objects often mark landscapes where the Herero lived and sought sanctuary. Some mark places were battles were staged and key figures involved in the battles or other important sites like prisons, torture chambers, deportation and execution sites.

In the landscape these places are also marked and remembered using physical monuments, building ruins, trees, tombstones or gravestones (Biwa, 2012, p. 170). These visual codes give context and augment Herero cultural meaning making by being reminders and transmitters of information and memory. Some of these figures and symbols like medals have become heirlooms that have and are passed down across generations. They are part of a symbolic cultural memory register that is selective, shared, negotiated, interpreted and re-interpreted by the attendees and transmitted to the younger generations to serve the current needs of the community. The symbols are also used to mark gender, status and rank particularly in the *Oturupas* and family lineage, clan and club affiliation.

Figure 9. A badge with a skull and the dates 1904-2011 in reference to the first repartriation of human remains from Germany. Photo by Pedzisai Maedza

The distinct elements of 20th Century German and Victorian culture that colour the Red Flag Day commemorations and culture have sometimes led and lead to debates that question the authenticity of Herero cultural processes. Authenticity is a fluid and complex concept that is difficult to define outside the context in which it is applied and used. The popular usage and understanding of what are culturally authentic draws its worth from recognised tradition and constancy. The further the past is perceived to be and the less there is evidence of change, the more authentic the tradition is imagined to be (Krystal, 2012, p. 32). What is authentic can be understood as that which is '1 a: worthy of acceptance or belief as conforming to or based on fact…b: conforming to an original so as to reproduce essential features…c: made or done the same way as the original… 2: not false or imitation: real, actual… 3: true to one's personality, spirit, or character' (Merrian-Webster.com, 2017). Notions of truth are emphasised in the dictionary definition which insists that what is authentic is, 'not false…real, actual' (Merrian-Webster.com, 2017).

Using this rubric on cultural practices like the Red Flag Day raises conceptual challenges. This is primarily due to the complex place and status of mimicry, in mimetic forms like dance, marches and dress. This is complicated further by the challenges of reconciling what cultural insiders and those on the outside perceive as authentic. As with most indigenous practices

and coupled with the public nature of Red Flag Day and the costumes as cultural practices, it is interesting to observe that 'cultural outsiders are often quite confident in judging authenticity even when quite unfamiliar with the particulars of the practice in question' (Krystal, 2012, p. 32). There is a tendency to essentialise a static set of characteristics into stereotypes of particular groups and culture. This view persists despite the fact that the stability of traditions has been shown to be a modern construct (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983).

In societies that are less collective the authenticity of artistic expression is accepted when the work is deemed as a true reflection of the named creator's personality, spirit, or character (Krystal, 2012, p. 33). In more collective contexts like that of the Herero the authenticity of a shared cultural performance tradition is derived by the people themselves. A cultural performance is authentic if it is original to the community and their forebearers. It is more useful to deal with this conundrum in two ways. Firstly by recognising that there is 'no absolute standard of authenticity' and consider 'authenticators…and the production and construction of authenticity' (Warren and Jackson, 2002, p. 10). Secondly by following the oft-cited Anderson injunction that all communities are imagined, and therefore they cannot be distinguished by 'their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined' (2006, p. 15)

This enables us to reconcile what appears to be foreign and particularly Western innovations, like flags, the uniforms for men, dresses for women and marches which are shunned by cultural gatekeepers as a contamination of Herero tradition (Krystal, 2012, p. 33). At the core of the authenticity debate is the often unchallenged idea that indigenous cultures are not complex, contradictory, diverse and they cannot change, recreate or mutate and still retain their right and claim to be indigenous (Smith, 1999, p. 74). Connected to this is the colonial paternalism that imagines change and or innovation as anathema to indigenous cultures. This paternalism sees change as leading or signaling the end of indigenous people's culture and distinctiveness.

Herero costumes and other cultural practices show that 'culture changes and that this change is not something that is necessarily mourned and certainly not romanticised' but can be pragmatic or realistic (Krystal, 2012, p. 35). For example in and through performance at the Red Flag Day 'a skillful dancer can simultaneously express tradition and innovation' (Krystal, 2012, p. 102). Change, innovation and dynamism in Herero culture is better appreciated if we accept 'tradition as a process in which people find meaning in the present through referring to the past' (Eber and Tanski, 2002, p. 36). Through an analysis of Red Flag Day we can move past affirming the dynamism of culture and examine and describe how Herero culture changed in the wake of foreign invasion and colonisation. The costumes can be read as a pointer of

the lingering effects of the genocide and a reminder of the dynamism of memory and culture in the face of a 'historical catastrophe' (Bogues, 2010, p. 40). This is in keeping with respecting the Herero and other indigenous' sovereign power to 'define and act on their own cultural identities' (Wolf, 1999, p. 145).

Mimicry as resistance

Across many parts of the colonised worlds, at various times and to varying degrees the colonised have engaged and continue to engage in practices that seem to mimic the colonisers. Through the contemporary annual staging of Red Flag Day performance we can begin to ask 'how colonial mimicry can subvert social and racial hierarchies in the postcolony' (Mcmahon, 2008, p. 22). Colonial mimicry is always different to the colonial model and it undermines the colonialists' claims to being the sole arbitrator of truth and authority through this slippage (Bhabha, 1994, pp. 110–11). Mimesis can be understood in two broad ways. On one hand it can be regarded as an creative attempt to truthfully represent a model and on the other hand it is 'a mode of reading that transforms an object into a *gestus* or a dialectical image' that is 'truths produced in engaged interpretation' (Diamond, 1997, p. ii). The Red Flag Day as a performance of history encapsulates both understandings of mimesis. It not only re-enacts Samuel Maherero's burial and other scenes from the war and genocide, but it reimagines these (McMahon, 2008, p. 21).

Parallels have been drawn among the Herero *Oturupa* of Namibia and the *Ben Ngoma* of Tanzania (Ranger, 1975) as well as the Songhai and Djerma of Niger with the *Hauka* (Stoller, 1995) who all wear uniforms, march and wear ranks drawn from the German Imperial army. Ranger's insights which can be usefully applied to the Herero in Namibia, caution against categorising the performances as parasitic mimesis. Ranger suggests that we look at these performances as creative and versatile cultural responses to colonialism. For Stoller these mimetic performances represent an effort to 'master the master by appropriating this embodied behaviour' (1995, p. 113). For Michael Taussig this demonstrates mimesis as 'sympathetic magic' whereby the Herero hoped to assume the power of the German establishment by siphoning its character (1993, p. xiii).

This view is echoed by Jeremy Sarkin who suggests that 'appropriating and reinterpreting these uniforms and the army drill routines can be interpreted as a means of transforming elements of colonial subordination into symbols of liberation and resistance' (2009, p. 46). The performances could be understood as evidence and as an example of the 'invention of traditions' which emerged since:

> African observers of the new colonial society could hardly miss the significance that Europeans attached to the public rituals of monarchy, the gradations of military rank, the rituals of bureaucracy. Africans who sought to manipulate these symbols for themselves, without accepting the implications of subordination within a neo-tradition of governance, were usually accused by Europeans of triviality, of confusing form with reality and of imagining that it was possible to achieve power or prosperity just by emulating ritual practice. But if this were true, the over-emphasis on the forms had already been created by colonial whites themselves, most of whom were the beneficiaries rather than the creators of wealth and power. If their monopoly of the rites and symbols of neo-tradition was so important to the whites, it was by no means foolish of Africans to seek to appropriate them' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983, p. 237).

The Herero are different from the *Ben Ngoma* in that the Red Flag performance is not an attempt to portray others but a utopian version of self. Through performance and 'cultural heritage' the Herero society 'becomes visible to itself and to others' (Assmann, 1995, p. 133). The Red Flag fiesta is used simultaneously as 'a model of society' and also as 'a model for society' (Podeh, 2011, p. 3). The historical or backward glance of the Herero Red Flag Day performances is unique to the contemporary focus of *Beni Ngoma* across East Africa and the *Hauka* of Niger. The Red Flag is an annual reiteration and weaving of a chain of memory from the present to the historical events of the past (Gewald, 1998, p. 147). This annual calendrical recall of fixed historical events make the Red Flag Commemoration an explicit link in the remembrance that ensures the continuity of the genocide memory (Connerton, 1989, p. 45). The commemoration is a 'concretion of identity' upon which the Herero community 'bases its consciousness of unity and specificity upon this knowledge and derives formative and normative impulses from it, which allows the group to reproduce its identity' as a nation (Assmann, 1995, p. 128).

Performing Memory

The Red Flag Day frames and serves as a lens to making sense of the past and the present. The reiterative nature of Red Flag as a calendrical commemoration together with its 'formalism and performativity' make it an effective and affective 'mnemonic device' that keeps the memory of past genocide alive. Keeping memory alive raises questions about how to rectify it. The Red Flag Day commemoration reinforces how past colonial violence and terror shaped and continue to shape the land and property ownership rights. This leaves open the question of what obligations direct and indirect beneficiaries of the colonial injustice have towards those

affected by and or enduring the effects of the injustice (Connerton, 1989, p. 9). Using performance to create a 'rhetorical topoi' on the landscape is both 'a dramaturgical and a territorial act' (Till, 1999, p. 254). By occupying Okahanja and visiting the graves, the performance highlights what is absent and lays claim to loss. By following a prescribed route and calendrical consistency the Red Flag Day serves in 'the naturalisation of arbitrariness' to form and birth a Herero collective identity where through performance the community define what is ordinary, correct and or acceptable in a collective setting (Foster, 1991, p. 237).

My reading of the Red Flag Day as performance of Herero cultural memory and identity follows the suggestion that 'nations are constructed through their common rituals' (Kubal, 2008, p. 168). Since 1923, bar the years when the commemorations were cancelled or postponed the Red Flag Day has served as a public and commonly shared platform for the Herero to 'imagine' their 'community' as a people distinct from the nation-state (Anderson, 2006, p. 1). It is an example of performative memory work which constitutes and re-affirms Herero memory and as identity. This is done not only in the material enactment of the Red Flag, but in the meanings attached to the actions that the Herero perform. The Red Flag performance forms and reaffirms the Herero people as a nation. 'By commemorating the dead as well as events associated with the dead, Herero bring together history, religion and the *Oturupa*, which they use to determine, define and display their own identity as Herero' (Gewald, 1998, p. 145). Through Red Flag Day 'history always reflects the ideals and sentiments that commemoration expresses' while the 'commemoration is always rooted in historical knowledge' (Schwartz, 2001, p. 2269).

The Red Flag Day frames what the Herero remember, influencing how they remember and by being an annual and calendral event it informs the community as to when to publicly remember. The Red Flag Day is an apt frame to engage with the transmission of genocide memory and communal continuity. The continuity and persistance of the commemoration through colonial and postcolonial times, as counters to hegemony, shows that 'the way in which people choose to remember an event – indeed how they adjust to it – is as historically important as the event itself' (Frankel, 2001, p. 17). This equally applies to what is not said and is rendered in and through silence. This is particularly so given that 'among those who have suffered enslavement, cultural asphyxiation, religious persecution, gender, race and class discrimination and political repression, silences should be seen as facts' (Depelchin, 2005).

The Herero use the commemoration to rally together and use performance to intervene in the construction and production of genocide history and remembrance in the present and for

future generations. The annual congregation in Okahanja the traditional heartland of the Herero nation is a symbolic and physical albert temporary re-appropriation of annexed and lost ancestral land and space. The fiesta allows for a coalition of the dispersed community to build kinship ties and the renewal of solidary ties. Using the materiality of their bodies the attendees occupy Okahanja in an act of defiance to their extermination, as an avowal of Herero identity, endurance and a declaration of visibility in their running claim to the land. The commemoration when framed as a way of 'performing history seeks to overcome both the separation and the exclusion from the past, striving to create community where the events from this past will matter again' (Rokem, 2000, p. pxii). The commemoration is an ephemeral 'attempt to determine the manner in which they and others see themselves and to redefine themselves as a grouping distinct from the rest of the world in terms of their religion, history, dress and norms' (Gewald, 1998, p. 145).

It is especially apt to describe Red Flag Day as a memory commemoration given that the word merges '*com*' (together) and '*momorare*' (to remember). The significance that the Herero put and place on the Red Flag Day fiesta and the historical events it marks substantiates the suggestion that if 'there is such a thing as social memory…we are likely to find it in commemorative ceremonies' (Connerton, 1989, p. 4). Red Flag Day as part of Herero 'collective memory is part of culture's meaning-making apparatus' (Schwartz 2000: 17). As a meaning or sense making device the Red Flag Day helps the Herero community to put its current circumstances and the genocide 'in a temporal and causal order, perceiving them from a certain angle, and condensing complex processes into apt metaphors and symbols' (Erll, 2006, p. 165). As and through performance the commemoration is crucial 'in the symbolic transformation of experience into memory' (Erll, 2006, p. 165). The performance entails 'the mobilisation of symbols to awaken ideas and feelings about the past' (Schwartz, 2001, p. 2267). This is instrumental to imagining the Herero nation since the creation and sharing of stories, narratives and poetics aids in the creation of cultural memory. The Red Flag Day 'commemoration promotes society's sense of itself by affirming its members' mutual affinity and identity' as a collective (Schwartz, 2001, p. 2268).

The commemoration can be understood as 'cultural remembrance' of the genocide (Rigney, 2009, p. 6). That is to say, the Red Flag Day is a 'complex set of mnemonic practices through which collective views of the past are continuously being shaped, circulated, reproduced, and (un)critically transformed with the help of media' (Rigney, 2009, p. 6). The annual iteration of the Red Flag commemorations centre the 1904-1908 war and genocide in the 'national imaginaries' of the Herero and Namibian population (Askew, 2002). Although the commemoration is not (yet) a public holiday that is observed across the whole of Namibia, the

three-day fiesta is regarded as a sacrosanct pilgrimage by the Herero community. The proceedings are usually broadcast nationally on the Namibian Television, Radio and press. This extensive media coverage allows for a transitory synchronisation of citizens' memories (Zerubavel, 2003).

The Red Flag Day as a mnemoscape of memory facilitates the movement of genocide memory through five dynamic ways. These are 'carriers, media, contents, practices and forms' (Erll, 2011, p. 12). Red Flag Day attendees partake in the cultural performance by drawing on a repertoire of generational knowledge. They generate and share images and narratives of the past and participate in mnemonic rituals like dance, song, marches, horse riding and the escort procession. These pilgrims, tourists and researchers travel in from different places in the country, region and across the globe. Their travel and circulation make them carriers of memory and they carry and diffuse the memory of the genocide commemoration globally across space and time.

The multiple media outlets that cover the Red Flag are the second conduit through which memory is shared and travels. The media transmits the orality and embodiment that marks the Red Flag to print, picture, film, sound and the internet. This 'mediation' and 'remediation' from the live performance media to a plethora of other media technologies ensures that memory 'travels' and is appropriated across Namibia and the diaspora (Erill and Rigney, 2009). Media enables the 'deterritolisation of memory' and can also reactivate and mirror the routes of physical deterritorisation forced upon the Herero by the genocide into Botswana, South Africa, Togo, Cameroon and Germany (Erll, 2011, p. 12). Books, newspapers, documentary movies, research notes, articles and television programs also contribute to the circulation of the memory of the genocide.

The content of the cultural memory of the genocide include shared images, sounds, tastes and narratives about the past and the Red Flag commemoration. It is in the 'travel' between the media and the mind where the content is interpreted, contested, recalled, reinterpreted to 'make memory' (Erll, 2011, p. 13). The fifth pathway that enables remembering the genocide to occur are the succinct 'mnemonic forms' like the costumes, the red flag, procession which act as evocative 'symbols, icons or scemata' which condense the genocide into figures that can be restated, repeated as proto-symbols and metaphors of the event and experience (Erll, 2011, p. 13).

Conclusion

This chapter considered the strategies of commemoration used by participants from drama to processions in marking the significance of the genocide and the continuity of the Herero as a nation inspite of the genocide. In the eyes of organisers, the Red Flag Day is fundamentally a platform where the Herero community represents, remembers and re-members the genocide, and shapes its identity as a political, social and cultural entity. In this way, the Red Flag Day as a commemoration allows people to stage and share a lived experience of conviviality as they celebrate an origins tradition and to physically enact their affiliation to the group. Its cyclical, annual occurrence enables us to investigate the transmission of memory as custom and the invention of tradition, monument and memorial especially through the socialisation of younger children into the customs and traditions of the community.

In re-tracing how the Red Flag Day as performance remembers the genocide the chapter showed the importance of viewing performance as a medium or media. This is crucial since media developments affect 'only what information is stored, transmitted and remembered, but even what counts as information' (Bleeker, 2012, p. 5). The public, collective and cyclical nature of the Red Flag Day makes the commemoration 'a technology of remembrance as well as a way of inscribing memories into individual and collective memory' (Bleeker, 2012, p. 2). The commemoration as a form and structure influences the types of narratives that are told and retold with charismatic figures like Samuel Maherero eclipsing the more private and personal narratives of the genocide. The commemoration builds, transmits and preserves collective cultural memory through three primary ways.

Firstly, the commemoration serves as a medium of remembrance. Secondly, it is an object of the genocide remembrance and lastly, it is a medium to observe the production of genocide cultural memory. The Red Flag Day is an example of the 'narration of the nation' by Herero people (Bhabha, 1990). The commemoration is a collective representation of a shared Herero past and memory which gives substance to and anchors the group's identity. It is a public enactment of community and nationhood, its current condition and expresses the shared vision of the future. The Red Flag Day as and in performance and when it is broadcast serves as a 'medium of remembrance' for the genocide. The commemoration constructs narratives that are used to recall the past (Erll and Rigney, 2006, p. 112). The calendrical nature of the Red Flag also means that when attendees and audiences are 'remembering the past' they do not only remember 'events and persons' from the genocide but they also recall earlier reiterations of the commemoration (Erll and Rigney, 2006, p. 112). This is because the contemporary pilgrims are attempting to remember an event that they did not experience

themselves. As a result their efforts echo earlier commemorations which provide ‘the ambient noise and issues that surround telling’ meaning that Red Flag events ‘tell both the story of events and its own unfolding as narrative’ (Young, 2000, p. 18).

The temporal gap between the genocide and the contemporary Red Flag Day means that the commemorations serve as an ‘object of remembrance’ that bridges this gap in generations (Erll and Rigney, 2006, p. 112). The commemoration is a foundational platform in the public avowal of Herero identity where ‘discrete embodied acts—each with a beginning and an end—that involve conventional behaviors including a dance, a skit, or a farce’ can be examined (Taylor, 2004, p. 365). If we frame the Red Flag Day as history we see how performance entwines the past, the present and the future in a chain of memory. Since 1923 through (re)enactment the commemoration repeats history annually but does not replicate it. The past is marked by and through the performing bodies which become a historical site. Fleishman writing on the use of history in performance suggests that ‘It must be emphasised that these compound images are not re-enactments of the past, they are re-creations, refigurations of what remains from the past’ (2012, p. 51). ‘Their relationship with the past is sometimes metaphorical, sometimes metonymical but never simply imitative’ (Fleishman, 2012, p. 51). The Red Flag performances are an ‘act of interpretation and translation’ that cannot replicate the past (Fleishman, 2012, p. 54).

The next chapter shifts the performance frame from the public, collective and communal experience to focus on a more intimate singular static, immersive remembrance experience. Where this chapter has focused on Okahanja as a singular site of memory, the next two chapters will draw on travelling performance exhibitions to investigate how remembering manifests through imagery and music.

CHAPTER THREE

Black Box/Chambre Noire: Postmemory Aesthetics

In this chapter I move to contemporary Berlin, the former metropole of Kaiser Wilhelm II's empire, to examine how the Namibian genocide is publicly remembered. I specifically analyse the use and role of colonial exhibitions in memory (re)construction. Exhibitions as a form, genre and cultural practice have a longstanding tradition and usage in shaping public consciousness. The use of exhibitions in shaping knowledge about the colonies and Namibia in particular, has a long and troubled history in the German public landscape and across other imperial centres. Historically the most prominent exhibitions that come to mind include the Great Industrial Exposition of Berlin 1896 (Geppert, 2010). This edition is now infamous in German-Namibian historiography for its human zoos that featured Prince Friedrich Maherero and other Herero diplomats. (Zimmerman, 2001, pp. 28–9).

The Berlin 1896 exhibition was staged during the era which ran from 1851 to 1939 when Imperial powers used world exhibitions to publicly display their colonial and industrial reach as well as the ideology and discourse of enlightenment modernity as progress. These world exhibitions were staged in alternate cities across Europe, Australia and the United States of America. This colonial display age was initiated by the English who staged the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, also known as the Crystal Palace exhibition from May 1 to 15 October 1851 at Hyde Park, London. The world fair would return to London in 1862 and 1924 (Geppert, 2010). Across the channel in Paris, the French opened the World's Fair exhibition (*Exposition Universelle*) on 6 May to 31 October 1889 whereupon the Eiffel Tower was inaugurated as testament of French ingenuity and to commemorate a centenary of the French Revolution (Geppert, 2010).

Over time the size and focus of exhibitions has inevitably changed with changing political dispensations. In postcolonial times colonial themed exhibitions are now often actively resuscitated as a critique of their former usage. For instance, William Kentridge's *Black Box/ Chambre Noire*, curated by Maria-Christina Villaseñor, was on display at the Deutsche Guggenheim in Berlin, Germany from 29 October 2005 to 15 January 2006 with a 2010 rerun.

Black Box/Chambre Noire is one of the iconic works in a modest repertoire of contemporary exhibitions that speak to the memory of the Namibian genocide in Germany and across Europe. This limited repertoire includes exhibitions like *Namibia-Deutschland: Eine geteilte Geschichte. Widerstand-Gewalt-Erinnerung* (*Germany and Namibia: Memories of a Violent Past*) displayed at the Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum für Völkerkunde in Cologne and at the German Historical Museum in Berlin from 25 November 2004 to March 13, 2005. The exhibition *Le premier génocide du XXe siècle: Herero et Nama dans le Sud-Ouest africain allemand, 1904-1908* (*The first genocide of the 20th century: Herero and Nama in South West Africa, 1904-1908*) followed at the Shoah Memorial in Paris from 25 November 2016 to 12 March 2017. The *Deutscher Kolonialismus* (*German Colonialism: Fragments Past and Present*) ran simultaneously from 14 November 2016 to 14 May 2017 at the German Historical Museum in Berlin. This last exhibition was an ambitious undertaking that sought to condense German's 1884 to 1919 colonial experience across Kaiser Wilhelm II's entire empire. The colonial German empire spanned from German South West Africa (Namibia, Südrand des Caprivi-Zipfels-part of Botswana); German East Africa (Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Wituland in Kenya, Kionga Triangle in Mozambique); German West Africa (Cameroon, Togoland); China (Jiaozhou Bay, Chefoo, Tsingtao) to the Pacific (German New Guinea, Samoa, Federated States of Micronesia, Palau, Northern Mariana Islands, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Bougainville Island, Northern Solomon Islands, Kaiser Wilhelmsland, Bismark Archipelago).

William Kentridge's *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* captures many continuities in the transnational circulation of Herero genocide memory. Like most Kentridge artworks *Black Box/Chambre Noire* is a multidisciplinary exhibition that does not offer a singular narrative. Kentridge cross-pollinates influences of history, pre-cinematic film, animation, theatre and installation to create a non-linear fragmented narrative, which suspends temporality through scenes of compulsive repetition and disassociation. It is a kaleidoscope of music and imagery with images drawn from rallies in Berlin, replete with Nazi insignia, from colonial films, with maps and other cartographical documents flying in from the wings. This chapter is not, nor can it be, a comprehensive assessment of the diversity of issues covered in the kaleidoscope that is *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* and Namibian genocide exhibitions as a form. It is necessarily selective and focuses primarily on showing how Kentridge uses drawing, animation, shadows and music to engage with how accountability and responsibility are framed in remembering and reconstituting the memory of the Herero genocide. Kentridge interweaves and represents a connection between enlightenment, racism, colonialism, the murder of Africans in the Namibian genocide and the scientific discourses that were created to justify these actions in *Black Box/ Chambre Noire*. The chapter goes on to show how enlightenment as a discourse dehumanises through the creation of a body of knowledge not only around a particular region

of the world, and in its interrelation with another, but also around the material culture that it produces.

The chapter explores these themes in five sections apart from this opening introduction. This introduction is followed by a conceptual section titled Postmemory Aesthetics. The third section titled *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* as performance offers a synopsis of the exhibition and is followed by a fourth section that interweaves aesthetics, with performance and historiography. Technological innovations like the camera and photography as a means of accessing genocide postmemory are explored in the fifth section under Visual Archiving: Memory and images, which precedes the conclusion.

Postmemory Aesthetics

Black Box/ Chambre Noire as an elegy to the Namibian genocide has attracted a diverse audience and received widespread publicity. From Berlin, the exhibition travelled to the Museum Höxter-Corvey, Höxter, Germany, before proceeding to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's birthtown at the Museum der Moderne Salzburg, Austria in July 2006. In 2007 it was seen at the Moderna Museet in Stockholm and the Malmö Konsthall, Sweden before travelling to the Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco in 2009. It was seen in Central Park, New York and at the Jewish Historical Museum, Amsterdam in 2012. The Centre for the Moving Image Australia hosted it in March 2012 before it made its South African debut at the Johannesburg Art Gallery where the opening was attended by more than 500 people before moving to the Goodman Gallery in Cape Town (Goodman Gallery, 2017).

The exhibition interrogates how the Herero genocide embodies and is at the intersection of 19th century technological and ideological developments that spurred colonialism. The title *Black Box* is a motif that can be simultaneously understood on at least three planes which are all significant in understanding the performance. Firstly, black box alludes to the 'theatre, a space for experimenting'; secondly it denotes the title of a camera obscura in its earlier days, 'the chambre noir-the space between the lens and the camera's eyepiece' (Kentridge and Villaseñor, 2006, p. 51). The chambre noir allows light to come in, presenting infinite possibilities in how the image will emerge before a single image is selected and captured. Thirdly black box can be understood 'as a recorder of disasters in airplanes' (Kentridge and Villaseñor, 2006, p. 51). In *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* the black box becomes a 'miniature theatre… an optical toy that is a forerunner of cinema. Instead of having actors on stage, it's about seeing a child's miniature toy theatre and its machinery moving.

Formally, the Black Box had something to do with vaudeville which in the 1890s provided one of the transitions to movies' (Kaplan, 2005). *Black Box/ Chambre Noire*'s appeal lies in the way Kentridge blends a congeries of images and motifs into a metaphorical Dadaist collage that creates an aesthetic whole indictment of modernism, colonialism and fascism. This is despite the lack of an obvious coherence, narrative or logic in the unitary parts of the installation. The performance serves as a backdrop against which Kentridge investigates the history and meanings ascribed to the Herero genocide, the ongoing process of mourning as well as the political involvement and responsibility that the genocide places on contemporary audiences.

I draw on Ann Laura Stoler's notion of 'watermarks in colonial history' (2009, p. 7) and Jens Ruchatz's notion of 'traces' to investigate and conceptualise how *Black Box / Chambre Noire* through form, structure and content uses drawing and erasure to speak to how the Herero genocide is remembered (Ruchatz, 2008, pp. 367–378). I triangulate this with Marianne Hirsch's notion of 'postmemory' to examine how *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* fosters remembrance of the Herero genocide to audiences outside of Namibia (Hirsch, 1997, p. 22). The concept of 'watermarks in colonial history' refers to events like the Namibian genocide whose inscription on the community's past and in the present is non expungeable. Objects and performances acquire the status of a 'trace' when we accept them as proof of what they show and as legitimate bases to recreate the circumstances of their creation. Traces are taken as products, rather than representations of the circumstances of their creation.

In this way, *Black Box / Chambre Noire* is framed as 'a reminder that triggers or guides remembering than as a memory in itself' (Ruchatz, 2008, p. 370). 'Postmemory' on the other hand refers to how children of survivors experience a 'deep personal connection' to and remember the Shoah through their parents' recollection of it. This is despite their lack of firsthand experience of the genocide because of their 'generational distance' to the event that preceded their birth (Hirsch, 1997, p. 22). It is 'a powerful and very particular form of memory precisely because its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through imagination' (Hirsch, 1997, p. 22). Postmemory describes a 'space of remembrance' where the person who remembers is positioned in 'a spatiotemporal exile from a destroyed past that both distances and affirms the existence of the past' (Hirsch, 1997, pp. 22–23; 244–245).

An expanded understanding of postmemory recognises that the rememberer can be anybody who in spite of their separation in time and space, identifies through association, recreation, empathy and imagination with the victims or witnesses of cultural or collective trauma and their representations in 'different media' (Hirsch, 1997, p. 25). Postmemory like all other forms of memory is mediated (Hirsch, 2008). This category can also include persons not necessarily connected to the trauma in any direct familial way. Hirsch could very well been describing Kentridge's work and *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* when she suggests that various media 'can interact to produce a more permeable and multiple text that may recast the problematics' of catastrophic histories to create representations that dissolve 'any clear-cut distinction between documentary and aesthetic' (Hirsch, 1997, p. 25). Kentridge, who has no known kinship ties to the Herero genocide uses postmemory to imagine, document and transmit the memory of the Namibian genocide with his drawing ingenuity. My argument is that Kentridge's oeuvre is an illustration of the ephemerality of memory (Karam, 2014). In *Black Box/ Chambre Noire*, Kentridge's trademark technique of charcoal drawing and partial erasure produces an elegiac platform to remember the Herero genocide, where erasure and invisibilisation epitomises the blurring and repression of the memory of this indelible genocide.

Black Box/ Chambre Noire as performance

Black Box/ Chambre Noire is a multimedia bricolage that depicts the Manichean dual relationship between technological advances in Europe in general and Germany in particular with the colonisation of Africa and specifically Namibia. *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* is at once a performance and piece of sculpture. It combines a looped twenty-two minutes, 35mm film made from fragments and collages of animation and archival documentary film, military decrees, shadow play, music, kinetic sculptural objects, colonial photographs, death rolls (*Totenlisten*), newspapers, projection of historical documents, mechanical puppets, opera, postcards, maps, a vaudeville act, charcoal, coloured pencil, collage on paper and pastel drawings, chimera, ground-plans and still photographs to create a retro feel in the presentation of the Namibian genocide (Kentridge and Villaseñor, 2006).

The performance was inspired by and draws on Mozart's *The Magic Flute* which Theodor W. Adorno famously dubbed as the epitome of opera composition 'in which the utopia of the enlightenment and the pleasure of a light opera comic song precisely coincide as a moment by itself. After *The Magic Flute* it was never again possible to force serious and light music

together' (1938, p. 290). The inclusion of music from *The Magic Flute* in *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* is highly symbolic and often ironic. *The Magic Flute* whose music and themes saturate *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* is a mellifluous opera where a young prince Tamino, attired in hunting garb, is tasked by the Queen of the Night to rescue her daughter Pamina who was kidnapped by the High Priest Sarrastro, the bearer of light. Tamino, the lead character begins his quest convinced by the Queen of the Night and by extension Queen of Darkness and esoteric knowledge, that Sarrastro is an evil despot. Tamino later realises that Sarrastro is a benevolent and charitable being who stands for the ideals of enlightenment: wisdom, knowledge, reason and humanity. Sarrastro seeks to lead the daughter to light who symbolises freedom and reason. Sarrastro's deep aria is contrasted to the high pitched impassioned rage and thirst for vengeance that marks the disempowered Queen of Night, whose aria symbolises captivity (Hagström-Ståhl, 2010, p. 340).

Kentridge spotlights the inherent violence and brutality embedded in *The Magic Flute* as a metaphor for the enlightenment and colonial project. Pamina, who was abducted and kept by force at the Temple of the Sun, is implored to forgive Moor Monostatos after he attempts to rape her. This shows the intricate connection between violence and the ideals of light. Kentridge extends this analogy to the Enlightenment that birthed and justified colonialism and the brutal takeover of the 'dark continent' with 'extraordinary violence' (Kentridge and Villaseñor, 2006, p. 45; 49). Sarrastro, who symbolises light in the opera, has a penchant for coercion and violence to achieve dominance and maintain mastery over others. This leads him to use extreme violence against his slave-servant, imprisoning Pamina and to brutally destroy the Queen of Night. These actions are far removed from and irreconcilable with Sarrastro's words which call for universal fraternity, abstinence from seeking vengeance and retribution. Kentridge makes Sarrastro a metaphor for Europe and Germany. In *Black Box/Chambre Noire* Sarrastro's violence is made analogous to colonial Germany's conduct in Namibia (Hagström-Ståhl, 2010, p. 341). Kentridge suggests that like Sarrastro, Europe's reliance on violence and force meant that colonialism as a utopian enlightenment project could never lead to true emancipation (Kentridge, 2005).

Mozart's opera was designed as a utopian project, while *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* dwells on the failures of the ideas of purity popularised by the Enlightenment age (Hennlich, 2010, p. 191). Kentridge investigates the dialectic of enlightenment as well as the inherent violence in the opera *The Magic Flute.* The opera was first performed in 1791 and Kentridge

recontexualises and resituates it by a hundred years into the late 19th century when 'Enlightenment appeared in the form of the colonisation of Africa' (Kaplan, 2005). Kentridge uses the opera to investigate the conduct and ideas that informed colonialism, modernity, enlightenment and genocide. The performance frames and critiques the systematic partitioning of the African continent at the Berlin Conference of 1884, as an exercise of the Enlightenment project aimed at 'bringing light to what was called the 'Dark continent'' (Kentridge, 2005, p. 49). *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* became a way to investigate the meeting point between the projection, reception and experience of Enlightenment ideals by 'looking at German colonisation in reference to Namibia' (Kaplan, 2005). The intertextual layering of Mozart as a champion of Enlightenment, and the Herero genocide brings into sharp relief the 'shadows' of the 'dark continent' subjected to the brutality of the 'enlightenment' project. Kentridge's interpretation shows that '*The Magic Flute* is about the Enlightenment and its limits and those not eligible for it, like Papageno and Monostatos' (Kaplan, 2005). Kentridge's take on the enlightenment is to invite us to look not only at what the light illuminates, but on the shadows as well to open our frame of reference to the Namibian genocide, as a story that is simultaneous with colonialism.

Kentridge decided to examine the 'traces' of what lies in the metaphoric shadows in this relationship (Ruchatz, 2008, p. 367). *The Magic Flute* led him to engage with the themes of light and darkness. The artist questions the ideals and hold of Enlightenment that foster a euphoric celebration of light, progress and rationality as the sole arbiters of truth. Kentridge follows Victor Stoichita who suggests that 'shadow makes absence present' and uses literal shadows to explore what lies in the shadows of enlightenment (Stoichita, 1997, p. 15;19). The artist traces the fascination with shadows as an aesthetic to an almost universal children's habit of making shadow animal shapes and figures with their hands and bodies. This fascination holds when there is a 'willing suspension of disbelief' of the dialectic that the figures are mere shadows and are not real. *The Magic Flute* became the platform for exploration because Kentridge uses material that is considered iconic in European art and visual culture to remember and 'recategorise' the legacy and key moments of European history and experience (Buikema, 2016, p. 253).

Black Box/ Chambre Noire is a richly textured reflection on German, and later South African colonisation of Namibia. The meditation is centered around the metaphor of and experience of seeing, vision and the construction of knowledge and discourse (Kentridge and Villaseñor, 2006). Kentridge created *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* as a miniature stage maquette in the more than two years he spent preparing to direct and design the sets for *The Magic Flute* opera at the Theatre Royale de Monnaie in Brussels, Belgium. This genesis saw Kentridge creating the show in his experimentation with 'using a 1:10 scale model of the set, working with projections and models of figures on a miniature scale' (Kaplan, 2005). He used this model set as a sculpture, installation and projection site, peopled by two dimensional puppets and pre-cinematic projected animation film (fig.10).

Figure 10. Installation view of Black Box/Chambre Noire, 2005 by William Kentridge

The animated stop motion film was projected onto the inside back blackboard of a large miniature, wooden puppet Baroque Proscenium theatre box, with a front opening that is about three metres wide and high. Five receding flys, canopies and coulisses are placed between the back of the box which serves as the screen and the front to give depth and augment the spectacle. A mechanism of motors and wheels that power the miniature theatre as well as the several tracks used to move puppets from left to right stage wings and back and from the bottom are visible. The mechanics are exposed in a Brechtian manner, leaving the creation of illusion on full display (Buikema, 2016, p. 259). This stage design illustrates how photography creates images of the world by shedding light in a dark room. The staging uses the duality of light and darkness as a metaphor to show the constructedness and contradictions of colonial Eurocentrism in colonial genocides. By making its construction visible, the installation symbolises the constructedness of historical perspectives. In terms of structure *Black Box*/ *Chambre Noire*'s baroque-inspired set can be read as a rejection of the progress and modernity's cult of the new (Buikema, 2016, p. 261).

Black Box/Chambre Noire is an amalgamation of both the film and the total exposition in which the short film is shown. Kentridge uses photographs and other archival documents to reproduce animated drawings. He uses a stage set designed to illustrate the interior of a box camera to chronicle and materialise the multifaceted links between colonial discourse and the ways of picturing the world that accompanied it. Balinese-like puppets combined with Kentridge's signature rough, erased and redrawn charcoal drawings conjure up a child-like simplicity and hallucinatory feel without resorting to any direct straightforward representation of the Herero. What I term here Kentridge's signature or trademark is an ineffable visual and gestural palimpsest aesthetic that the artist has developed and has come to be associated with in a celebrated career spanning over three decades. It is a historical *avant garde* aesthetic that draws on Oskar Schlemmer's Bauhaus stagework, Dadaism, Russian constructivism and surrealist cinema. It is as politically and historically conscious as it is aesthetically experimental.

Kentridge's palimpsest aesthetic is characterised by mostly charcoal drawings and animations where the images constantly metamorphosise, with no easily discernible chronology and fragmented narrative. The animations are made through a diligent process where every drawing is altered and is redrawn by adding minute variations, all the while taking photographs of every frame. Every alteration rests on erasure, which means that as the drawing develops

it is simultaneously erased. Using charcoal as a medium means that every erasure leaves a trace behind. 'Each sequence […] carries within it […] trace of what happened on that sheet of paper' and requires repetitive working through (Tappeiner and Wulf, 1999). Kentridge's palimpsest aesthetic 'functions as a reminder that each temporal moment enacts the loss of other moments, and that each attempt at representation either conceals or gestures toward the unrepresentable' (Hagström-Ståhl, 2010, p. 346). This makes Kentridge's technique not only a rich metaphor or analogy for memory and historical processes but an embodiment and 'watermark in colonial history' of the same (Stoler, 2009, p. 7). To produce a sense of motion in the animations the start-stop photographs are recorded at a film rate of twenty-four frames per second and processing which processes the photographs as a strip of film. Using this technique Kentridge generates an average of 40 to 50 seconds of film from a week's work (Hagström-Ståhl, 2010, p. 346).

Black Box/Chambre Noire Puppet Characters

This section offers a brief description of the characters that make up *Black Box/Chambre Noire*. I will return to them later to examine how the performance remembers the Herero genocide. Kentridge created the characters as Balinese-like puppets or kinetic sculptural objects. The objects are modelled as miniature versions in the minimalist style of Handspring Company puppet figures. The characters are positioned in front of the film screen where they move and interact with the film that is projected over and behind them. Digitally controlled clockwork-like precision makes the miniature theatre function. The rotation wheels and gear levers turn at the precise moments for the kinetic puppets to execute elaborate movements to match the filmed sequences.

The film starts with a sequence titled 'Black Box Overture' and draws on seven 'puppet characters' or 'automata' that move in rows operated from the bottom of the Black Box across the multi-layered and stylised Baroque Proscenium theatre box (Hennlich, 2010, p. 194; 183). One of the characters in the dollhouse-like stage is a megaphone shaped stage puppet who makes an entrance to the sound of drumming. Once the drumming stops we hear the interlude notes to *The Magic Flute*, as if coming from the puppet figure who narrates the show and bears a sign with the word '*Trauerarbeit*' (Mourning work) on its chest. The character can be understood as bearing the task of mourning (Rosenthal, 2009, p. 163). The figure turns the megaphone in different directions like a herald seeking to be heard over a long distance and quavers as if strained from the effort. The Megaphone Man has been described as 'a trumpeter of events to come, a comical but sinister herald of the unfolding disaster […] his sandwich board announc[ing] (or perhaps, more insidiously, advertis[ing]) a call to a personal and

collective grieving' (Law-Viljoen, 2007, p. 166). The Megaphone Man narrator stays onstage and sometimes in the wings throughout the performance and makes periodic appearances like a presiding speaker or cabaret master of ceremony.

The '*Trauerarbeit'* label points to Sigmund Freud who used the concept to suggest that the work of mourning is a difficult but indispensable toil of memory and forgetting (Freud, 1963, p. 165). Kentridge confirms this link in an interview by saying 'I think the term, which is the Freudian term for the work of grief, is in a way saying "what is the work needing to be done?"' (Bøggild Johannsen and Zenth, 2007). This label is repeated on the exhibition walls which inform audiences who take the time to read the curatorial statement and or other informational texts that state that 'In engaging issues of trauma and its aftermath Kentridge explores the Freudian concept of '*Trauerarbeit*' or grief work, a labour which is ongoing and which dovetails with the artist's unrelenting and self-reflexive examination of the process of making meaning' (Villaseñor, 2005). This Freudian notion positions the performance as a melancholic reading of colonial history as an Enlightenment project and the Namibian genocide in particular (Hennlich, 2010, p. 183). The exhibition invites audiences who might be or think of themselves as removed from the Herero genocide to undertake the work of mourning for the lives lost in Namibia through postmemory. This is achieved by setting up a dialectical relationship between the history and the present in a manner that encourages audiences to reflect on the contemporary continuities in the thinking that led to and was used to justify violence.

The second puppet character is a transparent figure, made from a spring and a piece of transparent gauze. It is marked by an emblematic head scarf as a Herero woman. The character has three articulated joints. As the figure glides onto the stage, it bends its body forward sixty degrees, before returning to a proud upright posture in an excruciatingly slow pace, before arching backwards and tilting the head so low that it looks like the back will break. A mechanical running man made from a paper cut out is the third character. The running man runs frantically on the same spot as if he is being chased by the projected dazzling whirlwind of images showing racial violence, imperial exploitation and big game hunting. The fourth character is a pair of dividers that serves as measuring arm and measures skulls as well as geography. The figure is a tripod which morphs into a theodolite to survey the land and waves the arms like a maniac as it shuttles across the stage before turning into a praying mantis and a swastika.

The praying mantis has a recurring role and reappears as it transforms into gallows and mining equipment. The praying mantis is a biological automation and a provocative metaphor for the colonial enterprise. This is because the praying mantis has spiritual significance to the Herero people. In addition, its movements have a mechanical precision quality which technology apes and can be executed when the head and brain have been removed. This makes it an apt metaphor for any movements executed without consciousness or enlightenment's incessant drive towards mechanical precision as a mark of progress. The fifth character is an exploding skull that makes a cameo appearance. The sixth character is a second Herero woman that Kentridge modelled after a 1905 German-made postal scale. The scale is similar to the ones used during and after the genocide to weigh letters and spread material and immaterial exchanges inside Namibia and internationally. The last character is a coffee pot that makes cameo appearances. The pot is part of a sequence where skulls morph into skulls and the skulls replace a globe. This sequence can be understood as suggesting that the skulls used for eugenics and craniology experiments are not simply material objects but constitute a worldview (Hennlich, 2010, p. 225) (I write more about eugenics in Chapter Four).

In the next section I provide a fragmented scenography outline of how *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* is set up. I do this to bring attention to how the performance exhibition uses form and juxtaposition to remember the Namibian genocide. I also offer a brief outline of how the exhibition funders in their institutional capacity are implicated and were complicit in the conduct of the Kaiser's and Nazi genocide, before detailing the exhibition's musical score.

Interweaving history, charcoal and performance

History

Black Box/ Chambre Noire is a collaboratively commissioned project by the Deutsche Bank and the Solomon Guggenheim Foundation in Berlin. There are complex historical, cultural, geographical and political ties between the funders and the material investigated in the performance. The most obvious being that the two firms are German entities. Deutsche Bank in now an international institution that was established in 1870 to cater for foreign trade. Deutsche Bank is one of the banks that financed the Kaiser's colonisation, war and genocide in Namibia (Bracht, 2015, p. 35; Grofe, 2002). In 2001, the bank was named and sued along with Orenstein and Kuppel, Deutsche-Afrika-Linien and the German government as one of the entities that profited from the Namibian genocide in an unsuccessful legal challenge lodged in the United States of America courts by Herero and Nama descendants of the genocide victims

(HPRC, 2001). A second new class action is currently is underway in New York (Huggler, 2017).

In 1998, researchers made Deutsche Bank's business links to the Nazi establishment public. Among other notorierities the institution bankrolled the building of Auschwitz concentration camp and held accounts for *Die Schutzstaffel* (SS). Deutsche Bank provided the loans that built the IG Farben chemical factory adjacent to Auschwitz which serviced the military needs of the camp including the production of the infamous Zyklon B.17 used to gas prisoners (Guerin, 2011, p. 238). The bank also bought property seized from Nazi victims including gold, jewellery and other precious stones (Harold, 2001). When Kentridge was given an unconditional commission as part of a programme of rolling temporary exhibition series at the Deutsche Bank Under den Linden ground floor gallery he independently decided to investigate this history. In *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* Kentridge alludes to this history through an image of a shower which evokes memories of Nazi gas chambers. This connection becomes more poignant given the artist's own heritage as a third-generation descendant of Jewish immigrants who fled Nazi Europe to seek refuge in South Africa. Despite this apparent association Kentridge claims that the performance was inspired more by his appreciation of classical music and Mozart which he acquired from his parents, to whom he dedicated the production. Secondly Kentridge attributes the impulse to create *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* to the work he was doing in preparing to direct and design *The Magic Flute* when he was awarded the commission. This meditation on *The Magic Flute* led to an interest in 19th century Enlightenment discourses (Hennlich, 2010, p. 187). Enlightenment provides the through-line that links and summons not only the history of the commissioning companies, but the national, military, cultural, trade and scientific histories of contact between Namibia and German.

In terms of form, staging the performance exhibition at the Deutsche Bank Under den Linden ground floor gallery and in museums was highly symbolic and recognises that 'Museums not only collect and store fragments of culture: they themselves are part of culture…; a special zone where living culture dies and dead culture springs to life' (Durrans, 1993, p. 125). Museums as cultural sites 'endow objects with importance because they are seen as representing some form of cultural value, perhaps an unusual association, a geographical location, or a distinct type of society' (Lidchi, 1997, p. 168). The museum as an 'exhibitionary complex' foregrounds and embodies Enlightenment's elevation of the eye and the gaze as the primary and empirical way of engaging with the world (Bennett, 1988, p. 73). This eye centered

approach to existence is at the heart of Eurocentricism and goes as far back as Aristotle's dictum that 'of all the senses sight best helps us to know things and reveals many distinctions' (1980, p. 1933) and to Plato who describes sight as the 'eye of the soul' and the 'light of reason' (2008, p. 173). This worldview coupled with the enlightenment impulse to collect, accumulate and display the exotic inspired the development and enduring popularity of the cabinet of curiosities, the trophy room, the natural history museum, the zoo and the royal menageries (Hennlich, 2010, p. 215).

Charcoal

Kentridge uses charcoal to underline the dehumanisation that results from enlightenment and modernity's obsession with creating lists, to name, quantify and rationalise human experience (Guerin, 2011, p. 243). Fixed on the exhibition walls and the floor were the framed negative palimpsest charcoal drawings used to project the film and informative text about the genocide. The drawings on display on the walls used found texts as canvass. Re-drawn archival patchments were displayed in the exhibition alongside the animation film made from the drawings. The charcoal drawings were scribbled over colonial era documents like a 1911 handwritten student lecture notebook on German law, an Italian ledger book of circa 1920, lists of mines and shares, a text on the relative value of gold coins, a vintage Johannesburg street map of circa 1940 (Buikema, 2016, p. 257). Other charcoal drawings were done over copies of indices from French scientific notes, a 1910 edition of the British text *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management*, *Universale Tariffa* of circa 1833, *Chamber's Encyclopedia* of 1950, *Introduction to Telephony* textbook of 1934 (Buikema, 2016, p. 257). A 1924 copy of *Cyclopedia of Drawing* was also used as canvass for the charcoal drawings shown on the walls and in the animation film. Some drawings were even created over copies of advertisements featured in the German satirical journal *Simplicissimus*, Baedecker travel guide to Italy of circa 1900 and on Georg Hartman's map of South West Africa of 1904 (Buikema, 2016, p. 257).

In the animated film the newspapers and advertisements are later consumed by flames. This approach serves to highlight the sinister link between colonial violence and commercial interest and profits. Copies of 1911 private correspondence from German South West Africa, photocopies of General Von Trotha's 1904 extermination order against the Hereros, *Index and Gazetteer of the World*, *Stieler's Handatlas*, No. 59 of 1906 and Statistics of Revenues and Debts of the Component States were also incorporated as canvas for the charcoal drawings

(Buikema, 2016, p. 257). Kentridge's charcoal drawings are superimposed on the colonial pages to reinforce how narratives of violence are erased in the Enlightenment and colonialism discourses. One framed document exhibits the infamous Von Trotha extermination order (cited at length in Chapter One) (Olusoga and Erichsen, 2010, p. 139). Its display in *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* has geopolitical significance since this text as written 'trace' of genocide intent is fundamental to the Herero claim for recognition and in the face of denial and erasure of the Namibian genocide (Ruchatz, 2008, p. 367).

Black Box/ Chambre Noire brings the question of perspective and representation to the fore of engagement. Kentridge continually reworks the drawings, subjects them to erasure but leaves the traces of reuse visible in the final exhibited images. The artist's signature technique materialises and makes the presence of the past in the present visible (Buikema, 2016, p. 257). This approach which foregrounds plurality and symbolises that history 'is always on the verge of disappearing, without disappearing. The possibility of history is bound to the survival of the traces of what is past and to our ability to read these traces as traces' (Cadava, 1997, p. 64). A sense of disillusionment that comes with seeing the reversed images underlines the importance and power of perspective in how one makes sense of the genocide events. Watching 'negative' framed original charcoal drawings in this exposition evokes photography and produces a startling, dystopian feel by reversing the familiar. This highlights the sense of the exhibition room being a darkroom or the inside of a camera, the *Chambre Noire* where photographic images are developed. The exhibition materialises and performs the 'notion of negativity' by displaying 'the colour inversed projections of black-and-white images, including a map of Windhoek and a photocopy of Von Trotha's extermination order against the Herero' (Hagström-Ståhl, 2010, p. 351). In the exhibition, Von Trotha's order is presented on a black background while the text is written in blinding white typewriter font: a performative take on enlightenment across the 'Dark Continent'.

Juxtapositioning the animated film, the black box as a sculptural installation in the exhibition enables audiences, who so chose, to walk about, stand, sit and engage with the form and content from any and many angles before or after watching the film. Kentridge inverts archival sources signified by *The Magic Flute*, maps, modern technological machinery, newspapers, Nazi emblems and big game hunting, to trace, highlight and complicate the omission and curtailing of Herero viewpoints on the genocide in the archive. For Kentridge this omission persists not only in Germany and across Europe but in postcolonial Namibia as well, including

at sites of memory like Waterberg. In the exhibition charcoal visuals surround the puppet theatre and serve to not only inform and educate about the Herero genocide, but can be understood as an invitation to engage and reckon with underreported history. If we take the second aviation meaning of the phrase Black Box, we could say the exhibition captures the flight route and information. The puppet theatre and its relational position means that the performance is a watermark we can use to find the traces and fragments of what lurks in the colonial archive and memory.

Using found texts in *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* produces layered and richly textured images which serve multiple artistic and postcolonial epistemic ends. Kentridge's palimpsest technique in *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* leads to a re-iterative treatment of history. In an era where the acknowledgement of the Herero genocide is disputed, stalled and delayed Kentridge's technique as a stylistic trope symbolises a rejection of Enlightenment discourses which cast Africa as *terra nullius* (land without owners) and *tabula rasa* (blank slate) upon which colonial imperialists could plunder, dispossess and annihilate in the name of progress (Madley, 2004, p. 168). The notion of *tabula rasa* was essential for the colonial project as it 'asserted that indigenous people should be removed and that these people had no or minimal moral claim to the land. If white settlers saw no European-style agriculture or Western trappings of civilisation, they often deemed an area "empty" to rationalise conquest and settlement' (Madley, 2004, p. 168). The notion of Africa as a *tabula rasa* was constructed and shaped by enlightenment racism. This was coupled with a dangerous mix of Darwinian and ethnocentrism to create the idea of the primitive and to cast the non-European other as this primitive. Enlightenment anthropology fostered the idea of the primitive by denying the 'coevalness' or the temporal homogeneity of all civilisations. This Darwinian 'allochronism' imagined that non Europeans and particularly Africans occupied an other, earlier time (Fabian, 2002).

The Herero genocide along with other frontier genocides of indigenous populations show how 'by claiming that so-called "primitive" people and cultures are fated to vanish when they come into contact with white settlers, a deadly supposition emerges: the extinction of indigenous people is inevitable and thus killing speeds destiny' (Madley, 2004, p. 168). *Black Box*/*Chambre Noire* shows how these enlightenment absurdities became instruments of power that shored up 'the lie of empty land and the myth of inevitability helped perpetrators disguise, accept, or rationalise genocide and transfer responsibility to impersonal forces'

(Madley, 2004, p. 169). As late as 1906 German defenders and advocates for the Namibian genocide like Captain Maximilian Bayer were arguing that 'Our Lord has made the law of nature such that only the strong of the world have a right to continuity, while the weak and purposeless will perish in favour of the strong'. He added that 'the day will come when the Hottentots [Herero and Nama] will disappear, but it will not be a loss for humanity because they are all only born robbers and thieves, nothing more' (Bayer, 1906, p.11 cited by Madley, 2005, p. 436). Darwinian calls for genocide were complemented by some who used the economy to justify exterminating Africans. For instance, in 1907 Paul Rohrbach, a colonial bureaucrat argued that 'From the point of view of the economy of the country, the Hottentots [Herero and Nama] are generally regarded, in the wider sense, as useless, and in this respect, provide no justification for the preservation of this race' (Rohrbach, 1907, p. 349 cited by Goldblatt, 1971, p. 147).

Music

The imagery in *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* is accompanied by a continuous music-score composed by Philip Miller. The score weaves traditional Namibian bow music like Herero *outjina* (praise, lament and dirges music) and fragments of the 1937 rendition of Mozart's *The Magic Flute;* Sarastro's aria '*In diesen heil'gen Hallen*'; fragments from the Queen of the Night's aria '*Der Hölle Rache*'; Pamina's aria '*Ach ich fühl's, es ist verschwunden*' as well as the exchange between Papageno and Monastatos. These are extracts from the Berlin State Opera Orchestra conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham (Hennlich, 2010, p. 191). This rendition is historically and politically potent since the recording was made during a live performance that was played for and attended by all Nazi elites. Hearing the Nazis' rapturous applause in the recording that calls for no vengeance by a group of people assembled to plot how to unleash one of the worst reigns of violence and terror ever accomplished is unnerving (Buikema, 2016, p. 252).

Miller's musical arrangement for the performance is an experimental, cross-genre improvisation and construction of sound in a manner that mirrors Kentridge's multi-media and multi-genre fusion. Miller's music for the performance exhibition sounds minimalist and relies on two or three chords which are repeated to establish evocative patterns and motifs. The music establishes a running narrative-like flow which complements the rapid image changes by building up brief energetic bursts before subsiding and building up again. The short soundscapes were created using human voices, the acoustic bass, cello, euphonium and

trombone instruments. *The Magic Flute*'s status as a European icon set in an imaginary exotic Egypt makes it an ideal archetype upon which Kentridge constructs *Black Box/ Chambre Noire*. This enables Kentridge to recall and re-member the Herero genocide by fusing *The Magic Flute*'s music with colonial history. Aurally in the musical overlay, Namibian music is not only merged with but is drowned by music from *The Magic Flute,* symbolising colonial German domination and resistance in the soundscape and landscape. This musical imbalance reiterates Said's observations on Verdi's *Aida* (1871) that the operatic genre and repertoire represents one of imperial Europe's fundamental instruments of knowledge and domination over those it deems as the 'Oriental' other (1993, p. 115).

Visual Archiving: Memory and images

This section shifts away from form to content analysis by using selected scenes from the animated film to discuss the exhibition's genocide content in greater detail. I hope to capture and convey the tone, symbolism and texture of Kentridge's aesthetic and deliberate on how the exhibition uses image, form and content to create and foster Herero genocide postmemory remembering. *Black Box/ Chambre Noire,* like *Exhibit B* discussed in Chapter Four incorporates and reproduces 19th century anthropological and racial hygiene scientific images that underpinned the Enlightenment era. Kentridge draws upon metaphor and association as well as an archive of colonial images. The archive includes images of Herero skulls, prisoners in neck and leg chains. The colonial images are used to create drawings that remind audiences of the cranial measurements, bogus empiricism and racism that characterised the Namibian genocide and scientific discourse.

The performance visualises the mechanical and technological aspirations of the Enlightenment era. Through form and content *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* complicates the Enlightenment narrative of progress and offers audiences the possibility to consider simultaneous and different perspectives on history. Kentridge explores three related themes in German colonial and Nazi violence. The first is brutality as an instrument of imperial conquest, second is the scientific and knowledge discourse that motivated and justified the violence, and thirdly the racism that defined some people as less human than others. All three permeated the colonial sciences and were carried over into the Nazi era and were used to legitimate torture and genocide.

Black Box/ Chambre Noire is made up of thirteen separate fragment acts, which document or recall various symbolic or historic encounters between Europe and Namibia. The performance exhibition embraces and embodies a postmodern multiplicity of perspectives through its form and content. The available perspectives are further multiplied by presenting the same material across a spectrum of media, from photographs, drawings, animation to sculpture. Kentridge fuses the stock images from the Herero war and genocide with European iconography (Buikema, 2016, p. 257). The performance's images have currency as singular images as we witness in the framed exhibition pictures and become charged with even more symbolism and affective power in the animated film series due to their juxtapositioning. Their film placement puts them on a visual continuum that can be read for meaning and associations. This is done by making it possible for audiences to not only learn more about the Herero genocide, but to witness how the film they will (or just) watched was made, or at least how some of the components that make up segments of the film were composed.

The first running theme that Kentridge explores in the exhibition is the technology-animality duality and its destructive potential. This contrasts with the colonial world exhibitions which showed reverence for technology and its utility in the enlightenment project. The opening scene shows Kentridge's charcoal drawing of a pair of dividers. This image transforms into an image of a Herero woman before turning into a praying mantis. An animated antique typewriter marks the film's second scene. The typewriter automatically writes the word 'Herero' before transforming into an African rhinoceros. The typewriter symbolises the place of technology and machines in shaping human relationships in the second-wave of industrialisation. The sequence highlights the place of technological advances that were contemporaneous with and possibly spurred on the Namibian genocide. Due to its relative light weight and portability the typewriter represented significant 'progress' from Johannes Gutenberg's printing press. The typewriter revolutionised colonial administration, bureaucratic record making and keeping. It assumes a sinister character when one contemplates on how the same technology was possibly used to craft Von Trotha's extermination order ordering the wholesome slaughter of people, including non-combatants like the Herero woman from the first scene.

Kentridge extends the technology-animality duality through toying with the notion of '*L'homme Machine'* (man a machine) in several scenes in *Black Box/ Chambre Noire*. This theme is vividly captured in a scene where the animated film depicts two men beating each other and or a third to death, before turning into oil rigs. Charcoal images of the dividers first seen in the opening scene morph into executioners, noose, guns and Nazi swastika, globes turn into

skulls that explode like bombs, as the Herero woman turns into a praying mantis. The ever-transforming charcoal drawings can be said to materialise and perform Herero genocide memory and forgetting. Kentridge's juxtapositioning and transformations produce a Brecht-like *Verfremdungseffekt* which disturbs the stability of all tokens of rationality through repeated cyclical explosions and restoration. This could be read as a pointer to the blind spots and gaps in unitary perspectives. Kentridge makes effective use of juxtapositioning to create an exhibition that is multilayered, textured and evocative. The exhibition uses archival data like maps, death rolls, sites of colonial memory which are introduced in performance through title headings like *Waterberg*, *Windhuk*, *Berlin*, *Houghton* (a Johannesburg surburb where Kentridge lives), *Wüste* (desert), *Wenig Vegetation* (little vegetation), *Walfisch Bai* (Walfisch Bay) and *Deutsch-Sudwest Africa* (present day Namibia) to suggest different geographies where the depicted scenes occurred.

The imperialist nature of enlightenment is symbolised by a pair of binoculars, archival photos of chained emaciated Herero men, wild animals and the landscape in a sequence tagged '*Welt-Detektiv*' (World Detective). Placed in performance the binoculars symbolise opera glasses and the surveillance employed in war and hunting (Law-Viljoen, 2007, p. 60). The placement symbolises the double edges of technology in colonialism and genocide. In this sense binoculars become an instrument that facilitates the enjoyment of opera, like *The Magic Flute*-the hallmark of German high culture and simultaneously the instrument that facilitated extreme violence in the colony through enhanced surveillance. Using an instrument designed in 1861 to see and survey over space ties the gaze to the imperial enterprise and positions the viewer into the position of witness of contemporaneous events in their immediate locale and across distances. Furthermore, the binoculars serve as a metaphor for perception in that to be effective, the user must pick and select an object and focus the lenses into a planer arrangement. The fact that the planer view can only exist in two dimensions symbolises that like history, other dimensions are consciously effaced for the media to work. This serves as a metaphor for the obscurity to which the Herero genocide is relegated by those who chose to not focus their gaze on it. Through *Black Box/ Chambre Noire,* Kentridge highlights that other perspectives lurk in the shadows of what enlightenment and Eurocentric history presents as the complete picture.

One of the most moving scenes in *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* is a brutal and shocking encounter between the rhinoceros and the Megaphone man. This segment uses documentary film footage fragments from the colonial propaganda film *Nashornjagd in Deutsch Ostafrika* (*Rhinoceros Hunting in Africa*). The footage shows a 1911-1912 hunt of a now extinct twin horned African White rhinoceros in the former German colony by Robert Schumann, an

adventurer and big game hunter (Buikema, 2016, p. 264). The segment begins with footage of vast unoccupied African panorama that Kentridge shot in 2004 at Waterberg, Namibia. The footage shows a lush landscape, which belies its violent past as the site of the last Herero-German battle, which ended in one of the worst massacres of the war.

In the performance exhibition the Herero woman puppet struts in front of this image moving to the sound of Herero traditional music. This image dissolves into a scene showing two European men dressed in khakis and pith helmets who come across as amateur big-game hunters on safari. The hunters stalk and shoot down a female rhinoceros at near point blank range to the sound of Sarrastro's deep, tranquil vocals in aria '*In diesen heil'gen Hallen*' sung by the Megaphone Man as the mortally wounded animal bleeds, jerks and thrusts violently in pain (Buikema, 2016, p. 265).

The dying animal's spasms are made even more convulsive by the old footage's jumpy quality. The hunter walks up to the animal gingerly to check if it is dead and then sprints back. A second shot is fired and the animal finally dies. The hunters gleefully shake hands in a celebratory and congratulatory manner over the rhinoceros' dead body and pose before the camera with the carcass (Buikema, 2016, p. 340). A close-up on the rhinoceros' head shows one hunter inserting a tree branch with leaves into the animal's mouth. The scene closes with an image of several African men assisting the two European hunters to prepare the carcass. The scene fades away as the African men lift the animal's leg while the European men indicate the point where the leg should be cut, mostly likely to create a hunting trophy. Hacking the animal's body to create and collect a trophy serves as a demonstration and documentation of domination. The juxtapositioning of this scene with the Herero woman seems to symbolise the dismembering of Herero and Nama bodies to satisfy exotic curiosities and racist colonial science like craniology and eugenics.

This brutal scene is accompanied by Sarastro's aria from Mozart's *The Magic Flute*. This ironically pairs the brutality of the hunt with an aria where Sarrastro proclaims '*wen solchen Lehren nicht erfreuen, verdient nicht ein Mensch zu sein'* (who does not rejoice by such teachings or lessons does not deserve to be human). This violence is ironically presented with colonialism presented as the triumph of light over darkness, the disappearance of hate and feelings of revenge and the love from human to human (Buikema, 2016, p. 265). Such sound

and image juxtapositioning is disconcerting and serves as a Brechtian *Verfremdungseffekt* device. The rhinoceros dies while the music declares 'In these holy halls, there is no vengeance taken. There is only benevolence and goodness' 'within these hallowed walls,/ Where human loves the human,/ No traitor can lurk,/ Because one forgives the enemy' (Schikaneder et al., 1956, p. 39). This musical commentary is bitterly ironic, unsettling and augments a profound sense of tragedy and loss. The words of the music are doubly ironic in that they came from an acclaimed recording in 1937 Berlin caught up in the midst of Nazi frenzy. The recording reminds us of the Nazi convention where the 'final solution' was ratified by the same delegates who loudly applaud an aria to peace. This disconnect captures the 'gap between the words and the authoritarianism that goes with it' that Kentridge considers as the paradox of the Enlightenment era (Haagsma, 2012).

This gruesome scene evokes several references. Firstly, the scene calls to mind George Orwell's rousing anti-colonial essay *Shooting an Elephant* (1936). The violent death of the rhinoceros through wanton killing amplifies the contrasts in the words, deeds and ideals of Enlightenment. The continued contemporary relevance of these historical events as 'traces' and 'watermarks of colonial history' is accentuated and symbolised by the German newspaper headlines employed in the film (Stoler, 2009, p. 7). The newspaper headlines work because of the association we often make between newspaper headlines with breaking news. The headlines are projected in negative on the miniature theatre construction to emphasise their status as postmemory and as a matter of perspective.

One scene flashes the words '*Nobel's Dynamit*' before creating an explosion. This scene symbolises Alfred Bernhard Nobel's 1867 dynamite discovery. The invention of dynamite embodies the duality of utility and destruction in technology since dynamite has revolutionised not only industry but warfare as well. In another scene an antique tripod mounted camera creates a blinding flash, paralleling the dynamite explosion. This scene could be understood as a reference that suggests that both the camera and dynamite as forms and instruments of the enlightenment age are equally and simultaneously instruments of aggression. These flashes merge Kentridge's drawings and the found material that is included in the film in a manner that visualises the constructedness of the film by highlighting the politics and mechanisms of representation (Hagström-Ståhl, 2010, p. 350).

In calling the exhibition *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* Kentridge signals the centrality of the camera and photographs in the performance. This serves to highlight the centrality of the camera to the colonial enterprise. By the late 19th Century the camera became among other things a symbol of domination in the colonisation of Africa. The technology was used by imperial forces to demonstrate the absence of European style settlements as evidence that the 'exotic' land was *terra nullus* to be appropriated. Colonial and anthropological imagery was used to make positivist knowledge claims of dominion over the land, animals and resources. These claims were extended to 'primitive' Herero people living on the land in need of 'civilisation'. The production of films like *Nashornjagd in Deutsch Ostafrika* (*Rhinoceros Hunting in Africa*) and their wide dissemination as colonial propaganda echoes the conduct of colonial officers and scientists' incessant production images and representations that immortalise colonial violence (Hillebrecht, 2008, p. 152).

In the rhinoceros hunt film clip the gun and the camera are metaphorically paired by association. The scene shows the shooting of the rhino while the camera shoots the shooting. The hunt can be understood as an oblique reference and critique of the Herero genocide. The rhino symbolically stands in for the Herero victims named on the death roll included in the sequence. The violence that marks the Herero genocide make Sarastro's claim that 'the human loves the human' coldly ironical (Schikaneder et al., 1956, p. 39). The camera-gun dyad in the scene calls to mind Susan Sontag's observations on photography that 'One situation where people are switching from bullets to film is the photographic safari that is replacing the gun on safari in East Africa. The hunters have Hasselblads instead of Winchesters; instead of looking through a telescopic sight to aim a rifle… Guns have metamorphosed into cameras in this earnest comedy' (Sontag, 1973, p. 15). The dyad continues at a technological level where celluloid photography which enabled cameras to capture images in the wild, was developed from innovations in gun cartridges (Landau, 1998, p. 151). In *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* and according to Sontag; the connection between the gun and the camera casts both as instruments of savagery, terror, domination and control (Sontag, 1973).

Kentridge converges temporalities by linking and juxtapositioning the Namibian genocide with the Nazi genocide. Like *Exhibit B* in Chapter Four, *Black Box*/ *Chambre Noire* establishes a contested connection between the legacies of violence between the Kaiser and the Nazi genocide. The debate over this connection revolves around the contention that German aggression in Eastern Europe in the quest for *Lebensraum* (living space) and or the Nazi genocide can be understood better, or at least in part by zooming out to establish continuities

from colonial and imperial praxis in places like Namibia. This continuity link has been dubbed the 'From Africa to Auschwitz' theory (Madley, 2005). It was first articulated by Hannah Arendt (1951) who linked colonialism to anti-Semitism and by Aimé Césaire (1955). This approach has recently been termed 'the colonial turn in Holocaust studies' (Rothberg, 2009, p. 101). The connection is disputed by scholars who are against comparative historical analysis. They argue that conflating German's colonial conduct in Namibia and brutality unleashed in other colonies like the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion in China (where Von Trotha gained notoriety for his annihilation tactics through) Cameroon to Germany's Second World War conduct casts 'a culture of perpetratorship' that essentialises German national identity while glossing over the specifics of each context (Hagström-Ståhl, 2010, p. 349). The 'continuity' thesis is further opposed by some Holocaust studies scholars who frame Nazi politics and genocide as a singular incomparable evil calamity (Buikema, 2016, p. 253).

In *Black Box*/ *Chambre Noire* the rhinoceros hunt scene is followed by scenes that display an almost childlike wishful impulse for magical solutions to avert danger with the rhino emerging from a charcoal drawing of an eagle, which symbolises German Nationalism. Kentridge makes a covert link between the Herero and Nazi genocide by cutting from the image of the eagle to vulture and to a shower-head. Another image sequence in the animation film repeats the association by showing a lamp stand transform into a showerhead. The showerhead releases streams of water or possibly gas in a reference that evokes Nazi concentration camp gas chambers. In a quick dissolve this image turns into a scene at the gallows and we see two African bodies lynched and hung by the neck from a tree at Waterberg (fig.11).

This superimposition can be understood as linking the murders committed by the Kaiser Wilheim II establishment and the Nazis regime. The images are accompanied by word titles that spin into and out of the screen like *Zwischen den Rassen* (Between the Races) which call to mind Eugenics and other racial hygiene sciences. A title mast with the word *Vernunft* (Reason) flashes across the screen echoing Enlightenment's rabid celebration of rationality. Another mast with the word *Totenlisten* (Lists of the dead) is flighted in the film (fig.12). This references the bureaucratisation of murder in concentration camps like Shark Island, Namibia and Nazi concentration camps where registers with biographical details of genocide victims were compiled. The scene fades to the Herero puppet woman singing a *outjina* (lament tune). The soulful tune was created by Alfred Makgalemele who sings over *The March of the Priests* from *The Magic Flute* (Guarracino, 2010, p. 276).

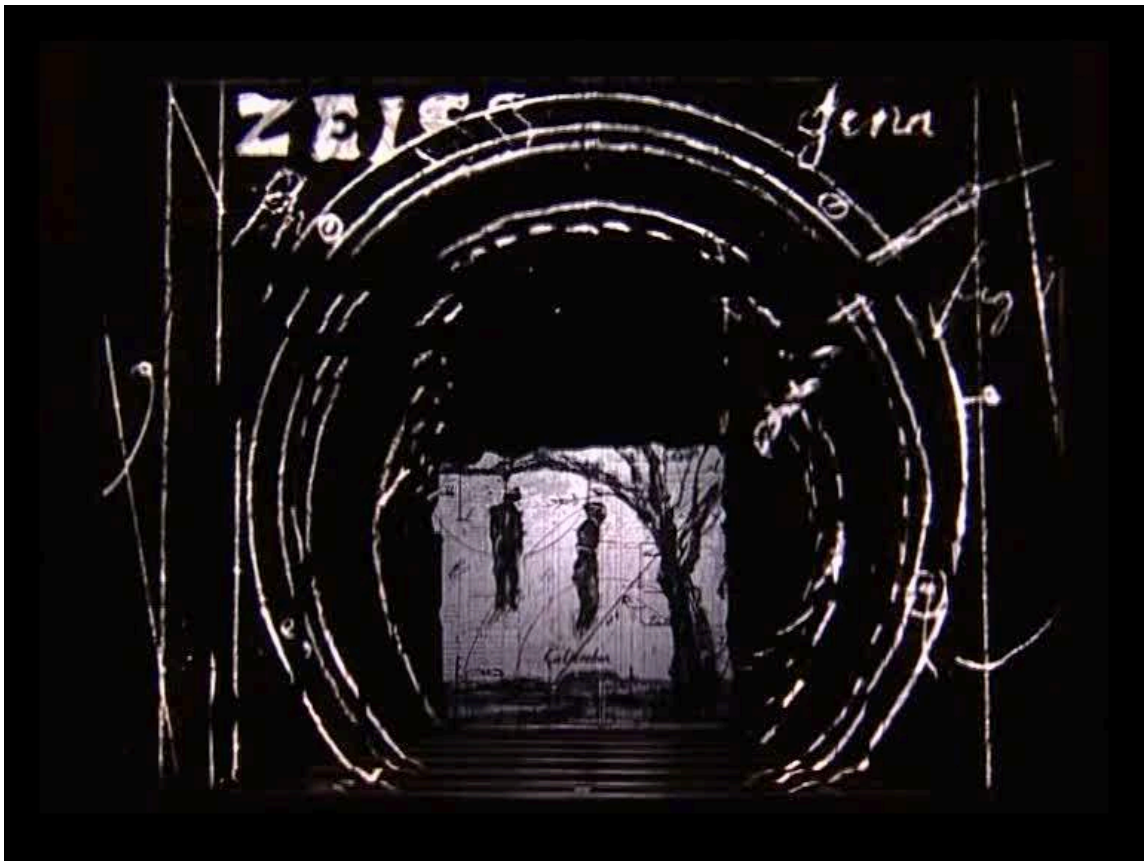

Figure 11. Illustration from a photograph of two Africans lynched and hung by the neck from a tree at Waterberg

Figure 12. Totenlisten (Lists of the dead): the bureaucratisation of murder in Namibian concentration camps

Photography and remembrance

Colonial images as traces of memory are pervasive in their presence in the Kentridge's exhibition and bodywork. In this section I reflect on the place of photography and the ethics of using colonial photography in fostering postmemory in *Black Box/ Chambre Noire.* The reflection stems from the observation that all the images that survive from the 1904-1908 war and genocide in colonial Namibia are to the best of my knowledge, images that were taken by and for German officers and Europeans for European audiences. This historical circumstance results in a lack of diversity in the visual representation of events. The bulk of existent images show the perpetrators and missionary view of the victims and survivors (fig.13).

Figure 13. Herero genocide survivors who escaped through the desert

The images were framed and embody remembering by colonial German agents and nationals. Writing on Auschwitz, James E. Young terms similarly constituted photographs 'images of death' (2000, p. 133) dubbing them 'the leftovers of a process of annihilation…the collected debris of a destroyed civilisation' (2000, p. 132). Some of the images were taken to legitimate and bolster support for the war effort. To achieve this 'the Herero appear in the photo documents collected here as a conquered people at the mercy of a pitiless German colonial power. Here again the impression of a Herero society destroyed to its very foundations is reinforced' (Zeller, 2008, p. 79). The images captured by colonial German agents and shown in *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* show that the camera and the photographs became a means to imagine and capture Africa and Africans as exotic spectacle and 'other'.

Reproducing these and similar images that we now accept were created in unequal colonial power dynamics and in an inhumane and unethical manner has been subject of much debate. At the risk of setting up a binary, two main contrasting positions emerge. On one hand are those who argue that the continued use of these images is unjust and insults the memory of victims by reproducing their objectification and sub-human presentation at the hands of their killers. Such calls have led to some writers who work on and with such images to limit or eliminate the usage and reproduction of such images in their work.

While a plausible case can be made on the grounds of enhanced ethical sensibility to curtail the dissemination of these images, a blanket ban on using these images could lead to and aid genocide memory erasure which inevitably aids genocide denial. For this reason, I lean more towards the second school of thought which is cognisant of the voyeuristic potential of reproducing these images but acknowledges that there is substantial academic merit in using these images, especially in the case of the Herero genocide where amnesia and denial is widespread (Erichsen, 2008, p. 86, 2005, p. 83; Hayes et al., 2002, p. 102; Zeller, 2004, p. 318). This is a position shared by Herero and Nama genocide committees and allies who frequently incorporate colonial era images in their lobbying and commemoration activities.

The scale and nature of images which immortalise various atrocities which marked the Herero genocide makes it probable that colonial officers delighted in the then new technology. The canonical images that are prefigured in *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* include images of Herero skulls, lynching and uniformed German forces with swords chasing naked unarmed African bodies. The Herero skulls are animated to transform into a globe and a measuring instrument (fig. 14). The skulls as globe could be read as an allegory of enlightenment's valorisation of rationality as a way of structuring and understanding the world through colonial sciences.

The skulls and the measuring instruments mimic a fascist salute while engaged in universal carthography (fig.15). Their inclusion in the animation film reference the racism that framed violence and murder as medical and pedagogical enterprises in the practice of eugenics, phrenology and craniology studies that marked the Herero genocide. The visual and the material objects like bones and human remains from the Herero genocide were treated as war trophies, scientific data and propaganda to shore up European sensibilities of domination. The visual images of genocide brutality covered the pages of scrapbooks and colonial records while skulls filled up trophy cabinets and scientific collections. To put it differently, the visual images and the material objects became media to imagine the exotic other.

Figure 14. William Kentridge, film stills from Black Box/Chambre Noir (2005)

Figure 15. William Kentridge, film still from Black Box/Chambre Noir (2005)

Existent images suggest that 'the exhibitionary complex' was pervasive during the Herero genocide war photography (Bennett, 1988, p. 73). This is evident in the photographing and display of photographs which show full frontal views of the dead and the dying, from lynched

men hanging on trees at Waterberg, to men in shackles and chains, to decapitated heads. The camerapersons consistently captured the brutalities inflected on the exoticised non-European other in a manner which was considered unacceptable in the display of fellow Germans and or fellow Europeans who were considered as being alike the photographers. The images in *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* capture not only the wickedness of colonial racism and enlightenment discourses but more disturbingly the 'shamelessness of photographing' such brutality which is intrinsic to the perpetration' (Sontag, 2003, p. 91).

I suggest that colonial imagery captured not only the subjects in front of the camera but the sensibilities of the people behind the camera as well. As Sontag reminds us 'To photograph is to appropriate the things photographed. It means putting oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge – and, therefore, like power' (Sontag, 1973, p. 4). It is instructive that in most scrapbooks and memoirs written by returning German servicemen, who included photographs from the war and subsequence genocide, images of German mortality and injury are largely absent. In contrast to the images of Herero casualties, German colonial troops wounds and deaths were not publicly depicted. Instead colonial troops were depicted with urgency and courage, often in military formations, on horseback, camelback, negotiating large military artillery and canons across the landscape (Zeller, 2004, pp. 311–312; 316). This mode of display 'inherits the centuries-old practice of exhibiting [the] exotic that is, colonised-human beings: Africans and denizens of remote Asian countries were displayed like zoo animals in ethnological exhibitions mounted in London, Paris, [Ghent, Berlin] and other European capitals from the sixteenth until the early twentieth century' (Sontag, 2003, p. 72).

Kentridge selected genocide images that evidence and capture disturbing, haunting levels of brutal dehumanisation of Africans by the colonial establishment. In performance, the images are coupled and interspersed with German industry brand names like *Jena*; *Voigtlander* and *Zeiss* (renowned German lens makers). This juxtaposing can be understood as an indictment of enlightenment's technology as progress mantra. It underscores the link between capitalism and violence by highlighting the fact that these images were produced not by abstract 'evil' but by individuals driven by racist ideas considered rational and representing enlightenment. *Black Box/Chambre Noire* reprises and re-casts colonial images thereby setting up a metaphoric and symbolic scrapbook or trophy room that commemorates and immortalises colonial violence for contemporary audiences. The reprisal of the images calls for 'postmemory' remembrance not only of past violence but the enduring legacy of the ideas that spurred the violence (Hirsch, 1997, p. 22).

One image that is the epitome of 'the exhibitionary complex' (Bennett, 1988, p. 73) of the Herero genocide is an image that depicts the packing of skulls into trunks for shipment back to German research centres which was turned into a postcard series (fig.16). This image is frequently reproduced in textual accounts on the Herero genocide. The postcard shows five uniformed German colonial *Schutztruppe* soldiers stationed outdoors packing human skulls into a wooden crate under a clear sky. The image shows a German soldier placing a skull in a box, where we can see outlines of two other skulls. Behind him is a row of at least eight more skulls waiting to be packed. The top of the skulls has been hewn off to remove the brain. To the left of the image two soldiers with pronounced moustaches look on, one of them carries what appears to be a stick, while the other smokes casually. To the right stands the fifth soldier who faces the camera and smokes a pipe.

Figure 16. German soldiers packing Herero skulls from concentration camps for export to Berlin

The back the photograph was captioned '*Eine Kiste mit Hereroschädeln wurde kürzlich von den Truppen in Deutsch-Süd-West-Afrika verfasst und an das Pathologische Institut zu Berlin gesandt, wo sie zu wissenschaftlichen Messungen verwandt werden sollen. Die Schädel, die von Hererofrauen mittels Glasscherben vom Fleisch befreit und versandfähig gemacht wurden, stammen von gehängten oder gefallenen Hereros*' (Gewald, 1999a, p. 190). That is to say 'A chest of Herero skulls was recently sent by troops from German South West Africa to the Pathological Institute in Berlin, where they will be subjected to scientific measurements'

and before reporting that ‘Herero women have removed the flesh [from the skulls] with the aid of glass shards’ (Gewald, 1999a, p. 190). That this gruesome photograph was turned into a postcard, a popular public mass-medium, seems to suggest that during the war and genocide in colonial Namibia and Germany decapitating African people and collecting human remains was not regarded as inhumane by the photographers, designers, senders and or receivers of the postcard (Zeller, 2008, p. 77).

Images of brutality and sexual violations from the Namibia war and genocide were recorded in the diaries, journals of troops, photographic plates, artist sketches distributed via newspapers, periodicals, books and postcards (Biwa, 2012, p. 81). These sources were mainly distributed via the post correspondence that German nationals in Namibia send across the country and back to the metropole (Erichsen, 2005, pp. 85–87; 94). Kentridge alludes to this postal dissemination by including a charcoal drawing of a scale used to measure postage mail in the exhibition. The scale can also be understood as a metaphor for the scales of justice. In this regard audience members are asked through postmemory to consider the scale of violence perpetrated and represented across various media. Colonial photographs become a loaded symbol of genocide when one considers their relative light weight in terms of mass which deludes the gravity of the violence they carry and depict. Using the antique style scale in this charcoal image is a symbolic metaphor that can be understood to mean that the current regime of scales we have cannot adequately measure the true scale of the Herero genocide violence.

Other colonial postcards from the war and genocide depicted scenes of German brutality as valour. Kentridge continues with the exploration of colonial era postcard violence through a sequence titled ‘Learning the Flute’. The sequence uses the High Priest and teacher Sarastro who forces the Queen of Night’s daughter to follow the light as a metaphor for enlightenment’s quest to inscribe Eurocentric instruction on Africans and Africa through colonisation (Guarracino, 2010, p. 273). Kentridge considers Sarastro as a representative of Enlightenment’s ‘philosopher autocrats’ whose ‘enforced imparting of their wisdom has had unintended but calamitous consequences throughout history, […] all through the colonial era, and into our own centuries’ (Kentridge and Villaseñor, 2006, p. 58). The animation sequence is based on postcards depicting grotesque, prurient colonial violence meted against the Herero and Nama people like flogging, lynching and burning Herero homesteads. The film sequence depicts two men bashing each other on the head and a third object placed between them. The images are projected upon a black board in the Black Box sculpture. The black board is often associated with didactic teachers and schooling. In the performance, white chalk is used to inscribe instruction across the black board.

Another exemplar of ‘the exhibitionary complex’ (Bennett, 1988, p. 73) is the fact that virtually all images of victims taken during and after the war and in concentration camps do not name the people captured. This is despite the use of names as a marker of identity being a universal practice and commonly shared by the German colonial troops and the Herero and Nama victims. Sontag suggests that such omission stems from a universal strategy of display where those considered powerless do not get to be named. Only those who constitute the ‘cult of celebrity’ are granted and recognised by name, stripping the rest of their individuality and rendering them as representatives of an arch-type, or plight (Sontag, 2003, p. 79). Kentridge highlights this practice in some scenes in *Black Box/Chambre Noire* by drawing over portrait images into animation figures. This is particularly the case with six images of decapitated heads from the Namibian genocide first printed by Christian Fetzer (1913, pp. 95–156). The faces of these individuals whose heads were severed have been remarkably well preserved and are still recognisable (fig.17). In the absence of their individual names their individual identities were effaced to become as Sontag suggests arch-types of the Herero. In the exhibition, their faces are used as a symbol of the plight of all other victims of the genocide who suffered a similar fate (Sontag, 2003,p.79).

Figure 17. William Kentridge, Black Box/Chambre Noire, 2005. Photo by John Hodgkiss Deutsche Guggenheim

Kentridge inserts some of the more canonical images from the Namibian concentration camps as documentary photos for their verisimilitude value. In one scene the animated film shows silhouette images of two men engaged in backbreaking labour that morph into a set of gears and levers forming an oil rig. The scene references the slavery that the Herero were subjected

to during the Namibian genocide in mining and infrastructural development projects like rail and road building in the industrialisation of the country. This is followed by shadow images of Kentridge's hands creating a shadow canon, a German Colonial military helmet with a rhino horn top and a rhinoceros. The shadow images are created in a child-like shadow play process that the artist terms 'shadowgraphy' (Kentridge, 2005, p. 49). This child-like image making is repeated in another scene where Kentridge creates shadow images of a delicate singing bird. The bird grows and transforms into an alarming Nazi eagle straddling the globe with wings spread out, before turning into a bird and then a butterfly (fig. 18).

The scene with its charcoal images can also be understood as referencing the birds Tamino tames with his magic flute in *The Magic Flute.* The growth of the bird can be read as symbolising the growth of reason and utopian goals in *The Magic Flute* as well as German nationalist expansion through the Herero war and genocide to the Nazi era (Hennlich, 2010, p. 225).

Figure 18. The taming of the birds as a metaphor for the global spread of German Nationalism

The taming of birds serves as a metaphor for Enlightenment obsession with control which extended to taming animals and nature. In the case of the Namibian colonial encounter this drive for mastery and control led to attempts to 'tame' the land and the Herero people living on it. The birds can also be understood as a reference to the German nation which has an eagle as its national symbol. The alarming growth of the bird can be understood as a symbol

for the sinister episodes of the growth of extremist German nationalism which resulted in the Kaiser's and Nazi genocides. The sequence ends with two giant hands emerging in the shadow play routine, closing in on the bird before pulling it back up. Shadowgraphy accentuates dreamy childlike transitions as part of Kentridge's aesthetic. This technique is used throughout the film to seamlessly merge imaginative charcoal drawings with archival footage and historical documents as well as scenes of grotesque violence with tranquillity.

Kentridge seems to suggest that enlightenment and colonialism's racist refusal to acknowledge the humanity of the Herero and other non-Europeans led to genocide violence. This suggestion echoes Butler's reflections on the sanctity of life and mourning. Butler asks, 'who counts as human? Whose lives count as lives? And, finally, *what makes for a grievable life*?' (Butler, 2004, p. 20 italics in the original). Images of lynched Hereros and skulls that appear in the film as the camera pans across the lush Namibian landscape become a pointed critique of colonial enlightenment which disregarded the humanity of the Herero and other non-Europeans. The film juxtaposes and later merges the skulls with German army pith helmets. *Black Box/Chambre Noire* becomes a 'trace' linking the past and the present (Ruchatz, 2008, p. 370). Kentridge seems to suggest that in forfeiting Herero lives during the war and afterwards through genocide, colonial Germans dismissed the humanity of their victims. Through a postmemory understanding of the genocide, the ongoing steadfast refusal to acknowledge the injustice of the Herero murders implicates the present and renders the victims in Butler's terms not 'grievable' (Butler, 2004, p. 20).

Black Box/Chambre Noire bridges temporalities to highlight the present's responsibility to the past through postmemory. In the film Kentridge juxtaposes archival footage with current footage. In one scene the shadowgraphy image dissolves to footage of a Herero woman walking across the landscape marked by the distinctive head scarf. The scene was created from footage that Kentridge filmed in 2004 at Waterberg, the site of the final battle between German and Herero solders. The site is currently a national park and genocide war cemetery for twenty-three German soldiers. Adjacent to the cemetery is a campsite dining room which displays framed pictures of Kaiser Wilhelm II and his wife, alongside pictures of colonial German troops on its walls without any mention of the genocide the framed figures conducted on the site.

The cemetery which is remarkably well maintained keeps a Visitors Log Book, where mostly German tourists who frequent the site write various messages. Kentridge was disturbed and baffled to note that some of these visitors make comments like 'Thanks for taking such good care of the graves'; 'Please can there be no more wars in our times'; 'You do such honor to these people' without reflecting on the magnitude of Herero losses (Kaplan, 2005). *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* challenges this unitary memorialisation approach by chronicling counter perspectives. Kentridge inserted the Herero woman puppet figure who walks the landscape to highlight the absence of any markers of Herero loss and perspective on the Waterberg site of memory. For Kentridge this erasure and selective commemoration at Waterberg is akin to an imaginary Auschwitz concentration camp where 'a few Germans who died of dysentery while they were working there and then had a sign where they were buried, but not a word else about what happened in Auschwitz' (Kaplan, 2005).

The closing scene in *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* is titled 'Elegy for a Rhinoceros' and shows the Megaphone Man trying to tame the rhinoceros through a dance routine in front of the stage curtains which have been lowered. Kentridge's drawing of the rhinoceros has an uncanny resemblance to Durer's 1515 more famous rhinoceros woodcut (Coumans, 2011, p. 141). In the performance, the rhinoceros is made to walk on its hind legs. The image recalls the rhinoceros named Clara which was captured in India and shipped to Europe in the early 16th century. Clara was imported as a rare exotic gift for the Catholic Pope Leo X by Manuel I, the King of Portugal to curry his political favour. After capture Clara was taught to perform circus-like tricks like eating from a plate and to walk on its hind legs (Buikema, 2016, p. 264).

This dance is staged to the sound of Namibian music mixed with the melody of Pamina's aria '*Ach ich fühl's, es ist verschwunden*' (*Oh I sense it, it has disappeared*) before the rhinoceros is forced into the wings (Buikema, 2016, p. 265). The rhinoceros explodes into two letter scales before reassembling into a complete whole and making one last re-entrance by tumbling over the Megaphone Man before somersaulting across the stage and trotting off into the wings. The rhinoceros' defiance in this scene has been read as symbolising African renaissance as 'a figure of strength and freedom […] a reminder to us that colonialism, narrow learning and rationalism may tame and exploit us, but they can never crush the spirit' (McCrickard, 2007, p. 152). The film ends as the Megaphone Man lowers his megaphone in a move that appears to signal dejection and or shame as he leaves the stage-creating an open-ended conclusion.

The rhinoceros character serves several metaphoric ends in the performance. It is the symbolic exotic other, that represents the continent and people of Africa broadly as well as Namibia and the Namibian victims of genocide. Through the rhinoceros Kentridge 'offers an alternative representation of the subaltern subject as the one who cannot speak or sing – yet can dance' (Guarracino, 2010, p. 268). On the surface the killing of the rhino symbolises colonial plunder and genocide. Death and loss often mark opera as a genre and at the level of performance form, the death of the rhino serves as a liminal proxy for the death of the two *primadonnas* namely the Queen of the Night and her daughter Pamina. As allegorical symbols the Megaphone Man and the rhinoceros are *passé*. Like the Baroque frame of the miniature theatre both characters serve as commentary on the fatalism of colonialism and modernism (Buikema, 2016, p. 264).

Conclusion

Black Box/ Chambre Noire uses postmemory to situate the Namibian genocide in the long durée of history and ideas. It positions the Namibian genocide as emblematic of the lofty ideas and ideals of the Enlightenment era such as integrity, the promotion of ethics and equality and juxtaposes these with the racism, oppression as well as violence that characterised the spread of these ideas in Namibia. Kentridge, like the other artists discussed in this study, turns his artistry to aestheticise ethnography in remembering and propagating the memory of the Namibian genocide. The troika meanings that are summoned up by the title *Black Box*/*Chambre Noire* reinforce the centrality of representation at the heart of the work and in remembering the Herero genocide. The performance uses form and content to problematise the production and reproduction of soundscapes and visual narration in how the genocide is evoked and passed on. Like the aviation black box, the performance records and is a record of Herero genocide memory. Through *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* we are reminded that 'remembering is an ethical act,[and] has ethical value in and of itself' (Sontag, 2003, p. 115). For postmemory genocide remembrance 'memory is, achingly, the only relation we can have with the dead' (Sontag, 2003, p. 115).

The slow palimpsest reiteration in Kentridge's charcoal drawing technique symbolises that meaning, value, continuities and or discontinuities are not fixed. Meaning is always in motion and multi-directional- it can only be perceived in repetition and when it is made and remade over again. Through *Black Box/ Chambre Noire, The Magic Flute* one of German's most

celebrated classical music works is mixed, contrasted and made synonymous with the exceptional violence of Kaiser Weilhelm II's military and the intellectual project that allowed and or enabled the Herero genocide. Melding one of Germany's most recognised cultural symbols with the Herero genocide could be read as an attempt to collapse the peculiarities of both and universalising events separated by more than a hundred years by essentialising them. Their juxtapositioning in *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* could be (mis)understood as suggesting a temporal simultaneity to the events, where *The Magic Flute* is cast and becomes a critical commentary on the genocide. However this chapter's holistic postmemory reading of *Black Box/ Chambre Noire* shows that Kentridge goes beyond essentialising as evidenced by the multiple textual readings the form and content allows.

The next chapter expands on this chapter's investigation of colonial images in the archive by dwelling on the use of performance in another travelling exhibition and museum spaces to remember the gendered aspects of the Namibian genocide. It will investigate the 'scientific' impulses that underlined the enlightenment project, violence and colonialism as well as their postcolonial continuities.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Kaiser's Concubines: Re-Membering African Women in Eugenics and Genocide

This chapter investigates the memory of colonial mass violence against Africans as articulated through performance in Brett Bailey's *Exhibit B*. It pays particular attention to the collusion of racism and colonial science towards African women's bodies. It traces the systematic use of sexual violence and the institutionalisation of rape during and in the aftermath of the 1904 to 1908 German genocidal war in present day Namibia. I suggest that this sexual aggression on prisoners of war and colonial subjects in concentration camps was part of and was condoned by the colonial expansionist policies of Kaiser Wilhelm II. The sexual aggression and murders found expression and were echoed in racist 19th and 20th century sciences like eugenics and racial hygiene. *Exhibit B* elicited multiple and mixed feelings from a cross section of audiences. It drew praise and condemnation in equal measure wherever it was shown – from Grahamstown, South Africa, to the Edinburgh Arts Festival, United Kingdom, France, Russia to Latin America. It was dubbed 'Edinburgh's most controversial show' when it played at the Edinburgh Festival in 2014 (O'Mahony, 2014). Protests and demonstrations ensued at the Barbican Theatre in London when the performance was scheduled to open. An estimated 200 people gathered in protest and blocked the entrance of the Barbican theatre, forcing the theatre management to cancel the opening (Muir, 2014).

When the show moved to Paris, the same scenes were repeated. The opening night at the Théatre Gérard-Philipe at Saint Denis and the Centquatre Cultural Centre in Northern Paris had to be cancelled. The show's run could only proceed under heavy police watch. It was a stand-off pitting incensed protestors on one hand and advocates for the show on the other, watched by the police (Todd and Boitiaux, 2014). There was and still is a sustained media campaign at many venues across the world to stop the show considered by some as nothing more than a 'human zoo' (Todd and Boitiaux, 2014). Passionate campaigners - some of whom may not even have seen the show – felt and feel that it should be cancelled or stopped. At the time when the protests erupted at the Barbican, 22,500 signatures had been appended to an online petition to stop the performance (Muir, 2014). These campaigners argued that the performance was a contemporary revival of blatant racism under the guise of art. For the sake of space, I shall not dwell on the audiences' response to the performance, like the protest action. Rather I shall focus on the content and dramaturgy of the exhibition, particularly on the sections that evoke the memory and document the systematic murder, rape, sexual slavery, humiliation and sexualised medical experiments conducted in colonial Namibia.

I use *Exhibit B* as a case study to investigate how performance enacts memory in response to the 'social amnesia' accompanying colonial genocides for some Europeans (Alayarian, 2008, p. 4). This amnesia is characterised by ‘a mode of forgetting in which almost a whole society separates itself from its discreditable past’ (Alayarian, 2008, p. 4). I examine the use of performance in animating archival texts to create ephemeral contemporary images. In doing so, I explore how *Exhibit B* stages (hi)stories through performance as well as the contemporary political usage and reception of images. Throughout this, I am mindful of the role of affect in memory and meaning-making. I pay attention to how women's experience of colonial exploitation is remembered, re-membered, performed and transmitted in what I suggest is an unacknowledged genocide in Namibia.

I draw on Michel Foucault and Diana Taylor's work to make the case that *Exhibit B* stands as the public yet ephemeral and embodied commemoration of colonial genocide (Foucault, 1977; Taylor, 2003). Foucault's panopticon concept is especially useful to my analysis as it allows me to think through the efficacy of the framing device of the ethnographic show as the performance structure and dramaturgy employed in *Exhibit B* (Foucault, 1977, p. 195). In *Exhibit B,* performance envelops time and creates an alternate repository for genocide memory. I propose that through its performativity, *Exhibit B* serves as an event preservative and embalms genocide memory. It preserves and transmits the memory and knowledge of the Namibian genocide across space and time. *Exhibit B* animates the colonial archive through embodied performance to facilitate the communication and endurance of knowledge, through what Taylor terms the ‘repertoire' (Taylor, 2003, p. 1). In Taylor's view, writing anchors the archive. In contrast, in the repertoire, performance constitutes an alternate episteme, the system of knowledge production and preservation which is fundamentally distinct from the archive (Taylor, 2003, p. 20). In turning colonial archival photographs into performance, *Exhibit B* constitutes an alternate episteme facilitating remembering of the past through embodied recreation with contemporary bodies.

The chapter is structured into five sections. It starts off with this introduction, followed by an overview of the place and politics of possession with regards to colonial material objects in European museums. The third section gives a synopsis of *Exhibit B* and addresses two subthemes. Firstly, the framing of African women as research subjects in colonial eugenics and genocide and secondly the ethics of aestheticizing genocide. The chapter’s fourth section titled the Cabinet of Eugen Fisher investigates the place of science and scientists in the colonial project and their enduring legacies in the postcolony and the dramaturgical frame used to structure *Exhibit B*. The fifth section engages with the place of human remains in

colonial archives and the contests over their ownership and repatriation followed by a short conclusion that summaries the chapter.

Colonial Remains in European Museums

Exhibit B was commissioned and inspired by what Brett Bailey considers to be the remnants of colonialism in contemporary migration, race and material relations. This is most evident in how material and immaterial goods and bodies that were created and forcibly acquired outside of Europe and imported in the 19th and early 20th centuries continue to define the collections of ethnological museums found across the majority of European cities today. These collections were and are often exhibited alongside geographic regions and/or thematic links, supposedly to offer insights into the diversity of non-European cultures. The discourse of imperial conquest and colonialism that facilitated these acquisitions is essentially over. Nevertheless, the collections remain, along with the knowledge systems and stereotypes that anchored the acqusition. Possessing and arranging these collections in the present presents material and ideological challenges for new cosmopolitan narratives that are used to define this postcolonial age. Exhibitions and performances dealing with colonial era artefacts like *Exhibit B* now negotiate and contend with cultural and ethical contestations of ownership and representation and the right to represent, which arise out of the uneven power interactions fostered in the colonial order.

A change in consciousness as well as sustained pressure has led to various degrees of efforts to rearrange some of these collections and/or the styles of display. There seem to be concerted efforts in some quarters to sever any connections with now-discredited scientific disciplines that supported the colonial project (Simpson, 2012). There is evidence of postcolonial recognition and discomfort with patterns of perception, repertoires of feelings and habits of thinking and knowing that arguably shored up European superiority in meaning-making. This has led to a need for curators and directors to revise exhibiting techniques, floor plans, informational labels and other meaning-making devices that once served as evidence to sustain discredited scientific narratives of racial order, evolution and the civilising mission.

The changes have followed different political change impulses. In most former colonial nations, the advent of political independence led to a reinterpretation of museum spaces to provide visual impressions and expressions of new postcolonial ideologies. In countries like the United Kingdom and in colonies like Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States the impulses motivating change seem to be different from those in the postcolony. The changes in these countries could be attributed to changes in museum professional etiquette, as well as the countries' efforts to re-invent themselves as non-racial cosmopolitan territories (Simpson, 2012).

In some cases, museums have gone as far as removing any references to 'ethnology' in their names (Sieg, 2014). One such case is the *Völkerkundemuseum* (Ethnology Museum) in Vienna, whose name was changed to *Weltmuseum* (World Museum) (Weltmuseum Wien, 2005). *Exhibit B* draws on archival material that is often catalogued in museum collections. It critiques the museum displays by drawing on ethnographic display techniques to animate the contemporary distancing efforts which seem to contribute to the 'amnesia' about Europe's colonial and genocidal past (Alayarian, 2008). The proclaimed forgotten status of colonial genocide prevails in spite of the material evidence, in spaces where the memory of the historical and colonial violence that marked the acquisition of colonial material objects in museums and public spaces is sanitised. Through this analysis, we can interrogate the contribution of one performance to the debate about colonial remains in the archive. I highlight how the performance engages with memory and the remains of African women's bodies in the archive. These human remains are sometimes classified as 'specimens' or 'artefacts'. Their contested and unsettling placement echoes the remnants of brutality of colonial genocides and their present-day consequences.

Exhibit B as Performance

The performance series opened with *Exhibit A* which premiered at the Ethnology Museum in Vienna, Austria in 2010 and travelled to Germany thereafter. In 2012, Brett Bailey created a sequel, *Exhibit B* which added *tableau vivant* installations pertaining to Belgian colonialism, which I saw in Grahamstown, South Africa. It has toured most of the major global festivals since then and closed with a 24-29 May 2016 run at the Onassis Cultural Centre in Athens, Greece. *Exhibit B* is a performance exhibition that animates memory and photographs from the colonial archive. It animates images that capture, document and celebrate the atrocities committed by 19th and 20th century colonial forces. The images were drawn from the German South West Africa, the Belgian and the French Congo. Some installations stage the plight of African immigrants living in – and during their deportation from – Europe. It animates the violent and often fatal nature of these deportations which make them look like extraditions. The show also stages the cold horror of Apartheid.

Exhibit B starts as soon as the audience queues up to enter the exhibition. Spectators enter the site-specific location one at a time and travel through the rooms of the exhibition. Once invited inside, audiences are led into a room with rows of chairs. They are handed a numbered card and asked to wait in absolute silence to enter the exhibition when their number is called. This wait, lasting between ten and fifteen minutes serves as audience preparation and also staggers the flow of people as they move through the performance exhibition.

The work is performed by a core team of four Namibian musicians; Avril Nuuyoma, Chris Nekongo, Melvin Dupont, and Michael Beukes. This team is complemented by fourteen African immigrants or asylum seekers that Brett Bailey selects through open auditions from the host city. *Exhibit B* comprises of twelve silent *tableaux* arranged along a path. These natural history-like ethnological diorama recall distinct historical epochs using conventions of museum display. The performance comprises of a series of glass installations housed in individual rooms. It features glass cabinets in which anatomical 'specimens' like skulls, bones or skeletons characteristic of the colonial ethnographic museum are displayed. *Exhibit B* replicates and parodies the ethnographic spectacles of the 19th and 20th century to interrogate European colonial massacres, racism and racial science, social Darwinism, genocide as well as increasing modern-day xenophobia. The exhibits replicate colonial European reconstructions of indigenous African people in 'their natural habitats' (Lusane, 2003). Other installations cite art museum formats that isolate and elevate objects through lighting, frames and pedestals.

The installations cover a wide range of colonial brutal excesses across Africa. For instance, one station evokes the memory of the brutal rubber and ivory collection system King Leopold II implemented in the Congo Free State (present day Democratic Republic of Congo) after securing the territory at the Berlin conference as a 'personal garden'. This system involved the enslavement, rape, mutilation, destruction of settlements, death by starvation and exhaustion, flogging and chopping off of hands of all persons who failed to meet set delivery targets, as well as the wanton shooting of people to keep the state-turned-private rubber plantation running (Hochschild, 1998, p. 165). King Leopold II's actions through the *Force Publique* led to an estimated 10 million deaths, half the population of the Congo (Hochschild, 1998; Vansina, 2010). The severing of limbs was operationalised by Belgian soldiers as a way of keeping tally of bullets issued to the *Force Publique*. 'For each cartridge issued they demanded proof that the bullet had been used to kill someone, not wasted' (Hochschild, 1998, p. 165). In *Exhibit B*, a performer in a colonial police uniform and white face sits with a basket full of latex hand casts (fig.19). The installation forms a metaphorical, ironic and disturbing harvest of rubber hands. Dramaturgically what is particularly effective here is that historic tableaux are interspersed with present-day African asylum seekers labelled as 'found objects'.

Figure 19. King Leopold's Congo Harvest. Photo by Valeria Zalaquett

Some installations in the performance reference postcolonial incidents of racism towards asylum seekers and immigrants living in and deported from Europe. *Exhibit B* uses performers whose arms and legs are circled by measuring tapes and whose bodies are accompanied by biometric data charts. These highlight the continuities of colonial anthropological science in contemporary structural violence. One station has a bound-up performer (fig. 20). This evokes scenes of often violent deportation of asylum seekers. These deportations and their often fatal end make them look like extraditions than deportations. These deportations have resulted in deaths by suffocation in Germany, Austria, Belgium, Hungary, France, the United Kingdom and Switzerland (Fekete 2003; Webber 1996). Juxtaposing historical and contemporary scenarios provides audiences with an opportunity to explore links and continuities between historical racist subjugation and contemporary experiences. This highlights the contemporary violence and the tendencies that lead to the 'othering' and pathologising of non-European bodies. The measuring tapes and information labels used as props link the anthropometric techniques of 19th and 20th century racial science with contemporary regimes of migration control. The gestalt effect of the *tableaux* is that *Exhibit B* assembles an introductory and necessarily selective survey of European history of race, which foregrounds the representational codes and conventions developed in the ‘exhibitionary complex’ (Bennett 1988, 74).

Figure 20. Forced deportation of asylum seekers. Photo by Valeria Zalaquett

(Re)-membering African women in eugenics and genocide

The place and experience of women in the memory constructions of colonial encounters forms a running theme in *Exhibit B*. I shall now turn to four of the *tableaux* in the performance to unpack how *Exhibit B* enacts memory in response to postcolonial 'social amnesia' of colonial brutalities (Alayarian, 2008, p. 4). The analysis uses the installations to examine how the performance animates the treatment and experiences of African women in colonial genocides. The torture that *Exhibit B* references include Namibian death marches, concentration camps, deliberate starvation, mass executions, forced hard labour, women being used as draught animals, the institutionalisation of rape and Eugenics experiments. Through this, I bring to the fore how *Exhibit B* as a performance preserves and transmits knowledge about this past in ways that allow for contemporary understanding and usage.

The first *tableaux vivant* on African women in *Exhibit B* evokes the memory of Saartje Bartmann infamously called The Hottentot Venus. On the back of the abolishment of the slave trade and at the height of colonialism, Saartje Bartmann was displayed in London and then Paris in 1810 (Moudileno, 2009, p. 202). Due to her presumed peculiar anatomy she was put on display as a 'freak' embodiment of African sexual excess and racial inferiority. The obsession with Saartje Bartmann's anatomy continued past her mortal life. Upon her death on

December 29, 1815, French scientist Georges Cuvier conducted a post-mortem. Cuvier produced a full body plaster cast of Saartje Bartmann. He went on to remove her brain and genitalia. These he preserved and put on display at his own private *Musée d'Histoire Naturelle* (Natural History Museum) and later at the *Musée de l'Homme* (Museum of Man) (Moudileno, 2009, p. 202). These body parts were to remain on public display until 1974, where upon they were put in storage. The call for Saartje Bartmann's repatriation was formally set in motion by then South African President Nelson Mandela in 1995. It took seven years for the motion to be honoured. In 2002, the French government returned her remains and cast for interment (Moudileno, 2009, p. 202). Saartje Bartmann's exploitation, humiliation and rape have become iconic for black diasporic communities as an embodiment of European race relations at human zoos. Bartmann has become an icon of the colonial and voyeurist gaze on the African female body.

The second *tableaux vivant* that focuses on African women in *Exhibit B* draws on the events from the 1904–1908 Namibian genocide. While the genocide as a whole has received some attention in scholarship, the gendered experiences of women before, during and after the genocide have not. *Exhibit B* breaks this silence by foregrounding the systematic rape of African women by European settlers and forces in colonial Namibia. In 1903, after two decades of German colonisation of Namibia 712 European women lived among 3,970 European men (Madley, 2004). This combined with toxic masculinity and a culture of impunity led to widespread abuse of women and children by European men. Despite the reports of widespread rape of indigenous women by the settlers and forces, prior to 1904 not a single case was heard by the German courts. The rape of local women was so widespread that the German colonial settlers coined special terms for the practice like *Verkafferung* or 'going native' and *Schmutzwirtschaft* meaning 'dirty trade' (Rohrbach, 1907).

1904 is important in the history that this *tableau* (fig. 21) evokes for two reasons. Firstly, it marks the year that the Herero revolted against German colonial rule. For the memory of African women at the coalface of colonialism, it marks the year when the attempted rape and murder of Princess Louisa Kamana became the first case to be heard by a German court. Louisa and her husband, the son of Chief Zacharias gave a ride to a German national identified in archival records only as Dietrich (Drechsler, 1980). During the night Dietrich 'made sexual advances' which Louisa refused so he shot and killed her (Administrator's Office, 1918). The Herero people were incensed by this abuse of hospitality and Dietrich's acquittal by a German colonial court. Governor Leutwein observed 'everywhere people asked themselves if the whites then had the right to shoot native women' (Von Leutwein, 1908, p. 223). The case was successfully appealed and Dietrich was sentenced to three years in prison (Administrator's

Office, 1918). The offence and the sentence outraged the Herero. They were incensed that the dignity and life of even the chief's daughter-in-law meant so little before German law (Madley, 2004).

In the wake of the Herero uprising that followed the German Imperial Army established concentration camps for Africans in 1905 (covered in greater depth in Chapter One). In Windhoek the Imperial army set up a separate camp where Herero women were kept as sex slaves. According a missionary named Wandres 'Of the free natives, no girl went there, so people resorted to the prisoner-of-war Herero girls, who of their free will accepted this dirty business. I personally doubt this free will…the kraal existed about 100 metres behind the fort' (Gewald, 1999b, p. 28). *Exhibit B* uses an installation that recreates a German military officer's living quarters to emphasise the experiences of African women who experienced the genocidal war and this concentration camp between 1905 and 1908. An assortment of objects hang on the walls (fig. 21). They range from a Christian cross, hunting trophies to guns and framed images of hangings and lynchnings. In some of the photos, girls and women were forced to pose nude or to expose their bodies as German officers pose around them, laughing and smiling. Some of these nude images were made into postcards, souvenirs and other memorabilia and were sent back to Germany by the soldiers (Jonker, 2015, p. 53).

Figure 21. Herero 'comfort woman'. Photo by Valeria Zalaquett

In *Exhibit B* we revisit the memory of this molestation through an installation of a woman sitting stiffly upright on a bed. The woman is shackled by her neck, hands and feet to the bed. She is naked from the waist up and sits with her back to the audience. In front of her is a mirror into which she stares. She makes eye contact with every audience member as they come into the room. Audience members who look at her and look into the mirror lock eyes with her and see their images reflected back. Through this installation, the performance visualises the stories and experiences of the many unnamed women who endured sexual slavery as 'comfort women' during the genocidal war. The immediacy of the installation demands live participation and a visceral response from audiences. The performer uses her body rather than words to convey the acute sensitivity and vulnerability of the moment. I shall cite Brett Bailey's exposition of this installation and the backstory he created for the performer sitting on the bed at length before moving on to the next installation. Bailey suggests that to convey this history he instructs the performer;

> I tell the woman: You were in your village one night and your husband was out fighting, your father was out fighting. You've got two children. Early in the morning before the sun rises, there's a fire. You hear gunshots, people are screaming. You run from the house, you grab the children, one child falls and you don't see that child again. You hide in a bush and see a rape going on. In the morning they find you. Your house is on fire and your mother was in that house. You walk for days and you're in the concentration camp now, you've been here for a long time. It's freezing, your child is coughing all the time. There are children dying from cholera all around you and a soldier comes around and he tells you to go with him. He takes you and you know you're going to be raped by him afterward and you'll submit because it means he'll give you some food for your child. So you're sitting on the bed waiting for all of this to happen. When you see an audience member enter the room in the mirror, it's the German soldier (Krueger 2013: 6).

This back story to the installation mirrors and echoes accounts by the 1904-1908 war combatants. One Bergdamara allied with the German troops testified ‘we hesitated to kill Herero women and children, but the Germans spared no one. They killed thousands and thousands. We saw this slaughter day after day’ (Madley, 2005, p. 444). Kubas claims to have witnessed how the Kaiser’s army ‘killed thousands and thousands of women and children along the roadsides’ (Madley, 2005, p. 444). Some German officers like Hendrik Campbell ordered the burning alive of Herero women in their huts arguing that ‘they might be infected with some disease’ (Madley, 2005, p. 445). These actions were sanctioned by the military establishment with Von Trotha noting in his diary, ‘Hereros, women and children, come in big numbers to ask for water. I have given orders to chase them back by force, because an accumulation of a big number of prisoners would constitute a danger to the provisioning and health of the troops’ (Madley, 2005, p. 445).

Figure 22. Herero Concentration Camps. Photo by Valeria Zalaquett

The third *tableau* on African women in *Exhibit B* also references the concentration camps where survivors of the colonial war in Namibia were held. It is set to the ambience of a melodic 19th century romantic *lied*. A large, regal woman in Herero traditional dress complete with the distinctive knotted cow horn kerchief around her head sits with her knees spread apart (fig. 22). She faces the audiences frontally and from an elevated pedestal where she returns the audiences' gaze. She is holding a shard of glass in her right hand and a human skull in her left hand. She sits on a pedestal entirely covered with small glittering glass shards. On the wall below her seat is a large cross. In front of her, to her left and right are two high wooden posts. Strands of barbed wire are strung between them. A sign written in German is attached to the barbed wire and warns against electrocution. Torn shreds of clothing on the barbed wire suggest that someone tried to escape and tore their clothes in the attempt. On top of the two poles are masks of human skulls. To the left and right of the pedestal are two human skulls, each in a small glass case (Sieg, 2014).

The plaque on the installation informs audiences that this installation refers to the concentration camps on Shark Island where Herero and Nama survivors of the genocide were imprisoned. Women detainees were forced to boil and scrape skin off the severed heads of their families and community. This installation animates a 1907 war postcard that had a picture of German soldiers packing skulls away and read 'A chest of Herero skulls was recently sent by troops from German South West Africa to the pathological institute in Berlin, where they will be subjected to scientific measurements' before reporting that 'Herero women have removed the flesh [from the skulls] with the aid of glass shards' (Gewald, 1999a, p. 190). (I wrote more about this postcard in Chapter Three).

According to Heinrich Ernst Göring[4] the colony's acting governor-general, concentration camps were meant to induce a 'period of suffering' (*Leidenszeit*) to ensure that the Herero and Nama people would 'not revolt again for generations' (Steinmetz and Hell, 2006b, p. 160). Executions and mortality rates in concentration camps were high and it was from here that people were turned into research and collectors' 'specimen' that were later deployed as the basis of racist anthropology (Gewald, 1999a, pp. 141, 230). The skulls were then sent back to German museums, private collectors and university research centres to furnish evidence for physical anthropologists' racial theories (Gewald, 1999a, pp. 141, 191).

Collectors like Felix Von Luschan actively solicited to 'secure a larger collection of Herero skulls for scientific investigation' and obtained at least one from colonial official Ralph Zürn in April 1905 (Zimmerman, 2003, p. 174). Luschan was determined to collect a copious amount of human remains that in 1907 he wrote 'you can hardly have enough ethnographical collections' (Laukötter, 2013, p. 28). After obtaining this Herero skull Lushan send Zürn another request for more skulls arguing 'the skull you gave us corresponds so little to the picture of the Herero skull type that we have thus far been able to make from our insufficient and inferior material, that it would be desirable to secure as soon as possible a larger collection of Herero skulls for scientific investigation' to enable 'objective' research (Zimmerman, 2003, p. 175).

Lushan sought to know if Zürn knew of 'any possible way' to obtain more (Zimmerman, 2003, p. 175). Zürn relayed the request to a contact in Swakopmund who in turn got in touch with concentration camp doctors who could obtain skulls without worrying about the 'danger of offending the ritual feelings of the natives' (Zimmerman, 2003, p. 175). In the concentration

[4] Biographical analsyis of the characters involved in Namibia and the Nazi genocide reveals familial and professional intersections. In this case Heinrich Ernst Göring was the father of Hermann Göring who became a leading Nazi and Adolf Hitler's appointed second in command.

camps several doctors were already conducting scientific tests and experiments on prisoners of war. Notable among these being Wilhelm Waldeyer and his students who used human remains provided by 'military doctors Dansauer, Jungels, Mayer and Zöllner' (Zimmerman, 2003, pp. 175–6). According to missionary records, Shark Island's doctors and the hospital '*Feldlazarett*' were feared as nobody who went in recovered (Erichsen, 2005, p. 141). In a 1910 paper, Shark Island camp doctor and human remains collector Hugo Bofinger argued that 'a viral or bacterial' transmission of scurvy as a result of the 'unhygienic nature' of the camp caused the extremely high mortality rates (Erichsen, 2005, p. 140).

This installation (fig. 22) can be read as a condensation of the main ingredients of colonial violence. The cross on the wall in the foreground signals the Christian missionary activities that preceded and accompanied traders, settlers and military troops. The skulls echo German troops under Von Trotha's command who poisoned water wells and drove the people into the Omaheke desert where most died of thirst as they fled to Botswana and life in the concentration camps. The melodic music added to the woman's stoic posture contrasting with the glittering shards evokes a profoundly moving image of 'beautiful pain' (Mahali, 2013, p. 4). The glittering glass shards sparkling on the floor can be read as a reference to South African diamond mines as a symbol of the collision of capitalism and colonialism. This relationship is symbolised by international firms like the Deutche Bank which financed the colonial enterprise. The glass shards allude more specifically to the South African diamond mining companies that requested and used colonial prisoners as slaves (Steinmetz and Hell, 2006b).The enslavement of the local population was stated publicly and in private. When the war started in 1904, Alfred Von Schlieffen, an Army General Staff Chief argued that the African population be kept 'in a state of forced labour, indeed in a kind of slavery'. The end of the war did not change this attitude with Africans being openly described as 'Sklaven' (slaves) (Zimmerer, 2000, p. 85).

The skull masks perched on top of the camp pole fence (fig. 23) can also be read as a reference to Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (Conrad 1988). *Heart of Darkness* is set in an unnamed African colony where the colonial administration uses barbaric terror to maintain power. Compelling arguments have been forwarded to make the case that this unnamed place is the Congo Free State, under the tyrannical reign of King Leopold II of Belgium from 1885–1908 (Ward, 2005, p. 434). Conrad described this rein as 'the vilest scramble for loot that ever disfigured the history of human conscience and geographical exploration' (Conrad, 1955, p. 17). In *Exhibit B*, this reference works at multiple levels. At one level, it embeds the German concentration camps into a larger history of colonial aggression in for example, British Natal,

the Belgian Congo, Southern Rhodesia, and Italian Ethiopia. This history is uniformly marked by violence and advocates of colonial genocide.

From 1893 for instance, in Rhodesia (present day Zimbabwe) the British led an equally brutal colonial campaign. Lord Jarvis, Cecil John Rhodes' ally in a letter dated 29 March 1896 to his wife said 'I hope the natives will be pretty well exterminated…our plan of campaign will probably be to…wipe them out…' (Marks, 1970, p. 121). In a separate letter to his mother Lord Jarvis wrote '…the best thing to do is to wipe them out…everything black' (Marks, 1970, p. 121). In January 1897 Lord Grey reported that even missionaries like Father Biehler agreed that 'the only chance for the future of the [Mashona] race is to exterminate the whole people, both male and female, over the age of 14!' (Ranger, 1967, p. 131,3). Further north on the African continent, between 1935 and 1939 the Italian Colonial Minister Alessandro Lessona was proclaiming a genocidal vision of an 'Ethiopia without Ethiopians' (Traverso, 1996, p. 61). These correspondences serve to highlight the common and banal tone of colonial brutality. On another level, the skulls introduce an argument about the continuities of racial violence connecting colonialism and Fascism to present-day biometrics regimes in migration (Webber, 1995, p. 1).

Figure 23. Herero woman processing skulls in concentration camp

Masks from non-European cultures and their associated meanings and mythologies have held and continue to hold a pride of place, bordering on fetishism in colonial and imperial ethnography collections held in Western archives and associated scholarship (Campbell, 1991; Jopling, 1971; Sannes, 1970). In *Exhibit B*, the masks call into question the right of collectors, museums and other research institutions to collect, preserve, study and to regard human remains as well as cultural products as property. This disruption is extended to the knowledge systems and the racial bias of academic ways of conceiving the world that normalise such excesses.

Exhibit B can be considered as belonging to a new trend in museum and archaeology practice that has led to renewed efforts in curating and managing collections of materials looted during and through of colonialism (Jolly, 2011). These considerations are aimed to retrospectively redress the injustices of their acquisition. In this new paradigm skulls which were once held as 'objects' and 'specimens' in anatomical archives, are been reclassified as 'human remains' or as 'bodies'. This has often been accompanied by efforts to re-contextualise the exhibits and in some cases to repatriate these bodies into the custody of their communities and areas of origin (Bernick, 2014).

In Namibia and in the diaspora such skulls have become powerful actors in international relations and domestic affairs around the memory of the 1904–1908 colonial genocide. Skulls once held as 'objects' in anatomical archives have not only been reclassified as 'human remains' or as parts of 'bodies' traveling in coffins, but they have also become powerful actors in international relations and domestic affairs around the memory of unacknowledged genocide. The skulls are considered not only as mortal remains, but the material evidence of genocide in the ongoing battle for acknowledgment, demands for an apology and calls for restitution. The call for recompense is part of a postcolonial global trend to address colonial injustices and to incorporate 'indigenous people' into modern day nation building. Barkan observes that it is usually the 'state' that determines the 'price' of reconciliation. However, in the case of this colonial genocide, neither the German or the Namibian government is yet to commit to paying the 'price' of an apology, restituion and reparation (Barkan, 2000, p. 168).

The Cabinet of Eugen Fischer

The final station in *Exhibit B* that I shall discuss animates the memory of the 1904–1908 Namibian genocide by focusing on mourning for the dead and desecrated. Four Namibian singers deliver a moving rendition of songs of lamentation. The musical score was composed and arranged by Namibian composer Marcellinus Swartbooi. The score was commissioned by Brett Bailey to commemorate the genocide. The singers' heads, painted in glossy black,

are visible above white pedestals covering their bodies giving the impression of live museum displays. Staging the ‘human zoo’ and ‘black face’ as performance like this in this day and age is a politically provocative act (Sieg, 2014). This dramaturgical choice forces audiences to engage with the memory of the racial stereotypes and racial sciences that naturalised this form of representation as well as its present-day manifestations.

Mounted on the wall behind and over these disembodied singing heads are enlarged photographs of the severed heads of Herero and Nama victims (fig. 24). This final installation was titled ‘The Cabinet of Eugen Fischer’ and provided details about the career of this prominent German physical anthropologist. Eugen Fischer (1874–1967) was professor of medicine, anthropology and eugenics (Schmuhl, 2008). He conducted notorious studies on racially mixed people in Namibia and Germany and became a leading racial scientist under the Nazis. Fischer's work was celebrated by the Nazi regime when ‘anthropological science, forged in the factories of colonial violence, … became a rallying cry to German youth to purify the race’ (Hale, 2003, p. 166). *Exhibit B* uses Fischer to highlight the enduring legacy of racist ‘pseudo-science’ that carried academic weight in informing and legitimating colonial policy and attitudes.

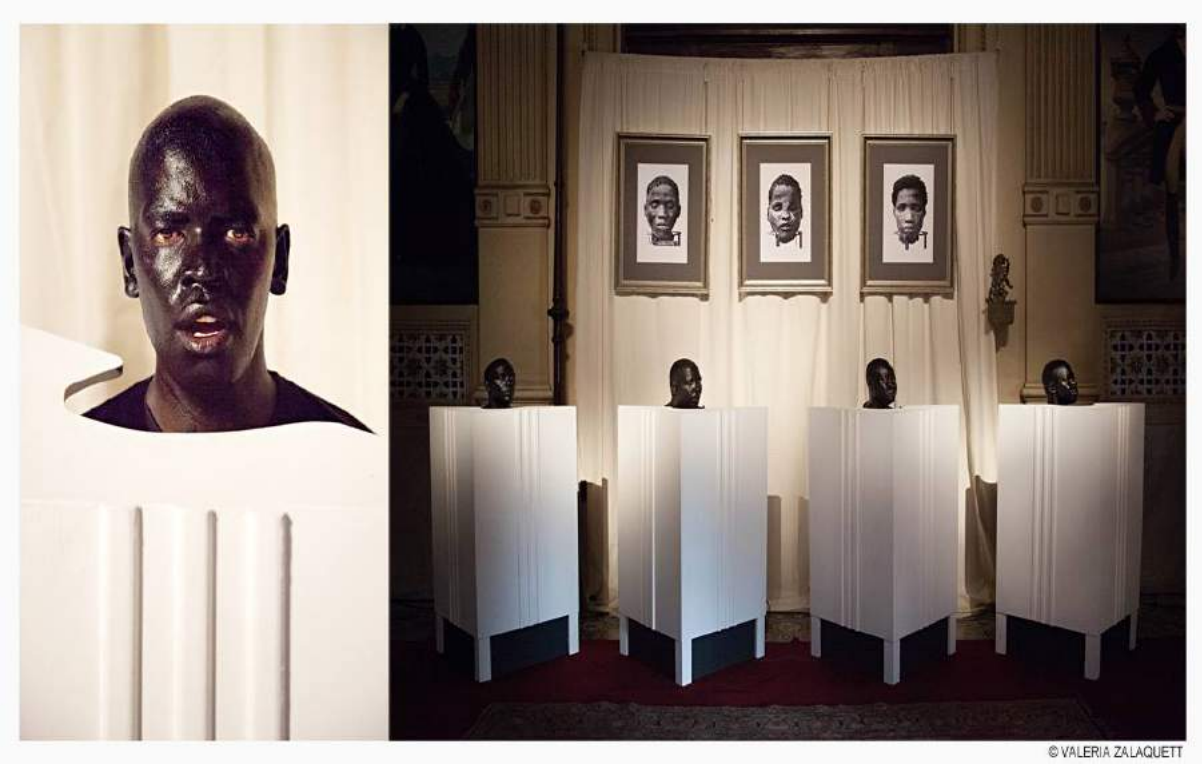

Figure 24. Human remains in colonial collections. Photo by Valeria Zalaquett

Fischer was director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics between 1927 and 1942. The Institute had researchers working on three areas of race (*Rassenkunde*). Fischer was in-charge of Racial Anthropology, while Othmar Von Verschuer directed research in Human Heredity and Eugenics was under Hermann Muckermann. The Institute taught SS doctors and medical students modules in Eugenics and 'racial hygiene' (Madley, 2005, p. 455). Some of Fischer's contemporaries, like anatomist Franz Weidenreich and geneticist Richard Goldschmidt objected to his methods so much so that they publicly brandished Fischer as a war criminal. The Institute's notably infamous alumni include Otmar Freiherr Von Verschuer and Josef Mengele, nicknamed the 'Angel of Death', who performed human experiments at Auschwitz (Schmuhl, 2008). Other Fischer protégés included anthropologist Eva Justin whose work advocated for the sterilization and murder of her Gypsy research subjects (Madley, 2005, p. 455). Fischer was eventually appointed rector of the Frederick William University of Berlin by Adolf Hitler in 1933 (Schmuhl, 2008).

Exhibit B highlights that ideas of a race war and the imagined dangers of miscegenation were rife in the colony and metropole. In Namibia these racist concepts were officially coded into law in 1905, with the prohibition of '*Rassenmischung'* (race mixing) (Madley, 2005, p. 438). Closely linked with this law was the notion of '*Rassenschande*' (racial shame) (Madley, 2005, p. 438). This legislation was endorsed by the church through Protestant missionaries like Wandres who considered interracial sex immoral, describing it as 'sinning against racial consciousness' (Zimmerer, 2004, p. 57). This law did not however deter the widespread rape and abuse of Africans prior to, during the genocidal war of 1904-1908 and after. A year later in 1909 another law was passed that revoked suffrage rights of Europeans who married or cohabitated with non-European partners (Madley, 2005, p. 439). In the later part of his career, Fischer became part of the Gestapo's 'Special Commission Number Three' which carried out 'the discrete sterilization of Rheinland bastards [Afro-Germans]' born to European mothers (Lusane, 2003, p. 139).

Eugen Fischer gained fame when he authored *Die Rehobother Bastards und das Bastardierungsproblem beim Menschen,* a 1913 study of *Mischling* (racially mixed) descendants of European men and African women in German South West Africa. The book came with seventy-two portrait photographs of Rehoboth Basters and bore the names and position of the subjects in their respective family trees (Fischer, 1961). Fischer opposed 'racial mixing' arguing that 'Negro blood' was of 'lesser value' and that mixing it with 'white blood' would bring about the demise of European culture. It is essential to note that as despicable as Fischer's work sounds, he did not invent new concepts. His work found resonance as it provided a scientific base to grant the 'missing aura of legitimacy' to sentiments about the

cultural, moral and physical hierarchy of races that were already 'widely constructed to be common knowledge' (Krautwurst, 2009, pp. 178–9). Fischer's and similar 'scientific works' were later echoed in *Mein Kampf* where mixing African and Aryan blood was said to be an 'infection in the heart of Europe through negro blood on the Rhine' and 'bastardizing the European continent at its core and through infection by inferior humanity, to deprive the white race of the foundations for a sovereign existence' (Hitler, 1941, p. 908). Among other notorieties, Eugen Fischer championed the Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935 on which the South African Apartheid laws were later modelled.

Fischer also co-developed the 'Fischer-Saller scale' which purportedly determined the racial origins of people. Naming this installation after Fischer highlights how the Namibian genocide also 'contributed ideas, methods, and a lexicon' to the Nazis 'through language, literature, media, institutional memory, and individual experience' (Madley, 2005, p. 430). German terms, methods and concepts like '*Lebensraum'* (habitat/ living space) conceived by Friedrich Ratzel in 1887, '*Lebensraumpolitik*' and '*Konzentrationslager'* popularised by their Nazi usage, were coined at least three decades prior to their popular usage in reference to the Namibian genocide (Madley, 2005, pp. 429, 432).

Fischer and like-minded scientists' works provided the 'scientific' rationale, basis of and for racism and Nazi expansionist policies in Eastern Europe. Fischer built upon Ratzel's ideas that 'superior cultures' exterminate 'inferior cultures' to attain living space. Both revamped and revised Darwinism by stating that 'the theory that dying out is predestined by the inner weakness of the individual race is faulty…the decline of people of inferior cultures [results from] contact with culture' (Madley, 2005, p. 433). It has been suggested that while imprisoned in Landsberg Prison, Rudolf Hess read and discussed Ratzel's *Political Geography* (1897) with Adolf Hilter as they wrote *Mein Kampf* (Kershaw, 1999, p. 249). Hitler understood this to mean that 'the acquisition of new land and soil for the settling of the superfluous [German] population has no end of advantages' (Hitler, 1941, p. 178). Hitler echoing Ratzel claimed, 'The greater the amount of room a people has at its disposal, the greater is also its natural protection…In the greatness of the State territory, therefore, lies a reason for the easier preservation of a nation's liberty and independence' (Hitler, 1941, p. 177).

After World War Two, despite these controversies Fischer remained affiliated with many leading German universities. He was Emeritus Professor at Freiburg University until his death in 1967 (Schmuhl, 2008). The University of Freiburg currently holds up to 1,500 human-remains in its collections from this era. By naming this station after Fischer, Brett Bailey emphasised the ideological continuities between colonial racial science, the Nazi racial state

and post-war German democracy. These continuies are best explemplified through Fischer who remained an honorary member of the post-war German Anthropological Association. The 'Cabinet of Eugen Fischer' *tableau* in *Exhibit B* reclaims the murdered and desecrated from the visual archive of racial science and endows them with a kind of speech and visibility (Sieg, 2014). The installation places Eugen Fischer's name alongside Hermann Göring and Franz Ritter Von Epp as infamous iconic 'conduits for the flow of ideas and methods between the colony and Nazi Germany' (Madley, 2005, p. 430).

This station (fig. 24) is distinct from all others in that the performers no longer face the audience or seek eye contact. They are positioned in profile and their eyes look towards the right, which in western visual traditions signifies the future. The exertion and discomfort of the singers, who crouch in their tight boxes kinaesthetically affect audience members who engage this station for a sustained period of time (Sieg, 2014). The singers sweat profusely due to the strain of working under these confining conditions. Beads of perspiration formed and streaked their 'black face' glossy make up. Their sweat and exertion of the effort can be understood as symbolising how the pain of remembering has been left on the shoulders of the descendants of this unacknowledged genocide in Namibia (Sieg, 2014).

Performance dramaturgy

In terms of dramaturgy *Exhibit B* can be understood as drawing on the performance forms of the 'human zoos' that were popular with audiences in the Global north as family entertainment (Trupp, 2011, p. 139). The 'human zoo' (like the 1896 Berlin Colonial Exhibition in the Treptower Park put together by the German Imperial Foreign Office) as performance exhibited 'otherness' by emphasising physical and cultural differences (Zimmerman, 2001, p. 24). The 1896 Berlin Colonial Exhibition staged an ethnographic visual encyclopedic series of more than a hundred people from German East and West Africa, Togo, and the Pacific Islands (Bruckner, 2003, p. 130). The performers were exhibited in constructed imaginary villages with 'authentic' 'ancestral huts' and 'traditional houses' next to a carp pond in Treptower Park (Zimmerman, 2001, p. 26).

As alluded to in Chapter Three, German West Africa (Namibia) was represented by a five-member delegation that included Samuel Maherero's eldest son and heir Prince Friedrich Maherero. Maherero had dispatched the five as a 'diplomatic party' and made arrangements for a meeting with Kaiser Wilhelm II to swear Herero allegiance and to endorse the governorship of Theodor Gotthilf Leutwein who was under fire for being too lenient (Zimmerman, 2001, pp. 28–9). To get to this meeting the delegation had to suffer the indignity of being put on exhibition.

For the display, the Herero diplomats drove around an ox-drawn cart used by black and white farmers in Namibia. On one occasion the delegation had to change into 'traditional' costumes and perform Herero rituals 'to show the public what "heathens" back in South West Africa did' (Zimmerman, 2001, p. 28). The missionary educated Hereros' performance disappointed the hosts due to their resistance to 'strip off their European shells' and be photographed in 'traditional costumes'. The delegation refused to perform the version of the native as envisaged, nor was appreciated by scientists like Felix Von Luschan, curator of the African and Oceanic collections at the *Museum für Völkerkunde.* Luschan was so disappointed with the modernity displayed by the Herero delegation that he dismissed the display and the Herero in it as '*hosennigger*' [trouser Africans] (Zimmerman, 2001, pp.33–4).

Framing the performance as a human zoo forces contemporary audiences to engage with the politics of representation. *Exhibit B* works as parody and critique in inverting the assumptions that underpinned the colonial misadventure. The concept of the human zoo can be understood as 'to place a person [...], with the intention that they should be seen, in a specific reconstructed space, not because of what they 'do' (as an artisan, for example), but because of what they 'are' (seen through the prism of a real or imagined difference)' (Blanchard et al., 2008, p. 23). I propose to extend Foucault's (1977) panopticon concept to read the human zoo as performance. Foucault defines the concept of panopticon as a scopic technology and a regime of power/knowledge in which an all-seeing viewer and a defencelessly exposed and 'blind' target meet each other in a context guaranteeing maximum transparency of the target to the spectator and inaccessibility and immobilisation for the spectator (Foucault, 1977, p. 195).

The installations are framed in such a way that audiences have to negotiate how the performers return the spectator's gaze directly or reflected in a mirror. This dramaturgical choice makes it impossible for *Exhibit B* to be viewed or photographed without engagement. This can be considered as the device that gives *Exhibit B* its subversive and affective power. The performance subverts the unidirectional gaze of the powerful who can watch while remaining unseen by their charges. Through the liveness of performance *Exhibit B* works as subversive critique in inverting the assumptions that underpinned the colonialialism. The result is a disconcerting transformation of the spectator into spectacle; the viewer is suddenly under scrutiny. The result disrupts the status quo of who subjects and is subjected to the gaze.

This is reinforced by the silence that is asked of the audience and the artistic choice of stopping the performers from speaking to or with the spectators, or to engage with them in any way save for the gaze. The performance's audiences are forced to reflect on their placement as

consumers of the performance and in relation to the historical systems being staged. *Exhibit B* foregrounds the racist social Darwinism that informs most ascriptions of primitivism to non-European cultures. The silence serves to highlight and to undermine the stereotypical rendering of Africans and African languages as *'unintelligible, uneducable* and *dangerous*' (Jackson and Moore, 2008, p. 848; italics in original). The discomfort generated by the ethnological display, shows the accuracy of Le Goff's observation that the rubric of 'ethnic' – a term which generally means race-or class marked people does echo notions of 'primitive' or 'peoples without writing' (Le Goff, 1992, p. 55).

Bone(s) of contention

The bones or human remains that feature prominently in *Exhibit B* have become a hotly contested issue in the lobbying and negotiations for the German government to formally recognise and apologise for the actions of Kaiser Wilhelm II's troops during the 1904–1908 war in Namibia as acts of genocide. This campaign has been led by descendants of the victims of the Namibian genocide. The lobbying has been spearheaded through activist genocide committees. These include the *Ovaherero*/*Ovambanderu* Council for the Dialogue on the 1904 Genocide, the *Ovaherero* Genocide Committee and the Nama Technical Committee (Biwa 2012). The committees were appointed and sanctioned to pursue engagement and restitution by the affected communities. In 2008 the Namibian government paid heed to this lobbying and officially requested the return of human remains related to the colonial war against the Herero, Nama and Damara people. In response to this formal request, some German Institutions began to initiate processes to hand over and repatriate Namibian human remains in their possession.

Between 2011 and 2014, forty skulls and body parts from Namibia that were held in the collections of the Charité Universitätsmedizin in Berlin were returned. Scientific tests on a further fifteen skulls at the Charité suspected to be from Namibia as well are under way. The Charité Human Remains Project (2008-2013) research team comprised of anatomist Dr. Andreas Winkelmann, anthropologist Dr. Katrin Koel-Abt, ethnologist Nils Seethaler, historian Dr. Holger Stoecker, and Prof Thomas Schnalke, director of the Charité's *Medizinhistorischen Museum* (formally known as the Pathological Museum). In the same period the University of Freiburg returned fourteen skulls from its anthropological collection. The University of Greifswald confirmed that it had three skulls from Namibia in its possession (Kössler, 2015, p. 281).

The government of Namibia recognised the symbolism and importance of the occasion at the first hand over of the first twenty mortal remains on Friday the 30th of September 2011 at the

Charité Universitätsmedizin in Berlin. The Namibian government flew in a sizable delegation of high ranking officials, museum officials under the National Heritage Council of the Republic of Namibia, Namibian chiefs and spiritual experts and members of three activist committees. The Namibians had a government Minister Kazenambo as head of delegation (Biwa, 2012). There was discomfort and irritation when this diplomatic status gesture was not reciprocated. Instead the Germany government seconded a single federal state minister, Nicola Pieper as its representative to the hand-over ceremony (Kössler, 2015).

The official repatriation and handover of the human remains took over a week to conclude from the 30th September 2011 handover to the 4th October 2011 rapturous arrival and reception of the human remains at Hosea Kutako Airport in Windhoek, Namibia. In Berlin, Germany the handover ceremony included a media press conference, a question and answer segment for the delegation and the Charité Human Remains Project (2008-2013) team in a Charité campus lecture room in the *Mitte* district of Berlin. This location was located a few hundred meters away from where the Pathological Institute used to stand, where the skulls of these individuals had been desecrated by Paul Bartels, Christian Fetzer, Heinrich Zeidler and other scientists.

In both Windhoek, and Berlin the stage was framed and draped in Namibian flags and bouquets of white and purple flowers. Two skulls, one Herero and one Nama were put on display in two glass cases while the other eighteen were presented in individual boxes that stated the Herero or Nama origins of the individual as well as the catalogue numbers they had been assigned in the anatomical collection. The individuals filed away as 'Herero A 834' and 'Nama A 787' were placed in the glass cases (Jonker, 2015, p. 95). The Herero delegation and those familiar with Herero traditions would have noticed that Herero A 834 bore the marks of traditional Herero tooth manipulation, where the lower incisors are pulled out while the two upper incisors are filed in an inverted V-shape (Jonker, 2015, p. 99).

The hand over proceedings included a memorial service that was conducted on the 29th of September 2011 at St. Matthew's Church close to Potsdamer Platz at the behest of the Namibian embassy and a panel discussion at the *Haus der Kulturen der Welt*. The church service 'curved out a space for mourning outside the institutional framework of the Charité' (Förster, 2013). Some members of the Namibian delegation who addressed the service 'stepped forward during the service to bow in front of the skulls, singing songs, reading prayers, and crying as they begged farewell' (Förster, 2013). Despite the memorial service being a hundred years removed from the individuals' deaths, the speakers re-enacted and approached the skulls in the same manner that one would approach a recently deceased

loved one. This sentiment was aptly captured by Neville Gertze, Namibia's Ambassador in Germany who said 'today our hearts ache, but as we weep and condemn the evil, we are grateful to restore the honour and dignity of our ancestors' (Grieshaber, 2011).

On the 30th September 2011 *Oturupas* (discussed in Chapter Two) who had made the trip formed a guard of honour and marched in front of the Charité carrying the Komando Number 4 green-white-black flag before the official hand-over ceremony. Before entering the building Herero spiritual experts performed rites, offered prayers and recited praise poetry and chants on the steps of the Charité (fig. 25). These rites were also performed pre-departure in Namibia, on arrival in Berlin to seek ancestral permission to handle the skulls and take them back home (Förster, 2013). The sight of the Herero in the heart of Berlin donning the old colonial Germany Army 'uniforms full of historical references, the *oturupa* spelt out the complex memory-political terrain that the return of the skulls was embedded in' (Förster, 2013). During the handover proceedings two flag-bearing *oturupas* assumed body bearer duty on either side of the table bearing the boxes with the human remains. The *oturupas* keeping guard and marching were symbolically leading the burial march to the graves as they would do at home during the Red Flag Day commemoration.

Figure 25. Namibian delegation at the first human remains hand-over ceremony at the Charité

According to Winkelmann, an official at the Charité, human remains are ordinarily not unveiled. At this maiden handover, the Namibian Embassy and delegation requested this display. Winkelmann says 'the skulls were witnesses, *Zeuge*, to and evidence for what the Germans did between 1904 and 1908. We would not usually display skulls like this because they have a difficult past and come from a context that was not ethically correct, but it was the wishes of the Namibians that not just the human remains, but the negative colonial context should be visible in a way' (Jonker, 2015, p. 99). The human remains arrived in Namibia marked as 'diplomatic cargo' to facilitate their repatriation without proper identity and death documentation. The decision not to regard and treat the dead as corpses (as was the case in the 2012 repatriation of Klaas and Trooi Pienaar from Vienna to Kuruman, South Africa) but as 'human remains' and 'objects' was criticised as a failure in 'postcolonial justice' and in the 'rehumanisation' of colonial victims (Rassool, 2015a, p. 653). Rassool argued that the Charité and the repatriation team did not reverse the colonial dehumanisation of the individuals or restore their individual dignity (Rassool, 2015b).

The Namibian delegation criticised the interdisciplinary Charité Human Remains Project (2008-2013) on three main issues. Firstly, for failing to disclose the identities of the human remains. Secondly, for not disclossing the purpose to which the university hospital had used the remains in their collection. Thirdly for failing to disclose where and what had become of the rest of the bodies (Jonker, 2015, pp. 4, 103). These unanswered concerns were raised again by the late Herero Paramount chief Kuaima Riruako who argued that 'Both Herero and Nama people lost their lives and some of their heads were even cut off for so-called research and experimentation, but until today they have not told us what they were looking for and what they found by taking those skulls to Germany. What was the point we still don't know' (Namene, 2013). The Charité Human Rights Project report which officially handed over the skulls indicated that nine of the twenty skulls 'in all probability can be attributed to the Herero, and eleven to the Nama people'. According to 'current historical research' the skulls belonged to people who died and or were killed during the colonial war between 1904-1908. The report complemented oral sources by adding that 'In all probability 18 of the 20 skulls came from Shark Island, where the German military leadership had built a concentration camp at the time' (Charité Human Remains Project, 2011).

The chairman of the Executive Board of the Charité Universitätsmedizin where the handover ceremony was staged, Karl Max Einhäupl, who spoke on the occasion apologised for the 'complicity of German science in the colonial enterprise and in colonial violence' (Kössler, 2015, p. 269). Nicola Pieper the German minister on the other hand circumvented offering an official apology by avoiding the terms *genocide*, *apology*, *restitution,* or *reparations* and called

for reconciliation instead. When some audience members shouted and held up placards saying ‘apology now’ and ‘reparations now’ the federal minister left the ceremony to the great consternation of the assembled Namibian delegation (Kössler, 2015).

The Namibian delegation took issue with this behaviour which came on the back of the German government refusing to sign the declaration that was drafted to officially consummate the skulls repatriation. This official snub prompted Minister Kazenambo as head of the Namibian delegation to officially withhold his signature, leaving Karl Einhäupl of Charité and Esther Moombolah-/Gôagoses of the Namibian National Heritage Council to append their signatures on behalf of their respective institutions (Jonker, 2015, p. 112). The lack of the political endorsement from both governments effectively means that ‘the return was enacted on a scientific level, not as an act of state’ (Rassool, 2015b). In the absence of a firm commitment from Berlin, and ‘Germany’s reluctance to apologise and formally and expressly take legal responsibility for the genocide. … By offering an apology from its highest level (by the CEO of the university hospital, Karl Einhäupl) ‘the Charité stepped in to act in place of what should have been the German government’s responsibility’ (Bandle et al., 2013, p. 5).

In Namibia, the 25 September 2011 departure of the delegation till their 04 October 2011 return and arrival of the skulls was a national event anticipated by thousands of Namibians who came from all ends of the country and who waited for hours, some spending the night at the airport. When the plane touched down, the euphoric crowd stormed the airfield to welcome the delegation and the remains with banners proclaiming ‘Welcome Home-Reparations Now!!’. The military that had assembled to escort the remains had to step in to restore order first before the skulls could be offloaded. The *oturupas* on board joined those waiting on the ground to parade and march, sing mourning dirges, and perform warrior rites in-front of the national airline.

The postcolonial state inserted itself into the memory spectacle through members of the Namibian Defence Forces who handled the skulls and marched in uniform in a manner reminiscent of the honour accorded national heroes. The Namibian government framed the return in the discourse and statecraft in the ‘tone of national solidarity and recognition’ and fitted it into the ‘master narrative of national liberation’ that serves as the ‘foundation myth of post-colonial Namibia’ (Becker, 2011, p. 520). The Herero and Nama distinction that the delegation had insisted on in Berlin was air-brushed in favour of a common Namibian identity. For the Herero and Nama the bones were considered as ‘irrefutable proof of colonial repression, exploitation, and violence’ (Förster, 2013). It was hoped that the skulls ‘would

eventually open up a space for German-Namibian negotiations about symbolical and material compensation for colonial injustices and atrocities' (Förster, 2013).

From the airport the skulls were escorted by the military to the Namibian Parliament Gardens in the centre of Windhoek where the repatriated skulls 'lay in state' for twenty-four hours. The choreography and dramaturgy were similar to state funerals accorded to citizens granted national hero status. A green sun roof tent was set up. Underneath a red carpet was laid out. The eighteen skulls were placed on two tables covered with white linen under the tent with the ten Nama skulls on the left and the eight Herero skulls on the right. The two skulls that were displayed in two glass cases in Berlin were placed in one bigger aluminium framed glass case together with their provenance reports on their left. As in Berlin two individuals were posted for body bearer duty. Unlike in Berlin however, the *Oturupas* were replaced by members of the Namibian Defence Force as members of the public remembered the genocide and paid homage to victims (Jonker, 2015, p. 115).

After lying in state at Parliament Gardens, the skulls were moved to the National Heroes Acre inaugurated in 2002 on Windhoek's periphery. Here a symbolic three-hour act of state funeral officiated by then state President Hifikepunye Pohamba and attended by the national body politic was staged. Several colourful flower bouquets were arranged in front of the skulls and flag display which replicated the one used at the Parliament Gardens. The National Heroes Acre as a site of memory is highly symbolic as a burial site for national independence fighters. Samuel Maherero and Nama Chief Hendrik Witbooi who lie buried elsewhere also have symbolic graves at this site to mark their national status. Bringing the repatriated remains here cast the human remains as individuals of Herero and Nama descend and then subsumed his ethinic identity under the patriotic national heroes status. Three Herero and Nama chiefs addressed the gathering. The chiefs expressed their grief and outrage over the genocide and other colonial crimes. They expressed dismay at the attitude adopted by the German government over the matter and appealed to the Namibian government to actively support and endorse their call for an unreserved official apology and reparations (Förster, 2013).

President Pohamba conferred the unknown individuals whose skulls were on display with official hero status. In his address the Namibian president assimilated the individuals into 'the pantheon of Namibian heroes and martyrs' (Jonker, 2015, p. 117). Pohamba declared 'these are the heroes and heroines who made history for our nation' before comparing them to officially sanctified resistance leaders like Samuel Maherero, Hendrik Witbooi, and Ovambo leaders Nehale lyaMpingana and Madume yaNdemufayo to weave an ethnically representative postcolonial nationalist narrative (Jonker, 2015, p. 117).

The debates about what to do with the skulls are part of the continuing politics of restorative justice in postcolonial Namibia. While the act of state was staged and had the choreography of a state funeral with full military honours, the twenty skulls were not buried at the Heroes Acre despite a 2008 Namibian government resolution to do so. The skulls were instead transferred to the old National Museum at the *Alte Feste*. From there they were then transferred again in March 2014 and are now housed in the new Independence Memorial Museum. The new museum is located at the site that used to be the biggest concentration camp during the genocide. The museum has a permanent exhibition that incorporates the 1904-1908 colonial genocidal war into a sanctioned nationalist linier hegemonic narrative of the country's history. The skulls are held in storage at the Museum together with other human remains that are being repatriated, like the thirty-five skulls and three skeletons returned by the Charité in 2013 and the many others being exhumed at different mining, construction, and archeological excavation sites across the country (Förster, 2013). A prominent notice informs visitors to the Museum that there are 'No human remains on display here'. This declaration can be read as a response to or in dialogue with the prominence of human remains at other genocide memorials particularly in Rwanda where genocide 'trauma tourism' thrives (Clark, 2009, p. 1).

Burial at the Heroes Acre was not completed to respect the objections raised by Herero and Nama representatives. They felt that the national government's decision would co-opt their ancestors into the new state building's hegemonic narrative where ethnicity is downplayed. The representatives argued that burial would make the ethnic specificity of the skulls which they consider as evidence and 'proof of the genocide' invisible (Förster, 2013). Some representatives felt that the skulls should be displayed at the Independence Memorial Museum to 'make younger generations aware of [the] history of ancestors' and 'show evidence of the genocide for international audiences' and as a 'testimony of the Herero and Nama role in the struggle for independence' (Förster, 2013). At a material level, tiny metal badges with a skull on the top and the years 1904-1908 are now a regular emblem worn by the Herero at the annual Red Flag Day ceremony to commemorate the return of the skulls and to make visible the struggle to reclaim all bones in foreign collections (see Fig. 9 in Chapter Two). These efforts and performances like *Exhibit B* bring such issues to the fore and contest societal amnesia about colonial genocide through remembrance.

At the time of writing in 2018, the German government does not officially recognise the extermination of 75% to 80% of the Herero people as an act of genocide, despite academic opinion to this effect. The official line of argument is that the term *genocide* was not defined as an actionable term in international law until 1948 (Anderson, 2005). It is more likely that the

German government worries that issuing an unconditional apology would be to acknowledge liability and open the door to financial restitution claims along the lines paid to Nazi genocide victims and to the state of Israel**.** For Anderson, 'there is ample evidence that the Hereros endured slavery, forced labor, concentration camps, medical experimentation, destruction of tribal culture and social organisations, and systematic abuse of women and children. Nonetheless, commentators and scholars have argued that because these acts were not illegal at the time they were perpetrated Germany has no legal obligation to the Hereros' (Anderson, 2005, p. 1158). The merits or lack thereof of these legal arguments and interpretations fall outside the scope of this chapter. In *Exhibit B*, the affective nature of the performance and the connections with contemporary cases of migration effectively highlight that legality as a measure of human experience is a matter of power rather justice.

In June 2016 the merits of this official line of argument were disputed and contradicted by the German state advancing them. This happened when the *Bundestag* passed a motion to recognise the 1915-1916 Armenian genocide by the Turkish Ottoman empire, a precursor to the present-day Turkish government. The German motion follows the 2011 recognition of the Armenian genocide by France (Smale and Eddy, 2016). The *Bundestag* motion not only recognised the Armenian atrocities as genocide, but also acknowledged 'the German Reich's complicity in the events' as a political ally of the Ottoman empire (Oltermann and Letsch, 2016). This motion is significant to the Namibian genocide, because the Armenian genocide is similarly unacknowledged. It is closer in time frame to the Namibian genocide as well, having occurred seven years after the Namibian genocide.

The contemporary Ankara regime, like the Berlin authorities, refuses to officially acknowledge the events as genocide for a range or reasons. Both perform different versions of official denial by advancing the argument that the genocide convention of 1948 was not in place when the crimes were committed. Berlin's act of official acknowledgement of the Armenian genocide angered the Turkish state into temporarily recalling its ambassador to German (Oltermann and Letsch, 2016). This diplomatic row and the lobbying from within the *Bundestag* led by the Green Party has resulted in a motion to re-examine the official German position to the Namibian genocide being passed.

The German government has indicated that it will recognise the Namibian murders as genocide on the condition that it is not made liable to pay restitution, but has yet to put a timeframe as to when this official acknowledgement will happen. As of March 2018, the official position is that the German and Namibian governments are currently engaging in negotiations to frame the wording of the acknowledgment. According to Ruprecht Polenz the special envoy

to the negotiations, ‘From the German government’s point of view, the question of how to deal with the crimes that were committed between 1904 and 1908 is a political and moral question, but not a legal one’ (Huggler, 2017). Polenz ironically argues that this is the reason why the direct descendants of the victims and survivors of the genocide were not invited and are currently excluded from the negotiations. He insists that, ‘We are negotiating with the Namibian government about the political and moral consequences’ (Huggler, 2017). This has prompted Herero and Nama traditional leadership to file another class action against the German government in New York (Huggler, 2017).

The exact number of Namibian skulls in German archives is not known and might never be determined. In the more than one hundred years that have passed since the genocide, some of the documentation and the human remains themselves have been destroyed in Namibia and in Germany. In 1915, some archival records were destroyed by German officers in the face of the South African troops’ onslaught. In the course of the Second World War, Allied bombs laid to waste records and possibly collections with human remains as well (Adhikari, 2008, p. 310). What has been established so far is that Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main holds 12,000 skeletons in its anthropological collection. In the city of Dresden, the *Völkerkundemuseum* (Ethnic Museum) holds 6,500 ‘objects’ (Kössler, 2015, p.281). In the early 2000s, the Alexander Ecker Collection stationed at Freiburg University was said to be ‘out of order and barely documented’. It contained skulls with inscriptions that read ‘Negro’ and ‘Hottentott’. The human remains in this collection are said to have been ‘kept for years, quite unattended, in the basement of the university hospital’ (Wegmann, 2013, pp. 401–402, cited by Kössler, 2015, p. 281).

Institutions that hold human remains and other cultural ‘artefacts’ claim that they only have documents that record when and where they acquired their collections, but not how they were originally obtained (Kössler, 2015, p. 281). The Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation which manages Berlin’s state-owned and run museums, recently announced that it holds in custody human remains from Germany’s former colonies (Deutsche Welle, 2016; Tharoor, 2016). The Foundation says the human remains were obtained for ‘scientific’ experiments during colonialism. The foundation has more than 1000 skulls from areas that form present-day Rwanda. There are 60 skulls from present-day Tanzania (Deutsche Welle, 2016; Tharoor, 2016). These skulls originate from an area that was then administered as the German East Africa colony from 1885 until 1918. These human remains are a part of what has been called the Luschan Collection (Deutsche Welle, 2016; Tharoor, 2016). This collection is named after Felix Ritter Von Luschan (11 August 1854–7 February 1924) who gathered these human

remains between 1885 and 1920. It is said to contain 4,600 skulls and other artefacts (Deutsche Welle, 2016; Tharoor, 2016).

It is plausible to speculate that other institutions are also in possession of similarly acquired human remains. This is because an extensive network and market for the circulation of human remains and artefacts existed in colonial times (Olusoga and Erichsen, 2010, pp. 127–8). Some 'doctors in the colonies sent remains to their old universities; officers in the crews of exploring ships collected skulls and brought them home, sometimes as part of their remit; amateur scientists, anthropologists, missionaries and Protectors of Aborigines, amongst others, all believed in the claimed scientific importance of remains and sent them back to Europe. Some were purchased directly from collectors or from specialised auction rooms, and some were provided by overseas museums […] some were donated' (Layton et al., 2006, p. 83). In the case of Egyptology for example, such circulations have been codified into an academic discipline.

In the light of this, it remains anybody's guess as to how many more were smuggled into Germany and across Europe to private collectors and others who toured Africa as 'hunters'. Evidence suggests that during certain eras of colonialism 'Bushmen hunting' was considered as a popular sport much like big game hunting today (Gordon, 2009, p. 29). It is equally difficult to suggest estimates about the number of skulls from Namibia in Germany. Given the two countries' 'entangled history and politics', it is probable that the number would be significant (Kössler, 2008, p. 313). The importance of *Exhibit B* lies in the manner in which it highlights and echoes the legacy and continuities of racial science. The performance symbolically and affectively recovers the human remains from the 'basements' where they were consigned after the 'science' that underpinned their importation became discredited.

Disrupting the colonial gaze

The controversy that has dogged *Exhibit B* is worth reflecting on as it has several bearings on ethical performance making and on the affective responses people have to performance practices engaging with 'complex histories' and 'contested memories (Hoffmann, 2000, p. 1). *Exhibit B* evokes and condenses the memory of five centuries of invasion, annihilation, enslavement and dehumanisation that define the colonial European 'civilising' mission. The performance opens a daunting look *back* at the colonial past and carries its ethical lessons *forward again* into a stratified Europe that has fortified and militarised its borders, to prevent entry to refugees and asylum seekers from the global South. *Exhibit B* as a performance installation intervenes and seeks to disrupt contemporary amnesia of these connections and

experiences (Alayarian, 2008). The installations insist that effective decolonisation and justice relies on the critical and truthful working-through of the historic codes of racial representation and their contemporary manifestations.

In and through performance, *Exhibit B* troubles notions of time and the amnesia that seems to follow colonial atrocities in the former metropoles. As the performance's reception in London and in France show, the legitimacy of such efforts is fraught with contestations (Muir, 2014; O'Mahony, 2014; Todd and Boitiaux, 2014). In placing the 'archive' on the bodies of the performers or making the 'archive' the 'repertoire' *Exhibit B* becomes disruptive by lending corporeal visibility to the memory of colonial exotic spectacle that had been rendered invisible (Taylor, 2003). In *Exhibit B* colonial memories are evoked through the aestheticisation of pain. While it might not have been the artist's intention to offend, the performance's reception shows that some sections of society were incensed by the choices made in *Exhibit B* (Bailey, 2014). Opponents of the performance argue that racialised abjection can do nothing but assault, injure and traumatise persons of African descent; entrenching rather than challenging racial stereotypes.

Some protestors were infuriated by the fact that the performance maker is and self-identifies as a white South African man. They argued that it was unethical for him to appropriate the experience of black African people for commercial and artistic gain. The use of black face, prevalent in the show, has a long and troubled and highly inflammatory history in performance and race relations from the minstrel show through the KKK to today (Saxton, 1975). Some critics feel that its continued usage can never be justified, nor should it be tolerated given its racist symbolism and connotations. Framing Africans living and working in Europe as 'found objects' as the show does is intentionally jarring but can also be interpreted as insensitive given the precariousness of the existence of some of such individuals. Protestors questioned and objected to the efficacy of performance to contribute to the ongoing work of uncovering and undoing colonial practices, mind-sets and epistemologies by materialising stories of dehumanisation and racist objectification. The protestors argued that the performance would have the counter effect and reinforce rather than challenge racial bias.

In replicating the human zoos' notions of the exotic, mute confined primitive, the performance stimulates contemporary reflection and historical remembrance of its colonial usage and persistence in the present. The protestors who blocked and called for a ban on the show objected to the efficacy of performance and the performance maker on account of his race to contribute to the ongoing decolonial work. They felt that the show replicated, rather than repudiated racial bias and stereotypes. They argued that the performance did not do enough

in uncovering and undoing colonial practices, mind-sets and epistemologies by materialising stories of dehumanisation and racist objectifications. They argued that the performance would have the counter effect and reinforce rather than challenge racial bias. While such concerns might be merited, when objection becomes a form of censorship effective discussion is stifled.

The fact that these images can be included in textual form as history or part of the historical accounts without objections and yet create a storm when they are staged points to performance's potential to affectively recast memory and stimulate debate and engagement with the legacy of the past. I would suggest that the performance's efficacy lies in the affective manner in which the performance demands live participation and identification from the audience. For instance, the figure of the survivor scraping off the skull in her hand and the de-individualised specimens in the glass cases mounts a harrowing indictment of colonial Namibian genocide barbarity. The romantic *Liede* audible in the background render colonial claims to cultural and racial superiority ironic, but offer no comfort (Sieg, 2014).

Conclusion

This chapter investigated the memory of colonial mass violence and atrocities as articulated, preserved and transmitted through the performance *Exhibit B* by Brett Bailey. Particular focus was placed on the collusion of racism and colonial sciences towards African women's bodies. It traced the systematic use of sexual violence and the institutionalisation of rape during and in the aftermath of the 1904 to 1908 German aggression in present day Namibia. This sexual aggression on prisoners of war and colonial subjects in and outside of concentration camps found expression and was echoed in racist sciences such as eugenics and racial hygiene. People like Eugen Fischer gained recognition and fame for notorious studies on 'racial hygiene', through forced sterilisation experiments on racially mixed people in Namibia and Germany some of whom were born as a result of these institutional rapes.

Exhibit B is a performance exhibition that deploys performance to animate genocide memory and photographs from the colonial ethnographic archive. The chapter used *Exhibit B* as a case study to investigate how performance enacts this memory of the Namibian genocide to transmit knowledge about the past in response to the 'social amnesia' accompanying unacknowledged genocides. The chapter examined how *Exhibit B* uses performance in animating archival texts to create ephemeral images. In doing so, I explored how the images tell (hi)stories through performance as well as the contemporary political usage and reception of such images. *Exhibit B* as performance envelops time and creates an alternate historiographic repository for gendered genocide memory which preserves time and history.

Exhibit B illustrates a contemporary incident where the affective reception of art and history led to violent and passionate outbursts of emotion. Through *Exhibit B,* we witness and can contemplate on how visuality, community and affect are inter-dependent in represented or imagined history. *Exhibit B* is an example of the passionate contemporary struggle over the appropriation of colonial ethnographic photographs and memory. It also demonstrates the difficulty of finding and generating consensus to reading art that appropriates and inverts the gaze on historical colonial photographs and imagery. Performances like *Exhibit B* animate the material archive into a public yet ephemeral and embodied performance repertoire that facilitates the communication and endurance of knowledge.

Framing *Exhibit B* as an ethnographic display shows the complementarity of the archive and performance repertoire in transmitting the memory of the brutalities of colonial history. While rooting the performance in the colonial archive Brett Bailey creates a performance repertoire that uses the liveness of performance to animate the archive into an embodied commemoration of colonial genocides and their present-day legacies. Through its performativity *Exhibit B* stands as an ephemeral and embodied '*lieu de mémoire'* in the commemoration of unacknowledged experiences of colonial genocide (Nora and Kritzman, 1996, p. xvii). In placing the 'archive' on the bodies of the performers or making the 'archive' the 'repertoire' *Exhibit B* becomes disruptive by lending corporeal visibility to the memory of the sexual abuse that marked Kaiser Wilhelm's colonial genocide (Taylor, 2003, p. 20).

In the next chapter, I turn my attention away from archival images and the museum space. I will focus on postcolonial nonverbal modes of remembering, by examining how the memory of the Namibian genocide is articulated and shaped through professional dance. I will examine the intersection of dance, death and disability in remembering the genocide.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOLD!: Re-Staging Dance, Death and Disability

The dance theatre *SOLD!* by Themba Mbuli which premiered at the 2016 Grahamstown National Festival of the Arts is unique in integrating differently abled dancers to confront and stage the Namibian genocide. The performance is a break from the prevailing absence of differently abled performers on global professional stages. Disability more often than not, exists as an artistic or cultural metaphor rather than an actuality on contemporary stages (Kuppers, 2004, p. 9). This status quo prevails despite most people's familiarity with the creative outputs of disabled artists like musicians, writers and painters.

This stage absence prevails despite the presence of iconic characters distinguished by their difference that mark the history of performance. From Greek theatre, Sophocles' blind Oedipus in *Oedipus Rex* easily comes to mind. William Shakespeare canonised physical difference through Richard III in *Richard III*; mental health through Lady Macbeth in *Macbeth* and Ophelia in *Hamlet*. Closer to our times Tennessee Williams immortalised limping through Laura in *The Glass Menagerie*. These iconic roles and characters notwithstanding, people with disabilities rarely grace the professional performance stages and/ or back-stages, outside of work crafted as therapeutic and or applied art. The situation is arguably even more acute in dance discourse where the non-disabled body is privileged and where 'physically disabled dancers are still seen as a contradiction in terms' (Albright, 1997, p. 63).

Mbuli says the performance which he dedicated to his grandmother, was inspired by the 'symptomatic opening' in the Namibian genocide discourse presented by the 2011 repatriation of twenty of forty-seven Namibian skulls from the Charité Medical University in Berlin, Germany to Windhoek, Namibia (Opuko, 2012). The dance performance pays particular attention to and is a homage to the unnamed four women and a three or four-year old boy whose mortal remains were among the twenty (nine were Herero and eleven were Nama and their ages ranged between twenty and forty). Their biographical information was ascertained through provenance tests conducted on the repatriated deceased human beings by the Charité Human Remains Project (CHRP) (Peter, 2011). An additional thirty-five more skulls from the Charité and Freiburg University archives were repatriated in March 2014 as I mentioned in Chapter Three and Four.

SOLD! was performed by the 2016 Standard Bank Young Artist for Dance Award winner Mbuli's Unmute Dance Company. It is a compelling presentation and representation of transgenerational memory, remembering, transition and endurance. The performance was collaboratively created by Mbuli, Nadine McKenzie, Teresa Phuti Mojela, Thandazile 'Sonia' Radebe, and Koleka Putuma who wrote and performed the show's spoken-word poetry texts. Acclaimed musician Neo Muyanga composed the performance score, while Jacqueline Dommisse was responsible for the dramaturgy. In examining this dance theatre and some components from the performance, as well as situating it within Unmute's *oeuvre* and repertoire as a mixed ability dance company, I wish to raise and investigate three broad but interconnected issues. First, I engage with how integrated dance and movement distinctly informs remembering. Secondly, I engage with the materiality of the disabled body and how it disrupts traditional notions about the dancing body. Thirdly I engage with performance's capacity to reflect and comment on the Namibian genocide and postcolonial legacies of colonial violence and terror.

Unmute Dance Company is a Cape Town based integrated dance ensemble established in 2013. The multiple-award winning company is currently South Africa's only integrated professional dance trope after Tshwaragano Dance Company and Remix Dance Project, both initiated by Adam Benjamin of the CandoCo fame, folded in 2012 (Alexandre, 2017, p. 129). Unmute Dance Company takes its name from the title of its inaugural production. *Unmute* (2013) was company co-artistic director Andile Vellem's debut performance as choreographer. The autobiographical performance explored Vellem's experience as a deaf professional dancer and creative in a career that spans over fifteen years. *Unmute* (2013) was the result of his experiments in using sign language to create a movement vocabulary accessible to dancers with mixed abilities. Unmute Dance Company's diverse cast with its different backgrounds, individually and as a collective deconstructs dance and who can be regarded as a dancer. The company's cutting edge productions metaphorically and literally un-mute 'feelings, perceptions, social norms and expectations' (Unmute, 2016). Through productions like *Unmute* (2013), *Ashed* (2015), *Trapped* (2015), *SOLD!* (2016) and a robust schools and community outreach program the company tours and presents its work locally and abroad. Since its founding the company has now grown into one of South Africa's most innovative and influential dance companies.

The analysis in this chapter primarily draws on three sources. Firstly, on media coverage that was generated by the performance *SOLD!*. Secondly, on interviews conducted with Mbuli who conceptualised, directed and choreographed the performance and the cast. This is triangulated with a thick description and analysis of the video footage captured by Dex

Goodman when the performance transferred to Artscape Theatre, Cape Town for a two-day run on the 4th and 5th of November 2016 (Mbuli, 2016). For this summer run *SOLD!* was presented as part of a double bill of Mbuli's recent works. It was presented alongside *Dark Cell*, a piece about political and mental imprisonment on Robben Island.

Structurally this chapter comes in six sections. It opens with this introduction on the genesis of the performance and performing company. This is followed by a section that contextualises dance, dancers and disability. A thick description of the performance forms the third section. The fourth section analysises *SOLD!* as a documentary theatre performance. The fifth section interogates disability as performance, while the politics of the gaze form the sixth, followed by a brief chapter conclusion.

This chapter adds to the literature insights that arise from the intersection and fusion of dance, dancers (dance(r)s) and disability in remembering the Namibian genocide. Conceptually I follow Albright (1997) who wrote on disability and identity on American and Western stages' lead. Drawing on her insights I interrogate the dance(r)s and identity intersection to 'explore the overlapping constructions of the body's physical ability, subjectivity and cultural visibility' specifically in genocide memorialisation (Albright, 1997, p. 58). Dance as an art-form straddles the 'intersection of bodily experience and cultural representation' (Albright, 1997, p. 119). The pre-eminence of the body in dance performance means that 'by emphasising the bodily being-in-the-world of humans, embodiment creates the possibility for the body to function as the object, subject, material, and source of symbolic construction, as well as the product of cultural inscription' (Fischer-Lichte,2008,p. 89).

This chapter's analysis of *SOLD!* uses two main analytical frameworks. Firstly, I use fact-based theatre literature to suggest that the dance performance draws on and expands the notion of documentary dramaturgy. Secondly, I draw on Bakhtin's notion of the 'grotesque' in his reflection on representation within Rabelais to analyse the dance(r)s-disability nexus. I realise that the use of the word 'grotesque' while engaging with bodies with different abilities, runs the risk of conjuring up very unpleasant and unacceptable stereotypes. Instead I seek to pierce the binary relationship that casts the disabled body as the opposite or the 'other' of the classically trained professional dancing body. I seek to expose and deconstruct the narrow cultural constructs and 'representational structures' that influence, sustain and maintain this tension (Albright, 1997, p. 63). This and related tensions is indicative of the fraught 'politics of naming' that underlines power and identity politics (Albright, 1997, p. 59).

Toxic racism and patriarchal gender stereotypes often influence how individuals and diverse experiences are named and defined. Some writers are cognizant of the fact that 'disability is not a universal category but a strategic name marking diverse differences' (Wilson and Lewiecki-Wilson, 2001, p. 10). They reflect this awareness by seeking ways to challenge gender and disability norms. Sometimes they proffer numerous constantly evolving alternate labels. These alternates recognise that individuals with disabilities are almost exclusively defined as the 'other' using terms that underline their real or perceived difference or lack. As a result, there is a deliberate push to shift disability identity constructions away from the 'lack' end of the spectrum. This is evident in some writers who prefer to shift focus from the 'disabled' dancer to those who are traditionally 'perceived of as normal-bodied' (Loots, 2015, p. 124). Such writers use the term 'non-disabled' for those traditionally exempted from having qualifiers in their label, thereby shifting the 'non' epithet (Loots, 2015, p. 124).

SOLD! on Stage

The 50-minute long poetic dance theatre piece is a physical interpretation of the brutal colonial violence and terror. The work consists of a series of vignettes, soliloquies, motifs and images that evoke different aspects of the Namibian genocide and the present. It runs without any intermission, with the seven dancers, telling the story of the Namibian genocide and continuity through a performance reincarnation of the four women whose skulls were part of the twenty human remains that were repatriated in 2011. Through these four characters, the dance theatre shows a fluid world animated by people and spirits occupying the present temporal zone and the past. It is structured as a tribute to the many unnamed, and often unheralded historical and contemporary matriarchs who sustain and facilitate the continuity of African communities. The dance theatre seeks to re-claim and reunite the women whose bodies were despoiled in concentration camps during the genocide, denied burial and funeral rites, and desecrated in the name of science and art in museums. The performance seeks to reconcile the four matriarchs' spirits with the land by granting them the individuality and personhood that they were stripped of.

SOLD! begins in the dark, with ritual invocations and prayers being offered to restless ancestors offstage. The outlines of a blood-red map of Namibia are barely visible on the theatre's back wall. The map was created out of hessian cloth and red sand, evoking the rolling sand dunes of the Omaheke desert. This banner hangs crucified against the back wall symbolically underlining the piece's entanglement with geography and memory. On the floor on stage left is a heap of white flour laid out to create the map of the African continent. As a single circle of light brightens centre-stage, it reveals a lone figure of a travel weary barefooted woman with a large, heavy sack load flung on her left shoulder and back (fig.26).

The bag itself is a make-shift blanket that has been strapped up over its contents and rolled up into a carrier bag that hangs over her shoulders to the back of her knees. She is dressed in a worn-out grey dress, a sleeveless jacket and dons a head scarf wrapped around her hair as she treks, rocking back and forth as if she is being carried by a tide. She sways on one location, with her eyes closed and downcast as she mimes the march in the Omaheke desert.

Figure 26. Rae Classen as a travel weary displaced Herero genocide survivor. Still photo from video by Dex Goodman

Rae Classen who plays the role, places delicately timed steps to the music score layered with the sound of wagons rattling on a dirt road, punctuated with death knells and water. With every step she takes, she stumbles, losing more strength and struggling under the weight of her load. We see her struggle with her heavy luggage which she strives to keep on her back, over her head, and hands as she exerts herself to keep moving. She shifts the bag around and does four anti-clock wise circle spins with the sack swinging in-front of her to regain her balance, before she drops the load and collapses, sinking to the ground on her knees alongside the sack. While on the ground Classen opens the baggage to reveal a large sack load full of different, oversized and misshapen skulls designed by Tanja Van Eck.

The bag becomes a symbolic burden of history and memory, while the differences in shape and size of the skulls point to the Eugenics and Phrenology experiments and other colonial science's drive to use anatomical difference as proof of racial hierarchies. Classen begins to tremble and dance as she unpacks the skulls from the sack, one at a time into a neat row on stage right. This opening scene transports us back in time to the Omaheke desert where the

Herero fled from the Waterberg battle after General Von Trotha's extermination order was proclaimed. The scene shifts the performance's attention from the colonialist and patriarchal impulses of macho male combatant war narratives and remembrance that we see through the Red Flag Day in Chapter Two for example. *SOLD!* instead focuses on the perspective and experience of women who lived and engaged in war. A second spotlight fades on to illuminate a second male dancer, Yaseen Manuel centre stage, who mirrors Classen's movement without the skulls, and who collapses to the ground as his spotlight fades out, plunging him into darkness.

Figure 27. Thandazile 'Sonia' Radebe's silent scream. Still photo from video by Dex Goodman

Classen continues to pick the skulls from the bag and to carefully lay them down as another spotlight fades on to light up a third dancer, Thandazile 'Sonia' Radebe (fig.27). Radebe stands, hands by her side, facing stage left with eyes closed, head tilted heavenwards, as she issues a harrowing, prolonged, heart-wrenching silent scream of lamentation. Her body contracts with uncontrollable spasms before she too, like the man before her, collapses to the ground as the spotlight fads to black. When the light briefly comes back on Radebe, we see her on her knees mirroring the movements of the bag carrier laying out the skulls on her right. The immediacy of loss and Radebe's scream transports us to the concentration camps.

The skull unpacking carries on in isolation as other dancers enter the stage. They are all dressed in shabby ashen and visibly worn grey costumes complete with the period Herero head wrap for women, designed by Shiba Sopotela. They include Nadine McKenzie who is

paralysed from the waist down and moves with the aid of a wheelchair. Andile Vellem who stood in for double-amputee Zamukulungisa Sonjica also makes his entrance at this point. Sonjica performed alongside Siphenathi Mayekiso-who has albinism, in the piece's Grahamstown premiere. McKenzie enters the stage self-propelling her manual wheelchair. She dances in arcs, circles and lines. Through her dance movement it appears as if the chair is an extension of the body and form one unit. The virtuosity she displays in 'her wheelchair revises the cultural significance of the chair, expanding its legibility as a signal of the handicapped into a sign of embodiment' (Albright, 1997, p. 83).

The performers crouch and pick the skulls up from the ground before the scene is transformed into a trance-like movement, accompanied by thunder and lighting. With this dance sequence the whole cast take to the stage to grieve and mourn for their losses. The performers move individually and as a group, turning in circles and constructing human body sculptures while elevating the skulls. The dancers fuse ballet and indigenous dance vocabularies in the choreography and usage of space. Line and vertical movements are weaved together with circular and spiral floor patterns, as well as gravity centred movements that confirm indigenous African spatial understandings of continuity and space. Using the skulls as their main props the dancers create contact sequences through silhouette and shadow images that are at once moving, haunting and astonishing. The dancers perform a group dance routine that comprises of cyclical and linear twirls and turns.

Remembrance and transgenerational memory are the focus of the next scene. We see Teresa Phuti Mojela foregrounded from the rest and performing a solo. She is joined by a second dancer whom she leads with words and in movement in a duet that fuses ballet movements and African dance. Mojela utters the first words in the piece and becomes a de-facto narrator while playing the role of an older woman teaching, through repeated *hortensia, vole* and *soubresaut* movements, a much younger looking Classen. The initiate collapses from the strain and effort and is lifted by Mojela, the mentor. Mojela corrects and guides Classen until they dance and move in sync. The scene closes with a striking image of the two women linked together as they turn their backs to the audience. Their arms are extended outwards gently flapping like extended wings, while the other is wrapped around one another, all the time balancing two skulls between their heads (fig.28). The two dancers form a haunting image of bone and flesh that links the dead and the living through motion in place and time. The two dancers, swirl together arms locked to one another's shoulders and the free arm fully extended outwards before the stage fads to black. A metaphorical joining of the two at the hip, heart and head, with the head-skull-skull-head linkage forming a chain of memory and knowledge binding the past and future through the living.

Figure 28. Sharing intergenerational memory. Still photo from video by Dex Goodman

This scene is also striking because it contains, through Majola, the very first vocal words uttered on stage in the dance theatre. With this act, the performance claims a vocal voice in a performance form that rarely uses it. This is significant in claiming the subjectivity of the dance and subject matter from a potentially objectifying audience gaze. The moment is crucial as 'moving from silence into speech is for the oppressed, the colonised, the exploited, and those who stand and struggle side by side a gesture of defiance that heals, that makes new life and new growth possible' (hooks, 1989, p. 9). 'It is that act of speech, of "talking back", that is no mere gesture of empty words, that is the expression of our movement from object to subject- the liberated voice' (hooks, 1989, p. 9). Through the surrogacy of the performers' bodies, the women whose skulls the production animates are granted not only a language, but a public corporeal immediacy and memory through remembering and performance.

Figure 29. Children of the Skulls. Still photo from video by Dex Goodman

In the next dance sequence that evokes postmemory and continuity all the dancers place the skulls between their legs (fig.29). The imagery evokes childbirth and becomes a symbolic birth of the skulls or renders the dancers on stage children of the skulls. The sequence changes to the skulls being picked up from the floor and to being tenderly passed from one dancer to the next. The passage of the skulls initiates a melancholic group dance routine that evokes the image of a chain supply belt like movement of the skulls from the neat rows to being scattered all over across the stage. If we follow Shakespeare in viewing the world as a stage, the dispersal becomes symbolic of the global circulation of colonial genocide bones across the world in the name of enlightenment. *SOLD!* becomes an embodied performative re-enactment of the global colonial circulation networks in the human body trade. The dancers create different images with the skulls. One cradles the skull, another straps the skull to her back, in manner that children are carried on their mothers' backs, while some kiss and commune with the skulls. The dance sequence gestures to the individuality and personhood of the dead, reclaiming them as individuals rather than mere cold, white bone scientific specimen.

The next scene opens with the five female dancers on stage forming a horizontal line facing the audience. The four non-disabled women are on their knees while Nadine McKenzie who is located second in the line sits on her chair. With subtle movements to beautiful melodic music, the dancers all carry and place a skull in front of where they are positioned. They all place their skulls in a parallel row to where they kneel and sit. They all turn their heads to stage left, while holding their hands together in-front of them as they inhale and exhale deeply. Their bound outstretched hands are held out to us as the audience and we are implicated in that position, as the German officers watching and overseeing the skull preparation (fig.30). The invisible shackles holding their hands together are removed and they dip the skulls into hot water. The scene animates the horror experienced by the women in concentration camps in preparing the severed human heads of their families and community as skulls for export. The dancers all scrape and gouge the eyes out in unison to a background score overlaid with spoken word poetry composed by Koleka Putuma. The movement and poetry amplify the women's horror and trauma at having to carry out this heinous exercise. The woman scrape themselves and try to clean their hands and eyes of what they see, touch and smell as they carry the skulls away. The light fades out on the scene as four of the women exit the stage.

Figure 30. Herero women preparing skulls for export in concentration camps. Still photo from video by Dex Goodman

The fifth woman, Thandazile 'Sonia' Radebe, who remains on stage, performs one of the most bracing solos of the performance. The solo is richly textured with spoken word poetry that she delivers while in motion. Radebe recites an ode to women as bearers of life through the dance-poem. She interrogates and challenges the disenfranchisement of women under the guise of religion, politics, culture and other sexist social structures. She asks in terms that call to mind the '*Am I not a Woman and a Sister*' slavery abolition campaign (Brown, 1983). Radebe links the violence and terror of the invasion and colonisation of land and space with the continual colonisation of women's bodies while intoning:

> My womb carries life for nine months,
> The breast feeds a new born
> My vagina bleeds for seven days
> My tongue can create
> So tell me,
> How am I not Godly
> When all my body does is to give life? (Mbuli, 2016).

The dance-poem carries on by reminding us of the dire position women have faced through time. It reiterates how so very little in way of real emancipation seems to be on the horizon in colonial societies and contemporary times where violent control over women's bodies is institutionalised. The emphasis in this and other scenes in framing and celebrating women in child bearing terms can potentially run afoul with some today. In the performance context however, and in the perspective of the cultures being represented this attention becomes politically symbolic. This is partly because for a people who escaped near total annihilation through colonial genocide, procreation and survival becomes a form of resistance. Focusing on the vibrancy of matrimonial worldviews becomes a postcolonial strategy against the patriarchal terms that frame imperial colonial invasion and conquest. Radebe concludes the solo by bringing the skull to her face, kisses it and exits with the skull linked to her face. This scene leads into the climatic auction scene that lends the dance theatre its title.

This title scene depicts an auction that evokes historical slave auctions, which are linked to contemporary financial markets and stock exchanges through the use of the Euro as the currency of exchange in the trade. The whole cast is back on the stage, running and wheeling frantically to supply and participate in the auction. The soundscape evokes a modern-day stock exchange market with boisterous traders. A loud hailing voice of a male auctioneer announces the prices. The skulls go for sale, with bids starting at a single Euro, and only going up to two Euros. The prices and bids are announced in a call and response manner with various female and male voices responding 'SOLD!'. The scene evokes the slave human and body markets of old and connects the capitalist commodification of humans as goods in the modern-day capital markets. The voices rise to a crescendo as the sale frenzy intensifies, before the auctioneer breaks down to a nightmarish repetitive call 'SOLD!'. He transforms from being the merchant conducting the trade, into the merchandise on sale.

The scene can be understood as an indictment of capital and capital markets that commodified people into objects and commodities to be acquired by the highest bidder and the continuities of the same in the postcolony. The low prices serve as a metaphor for the low value placed on African lives and goods in the pursuit of profit, as well as a poignant pointer to the fragility and callousness of capital systems. All these pointers would not have been lost to audiences familiar with the 2008 global financial crisis and recession triggered by and on Wall Street. The scene transitions into another as the auctioneer is awoken from the nightmare by a female dancer who cradles him from behind initiating a mother and son duet.

The mother and son duet turns into a harrowing dirge for the dead. The cast forms a chorus-like response as they stand and step over their skulls creating various heights and lines, while the wheelchair bound McKenzie places the skulls on the floor and chair. The caller's cries underline the duet about a mother whose son suffers nightmares after the hanging and beheading of his father. The mother pleads with a German soldier who has come to fetch the son to take her instead. The mother-son duet is highly affective as the two circulate and carry each other (fig.31). The duet is staged over a stage surface covered with white flour. One of the most moving images in the choreography occurs in this sequence. The mother carries the taller and heavier son and lifts him upside down, while chanting about how grief and trauma makes time stand still, by repeatedly chanting 'tick-tock, tick-tock' (Mbuli, 2016). The duo uses their bodies to symbolise the clock and time standing still by lifting and rotating one another on one spot. This physically exerting choreography is interwoven with a detailed narration from the export and laboratory catalogues of the skulls by researchers. The son executes a *tour en l'air* before the duet ends with the two collapsing to the ground as the mother repeats the sound of the clock 'tick-tock' (Mbuli, 2016).

Figure 31. Mother and son still time duet. Still photo from video by Dex Goodman

The scene changes to the present, where the female narrator is back on her knees as she collects and clasps a handful of the white flour off the ground which she throws into the air forming a cloud of dust. This movement accompanies her roll call of different beleaguered African countries. The cast responds by joining her on the floor to spread the white flour dust across the entire stage while intoning the different postcolonial challenges besetting the countries from civil war, to starvation. It is as if to say the plague of the first colonial encounter spreads like dust across the land.

The cast members are on all fours making patterns on the flour, while the wheelchair makes wheel tracks over the white floor. The scene closes with the cast making a deafening cacophony of the country names and their postcolonial challenges. The sequence closes with the image of the whole cast momentarily coming together to reform the bone and flesh chain we saw earlier. This time the head-skull chain is formed by all seven performers who link their heads and place the skulls between them, before moving downstage as one mass and collapsing into the ground (fig.32).

Figure 32. Bone and flesh chain of memory. Still photo from video by Dex Goodman

This leads into a scene where the wheelchair bound McKenzie takes centre stage. She is framed by two dancers, a male dancer to her right and a female dancer to her left. The trio execute a fast tempo synced dance routine that compliments and integrates the wheelchair in the choreography (fig. 33 & 34). The male and female dancers take turns to join her on the chair, by lying horizontally with limbs extended into a star shape on the chair's back. McKenzie wheels the chair around while the third spins the two bodies around in a modified chair-based *piroutte*. The two non-disabled dancers then lift McKenzie together with her chair and spins her around before placing her back on the ground. This is followed by a duet where the male dancer lifts McKenzie from the wheelchair with a *ballonné* and spins with her in the air, while she executes an *arabesque*. Another non-disabled dancer occupies and moves the wheelchair to a different space where the spinning duo re-joins the chair. The other cast members return, to join the duo. Dancers are flung onto the chair and roll over McKenzie's legs on the wheel chair. Some do a *fouetté en tournant* before forming acrobatic pyramid contraptions around the chair.

Figure 33. McKenzie leading a trio. Still photo from video by Dex Goodman

Figure 34. McKenzie in a duet. Still photo from video by Dex Goodman

The choreography sequence shifts the use of mobile paraphernalia from being an index of deficiency to redefining the parameters of inclusive autonomy. The choreography challenges the traditional and cultural expectation that dancers move unaided. The heightened dancing is tempered into a meditative tempo by spoken word poetry about historical and contemporary violence against women's bodies through the brutalities of rape, economic depravation and loss. The poetry presents vivid images of the blood shed, land disposition and the trauma of

remembering the dead to continue living. The poet, Koleka Putuma emerges from stage left, with a heap of poles stacked across her arms, reciting the following:

> The Soil, The Soil, The Soil
> The soil is bleeding trauma
> The memory says let me out
> The massacre says remember me
> The soil says it still hurts
> The skeleton, the skeleton points to where it fell
>
> The blood says find me on the perpetrator's hands
> The blood says wash me from the victim's bodies
> The blood says do not let the children see the bath
> The blood says do not let the youth wash in it
> The blood says the grave is no place for healing
> The blood says there is enough blood lost to mark the countries it has flooded
>
> There is enough blood for us to die
> There is enough blood left for us to live
> The blood says live,
> The blood says live
> Justice, justice (Mbuli, 2016).

Putuma ends on a looped call for justice that is echoed by the entire cast as the poles that she brings are used as masts for the skulls which are hoisted as flags atop the poles. The poet begins a new call for justice, revolution and vengeance for the violence. This next poem is accompanied by McKenzie using the skulls that the other cast members bring to her to construct a grave mound on stage left, before she stages another mast pole duet with Classen centre-stage. The other dancers collect the flour dust to cover the grave heap of skulls that McKenzie creates. This leads to another poem that echoes the sound of Herero women subjected to rape by colonial officers and recounts of the horror of being killed with their hands held up in surrender. The voices form a haunting chorus as they shout that they do not want to return home on a postcard.

Yaseen Manuel then takes to centre stage in a solo that is punctuated by an Islamic *Dua* (prayer for the dead) recital in Arabic and calls for prayers in memory of the dead. Andile Vellem joins in as Manuel retreats and continues the solo with a skull and pole mast in hand. Vellem uses the pole and skull as a walking stick in an indigenous ritual dance to placate the dead. With the death rituals over, the female dancers are lit one at a time as they break from

role and deliver small personal vignettes about their identity and religious struggles in the postcolony. McKenzie who has now come off her wheelchair, drags herself on the ground as she says 'I inherited more than one mother-tongue' and repeats this in Afrikaans (Mbuli, 2016). McKenzie says she feels like this splits her identity and personhood so much so that 'it feels like I will die if I speak it, and I will die if I don't' (Mbuli, 2016).

This biographical reference is a particularly poignant reflection on heritage coming from McKenzie who like half of the cast are identified in South African parlance as 'coloured'. The juxtaposing of this scene with the poem on the sexual abuse of African women by European settlers seems to suggest that McKenzie and others like her, struggle with and have to literally drag themselves to reconcile the knowledge of having this violation and violence as a part of their identity. The fluidity of identity is reinforced by the second speaker, who recounts her experience of being a siPedi woman, who speaks isiZulu and dreams in seTswana. The poet reiterates the complexity of religion and cultural affirmation by opining:

> My family knees and prays '*Our Father*'
> They do not burn *imphepho*
> They tell me God is in heaven
> And the ancestors are in the soil
> I am somewhere in between (Mbuli, 2016).

SOLD! closes with a scene where all the dancers collect the skulls that have been scattered across the stage and put on display on spikes all over the stage. The last speaker repeats the call 'I don't want to be a photograph. I don't want to die with my hands up or with my legs open' (Mbuli, 2016). The gathering of the skulls from all over the stage, echoes the calls for repatriation of the skulls. The repatriation call is aimed not only at the many German archives and collections holding Namibian skulls. The call goes as far afield as the United States of America where recent reports point to the presence of Namibian mortal remains in the American Museum of Natural History (Burke, 2017). All the dancers collect the white flour dust which they pour onto the grave mound, as more and more skulls are brought to the mound. In this way, the performance reminds us that a century on, most of the genocide dead still lie without being accorded any proper burial. The performance gives the victims funeral and burial rites that they were denied at death and may not receive as they lie in archives, often abandoned and unaccounted for. This white dust and skull dance sequence could also be read as a metaphor that indicates the erosion of the humanity of the dead. The erasure of their lives and the burying away of the truth of life that the bones signal and symbolise.

Dance as Documentary Theatre

Structurally *SOLD!* can be understood as documentary theatre. Mbuli like fellow documentary theatre makers, recognises that 'History and memory exist on two parallel lines but not identical lines: the archive (documents) and the repertoire (emodied memory, oral tradition)' (Martin, 2010, pp. 19–20). 'With documentary theatre, the domains of the archive and the repertoire are interwovern…what is outside the archive-glances, gestures, body language, the felt experience of space and the proximity of bodies…it is precisely what is not in the archive, what is added by making the archive into repertory that infuses documentary theatre with its particular theatrical viability' (Martin, 2010, pp. 19–20).

As a dance theatre piece, *SOLD!* is part of a dramaturgical departure from the text-based documentary performances that are common on South African stages (Maedza, 2017). *SOLD!* and other dance and music performances constitute a 'choreographic sub-genre of documentary theatre' (Friedman, 2015, p. 55). *SOLD!* sits in this sub-genre alongside performances like Philip Miller's 2007 opera *REwind: A Cantata for Voice, Tape and Testimony* (2009), Mark Taylor's multimedia dance performance *Witness* (1995) and Gregory Burke's *Black Watch* (2010). These and similar performances constitute an area that is sparsely covered in documentary theatre practice and scholarship (Friedman, 2015, p. 55; Martin, 2010).

SOLD!'s documentary status is further evidenced through Mbuli's reliance on historical records on the genocide and skull repatriation. He translates these into a repertoire of images and motifs that animate the archive. Mbuli's choreograpy staged against a primarily minimalist and bare stage sees the dancers in *SOLD!* using the countless skull casts as their main theatrical device. In this way the performance amplifies and animates the primacy of human skulls as an icon of German colonial violence and genocide. As Veltruskÿ reminds us, 'if a prop/object appears on stage with [or without] a performer's presence, it shapes the action and is perceived as an independent subject equivalent to the figure of the actor' (1955, p. 88). This theatrical device is affective and effective in symbolising the callous despoiling of Namibian indigenous people in performance.

Mbuli interweaves history and biography to craft a choreography that combines his and the cast's personal stories with the Namibian cultural memory of the genocide. Mbuli traces and enjoins the break up of African structures like families that still manifests itself in cycles of absentee fathers to the violence of colonial conquest. Mbuli makes this connection explicit in interviews and in the show's publicity material where he says *SOLD!* is a dedication and

celebration of the fortitude of his own grandmother who raised him in Soweto (Unmute, 2016). Through performance the cast lend their bodies and corporiality to the unammed four women whose remains were repatriated who symbolise the streangth of countless women who are the bedrocks of societies recovering from colonial violence. The cast become 'hyperhistorians' who combine self-reflexive performance and cultural testimony in re-imaging the lives of those who died in the genocide (Rokem, 2000, p. 36).

Disability and Victim Art

Figure 35. McKenzie spinning in the air. Still photo from video by Dex Goodman

Mbuli's use of dance to foster remembering of the Namibian genocide on the postcolonial professional stage is particularly apt given the history of colonial bans and restrictions imposed on dance as an avenue for personal and cultural expression (fig.35). As I indicated in Chapter Two, African bodies occupying space through dance and other forms of cultural, identity and sexual expression were often considered subversive. African dance expression was often subjected to colonial power mechanisms of bioethics by missionaries and colonial officials (Gewald, 2000, p. 213). This chapter's positive appraisal of mainstreaming dance by and with differently abled dancers is not universally shared. Opposition to such initiatives has been captured and is often expressed in what has come to be termed 'the victim art debate' (Kuppers, 2004, p. 52). This unfortunate debate was publicly ignited by *The New Yorker* dance critic Arlene Croce who notoriously refused to watch and review the dance piece *Still/Here* by Bill T. Jones (Bhabha, 1995; Martin, 1996). *Still/Here* is a multi-media dance concert spliced with video footage of individuals reflecting on their experiences of living with and their possible imminent demise due to various terminal illness.

Croce began her non-review titled *Discussing the Undiscussable* by boldly admitting to transgressing the cardinal rule of live performance criticism by writing 'I have not seen Bill T. Jones's *Still/Here* and have no plans to review it' (Croce, 1994, p. 54). Croce castigated *Still/Here* as 'intolerably voyeuristic' on the basis of what she had heard and read of the show (1994, p. 54). Croce lambasted Jones's show as an exemplar of other transgressive intolerable integrated company performances. Croce claims 'as a dance critic, I've learned to avoid dancers with obvious problems-overweight dancers…old dancers, dancers with sickled feet, or dancers with physical deformities who appear nightly in roles requiring beauty of line' (1994, p. 55). The critic castigated such art and cultural productions as 'victim art' and argued that 'by working dying people into his act, Jones is putting himself beyond the reach of criticism' (1994, p. 54).

Croce's primary objection to 'putting these people on stage' and to giving such work critical attention being that such work fails to satisfy the principle of 'choice' which she considers the bedrock of artistic merit (1994, p. 54). Croce argued that 'in theatre, one chooses what one will be. The cast members of *Still/Here*-the sick people whom Jones has signed up-have no choice other than to be sick' (1994, p. 54). *Still/Here* for Croce represents an unacceptable instance where the artist 'crossed the line between theatre and reality' (1994, p. 54). As a critic Croce laments that in such integrated work, 'I can't review someone I feel sorry for or hopeless about' (1994, p. 57). She castigates *Still/Here* and similarly integrated work as politicised 'manipulative', 'blackmail' presented by artists framed 'as dissed blacks, abused women, or disfranchised homosexuals' (Croce, 1994, p. 55). That Croce's diatribe against integrated work in general and specifically at Jones who is an openly gay African American man living with HIV found some resonance warrants close reflection. The criticism and resonance speaks to the alarming reality that some sections of society deemed as having 'obvious problems' (Croce, 1994, p. 55) can be and are denied their humanity. This is because the agency of choice and self-determination form the basis of basic human decency on and possibly off stage.

For individuals who hold this narrow conservative view, integrated works like *SOLD!* do not merit attention since 'the body must not bear trace of its debt to nature: it must be clean and proper to be fully symbolic' (Kristeva, 1982, p. 102). The performative ability of anybody who for any reason departs or falls short of this ideal is summarily stripped and revoked and they are deemed incapable of making a choice in their representation. This exclusionary gatekeeping approach ascribes unto itself the power and duty to define and legitimate what counts and belongs in the realm of art and is particularly glaring in integrated dance.

I draw on Judith Butler's work on sex and gender to show that apart from being obnoxious, especially without even seeing the integrated work, such an approach displays a gap in reasoning. Croce's argument relies on her assumption or the refusal to see as an assumption, the difference she constructs between the aesthetic dancing body and those 'with obvious problems' (1994, p. 55). Croce assumes that the ontology she ascribes to both is natural and obvious. She seems or pretends to be oblivious of the fact that it is in and through her '*naming of'* both that she creates them as subcategories (Bordwell, 1998, p. 374). Croce usurps the 'power to establish what qualifies as "being"' (Butler, 1993, p. 188). Croce's effort 'works not only through reiteration, but through exclusion as well. And in the case of bodies, these exclusions haunt signification as its abject borders or as that which is strictly foreclosed: the unlivable, the nonnarrativizable, the traumatic' (Butler, 1993, p. 188). Following Butler, Croce's non-review and its 'obvious' categories of 'victim art' on one hand and 'real art' (1994, p. 55) on the other, as well as the gap in between are 'performative' (Butler, 1993, p. 217). For Butler, 'to the extent that a term is performative, it does not merely refer, but acts in some way to constitute that which it enunciates' (1993, p. 217).

Figure 36. McKenzie in a group choreography. Still photo from video by Dex Goodman

In short, integrated performances like *SOLD!* remind us of their potential to disrupt and shift the dance and disability status quo. When a disabled performer takes to the stage as audiences we witness disability's 'hypervisibility' with a 'double vision' (Albright, 1997, p. 58). We witness both the choreography and the disability (fig.36). In a manner of speaking the 'disability *is*, but isn't clear' because 'pain and muscular effort *is*, but isn't readable, and knowable, and to be put into pat narratives' (Kuppers, 2004, p. 68; italics in the original). Through integrated performance, disabled artists and in this case dancers, materialise

Foucault's 'biopower' (Foucault, 1998). Integrated works like *SOLD!* show that there is no contradiction in seeing artistry and disability or 'obvious problems' as Croce (1994, p. 55) calls it, as making equal contributions in the overall dance performance aesthetic.

Disability as performance

While the presence of disabled performers in and of itself is not a new contemporary phenomenon; it is the reception of such bodies that has undergone and is going through what could be described as a revolutionary turn as this section will show. The genocide and disability nexus offers a new intersection to interrogate genocide and remembering. Research by Kuppers (2004) suggests at least two broad trajectories in the staging and reception of disability in performance since the 18th century. The first trajectory is what she terms the 'freak display' which operated as an avenue which can be considered as 'professional skilled work' since it sometimes availed 'paid opportunities and social organisation' (Kuppers, 2004, p. 31). Freak shows were then also known as exhibitions of biological rarities or freaks of nature. While I agree with most of Kuppers's (2004) analysis, it is fair to point out that the research displays a worrying blind-spot on historical racial dynamics. This could be due to Kuppers's attempt to read the archive against the grain and to demonstrate the agency that some of the 'freak' performers had in actively shaping their experience on stage (Kuppers, 2004, p. 31).

As I showed in Chapter Four, the Sara Bartmann scandal demonstrates that we should be cautious of presentism in positive appraisals that underplay the racism and slavery that sustained and prevailed in the display of non-Europeans and the disabled as exotic beings at the freak shows. The freak show as a public spectacle was sanctioned as a vehicle for 'edification and morality, mixed with commercialism and sensationalism' (Kuppers, 2004, p. 33). According to Rosemarie Garland-Thomson who writes on the genre's spread in the United States, 'In an era of social transformation and economic reorganisation, the nineteenth century freak show was a cultural ritual that dramatised the era's physical and social hierarchy by spotlighting bodily stigmata that could be choreographed as an absolute contrast to 'normal' American embodiment and authenticated as corporeal truth' (1997, p. 63).

The second trajectory that performances by disabled people took according to Kuppers is in the 'medical theatre' (2004, p. 31). The 'medical theatre' offered no remuneration for the subjects of the gaze and was marked by 'precarious social forms' (Kuppers, 2004, p. 31). The medical theatre played and thrived in university affiliated anatomy theatres across Europe under the 'diagnostic gaze' of the medical profession (Kuppers, 2004, p. 39). Those framed as the 'Other' perform their corporeal materiality for the medical officials who marshal the power to deconstruct and define the signs and meanings of the bodies (Kuppers, 2004).

In the 17th century, administrators, the clergy, royalty, merchants, the general public as well as tourists flocked to cities like Amsterdam, Padua, Paris, London and Leiden to pay and partake in the spectacle of difference and death in the name of Enlightenment. As Sara Bartmann's experience in London and Paris again shows, Kuppers's (2004) two categories- the freak show and the medical theatre were not mutually exclusive. Bartmann as previously discussed in Chapter Four was displayed in both theatres, in life and in death. Read against this background the presence of disabled performers in *SOLD!* links the supply of skulls from Namibia, with the freak shows. This link opens possibilities for furthermore nuanced study and appreciation of the nature of colonial enlightenment's medical theatres as a knowledge regime (Foucault, 1994).

Grotosque Dance(r)s

Kuppers traces the origins of the word 'grotesque' to ancient Rome where the Latin word 'grottos' was used to describe the 'hidden places, caves, places where the aesthetic eye can rest from order, symmetry, and can lose itself in the folds and baroque display of detail and ornamentation that characterise the grotesque style' (Kuppers, 2004, p. 45). That is to say, *grottos* were places that stood out in their refusal or non-conformity of the accepted norms. It is in this sense that Bakhtin used the notion to interrogate the levity that characterised carnival as a suspension and departure from the mores and norms that ordinarily govern the structures of the everyday. It is in this vein that McKenzie's wheelchair, Sonjica's double amputation, Mayekiso's albinism and Vellem's deafness in *SOLD!* acquire a 'hypervisibility' in integrated performance as they symbolise and embody a break or departure from the statuesque aristocratic 'dancerly body' (Kuppers, 2014, p. 114).

Following Bakhtin's understanding of the carnivalesque, it is as Kuryluk suggests that 'the meaning of the grotesque is constituted by the norm which it contradicts: the order it destroys, the values it upsets, the authority and morality it derides, the religion it ridicules, the harmony it breaks up, the heaven it brings down to earth, the position of classes, races, and sexes it reverses, the beauty and goodness it questions. The word 'grotesque' makes sense only if one knows what the 'norm' represents-in art and in life' (1987:11).

The double vison with which non-disabled audiences see the dancers with disability's 'physicality' in *SOLD!* constructs the dancers as oppositional to normative norms of what a dancer looks like, while the inclusive choreography confounds normative notions of what dance is or should be (Kuppers, 2004, p. 49). Carrie Sandahl suggests that 'dancers in wheelchairs or on crutches…challenge what it means to be bodies moving through space. As

they dance with each other or with the nondisabled, these disabled bodies disrupt traditional representations of relationships; their sharing of balance is asymmetrical, suggesting interdependence based on accommodation rather than dominance or virtuosity' (1999, pp. 27–28) (fig.37).

The aforementioned Unmute dancers are 'grotesque' in as much as their stage image, 'acknowledges its secondariness to the dominant, but … nevertheless holds the power to remind us that the status quo isn't all there it' (Kuppers, 2004, p. 46). As people living with disability on and off the stage the dancers' grotesque status means that they each have to negotiate 'invisibility as an active member in the public sphere, and hypervisibility and instant categorisation as passive consumer and victim in much of the popular imagination' (Kuppers, 2004, p. 49). This double and paradoxical nature of disability serves as an apt metaphor for the status of the Namibian genocide skulls as well. In performance and off stage the skulls indicate a present absence the dead as well as their graves and trigger remembering in *SOLD!*.

Figure 37. McKenzie and Classen in a duet. Still photo from video by Dex Goodman

The Gaze

In this section I explore the gaze through which disability is seen on stage and how it fosters remembering in *SOLD!*. Gaze can be understood as 'the myriad ways that bodies are constructed by others' (Harmon, 2015, p. 494). It has been suggested for instance that for the disabled, medical practitioners' '"clinical gaze" strips them down, and with the advent of advanced imagining technologies, increasingly opens them up to look inside' (Harmon, 2015, p. 494). This is 'disempowering' leading to 'feelings of shame, vulnerability, and invalidation' (Harmon, 2015, p. 494). Offstage people living with disability feel subjected to 'the social gaze' which constructs them in two broad ways. Nondisabled people generally construct the disabled as 'either the objects of care or sympathy requiring social protection' or 'the objects of derision resulting in isolation, concealment, and prosthetic masking' (Harmon, 2015, p. 494). In its many manifestations, the gaze constructs people with disability as the deviant 'Other'. The stage, and in the case of *SOLD!,* dance serves as a platform for self-representation that showcases and expresses alternate and multiple dynamic experiences that are not often captured or refused acknowledgement.

It is particularly symbolic to draw on such bodies to explore the equally obscure and public secret-like status of the Namibian genocide. Disability serves as a metaphor that shows how the ontological historicity of the genocide, like the corporeal materiality of disability cannot be disputed. However various descendent actors cast different gazes upon this materiality. The ongoing contest for acknowledgement shows that the constructions and group interests that are attached to colonial genocide and restitution can at times seem to be diametrically opposed. *SOLD!* as a performance interpretation offers an imaginative construction of the colonial terror from the gaze of the four women victims whose names and lives have been lost to history.

SOLD! constructs the repatriated skulls of the victims of the Namibian genocide as subjects rather than objects. This subverts and shifts the subhuman outlaw status the indigenous Namibians were accorded by the colonial regime, and the scientific specimen and artefacts gaze of colonial enlightenment scientists and their successor knowledge regimes. *SOLD!* complicates and problematises the 'looking away from people who make us uncomfortable' that often accompanies disability, and by extension postcolonial calls to talk about colonial genocide and terrorism (Garland-Thomson, 2009, p. 83). Looking away in performance, or offstage becomes 'active denial of acknowledgement' and a 'deliberate obliteration of personhood' (Garland-Thomson, 2009, p. 83).

Death on display

Figure 38. Onstage grave made from skulls and dusk. Still photo from video by Dex Goodman

In this section of the chapter I reflect and expand on the last image of the skeleton and white flour grave mount in *SOLD!* to engage once more with how the Namibian genocide is remembered in performance (fig.38). The symbolic value attached to the skulls on stage in performance mirrors that of the repatriated Herero and Nama skulls offstage. For a people who venerate the dead as these and as shown through the annual Red Flag Day in Chapter Two, the grave as a final resting place for mortal remains is an essential marker of the continuity of the circle of life and is essential in marking claims to territorial space. The dead are buried in the land, and the living use the graves to forge a chain of memory that links them to the dead and to the lands upon which the ancestors are buried.

Given such attachments, 'to be human means above all to bury' (Harrison, 2003, p. xi). The primacy of this edge to bury is well captured in *SOLD!*. The final stage image of a performance grave in *SOLD!* becomes a salutation to the ongoing protracted struggle for genocide acknowledgement and the return of the mortal remains despoiled in the course of the Namibian genocide and colonialism (Erichsen, 2005). Through the stage grave, Mbuli echoes and proposes a treatment to the psychic wound that some of the Namibian genocide descendants proclaim in their calls for the repatriation of all human remains. Mbuli's stage grave seems to say 'the work of getting the dead to die in us, as opposed to dying with our dead, is all the more arduous if not impossible when the dead body goes missing' (Harrison, 2003, p. 147).

In *SOLD!* the temporality of performance serves as a metaphor for the temporality of life. In using the grave as the closing image Mbuli seems to suggest that to withhold the mortal remains of victims of the Namibian genocide and to perpetuate the absence of graves and closure, could potentially be more cruel and barbaric an act of violence than the killing itself. Confronted with a similar dilemma, Tiresias the seer asks in *Antigone* 'where is the glory, killing the dead twice over?' (Sophocles, 1984, p. 112). The denial of this fundamental rite for the dead propels Antigone to her destruction. The withholding of genocide acknowledgement and with it the mortal remains of the dead becomes an example of the 'absolute crime' in Derrida's terms (2001, p.62). 'The absolute crime does not only occur in the form of murder' he argues, but also through 'unforgiveable' actions including 'depriving the victim of this right to speech, of speech itself, of the possibility of all manifestation, of all testimony' (Derrida, 2001, p. 62).

Antigone could very well have been voicing the experience of the Namibians who experienced genocide and terror under General Von Trotha and the fate of their contemporary descendants when she says:

> What's to become of us?...
> There's a general order issued.
> And again it hits us hardest.
> The ones we love, it says,
> Are enemies of the state.
> To be considered traitors-…
>
> Polynices is denied
> Any burial at all.
>
> Word has come down from Creon.
> There's to be no laying to rest,
> No mourning, and the corpse
> Is to be publically dishonoured.
> His body's to be dumped,
> Disposed of like a carcass.
> Left out for the birds to feed on... (Heaney, 2004, p. 2).

Conclusion

SOLD! can be considered as a performative response to what has been described as the ethical responsibility and duty of mourning for the dead and to bear witness that faces the living. The dance theatre reincarnates the four women whose mortal remains were part of the inaugural repatriation in 2011. It seems to suggest that postcolonial justice demands that the dead be remembered, repatriated, honoured and be buried with mourning rites and ceremonies. The merging of different dance forms and differently abled bodies seems to be a symbol for the postcolonial influences and worldviews in remembering the Namibian genocide. Understood in this way *SOLD!* becomes a temporal performative record and embodiment of the Namibian genocide memory. The dance and disability nexus is a crucial postcolonial platform to deconstruct ableism and colonial dance discourse. Integrated dance breaks traditional notions of the dancerly body and inspires a distinct form of remembering colonial violence and terror through documentary dance theatre.

The next chapter turns to metatheatre as another important remembrance performance tradition. I turn my attention away from dancers to focus on actors as 'hyerhistorians' (Rokem, 2000, p.36). I will focus on elaborating how memories circulate across time and space. I will pay attention to understanding how meta-theatre is used to foster and remember the Namibian genocide in the African diaspora.

CHAPTER SIX

We Are Proud to Present a Presentation About the Herero of Namibia Formerly Known as Southwest Africa, From the German Sudwestafrika, Between the Years 1884–1915: Re-Imagining the Past and Staging Absence

On 22 February 2017 in New Haven, United States of America, Yale Dramat unveiled director Shariffa Chelimo Ali's *We Are Proud to Present a Presentation About the Herero of Namibia Formerly Known as Southwest Africa, From the German Sudwestafrika, Between the Years 1884–1915* at the Yale University Theatre. The play was written by Yale alumnus, Jackie Sibblies Drury and had its world premiere in April 2012 at the Victory Gardens Theatre, Chicago, Illinois. In the same year on the 15th of November 2012, it had its New York debut off-Broadway at the Soho Repertory Theatre where it ran till 02 December 2012. New York is significant in this story as it is also the place where two class actions against Germany have been filled by the Herero-Nama descendants- one unsuccessful and one filled in 2017 currently underway- as they seek recourse to the law in efforts to get Germany to officially recognise and account for the genocide.

Since its premiere the play has had multiple runs at various venues. It has been staged at venues across the United States from Los Angeles, Oklahoma, Texas, Indiana, South Carolina, Washington, DC to Boston. Internationally the play has played in Canada and at the Bush Theatre in London, United Kingdom. In this chapter I cast my gaze at this domestic and trans-Atlantic circulation to investigate how the memory of the Namibian genocide travels across space and time. Using the Yale University Theatre performance and a close textual analysis of the published play-text this chapter reflects on how memories circulate transnationally, across generations and time. This circulation node is essential to reflect on as it reveals how societies articulate, circulate, structure, memory and remember mass violence through performance.

This account particularly interrogates the dialectic relationship connecting racialised violence, memory and space in how the Namibian genocide is memorialised. I suggest that the past should more accurately be understood as a result of the present (Kubal, 2008). That is to say, present needs and future aspirations often dictate what and how the past is remembered since present concerns and particularities hold sway and inform how genocide memory is framed. The political nature of Namibian genocide acknowledgement, remembering and forgetting, further dictates that the chapter consider the ethics of remembrance performance.

I engage with the performance's metatheatre form and content to argue that in interrogating how the Namibian genocide is remembered there is value in 'both the facts of the matter and a narrative of those facts, both "what happened" and "that which is said to have happened"' (Trouillot, 1995). What this chapter is concerned with then, are the roles and processes of metatheatre in constituting and transmitting postmemory societies. It specifically examines the interchange between metatheatre and the social world it references. I suggest that *We Are Proud to Present* is a contemporary transnational Namibian genocide memory play. A memory play is by definition, a performance 'in which the intention to remember and/or forget comes prominently to the fore, with or without the aid of a remembering narrator; in which the phenomenon of memory is a distinct and central area of the drama's attention' (Favorini, 2008, p. 138).

In memory plays, 'memory is presented as a way of knowing the past different from, though not necessarily opposed to, history; or in which memory or forgetting serves as a crucial factor in self-formation and/or self-deconstruction' (Favorini, 2008, p. 138). My framing of *We Are Proud to Present* as a memory play is informed by Maaike Bleeker's writing on technology and memory (2012). For Bleeker, 'The medium of performance is a technology of remembrance as well as a way of inscribing memories into individual and collective memory' (2012, p. 2). Bleeker grounds the phenomena of performance as a remembrance technology in how various performance forms; from classic tragedies, ritual dances, parades to commemorations have been used historically as an 'apparatus of memory' (2012, p. 2). In these instances, performance has been and is used to 'revive history, to re-present the dead, to remember historical events, to commemorate and to reconsider' in shaping the identities of nations and or cultures. Performance is also used to critically question remembering by individuals and or the collective (Bleeker, 2012, p. 2).

This chapter is structured into eight sections. It is comprised of this Introduction, followed by a conceptual overlay in the second section titled Re-Imagining the Past and Staging Absence. The play synopsis and dramaturgy follow in the third section that examines the play as performance**.** The chapter goes on to explain how cultural images move in the fourth section titled Memory circulations. I consider more precisely the work of theatre in memory formation in the fifth to the seventh sections that examine performance as a medium of remembrance, object of remembrance, and production of cultural memory respectively. The chapter closes with a brief conclusion in the eighth section.

Re-Imagining the Past and Staging Absence

In investigating how the memory of the Namibian genocide circulates across space and time it is essential to appreciate that *We Are Proud to Present,* like all efforts at re-imagining the past and staging absence, contends with the futility of the total recall of the past. As I have shown in previous chapters, we are only able to remember and recollect the past when, and, as it is transmitted to us through different cultural practices, commemorations, routines, artefacts and forms (Schudson, 1995, pp. 346–7). According to Louis Gottschalk total recall is impossible because 'most human affairs happen without leaving vestiges or records of any kind behind them' (1950). As a result 'the past, having happened, has perished with only occasional traces' (Gottschalk, 1950). This is the case, 'although the absolute number of historical writings is staggering' (Gottschalk, 1950). However, 'only a small part of what happened in the past was ever observed…and only a part of what happened in the past was remembered by those who observed it' (Gottschalk, 1950). Of this observed fragment 'only a part of what was remembered was recorded; only a part of what was recorded has survived, only a part of what has survived has come to the historians' attention' (Gottschalk, 1950).

The situation is further complicated by the fact that 'only a part of what has come to their attention is credible; only a part of what is credible has been grasped; and only a part of what has been grasped can be expounded or narrated by the historian' (Gottschalk, 1950). Faced with this reality postcolonial sense-making requires alternative ways to re-imagine the past and stage absence as well as presence. In this regard memory can be considered as the 'creative interpretation of the past' that fills the 'unavoidable gap between experiencing an event and remembering it' (Misztal, 2003, p. 6). Memory becomes a way of 'thinking of things in their absence' (Warnock, 1987, p. 12). Remembering on the other hand can be understood as an 'effort after meaning' and 'an imaginative reconstruction, or construction, built out of the relation of our attitude towards a whole active mass of organised past reactions or experience, and to a little outstanding detail' (Bartlett, 1932, p. 213).

We Are Proud to Present stages absence by re-imagining the past to negotiate and fill the gap between the Namibian colonial genocide as a historic event and its present memory. As a performance response to the genocide and Transatlantic slavery, the memory play is an embodiment of the remembrance, an 'effort to create a space between possibility and impossibility, to find speech for the unspeakable, an attempt to represent a "non-object" (Ehn, 2007, p. 37). The gap between experience and remembering means that when actors on stage re-present events from the past, what we witness is not the past, nor do the actors become the figures *of* the past, although they might play figures *from* the past. The actor becomes a 'hyper-historian' who uses the body to re-enact past events (Rokem, 2000, p. 13).

This gap-filling and reconstruction of the past is accomplished through conversation. Talk is a central facet of 'everyday thinking' or in Bartlett's terms, 'immediate communication thinking' (1958, p. 164). This is primarily possible because 'Performance as a creative tool, is capable of addressing the gaps and spaces between facts that would leave a traditional historian frustrated and incapable of fusing events with a sense of legitimacy' (Davids, 2007, p. 57).

We Are Proud to Present as performance

We Are Proud to Present is an avant-garde comic memory play about a six-member ensemble of young contemporary American actors devising a performance about Germany's thirty-one year colonial reign of terror in Namibia from 1884 to 1915. The ensemble relies on a picture of an unnamed Herero woman, a Wikipedia entry on the Herero genocide and a handful of letters written by German colonial troops stationed in the then Sudwestafrika to their wives and girlfriends back in Germany. The ensemble uses these three sources as documentary archival reference material to devise a performance about the genocide. The play oscillates from feeling like a rehearsal to a devising work-in-progress production. The characters discuss and improvise to find a way to narrate and stage the genocide on a set that uses makeshift lights and furniture as props to recreate a rehearsal room. The play's metatheatre concept requires actors to play themselves as actors, acting without giving the illusion of acting. The actors explore colonial history and contemporary racism, identity politics, colour-blind casting, the ethics of telling another's story and the efficacy of time and spatial communication and exchange of experiences.

As audiences enter the theatre they see the actors chat and giggle with one another backstage behind a white projection screen. The show opens with an introduction that consists of a fire notice, content advisory notice, and special effects warning by one actress while the other five line up on one side of the projection screen. The actress announces that the show will follow a three-tiered structure, with her brief introduction (which she keeps interrupting), followed by an overview and a presentation. The play comprises of unnamed characters identified as Actor 1,2,3,4,5 and 6. The characters are racially and gender profiled and introduced as: Black Man, Another Black Man, White Man, Another White Man, Black Woman and Sarah (White Woman). This withholding of names from the characters de-emphasises their individuality and personalities while making their experience appear universal and focuses on ideas rather than character. Drury describes the characters as 'young, somewhere in their 20s, and they should seem young, open, skilled, playful and perhaps, at times, a little foolish' (2014, p. 2).

Figure 39. Black woman as narrator and director. Photo by Owen Carey

The comedic undertones of the play become apparent from the start through the play's self-referencing within self-referencing structure. Black Woman-Actor 6- (fig.39) sets the tone by announcing, '*I will be playing the part of Black Woman*' before adding with nervous titters, '*I am also black, in real life, which you might find confusing. Please try to think of it like this: Black Woman is just the name of the character I'm playing*' (Drury, 2014, p. 7 ;italics in original). This pronouncement by a performer 'visibly marked and read by the audience as "black"' signals the performance's deceptively light hearted approach to race constructions (Elam, 2001, p. 289). Black Woman becomes a self-styled 'kind of the artistic director' and leads the ensemble in devising the play-within-a play (Drury, 2014, p. 7). She informs audiences, 'Ok. So, there's like a lecture that's only sort of a lecture, and then we did this thing that is kind of like an overview before the lecture, which is before the presentation' (Drury, 2014, p. 6). Black Woman takes the lead in the introduction and outlines the program agenda and delivers information about Namibia and the Herero. The information includes facts about present day Namibia, like its geographical location, terrain, national languages and demographics (Drury, 2014, pp. 7–11).

The play's second phase, the overview opens with the in-text director reading off index cards while the other five characters present a shadow puppet projection slideshow. The slideshow offers an abridged crash course on Namibia's history of colonisation, oppression and genocide. Using a silhouette puppet slideshow, the actors enthusiastically give audiences an essentialised summary of Herero-German relations. The informative shadow projections relay the history of cordial initial encounters with the German colonialists enamoured by the Herero (Drury, 2014, p. 11). The projections shift to reflect increasing strife as German settlers confiscated Herero land, livestock and initiated forced labour, to the outbreak of war. The characters deliver rapid one-liners that comically capture the nexus of the law and violence in the violent expansion of German control. The scene, that I cite below as an example details the confiscation of Herero livestock, and land while providing an impression of the style of delivery:

ACTOR 1: Germany tinkers a little with the law.
ACTOR 3: If you are German and a cow wanders on to your land:
ACTOR 4: It's yours!
ACTOR 3: If you try to take a cow from a German and you aren't a German:
ACTOR 2: You get hanged.
ACTOR 1: Problem solved (Drury, 2014, p. 14)

The delivery follows a temporal chronology that mirrors colonial domination with the next index card reading:

ACTOR 6: 1902
ACTOR 1: Germany tinkers a little more with the law.
ACTOR 3: If you are German and you see land that doesn't belong to a German:
ACTOR 4: It's yours!
ACTOR 3: If you contest a German land claim and you aren't German:
ACTOR 2: You get hanged.
ACTOR 3: If you are German and you see cattle on the land you have just claimed:
ACTOR 4: The cattle are yours!
ACTOR 3: If you steal cattle from a German and you aren't German:
ACTOR 2: You get hanged. (Drury, 2014, p. 14).

After articulating this linear history breakdown, the characters inform the audience about Von Trotha's campaign by intoning, 'The General Issues The Extermination Order' (Drury, 2014, p. 15). Audiences are informed about the mass killing by Actor 6 who says, 'Eighty percent of the Herero have been exterminated. Those that survived the camps were used as a source of unpaid labour by the German settlers. And in this way, the German regime continued' (Drury, 2014, pp. 15–16). The presentation is laced with cold irony with the extermination and imprisonment of the Herero being said to have been necessitated by the need to 'keep our country safe for our countrymen' and to 'control them to keep the safety' (Drury, 2014, p. 94). The use of shadow puppets to present this gruesome history serves to not only summarise it but to also distance the horror by lightening the mood.

Figure 40. Blake Hackler as Actor 4, and Shannon Kearns as Actor 5. Photo by Undermain Theatre

As the historical overview closes (fig.40) and moves into the 'process' the actors debate whether it is necessary or possible to move to the third phase- the 'presentation' of the story due to the paucity of their factual documentary sources (Drury, 2014, p. 17). The performance uses stock characters to foreground the biases and conflicts that are intertwined with remembering. The black characters in the ensemble insist on re-imagining what is absent in the archive, while the white characters feel that moving from the documentary sources leads to misrepresentation and risks becoming a form of misremembering (Drury, 2014, p. 60). The

actors enact the contents of the letters penned by German soldiers through choreographed montage agit-prop like scenes. All the love letters from the soldiers are addressed to the only named character in the play, Sarah, making her a generic placeholder for all German partners left behind. Sarah's lack of individuality becomes more apparent in the fact that despite being a recipient of all the letters, they only carry and give voice to their German male writers and do not give her any background story or nuance (Drury, 2014, pp. 21–28).

The Herero-German war looms large in the letters but is largely unattended to, apart from passing references in praise and admiration of Von Trotha's command. The General is described by Another White Man as 'a fine man…the reason why I joined up' (Drury, 2014, p. 43). Another describes Von Trotha as 'a wise man' who 'has worked with natives many times' (Drury, 2014, p. 73). Von Trotha's racist paternalism is described as treating the Herero 'as family' and one of the lessons he is teaching the soldiers who are 'learning how a father must be for his children' (Drury, 2014, p. 73). The letters consistently detail the writers' loneliness and melancholy in the foreboding African heat. The soldiers write of missing the creature comforts of home, tempered with the anticipation of the riches they are amassing. Absent in the letters is any mention about the details of the actual war and genocide being wedged.

The nature and history of the textual documentary sources mean that the ensemble works with material that only presents the perpetrators' views. This is done through cut scenes and step dance scenes that incorporate clapping and stomping to pace the tempo. The characters enact fragments of the German army marching drills from Namibia, and fuse these with a hilarious, strained attempt at American rap by White Man who plays the logic-driven advocate of the sanctity of the archival material. Past and present American race dynamics colour and threaten to derail the ensemble's work to create a performance about the Namibian genocide. This comes to the fore through the character Black Man, who becomes frustrated with the melodramatic love letter re-enactments. Black Man breaks the letter based scenes up by asking, 'Are we just going to sit here and watch some white people fall in love all day?' (Drury, 2014, p. 44).

The characters move to confront and explore racial and other prejudices that come with working as a multiracial cast on a racially charged historical subject matter. White Man wants to stay close to the letters arguing, 'I think we have to stick with what we have access to' (Drury, 2014, p. 45). White Man ascribes temporal and spatial distance from racial and racialised pain and the play. He is presented as an embodiment of liberal self-righteousness. He embodies the stock ahistorical view that imagines that the worst instances of human brutality occurred in far-away places in a distant time which is divorced from the present. With this world view, White Man considers and accuses Black Man of being 'angry' in his dis-ease with the documentary based and stereotype interpretation of the performance (Drury, 2014, p. 48). This approach infuriates Black Man further as he charges, 'No no no. This is some Out-of-Africa-African-Queen-bullshit y'all are pulling right here, OK? If we are in Africa, I want to see some black people' (Drury, 2014, p. 45). White Man's insistence on sticking with the documentary letters is driven in part by his desire to play the romantic lead as well as his incompetence at improvisation. This conflict foregrounds the politics of staging absence through the formation of narrative.

The ensemble continually bicker about the correct interpretation of historical events such as the theft and seizure of Herero livestock and land, and the building of railroads using enslaved Herero labour as they switch roles, improvise and create scenes. Sublime comedy is used to blur the lines between actor and role to present sharp criticism on historical and contemporary racial discrimination, representation and privilege. The ensemble depict among other things, a Herero village complete with a 'sacred fire' and cattle kraal (Drury, 2014, p. 34; 67; 73–74; 90). Through a series of improvised scenes set in the present and in the Namibian genocide the play explores the power and agency of privileged archival based narratives. The play satirically treats the tensions that arise from a simplex approach to the relationship between documentary sources and racialised bodies as evidence and mediators of fact. In the absence of Herero documentary sources, the ensemble grapples with the veracity, ethics and political appropriateness of fabricating sources, characters and dialogue to narrate history.

The character Another Black Man relentlessly insists that since the genocide occurred in Africa, the story focus should shift from the white characters and focus on black roles. He quizzes the others, 'Where are all the Africans?...I think we should see some Africans in Africa' (Drury, 2014, p. 45). Another Black Man provocatively dismisses half of the ensemble's efforts by insisting, 'all we are doing is hearing the white version of the story/over and over' (Drury,

2014, p. 86). When the cast concedes, and he explores a Herero role, his rendition of Africa is a parodic Hollywood B-rated movie stereotype of precolonial existence complete with drum beating. He reprises a stock role of a tiger hunting, chest pounding, raw heart eating, virile African king who brags about impregnating all his wives at the same time (Fig.41).

The character intones, 'I hunt de lion. I hunt de jagua. I hunt de tiegah…When I kill a tiegah I eat de heart of the animal while it beats' and gets progressively more obnoxious in his rabid hype (Drury, 2014, pp. 46–47).

Figure 41. Pictured, L to R: Ivuoma Okoro as Actor 6, Bryan Pitts as Actor 4, and Jake Buchanan as Actor 1. Photo by Undermain Theatre

The use of accents crops up here despite an earlier agreement that both white and black characters would not use accents (Drury, 2014, p. 28). The scene crudely animates racist notions of primitive and exotic African bestiality through incoherent chants, gestures and rhythmic movement and sound making. The scene is only halted after Black Man repeatedly remonstrates against stock devised depictions, adding in frustration 'This isn't that kind of Africa. Ok? We already Wikipediaed this!' (Drury, 2014, p. 48). Black Man takes issue with Another Black Man's stereotypical depiction of the Herero by passing passive aggressive comments such as, 'black people should know-Ok. Black people can understand what black people went through' (Drury, 2014, p. 49). He chastises Another Black Man for not being conscious or sensitive in his portrayal and arguing that the whole ensemble 'should be thinking about being black' (Drury, 2014, p. 49).

The deterioration in the material condition of the presented Herero is symbolically indicated in performance through the collapse of the set, which reveals a barren African desert backdrop. The play's non-realism allows the desert backdrop to be shown next to other backstage props. Another White Man becomes uncomfortable about playing and portraying German soldiers' brutality and genocidal actions. The actors pause and argue more intensely about the limits of empathy for villains in the portrayal of historical characters. Another White Man cringes at having to play a German officer manning the barricade that kept the Herero in the Omaheke desert. He is distraught at playing a role that condemns the Herero to die of thirst and starvation as he does not identify with it. Mixing role and personality, he insists that he is incapable of such inhumanity. Black Man is unamused by this display of self-pity, and responds curtly, 'I'm the one that got shot' (Drury, 2014, p. 83). As the in-text director, Black Woman is focused on getting everybody to tolerate each other for long enough to finish the play and create 'something real' (Drury, 2014, p. 30). For her the actors' puerile egos are in the way of the story since the historical nature of the play means that the ending, which she considers the climax is already known. As she bluntly insists, 'the letter is just a starting point, ok, people? We all know that this ends in genocide, so let's get there' (Drury, 2014, p. 62).

Dramaturgy

One of the most striking and almost impossible to miss features about Drury's play is its twenty-six word long title; *We Are Proud to Present a Presentation About the Herero of Namibia Formerly Known as Southwest Africa, From the German Sudwestafrika, Between the Years 1884–1915*. This play title has sharply divided critics' opinions. Some laud it as 'hilarious' and an apt signpost of the form and content of the memory play (Schiffman, 2015). Others have decried it as an 'awkward, overexplanatory title', while the humour it underlines is rebuked with questions like, 'why should a play about genocide be funny?' (Hoile, 2015). In analysing this title, I follow Levinson who suggests that we consider the titles that are given to bodies of art as components of the artistic structure of the artworks (1985, p. 30). A performance title can be understood as a component of the structural segments that an artist puts together in the aesthetic assembly and projection of the body of work (Levinson, 1985, p. 30). A title establishes one or a combination of relationships with the content of the artwork. For instance, a performance title can be neutral, underline (reinforce), focus, undermine (or oppose), mystify (or disorient, disambiguate (or specify) and or be allusive of the content (Levinson, 1985, p. 30).

The objection and question, ‘why should a play about genocide be funny?’ is an example of the derision that met Drury’s humorous treatment of the Herero genocide in some quarters. It reflects a number of concerns including the ethical question about the morality of creating ‘spectacle’ out of disaster (Kalisa, 2006). Those who miss and or are not amused by the playwright’s attempt at humour charge, ‘Why Drury wants us to laugh at the follies of the group entrusted with telling an important story is totally unclear and dilutes our interest in what it has to say’ (Hoile, 2015). A dissatisfied Hoile strikes below the belt by alleging that ‘The redundancy “Present a Presentation” suggests that the creators of the play are not very bright or they would have caught the error’ (2015). Hoile takes particular issue with the title and queries ‘why is the show called a “presentation” anyway instead of a “play”? “Presentation” suggests we are dealing with some sort of high school assignment’ (2015).

Confronted with the challenge of finding a ‘style and a form to present the atmosphere or landscape of atrocity, to make it compelling, to coax the reader [audience] into credulity-and ultimately, complicity’ playwright Drury turns to metatheatre and humour to create an ‘aesthetics of atrocity’ (Langer, 1975, p. 1). The performance ‘sustains a concern with the limits of constructions of character and acting’ through scenes that continually alternate focus from the ‘presentation’ made up of conventional theatre to the ‘process’ where we witness the characters rehearsal room devising and creative process in the generation of the presentation (Willis, 2016, p. 202). For Hatton, *We Are Proud to Present* ‘is more than a historical drama; it is about the process of making historical drama: why we make it and how we make it, in light of who we are and perhaps who we would like to be’ (Hatton, 2015, p. 713). The play is not so much about the unspeakable as it is about the labour and ethics of representation (Willis, 2014, p. 123).

The play questions its own materiality and structure, with the actors debating how to confront the material before them. The ensemble debate whether they are putting up a play or a presentation. One character suggests that since the ‘presentation is in a theatre’ their work is theatre (Drury, 2014, p. 18). This explanation fails to satisfy the rest of the cast, leading Actor 4 to respond, ‘I don’t know if it’s theatre just because it’s *in* a theatre’ (Drury, 2014, p. 18). Drury’s comic take on the Namibian genocide and Transatlantic slavery is an ethical response that complements the play’s metatheatre structure. It is an instance where joking and laughter are used to confront the memory and the legacy of suffering. The play’s humour is mostly driven from the actors’ cross-purpose communication. The play uses hyperbole to accentuate the characters’ ahistorical, infantile egos, in particular their failure to separate self from role. These comic devices are used to implicate rather than distance and or absolve the audience of postmemory responsibility for the Herero ‘historical catastrophe’ (Bogues, 2010, p. 40).

The play's structure can be conceptually read as using the metaphor of a hexagonal pyramid. The first building block is the six-sided ground or base plain which comprises of the historical frame. This symbolises the real historical experiences of the victims, survivors, bystanders, collaborators, perpetrators and beneficiaries of the Herero genocide from over a century ago. This genocide experience and those who experienced it are temporally and spatially removed and absent from the performance. This historical frame forms a six-sided plain that is the basis of the performance. As is the case in a physical pyramid, this base is present but invisible from the exterior. It is 'unshowable' in and through performance. It is 'unshowable' not only because of the time and distance gap, but also due to the cultural and theatrical conventions that prevent the exercise of actual murder on stage (Willis, 2016, p. 204).

In the absence of these conventions, the historical frame would still be out of view due to the impossibility of exactly apprehending the pain of others. In *We Are Proud to Present* this is compounded by the limited stock of historical documents that might detail some impressions about the genocide. The live performance of the memory play becomes the second frame in our conceptual pyramid. The play-within-a play becomes the third. The characters' devising and discussions about the play-within-a play forms the fourth wall. The United States as a place or location where the performance is staged and the dynamics of its intrinsic racial violence history form the fifth wall. The audiences who witness the performance complete the pyramid as the sixth wall. All these frames interact equally to sustain and to materialise the performance.

We Are Proud to Present takes as its central quest and makes visible, the challenge for performers with no direct or lived experience of the genocide to create a performance that is salient and accessible for audiences who are temporally and spatially removed from the Namibian genocide. The audiences, like the performers have no direct or lived experience of the genocide. The play makes the politics of memory evident by consciously showing the challenges performing remembrance entails through self-referencing and metatheatre. The play uses deconstruction to stage and make the processes and mechanisms of selection, invention, construction and representation behind any version of the past visible. This makes the performance's composition and constructedness as theatre explicit. Audiences are literally invited into the rehearsal room where they are presented with the archival sources the actors are working from and they are invited to create alongside the actors.

Metatheatre as a dramaturgical structure enables Drury to avoid the aesthetic and ethical challenge of representing brutal violence on stage (Willis, 2016, p. 197). Using conventions adopted in Greek tragedy Drury uses metatheatre to position brutality off stage. Where violence is staged like in the lynching scene (discussed in more detail below), Drury takes the conventions further and deconstructs the violence to create a self-reflexive temporal split that highlights the constructedness of the scene and violence (Willis, 2016, p. 198).

We Are Proud to Present's dramaturgy 'pivots around constantly shifting perspectives' (Willis, 2016, p. 202). The play interrogates how what is real and or true is determined, and for whom these determinants hold. Audiences are invited to challenge notions about perception, truth and what is regarded as real alongside the actors. By explicitly staging the selection and crafting of narratives, Drury exposes how such selections necessarily obscure, displace, erase, revoke and or remove other possible narratives. The possible subjective drives and motives behind presented interpretations are laid bare for the audience to engage with. The play makes it apparent that the presented narratives are not only constructed and mediated, but that they are only but one version of an infinite number of possible interpretations. These shifts foreground various 'frames' of reference while 'this multiplication destabilises the self-evidence of the point of view implied by what is presented onstage. Making the selection process and the biases that determine the selection visible confronts the spectator with [the question of] what is real or what is 'mere theatre'" (Bleeker and Germano, 2014, pp. 374–375). Politically this blurring of the line between art and life outside of the theatre is essential in challenging claims of totality that are often used to legitimate grand narratives and exposes how narratives of alterity are constructed and instrumentalised to entrench and sustain racial oppression.

Drury uses the contrasting views that the characters hold towards the past and the interpretation of the same said past to explore the tensions in how different stakeholders engage with the Herero genocide. This opinion juxtaposing highlights the fact that contrasting frames of references show that 'Whenever events are presented they are always presented from within a certain 'vision'' (Bal, 1997, p. 142). That is to say 'a point of view is chosen, a certain way of seeing things, a certain angle, whether 'real' historical facts are concerned or fictitious events' (Bal, 1997, p. 142). Mieke Bal terms this focalisation, a concept she borrows from Gerard Genette. Genette first introduced it into narratological theory to differentiate the way stories structure and recollect events. Genette suggests that there are two different agents that influence how events are storied: there is the agent who 'narrates' and another who 'sees' (Bal, 1997, p. 142). Bal defines focalisation as the relationship that exists between these two agents. The concept is closely related to but not similar to the idea of 'perspective'

(Bleeker, 2002, p. 59). The essential difference between focalisation and perspective is that the latter 'tends to focus attention one-sidedly on what is seen' thereby directing 'attention away from the position from which things are seen' which 'obscures the relation between seer and seen' (Bleeker, 2002, p. 59). The former 'describes precisely this relationship between a subject and an object of vision as given within the construction of the text' (Bleeker, 2002, p. 59).

Bal's idea of identification does not seek to foster the erasure of the distinction between the 'seer' and the 'seen' (Bleeker, 2002, p. 59). In *We Are Proud to Present*, Drury uses the comic structure to avoid and rupture uncritical total, apathetic audience-character identification, that would encourage the audiences to imagine themselves as the characters on stage. Instead, the performance creates a relationship where actors stand in for the character. The concept of 'standing in' as a metaphor for this relationship was first introduced by Bruce Wilshire (1982, pp. 22–23). It refers to the affinity that a theatre spectator feels when a stage character embodies a version of humanity that the audience member personally identifies with as a stand in for themselves, or evokes other beings that the audience member recognises and can empathise with. In *We Are Proud to Present*, Drury uses the self-referencing within self-referencing to place audiences in an 'insider' position and makes them 'complicit' in the representation (Willis, 2016, p. 198).

Memory circulations

In this section I turn to the oft asked, and not easy to answer question 'How does memory travel?'. Addressing this question requires concepts which illuminate the work of memory while simultaneously providing for temporal and spatial influences on remembrance. For Arjun Appadurai, the media and migration are the two primary characteristics of global movement. They constitute a 'new order of instability' capable of transforming the 'work of the imagination' (Appadurai, 1996, p. 3). An alternative approach, developed and advocated by Dilip Gaonkar and Elizabeth Povinelli challenges Appadurai's prominent thesis that understands cultural globalisation as a 'movement of people, commodities, ideas and images from one place to another' (Gaonkar and Povinelli, 2003, p. 391). This criticism and response to Appadurai is useful to this analysis because it advocates for a turn away from how things circulate and calls for closer attention to be paid to how circulation as a process changes cultural texts. Applied to performance this means paying attention to how stories are altered when they circulate on the world stage. It is more useful to amalgamate both sides of the argument rather than to pick one over the other. This allows for a nuanced postcolonial examination of media and migration to better understand the dynamics of how performances like *We Are Proud to Present* create

transnational and transcultural ‘mnemoscapes’ (Erll, 2011, p. 12). This is particularly essential given the enduring uneven flow of sense-making and uneven power relations that accompanied and that persist due to colonial violence.

We Are Proud to Present shows how cultural and political identities are entwined in how the past is interpreted and understood. I apply Erll’s ‘five dimensions of movement: carriers, media, contents, practices and forms’ (2011, p. 12) to articulate my thoughts about how memory travels. These five aspects individually and collectively contribute to and facilitate an explanation of the spatial and temporal circulation of memory. The first portal for memory circulation or travel, including the Namibian genocide memory, are people who contribute to the generation and transmission of ‘collective images and narratives of the past’ (Erll, 2011, p. 12). These individuals include playwrights, actors, performers, reporters and scholars. They constitute what Erll calls ‘carriers of memory’ (2011, p. 12). They exercise ‘mnemonic rituals, display an inherited habitus and can draw on repertoires of explicit and implicit knowledge’ (Erll, 2011, p. 12). Memory circulates when these individuals travel, migrate and or transmigrate from point A to B (Erll, 2011, p. 12). This is evident in the memory play’s international and domestic tours. Similar cultural memory movement also occurs due to carriers fleeing or being expelled from one place to the next within or across national borders. The existence and presence of diverse diaspora communities as an example results in the dispersal of ‘mnemonic media, contents, forms and practices’ in different parts of the world (Erll, 2011, p. 12). Memory also circulates in a less discernible way when carriers do not migrate across national borders but oscillate from place to place, say from the village to the city and back or from village to village and city to city.

The media is the second of the five dimensions of movement that facilitates memory circulation (Erll, 2011, p. 12). This movement can occur and be traced through media history. In *We Are Proud to Present* for example, we witness the movement of the memory of the Herero genocide from orality (play), to writing (soldiers’ letters), to print (photograph of unnamed Herero woman), film and the internet (Wikipedia link on the genocide). This form of memory ‘travel’ from one medium to another, through time and technology can conceptually be understood as ‘remediation’ (Erill and Rigney, 2009). Media technologies facilitate the travel of memory when they circulate across national borders and time. Media technologies can also be appropriated and serve the ends of ‘vernacular remembrance’ (Erll, 2011, p. 12). Media forms like performance, printed texts, film and television facilitate the ‘deterritorialisation of memory’ across space and also influence what is structured as memory (Erll, 2011, p. 12).

The third dimension of memory movement are the contents. Cultural memory contents for the large part comprise of the 'images and narratives' that are shared about the remembered event (Erll, 2011, p. 13). Furthermore, cultural memory contents refer to the factual and fictional bodies of knowledge and stories that circulate from and about the event. Since cultural memory contents often do not hold neither 'materiality' and or 'meaning' in and of themselves they rely on carriers and media to move (Erll, 2011, p. 13). Cultural memory contents gain currency when carriers 'actualise and reactualise' them (Erll, 2011, p. 13). In Erll's words, 'it is the constant 'travel' of mnemonic contents between media and minds, their ongoing interpretation and renewal, as well as their incessant contestation among different constituencies which 'make the memory' (2011, p. 13). I understand the fourth and fifth dimension on practices and forms as the genre specifics that each performance embodies and the characteristics that arise in the context of production, for example the duration, frequency and location of the particular performance intervention.

Drury uses theatre to show how 'When artists stumble across a moment in history that is porous, or fragmented (a hole in the archive) they are able to imagine, fictionalise, and represent the possibility of the lived experience at that time, as opposed to being silenced by a lack of material validation' (Davids, 2007, p. 57). *We Are Proud to Present* draws on fragmented documentary sources and expands beyond the sources through imagination. The actors confront the Herero genocide and the absence of Herero perspectives on events in the documents before them. The performance stages this absence and re-imagines the past, 'in the sense of recreating something which has been irretrievably lost and attempting at least on the imaginative level and in many cases on the intellectual and emotional levels, to restore that loss' (Rokem, 2000, p. 13). In a sense, *We Are Proud to Present* as a memory play does not and cannot fully bridge the slippage between experience and recollection. What it does do is to serve as an ephemeral mnemonic reminder that provokes 'postmemory' remembrance for contemporary audiences (Hirsch, 2008). The play embodies and animates the postmemory and legacy of the Herero genocide for people who are temporally and spatially removed from the destruction. As a performance it shows that the past 'is never over and done with but must be made tomorrow and the day after' (Jenkins, 2003, p. 30).

Remembrance and Ethics

Accepting that *We Are Proud to Present* is a contemporary instance where performance is used as a remembrance technology for the circulation of the memory of the Namibian genocide and Transatlantic slavery opens up a new set of ethical challenges. This is because the legitimacy of using performance to re-imagine the past and to stage what has been

rendered inviable through genocide is continuously contested. Critics include those who like Holocaust survivor George Steiner, echoing Eli Wiesel and other witnesses at the Eichmann trial believe that 'The best now, after so much has been set forth, is, perhaps, to be silent; not to add the trivia of literary, sociological debate, to the unspeakable' (Steiner, 1967, p. 243).

The over a century that has passed since the Herero genocide occurred opens peculiar challenges on top of this criticism. Chief among them being the absence of survivors, as well as the temporal and spatial distance between Namibia and the United States. This leads to the ethical dilemma about what is remembered, who decides what is to be remembered when memory travels. Critically the question of memory circulation demands an engagement with where the imaginary line between the past and the present lies. This is especially crucial in remembering the Namibian genocide which remains officially unacknowledged and the enduring legacy of racism from the Transatlantic slave trade in the United States.

The gap between the Namibian genocide and Transatlantic slavery as historical events and their performance animation in the here and now foregrounds the question, 'who has the ethical right to speak for the dead and of the dead? How may the dead be made to speak and of what will they speak?' (Jonker, 2005, pp. 50–51). This trepidation can be read in part as a legacy of Holocaust discourse, famously captured in Adorno's oft cited adage that 'to write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric' since all aesthetics and rationalisations run short in capturing the specificity of genocide (Adorno, 1955). This 'Holocaust etiquette' frames genocide outside the zone of comprehension, imagination and representation (Pres, 1988). According to this discourse, 'the Holocaust shall be approached as a solemn or even a sacred event, with a seriousness admitting no response that might obscure its enormity or dishonour its dead' (Pres, 1988).

This discourse has precedence in how genocide memorialisation and scholarship is usually framed. It is from this place that laughter and pain are regarded as antithetical to one another. In the same vein, artistic products about genocide pain that are not showered in piety are cast as sacrilegious. This approach shadows and is evident in some critics' reviews of *We Are Proud to Present.* The discourse conflates realism with authenticity and betrays a preference for literal representations for genocide treatments. This preference emerges from an unfounded positivist belief that considers alternate forms of representation to realism as an epistemological stance as being disrespectful of the slain and tantamount to departing from objectivity.

Following Robert Skloot who writes about directing Holocaust plays, I suggest that *We Are Proud to Present* too, 'Like all art…recreates human experience, allowing us contact with events most of us have not known' (1979, p. 539). As a performance 'it imagines for us what life was like at a time when living may have been impossible' (Skloot, 1979, p. 539). This enables us 'to grow in understanding about times of extreme stress, about ourselves and the world around us' (Skloot, 1979, p. 539). The evocative and poetic imagery Drury uses and the metatheatre frame test the limits of language to capture and transmit aspects of the Herero genocide. The memory play captures what would otherwise be deemed inexpressible and or incomprehensible. More importantly by making its status as theatre explicit, it embodies and embraces its limits and failure to capture experience in and with words.

Metatheatre makes the performance and others like it archetypal 'dramas of reception' (Willis, 2016, p. 198). I will now discuss two ethical challenges that arise from using metatheatre as dramaturgy. These concerns particularly arise in the representation of histories of violence and to a lesser extend to fictional depictions of violence. The first challenge attached with metatheatre is what can be read as the 'inherent solipsism of the genre' (Willis, 2016, p. 198). Solipsism as a quality of metatheatre has the ethically challenging potential of erasing the victims, survivors, bystanders, beneficiaries, instigators and perpetrators of violence from the narrative. This can be achieved by solipsism's potential to cast and reduce callous brutality like genocide and or tragic occurrences as nothing more than a device that facilitates a more detailed understanding of the self in the present.

In *We Are Proud to Present* the playwright displays a remarkable sensitivity to this ethical minefield. Through the self-referencing within self-referencing Drury crafts a play that parodies and eclipses its solipsistic potential (Willis, 2016, p. 199). The play within a play as a framing device achieves a second crucial goal of illustrating the 'cultural and temporal distance of the history at hand and the difficulty of bringing it into meaningful representation' (Willis, 2016, p. 202). The play investigates 'the political limits of theatrical representation through blurring subjectivity, and through contrasting the transformative power of acting with social pretending' in a deceptively playful manner (Willis, 2016, p. 202). This content and structural reflexivity creates moments of profound consciousness and succeeds in creating an ethically sound performance (Willis, 2016, p. 199).

The second ethical concern that potentially arises from using metatheatre as a dramaturgical device, as Drury does, is that it relies on audiences accessing and embracing the dramatic irony and comic troupe in their engagement. The efficacy of metatheatre and other theatrical

mechanisms employed by Drury lies in its potential to move spectators to reflect on race and the genocide in a visceral manner. Metatheatre as a structure depends on the expectation and assumption that audience draw pleasure from being 'in on the joke' (Willis, 2016, p. 199). The form anticipates that audiences will draw pleasure in the parallels between the 'dramatic and theatrical failures of the actors (on stage)' and 'their failings as characters (off stage)' (Willis, 2016, p. 201).

Metatheatre as a dramaturgical frame bears the possibility of undermining conventions. Given the gravity of the play's subject matter, some audiences like the critic Hoile (2015) react negatively to attempts to embed humour into genocide remembrance. The play's genocide and Transatlantic slave trade subject matter leads to tension between form and content especially for spectators who perceive a mismatch in the chosen form and play content. Such spectators might ponder and object to the appropriateness of humour and laughter as responses to genocide memory. This collapse in metatheatrical rapport materialises when the audience-performance 'conceptual, intellectual or emotional' relationship is repositioned (Willis, 2016, p. 199).

I will now turn my attention to interrogate the dialectic relationship connecting racialised violence, memory and space in how the Namibian genocide is memorialised in and through *We Are Proud to Present* as it circulates from theatre to theatre and from country to country. To effectively do this, I draw on and adapt three main ideas from Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney's work on the role of literature in the production of cultural memory and apply these to performance (Erll and Rigney, 2006). In practice and in the generation, transmission and circulation of cultural memory these three roles are intertwined, and I separate them here for the purposes of analysis and clarity.

Performance as a medium of remembrance

We Are Proud to Present re-imagines the past, facilitating the spatial and temporal transfer of the memory of the Herero genocide from Namibia to the United States of America through a number of ways. The first one that I will interrogate is how the memory play as a performance can be understood as a medium of remembrance (Erll and Rigney, 2006, p. 112). The play and other performances like it form a constellation and contribute as narratives in the production of collective cultural memory of the genocide. Metatheatre as a theatrical genre convention allows for multiple points of views about the genocide to be expressed alongside one another. The play facilitates remembering through its recall, incorporation and rewriting

of other earlier archival texts. These include the letters written by German soldiers, the picture of the unnamed Herero woman, while songs like *Run Black Man Run*[5] recall events in the American South. The memory play as a cultural product and commodity circulates as it is staged from theatre to theatre, city to city, across countries and continents.

It is instructive that in the performance the Herero are mostly presented as being absent both on stage and from the archival documentary record. This can be read a symbolic representation of how the Herero were written out of the colonial archive and were physically destroyed. In a way, Drury uses the 'politics of comparison' (Stoler, 2009, p. 21) to form a constellation of the black experience that groups the Herero genocide and the Transatlantic slave trade to highlight commonalities in subjugation. This is most evident in two scenes where the characters reflect on who is ethically eligible to play which historical roles. It is revealed that none of the six characters has any relationship with the Herero. None of the characters has visited Namibia, or the African continent. Black Man is the only one who has visited contemporary Germany. In performance, this is addressed in scenes that dwell on colour and gender-blind casting. Drury uses these scenes to explore the theme of empathy in detail.

In one such scene White Man plays the role of Black Woman's grandmother. Black Woman as the in-text director informs the cast that the impulse to create the performance came from a random discovery of a photograph of an unnamed Herero woman whom she says reminded her of her grandmother who died before she was born (Drury, 2014, p. 49). Black Woman says reading about the Herero made her acutely conscious of the fact that as a descendant of people brought into America as slaves, she is not familiar with her ancestry on the African continent. Through the story of the Herero she could remember a genealogy that could potentially have been her own. The scene problematises memory, autobiography and the present by connecting the American experience to the Herero experience through postmemory familial ties (Drury, 2014, p. 53). In playing the black grandmother White Man reverts to and creates stock 'Tylor Perry'-like stereotypes of African women (Drury, 2014, p. 50). He presents the grandmother as an abusive, cheeky and stern matriarch. The abuse increases till Black Man breaks the improvisation and breaks the scene and role play.

[5] The song uses the derogatory 'N'-word in its title and lyrics which I have decided to omit and replace with Black Man.

Black Woman's self-identification with the photo is such that she is convinced that the woman in the magazine 'looked just like' her 'Grandmother'. She uses this affinity to establish a lineage affiliation with the Herero people and Namibia which she imagines as her 'specific homeland' (Drury, 2014, p. 53). Black Woman is fully aware that the woman 'wasn't really my grandmother in that picture. But the woman in that picture could have been my Grandma' (Drury, 2014, p. 54). Black Woman's explanation for this affinity could be understood as a symbolic metatheatrical comment about performance's capacity to invent the past and to serve as a medium of remembrance. Black Woman insists that 'that picture could have been my Grandma' and that her appropriation of the story is akin to 'just taking a walk in someone else's shoes' (Drury, 2014, p. 54). This kind of identity formation is problematised by White Man whose response I will cite at length below. White Man slips back into the role of the unnamed black grandmother and responds by saying:

> You better shut your mouth and listen to me girl.
> You can't take no walk in somebody else's shoes and know anything.
> You ain't bought those shoes,
> You ain't laced those shoes up,
> You ain't put those shoes on day after day,
> You ain't broken those shoes in. Now,
> You can borrow someone else's shoes, and
> You can walk as long as you want, they ain't your shoes.
> You can go ahead and steal somebody else's shoes and guess what?
> They ain't your shoes (Drury, 2014, pp. 54–55).

This scene which was ironically delivered by an actor who is role playing across gender and race is a poignant commentary about the performance's interrogation of representational politics. The memory play interrogates the limits of identification and empathy by blurring and underlining the impossibility of bridging the gap between event and representation and the experience of the other.

Knowledge in the blood

In the second scene on colour and gender-blind casting, Black Man and Another Black Man argue against the colour-blind casting advocated for by Another White Man. Black Man insists that his objection is not artistic, but political. He is convinced that as an actor he is more adept at playing colour blind roles. Black Man claims that he can play the role of German soldier better than Another White Man cast in it. He grounds his opposition to colour and gender-blind casting in the play within a play on the belief that it effaces the role of race and racism that is

at the base of the story being told. Black Man insists that what the devising needs 'is somebody thinking about the black experience' (Drury, 2014, p. 67). According to Black Man, he and the other black members of the cast are ethically and politically suited to play Herero roles despite their equally limited knowledge about Namibia.

When confronted about this position, Black Man conflates the Herero and Transatlantic slave experience to argue that he does not need 'to go to Africa to know what it's like to be black' and to play Herero roles (Drury, 2014, p. 70). For him 'there's no difference between being black and being African/Africa is black' in America since 'black people can understand what black people went through' (Drury, 2014, p. 70). According to Black Man the correct 'focalisation' to tell the story from is one which highlights what is absent in their sources (Bleeker, 2002, p. 59). Black Man argues that for the story to be told effectively 'all should be thinking about being black right now' (Drury, 2014, p. 70).

This scene demonstrates the slippage and overlay the play makes between the Herero genocide, American history and present-day racial injustices (Willis, 2016, p. 204). The scene illustrates the political role of emotions in the interpretation of the past and present. Black Woman's Herero identity construction and Black Man's 'anger' can be understood as evidence that 'emotionality as a claim about a subject or a collective is clearly dependent on relations of power, which endow "others" with meaning and value' (Ahmed, 2004, p. 4). The characters Black Man and Black Woman make postmemory claims about having what Jonathan Jansen, calls 'knowledge in the blood' (2010, p. 171). Jansen (2010) used the notion in writing about the transmission and embodiment of apartheid memory by children of parents who experienced apartheid. Jansen (2010) in turn borrowed the concept from Irish poet Macdara Woods. Woods originally coined the phrase when he wrote, 'When we look back on what we have done, or not done, we realise that it is the knowledge in the blood that has impelled us' (Woods, 2007, p. 101). Jansen describes his understanding of 'knowledge in the blood' which echoes Bourdieu's 'habitus' as an awareness that is 'embedded in the emotional, psychic, spiritual, social, economic, political, and psychological lives of a community' (2010, p. 171).

Performance as an object of remembrance

In examining the dialectic relationship that connects racialised violence, memory and space, performance can be analysed as an object of remembrance. The reason for this being that artistic works can stay in circulation long after the events that they reference are over and long after their own production. This means *We Are Proud to Present* can be understood as an essential part of the genocide cultural remembrance. This repertoire like the literary works that

Erll and Rigney (2006: 112) write about, facilitates the intergenerational and spatial transmission of memory. With every staging and reading, Drury's memory play contributes to the continuing production and reproduction of the Herero genocide cultural memory. It is possible to say that these performances have the potential and capacity to foster audience reflection about the Herero past and the enduring legacy of the transatlantic slavery.

As a performance of history, *We Are Proud to Present* 'mimes' the past by 'reenacting' and 'reimagining' it (Mcmahon, 2008, p. 21). The play attempts to represent the past through improvisation (Diamond, 1997, p. ii). Drury devotes a lot of the play's running time to the letters written by German service men while on duty in Namibia. The significant amount of time that the performance devotes to staging and animating these letters could be read a metaphor symbolising the centrality of documents and archival material as keyholes through which we peep at the past. I will detail one scene that shows the animation of the letters to give an impression of the performance's problematising of documentary sources.

The scene shows a German soldier writing a letter to his lover 'Sarah' in Germany while enforcing General Von Trotha's shoot to kill order in Namibia. This scene vividly and affectively captures the banality of the contents of the archived letters which do not mention what the soldiers are actually doing in the colony. The superfluous content of the letter with regards to the genocide evidences 'that events are not necessarily entered into history and archived because they are pivotal, but that they become pivotal by virtue of the fact that they are entered into history and archived' (Taylor, 2006, p. 69).

Drury uses the characters' contest over the interpretation of the past and how to represent it to suggest that race and or culture potentially shape remembering. The fact that only German letters exist as a record of the genocide can be understood as underscoring the fact that 'those in a position to leave behind documentary evidence' did so 'and silenced those without access to the printed word' (Misztal, 2003:102). As such the written word symbolised by the letters reflects not only what it says, but is also a reflection of the aspirations, agendas, biases, ideas and values of its producers. It could be said that for people like the Herero whose cultures were not preserved through existent writings, 'but through oral and performative modes, the archive produced their epistemological erasure in a manner that mirrored their physical and social extermination' (Aldarondo, 2013, p. 90).

The letters in *We Are Proud to Present* are inadequate as complete historical sources in the interpretation and understanding of the Herero genocide as a historical event. Black Woman concludes that 'the letters aren't enough', to which White Man protests 'But they're so important' (Drury, 2014, p. 57). The exchange leads the in-text director to declare 'I'm not saying they aren't important, but they aren't enough' (Drury, 2014, p. 57). The letters' inadequacy is due to their one-sided-ness and scarcity in detail. This inadequacy serves as a symbolic commentary about the fragmentary nature of historical archival sources. The Black characters recognise and refuse to accept the letters as is. This position symbolises a postcolonial refusal to acknowledge the colonial archive as the only mediator of the past. The black actors suggest in its stead, the use of imagination and performance repertoires to counter-balance the colonial historical univision. In Taylor's terms we can regard the letters as traces from the colonial 'archive' and Drury's play as a 'repertoire' reading of the same (2003).

The contests between the actors about using textual sources and expanding beyond them symbolically speaks to the epistemological contest about what counts as legitimate knowledge. *We Are Proud to Present* shows that 'If one understands an archive as both an instrument and an expression of power then the call to reimagine the parameters of the archive achieves a different level of possibility' (Davids, 2007, p. 57). The metatheatrical structure of the performance opens the archive to a multiplicity of readings, meanings, and fills the gaps made by the absence of black voices in the archive. Drury uses the letters to parody and ridicule the 'allochronism' that underpinned colonialism (Fabian, 2002). Allochronism can be understood as an attitude and belief where members of one culture refuse the simultaneous existence of societies and imagine that another culture and or its members, are different from one's own, and belong to another time. The play shows how racism made it is possible for German colonialists to imagine that the Herero were a premodern society, while imagining themselves as a more advanced modern society perhaps informed by technological, social organisation and capital differences.

Formulas of Silence

In the unnamed photograph and the letters, the voice of the Herero is largely silent and or absence. Black Man concludes that 'The letters don't have any evidence of anything happening to the Africans. They don't mention one prison camp, one hanging' (Drury, 2014, p. 58). The memory play uses this silence to give credence to the suggestion that 'Among those who have suffered enslavement, cultural asphyxiation, religious persecution, gender, race and class discrimination and political repression, silences should be seen as facts' (Depelchin, 2005). Responding and making sense of silence presents a disciplinary and

conceptual challenge for scholars. Depelchin suggests that interpreting silence is ‘A matter of psychoanalysis’ which ‘would horrify historians who worship concrete tangible facts’ (2005).

There are several ways to interpret why the Herero genocide is largely absent in the letters that are used as the basis for the creation of *We Are Proud to Present*. One could follow Young’s argument that documents written during and in the immediate aftermath of catastrophic events and those written later on with greater temporal distance from the event are not principally different (1990, p. 33). According to this view documents written during or closer to the genocide like the German soldiers’ letters do not possess any particular truth value ahead of other documents (Young, 1990, p. 33). Young argues that this is so despite those documents being ‘ontologically privileged’ for capturing and revealing what witnesses and contemporaries make of the event (1990, p. 33). This argument rejects the often taken for granted assumption that those who were on the frontline necessary made sense of the events they were living through to arrive at a privileged comprehension of the situation than latter day interpreters. As such, the letters in *We Are Proud to Present* as similarly produced documentary remains do not necessarily ensure any privileged retrieval of the Herero genocide that can be said to be more authentic than that of later eras.

A second way of making sense of the soldiers’ silence about their genocidal campaign can be through the military exercise of censoring all communication that leaves or enters the warfront. While the play does not explicitly mention this, letter censorship as a military surveillance intervention was and is routinely applied to official and private correspondence (Hoile, 2015). As a result, the lack of detail from letters coming from the warfront could be taken to mean that the soldiers’ letter writing is reflective of the explicit censorship and or self-censorship by the writers who were aware that their communication was under surveillance.

A third way of interpreting the absence of the genocide in the letters is through ‘formulas of silence’ (Trouillot, 1995, pp. 95–97). The notion of ‘formulas of silence' was introduced by Michel-Rolph Trouillot who sought to understand how the Haitian Revolution was represented by Western authors who wrote contemporaneously with its occurrence and in later generations. Trouillot argues that these authors used ‘formulas of silence' to deny and attempt to deny the seminal significance of this event (1995, pp. 95–97). According to this argument, the representation of the Haitian revolution followed one of two trends. On one hand the ‘formulas of erasure’ meant that the occurrence of revolution was deemed ‘unthinkable’ and dismissed as impossible. Where it was covered, the revolution was written about in terms that were acceptable and in line with the worldview of the writers. On the other hand erasure uses the ‘formula of banalisation’ whereby secondary features like numbers, and statistics are

harnessed to cloud and or discredit the significance of the event by focusing on other details (Trouillot, 1995, pp. 95–97).

Biwa, as I show in Chapter Two, was the first to apply the notion of 'formulas of silence' to the Namibian genocide. Biwa shows how the framing and dating of the genocide where it is 'divided into periods' at the expense of indigenous views of the experience can be understood as an effort at erasure (2012, p. 10). Following this line of argument it is possible to suggest that formulas of erasure could in-part explain the exclusion of the genocide in the soldiers' letter writing. Applied to the systematic absence of indigenous voices in the soldiers' correspondence it is possible to argue that as a formula of erasure this absence deems and cast Herero viewpoints outside the orbit of intelligibility and comprehension. Following this logic, it becomes probable to speculate that for some of the genocide perpetrators shrouding the campaign in a veil of silence was an essential part to effectively downplay the scale and intent of the destruction.

Performance and the production of cultural memory

In *We Are Proud to Present* we meet characters who make remembrance visible through speech and action. The performance subverts the veracity of sources that it uses to emphasise its status as a creative intervention. As a self-reflexive memory play the performance not only helps create collective memory but also produces cultural knowledge about the Herero genocide. Analysed as a remembrance technology the play serves as a medium through which the production of cultural memory can be observed. I take the idea of regarding an artistic product as a 'medium' to 'observe the production of cultural memory' employed here from Erll and Rigney (2006: 113) who initially presented and applied it to literature.

The performance produces cultural memory by tapping and prodding audiences' racialised responses to the pain and visibility of others. Differences in the characters' racial and gender positionality are used to polarise how they engage with history. The actors' raced bodies become icons and a form of material evidence that index the social and historical genocide and transatlantic slavery as events (fig. 42). Drury uses the materiality of the actors' bodies to explore how racial and cultural memories are formed and activated. The performance shows that 'The body is a site where race discourse is seen to play out because it is where race is presumed to reside. As an artefact of cultural framing, the human body is the object that must always display its signs. There is no escape from the fact of its "epidermalised" status; the materiality of the body is understood to offer a continuous surface of legible information' (González, 2008, p. 4).

Figure 42. Pictured, L to R: Bryan Pitts as Actor 4, and Christopher Dontrell Piper as Actor 2. Photo by Undermain Theatre

This is particularly evident in the scene where tensions rise after Another White Man casts doubts on the historicity of the Herero genocide on the basis of the letters' silence on the matter. Another White Man couples this with the scarcity of archival material on the Herero to ask 'how do we know what even happened to them?...I'm not saying the genocide was made up. I'm just saying we don't have physical evidence' (Drury, 2014, p. 58). This leads to the emotive accusation that he is playing down the fate of the Herero because 'it's not like the Holocaust' where 'we have documents, we have testimonials, we have pictures' (Drury, 2014, p. 58). Tensions come to a head when Actor 1 calls the Herero genocide 'a rehearsal Holocaust' (Drury, 2014, p. 88). This suggestion upsets and draws the ire of the other members of ensemble who protest, 'it was real people, in a real place. It's not a rehearsal if you're actually doing it' (Drury, 2014, p. 88).

This conflict speaks to the offstage contest over what has been dubbed the hierarchy of pain (Young, 2000). Secondly it speaks to what the passage of time does to experience. The play illustrates how with passing generations, memories of colonial atrocities are contested. In the memory play the parties contest both the content and the perpetuation of the Herero genocide. For some in the ensemble the absence of written accounts means the Herero and 'their stories are gone' (Drury, 2014, p. 89). The negligible space that the Herero genocide occupy in the performance symbolises the Herero genocide's peripheral status in the American public

imagination. The contests and conflicts the characters have about how and how best to stage the genocide speak to the continuous sensitive conflict over whether it is essential to remember atrocious events. If the response to this is affirmative, the next question becomes how and exactly what about the event is to be remembered. Drury's characters are concerned about both the meaning and usage of history in the present.

Run Black Man Run

The efficacy of metatheatre and other theatrical mechanisms employed by Drury lies in its potential to move spectators to reflect on race and the genocide in a visceral manner. One of the most visceral scenes of the presentation comes towards the end of the play. This scene is titled 'Processtation' and comes when racial tensions and frustrations have stagnated the rehearsal room devising. This prompts Black Woman, the in-text director to plead with the ensemble to 'stop talking about it and just try it' on the floor (Drury, 2014, p. 62). I will expand on this scene as it arguably captures the play's treatment of history and aesthetic delivery.

The scene starts with the call:

> 1905.
> The wall has been erected.
> One hundred and fifty miles wide.
> On one side, there is home.
> On the other side, there is desert.
> Black man, you've been in the desert for days without anything to drink.
> Go
>
> (Drury, 2014, p. 91).

Two distraught Herero men exiled in the Omaheke desert are seen trudging towards the barricade wall. As they make their slow approach, German soldiers appear chanting, 'Round them up. Chain them up. Lead them up. Lock them up' to work in concentration camps (Drury, 2014, p. 94). The German soldiers' chants are set against the backdrop of a slave song sung by the black characters. This soundscape and juxtaposing transmits the scene to the American South, and transforms the German soldiers into racist American slaveholders (Drury, 2014, pp. 94–96). White Man and Another White Man fully embrace their roles and stage one of the most haunting scenes of the play with relish. White Man and Another White Man adopt American Southern accents and tease and taunt Black Man despite the earlier declaration that the cast would not use accents (Drury, 2014, p. 28). As Black Man attempts to flee, he is blocked by the ensemble. White Man and Another White Man chant and taunt,

‘You better run, Black Man. I said run. Run, Black Man’ (Drury, 2014, p. 96). The scene is delivered through song and references a 1851 American folk song titled, ‘*Run, Black Man Run*’ about a African man escaping from white American transatlantic slavery patrols to avoid capture (Perrow, 1915, p. 138).

Through song and dance the white characters animate the scene and make the audience *‘Part of the Crowd’* gathered as spectators to witness a Ku-Klux Klan like lynching complete with crude face masks (fig. 43) (Drury, 2014, p. 97 ; italics in original). The white characters embellish the scene and recreate a black minstrel show as they taunt and torture Black Man (Drury, 2014, pp. 97–101). The climax of the torture comes when White Man and Another White Man place a noose around Black Man’s neck (fig. 44). Drury suggests that they ‘*threaten and terrify him and enjoy his fear*’ (Drury, 2014, p. 101; italics in original). The intensity of the hangmen shocks and alarms Black Man who has a noose around his neck causing him to panic and break the scene up. Black Woman removes the noose allowing the shocked Black Man to silently depart from the stage before following him offstage.

The scene could be read as recreating the colonial photograph depicting the lynching of two Herero men (Chapter Three, fig.11). The imagery simultaneously blurs temporal lines and evokes the equally common images of the lynching of Africans in the American South. Through accent and image juxtaposing the Herero genocide becomes a disturbing tableau for simmering American racial tensions. As the scene transitions back to the rehearsal room, an uncomfortable, awkward silence prevails. Drury’s stage directions dictate that ‘*in that silence something starts to happen. The actors start to process what just happened. And there is something…Discomfort. Frustration. Awkwardness. Nerves. Adrenaline. Uncertainty. Buzzing. Embarrassment. Guilt. Shame. Anger. Excitement. Something…*’ (Drury, 2014, p. 101 ;italics in original).

For the white characters, who struggle to break the excruciating silence, the stage directions suggest that, ‘*There might be failed attempts to shake off the moment in laughter. There might be failed attempts to congratulate each other in the laughter. There might be failed explanations in the laughter. There might be failed imitations of the performance in the laughter. There might be failed explanations in the laughter. There might be failed attempts to stop laughing in the laughter… but the performers cannot stop until there is laughter, and it is genuine*’ (Drury, 2014, p. 102 ;italics in original).

Figure 43. Pictured, L to R: Jake Buchanan as Actor 1, Christopher Dontrell Piper as Actor 2, Blake Hackler as Actor 3. Photo by Undermain Theatre

Figure 44. Pictured, L to R: Christopher Dontrell Piper as Actor 2, Blake Hackler as Actor 3, and Shannon Kearns as Actor 5. Photo by Undermain Theatre

The scene and the performance closes as the white actors in turn notice Another Black Man silently watching them. Another Black Man starts to clear the stage, as the white actors depart from the stage. Another Black Man gathers a bottle of water, the mask and the noose before placing them into a box containing the letters and closes it. The scene is deeply poignant as the props have assumed a new symbolism in the wake of the explicit violence that the audience has just witnessed. The show closes as Another Black Man/ Actor 4, who is the last character on stage notices the audience. Drury's stage directions suggest that he '*looks to the audience. He tries to say something to the audience but…He might produce the air of a word beginning with the letter 'w' like We or Why or What. He tries to speak, but he fails*' (Drury, 2014, p. 102 ;italics in the original).

This last scene has a deeply affective and visceral impact as words ultimately fail. This closing scene is affective not only because of the evocative images and moments it presents, but more so because it demonstrates a basic human capacity to not only inflict violence but to also enjoy this capacity for evil. The scene shows how ordinary people can potentially become mass killers. The scene is also exceptional in the memory play's dramaturgy for its onstage depiction of explicit violence. As White Man and Another White Man put a noose around Black Man's neck the scene shifts spectators who were 'in on the joke' into 'self-conscious witnesses to an act of 'real' violence' on stage (Willis, 2016, p. 199).

Conclusion

We Are Proud to Present as a performance enables us to explore how cultural memory about the Namibian genocide is generated, contested, controlled, maintained and reproduced through texts, images, sites and experiences and circulates through performance. Using metatheatre the play attempts to bridge the gap between event and narration by portraying the Namibian and Transatlantic atrocities without attempting to replicate them. Drury sets out to and achieves five main objectives that Skloot (1982) ascribes to resolute genocide playwrights. As a memory play, *We Are Proud to Present* pays tribute to the victims of the Herero genocide. Secondly it informs audiences about the history of the Herero genocide while being theatrically affective. The performance brings to the fore the ethics of representation and acknowledgement for audiences to reflect on and lastly by linking the genocide with the ongoing racial problems in the US, the performance points to the universality and contemporary nature of racial violence (Skloot, 1982, p. 14).

The play within a play structure enables *We Are Proud to Present* to continually interrogate the ethics and politics of theatre making from the appropriation of characters, to experiences, narratives and cultures to colour and gender-blind casting. The conflicts over colour and

gender-blind casting speak to the weight of the chains of memory that the characters feel they bear when they are racially and gender cast and understood. The performance spotlights the place of race in the performance of ethnicity and memory. The memory play problematises the construction and use of cultural identity in social organisation, in the reiteration and challenge of bonds of allegiance, opposition and power.

The play's content interrogates the Herero genocide as a colonial process and through its form suggests that the theatre itself can be an act of colonialism. This is explored through the manner in which the performance shows theatre's capacity to usurp non-Western and European points of views and voices. The play explores the tensions behind notions of objectivity in storytelling and interpreting the Herero genocide as a historical event. Re-enactment is used to challenge the commonly accepted objectivity of historical sources like the letters written by German soldiers. The objectivity of historical material is disturbed by the open subjective interpretation that is forwarded through devising a series of improvisations, song, choreographed movement, role-playing, animal characterisations and recreation.

The binary understanding of history as objective in contrast to the subjectivity of performance falls away as the play stages scenes that show stereotypes, minstrelsy, liberal good intensions, racism and xenophobia. Through metatheatre Drury shows that the artistic interpretations, like the archival sources have a relationship with the genocide grounded in the present, which does not bridge the distance between experience and narration to become the genocide itself. The gap between experience and narration shows that 'no memory can preserve the past', instead communities are simultaneously formed as they form postmemories (Assmann, 1995, p. 130). In *We Are Proud to Present,* 'cultural memory works by reconstructing, that is, it always relates its knowledge to an actual and contemporary situation' (Assmann, 1995, p. 130).

CONCLUSION

This interdisciplinary study focused on how the 1904 to 1908 genocide in colonial Namibia which is currently on the margins of official recognition is performed and remembered through performance. The study showed how the genocide as a 'historical catastrophe' (Bogues, 2010, p. 40) has inspired, and continues to inspire several contemporary performances within and outside of Namibia. Using performance studies as a mode of investigation, this study traced the memory of the Namibian genocide in performances that validate, shape and contest the colonial experiences of African indigenous people. It relied on five selected performances to examine the cultural memory of the Herero people whose culture and experiences was not preserved exclusively through writing but through oral and embodied performative modes. The selected representations constitute part of a Namibian genocide memory mosaic which comprises of: calendrical performances in the Red Flag Day Commemoration, travelling museum exhibitions in *Black Box/Chambre Noire*, performance art in *Exhibit B,* dance in *SOLD!* and theatre in *We Are Proud to Present.* Taken together, these selected performances highlight the interplay between performance, memory and genocide studies in postcolonial remembrance dynamics.

The study argued that performance had a definitive influence on the Namibian genocide remembrance culture and commemorative practices. It showed how the selected performances, and those similar, are not just artefacts but can be considered as agents shaping the memory of the genocide. This is in line with Ann Rigney's argument which builds on Hayden White's, that narrative is essential to cultural comphrehension since 'events do not "naturally" take the form of a story' (Erll et al., 2008, p. 347). The selected performances through their form, content and reception show that 'whoever narrates events is in fact involved in actively shaping experience into an intelligible pattern with a beginning, middle, and end, and with an economy of antipathy and sympathy centred on particular human figures' (Erll et al., 2008, p. 347). The study showed that performative narration is an integral interpretative tool in the performance and remembrance representation of the Namibian colonial genocide experience.

The study negotiated the often binary conception of the past that pits history versus memory by positioning both as 'different modes of remembering' in culture, rendering the past a mediated re-construction and re-presentation (Erll, 2008, p. 6;7). This study confirmed Georges Didi-Huberman's views on representation and history and shows that 'to remember, one must imagine' (2008, p. 30). This allows for a creative memory reading of the past since 'every act of perception, is to some degree an act of creation, and every act of memory is to some degree an act of imagination. Biological memory is creative and not strictly replicative' (Edelman, 1999, p. 80).

Through the selected performances, the study investigated how various entities perform, remember, commemorate the dead and respond to the challenge of memorialising the Namibian frontier genocide. The study showed how, in part, the cultural memory of the Namibian genocide is generated, contested, controlled, circulated, maintained and reproduced through annual commemorations, texts, images, sites of memory, exhibitions, dance and theatre interventions. The research showed the various ways in which performance is used to engage with the memory of the genocide across time and space from the perspective of the present, informing an understanding of the past and the present. The research investigated the relationship between violence, memory and space by focusing on what elements of the genocide are performed and remembered. It examined how these elements are performed and remembered and paid attention to when and where they were performed and remembered. In this way, the study investigated and offered a variety of perspectives on the role of performance in the formation, spread and contestation of memory in remembering the 'first German genocide in the 20th century' (Melber, 2005, p. 139).

These six chapters individually and collectively highlight the centrality of the Namibian genocide in Herero identity formation and memory. They cast a critical light on the two questions that guided the study. The first being how cultural memory is generated, maintained and reproduced through performance texts, images, sites of memory and experiences in remembering the events from colonial genocide in Namibia. The second being an interest in how performance transmits knowledge about the past in ways that allow contemporary understanding and usage in the postcolony. Taken together the chapters in this study offer various and varied observations on the memory construction about the German colonial genocide in and outside of Namibia. As an ensemble, the five selected cases explored in this study positioned memory as a necessary tool that allows collective acts of memorialisation which encourage and bolster social progression and transforms the past into the present.

The research showed that ‘memories are often indistinguishable from interpretations’ to interrogate memory from a metaphoric as well as expressive perspective (Campbell et al., 2000, p. 8). Through the different remembrance genres in the selected performances, the study showed that performance facilitates the repetition of historical events but is not their exact replication since ‘memory reveals itself as imagination’ (Roach, 1996, p. 29).

This study contributes to the emerging body of scholarly work broadly understood as ‘the performance turn’ in the cultural memory studies of the Namibian genocide. It fills the gap identified by Christopher Balme who observed that while ‘Colonialism has been intensively researched by historians and economists, political scientists, anthropologists. There is, however, another side, an aesthetic component to the colonial project, which has been neglected. A crucial, but until recently under-researched concept for analysing colonialism as a cultural and aesthetic phenomenon is that of theatricality in its manifold forms’ (1999, p. 202). This study responds to this call and expands this cultural and aesthetic component to the contemporary postcolony to investigating how the memory of the Namibian genocide is shaped and shared across time and space through performance.

In this final chapter of the study, I tease out and outline five common, recurring thematic areas that are are present and were explored throughout this study. These are: Time and Memory; Memory and Place; Performance as medium and object of remembrance, as well as Remembering through performance. I will briefly revisit them here to recap the study’s central focus and thrust.

Time and Memory

The interplay of time and memory is a running theme in this study. Through the Red Flag Day Commemoration as an example, the study showed that ‘communities give rise to acts of remembrance at the same time that they are being (re)constituted by them’ (Rigney, 2009, p. 87). In the annual reiteration of the 1923 burial ceremony for Samuel Maherero, memory facilitates remembering by serving as a faculty through which knowledge and experience can be encountered independently from time. Elena Esposito suggests that it is ‘Precisely by eliminating time from the events, [that] memory can allow them to be synchronised—remembering, anticipating, making projections and reconstructions’ (2008, p. 185). The study showed that because of this it is possible to engage with contemporary expressions of memory as valid pathways to understanding the Namibian genocide past. Cultural performances become instrumental articulations of postcolonial experience since ‘memory does not record the past, which would be of no use and would only be an overload, but reconstructs it every time for a future projected in ever new ways’ (Esposito, 2008, p. 185).

Memory and Place

The dynamics, intermediality and performativity of processes of remembering within and across borders formed the second running theme in this study. The study investigated how the various places as sites of memory influence how the memory of the Namibian genocide is performed and remembered. This investigation went beyond the singular nation state to the diasporic performance sphere. The selected performances reconstructed the genocide's performance routes in the nation-state and beyond. The study added to the literature a nuanced understanding of the role of performance in crossing and re-defining 'the borders of imagined memory communities' (Rigney, 2005, p. 25). The study followed Erll who drew on Paul Gilroy in perceiving these performances 'routes' as 'the paths which certain stories, rituals and images have taken' (Erll, 2011, p. 11).

Performance as medium and object of remembrance

This study reflected on how through performance, memory circulates in and transnationally and across generations. As Michel de Certeau shows us, 'what the map cuts up, the story cuts across' (1984, p. 129). This cross-border and transgenerational reflection was essential in understanding how societies articulate, circulate, structure memory and remember mass violence through performance. It was an aperture used to investigate the enduring role of national memories as well as their simultaneous reconfiguration in the postcolony and in the onslaught of globalisation. The study's focus on performance in the development and structuring of cultural memory of the Namibian genocide underlines the place of performance as a media and mode of migration in the movement of memory across time and space.

The study showed that performance is used and how it is used by various actors as an intervention in shaping and influencing memory through time as events occur and in their preceding recollections. It showed that historical representations are 'negotiated, selective, present-oriented and relative' (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 195). The over a century long endurance of the knowledge of this genocide shows that with all its complexities and mediation, memory can not be 'manipulated at will' (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 195). This study confirms the observation that 'memory is always constructed and socially mediated' and that 'the selectivity of memory and the dependence on culturally specific models of commemoration increases the more distant the lived experience becomes' (Lentz, 2013, p. 221).

Remembering through performance

This study focused on how the over a century old Namibian genocide is remembered in the postcolony. The time lag between the present and this occurence inevitably means that a temporal gap separates experiencing the event and remembering it. The selected performances are a creative interpretation of this genocide past. Performance as art, as an institution and as culture enables for the contemporary construction of genocide memory. The temporal gap between the events as history and the selected performances in the here and now also led to complex ethical dimensions in the remembrance and performance representations. The study showed that performance as an epistemology for the interpretation of the past stands in dialogue with other interpretations like historiography, and is subject to some of the same ethical concerns (Erll and Rigney, 2006, p. 113). The study used postmemory to situate the Namibian genocide in the long durée of history and ideas. It foregrounded the gendered nature of violence and memory and the ethical responsibility and duty to remember, to mourn for the dead and to bear witness that faces the living.

This study showed how performance serves as a remembrance technology and the pathway through which groups and artists strategically construct and contest particular memory renderings of the past. Performance bridges the over a century long temporal gap between event and recall. Since there is 'no unmediated access to the past and, indeed, the very act of recalling and telling the past is an exercise in interpretation' the selected performances show that the past 'lives on only in representations of itself' (Lawler, 2008, p. 39). The study showed that these representations take many forms. They can be 'dreams, memories, images, and, above all, in the stories or narratives which work as a means of bringing together these mediated fragments into another representation – a narrative in which events bring about other events: a narrative with a beginning, a middle, and (however deferred) an end' (Lawler, 2008, p. 39).

Performance in this study became one of the many avenues available to interpret and constitute the memory of the Namibian genocide and to give narrative to this experience. The selected performances as stories 'link us together socially and allow us to bring past and present into relative coherence' (Pickering, 2008, p. 6). The study argues that the selected performances visibly and publicly re-constituted memory 'from the narrated anecdote to the public portrait' (Keightley, 2008, p. 177). The selected performances use 'narrative codes and representational conventions' and 'they have omissions and reinterpretations, polysemic readings and intense personal resonances' (Keightley, 2008, p. 177).

In conclusion, I suggest that this study made the case that in the postcolony, performance fills the memorial void created by the absence of murals and museums that are often built in commemoration of past and contemporary genocide and terror. Performance stands as the public yet ephemeral and embodied commemoration of the Namibian genocide. The study went on to evaluate the extent to which such performances challenge our understanding of various forms of collective cultural memory and their role in postcolonial societies. It offered a variety of perspectives on the relationship that exists at the intersection of violence, memory and space. Drawing primarily from postcolonial theory, the study paid attention to how performance is used to produce, transmit as well as contest the memory of the Namibian genocide. The study investigated the 'conditions and factors that make remembering in common possible, such as language, rituals, commemoration practices, theatre and sites of memories' (Connerton, 1989, p. 39). Through this, the study contributes to a better understanding of the social formation of cultural memory and its preservation, transmission and contestation in performing and remembering the Namibian genocide.

REFERENCE LIST

Adhikari, M., 2008. “Streams of blood and streams of money”: new perspectives on the annihilation of the Herero and Nama peoples of Namibia, 1904-1908. Kronos 34, 303–320. https://doi.org/http://www.scielo.org.za/pdf/kronos/v34n1/v34n1a14.pdf

ADM 117, 3979, 1920. ADM 117, 3979, Secretary for the Protectorate to Military Magistrate Otjiwarongo.

Administrator’s Office, 1918. Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany, Windhuk. His Majesty’s Stationary Office, London.

Adorno, T., 1955. Prisms. Neville Spearman, London.

Adorno, T.W., 1938. On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening, in: Leppert, R. (Ed.), Adorno. Essays on Music. University of Califonia Press, California.

Ahmed, S., 2004. The Cultural Politics of Emotion. Routledge, London.

Alayarian, A., 2008. Consequences of Denial: The Armenian Genocide. Karnac Books, London, United Kingdom.

Albright, A.C., 1998. Strategic abilities: Negotiating the disabled body in dance. Michigan Quarterly Review 37, 475–501.

Albright, A.C., 1997. Choreographing Difference: The Body and Identity in Contemporary Dance. Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, Connecticut.

Aldarondo, C.., 2013. The Documentary Encounter: Memory, Materiality, and Performance in Contemporary Visual Culture. University of Minnesota, Minnesota.

Alexandre, J.M., 2017. Dance Leadership: Theory Into Practice. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Amavilah, V.H., 2008. National flags, national flag colors, and the well-being of countries. Resource & Engineering Economics Publications Services REEPS Working Paper No.200810.1.

Anderson, B., 2006. Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism. Verso, London.

Anderson, R., 2005. Redressing Colonial Genocide under International Law: The Hereros’ Case of Action against Germany. California Law Review 93, 1155–1189.

Appadurai, A., 1996. Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Arendt, H., 1951. The Origins of Totalitarianism. Harcourt, Brace and Co, New York.

Aristotle, 1980. Metaphysics. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Askew, K.M., 2002. Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Assmann, J., 1995. Collective Memory and Cultural Identity. New German Critique 65.

Bailey, B., 2014. Yes, Exhibit B is challenging – but I never sought to alienate or offend. ,. The Guardian.

Bal, M., 1997. Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative, 2nd ed. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Balme, C., 1999. “Impressing the Natives”: Theatricality, Ceremony and German Colonial Rule in Western Samoa, in: Balme, C., Hashe, C., Mühl-Benninghaus, W. (Eds.), Horizonte Der Emanzipation. Texte Zu Theater Und Theatralität, Berliner Theaterwissenschaft. Vistas, Berlin.

Bandle, A.L., Chechi, A., Renold, M.-A., 2013. Case 20 skulls – Namibia and Charité Universitätsmedizin Berlin, Germany. Platform ArThemis (Art-Law Centre – University of Geneva).

Barkan, E., 2000. The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and negotiating historical injustices. W. W. Norton & Company, New York/ London.

Bartlett, F.., 1961. Remembering. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Bartlett, F.., 1932. Remembering: A study in experimental and social psychology. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA/London, UK.

Bartlett, F.C., 1958. Thinking: An Experimental and Social Study. Basic Books, New York.

Becker, H., 2011. Commemorating heroes in Windhoek and Eenhana. Memory, culture and nationalism in Namibia, 1990-2010. The Journal of the International African Institute 81, 519–543. https://doi.org/https://muse.jhu.edu/article/454995/pdf

Bell, D. (Ed.), 2006. Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship between Past and Present. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
Bennett, T., 1988. The Exhibitionary Complex. New Formations Number 4. https://doi.org/http://www.amielandmelburn.org.uk/collections/newformations/04_73.pdf.
Bennett, T., 1988. The Exhibitionary Complex. New Formations 4, 73–102.
Bernick, A., 2014. Burying An Injustice: Indigenous Human Remains in Museums and the evolving obligation to return remains to Indigenous groups. Indonesian Journal of International & Comparative Law 1, 637–688. https://doi.org/http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/indjicl1&div=29&g_sent=1&collection=journals
Bhabha, H.K., 1995. Dance Diss This Around. Artforum International 19–20.
Bhabha, H.K., 1994. The Location of Culture. Routledge, New York.
Bhabha, H.K. (Ed.), 1990. Nation and Narration. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London.
Bijl, P., 2012. Colonial memory and forgetting in the Netherlands and Indonesia. Journal of Genocide Research 14, 441–461.
Biwa, M., 2012. “Weaving the past with threads of memory”: Narratives and Commemorations of the Colonial War in Southern Namibia. University of the Western Cape, Cape Town.
Blanchard, P., Nicolas, B., Boetsch, G., Deroo, E., Lemaire, S., 2008. Human Zoos: The Greatest Exotic Shows in the West: Introduction. & Eds.), in: Blanchard, P., Bancel, N., Boetsch, G., Deroo, E., Lemaire, S., Forsdick, C. (Eds.), Human Zoos. Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires. Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, United Kingdom, pp. 1–49.
Bleeker, M., 2012. Introduction: On Technology & Memory. Performance Research 17, 1–7.
Bleeker, M.., 2002. The Locus of Looking - Dissecting Visuality in the Theatre. University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam.
Bleeker, M., Germano, I., 2014. Perceiving and Believing: An Enactive Approach to Spectatorship. Theatre Journal 66, 363–383. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1353/tj.2014.0073
Bley, H., 1996. Namibia under GermaN Rule, Studien zur Afrikanischen Geschichte Bd.5. LIT Verlag, Münster.
Bøggild Johannsen, K., Zenth, T., 2007. Interview: William Kentridge.
Bogues, A., 2010. Empire of Liberty: Power, Desire, and Freedom. University Press of New England, New Hampshire (UPNE), New Hampshire.
Booth, W.., 1999. Communities of Memory: On Identity, Memory, and Debt. American Political Science Review 93, 249–263.
Bordwell, M., 1998. Dancing with Death: Performativity and “Undiscussable” Bodies in Still/Here. Text and Performance Quarterly 18, 369–379. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10462939809366237
Bottoms, S.J., 2003. The efficacy/effeminacy braid: unpicking the performance studies/theatre studies dichotomy. Theatre Topics 13, 173–187. https://doi.org/https://muse.jhu.edu/article/46960/pdf
Bracht, M., 2015. Genocide in German South West Africa & the Herero Reparations Movement (Senior Theses. Paper 37). University of South Carolina, South Carolina.
Brown, I.V., 1983. AM I NOT A WOMAN AND A SISTER?" THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION OF AMERICAN WOMEN, 1837–1839. Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies 50, 1–19.
Brown, P.R.L., 1981. The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity (London: University of Chicago Press 1981),. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Bruckner, S.A., 2003. Spectacles of (human) nature: commercial ethnography between leisure, learning, and Schaulust, in: Glenn, P.H., Bunzl, M. (Eds.), Worldly Provincialism. German Anthropology in the Age of Empire. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, pp. 127–155.
Buikema, R., 2016. The Revolt of the Object. Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies 18, 251–269. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2015.1106968

Burke, G., 2010. Black Watch. Faber and Faber, London.
Burke, J., 2017. US museum “storing remains of Namibian genocide victims.” The Guardian.
Burke, P., 2005. Performing history: The importance of Occasions. Rethinking History 9,35–52.
Butler, J., 2009. Frames of War: when is life grievable? Verso, London.
Butler, J., 2004. Precarious Life. Verso, New York.
Butler, J., 1993. Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex.” Routledge, New York.
Cadava, E., 1997. Words of Light. Theses on the Photography of History. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
Campbell, J., 1991. The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology. Penguin Compass, New York City.
Campbell, M., Labbe, J.., Shuttleworth, S. (Eds.), 2000. Memory and Memorials, 1789-1914: Literary and Cultural Perspectives. Routledge, London.
Castoriadis, C., 1987. The Imaginary Institution of Society. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Césaire, A., Delas, D., Vitez, A., 1955. Discours sur le colonialisme. Paris : Textuel : Radio France internationale ; Bry-sur-Marne : Institut national de l’audiovisuel, Paris.
Chamberlain, M.E., 2009. The Scramble for Africa, 3rd ed. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York.
Charité Human Remains Project, 2011. Official handover without prejudice - repatriation document, as signed by Prof. Karl Einhäupl and Esther Moombolah- /Gôagoses,.
Charny, I.., Rapaport, C., 1982. How can we commit the unthinkable?: Genocide, the human cancer. Westview Press., Boulder.
Churchill, W., 1941. Prime Minister Winston Churchill’s Broadcast to the World about the meeting with President Roosevelt. The New York Times 4.
Clark, L.B., 2009. Coming to Terms with Trauma Tourism. Performance Paradigm 5, 1–31.
Cole, J., 2004. Painful Memories: Ritual and the Transformation of Community Trauma. Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry 28, 87–105.
Comaroff, J., 1985. Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Confino, A., 2010. Memory and the History of Mentalities. A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies. De Gruyter, Berlin and New York.
Connerton, P., 1989. How societies remember. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Conrad, J., 1955. Last Essays. Dent, London.
Cooper, A.D., 2007. Reparations for the Herero genocide: defining the limits of international litigation. African Affairs 106, 113–126.
Coumans, S.T.J., 2011. Geschichte und Identität: “Black Box/Chambre noire” von William Kentridge. Regiospectra, Berlin.
Croce, A., 1994. Discussing the Undiscussable. The New Yorker 54–60.
Dadrian, V.., 1993. The Secret Young-Turk Ittihadist Conference and the Decision for the World War I Genocide of the Armenians. Holocaust and Genocide Studies 7, 173–201.
Davids, N., 2007. Inherited Memories: Performing the Archive (PhD). University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.
Davis, T.., Holland, P. (Eds.), 2007. The Performing Century: Nineteenth-Century Theatre’s History. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
de Certeau, M., 1984. The Practice of Everyday Life. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA & London.
Dedering, T., 1999. A certain Rigorous Tratment, in: Levene, M., Roberts, L. (Eds.), The Massacre in History. Berghahn Books, New York.
Dedering, T., 1993. "The German-Herero war of 1904: revisionism of genocide or imaginary historiography? Journal of Southern African Studies 19, 80–88. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03057079308708348
Depelchin, J., 2005. Silences in African History: Between the Syndromes of Discovery and Abolition. Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, Dar es Salaam.
Derrida, J., 2001. On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness. Routledge, London.

Derrida, J., 1995. Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression, 4. University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.
Deutsche Welle, 2016. Over 1,000 skulls from Germany's colonies still sitting in Berlin. Deutsche Welle.
Diamond, E., 1997. Unmaking Mimesis: Essays on Feminism and Theater. Routledge, New York.
Didi-Huberman, G., 2008. Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz. University of Chicago Press, London and Chicago.
Drechsler, H., 1980. "Let Us Die Fighting": Struggle of the Herero and the Nama against German Imperialism (1884–1915). Zed, London.
Drechsler, H., 1966. Südwestafrika unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft: Der Kampf der Herero and Nama gegen den deutschen Imperialismus (1884–1915). Akademie–Verlag, Berlin.
Drury, J.S., 2014. We Are Proud to Present a Presentation About the Herero of Namibia Formerly Known as Southwest Africa, From the German Sudwestafrika, Between the Years 1884–1915. Bloomsbury Methuen Drama, London and New York.
Durham, D., 1999. The Predicament of Dress: Polyvalency and the Ironies of Cultural Identity. American Ethnologist 26, 389–411.
Durrans, B.J., 1993. The future of ethnographic exhibitions. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 118, 125–139.
Eber, C., Tanski, J., 2002. Women's Cooperatives in Chiapas, Mexico: Strategies of Survival and Empowerment in Times of Struggle. Social Development Issues 24, 33–40.
Edelman, G.., 1999. Building a Picture of the Brain. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 888, 68–89. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.1999.tb08535.x
Ehn, E., 2007. A Space for Truth: Meditations on Truth and the Rwandan Genocide. American Theatre 34–73.
Eichhoff, W., 1917. ADM 117, 3979, W. Eichhoff, Okamatangara to Military Magistrate, Otjiwarongo, (official translation).
Elam, H.J., 2001. The Black Performer and the Performance of Blackness: The Escape; or, a Leap to Freedom by William Wells Brown and No Place to Be Somebody by Charles Gordone', in: Elam, H.J., Krasner, D. (Eds.), African American Performance and Theater History: A Critical Reader. Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 288–305.
Erichsen, C.W., 2008. Forced Labour in the Concentration Camp on Shark Island, in: Zimmerer, J., Zeller, J. (Eds.), Genocide in German South West Africa: The Colonial War of 1904-1908 and Its Aftermath. The Merlin Press Ltd, Wales.
Erichsen, C.W., 2005. "The angel of death has descended violently among them" Concentration camps and prisoners-of-war in Namibia, 1904-08. African Studies Centre, University of Leiden, Leiden.
Erill, A., Rigney, A. (Eds.), 2009. Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory. De Gruyter, Berlin and New York.
Erll, A., 2011. Travelling Memory. Parallax 17, 4–18.
Erll, A., 2008. Literature, Film, and the Mediality of Cultural Memory, in: Erll, A., Nünning, A., Young, S., B. (Eds.), Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and New York.
Erll, A., 2006. RE-WRITING AS RE-VISIONING-Modes of representing the "Indian Mutiny" in British novels, 1857 to 2000. European Journal of English Studies Vol.10, 163–185. https://doi.org/10.1080/13825570600753485
Erll, A., Nünning, A., Young, S., B. (Eds.), 2008. Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.
Erll, A., Rigney, A., 2006. Literature and the Production of Cultural Memory: Introduction. European Journal of English Studies 10, 111–115.
Esposito, E., 2008. Social Forgetting: A Systems-Theory Approach, in: Erll, A., Nünning, A., Young, S., B. (Eds.), Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and New York, pp. 181–189.

Fabian, J., 2002. Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object. Columbia University Press, New York.
Favorini, A., 2008. Memory in Play: From Aeschylus to Sam Shepard. Palgrave, Macmillan, New York.
Fein, H., 2002. Genocide: A Sociological Perspective, in: Hinton, A.L. (Ed.), Genocide: An Anthropological Reader. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, pp. 74–90.
Fein, H., 1984. Scenarios of Genocide: Models of Genocide and Critical Responses, in: Charny, I.W. (Ed.), Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide. Westview Press, Boulder, pp. 3–31.
Fetzer, C., 1913. Rassenanatomische Untersuchungen an 17 Hottentottenköpfen 16 (1913/14) 95-156. Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie 16, 95–156.
Feuchtwang, S., 2006. Memorials to injustice. . Palgrave, pp.176–94., in: Bell, D. (Ed.), Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship between Past and Present. Palgrave Macmillan, London, pp. 176–194.
Firth, R., 1973. Symbols Public and Private. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York.
Fischer, E., 1961. Die Rehobother Bastards und das Bastardierungsproblem beim Menschen. Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, Graz.
Fischer-Lichte, E., 2008. The Transformative Power of Performance: A New Aesthetics. Routledge, Abingdon and New York.
Fleishman, M., 2012. Remembering in the postcolony: refiguring the past with theatre. University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.
Förster, L., 2013. “These skulls are not enough” – The Repatriation of Namibian Human Remains from Berlin to Windhoek in 2011. Darkmatter.
Foster, R.J., 1991. Making National Cultures in The Global Ecumene. Annual Review of Anthropology 20, 235–260. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.20.100191.001315
Foucault, M., 1998. The Will to Knowledge: The History of Sexuality. Penguin Books, London.
Foucault, M., 1986. Of Other Spaces. Diacritics 16, 22–27. https://doi.org/10.2307/464648
Foucault, M., 1977. Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Vintage Books, New York.
Frankel, P., 2001. An ordinary atrocity. Sharpeville and its Massacre. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg.
Freud, S., 1963. Mourning and Melancholia, in: Riviere, J. (Tran.), General Psychological Theory. Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc, New York.
Freud, S., 1922. Mourning and Melancholia. The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease 56, 543–545.
Friedman, J., 2015. Minding the Gap: The Choreographer as Hyper-Historian in Oral History-Based Performance, in: Dean, D., Merzon, Y., Prince, K. (Eds.), History, Memory, Performance. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire and NewYork, pp. 53–67.
Gaonkar, D.P., Povinelli, E.A., 2003. Technologies of Public Forms: Circulation, Transfiguration, Recognition. Public Culture 15, 385–397. https://doi.org/doi:10.1215/08992363-15-3-385
Garland-Thomson, R., 2009. Staring: How We Look. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
Garland-Thomson, R., 1997. Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature. Columbia University Press, New York.
Geppert, A.C.T., 2010. Fleeting Cities. Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe,. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke/New York.
Gewald, J.-B., 2009. Mbadamassi of Lagos: A Soldier for King and Kaiser, and a Deportee to German South West Africa. African Diaspora 2, 103–124. https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1163/187254609X433369
Gewald, J.-B., 2000. Colonization, genocide and resurgence: the Herero of Namibia 1890-1933, in: Bollig, M., Gewald, J.-B. (Eds.), People, Cattle and Land : Transformations of a Pastoral Society in SouthWestern Africa. Köppe, Köln, pp. 187–225.
Gewald, J.-B., 1999a. Herero Heroes: a socio-political history of the Herero of Namibia, 1890-1923. Ohio State University Press, Ohio.

Gewald, J.-B., 1999b. The Road of the man called Love and the Sack of Sero: The Herero-German war and the export of Herero labour to the South African Rand. Journal of African History 40, 21–40.
Gewald, J.-B., 1998. Herero Annual Parades: Commemorating to Create, in: Behrend, H., Geider, T. (Eds.), Afrikaner Schreiben Zuruck. Köppe, Köln, pp. 131–151.
Gilley, B., 2017. The case for colonialism. Third World Quarterly 1–17. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2017.1369037
Goldblatt, I., 1971. History of South West Africa from the Beginning of the Nineteenth century. Juta and Company, Cape Town.
González, J., 2008. Subject to Display: Reframing Race in Contemporary Installation Art. The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
Goodman Gallery, 2017. William Kentridge Exhibitions.
Gordon, R.., 2009. Hiding in Full View: The "Forgotten" Bushman Genocides of Namibia. Genocide Studies and Prevention 4, 29–57.
Gottschalk, L., 1950. Understanding history: A primer of historical method. Random House, New York.
Greene, N., 1999. Landscapes of Loss: The National Past in Postwar French Cinema. Princeton University Press., Princeton.
Grieshaber, K., 2011. German museum returning Namibian skulls. Associated Press.
Grofe, J., 2002. Shadows of the past: Chances and Problems for the Herero in claiming reparations from multinationals for past human rights violations (Magister Legum in the Department of Law). University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa.
Grosser Generalstab, 1907. Grosser Generalstab, 1906-1907, 1:214.
Guarracino, S., 2010. The Dance of the Dead Rhino: William Kentridge's Magic Flute. Saggi /Ensayos/Essais/Essays N. 4 – 10/2010. Altre Modernità/Otrs Modernidades/Autres Modernités/ Other Modernities 4, 268–278. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.13130/2035-7680/706
Guerin, F., 2011. The Placement of Shadows: What's inside William Kentridge's Black Box/Chambre Noire?, in: Rhodes, J.D., Gorfinkel, E. (Eds.), Taking Place: Location and the Moving Image. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, pp. 233–254.
Gunn, A., 1999. Who is Your Mother? Red Roots of White Feminism, in: Lemert, C. (Ed.), Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings. Westview Press, Boulder, pp. 584–594.
Haagsma, G., 2012. . Sep 12, 2012. William Kentridge – Black Box / Chambre Noire. Dailyserving: An international publication for contemporary art.
Hacking, I., 1995. Memory Sciences, Memory Politics, in: Anzte, P., Lambek, M. (Eds.), Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory. Routledge, London, pp. 67–88.
Hagström-Ståhl, K., 2010. Mourning as Method: William Kentridge's Black Box/Chambre Noire. Arcadia - International Journal for Literary Studies 45, 339–352. https://doi.org/DOI 10.1515/ARCA.2010.020
Halbwachs, M., 1997. La mémoire collective. Albin Michel, Paris.
Hale, C., 2003. Himmler's crusade. The true story of the 1938 Nazi expedition into Tibet. Bantam Books, London.
Hamrick, E., 2013. Enduring Injustice: Law, Memory, and Politics in Namibia's Genocide Reparations Movement. Ohio University, Ohio.
Harmon, S.H.E., 2015. The Invisibility of Disability: Using dance to shake from Bioethics the idea of "Broken Bodies." Bioethics 29, 488–498. https://doi.org/doi:10.1111/bioe.12139
Harold, J., 2001. The Deutsche Bank and the Nazi Economic War against the Jews: The Expropriation of Jewish-Owned Property. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Harrison, R.P., 2003. The Dominion of the Dead. Chicago University Press, Chicago, IL and London.
Hatton, O., 2015. We Are Proud to Present a Presentation About the Herero of Namibia, Formerly Known as Southwest Africa, From the German Sudwestafrika, Between the

Years 1884-1915 by Jackie Sibblies Drury (review). Theatre Journal 67, 713–716. https://doi.org/DOI:https://doi.org/10.1353/tj.2015.0142
Hayes, P., Silvester, J., Hartmann, W., 2002. “Picturing the Past” in Namibia: The Visual Archive and its Energies, in: Hamilton, C., Harris, V., Taylor, J., Pickover, M., Reid, G., Saleh, R. (Eds.), Refiguring the Archive. Springer International Publishing, Dordrecht, pp. 103–134.
Heaney, S., 2004. The Burial at Thebes. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York City.
Heller, A., 2001. A tentative answer to the question: Has civil society cultural memory? Social Research 68, 1031–1040.
Hendrickson, A.A. (Hildi), 1992. Historical Idioms of Identity Representation among the OvaHerero in Southern Africa. New York Unirversity, New York.
Hennlich, A.J., 2010. (un)Fixing the eye: William Kentridge and the Optics of Witness (PhD). University of Manchester, Manchester, Great Britain.
Hillebrecht, W., 2008. The Nama and the war in the south, in: Zimmerer, J., Zeller, J. (Eds.), Genocide in German South West Africa: The Colonial War of 1904-1908 and Its Aftermath. The Merlin Press Ltd, Wales.
Hirsch, M., 2008. The Generation of Postmemory. Poetics Today 29, 103–128. https://doi.org/10.1215/03335372-2007-019
Hirsch, M., 1997. Family frames: Photography, narrative, and postmemory. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Hirsch, M., 1992. Family Pictures: Maus, Mourning, and Post-Memory. Discourse 15, 3–29.
Hitler, A., 1941. Mein Kampf. Reynal & Hitchcock, New York.
Hobsbawm, E.., Ranger, T. (Eds.), 1983. The Invention of Tradition:Past and Present. Cambridge University Press., Cambridgeshire.
Hochschild, A., 1998. King Leopold’s Ghost. Macmillan, London.
Hoffmann, E., 2000. Complex Histories, Contested Memories: Some Reflections on Remembering Difficult Pasts.
Hoile, C., 2015. Reviews 2015: We Are Proud to Present a Presentation About the Herero of Namibia, Formerly Known as South-West Africa, From the German Südwestafrika, Between the Years 1884-1915.
Höller, C., 2002. An interview with the post-colonialism theoretician Achille Mbembe. Springerin Magazine.
hooks, bell, 1989. Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black. South End Press, Boston.
HPRC, 2001. The Herero People’s Reparations Corporation vs. Deutsche Bank, Terex Corporation & Woermann Line. Superior Court of the District of Columbia, District of Columbia, (USA).
Huggler, J., 2017. Germany sued for reparations over colonial-era genocide in Namibia. The Telegraph.
Huggler, J., 2016. Germany to recognise Herero genocide and apologise to Namibia. The Telegraph.
Hull, I.V., 2005. Absolute Destruction. Military Culture and Practices of War in Imperial Germany. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York.
Hutton, P.H., 1993. History as an Art of Memory. University of Vermont Press, Hanover, NH.
Huyssen, A., 1995. Twilight Memories. Routledge, London.
Imperial Colonial Office, 1904. Imperial Colonial Office 1904, File No.2119, p44.
Imperial Colonial Office, 19XX. Imperial Colonial Office, 19XX, File No.1220,pp.28-35.
Ingold, T., 1993. The Temporality of the Landscape. World Archaeology, Conceptions of Time and Ancient Society 25, 152–174.
Irle, J., 1906. Die Herero. Ein Beitrag zur Landes-, Volks- und Missionskunde. Gütersloh.
Jackson, J.., Moore, J.., 2008. The African American Male Crisis in Education: A Popular Media Infatuation or Needed Public Policy Response? American Behavioral Scientist 51, 847–853.
Jansen, J.D., 2010. Knowledge in the blood. Stanford University Press / UCT Press, Stanford/ Cape Town.
Jenkins, K., 2003. Refiguring History: New Thoughts on an Old Discipline. Routledge, London.

Jolly, M., 2011. Becoming a “New” Museum? Contesting Oceanic Visions at Musée du Quai Branly. The Contemporary Pacific Volume 23. https://doi.org/http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/contemporary_pacific/v023/23.1.jolly01.html

Jones, J.L., Olomo, O.O., 2008. sista docta, REDUX, in: Cahnmann-Taylor, M., Siegesmund, R. (Eds.), Arts-Based Research in Education: Foundations for Practice. Routledge.

Jonker, J., 2005. The Silence of the Dead. Ethical and Juridical Significances of the Exhumations at Prestwich Place, Cape Town, 2003-2005. University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.

Jonker, L., 2015. “More than just an object”: a material analysis of the return and retention of Namibian skulls from Germany (M.A thesis). Utrecht University, Utrecht.

Jopling, C.F. (Ed.), 1971. Art and Aesthetics in Primitive Societies: A Critical Anthology. E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc, Boston, Massachusetts.

Kalisa, C., 2006. Theatre and the Rwandan Genocide. Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice 18, 515–521.

Kansteiner, W., 2002. Finding Meaning in Memory: A methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies. History and Theory 41, 179–197.

Kaplan, C., 2005. Inside the Black Box William Kentridge in an Interview [WWW Document]. db artmag. URL http://db-artmag.de/archiv/2005/e/7/1/383.html

Karam, B., 2014. William Kentridge’s animated Drawings for Projection as a postmemorial aesthetic. de Arte 49, 4–23. https://doi.org/http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/ref/10.1080/00043389.2014.11877205?scroll=top

Keightley, E., 2008. Engaging with Memory, in: Pickering, M. (Ed.), Research Methods for Cultural Studies. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, pp. 175–192.

Kentridge, W., 2005. Black Box: Between the Lens and the Eyepiece.

Kentridge, W., Villaseñor, M.-C., 2006. William Kentridge: Black Box/Chambre Noire. Guggenheim Museum, Berlin and New York.

Kershaw, I., 1999. Hitler:1889–1936. W.W Norton & Company, New York.

Key, L., 2009. REwind: A Cantata for Voice, Tape and Testimony. Key Films.

Khan, K.B., 2012. The Kaiser’s Holocaust: the coloniality of German’s forgotten genocide of the Nama and the Herero of Namibia. African Identities 10, 211–220.

King, Y., 1993. The Other Body: Reflections on difference, disability, and identity politics. Ms 72–75.

Kleinman, A., 1999. Experience and its Moral Modes: Culture, Human Conditions, and Disorder. Tanner Lectures on Human Values 20, 355–420.

Kössler, R., 2015. Namibia and Germany: Negotiating the Past. UNAM Press- University of Namibia, Windhoek, Namibia.

Kössler, R., 2008. Entangled history and politics: Negotiating the past between Namibia and Germany. Journal of Contemporary African Studies 26, 313–339. https://doi.org/10.1080/02589000802332531

Krautwurst, U., 2009. The joy of looking: early German anthropology, photography and audience formation, in: Hoffmann, A. (Ed.), What We See. Reconsidering an Anthropometrical Collection from Southern Africa: Images, Voices, and Versioning. Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Basel.

Krieger, H.C., 1973. Uber die Medizische Versorgung der ehemaligen Kolonie Deutsch Sudwest Afrika (DMed). Univesität München, München.

Kristeva, J., 1982. Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection. Columbia University Press, New York.

Krüger, G., Henrichsen, D., 1998. “We have been Captives Long Enough. We Want to be Free”: Land, Uniforms & Politics in the History of the Herero in the Interwar Period, in: Hayes, P., Silvester, J., Wallace, M., Hartmann, W., Fuller, B.J. (Eds.), Namibia Under South African Rule: Mobility & Containment, 1915-46. James Currey Ltd, Oxford, pp. 149–174.

Krystal, M., 2012. Indigenous Dance and Dancing Indian: Contested Representation in the Global Era. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.
Kubal, T., 2008. Cultural Movements and Collective Memory:Christopher Columbus and the rewriting of the national origin myth. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
Kühne, H., 1979. Die Ausrottungsfeldzüge der “Kaiserlichen Schutztruppen in Afrika” und die sozialdemokratische Reichstagsfraktion, in: Verhandlungen Der 4 Internationalen Tagung Für Militärgeschichte. ACTA No.4. Presented at the 4 Internationalen Tagung für Militärgeschichte. ACTA No.4 Ottawa 23-25 VIII 1978, Internationale Kommission für Militärgeschichte, Ottawa, pp. 80–93.
Kuppers, P., 2014. Studying Disability Arts and Culture: An Introduction. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
Kuppers, P., 2004. Disability and Contemporary Performance: Bodies on Edge. Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, New York and London.
Landau, P.S., 1998. Hunting with Gun and Camera: A Commentary, in: Hartmann, W., Silvester, J., Hayes, P. (Eds.), The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History. University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town, South Africa.
Langer, L.., 1975. The Holocaust and the Literary Imagination. Yale University Press, New Haven.
Laukötter, A., 2013. Gefühle im Feld. Die “Sammelwut” der Anthropologen in Bezug auf Körperteile und das Konzept “Rasse” um die Jahrhundertwende, in: Stoecker, H., Schnalke, T., Winkelmann, A. (Eds.), Sammeln, Erforschen, Zurückgeben? Menschliche Gebeine Aus Der Kolonialzeit in Akademischen Und Musealen Sammlungen. Ch. Links Verlag, Berlin, pp. 24–44.
Lawler, S., 2008. Stories and the Social World, in: Pickering, M. (Ed.), Research Methods for Cultural Studies. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.
Law-Viljoen, B., 2007. William Kentridge: Flute. David Krut Publishing, Johannesburg.
Layton, R., Shennan, S., Stone, P. (Eds.), 2006. A Future for Archaeology: The Past in the Present. UCL Press, London.
Le Goff, J., 1992. History and Memory. Columbia University Press, New York City.
Lemarchand, R. (Ed.), 2011. Forgotten Genocides: Oblivion, Denial, and Memory. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
Lemkin, R., 1944. Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals of Redress. Carnegie Endowment of International Peace, Washington, DC.
Lentz, C., 2013. The 2010 Independence Jubilees: The Politics and Aesthetics of national Commemoration in Africa. Nations and Nationalism 19, 217–237.
Levinson, J., 1985. Titles. The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism 44, 29 – 39. https://doi.org/doi:10.2307/430537
Lévy-Bruhl, L., 1935. Primitives and the Supernatural. E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc, New York.
Lidchi, H., 1997. The Poetics and the Politics of exhibiting other cultures, in: Hall, S. (Ed.), Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices. Sage Publications with The Open University, London.
Loots, L., 2015. “You don’t look like a dancer!”: Gender and disability politics in the arena of dance as performance and as a tool for learning in South Africa. Agenda 29, 122–132. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2015.1040695
Lotman, Y.M., Uspensky, B.., Mihaychuk, G., 1978. On the semiotic mechanism of culture. New Literary History 9, 211–232.
Lusane, C., 2003. Hitler’s black victims: The historical experiences of Afro-Germans, European Blacks, Africans, and African Americans in the Nazi era. Routledge, New York City and London.
Madley, B., 2005. From Africa to Auschwitz: how German South West Africa incubated ideas and methods adopted and developed by the Nazis in Eastern Europe. European History Quarterly 35, 429–464. https://doi.org/doi: 10.1177/0265691405054218

Madley, B., 2004. Patterns of frontier genocide 1803-1910: the Aboriginal Tasmanians, the Yuki of California, and the Herero of Namibia. Journal of Genocide Research 6, 167–192.
Maedza, P., 2017. Performing Asylum: Theatre of Testimony in South Africa. African Studies Centre, University of Leiden, Leiden, Netherlands.
Mahali, A., 2013. A Museum of Bottled Sentiments: the “beautiful pain syndrome” in twenty-first century Black South African theatre making. University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.
Margalit, A., 2003. The Ethics of Memory. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
Marks, S., 1970. Reluctant Rebellion: The 1906-1908 Disturbances in Natal. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
Martin, C., 2010. Dramaturgy of the Real on the World Stage. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
Martin, C., 1996. High Critics/Low Arts, in: Morris, G. (Ed.), Moving Words: Re-Writing Dance. Routledge, New York.
Mbembé, A.., 1992. Provisional Notes on the Postcolony. Africa: Journal of the International African Institute 62, 3–37. https://doi.org/http://www.jstor.org/stable/1160062
Mbembé, J.., 2001. On the Postcolony. University of California Press, Berkeley.
Mbuli, T., 2016. SOLD! Artscape Theatre, Cape Town, South Africa.
McCrickard, K., 2007. I Am the Bird Catcher, in: Law-Viljoen, B. (Ed.), Flute. David Krut Publishing, Johannesburg, pp. 128–154.
Mcmahon, C.S., 2008. Mimesis and the Historical Imagination: (Re)Staging History in Cape Verde, West Africa. Theatre Research International 33, 20–39. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0307883307003379
Melber, H., 2005. How to come to terms with the past: Re-visiting the German Colonial Genocide in Namibia. Africa Spectrum 40, 139–148.
Merrian-Webster.com, 2017. authentic Merrian-Webster Dictionary. Merrian-Webster Dictionary.
Misztal, B., 2003. Theories of Social Remembering. McGraw-Hill International.
Moudileno, L., 2009. Returning remains: Saartjie Baartman, or the “Hottentot Venus” as transnational postcolonial icon. Forum for Modern Language Studies 45. https://doi.org/doi:10.1093/fmls/cqp005.
Muir, H., 2014. Barbican criticises protesters who forced Exhibit B cancellation. The Guardian.
Müller, J.. (Ed.), 2002. Memory and Power in Post-war Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Namene, H., 2013. Genocide victims get statue. Namibian Sun.
Ngavirue, Z., 1972. Political Parties and Intrest Groups In South West Africa: A Study of a Plural Society. Oxford University, Oxford.
Nora, P., Kritzman, L.D. (Eds.), 1996. Realms of Memory: Conflicts and Divisions. Columbia University Press., New York.
Novick, P., 2000. The Holocaust and Collective Memory: the American Experience. Bloomsbury, London.
Nuhn, W., 1996. Sturm über Südwest: Der Hereroaufstand von 1904. Bernard & Graefe, Bonn.
Olick, J.., Robbins, J., 1998. Social Memory studies: From “Collective Memory” to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices. Annual Review of Sociology 105–140.
Oltermann, P., Letsch, C., 2016. Turkey recalls ambassador after German MPs’s Armenian genocide vote. The Guardian.
Olusoga, D., Erichsen, C.W., 2010. The Kaiser’s Holocaust: Germany’s Forgotten Genocide and the Colonial Roots of Nazism. Faber and Faber, London.
O’Mahony, J., 2014. Edinburgh’s most controversial show: Exhibit B, a human zoo. The Guardian.
Opuko, K., 2012. Return of stolen skulls by Germany to Namibia: Closure of a horrible chapter? AfricAvenir.
Pandolfi, M., 1990. Boundaries inside the body: Women’s sufferings in Southern Peasant Italy. Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry 14, 255–273.

Perrow, E.C., 1915. Songs and Rhymes from the South. The Journal of American Folklore 28, 129–190. https://doi.org/JSTOR 534506. doi:10.2307/534506
Peter, C., 2011. Universitätsmedizin Berlin honors the victims: Charité returns twenty human skulls to Namibia. Charité Memorial Site.
Petersson, A., 2009. The Altar of the Dead: a temporal space for memory and meaning in the contemporary urban landscape, in: Bergmann, S., Scott, P., Jansdotter, M., Bedford Strohm, H. (Eds.), Nature, Space and the Sacred: Interdisciplinary Perspectives. Ashgate, Farnham, pp. 131–144.
Petersson, A., 2004. The Presence of the Absent: Memorials and Places of Ritual. Lund University, Lund.
Pickering, M. (Ed.), 2008. Research Methods in Cultural Studies. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.
Pine, E., 2011. The Politics of Irish Memory Performing Remembrance in Contemporary Irish Culture. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
Plato, 2008. The Republic book VII. Cosimo, Inc., New York.
Podeh, E., 2011. The Politics of National Celebrations in the Arab Middle East. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge / New York.
Pres, D.T., 1988. Holocaust Laughter?, in: Lang, B. (Ed.), Writing and the Holocaust. Holmes and Meier, New York City, pp. 216–233.
Ranger, T., 1975. Dance and Society in East Africa: the Beni Ngoma. University of California Press, Berkeley.
Ranger, T., 1967. Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-7: A Study in African Resistance. Northwestern University Press., Evanston, IL.
Rassool, C., 2015a. Re-storing the Skeletons of Empire: Return, Reburial and Rehumanisation in Southern Africa. Journal of Southern African Studies 41, 653–670. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2015.1028002
Rassool, C., 2015b. Handling Restitutions of Human Remains: The Case of a repatriation from Vienna to Kuruman (South Africa) in 2012.
Ricoeur, P., 1999. Memory and Forgetting, in: Kearney, R., Dooley, M. (Eds.), Questioning Ethics: Contemporary Debates in Philosophy. Routledge, London and New York, pp. 5–11.
Rigney, A., 2011. Embodied Communities: Commemorating Robert Burns, 1859. Representations 115, 77–101.
Rigney, A., 2009. All this happened, more or less: What a novelist made of the bombing of Dresden. History and Theory 48, 5–24.
Rigney, A., 2005. Plenitude, Scarcity and the Circulation of Cultural Memory. Journal of European Studies, 35, 011–028.
Roach, J., 1996. Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance. Columbia University Press, New York City.
Rohrbach, P., 1907. Deutsche Kolonialwirtschaft, I. Buchverlag der Hilfe, Berlin and Schöneberg.
Rokem, F., 2000. Performing History: Theatrical Representations of the Past in Contemporary Theatre. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.
Rosenthal, M. (Ed.), 2009. William Kentridge: Five Themes. Yale University Press, New Haven.
Rothberg, M., 2009. Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization. Stanford University Press, Stanford.
Ruchatz, J., 2008. The photograph as externalization and trace, in: Erll, A., Nünning, A., Young, S., B. (Eds.), Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 367–378.
Said, E.., 2000. Invention, Memory, and Place. Critical Inquiry 26, 175–192.
Said, E.., 1993. The Empire at Work: Verdi's Aida. Vintage Books, London and New York, pp. 111–131.
Sandahl, C., 1999. Ahhhh Freak Out! Metaphors of Disability and Femaleness in Performance. Theatre Topics 9, 11–30.

Sannes, G.., 1970. African Primitives: Function and Form in African Masks and Figures. Faber and Faber, London.
Sarkin, J., 2009. Colonial Genocide and Reparations Claims in the 21st Century: The Socio-Legal Context of Claims under International Law by the Herero against Germany for Genocide in Namibia, 1904-1908. Praeger Security International, Westport, Connecticut and London.
Saxton, A., 1975. Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology. American Quarterly 27, 3–28.
Schaller, D.., 2011. Genocide in Colonial South-West Africa: The German War against the Herero and Nama, 1904-1907, in: Totten, S., Hitchcock, R.K. (Eds.), Genocide of Indigenous People: A Critical Bibliographic Review. Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK), pp. 37–51.
Schiffman, J., 2015. “We Are Proud” a political comedy with punch. San Francisco Examiner.
Schikaneder, J.E., Auden, W.., Kallman, C., 1956. The Magic Flute. An opera in two acts ... English version after the libretto of Schikanedar and Giesecke by W.H. Auden and Chester Kallman. Random House, New York.
Schmuhl, H.-W., 2008. The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics, 1927-1945: Crossing Boundaries. Springer-Verlag, New York.
Schneider, R., 2011. Performing Remains. Art and war in times of theatrical reenactment. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, New York City.
Schneider, R., 2001. Performance Remains. Performance Research 6, 100–108. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13528165.2001.10871792
Schudson, M., 1995. Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory, in: Schacter, D.L. (Ed.), Memory Distortion: How Minds, Brains, and Societies Reconstruct the Past. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA/London, UK, pp. 346–364.
Schwartz, B., 2001. Commemorative Objects.” in Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes (eds.), International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, Vol. 4. Amsterdam:, in: Smelser, N.., Baltes, P.B. (Eds.), International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences. Elsevier, Amsterdam.
Schwartz, B., 2000. Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Seti, J., Culayo, J., Tolibadi, J., 1906. KAB, GH 23/97, “Statement under oath by: Jack Seti, John Culayo and James Tolibadi”, Ministers to Governor.
Shepperson, G., 1985. The Centennial of the West African Conference of Berlin, 1884-1885. Phylon (1960-) 46, 37–48. https://doi.org/doi:10.2307/274944
Shils, E., 1981. Tradition. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Sieg, K., 2014. Colonial Remains in European Museums. Presented at the International Federation for Theatre Research (IFTR), University of Warwick.
Silvester, J., Gewald, J.-B. (Eds.), 2003. Words cannot be found: German colonial rule in Namibia: an annotated reprint of the 1918 Blue Book, Sources for African history. Brill, Leiden ; Boston.
Simpson, M.., 2012. Making representations: Museums in the post-colonial era. Routledge, United Kingdom.
Singer, M. (Ed.), 1959. Traditional India: structure and change. The American Folklore Society Bibliographical Series, Volume 10.
Skloot, R., 1988. The Darkness We Carry. University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin.
Skloot, R. (Ed.), 1982. The Theatre of the Holocaust. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.
Skloot, R., 1979. Directing the Holocaust Play. Theatre Journal Vol. 31, 526–540. https://doi.org/http://www.jstor.org/stable/3219423
Smale, A., Eddy, M., 2016. German Parliament Recognises Armenian Genocide, Angering Turkey. The New York Times.
Smith, L.T.I., 1999. Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples. Zed Books, London and Chicago.
Soggot, D., 1986. Namibia: The Violent Heritage. Collings, London.

Sontag, S., 2003. Regarding the Pain of Others. Picador. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York.
Sontag, S., 1973. On Photography. Picador, New York.
Sophocles, 1984. Antigone, The Three Theban Plays: Antigone, Oedipus at Colonus. Penguin Books, London.
Stanton, G.., 2013. The Ten Stages of Genocide.
Steiner, G., 1967. Language and Silence: Essays on Language, Literature, and the Inhuman. Atheneum, New York City.
Steinmetz, G., Hell, J., 2006a. The Visual Archive of Colonialism: Germany and Namibia. Public Culture 18, 147–183.
Steinmetz, G., Hell, J., 2006b. German Federal Archives, Berlin, Colonial Office documents, vol. 2118, 154v, July 3, 1905. Public Culture 18.
Stoichita, V.I., 1997. A Short History of the Shadow. Reaction Books, London.
Stoler, A.., 2009. Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
Stoller, P., 1995. Embodying Colonial Memories: Spirit Possession, Power and the Hauka in West Africa. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York.
SWAA A 396/1, 1917. SWAA A 396/1, Circular No.164,13 June 1917, pp.2-3.
Tappeiner, M.A., Wulf, R., 1999. William Kentridge. Drawing the Passing. Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Cologne.
Taussig, M., 1993. Mimesis and Alterity. Routledge, New York.
Taylor, D., 2006. Performance and / as History. TDR/The Drama Review 50, 67–86.
Taylor, D., 2004. Scenes of Cognition: Performance and Conquest. Theatre Journal 56, 353–372.
Taylor, D., 2003. The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas. Duke University Press, Durham.
Taylor, M., Prioleau, D., 1995. Witness. Dance Division, Theatre and Dance Department, Kent State University, Ohio.
Terdiman, R., 1993. Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York.
Tharoor, I., 2016. Over 1,000 African skulls in Berlin are a reminder of Europe's dark colonial history. The Washington Post.
Till, K.E., 1999. Staging the past: landscape designs, cultural identity and Erinnerungspolitik at Berlin's Neue Wache. Ecumene Vol 6, 251–283.
Todd, T., Boitiaux, C., 2014. "Human zoo" exhibition comes to Paris amid racism row. France24.
Totten, S., Parsons, W.S., Charny, I.W. (Eds.), 2004. Century of genocide: Eyewitness accounts and critical views. Routledge, New York City and London, pp. 15–52.
Traverso, E., 1996. Origins of Nazi Violence. New Press, New York.
Trouillot, M.., 1995. Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History. Beacon Press, Boston.
Trupp, A., 2011. Exhibiting the "Other"Then and Now:"Human Zoos" in Southern China and Thailand. Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies 4.
Tulving, E., 2000. Concepts of Memory, in: Tulving, E., Fergus, I.M.C. (Eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Memory. Oxford University Press, New York City, pp. 33–43.
UN General Assembly, 1948. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. United Nations Treaty Series 78, 277. https://doi.org/http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3ac0.html
United States of America Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 2017. The World Factbook.
Unmute, 2016. Unmute Vision. Unmute Dance.
Vansina, J., 2010. Being Colonized: The Kuba Experience in Rural Congo, 1880-1960. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.
Vedder, H., 1928. The Herero, in: Hahn, C.H.L., Vedder, H., Fourie, L. (Eds.), The Native Tribes of South West Africa. Frank Cass and Co., London, pp. 154–211.

Veltruský, J., 1955. Man and Object in the Theatre, in: Garvin, P.L. (Ed.), A Prague School Reader on Aesthetics, Literary Structure, and Style. Washington Linguistic Club, Washington, DC, pp. 83–91.
Villaseñor, M.-C., 2005. William Kentridge: Black Box / Chambre Noire [WWW Document]. Deutsche Guggenheim db artmag. URL http://www.deutsche-guggenheim.de/e/pressephotos33.php
von Leutwein, T.G., 1908. Elf Jahre Gouveneur in Deutsch Südwestafrika. Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, Berlin.
Ward, T., 2005. State Crime in The Heart of Darkness. British Journal of Criminology 45, 434–445.
Warnock, M., 1987. Memory. Faber, London.
Warren, K.B., Jackson, J.E. (Eds.), 2002. Indigenous Movements, Self-representation, and the State in Latin America. University of Texas Press, Austin.
Webber, F., 1995. Crimes of arrival:immigrants and asylum-seekers in the new Europe.
Weltmuseum Wien, 2005. Weltmuseum Wien.
Werner, W., 1990. "Playing Soldiers": The Truppenspieler Movement among the Herero of Namibia, 1915 to ca. 1945. Journal of Southern African Studies 16, 476–502.
Willis, E., 2016. Metatheatre and Dramaturgies of Reception in Jackie Sibblies Drury's We Are Proud to Present…. Journal of Contemporary Drama in English 4, 196–211. https://doi.org/DOI 10.1515/jcde-2016-0015
Willis, E., 2014. Theatricality, Dark Tourism and Ethical Spectatorship: Absent Others. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
Wilshire, B., 1982. Role Playing and Identity: The Limits of Theatre as a Metaphor. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana.
Wilson, J.C., Lewiecki-Wilson, C. (Eds.), 2001. Embodied Rhetorics: Disability in Language and Culture. SIU Press, Carbondale and Edwardsville.
Winter, J., 2010. Sites of Memory and the Shadow of War, Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.
Winter, J., 2006. Notes on the Memory Boom: War, Remembrance and the Uses of the Past., in: Bell, D. (Ed.), Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship Between Past and Present. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 54–73.
Wolf, E.S., 1999. Dancing Identity: Gwich'in Indegenous Dance as Articulation of Identity. MA Thesis. San Jose State University, San Jose.
Woods, M., 2007. Knowledge in the Blood: New and Selected Poems. Dedalus Limited, Dublin,Ireland.
Young, J.E., 2000. At Memory's Edge: After-images of the Holocaust in Contemporay Art and Architecture. Yale University Press, New Haven and London.
Young, J.E., 1990. Writing and rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the consequences of interpretation. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana.
Zeller, J., 2008. Ombepera i koza – the cold is killing me: : a history of the concentration camp in Swakopmund (1904-1908), in: Zimmerer, J., Zeller, J. (Eds.), Neather, E. (Tran.), Genocide in German South-West Africa : The Colonial War (1904-1908) in Namibia and Its Aftermath. Merlin Press, Monmouth, Wales.
Zeller, J., 2004. "Images of the South West African War": Reflections of the 1904-1907 colonial war in contemporary photo reportage and book illustration, in: Hartmann, W. (Ed.), Hues between Black and White: Historical Photography from Colonial Namibia, 1860s to 1915. Out of Africa Publishers, Windhoek, Namibia.
Zerubavel, E., 2003. Calendars and history: a comparative study of the social organization of national memory, in: Olick, J.. (Ed.), States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts and Transformation in National Retrospection. Duke University Press, Durham, pp. 315–337.
Zimmerer, J., 2008. War, Concentration Camps and genocide in South-West Africa: The First German Genocide, in: Zimmerer, J., Zeller, J. (Eds.), Genocide in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War of 1904-1908 in Namibia and Its Aftermath. Merlin, Monmouth, pp. 41–63.

Zimmerer, J., 2004. Colonialism and the Holocaust: Towards an Archeology of Genocide, in: Moses, A.D. (Ed.), Beattie, A.H. (Tran.), Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History. Berghahn Books, New York and Oxford, pp. 49–76.
Zimmerer, J., 2000. Deutsche Herrschaft über Afrikaner. Dampfboot, Münster.
Zimmerman, A., 2003. Adventures in the skin trade: German Anthropology and Colonial Corporeality, in: Glenn, P.H., Bunzl, M. (Eds.), Worldly Provincialism. German Anthropology in the Age of Empire. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, pp. 156–178.
Zimmerman, A., 2001. Anthropology and antihumanism in imperial Germany. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.
Zondagh, C., 1991. Martelaarsbloed sal nooit verdroog. John Meinert, Windhoek, Namibia.