

Colonial Exploration or Exploitation?

Tracing the Legacy of Emin Pasha's
1890- 92 Expedition to East Africa



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List of Abbreviations

DOAG:	Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft (German East African Society)
GEA:	German East Africa
MfV:	Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde (Royal Museum of Ethnology)
MfNK:	Königliches Museum für Naturkunde (Royal Museum for Natural History)
SMB:	Staatliche Museen Berlin (State Museums Berlin)
SPK:	Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation)

Introduction

From 1885 to 1918, the territories of present-day Tanzania (excluding Zanzibar), Burundi, Rwanda and the Kionga Triangle were colonised by the German Empire under the name Deutsch-Ostafrika (German East Africa). During this period, colonial rule was enforced through bureaucracy, systematic violence and dispossession; unspeakable atrocities were committed against the local population. At the same time, German officers, scientists, travellers, and missionaries conducted geographical and ethnographical observations on-site and collected a wide array of cultural artefacts, from regalia to everyday and spiritual items, as well as botanical and zoological collections, which ultimately went to public and private collections throughout Germany.

In November 2023, upon the first official visit of a German Federal President to Tanzania, Frank-Walter Steinmeier publicly acknowledged these violent colonial legacies. He not only issued an apology but also called for greater transparency in museum collections, and reaffirmed Germany's commitment to provenance research, institutional cooperation, and restitution.¹ His remarks underscored the urgency of addressing not only colonial histories but also the afterlives of their material traces, including human remains and Cultural Belongings still held in German institutions.

This thesis examines one such case of colonial histories: the 1890-92 expedition led by Emin Pasha into GEA on behalf of the German colonial administration. This mission sought to expand German influence in the interior of GEA by conducting contracts with local rulers and establishing a station on the western shore of Lake Victoria. He recruited the natural scientist Franz Stuhlmann to conduct the scientific documentation of the expedition. After successfully establishing a colonial station in Bukoba in early 1891, Emin Pasha led the expedition beyond its initial mandate, traversing regions that today belong to Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo as far as the northern region of the Lendu-Plateau, before having to turn back. When E. Pasha, weakened by illness, stayed behind in Congolese territory in late 1891, F. Stuhlmann led the remaining expedition back to the Tanzanian coast. F. Stuhlmann arrived in Europe on 20th October 1892, the same day that slave traders murdered Emin Pasha in Kinena. He brought back extensive zoological, botanical and ethnographic observations, photographs, zoological

¹ Bundespräsidialamt. *Federal President Frank-Walter Steinmeier on the Occasion of the Visit to the Maji Maji Memorial Museum and Talks with Descendants of Chief Songea Mbano*, Songea/Tanzania 01.11.2023. https://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Reden/2023/11/231101-Songea-Maji-Maji-Museum-Englisch.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=1 [last accessed on: 29.06.2025].

specimens, Cultural Belongings and various maps, the material traces of a journey shaped by colonial ambition and asymmetrical encounters.²

Seven days earlier, on 12th October, the shipping company August Bolten confirmed in writing the arrival of 15 crates (colli) in Hamburg from Zanzibar. Three days later, a Mr Ullrich documented the arrival of these in Berlin at the Königliche Museen zu Berlin (Royal Museums of Berlin).³ In three major shipments, a total of 334 Cultural Belongings came to Berlin, not including the human remains, zoological and botanical collections that were also part of the consignment. Since then, most of them have been an integral part of the Ethnological Museum's collection in Berlin (MfV/ SMB). There is no doubt that these 334 ethnographic artefacts were acquired within a setting of power imbalance, collected by members of a colonial expedition, they were exchanged and purchased, gifted or simply taken. Expeditions such as the one led by Emin Pasha were not only political and military but also deeply entwined with the ambitions of imperial science. The German Empire, having entered the colonial race in Asia and Africa relatively late compared to other colonial powers, was particularly eager to assert its presence in Africa through both territorial acquisition and scientific exploration. The major ethnographic museum collections (Berlin, Leipzig, Hamburg) played a central role in legitimising and promoting the idea of colonial expansion by collecting and displaying artefacts that claimed to represent the cultures of the colonised peoples. They derived from a postulated otherness a moral entitlement to exploit the others for their benefit and seize their resources, as well as an obligation to educate and civilise them. These museum collections constructed narratives of European superiority and progress, often through decontextualised and exoticised representations of African societies.⁴ These 334 Cultural Belongings brought back from this expedition were thus embedded within a broader system that used ethnographic collecting as a form of soft power and cultural domination. This thesis critically examines the events of the 1890-92 expedition, analysing the circumstances under which most of these 334 artefacts were acquired.

This thesis investigates the legacy of the 1890-92 expedition by tracing both the conditions of acquisition and the afterlives of its collected Belongings. While provenance research

² Stuhlmann Franz. *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Ein Reisebericht mit Beiträgen von Dr. Emin Pascha, in seinem Auftrage geschildert. 2 Theile in einem Band*, Berlin: Reimer 1894, Pp. 2-14, 141f.

³ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0710, Erwerbungsverfahren E 1232/ 1892*, Museum Archive Berlin, Pp. 414- 452.

⁴ Hüsken Jan. "Colonial Expeditions and Collecting – The Context of the 'Togo-Hinterland Expedition' of 1894/1895." in: *Journal for Art Market Studies. Africa: Trade, Traffic and Collections* 4(1), 2020, P. 1f.; Savoy Bénédicte. *Die Provenienz der Kultur. Von der Trauer des Verlusts zum universalen Menschheitserbe*. Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2018, Pp. 21, 23, 35; Gräbel Carsten. *Die Erforschung der Kolonien. Expeditionen und koloniale Wissenskultur dt. Geographen 1884-1919*. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2015, P.309.

remains the central component of this paper, the analysis extends beyond inventory lists and museum registers to consider the broader colonial practices of appropriation, as well as the fragmented trajectories of Cultural Belongings and objects during the expedition and after they arrived in Germany. It considers not only those artefacts that became part of formal museum collections, but also material and cultural items that were traded, gifted or looted in the course of the expedition and were never inventoried as part of a collection but were nonetheless implicated in the expedition's extractive logic. By analysing the expedition as a site of both cultural extraction and historical meaning-making, this thesis seeks to understand what these processes reveal about the dynamics of colonial collecting and colonial systems of knowledge and how this legacy might inform contemporary museum practices and restitution debates.

Therefore, the thesis is guided by two main research questions: **Under what conditions were Cultural Belongings acquired during the expedition, whether bought, gifted, collected, or looted, and what does this reveal about the expedition's methods of engagement and power structures? What legacy did the 1890–92 East African expedition leave behind through its cultural collecting practices, and how can this legacy inform the future treatment of the associated Cultural Belongings, items and histories?** These are explored through the following subsidiary questions: What forms of contact shaped the expedition's relationships with local rulers and communities, and how are these reflected in the collected Belongings and items? Which Cultural Belongings and items fell outside formal collection systems, and what might their absence tell us about silenced or overlooked dimensions of colonial collecting? How were the acquired Cultural Belongings handled, classified, or redistributed after their arrival in Germany, and how did this affect their meaning and visibility? How might provenance research and critical re-engagement with these collections contribute to current debates around restitution, transparency, and the decolonisation of museum practices?

The primary sources for this research include Franz Stuhlmann's published travel account of 1894 *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Ein Reisebericht mit Beiträgen von Dr. Emin Pascha, in seinem Auftrage geschildert. 2 Theile in einem Band*⁵, acquisition files from the Ethnological Museum Berlin (SMB), and partly unpublished diaries, letters and accounts by F: Stuhlmann, Emin Pasha and W. Langheld. These are held in the State Archive of Hamburg and the National archive in Berlin. These documents, must be critically regarded as products of their time, reflecting the perspectives of European men in positions of power within colonial

⁵ Own translation of the title: 'With Emin Pascha into the Heart of Africa. A Travel Account with Contributions of Dr. Emin Pascha, Described at the Behest of Him'.

contexts. These sources, while invaluable for understanding the expedition's logistics and scientific endeavours, are inherently biased, shaped by the colonial worldview that often objectified and subjugated local populations. Their accounts must be read alongside the critical awareness of their role in perpetuating imperial ideologies, and their narratives need to be contextualised within the broader historical dynamics of exploitation, violence, and unequal power relations in colonial Africa. This critical approach will ensure that the voices of the colonisers are balanced against the silenced or overlooked perspectives of the indigenous peoples involved in or affected by the expedition. Secondary literature on German colonial history, postcolonial theory, material culture studies and museum ethics provides a broader scholarly context.

Through the study of Emin Pasha's 1890-92 expedition, the thesis critically examines the historical narratives and power relations surrounding the acquisition of objects and the related ethnological record during colonial times. The thesis includes historical debates such as Colonial History, Postcolonial Studies, Ethnography, Material Culture Studies and Provenance Research. The state of the art in this field has shifted considerably in recent years. There has been an increasing interest in the histories of colonialism, particularly with regard to museum collections, the ethics surrounding human remains and Cultural Belongings acquired under exploitative conditions and the restitutions of such. This thesis contributes to these debates by addressing the historical and ethical complexities of a specific colonial collection and the processes of its acquisition. The great interest in Emin Pasha has not waned since his death over 130 years ago, and several new biographies of Emin Pasha have been published in recent years. The expedition that E. Pasha undertook from 1890-92 on behalf of the German colonial administration, on the other hand, has not received much attention to this day. Given the increasing political and public interest, this work is intended to make a small but important contribution to German colonial history and the collection of the Berlin Ethnological Museum (MfV).

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 1 outlines the historiographical, theoretical and historical framework, including the ethical considerations of provenance research, challenges in working with biased archival sources and controversial terms. It situates the 1890-92 expedition within the broader context of German colonial rule in East Africa. The second chapter reconstructs the course of the expedition and investigates the acquisition of Cultural Belongings across different stages of the journey. It also reconsiders the items and artefacts which were redistributed during the expedition, analysing the expedition's extractive logic. Chapter 3 explores the legacy of the expedition by examining how the collection was processed and fragmented after it arrived in Germany. It

interprets the acquisition circumstances and analyses the methods and patterns of how the expedition members operated and communicated with local rulers. Chapter 4 concludes the thesis by reflecting on the research outcome and considers its implications for current debates on restitution, decolonisation, and the role of museums in confronting colonial pasts.

1 Historiography and Historical Context

In recent years, growing public, political and academic attention has been directed to how European museums, archives and heritage institutions engage with the legacies of colonialism. Museums and their collections, long considered apolitical repositories of cultural knowledge, are now increasingly recognised as historical actors in their own right: institutions embedded within structures of scientific ideology, knowledge production, and cultural appropriation. These collections are not only bearers of the diversity of global heritage but also of unsolved tensions: between memory and erasure, preservation and possession, knowledge and violence. Provenance research becomes a way to confront these uncomfortable legacies, opening up space for doubt, uncertainty, and revision. It demands a reckoning not only with the artefacts themselves, but with the institutions that house them, the categories that define them, and the historical narratives that have often misrepresented or excluded the communities from which they were taken.⁶

The following subchapters will explore the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of provenance research and the examination of colonial histories, as well as describe the specific historical and institutional context of German East Africa in the late 19th century. It aims to set the stage for a deeper understanding of how colonial expeditions, especially the 1890-92 mission of Emin Pasha, were intertwined in the acquisition of ethnographic collections and the broader projects of imperial knowledge formation, cultural appropriation, and control.

1.1 Methods and Theoretical Implications of Provenance Research

Colonial provenance research has evolved significantly in recent years, particularly in response to growing demands for transparency, restitution, and decolonial accountability in politics and museum practices. Initially developed to trace the ownership history of artworks in connection with the cultural expropriation by the Nazi regime, the field now encompasses a wide range of material culture, especially concerning colonial acquisitions. Within this context, provenance research is not simply an exercise in documentation; it is an ethically charged endeavour that requires a critical engagement with colonial histories, the power dynamics embedded in collecting practices, and the epistemologies that framed the categorisation and display of non-European cultures.

⁶ Savoy. *Die Provenienz der Kultur*. Pp. 19, 28.

The final report of the Dutch Pilotproject on Provenance Research on Objects of the Colonial Era (PROCE) Clues. Final Report of Pilotproject Provenance Research on Objects of the Colonial Era describes how provenance research, as the research into object histories, does not merely document ownership transactions „[...] but above all also gives an insight into the concrete impact of large histories [...]”⁷ and demonstrates the impact of colonialism on communities. As an example of a microhistorical approach, it reveals transformations in social and cultural practices and illustrates how colonial encounters shaped systems of knowledge production. Provenance Research thus enables a reassessment of historical narratives and existing frameworks, becoming a mode of knowledge production that links past, present and future. It reveals that focusing solely on tracing ownership is restrictive and misses the core concern of provenance research, just as limiting is the narrow emphasis on whether objects and collections were ‘unlawfully obtained or not’. Rather, the main interest lies in the complex network of agency, beliefs and relationships that contextualise them.⁸

A comprehensive provenance research would ideally include collaborative work with descendant/ local communities, access to oral traditions and local knowledge systems, and interdisciplinary partnerships across museum and academic institutions. However, it is important to recognise this paper's limitations. This thesis, constrained by archival availability and academic scope, does not attempt to reconstruct complete provenance research for every item associated with the expedition, but presents only a partial, yet critical step in that direction. It focuses on a systematic analysis of the various forms of collecting and the methods of approach and contact of the different parties involved within the context of the 1890-92 expedition. The focus on the acquisition of the collection not only provides a basis for further provenance research but also allows for greater attention to be paid to the complex historical network of agency, beliefs and relationships as described above. Due to the limited scope, the institutional afterlife of the collection in Germany and its connection to the broader legacy can only be examined through selected examples.

Reading Strategies for Primary Sources

The key aspect for the research and reconstruction of historical events is looking into primary sources and engaging in source criticism. The resulting studies should not only show the sequence of historical events but rather say something about the perspectives of whoever

⁷ Mooren Jona, Stutje Klaas, van Vree Frank. “Clues. Research into provenance history and significance of cultural objects and collections acquired in colonial situations.” Final report of Pilotproject *Provenance Research on Objects of the Colonial Era*. Netherlands, 2022, P. 5.

⁸ Mooren et al. *Clues. Final Report*. Pp. 5, 15, 17.

produced these sources and why.⁹ Following Ann Laura Stoler and Ranajit Guha, historical documents and colonial archives are integral components of the political and cultural dynamics of colonial governance; they are „[...] cultural artifacts of fact production, of taxonomies in the making, and of disparate notions of what made up colonial authority.”¹⁰ These historical records are no revelation of historical facts, as „[...] every document comes layered with the received account of earlier events and the cultural semantics of a political moment [...]”.¹¹ Guha describes how most sources were tools of the colonisers' administrators, usually silencing indigenous voices and erasing subjugation, often reclassifying crime as humanitarian gentrification or resistance as criminality.¹² According to these two authors, the resulting task is not to extract facts from fiction, but to track the production and consumption of facts.¹³

To engage with historical sources without disregarding circumstances and specific narratives they possess, Stoler describes a thorough reading method as ‘with and against the grain’. The core of the critical approach to colonial archives is a bottom-up approach, to read these sources ‘against the grain’, to seek out small moments of contradiction, silence, and subaltern agency. To be able to do that, she also argues for the importance of understanding the context and form of archival material through firstly ‘reading along the grain’, which exposes the colonial logic of control, misinformation and omission.¹⁴ Both strategies are essential for understanding how imperial power shaped knowledge and how that knowledge can be reinterpreted; this will guide the following analysis of sources in this paper.

The primary sources used in this research, such as diaries, reports, and correspondence from various expedition members, offer detailed insights into the planning and execution of the journey and the political and scientific ambitions that accompanied it. These sources served different purposes at their time, which must be regarded while engaging with them. Following Stoler’s and Guha’s theoretical approach on colonial sources and archives, these documents must be approached with caution and read with an awareness of what they omit, silence, or distort. They were produced within a colonial framework for a specific purpose and are characterised by preconceptions and hierarchies that defined imperial thinking/ ideologies. Rather

⁹ Mooren et al. *Clues. Final Report*. P. 26.

¹⁰ Stoler Ann Laura. “Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance.” in: *Archival Science* 2, 2002, Pp. 87-109, here P. 91.

¹¹ Stoler. *Colonial Archives*. P. 92.

¹² Guha Ranajit. “The Proses of Counter-Insurgency.” in: *Culture/ Power/ History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, edited by N. Dirks, G. Eley & S. Ortner. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, Pp. 336–371, here Pp. 336f.

¹³ Stoler. *Colonial Archives*. Pp. 91f.; Guha. *The Proses of Counter-Insurgency*. Pp. 336-341.

¹⁴ Stoler. *Colonial Archives*. Pp. 99f.

than presenting neutral observations, they often reflect biased assumptions and the power asymmetries of colonial knowledge production. Engaging critically with these sources, recognising them as constructed narratives that contributed to the justification and maintenance of colonial dominance, allows for a deeper understanding of the mechanisms through which colonial forces operated and how ethnographic collections and conceptualisations were shaped on-site as well as in language, representation, and documentation.

It is also necessary to acknowledge that not only the sources themselves, but also the researcher's perspective, is shaped by historical and cultural contexts and that the work is therefore not free of inherent bias. As someone educated and socialised in Germany and primarily exposed to Western academic traditions, my approach to concepts and terminology is inevitably influenced by Eurocentric epistemologies. Just as colonial sources must be read critically for their omissions, biases, and rhetorical constructions, so too must it be recognised that the following interpretations are not entirely neutral, and that the frameworks applied are rooted in specific intellectual traditions.

Critical Engagement with Language

The practice of provenance research also entails a critical engagement with language. Many terms used in colonial documentation, regardless of whether official documents such as published accounts or private papers such as letters or travel diaries, to describe the ethnographic collection and their associated communities of origin are not neutral. Notions such as *Object*, *Expedition*, *Hinterland* (backcountry), or *Dwarf* reflect and reinforce the ideologies and power relations of the colonial period through disrespect and stereotypes. Moreover, the collection databases and colonial records often registered and described the artefacts, people and cultures using terms now obsolete and, in some cases, considered inappropriate and offensive.¹⁵

Cultural artefacts and artworks were subjected to the administrative system from the moment of their acquisition. The term “Object” implies this reduction to mere things or artefacts, insinuating materiality and detachment, stripping these items of their cultural, spiritual, or communal meanings. Following the Guideline ‘DIGNITY - CONTINUITY - TRANSPARENCY’ written by communities of origin from all over the world, in connection with the opening of the Humboldt Forum in Berlin, this thesis will use instead the expression *Cultural Belongings* wherever possible, to highlight the relationships embedded in these items. Whenever possible, original names in the language of origin should be used, as these not only convey

¹⁵Mooren et al. *Clues. Final Report*. Pp. 52f.; Modest Wayne, Lelijveld Robin (eds). *Words Matter. An Unfinished Guide to Word Choices in the Cultural Sector, Work in Progress I*. Amsterdam 2018, Pp. 21, 29.

information and knowledge but also give these cultural belongings an identity.¹⁶ The collection and expedition records often use inaccurate, invented or simply descriptive terms, so one of the next steps in provenance research would be to work with members and scholars from the regions of their origin to rectify these.

Similarly, the term “Expedition”¹⁷ carries connotations of scientific discovery, heroism but also military violence. Derived from the Latin word *expeditiō-em* -campaign/ *expedire* -liberate/ eliminate, there is a historical and epistemological connection between *Expedition* and *Exploration*.¹⁸ These missions often combined scientific exploration of uncharted cultures and environments, but were also supposed to enforce colonial rule through a mix of military force and treaty-making. They were structured practices of mobile knowledge production, directed by institutional sponsors and underpinned by imperial ambitions.¹⁹ “Hinterland” (backcountry) is another loaded concept, originating from political geography and international colonial law, describing inland areas assumed to fall under colonial coastal control.²⁰ It implied a logic of territorial expansion and resource extraction, described as follows in the *Deutsches Koloniallexikon* (German Colonial Encyclopaedia): „Without the simultaneous possession of the H., the political occupation of a stretch of coast is often almost worthless for the state concerned, because the coast alone cannot develop economically and trade cannot evolve.”²¹ A very commonly used term in colonial and ethnographic documentation is the conception of “Dwarf”, which has historically been used to describe, exoticise and dehumanise individuals of short stature or with dwarfism, usually framing them as an abnormality or otherness. Today, it is considered inappropriate outside of medical contexts; alternative descriptive terms are *person of short stature*, *little person* or *someone with dwarfism*, according to the publication *Words Matter*.²²

¹⁶ Humboldt Forum. *DIGNITY – CONTINUITY – TRANSPARENCY. Joint Declaration of the International Partners*. Berlin, 2022. <https://www.humboldtforum.org/en/dignity-continuity-transparency/> [last accessed on: 29.06.2025].

¹⁷ The terms “Expedition” and “Hinterland” will continuously be used in this work when a historical context is involved, in which the realities of the time and the historicity of terms are to be emphasised. This is characterised by the capitalisation of the first letter and by placing them in quotation marks.

¹⁸ Leshem Noam, Pinkerton Alasdair. *Rethinking Expeditions. On Critical Expeditionary Practice*. Durham 2018, P. 2; Oxford University Press, “Expedition (n.)” in: *Oxford English Dictionary*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/1942998114> [last accessed on: 29.06.2025]; Oxford University Press, “Exploration (n.)” in: *Oxford English Dictionary*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/8962497214> [last accessed on: 29.05.2025].

¹⁹ Hüsgen. *Colonial Expeditions and Collecting*. P. 4; Leshem, Pinkerton. *Rethinking Expeditions*. P. 2.

²⁰ Hüsgen. *Colonial Expeditions and Collecting*. P. 4; Danckelmann. “Hinterland.” in: *Deutsches Koloniallexikon Bd. II H-O*, edited by Heinrich Schnee. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1920, P. 68.

²¹ Own Translation of the second-to-last paragraph in: Danckelmann. “Hinterland.” in: *Deutsches Koloniallexikon*, P. 68.

²² Modest, Lelijveld. *Words Matter*. P. 104.

This thesis, therefore, approaches its subject with a commitment to conscious language use. Changing terminology is not about revising history but about acknowledging how language affects inclusion, exclusion and belonging. The aim of provenance research is about changing the approach to colonial pasts; without a conscious use of language, there is a danger of reproducing colonial power structures and representation.²³ Where historically loaded terms are retained, they are marked by a capital letter and quotation marks. The aim is not only to examine what the historical sources say, but also to reflect on how they say it.

1.2 Ethnographic Collections, Racial-Anthropological Treatise and the Modes of Collecting

The connection between colonial fantasies of object accumulation, knowledge production and European supremacy is central to understanding the historical function of ethnographic collections.²⁴ Around 1900, the European imagination struggled to conceive of other cultures outside its own terms, often constructing representations of Africa based on travel reports and the decontextualised display of “Ethnographic Artefacts”, defined as ethnographica in the context of developing a new science: ethnology. Ethnological museums were deeply implicated in colonial projects, actively contributing to the construction of exoticised, disparaging and racialised narratives. Cultural artefacts were selected, classified, and displayed in ways that reflected and reinforced colonial ideologies and power.²⁵

The colonies were first conquered through scientific knowledge, seeking topographical and geographical information as tools for the bureaucratic and ideological control of local resources and colonised people. The first expeditions at the beginning of German colonial rule sought both scientific, specifically geographical, exploration as well as the assertion of power over the colonial “Hinterland”. The colonial literature that resulted from this endeavour contained plenty of geographical information and ethnographic observations, facilitating a more effective control of the colonised and optimising the exploitation of material resources.²⁶

At the same time, racial-anthropological theories played a formative role in shaping both the motivations behind and the interpretation of ethnographic collecting. From the late 19th

²³ Ibid. Pp. 52f.; Modest, Lelijveld. *Words Matter*. Pp. 8, 13f.

²⁴ Conrad Sebastian. *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte*. 5th ed. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2023, P. 23.

²⁵ Savoy. *Die Provenienz der Kultur*. P. 35; Weber-Sinn Kristin. *Objekte als Spiegel kolonialer Beziehungen – Das Sammeln von Ethnographica zur Zeit der deutschen Expansion in Ostafrika*. MA Thesis, FU Berlin, 2005, Pp. 2f.

²⁶ Gräbel, *Die Erforschung der Kolonien*, Pp. 9-11, 283.

century onwards, German anthropologists proposed that the study of non-European societies, referred to as “Naturvölker” (natural peoples), offered direct access to universal truths about human nature. Unlike the so-called “Kulturvölker” (cultural people) of Europe, who were understood to be shaped by history, language, and civilisation, the colonised peoples of African communities were understood as living outside of historical and cultural development and therefore viewed as ideal subjects for scientific scrutiny, as static representatives of an earlier stage of human development. To study these communities, they focused not on canonical texts but on the bodies and Cultural Belongings of the colonised. Rudolf Virchow and Felix von Luschan are two prominent figures in late 19th-century Berlin who promoted this agenda. Von Luschan oversaw the anthropological collections of the MfV with the explicit aim of mapping racial characteristics through comparative analysis.²⁷ While these typologies have long since been discredited, their influence continues to linger in the epistemic frameworks and classification systems of colonial histories and European museums. Acknowledging this legacy is essential for understanding how and why Cultural Belongings were not only collected but also transformed into instruments of racialised knowledge production.

The acquisition of Cultural Belongings was part of this larger flow of knowledge production and material culture shaped by colonial relationships. Merchants, missionaries, scientists, colonial officers and soldiers contributed to the construction of museum collections and colonial archives. For the colonial knowledge production were ethnographical collections of outstanding importance, especially everyday items, decorated handicrafts and religious artefacts. They were not only expressions of skills and abilities, but also enabled colonial officials and racial theorists to determine and degrade the cultural level of the communities of origin.²⁸

Modes of Collecting

Jan Hüsgen outlines in his article *Colonial Expeditions and Collecting – The Context of the ‘Togo-Hinterland Expedition’ of 1894/1895* that during these exploratory and military missions at the beginning, a vast range of different forms of compiling cultural belongings occurred, „[...] ranging from legal acquisition to plundering.”²⁹ He categorises these colonial acquisitions broadly into three types: commercial purchases, diplomatic gifts, and plunderings.

²⁷ Zimmerman Andrew. *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001, Pp. 3f.; Penny H. Glenn. “Bastian’s Museum: On the Limits of Empiricism and the Transformation of German Ethnology.” in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, No. 3, 2002, Pp. 559–581, here Pp. 96f.

²⁸ Hüsgen. *Colonial Expeditions and Collecting*. P. 2, 6; Weber-Sinn. *Objekte als Spiegel kolonialer Beziehungen*. P. 5; Gräbel. *Die Erforschung der Kolonien*, Pp. 202f., 298–301.

²⁹ Hüsgen. *Colonial Expeditions and Collecting*. P. 2.

Commercial purchases were a common method and often involved protracted negotiations. Some were acquired in public markets through transactions that, while shaped by asymmetrical power relations, followed recognisable commercial protocols.³⁰ It is important to recognise that Europeans often, but not exclusively, dictated the terms of exchange. Being part of the power symmetries of colonial situations, direct violence may have been infrequent, but the economic hardship faced by local populations combined with the implicit threat posed by colonial troops often compelled them to accept unequal terms of exchange.³¹ Diplomatic gifts often benefited from the desire of local rulers to demonstrate loyalty or goodwill toward German colonial authorities, although they often involved reciprocal gifting or sometimes other forms of compensation. Finally, the most coercive form of acquisition occurred through plundering. Whilst punitive military actions, German colonial forces frequently seized ethnographic items as spoils, removing them without consent and under conditions of violence or intimidation.³² These different modes of acquisition underscore the complex and often unequal nature of collecting practices within colonial contexts.

But not only was the act of collecting itself a form of knowledge appropriation and domination, but from the moment of their acquisition, these artefacts and artworks were subjected to classification systems and institutional practices that often decontextualised and distorted their significance. Often written with inappropriate and stereotypical wording, these records served as a kind of ‘birth certificate’ for each item, conveying scholarly legitimacy and market value.³³ The acquisition files and museum registers still reflect the broader ideological entanglements between science and the colonial empire.

1.3 Historical Context and Colonial Framework: German East Africa

German colonial expansion emerged comparatively late at the end of the 19th century, as the German Empire under Chancellor Otto von Bismarck’s lead initially pursued a cautious overseas policy. Having long resisted overseas ventures, citing Germany’s lack of naval power, administrative personnel, and financial resources necessary for maintaining colonies, Bismarck changed its course slightly in 1885, emphasising a model of indirect governance, promoting private commercial ventures under state protection. His vision was one in which “merchant rule, not democratic rule” would prevail, with the German Empire acting only as a

³⁰ Ibid. Pp. 7f.

³¹ Gräbel. *Die Erforschung der Kolonien*, Pp. 202f.

³² Hüsgen. *Colonial Expeditions and Collecting*. Pp. 8-10.

³³ Modest, Lelijveld. *Words Matter*. Pp. 21, 29; Weber-Sinn. *Objekte als Spiegel kolonialer Beziehungen*. P.3.

supervisory power. This reflected in the initial terminology used: the German state preferred the designation of protectorates over colonies, thus avoiding implications of direct state administration.³⁴

The onset of German colonial expansion in the 1880s occurred during a crisis-ridden transnational period, marked by widespread economic, social and intellectual upheaval across European societies. Within this context, colonialism and expansionism were not solely the result of a thirst for adventure and the will to discover and conquer but were equally driven by strategic planning and economic calculations. Many felt it was the last chance for Germany to claim a place among the colonial powers and saw it as a transgenerational obligation to secure lands abroad for future generations. Thus, the motivations were diverse, comprising socio-economic ambitions, nationalist fervour, social Darwinist thought, and cultural-missionary ideologies.³⁵

German advocates of colonial expansion argued that, through centuries of social and technological progress, Europeans had attained a superior level of economic and cultural development compared to the African population. Agrarianism soon became both the stated goal and the benchmark for African societies, as colonial administrators sought to evaluate a community's civilizational status by their agricultural productivity. This belief underpinned the concept of 'Germanizing' the region, the spread of German 'Culture': a process initially understood in the 1880s as simply claiming territory for Germany and introducing German agricultural practices. By the 1890s, this view slowly evolved into a more explicitly racialised project. Debates emerged between those who maintained that transforming the land would Germanize its inhabitants and those who called for active manipulations of perceived racial characteristics through education, plantation work and selective migration. In tandem, humanitarian rhetoric served to legitimise these interventions, especially in East Africa the fight against the slave trade became one of the main objectives of the German colonial government.³⁶ The Reichstag's enactment of the *Act to Combat the Slave Trade and to Protect German Interests in East Africa*³⁷ in January 1889 exemplified how anti-slavery campaigns dovetailed with other imperial objectives. As anti-slavery agitations gained popularity across Germany and Europe,

³⁴ Gründer Horst. *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien*. 8th updated ed. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2023, P. 23.

³⁵ Ibid. *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien*, Pp. 35f.

³⁶ Unangst Matthew. *Colonial Geography. Race and Space in German East Africa, 1884-1905*. Toronto: University Press, 2022, Pp. 4-7; Conrad. *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte*, Pp. 35f.

³⁷ Own translation of the original bill title: 'Gesetz zur Bekämpfung des Sklavenhandels und zum Schutz deutscher Interessen in Ostafrika'.

proponents also increasingly invoked racial theories to justify colonial rule and actions, casting German intervention as both a moral obligation and a civilising mission.³⁸

German East Africa

In 1884, the mainland part of present-day Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi were formally designated as the colony of German East Africa (GEA). German rule initially took the form of indirect governance through a letter of protection granted to the private Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft (DOAG), a chartered company led by Carl Peters. Peters, a fervent nationalist and one of the most influential figures in the early history of GEA, viewed imperial expansion as a vehicle for German national aggrandisement. The absence of a substantial German settler population meant that assimilationist policies aimed at integrating African communities into German society were largely absent. The suppression of coastal uprisings, most notably the Arab Revolt of 1888-89, marked the beginning of more assertive efforts to occupy and control the Hinterland of GEA, but also prompted the German Empire to assert more direct administrative control. Due to war and conflict, the German Empire felt obliged to intervene: From 1889, Reichskommissar Herrmann von Wissman was temporarily in charge of GEA, till the Empire officially took over the administration in 1891 by appointing Julius von Soden as the first Gouverneur. Despite this shift, German influence remained limited in the interior country, particularly in Rwanda and Urundi, where colonial authorities often relied on the cooperation of existing local rulers.³⁹

When the Empire took over the administrative management of the colonies, the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office coordinated the military conquest & geographical-topographical exploration of the African colonies. In its early years, the emerging protectorate administration of the GEA heavily relied on the infrastructure of exploratory expeditions. These missions were not only instrumental in mapping territory and gathering information, but also in laying the groundwork for the emerging colonial state, by signing treaties with local rulers, hoisting the German flag and building stations. The knowledge, logistical framework, and individuals involved in these expeditions were often absorbed into the protectorate administrations, blurring the lines between scientific exploration and colonial governance. These expeditions themselves often operated within pre-existing networks of the interregional caravan trade, which shaped their routes and modes of action. At the top of the administrative hierarchy stood

³⁸ Büttner Kurt. *Die Anfänge der deutschen Kolonialpolitik in Ostafrika: Eine kritische Untersuchung an Hand unveröffentlichter Quellen*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959, Pp. 111-114; Unangst. *Colonial Geography*. Pp. 134f.

³⁹ Unangst. *Colonial Geography*. Pp. 3, 8; Conrad, *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte*, P. 31; Gründer. *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien*, Pp. 96f., 172; Büttner. *Anfänge deutscher Kolonialpolitik*, Pp. 109f.

the governor, who wielded both executive and legislative authority. Below him, district officers and station chiefs acted as the principal agents of colonial power on the ground. The 1890-92 expedition of Emin Pasha occurred at the juncture when German colonialism was transitioning from informal company-led ventures to a more centralised, bureaucratic system of colonial governance, marked by the establishment of local colonial stations.⁴⁰

The 1890-92 Expedition and its Members

The 1890-92 expedition, led by Emin Pasha, marked a pivotal moment in the gradual expansion of German influence into the Hinterland of the emerging colony GEA. Until that point, German colonial presence had remained largely confined to the coastal areas, owing to a limited military capacity and administrative infrastructure. This expedition, which officially departed from Bagamoyo on 26th April 1890, symbolised a turning point, an active assertion of German ambition to extend control deep into the interior. Under Karl Peters, the DOAG had previously designated the western landscapes beyond the coast as unclaimed ‘wilderness’ available for German exploitation and empty of civilisation. Emin Pasha, a well-known figure, was cast as the embodiment of this imperial vision; his presence alone was believed to be sufficient to reshape local spatial and social practices. The travel accounts of this mission, most notably the one by Franz Stuhlmann, served as an influential representation of East Africa, offering not only geographical and ethnographical observations but also speculations on what could be possible there, paving the way for further expeditions.⁴¹

At its outset in 1890, the expedition consisted of over 1.000 individuals. Among them were seven Europeans in key leadership roles: Emin Pasha, Dr. Franz Stuhlmann, Wilhelm Langheld, Sergeant Kühne, Sergeant Krause, and two Catholic missionaries from the Algerian-based White Fathers, Pater Schynse and Pater Achte. The rest of the party comprised 707 paid personnel, including a protection force (Schutztruppe) of 103 men, approximately 600 porters, four interpreters, as well as additional servants, animal attendants, women and children and porters assigned to the soldiers.⁴²

Emin Pasha, appointed as leader, was a trained physician and former Egyptian governor with extensive experience in the African interior and knowledge of the Arabic language and culture. Joined by the naturalist Franz Stuhlmann, who conducted the scientific research and documented the journey, and Lieutenant Wilhelm Langheld, these three brought distinct

⁴⁰ Gräbel. *Die Erforschung der Kolonien*. Pp. 30f.; Conrad. *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte*. Pp. 36f., 41-44.

⁴¹ Unangst. *Colonial Geography*. Pp. 94f.

⁴² Langheld Wilhelm. *Zwanzig Jahre in den deutschen Kolonien*, Berlin: Reimer 1906, Pp. 28f.

commissions and interests to the expedition. Emin Pasha's scientific interests and humanitarian image often masked his role as an agent of colonial power and interests.⁴³ Stuhlmann, while primarily concerned with geographical observations and botanical and zoological research, actively participated in the collection of Cultural belongings and the classification of local communities through ethnographic observations. After E. Pasha fell seriously ill during the expedition, Stuhlmann assumed full leadership and successfully brought the remaining members back to the coast in July 1892. He returned to Europe carrying a conglomeration of cartographic, zoological, botanical and ethnographic materials.⁴⁴ Langheld, tasked with enforcing security and conducting punitive operations, exemplified the militarised dimension of the colonial expedition.⁴⁵ Together, their actions contributed not only to the consolidation of German territorial claims but also to the accumulation of material culture that would later enter museum collections and colonial knowledge production through their publications.

1.4 Research Approach

This paper employs provenance research as both a methodological tool and a critical framework to investigate the collecting practices and the legacy of the 1890-92 expedition. While tracing the origins and acquisition contexts of Cultural Belongings remains central, the focus extends beyond to explore the broader institutional, political, and epistemological systems in which collecting occurred, and the afterlives these Belongings experienced once removed from their original contexts.

The provenance conducted on the collection from the 1890-92 expedition began by systematically tracing the developments in reverse chronological order: starting from their documented entry into museum holdings in Berlin and working backwards to reconstruct the circumstances of acquisition during the expedition. This reverse-tracking approach not only provided a verifiable framework for connecting specific Cultural Belongings to the expedition but also helped reveal how the collection components were handled, categorised and sometimes fragmented upon their arrival in Germany.

⁴³ Unangst. *Colonial Geography*. Pp. 96-106; Vajda Laszlo. "Emin Pascha." in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* vol. 4 (1959), P. 479-482 [Online-Version]. <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118530135.html#ndbcontent> [last accessed on: 29.06.2025].

⁴⁴ Tremmel Markus. "Stuhlmann, Franz." in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* vol. 25 (2013), P. 642-643 [Online-Version]. <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd119365154.html#ndbcontent> [last accessed on: 29.06.2025].

⁴⁵ Schweitzer Georg. *Emin Pascha. Eine Darstellung seines Lebens und Wirkens mit Benutzung seiner Tagebücher, Briefe und wissenschaftlichen Aufzeichnungen*, Berlin 1898, Pp. 497f.

The starting point for the research was the museum documentation of the acquisition process *E 1232/1892* from the acquisition file *I/MV 7010*, followed by a search for possible earlier or later shipments between 1890 and 1893 that could be linked to the expedition. The legal and administrative framework that governed these transfers was shaped by a Federal Council resolution (*Bundesratsbeschluss*) from 1889. This resolution granted the Royal Museums in Berlin a ‘right of first refusal’ for all collections created with the support of imperial funding. A subsequent directive from the Colonial Department of the Foreign Ministry in 1891 clarified that this right also applied to the collections resulting from the expedition led by Emin Pasha. It also specified that receiving institutions would not be charged acquisition fees but were required to cover the transport expenses.⁴⁶ Consequently, all scientific collections originating in the German protectorates, including those gathered on this expedition, were first sent to Berlin prior to any potential redistribution to other institutions.

Through a systematic review of approximately twenty acquisition entries⁴⁷ and records in the main catalogue⁴⁸ of the museum between 1891 and 1893, a comprehensive list of cultural belongings was assembled. These findings were cross-referenced with the current object data in the SMB collections database. The conflated results are documented in Appendix 1 and 2: Appendix 1 (6.1) contains the details of all known consignments and associated collections, while Appendix 2 (6.2) enumerates the collection parts that were forwards to other institutions, along with their respective destinations.

To establish more precise insights into the conditions of acquisition, the collection details were further compared with a wide range of historical primary sources. These included the published travel accounts by Franz Stuhlmann and Wilhelm Langheld, diary entries and personal correspondence of Emin Pasha and Stuhlmann, as well as official letters and directives from the Foreign Office and Berlin museum authorities. Through this comparative method of triangulation, it was possible to reconstruct the circumstances under which some of these Cultural belongings were obtained.

⁴⁶ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0710, Erwerbungsverfahren 985/ 1891*, Museum Archive Berlin, Pp. 34-39; Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0709, Erwerbungsverfahren E 412/ 1891*, Museum Archive Berlin, Pp. 420f.

⁴⁷ Most importantly: Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0709*, Erwerbungsverfahren E 412/ 1891, E 1266/ 91; Ibid. *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0710*, Erwerbungsverfahren E 1305/ 1891, E 1338/ 91, E 1401/ 91, E 1402/ 91, E 220/ 1892, E 1232/ 92; Ibid. *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0711*, Erwerbungsverfahren E 1387/ 1892, E 1427/ 92, E 1438/ 92, E 1512/ 92, E 1516/ 92, E 34/ 1893, E 112/ 93, E 824/ 93, E 976/ 93, Museum Archive Berlin.

⁴⁸ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Hauptkatalog “Afrika“ III E Band 1, 1844- 1894, HK Afr 21*, Pp. 450-520.

The research is thus arranged not only as a chronological reconstruction of collecting but as an analytical reflection on the forms of contact, extraction, and categorisation that shaped the collection and the expedition's legacy. Chapter 2 presents the expedition commission and its context, while chapters 2.1 to 2.4 detail loosely the trajectories of the expedition. The analysis identifies the circumstances under which specific items were obtained and reflects on the nature of the interactions that facilitated their collection. While the emphasis remains on the ethnographic collection formally inventoried in museum records, attention is also given to the ambiguous transactions that shaped the material legacy of the expedition. The third chapter begins with the post-expedition handling of the collection in Germany, exploring the processes of unpacking, how they were catalogued and categorised and the partial transfer within and beyond the Berlin museums. Chapter 3 then turns to the wider legacy of the expedition: reflecting the provenance findings with particular focus on the methods of collecting and the forms of contact, before briefly commenting on the aftermath, publications and additional collections associated with the expedition, including private and scientific collections, and photographic materials.

2 The 1890-92 Expedition: Objectives, Practices, and Outcomes

The initial establishment of German colonial rule in East Africa began in 1884 through so-called protection treaties, conducted primarily by Carl Peters on behalf of the German East African Society (DOAG). At the Beginning of the 1890s, the territory held the status of a German protectorate rather than of a formal colony, and German influence remained largely confined to the coastal regions. The gradual extension of control into the interior (Hinterland) began with the 1890-92 expedition. In the absence of a stable colonial administration and faced with limited military capacity and logistical constraints, German authorities recognised the strategic need to establish an administrative station on the southern shore of Lake Victoria. This initiative was not only intended to solidify German presence in the backcountry but also to assert influence in the direction of Uganda and counteract growing British dominance in the region.⁴⁹ So the colonial administration of GEA under Herrmann von Wissmann and the Colonial Department authorised an official expedition. The Reichskommissariat bore the costs for equipping the expedition; in addition to the officers, soldiers and porters, it provided their equipment and weapons, initial rations and means of payment for future rations in the form of cloth and pearls.⁵⁰ Emin Pasha was appointed to lead it, and on 30th March 1890, he received the following orders from Wissmann:

- 1) To build a colonial station on the southern shore of Lake Victoria and to secure surrounding areas for Germany so that British attempts to exert influence there would fail, special merit would be to extend existing borders.
- 2) On the march to Lake Victoria, to let the population everywhere know that they are under German sovereignty and protection. In addition, the request to gain and support suitable and inclined chiefs in order to interrupt the influence of the Arabs as far as possible.
- 3) If necessary, to help in Mpwapa to re-secure the surrounding region with the accompanying protection force.
- 4) To leave the leadership of the protection force to the assigned lieutenants.⁵¹

It seems that there have been further verbal agreements, for example, to leave Tabora out of the expedition's undertaking⁵²; however, there was no official mandate to create a scientific collection, neither in a scientific nor an ethnographic context. Nonetheless, Emin Pasha saw himself as a natural scientist with a great interest in birds. Consequently, it was clear to

⁴⁹ Unangst. *Colonial Geography*. P. 4; Conrad. *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte*, P. 23.; Gründer, *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien*. Pp. 97f.

⁵⁰ Schweitzer Georg. *Emin Pascha*. P. 496.

⁵¹ Own translation (shortened) after: Schweitzer. *Emin Pascha*. P. 498.

⁵² Ibid. P. 542.

him from the outset that he would employ a scientific researcher for the expedition: Dr. Stuhlmann. In addition to their scientific interest, both had a distinct desire to record their names for posterity through new scientific discoveries.⁵³ However, the two did not compile their collections alone: Dr Stuhlmann was accompanied by the African hunter and collector Mabruck, who had been assisting Stuhlmann since 1888, as well as by Kombo, who later on saved Stuhlmann's life through a blood infusion⁵⁴ and was also willing to model for anthropological photographs⁵⁵. Mabruck took over a large part of Stuhlmann's collection work, as S. describes in his travelogue: „Every day, old Mabruck brought in new items, which were sketched and prepared for the collection.”⁵⁶ This included not only scientific specimens but also human remains, which he had obtained earlier.⁵⁷ Emin Pasha was accompanied by Redjeb Effendi, who worked both as an Arabic scribe and as a bird hunter, and Mhoma as a taxidermist.⁵⁸ The 1890-92 expedition was marked by both strategic military objectives and episodes of collecting. It serves as a critical point of analysis in understanding how contact was established in the early stages of German administrative rule in GEA, and under what conditions cultural belongings were acquired.

2.1 Before the Journey Began: Artefacts with a Pre-Expedition Provenance

Among the Cultural Belongings associated with the 1890-92 expedition are a group of artefacts that predate its official departure. Franz Stuhlmann acquired these approximately 55 Belongings during an earlier scientific expedition to the coastal regions of East Africa in 1888-89. Due to the joint shipment and inventory at the MfV, the acquisition circumstances of this collection will also be examined below. Based on Stuhlmann's research diary from 11th August to 29th September 1888⁵⁹, the circumstances of the acquisition of 17 cultural belongings can be traced with certainty. For 20, the acquisition contexts can be determined with relative certainty, while the circumstances of the others remain unclear. As there are no records of the period

⁵³ They repeatedly mention that they hope to have discovered some new species among those they have collected/hunted and regularly name them after themselves. For example: Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 57, 320.,

⁵⁴ Ibid. Pp. 826f.

⁵⁵ Gollasch Benjamin. *Franz Ludwig Stuhlmann und die kolonialen Reformbestrebungen in Deutsch-Ostafrika vor 1906. Vom Forschungsreisenden zum politischen Entscheidungsträger*. Munich: Buch&media GmbH, 2021, Pp. 53f.

⁵⁶ Own translation of: „Jeden Tag schleppte der alte Mabruck neues herbei, was skizziert und für die Sammlung vorbereitet wurde." in: Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pasha*. P. 105.

⁵⁷ Ibid. P. 351.

⁵⁸ Ibid. P. 13.

⁵⁹ Stuhlmann Franz, *Reisetagebuch, Zoologische Forschungsreise in die Küstengebiete Ostafrikas*, 11.08.1888-29.09.1888, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.

between October 1888 and the end of 1889, some artefacts can only be loosely assigned to Stuhlmann's known travel locations. To connect the descriptions of these cultural belongings from the diary and the identification numbers given during the museum inventory, the latter are assigned in brackets.

In February 1888, Franz Stuhlmann embarked on a scientific research expedition to GEA, funded by the Berlin Academy of Science (Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin). His work initially focused on the coastal regions of Zanzibar, where he conducted studies on the local flora and fauna. In August and September of the same year, he extended his fieldwork to the inland of today's Tanzania, the region of Usegua. However, his research there was soon disrupted by the outbreak of the Arab uprising in September 1888. Stuhlmann temporarily relocated to Quelimane at the mouth of the Zambezi River in present-day Mozambique, where he remained from October to December. At the beginning of 1889, he returned to the coast on GEA to continue his scientific work in Bagamoyo. In January 1890, he was wounded in the last battles against the coastal uprising and recovered till the start of the 1890-92 expedition under Emin Pasha.⁶⁰

During the first two weeks of his inland journey, Stuhlmann's diary focuses almost exclusively on geographical and topographical descriptions and scientific observations, with no mention of collecting cultural belongings. The first reference to the material culture of local communities appears in an entry on 25th August 1888 from the village of Mbaha in Usegua⁶¹. He describes the women with large rolls of straw in their ears (III E 2667), wearing brass spirals on their arms (III E 2666), and necklaces made of giraffe tail hair (III E 2668), while also wearing white pearls on a small lock on the forehead (III E 2665). The descriptions are so precise that the collection components can be easily assigned. There are no details about the acquisition of these belongings, but based on the further procedure, it seems likely that he purchased them.

On 1st September, S. reached the village Mtungu, where he explicitly mentions the purchase of three tobacco boxes for five pesos each (III E 2669- 2671).⁶² He continues to describe local adornments like a leather apron with beads worn by the women (III E 2664), as well as

⁶⁰ Tremmel Markus. "Stuhlmann, Franz." in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* vol. 25 (2013), P. 642-643; Heeb Bernhard S., Kabwete Charles Mulinda (Ed.). *Human Remains from the Former German Colony of East Africa. Recontextualization and Approaches for Restitution*. Berlin: Böhlau Verlag, 2022, Pp. 214-222; Stuhlmann Franz. *Zoologische Ergebnisse einer in den Jahren 1888-1890 mit Unterstützung der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin von Dr. Franz Stuhlmann in die Küstengebiete in Ost-Afrika unternommenen Reise. Band I*. Berlin 1893, Pp. Vorwort; Gollasch. *Franz Ludwig*, Pp. 38f.

⁶¹ Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch, Zoologische Forschungsreise 1888*, Pp. 39.

⁶² Ibid. P. 43f.

“Talismans”⁶³ called daua, including a necklace with two small wooden pieces for treating sore throats (III E 2675) and another daua, worn during hunting to be protected from lions and other dangers (III E 2677). Although he notes that the latter was not for sale, his entry concludes with „found one and bagged it”⁶⁴, implying he may have stolen it.

On 4th September, S. noted that Kibudu bought something in the Wakaguru village near Momboya⁶⁵, in comparison with the acquisition description, these were likely the three iron bangles (III E 2712 a-c), which are described as ‘bought by Kibudu’. Three days later, in Monda, Stuhlmann describes the local treatment of snakebites and that he bought one of the wooden sticks used for it (III E 2714).⁶⁶ On 8th and 10th September, S. describes again local adornments, like the brass leg rings (III E 2711) in Mangwalla⁶⁷, and daua, against enemies and wild animals (III E 2713/ 2676) in Kipembera⁶⁸, without indicating whether these were purchased, gifted, or simply taken along.

On 11th September, S. notes that he was too exhausted to personally visit Chief Mtiga upon arriving in the village of Kihenga, so he sent gifts instead, which include cloth, beads, wire and other small items. The following day, an envoy from the chief arrived bearing a return gift consisting of a baboon, flour, sugar cane, a sheep and some milk.⁶⁹ In the valley Mekakella, on 14th September, S. documents a visit of two young and very cheerful Wakuafi. He describes their hairstyles, clothing, and jewellery in detail⁷⁰, and though he did not specify any purchase, cultural belongings corresponding to these descriptions appear in the collection. These include hair jewellery made from leather straps (III E 2694), wooden ear pegs (III E 2692/ 2693), and patterned cloths hung around the shoulder (III E 2691).

In Heluguembe, on 18th September, Stuhlmann buys various pieces of jewellery and cloth pieces from a Wakuafi man and five Wakuafi women⁷¹. These include a thin necklace with beads (III E 2687), a wide iron and brass bangle (II E 2682), brass spiral worn on the wrist and upper arm (III E 2697/ 2704), earrings (III E 2683/ 2684), a large copper wire spiral worn on the head (III E 2688), and two iron neck rings (III E 2689/ 2690). He also describes their

⁶³ Due to the lack of a better and perhaps more appropriate word or description of the daua, the word “Talisman” is used here; it could also be called “Amulets” or “Medical Charms”.

⁶⁴ Own translation of: „Eins gefunden & eingepackt“ in: Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch, Zoologische Forschungsreise 1888*, P. 44.

⁶⁵ Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch, Zoologische Forschungsreise 1888*, P. 46f.

⁶⁶ Ibid. P. 48f.

⁶⁷ Ibid. P. 50.

⁶⁸ Ibid. P. 52.

⁶⁹ Ibid. P. 53f.

⁷⁰ Ibid. P. 57.

⁷¹ Ibid. P. 62-64.

leather garments which they did not want to sell, as well as the belts holding them up, one of two embroidered with beads (III E 2685/ 1539), a large bag which they carry with a strap around the head (III E 2680), and a ‘primitive’ knife, worn by one of the women in a leather bag on an iron ring on her upper arm (III E 2681).

While some purchases are explicitly mentioned and described in detail, the acquisition context of many items remains unclear. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume, according to the records, that most of these cultural belongings were obtained through exchange and small-scale purchase. However, it is also noticeable that if a possession was not for sale, ways were sought to obtain it, but apparently without violence. It is also noticeable in the research that the dates and locations given on the attached labels for the inventory to Berlin are often incorrect. They frequently differ by 2-3 days from the entries in the diary. It almost seems as if the accompanying descriptions of the collection components were added later, after the expedition, perhaps only when the consignment was packed for Berlin in July or August 1892. This also means that some objects were ascribed a different purpose and context. An example is the *daua* (III E 2675), which, according to the diary, is supposed to help against sore throats⁷², but according to the acquisition file and main catalogue, helps against abdominal pain⁷³.

This pre-expedition collection phase reflects many of the broader patterns that would later define the 1890-92 mission: material extraction mediated by asymmetrical power, a mix of observation and acquisition, and the occasional lack of clarity around consent or transactional terms. Moreover, the incorporation of these Cultural Belongings into the collection of the expedition highlights the fluidity with which institutional frameworks absorbed and classified those Belongings. By beginning the analysis here, the thesis underscores that the legacy of an expedition is not defined solely by its route or its dates. It is constructed through broader entanglements of collecting, reporting and institutional framing, processes that shape both what is remembered and what remains absent from the official record.

2.2 On Official Assignment to Bukoba

From Coast to Command: Bagamoyo to Tabora and the Claim of Territory

The expedition departed from Bagamoyo on 26th April 1890, proceeding with approximately 1.000 members towards Mpwapwa. From the outset, one of the most pressing logistical

⁷² Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch*, *Zoologische Forschungsreise 1888*, P. 43f.

⁷³ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Hauptkatalog “Afrika” III E Band 1, 1844- 1894, HK Afr 21*, P. 498.

concerns was the consistent procurement of food for the large group, as transporting sufficient provisions across long distances proved impractical. Compounding this challenge was a shortage of porters, a problem that became increasingly acute as the journey progressed. These exchanges often took the form of structured reciprocity: in Mohàle, for instance, the local ruler Ssimbamweni welcomed them with a gift of flour, eggs, pombe (beer), and an ox. In return, she was presented with a reciprocal gift, likely consisting of cotton cloth and glass beads, although the sources do not specify the exact items. She also provided porters to accompany the group to the next settlement for payment. Similar interactions occurred in subsequent villages: local rulers offered food or supplies as signs of hospitality, which were reciprocated with gifts, and occasionally with the symbolic raising of the German flag. Sometimes, short-term porters were hired in exchange for payment.⁷⁴

On 3rd June 1890, the expedition arrived in Mpwápwa, where Emin Pasha met Carl Peters for the first time on 19th June. Peters, then acting again as a key architect of German colonial expansion in GEA, advised the group to advance toward Tabora, which he described as the linchpin of Arab influence in the region: „Whoever controls Tabora has the key to the three lakes in his hands, and therefore the first thing to be done on the German side is to occupy Tabora.”⁷⁵ He also suggests Bukoba on the western shore of Lake Victoria as the site for a future administrative station, instead of the southern shore. Following this advice, Emin Pasha, in consultation with Stuhlmann and Langheld, departed Mpwápwa on 22nd June, moving inland towards Tabora.⁷⁶

In the further course of the expedition, interactions with the local population were characterised either by friendly interaction with trade and gifts or by violence and coercion, depending on their cooperation. On 26th June, while passing through Masai (Wahumba) territory, clashes broke out at a waterhole. The next day, the troops of the expedition retaliated by attacking nearby Masai villages, dispersing the residents and seizing roughly 300 cattle, of which 80 were retained and the remainder distributed to well-disposed communities. Passing through Ugogo a few days later, on 30th June, two Sulu soldiers and three porters of the expedition were killed while procuring food in the next village. In response, E. Pasha and Langheld led a punitive raid on the suspected village, burning 19 tembe (houses) down and seizing another 300

⁷⁴ Emin Pascha [Eduard Schnitzer], *Reisetagebuch Bd. I*, 26.04.1890-31.12.1891, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, P. 8f.; Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 21f.

⁷⁵ Own translation of: „Wer Tabora kontrolliert, hat den Schlüssel zu den drei Seen in der Hand, und deshalb ist das erste, was auf deutscher Seite zu tun ist, die Besetzung von Tabora.“ in: Schweitzer. *Emin Pascha*. P. 523.

⁷⁶ Schweitzer. *Emin Pascha*. Pp. 508-510, 522-524.

cattle and 200 smaller livestock.⁷⁷ These episodes illustrate a pattern of interaction within a colonial power imbalance in which material acquisition and control over resources were closely linked to acts of retaliatory violence and territorial assertion.

Meanwhile, on 1st July 1890, a treaty signed in Berlin with Britain officially defined the borders of German East Africa, transforming it into an internationally recognised colonial territory. However, due to the slow relay of information, the expedition continued under the assumption that extending and securing territorial claims remained part of its mission.⁷⁸ On 29th July, the group reached Tabora. Two days later, a treaty was concluded with local Arab leaders and Sultan Ssike, formalising German primacy in the region. Under the threat of military confrontation, Sultan Ssike was compelled to return property allegedly stolen from former European traders, including a cannon and some ivory. There is no mention if the cannon remained in Tabora or was sent somewhere else, while the ivory was sent to the coast. On 4th August, Emin Pasha raised the German flag in Tabora, formally incorporating the surrounding region Unyamwesi into the German colonial sphere.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Langheld. *Zwanzig Jahre*. Pp. 41-43; Emin Pascha, *Reisetagebuch Bd. I*, P. 22

⁷⁸ Schweitzer. *Emin Pascha*. Pp. 528f.

⁷⁹ Ibid. Pp. 532f.; Langheld. *Zwanzig Jahre*. Pp. 46-50; Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 67f., 115; Stuhlmann Franz, *Reisetagebuch Bd. I*, 26.04.1890-01.08.1891, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, P. 47.



Figure 1: Langheld and the canon captured from Sikke. Source: SMB, Ethnologisches Museum, Ident. Nr.: VIII A 22310.

A letter from Franz Stuhlmann to A. Bastian, the director of the MFV in Berlin, dated 24th August 1890, confirmed that two colli with ethnographic artefacts were dispatched from Tabora on that day. On 21st January 1891, 20 Cultural Belongings were officially inventoried in Berlin (see Appendix 1). While the primary sources offer no precise acquisition details, the labels of this shipment affirm that fifteen of them were purchased in Tabora.⁸⁰ They are a very diverse range of Cultural Belongings, such as a spear from Uganda (III E 2443), a necklace with coloured glass beads (III E 24477) and a spindle with cotton yarn (III E 2448) from Waganda, as well as two wooden dance masks from Manyema (III E 2452 and 2453).

Emin Pasha's Diary offers limited additional insight. On 3rd August 1890, he records a visit to the market in Tabora, noting the high prices (one dollar per pound of coffee). By 7th August, he reports having completed his acquisitions.⁸¹ Although no further acquisition details, such as seller identities, prices paid, or dates of transactions, are available, the cumulative context confirms a presumed purchase. Four additional Cultural Belongings, an iron bangle (III E

⁸⁰Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0709 Erwerbungsverfahren 1266/90*, Museum Archive Berlin, Pp. 358, 362-365.

⁸¹ Emin Pascha, *Reisetagebuch Bd. I*, Pp. 34f.

2442), a spear (III E 2455), a headdress (III E 2456) and a fishing net (III E 2457), are associated with the Wagogo or the Ugogo region. Given the expedition's documented passage through Ugogo between 1st and 18th July, the acquisition is likely to lie in this period. No indication can be found in the sources as to whether they originated from the village, which was burned down on July 1st, or were purchased in the following villages. A gifting context appears unlikely, given that E. Pasha typically accepted food or logistical assistance in exchange for gifts. Without clear documentation, it is not possible to determine whether they were collected under duress or purchased.

Diverging Routes, Shared Objectives: The Three Paths to Bukoba and the Station Construction

On 22nd August 1890, Langheld, in consultation with E. Pasha, departed from the main expedition group with Sergeant Kühne and 47 soldiers. Their destination was Urambo; the Warambo people, former allies of the German Schutztruppe during the Arab revolt, had reportedly come under attack by the Wangoni and had appealed to E. Pasha for assistance. Langheld was instructed to intervene militarily and to conduct a treaty asserting German supremacy over Urambo before rejoining the expedition.⁸² Between 27th August and 13th October, Langheld led several military engagements against Wangony villages near Urambo, including Lige, Tinde and Dulanallila. Langheld words included: „[...] to show that the power of the Wangoni was finally broken, I destroyed the village by burning the huts”⁸³. While he reported seizing ivory and cattle, as well as taking prisoners, the absence of Cultural Belongings in the documentation raises questions about whether and, in case so, what was taken and not recorded.⁸⁴

Meanwhile, Emin Pasha and Dr. Stuhlmann departed from Tabora on 28th August and proceeded through the regions of Ussongo and Ussukuma toward the southern shore of Lake Victoria. Stuhlmann noted that the local communities received the expedition with hospitality: „The inhabitants welcomed us kindly everywhere and gave us gifts of food, but not in such astonishing quantities as in Unyamwési”⁸⁵. The expedition received intelligence regarding slave and arms trading activities in the village of Massansa. E. Pasha dispatched Stuhlmann to investigate; on 8th October, S. captured large amounts of ivory, ammunition and pearls from the

⁸² Langheld. *Zwanzig Jahre*. Pp. 55-57.

⁸³ Own translation of: „[...] um zu zeigen, dass die Macht der Wangoni endgültig gebrochen sei, zerstörte ich das Dorf, indem ich die Hütten verbrennen ließ.“ in: Langheld. *Zwanzig Jahre*. P. 63.

⁸⁴ Langheld. *Zwanzig Jahre*. Pp. 63-73; Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 71f.

⁸⁵ Own translation of: „Die Bewohner nahmen uns überall freundlich auf und machten uns Geschenke an Nahrungsmitteln, allerdings nicht in so staunenswerther Menge wie in Unyamwési.“ in: Langheld. *Zwanzig Jahre*. P. 99.

village and, according to his reports, freed 43 enslaved individuals, 39 of whom were left in the care of a French mission. The remaining four were accompanying the expedition to their home regions of Nkole and Karagwe. On the orders of E. Pasha, the looted items were initially deposited in the mission's storehouse. The ivory was later sent to the coast by Langheld, but what happened to the rest is unknown.⁸⁶

While E. Pasha crossed Lake Victoria on a boat on 18th October, Stuhlmann and the majority of the expedition continued their journey on foot along the southwestern shore. Stuhlmann arrived in Bukoba on 16th November, bringing with him envoys from local rulers who wanted to conduct treaties with E.P., but also brought gifts of ivory and food. During the following weeks, additional gestures of submission occurred, offering large gifts of ivory, cattle and food in recognition of German authority.⁸⁷

After a lot of misinformation and miscommunication due to the long post ways, there was a sense of frustration between the Government of GEA on the coast and Emin Pasha. In a letter dated 25th January 1891 to his sister Melanie, E.P. reported that he was sending a significant consignment of ethnographic and botanical materials to Berlin, accompanied by a pointed remark: „The gentlemen should see that the Emin Pasha expedition can do more than just move around the country”⁸⁸. In September 1891, the Government of GEA informed the Berlin museums about a shipment of 24 colli, from which 35 cultural belongings were inventoried at the MfV.⁸⁹

According to their accompanying labels and inscriptions, nine of them date from this part of the journey. Due to the lack of records concerning the ethnographical parts of the collection, it is not possible to determine the exact circumstances of acquisition in this case. A necklace (III E 2473), a metal wire bracelet (III E 2472 ab) and two ivory bracelets (III E 2479) were acquired in Bukoba based on the acquisition file. They were likely purchased from local traders described by both Stuhlmann and E. Pasha. The other acquisition contexts remain unclear, even though some of the Cultural Belongings are briefly described in the official

⁸⁶ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 102-108, 112, 130f.; Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch Bd. I*, P. 68.

⁸⁷ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 128-131.

⁸⁸ Own translation of: „Ich sende diesmal 10 Kisten mit Sammlungen nach Berlin, und außerdem gehen Haufen von Pflanzen an Schweinfurth, Mengen von ethnographischen Objekten an Bastian u.s.w. Die Herren sollen sehen, dass die Emin-Pascha Expedition mehr leisten kann als bloss im Land herumziehen.“ in Schweinfurth. *Emin Pascha*. Pp. 594.

⁸⁹ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0710 Erwerbungsverfahren 1305/91*, Museum Archive Berlin, P.104; Ibid. *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0710 Erwerbungsverfahren 1402/91*, Pp. 122-128.

travelogue⁹⁰; no further details are available, but none show signs of having been taken by force. Instead, their localisation suggests that they were collected through purchase or gift-giving.

A Northern Glimpse: Stuhlmann's Foray into Uganda

On 6th December 1890, Stuhlmann undertook a trip to the Ssésse Islands and Uganda with the task of procuring boats for the station in Bukoba. Upon his arrival at the Ssésse islands, he learned that boats could only be purchased with the permission of the King of Uganda. He therefore wrote to the king, and while waiting for his response, Stuhlmann noted on 13th December the purchase of a quantity of brown cloth (likely a component of III E 2501) and an animal skin (likely a part of III E 2495- 2500).⁹¹

On the 17th, envoys from Uganda arrived on Ssésse with gifts intended for Emin Pasha from the king, though the specific contents of these gifts remain undocumented. Two days later, Stuhlmann set out for Kampala to seek an audience with King Mwanga. After meeting the king on 24th December, Mwanga assigned him a court official to assist in arranging boat procurement. During his stay in Kampala, S. purchased several bark cloth pieces at a local market, which likely constitutes another part of III E 2501. On the 27th, a ritual blood brotherhood was concluded between Stuhlmann and the king, a symbolic gesture of diplomatic alliance.⁹² A day later, Kimbúgwe, a prominent figure aligned with the catholic faction in the kingdom, visited Stuhlmann. In his published travelogue, S. writes: „[...] another time Kimbúgwe, the leader of the catholic party, came & brought me all sorts of small industrial products of the country, such as pipes, suction tubes (russecke) for banana wine, skilfully woven baskets and others”⁹³. Due to this description, several Cultural Belongings can be linked to this present. According to S.'s description, these include clay pipe bowls and stems (III E 2486 ab, III E 2488, III E 2489 ab), suction pipes (III E 2475) and baskets (III E 2495 a-c, III E 2490). Pottery items (III E 2482-2484) may also belong to this exchange, although the attribution is less certain.

On 4th January 1891, S. received a formal gift from the king at another audience; he again did not specify in his records what it included except “weapons, etc.”, which likely corresponds to the iron knives now inventoried as III E 2470 and 2471. S. had still not received any usable canoes, and it seems that the king did not want to let him go. To pressure the king

⁹⁰ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. P. 108.

⁹¹ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 142-145; Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch Bd. I*, P. 73.

⁹² Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 147-149, 152, 160; Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch Bd. I*, P. 76.

⁹³ Own translation of: „[...] ein andermal kam Kimbúgwe, der Führer der katholischen Partei & brachte mir allerlei kleine Industrieerzeugnisse des Landes, wie Pfeifen, Saugröhre (russecke) für Bananenwein, kunstvoll geflochtene Körbe und anderes[...]“ in: Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. P. 163.

into providing suitable transport, he moved to the shore on 8th January but was still not able to set out for Bukoba before the 17th. Shortly before his return to Bukoba on the 25th, S. encountered canoes sent after by King Mwanga, which contained more gifts such as cowrie shells, beans, tobacco, iron hoes and other items.⁹⁴

Further cultural belonging from this journey, such as two pairs of sandals (III E 2464 ab - 2465 ab), a dance apron (III E 2463), a head ring (III E 2477), and a decorative pompom with cock feathers (III E 2492), were likely received as part of the many informal exchanges and unspecified gifts mentioned in Stuhlmann's notes. Several everyday items, among them a woven coffee bag (III E 2476), a gourd (III E 2480), an iron tool (III E 2481), a bast cord (III E 2491), cotton cloth (III E 2493) and a bowl-shaped sieve (III E 2949), seem likely to have been purchased by Stuhlmann or were part of the gift from Kimbúgwe. Although the exact terms of acquisition are difficult to reconstruct, there is no evidence suggesting that these items were acquired by force. Stuhlman undertook this journey accompanied only by two soldiers and four porters⁹⁵; this, as well as the diplomatic nature of the entanglements, supports the conclusion that these cultural belongings were either purchased or received as diplomatic or personal gifts.

The first phase of the expedition reveals several recurring patterns: the blurred boundaries between voluntary and involuntary exchange, the selective and rarely detailed documentation of collecting episodes, and the use of Cultural Belongings, objects, animals and food to symbolise or enact political relationships. The dynamics of military interventions, diplomatic alliance-building, the suppression of the slave trade, and the expansion of German administrative structures underscore the expedition's broader political and epistemological goals.

2.3 Once to the Lendu Plateau (DRK) and Back Again

After handing over the station of Bukoba to Langheld on 11th February 1891, Emin Pasha and Franz Stuhlmann continued the expedition in the direction to move to the far northwest corner of the German sphere of interest, through Karagwe, Mpororo, Nkole and across the Lendu Plateau.⁹⁶ To his sister E. Pasha wrote on 25th March: „No European before me has set foot on this soil, and I am happy to be doing pioneering work once again."⁹⁷ Even though details

⁹⁴ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 166-168; Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch Bd. I*, P. 86.

⁹⁵ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. P. 142.

⁹⁶ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. P. 217.

⁹⁷ Own translation of: „Kein Europäer vor mir hat diesen Boden betreten, und ich freue mich, wieder einmal Pionierarbeit zu thun.“ in: Emin Pascha, *Briefe an seine Schwester Melanie Schnitzer 25.03.1891*, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

on acquisition contexts are rare throughout this part of the journey, it reveals a great deal about the practical dimensions and cultural dynamics that emerged through interaction along the way. At every step, logistical limitations, local diplomacy, and occasional violence shaped the expedition's methods of movement and forms of contact with the local population.

Through Divided Lands: Political Manoeuvring en Route to Undussuma

Throughout this part of the journey, E. Pasha and Stuhlmann often alternated in staying behind with loads that could not be taken with them, continually seeking porters and negotiating assistance from local rulers. The expedition initially proceeded through Karagwe, where tensions emerged immediately. Fearful of the expedition's size, the King of Karagwe asked E. Pasha to meet him alone, which he refused. To wait for the rearguard of the expedition, E. Pasha decided to camp near the King's settlement and met him on 25th February 1891. The young king explained that he would prefer the expedition to move on quickly, as there was a current famine in the country, and that he would provide porters and a guide as far as the borders. In his travelogue, Stuhlmann candidly notes that E. Pasha benefited from internal divisions among local rulers, deliberately playing off their rivalries to serve German interests, a colonial strategy encapsulated in the phrase 'divide et impera'.⁹⁸

From there, the expedition pushed further north toward Mpororo, to what E. Pasha first labelled 'no-man's-land', but later corrected to acknowledge the rule of Nyabinghi, a spiritual and political leader. Both Stuhlmann and E. Pasha declined to meet her directly, allegedly due to her refusal to be seen in person. While their accounts exoticise her authority, they also indicate negotiations for porters and guides through the highest dignitary of Nyabinghi, her Katikero. Because they fail to provide those, Stuhlmann ultimately resorts to rounding up 45 men by force. S. also describes very distinctly an iron rod, about one meter long, with an inserted piece of wood (III E 2543), linked to Nyabinghi's dignitaries. While the acquisition details remain unclear, both the symbolic significance of this Cultural Belonging and the broader power asymmetries of the encounter point to an unequal and probably unwilling exchange and raise questions about the line between negotiation and compulsion.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 219, 223-226.

⁹⁹ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 251-253; Emin Pascha, *Briefe an seine Schwester Melanie Schnitzer 14.04.1891*, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.



Figure 2: Rod of Njabinghi. Source: SMB, Ethnologisches Museum, Ident. Nr. III E 2643.

Throughout this leg of the journey, tension frequently surfaced. In Usondjo, when internal thefts became too prominent to ignore, E. Pasha imposed collective punishment, demoting soldiers and docking pay from both guards and porters.¹⁰⁰ In Butussu, he arrested six of the local chief's men for looting and held them prisoner with the chief's consent.¹⁰¹ These episodes demonstrate how the expedition's dynamics functioned as an instrument of discipline and coercive authority.

As the two continued to move further away from the coast, something momentous happened Mid 1891: with the conversion to an imperial colony, the Reichskommissariat was dissolved, and von Soden was appointed the first governor of GEA. A significant decision was also made in Bukoba. On 20th April, Sergeant Kühne was commissioned by Langheld to establish a small station on the southern coast after repeated problems with postal deliveries on the long route between Bukoba and Tabora and the coast.¹⁰² Even though E. Pasha received a letter on 7th June to either build another station on the southern shore of Lake Victoria or travel back to the coast, he continued his journey. He justified pressing onward by framing retreat as a sign of weakness.¹⁰³ Meanwhile, S. conducted scientific excursions, such as climbing the Schneeberg (Sneeuberg) and collecting botanical and zoological materials.¹⁰⁴

E. Pasha continued to negotiate with the chiefs and press for porters, like in Bukoko on the 26th June, the agreed-upon porters often did not show up. He describes how he brought the negotiation for them to a satisfactory conclusion, rewarding the chief with gifts and the requested medicine. So he had to stay back, while Stuhlmann continued for a day, before sending porters back to E.P.¹⁰⁵ S. describes that while he waited in the forest on the 28th, the chief of the next village appeared and brought beans, corn and bananas as gifts. He is also tasked to send

¹⁰⁰ Pascha, *Briefe an seine Schwester Melanie Schnitzer* 29.05.1891, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

¹⁰¹ Emin Pascha, *Briefe an seine Schwester Melanie Schnitzer* 31.05.1891, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

¹⁰² Langheld. *Zwanzig Jahre*, P. 91.

¹⁰³ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pasha*. P. 247.

¹⁰⁴ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pasha*. Pp. 285-287; Emin Pascha, *Briefe an seine Schwester Melanie Schnitzer* 16.06.1891, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

¹⁰⁵ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pasha*. Pp. 316f.; Emin Pascha, *Briefe an seine Schwester Melanie Schnitzer* 26.06.1891, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

some of his men to the other side of the river and inform the local chief Bewáu, of the approaching expedition and its peaceful intentions.¹⁰⁶ This appears to be a repetitive practice, ensuring that they are not attacked and that the food is provided as gifts or in exchange for payment.

On the continued journey, the expedition repeatedly encounters violent confrontations, which they counter with equal force. In Niboga E. Pasha captures the flags and trumpets of violent attackers, occupying their huts and acquiring a small gift in the ongoing negotiations.¹⁰⁷ Several days later, Stuhlmann receives orders, via returning porters, to burn down villages on his way, which had attacked E. Pasha with arrows.¹⁰⁸

Upon their arrival at Undússuma, they made contact with a delegation of Sudanese people from the former Equatorial Province. Although they declined to integrate fully into the expedition, some joined temporarily. On 9th August 1891, E. Pascha called all the soldiers and porters together: he instructed his men to treat local populations with respect and avoid interfering with their property, as a strategy for securing safe passage.¹⁰⁹

Crossing the Lendu Plateau: Hunger, Limits of Control and Disease

From Undussuma, the expedition ventured north across the Lendu Plateau. In Stuhlmann's travelogue are repeated descriptions of Cultural Belongings, mirrored in the expeditions collection. However, no circumstances of acquisition are given, the descriptions are only connected to ethnographic treatises about the local communities, such as the Wawira, A-Lur and Lendu.

As they often did not speak the local language, the expedition had to find its own way. Then detachments were sent ahead, looking for paths and the next campground, if possible, they also informed the communities about the impending arrival and attempted to ensure that peaceful interests were met and the need for food and porters was covered. On 2nd September, on such a venture, they were attacked from the bushes, but by checking upon the attackers had disappeared, leaving only a goat and a quiver with poisoned arrows behind, which Stuhlmann took.¹¹⁰ This quiver and arrows are probably recorded as III E 2544 a-f.

¹⁰⁶ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pasha*. P. 319.

¹⁰⁷ Emin Pascha, *Briefe an seine Schwester Melanie Schnitzer 11.07.1891*, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

¹⁰⁸ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pasha*. Pp. 325f.

¹⁰⁹ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pasha*. Pp. 331, 342-346, 361.

¹¹⁰ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pasha*. Pp. 415.

On 12th September, in the village of Apotschofua, they were initially met with flight by local inhabitants. Stuhlmann, Ulédi and two soldiers approached them cautiously, offering pearls and negotiating their acceptance. After lengthy negotiations, they were welcomed and even a blood brotherhood was performed.¹¹¹ In the next village, six members of the expedition sustained injuries to their feet, as the inhabitants protected their banana plantations with splinters of cane stuck in the ground, which were inventoried in the collection under the number III E 2748 a-c.¹¹²

This phase of the journey was marked by hunger and the absence of clean water. They continued to the village of Bakúna, where it had been hinted that there were still granaries. Upon arrival, this hope was dashed, but they nevertheless set up camp there on 21st September. In a nearby abandoned hut, Stuhlman discovered a large, female wooden doll (III E 2533), another carved figure (III E 2534) and all sorts of utensils and amulets (probably III E 2530/ 2531/ 2532/ 2593). The villagers would not tell him information about the meaning of these carvings, only hinting that they were connected to magic.¹¹³ Interestingly, however, a meaning for III E 2533 is noted in the main catalogue: ‘Doll in memory of the deceased’¹¹⁴; whether this was attributed by Stuhlmann or by the museum is unknown.

¹¹¹ Ibid. Pp. 425f.

¹¹² Ibid. P. 429.

¹¹³ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pasha*. Pp. 478f.

¹¹⁴ See Appendix 6.1.



Figure 3: Equipment of the Lendu and Lur found on 21.09.1891. Source: Stuhlmann Franz. *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*. 1894, P. 481. Shot by Franz Stuhlmann.

By late September, desertion surged and the porters refused to proceed, citing fear of starvation. E. Pasha was forced to abandon the plan to push further west and slowly made his way back.¹¹⁵ On their way back, in the direction of Bilippi, they were attacked several times.¹¹⁶ Several of those arrows ended up in the ethnographic collection under the numbers: III E 2568/ 2514/ 2516 ab/ 2515 a-c/ 2565 ab/ 2566 ab. Furthermore, S. reports that he purchased several knives (III E 2754/ 2738) from Manyéma, coming to their camp.¹¹⁷ Not only did his physical condition worsen rapidly throughout the next two months, suffering from near-blindness and insomnia, but more and more cases of smallpox emerged.¹¹⁸ On 6th December 1891, E. Pasha wrote his final letter to his sister: „My people have smallpox - Dr Stuhlmann goes with the

¹¹⁵ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pasha*. Pp. 484f.; Emin Pascha, *Briefe an seine Schwester Melanie Schnitzer 30.09.1891*, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

¹¹⁶ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pasha*. Pp. 543-545.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* P. 593.

¹¹⁸ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pasha*. Pp. 489, 555, 564-566.

healthy ones and takes this letter with him. God bless you all. Half blind as I am, it would be useless to write to me immediately, so wait until another letter comes from me."¹¹⁹

On 10th December, Stuhlmann left reluctantly with 27 soldiers, 98 porters and additional staff, retracing the route via Oráni and Albert-Edward-Lake. They celebrated Christmas on a banana plantation in the forest and reached Bukoba in mid-February, having to go under quarantine because of the smallpox.¹²⁰

This phase of the expedition highlights the limits of colonial control and the vulnerability of imperial ventures in unfamiliar terrain. The authority of the colonial leaders was curbed by hunger, miscooperation and disease. The rare acquisition details during this journey show how complicated consent, power imbalance and context distortion are.

2.4 Winding Down the Journey: From Bukoba to the Coast

On 17th March 1892, Franz Stuhlmann arrived at the station in Bukoba with the remainder of the expedition. Only five days later, Wilhelm Langheld formally transferred the command of the station to him. The station had by then developed into a functional administrative centre, helped by the ruler Mukotáni of the neighbouring region, who had helped construct the station by supplying food and free labour, for which he in return had received a ‘small gift’ every now and then. According to Stuhlmann’s report, friendship and blood brotherhood had been established with all the surrounding rulers, while they were also forced to pay tribute in the form of cowrie shells, ivory and food. The station relied heavily on this imposed tribute system, as well as forced labour from the surrounding inhabitants. Those were not only expected to provide food to be sold to the soldiers, but also labour, while their chiefs had to provide canoes for the traffic between the German stations of Bukoba and Mwánsa.¹²¹

Stuhlmann’s activities during this final phase combined local governance, preparations to return to the coast, but also scientific inquiry and geographical surveying. His zoological and botanical collecting continued, not only supported by Mabruck but also often with the assistance

¹¹⁹ Own translation of: „Meine Leute haben die Blattern.- Dr. Stuhlmann geht mit den Gesunden und nimmt diesen Brief mit. Gott segne euch alle. Halb blind, wie ich bin, wäre es unnütz, mir sofort zu schreiben, warte also bis ein anderer Brief von mir kommt.“ in: Emin Pascha, *Briefe an seine Schwester Melanie Schnitzer 06.12.1891*, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

¹²⁰ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pasha*. Pp. 606f., 648f., 666f.

¹²¹ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pasha*. Pp. 689, 693f., 706; Stuhlmann Franz, *Reisetagebuch Bd. IV*, 14.01.1892-31.05.1892, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Pp. 84-86.

of local inhabitants.¹²² Yet these scientific endeavours were occasionally entangled with acts of violence. On 31st March, S. visited Bussira Island on Lake Victoria, where he, upon encountering ancestral burial caves at the coast, decided to take some of the human remains with him: „We could not resist packing a number of these skulls for Mr. Virchow's collection and taking them to the station.”¹²³ This act exemplifies the objectification of the dead in colonial scientific practices, where the spiritual and communal significance of ancestral remains was subordinated to European racial-anthropological interest.

In early April, S. also intervened in slave caravans of Wanjamwési passing near the station. He reported liberating ninety individuals, many of whom were redirected to serve colonial functions, while claiming humanitarian motives. While the majority were handed over to the French Catholic mission, he „[...] kept the strong boys at the station to be used here first as cattle herders, etc., until they could later earn their bread as soldiers, for example.”¹²⁴ Stuhlmann noted the general lack of them to be ‘freed’, revealing both the complexities of local slavery systems and the utilitarian logic behind colonial humanitarianism. He also suggested that the women and girls would best be married off to reliable soldiers or placed under the care of local allies, as the missions usually did not have enough resources to take in so many people.¹²⁵

Stuhlmann also describes how he responded forcefully to perceived violations of the colonial order. In mid-April, after the suspicious disappearance of a boy from the mission near the village of Mukotáni, S. threatened war unless the perpetrator was surrendered within one day. When the accused was delivered, punitive compensation, an ivory tooth to the station and a load of cowrie shells to the missionary, was demanded from Mukotáni.¹²⁶ Such moments illustrate how the expedition enforced German authority through exemplary violence, even as it maintained a façade of ‘friendly relations’ with the neighbouring rulers.

Nearly 20 Cultural Belongings can be connected to this stay, even though the circumstances of their acquisition are not mentioned in the written records, some descriptions match them perfectly. S. documents the regional crafts, products and wear, such as raffia skirts (III E 2636), tools for wire jewellery (III E 2767 ab), alongside black clay products such as pipes (III

¹²² Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 696f.,

¹²³ Own translation of: „Wir konnten nicht umhin, eine Anzahl dieser Schädel für die Sammlung von Herrn Geheimrat Virchow einzupacken und nach der Station zu schaffen.“ in: Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. P. 699; also described in: Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch Bd. IV*, P. 90.

¹²⁴ Own translation of: „[...]die kräftigen Knaben wurden in der Station behalten, um hier zunächst als Viehhirten u.s.w. verwendet zu werden, bis sie später, etwa als Soldaten, sich ihr Brot verdienen könnten.“ in: Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. P. 702.

¹²⁵ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 701-703.; Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch Bd. IV*, Pp. 95f., 97.

¹²⁶ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. P. 704.; Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch Bd. IV*, Pp. 102f.

E 2632, III E 2607) and cooking pots (III E 2627), and other tools and weapons (III E 2766, III E 2623, III E 2630). He also described the local coffee cultivation and the exceptional quality of such (III E 2777, III E 2778 ab, III E 2779), with the suggestion that this could become lucrative under proper care in the future.¹²⁷ Many of these products were likely purchased; however, this cannot be determined with certainty.

On 14th May, Stuhlmann departed Bukoba by boat, stopping on his way on various islands to conduct cartographic and botanical surveys. From the southern coast of the Nyansa, the group moved inland through Nyángesi and Iráangi, crossing the region of Néra on 28th May.¹²⁸ While the initial contact with the local population in Buhága was friendly, it quickly turned into violence: after a porter was attacked and lost an eye while searching for firewood, Stuhlmann demanded the assailant's surrender. When this was refused, he ordered the destruction of all nearby villages.¹²⁹ While his writing suggests some hesitation at first, he then felt no remorse, but rather a sense of righteous retaliation.

He describes the reluctance of local communities during further encounters in Néra, but also describes in detail their appearances, weapons and homes.¹³⁰ Some of these weapon descriptions match Cultural Belongings of the Collection, such as a dagger with a wooden handle (III E 2661), a short spear with a leather-covered shaft (III E 2772), a leather quiver with arrows (III E 2722 a-d) and two arches (III E 2723). However, once again, there are no comments as to whether and under what circumstances they were acquired.

The first mention of an attempt for a property purchase during this part of the journey is found on 14 June 1892. Upon arrival at Wanjaturu territory, the population fled and waited in the distance with their bows drawn. To relax the situation, S. had the expedition take their seats and used trusted intermediaries to negotiate. He sent the Swahili guide Ulédi, who had successfully negotiated such difficult situations before, and a porter named Kilindo, fluent in the local language. After demonstratively laying their weapons down, the negotiations led to a peaceful exchange. S. describes in the travelogue the Wanjaturu's way of dressing and living, including their weapons, which correspond to the three Cultural belongings of the Collection: a head ornament made of copper and brass attached to a leather ring (III E 2657), a spear (III E 2658) and 6 wooden arrows with iron tips (III E 2659). Interestingly, S. notes that the Wanjaturu were not prepared to sell him ethnographic "Objects", as they only accepted colobus skins (from

¹²⁷ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 716-721.; Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch Bd. IV*, Pp. 110-114.

¹²⁸ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 710, 735-740, 747.

¹²⁹ Ibid. P. 750f.; Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch Bd. IV*, P. 120.

¹³⁰ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 752f.

monkeys) in return. How these three Belongings came into Stuhlmanns's possession, therefore, remains unclear. The most likely explanation is that he pocketed them without anyone noticing. Otherwise, they probably wouldn't have offered him a guide and some porters the next day in exchange for a "reasonable" gift.¹³¹

Crossing the Masai steppe, the expedition encountered emaciated groups of Masai, deeply affected by the cattle plague. In the village of Ndjogi on 30th June, S. observed some Masai and Wakaguru jewellery¹³², some of which appear in the collection: a necklace with iron and copper chains and colourful pearls (III E 2698), several neck rings made of different wire (III E 2699, III E 2700, III E 2701), a leather bracelet, sewn with colourful beads (III E 2702) and a headdress, made of different kind of leathers and feathers (III E 2706). As previously mentioned, the lack of details regarding the acquisition leads only to speculation. However, given the desperate situation of the Masai described by S. it can be assumed that a purchase under unequal power relations took place, exploiting their difficult circumstances.

The expedition reached Bagamoyo on 12th July 1892, now reduced to 353 members. Under Governor Soden's orders, they were to rest there before marching to Dar es Salaam, but Stuhlmann fell seriously ill with a severe fever and was transported to Zanzibar on 30th July. Langheld then led the remaining expedition members to Dar es Salaam, where they had to wait a while longer for their wages to be paid. Stuhlmann rejoined them on 10th September.¹³³

During the final leg of the expedition, the collecting and recording practices shifted slightly. It is noticeable that zoological and botanical descriptions slightly decreased, replaced by geographical observations and mapping. The provenance of all the Cultural Belongings of this part remains speculative, as there are no acquisition details at all in the documentation. Though Stuhlmann's entry from 14th June suggests that most were likely purchased or exchanged, some may have been gifted as well.

¹³¹ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 764-769; Stuhlmann Franz, *Reisetagebuch Bd. V*, 31.05.1892-13.09.1892, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Pp. 12.

¹³² Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 811f., 815-817; Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch Bd. V*, Pp. 32-35.

¹³³ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 825-827; Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch Bd. V*, Pp. 45f.

3 The Legacy of the Expedition: Museum Processing, Further Belongings and Collections, Provenance Interpretation and the Forms of Interaction

The Cultural Belongings and material collected during the 1890-92 expedition did not end their trajectories upon reaching the coast or even upon their arrival in Germany. Rather, their legacy continued to unfold through the systems of classification, redistribution, and reinterpretation enacted by the respective institutions. These peripheral collections highlight how institutional selectivity continues to shape whose histories are preserved and how Cultural Belongings, as well as colonial histories, are framed within narratives of scientific progress and knowledge. Furthermore, the legacy of the expedition is not only a matter of what was preserved but also of what was omitted, altered, or obscured in the construction of colonial knowledge and power, like the publications and further careers of expedition members.

3.1 Unpacking the Expedition: Museum Processing and the Fragmentation of the Collection

Between January 1891 and November 1892, multiple consignments from the 1890-92 expedition gradually arrived at the Royal Museum of Ethnology in Berlin (MfV). Shipped from Zanzibar and Dar es Salam to Hamburg, where they were forwarded to Berlin, these shipments were organised by the Colonial Department of the Foreign Ministry, the General Government of German East Africa, and Berlin museum authorities. Upon arrival, they were unpacked, examined and inventoried by museum staff. The shipments, which also included large parts of natural history collections, were subsequently sorted, with parts of the collection redirected to other institutions.

Among the documented consignments are three key deliveries. In August 1890, Emin Pasha sent two collis from Tabora, which were inventoried in Berlin in January 1891 under the designation *Sendung XXIII*.¹³⁴ The next major shipment of 24 collis, originating in Bukoba in September 1891, was delivered via the British steamer *Parthian* and reached Hamburg on 13th November 1891. According to museum documents, this *Sendung XXXX* contained mainly scientific items.¹³⁵ A further big consignment of 15 collis from Zanzibar was received in October 1892, with additional boxes and packages arriving from Hamburg in late November, all

¹³⁴ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0709 Erwerbungsverfahren 1266/90*, Museum Archive Berlin, Pp. 362-365.

¹³⁵ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0710 Erwerbungsverfahren 1305/91*, Museum Archive Berlin, Pp. 117f.

counting towards *Sendung XXXIX*.¹³⁶ As part of the museum protocol/ practice, the ethnographic, zoological, botanical, and geological materials were separated and redistributed to the relevant institutions; the Royal Museum of Natural History (MfNH) received all zoological and geological items, while the Royal Botanical Museum assumed responsibility for botanical specimens.¹³⁷

Some of them, where similar belongings or specimens were already part of these museum collections, were sent to other institutions throughout Germany. The collection of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin was moved to the depot after the inventory, which the majority of has not left to this day; only occasionally have individual belongings from the collection been taken out of the depot for exhibitions. In the following years, they were mainly used by Franz Stuhlmann, Felix von Luschan and Dr. Virchow to write ethnological treatises¹³⁸ on German East Africa and its populations.

Upon arrival in Berlin, these cultural belongings were identified, described and inventoried, which often involved significant interpretive but sometimes even physical transformation. One example is the aforementioned Dawa (III E 2675), to which Stuhlmann noted in his diary in 1888 as being effective against sore throats¹³⁹, but which was listed in the museum's main catalogue as being effective against abdominal pain¹⁴⁰. Another example can be found in the notes accompanying *Sendung XXXX*: Stuhlmann had enclosed a request that the small coffee sample (III E 2476) be set aside for him for later examination and that the two ivory bracelets (III E 2479 ab) be forwarded to his siblings. Von Luschan noted on 25th January 1892 in the acquisition file that he had only become aware of this note later on and therefore could no longer comply with this request. The coffee sample had already been offered to other museums, and although he noted that the two ivory bangles would be set aside and not included in the museum inventory, this was done at an unspecified later date.¹⁴¹ The following paragraphs describe two

¹³⁶ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0711, Erwerbungsverfahren 1427/92*, Museum Archive Berlin, P. 58.

¹³⁷ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0710 Erwerbungsverfahren 1402/91*, Museum Archive Berlin, Pp. 117-127.

¹³⁸ See for example: Stuhlmann Franz. *Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika. Kulturgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*. Hamburg 1910; Stuhlmann Franz. *Das Volk der Pygmäen*. in: Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika, Berlin: Reimer, 1894, Pp. 436-476; Luschan Felix von. *Beiträge Zur Völkerkunde Der Deutschen Schutzgebiete: Mit 48 Tafeln Und 46 Textabbildungen*. erw. Sonderausg. Berlin 1897.

¹³⁹ Stuhlmann, *Reisetagebuch, Zoologische Forschungsreise 1888*, P. 43f.

¹⁴⁰ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Hauptkatalog "Afrika" III E Band 1, 1844- 1894, HK Afr 21*, P. 498.

¹⁴¹ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0710 Erwerbungsverfahren 1402/91*, Museum Archive Berlin, P. 130.

more detailed examples of how people and cultural belongings were treated in the aftermath of the expedition.

From Human Remains and “Dwarfs”

A particularly troubling episode within the post-expedition history of the collection concerns three people of short stature, referred to in the colonial sources as *Dwarfs* and *Pygmies*. According to the expedition accounts, this man and two girls were saved from slave trade transactions and rescued because of the expressed desire of Emin Pasha and D. Stuhlmann „[...] to bring representatives of this race to the coast”¹⁴². While the sources portray this act as benevolent, under the framing of having saved them from a worse fate, it must be critically acknowledged that the framing heavily relied on colonial narratives of racialised savagery; casting the selling community, the Manyéma, as ‘man-eaters’ and positioning the expedition members as humanitarian saviours. In reality, even during the expedition, these three people were seen and treated much more as scientific objects than as people by the expedition leaders (especially Stuhlmann, whose published report devotes an entire chapter to the ethnology of Pygmies) and later by the collection managers and scientists in Berlin. Uprooted from their communities and subjected to life-altering displacement, there is no record of their consent or perspectives.¹⁴³

The man and the two girls had to accompany the expedition to the coast, where the man, whose name is not recorded, died from a fever and was buried there. Before returning to Europe, Stuhlmann ordered the exhumation of the body, which was subsequently packed and transported to Berlin alongside the collection of cultural belongings. There, the body was sent by museum authorities to the pathological institute to be macerated. In June 1893, the anthropologist Dr. Virchow requested access to the human remains of this man, along with others, in order to include them in his anthropological-racial studies.¹⁴⁴ The two young women, Asmini and Shikanayo, believed to be between 16 and 18 years old, were brought to Germany in Early 1893. During their stay, they were subjected to scientific observation and anthropological documentation, including photographic recordings, being put on display and the production of facial plaster casts, which were subsequently added to the museum collection. In August 1893,

¹⁴² Own translation of: „[...] Vertreter dieser Rasse zur Küste zu bringen.“ in: Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. P. 441.

¹⁴³ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 441-448.

¹⁴⁴ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 441f.; Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0711, Erwerbungsverfahren 1427/ 1892*, Museum Archive Berlin, P. 58-62; Ibid. *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0711, Erwerbungsverfahren E 824/ 1893*, P. 286-190.

Asmini and Shikanayo were sent back to Bagamoyo, where they were to be trained as auxiliary nurses in the colonial hospital.¹⁴⁵

These acts reflect the broader dehumanising logic of racial science and scientific institutions (including museums) at the time, which viewed certain individuals and their bodies, particularly those considered racially *other*, primarily as objects of measurement and analysis. The fate of the two girls and the skeleton of the man presented here stands exemplary for other colonial contexts of injustice in connection with anthropological-racial research. Stuhlmann sent further human remains from the 1890-92 expedition to Berlin, where they became part of the so-called S-Collection of v. Luschan and of the anthropological treatises of Dr. Virchow. The handling and provenance research of these human remains require a different framework and more in-depth study, which cannot be undertaken within the scope of this work. More details can be found in the publication *Human Remains from the Former German Colony of East Africa* by B. Heeb and C. Kabwete¹⁴⁶.

Headdress of a Wanyamesi Dancer

Another example of how cultural belongings were sometimes subjected to shifting interpretations and institutional transformations is the instance of the headdress attributed to a Wanyamesi dancer. Labelled as the *Headdress of a Unyamwesi dancer Wanyamnesi*, under the collector's number 189 and the inventory number III E 2725¹⁴⁷, Unyamwesi refers to a region in present-day Western Tanzania, home to various communities of which some are collectively referred to as Wanyamwesi or Nyamwesi¹⁴⁸. However, in subsequent correspondence between different museum authorities, this headdress is repeatedly referred to as that of a Unjamwesi fighter¹⁴⁹. This subtle yet significant shift in terminology illustrates how interpretive descriptions of museum institutions could reshape the identity and function of cultural belongings, in this case, from performance and ceremony to combat and masculinity.

¹⁴⁵ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 441-448; Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0711, Erwerbungsverfahren 976/1893*, Museum Archive Berlin, P. 310; Wildenthal Lora. "Colonial Nursing as the First Realm of Colonialist Women's Activism, 1885-1907." in: *German Women for Empire, 1884-1945*, New York: Duke University Press, 2020, Pp. 13-53, here P. 50-53.

¹⁴⁶ Heeb Bernhard S., Kabwete Charles Mulinda (Ed.). *Human Remains from the Former German Colony of East Africa. Recontextualization and Approaches for Restitution*. Berlin: Böhlau Verlag, 2022.

¹⁴⁷ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0710 Erwerbungsverfahren 1232/1892*, Museum Archive Berlin, P. 441; Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Hauptkatalog "Afrika" III E Band 1, 1844-1894, HK Afr 21*, P. 508.

¹⁴⁸ Williams Victoria. "Nyamwessi." in: *Indigenous Peoples: An Encyclopedia of Culture, History, and Threats to Survival*, USA 2020, P. 822f.

¹⁴⁹ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0711, Erwerbungsverfahren 1512/1892*, Museum Archive Berlin, P. 88; Ibid. *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0711, Erwerbungsverfahren 112/1893*, Pp. 118f.

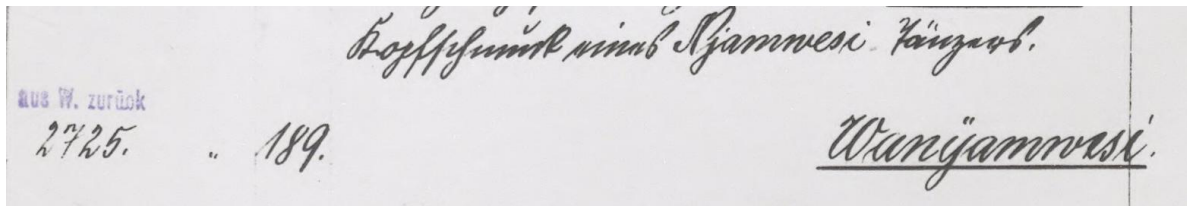


Figure 4: Entry Museum Catalogue 'Dancer'. Source: Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), Hauptkatalog "Afrika" III E Band 1, 1844- 1894, HK Afr 21, P. 508.

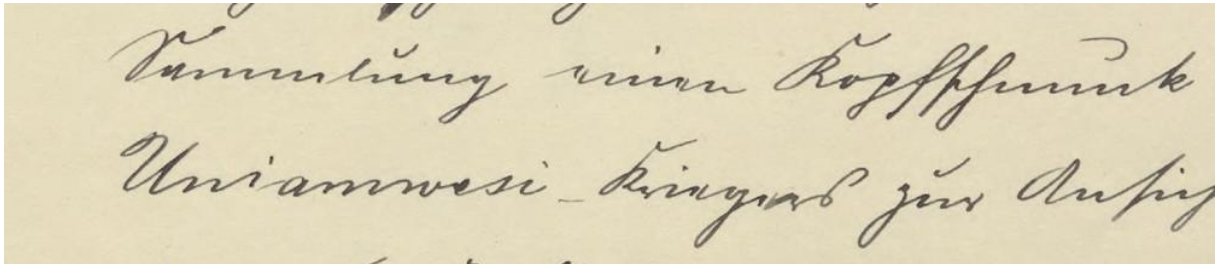


Figure 5: Letter by von Luschan 'Fighter'. Source: Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0711, Erwerbungsvorgang 1512/ 1892, Museum Archive Berlin, P. 88

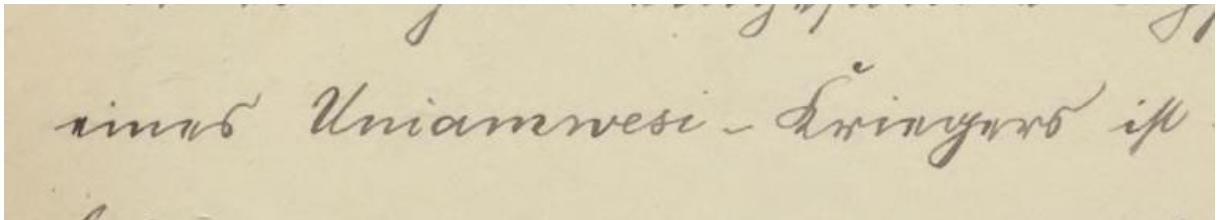


Figure 6: Letter by Möbius 'Fighter'. Source: Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0711, Erwerbungsvorgang 112/ 1893, Pp. 118f.

Because the headdress consisted of various organic materials, including a bird beak, feathers and beetles, it was sent to the Royal Museum of Natural History to determine them in more detail. There, the museum director Karl Möbius requested permission to retain the beetles, stating that this species was not yet represented in their collection. He offered to replace them with visually similar beetles from Africa. Although the Ethnological Museum initially expressed concerns about setting a precedent, it eventually agreed to the exchange, deeming the beetle as non-essential to the identity of the headdress. The agreement included the condition that if the MfNH later acquired a sufficient number of those beetles, the original ones were to be returned. While no documentation confirming such a return has been located, the absence of evidence does not definitively confirm whether the originals were restored or not.¹⁵⁰ Certainly, the headdress no longer represented the original item. In institutional processes, the headdress was changed both epistemologically and physically, both through erroneous or deliberate

¹⁵⁰ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0710 Erwerbungsvorgang 1512/ 1892, Museum Archive Berlin, P. 88.; Ibid. Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0710 Erwerbungsvorgang 112/ 1893, Pp. 118f., 120f.

reinterpretation and material substitution. This transformation reflects broader patterns of museum practices in colonial times, where cultural belongings were often not only decontextualised but also sometimes reconfigured to meet scientific, aesthetic or curatorial priorities in European institutions.

As mentioned above, some doublets of the collection were sent to other institutions. As stipulated by the official directive already discussed in Chapter 2.0, all scientific collections originating from the German Protectorates and funded by governmental funds were initially sent to Berlin. To document and manage the redistribution transparently, the MFNK and the MfV jointly published the *List of scientific shipments received from the German protectorates*¹⁵¹. This register listed all duplicates that were available to be passed on to other institutions. Based on the official decision from 23rd March 1891, the receiving institutions were only expected to cover the transport costs from Berlin to their respective locations.¹⁵² The expedition's shipments generated substantial interest, being among the first major consignments received from GEA. As shown in Appendix (6.2), the ethnological museum of Leipzig received a particularly large number of duplicates, alongside other museums and ethnological collections such as in Dresden, Hamburg or the *Prussia Society* in Königsberg.¹⁵³ Some of these doublets seem to have later returned to Berlin.

3.2 Further Collections of the Expedition

The ethnographic collection created during the 1890-92 expedition covers only a fraction of all the material brought to Europe by the expedition members. The expedition's legacy includes, above all, the records of its members and the resulting published reports by Stuhlmann¹⁵⁴ and Langheld¹⁵⁵, which shaped the public image of German East Africa and the participants for a long time; these records also include the photographs taken during the expedition, most of which went to the ethnological collection in Berlin (MfV) and the MARKK (Museum at the Rothenbaum – Cultures and Arts of the World) in Hamburg. In addition, a

¹⁵¹ Own translation of the actual title: „Verzeichnis der aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten eingegangenen wissenschaftlichen Sendungen“.

¹⁵² Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0709 Erwerbungsverfahren 412/1891*, Museum Archive Berlin, Pp. 420f.

¹⁵³ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte "Kolonial-Dubletten" I_MV_0781*, Museum Archive Berlin, Pp. 68-204.

¹⁵⁴ Stuhlmann Franz. *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Ein Reisebericht mit Beiträgen von Dr. Emin Pascha, in seinem Auftrage geschildert. 2 Theile in einem Band*, Berlin: Reimer 1894.

¹⁵⁵ Langheld Wilhelm. *Zwanzig Jahre in den deutschen Kolonien*, Berlin: Reimer 1906.

collection of human remains went to the Museum of Pre- and Early History (Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte) in Berlin, where they became part of v. Luschan's S-collection and were the subject of anthropological-racial treatises in the following years.

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, Emin Pasha and Franz Stuhlmann paid particular attention to the natural history collection, bringing mainly birds, insects, and amphibians, as well as plant parts and seeds, to Berlin. In addition, both collectors named new species after themselves. Stuhlmann, for example, named a yellow-flowering water lily 'Nymphaea Stuhlmanni',¹⁵⁶ and Emin Pascha named a grey-black striped squirrel species 'Sciurus Emini'.¹⁵⁷ The great importance that Emin Pasha and Stuhlmann attached to this collection and to the proper handling and examination of the objects is clear from a letter sent by the director of the MfNK, Karl Möbius, to Emin Pasha on 13 October 1890. In it, he assures them that every effort will be made to comply with their personal wishes regarding the curators of the respective zoological collections. In addition, every effort would be made to take their requests into account when sending duplicates to other museums and institutes. The letter also reveals the quantities of preparation materials and equipment that were made available to the two men for their collecting activities at the expense of the museum.¹⁵⁸

More difficult to comprehend is the large quantity of ivory teeth acquired during the expedition. They were either part of (diplomatic) gifts, such as from Chief Mtémi of the village of Uyúi¹⁵⁹ on 30 Aug 1890, or looted during sieges and pillaging of villages that were punished, such as the village of Massansa, where 130 ivory tusks were confiscated after traces of slave trade became apparent¹⁶⁰. Reports and letters by Langheld and E. Pasha show that all the ivory was sent to the coast to the governor of GEA, where it was used at least in part to cover the costs of the expedition.¹⁶¹

There is no reliable record of how many Cultural Belongings ended up in the private collections of the expedition members. Langheld certainly assembled a large private collection during his 20 years in GEA and Cameroon, part of which he exhibited at the Berlin Colonial Exhibition in 1896, and in 1899, he donated an ethnographic collection from over 1000 pieces

¹⁵⁶ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. P. 57.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* P. 320.

¹⁵⁸ Naturkundemuseum Berlin, *File S 02-01-03-01, 1971: Korrespondenz mit Dr. Emin Pascha*, Museum Archive Berlin, Bl. 7f.

¹⁵⁹ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. P. 99.

¹⁶⁰ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 110f.

¹⁶¹ Stuhlmann. *Mit Emin Pascha*. Pp. 115; Emin Pascha [Eduard Schnitzer], *Briefe an seine Schwester Melanie Schnitzer*, 28.01.1891. Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

to the Oldenburg Museum¹⁶². As Langheld's diaries and private notes cannot be found, it is not possible to trace which items were collected between 1890-92. It is difficult to say to what extent these collecting activities for private purposes also applied to the other members, but the example of the ivory bangles (III E 2479 ab) briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, which Stuhlmann had intended for his siblings, shows that at least souvenirs and gifts were brought back from GEA. A note sent to the MfNK provides further evidence of a private collection by Stuhlmann, which at least included zoological objects: „If you do not require some of the large mammal skulls, I would be very interested in them. The elephant and hippopotamus skulls, in particular, were actually private gifts to me.”¹⁶³

Furthermore, the subsequent careers of the expedition members in the German Colonial Service can be seen as a legacy of the expedition. For both Langheld and Stuhlmann, the 1890–92 expedition served as a career boost for various institutions in the German colonial service. Stuhlmann returned to GEA in 1893, later becoming the director of the Biological-Agricultural Institute Amani and, from 1904, Deputy Governor of GEA. Returning to Germany in 1908, because of a series of health issues, he worked as the Secretary General of the newly founded Central Office at the Hamburg Colonial Institute until his retirement. In 1921, he returned to public service as director of the *Hamburgisches Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv*, the successor organisation to the Colonial Institute after the First World War. He remained active until he died in 1928.¹⁶⁴ After a short stay in Germany, Wilhelm Langheld returned to GEA in early 1893, where he served both the colonial government and the German Anti-Slavery Committee. In 1900, he was transferred to Cameroon and placed in supreme command of the local German Schutztruppe.¹⁶⁵ He led countless expeditions, both in his time in GEA and in Cameroon until his retirement in 1908.

¹⁶² Landesmuseum Oldenburg Natur und Mensch, “Wilhelm Langheld (1867-1917).“ *Koloniale Kontexte Über unsere Bestände und unsere Haltung*. 2024. <https://www.naturundmensch.de/themen/koloniale-kontextendbcontent> [last accessed on: 29.06.2025].

¹⁶³ Own translation of: „Wenn sie einige der großen Säugetierschädel nicht brauchen, so reflectiere ich sehr darauf. Besonders der Elefanten und Hippopotamusschädel waren eigentlich Privatgeschenke an mich.“ in: Naturkundemuseum Berlin, *File S 02-01-03-01, 5016 Bd. 1: Korrespondenz mit Franz Ludwig Stuhlmann*, Museum Archive Berlin, Bl 16.

¹⁶⁴ Tremmel Markus, *Stuhlmann, Franz*, in: Neue Deutsche Biographie 25 (2013), P. 642-643; Gollasch. *Franz Ludwig Stuhlmann*, Pp. 133-138, 166-169.

¹⁶⁵ Langheld. *Zwanzig Jahre*. Pp. 127f., 227, 287.

3.3 Provenance Interpretation: The Forms of Collecting

As outlined in Chapter 1.2 Jan Hüsgen proposes a typology for acquisitions in colonial contexts, distinguishing three primary categories: purchases, diplomatic gifts, and plunderings. When this typology is applied to the 1890–92 expedition, it becomes clear that while these categories are helpful, they are not entirely sufficient. The expedition's collecting practices often operated in murky spaces that blur these distinctions and require a fourth category: removal without overt violence—a form of taking that occurred under conditions of power asymmetry but without open confrontation.

He describes the third form, plundering, as “removing them without consent and under conditions of violence or intimidation”. However, as several episodes from the expedition demonstrate, objects were frequently taken without explicit violence or confrontation but equally without the consent of their owners. Examples include the daua (III E 2677) from Matungu from 1 September 1888 or the quiver of arrows (III E 2544 a-f) left behind on 12th September 1891. In both cases, the cultural artefacts were simply pocketed without an attack or direct act of violence. However, the removal of an object without the owner's consent, even under colonial power imbalance, is, of course, in itself an act of violence: structural violence.

In quantitative terms, the majority of objects documented during the expedition appear to have been purchased—often in exchange for cloth, beads, or other items of value. There is also a considerable number of diplomatic or reciprocal gifts, particularly in contexts where the expedition received local support such as porters or food. However, even these exchanges unfolded in settings of coercion and hierarchy. The imposing scale of the expedition, numbering around 1,000 members at its peak, could, in itself, exert an intimidating effect, making even voluntary gifts potentially ambivalent. The pretence of reciprocity often masked deeply unequal expectations and obligations.

Moreover, the practice of informal expropriation became a hallmark of this collecting enterprise. Stuhlmann frequently “took” objects from abandoned villages (e.g., the wooden doll from the Lendu Plateau – III E 2533), and there is no indication that he viewed such acts as ethically questionable. This kind of removal, which today would likely be classified as looting, was not categorised as such at the time precisely because of the colonial setting, where local agency and ownership were often unrecognised by European standards.

At the same time, certain items, such as human remains or ritual objects, were obtained under conditions that suggest a deliberate disregard for spiritual or cultural meaning. The exhumation of graves or removal of ritual figures treated these objects as ethnographic specimens rather than meaningful cultural belongings. These acts signal not only the extractive nature of the expedition, but also the epistemological violence that accompanied the production of colonial knowledge.

In sum, while Hüsken's typology remains a helpful framework, the case of the 1890–92 expedition suggests that the boundaries between purchase, gift, and plunder were often porous. A fourth category, appropriation under structural coercion, may be necessary to account for these ambiguities. Provenance research, in this case, must grapple not only with the documentation of acquisition, but also with its silences and erasures: with what was taken quietly, traded under pressure, or absorbed into European collections without recognition of its original social function or significance.

3.4 Methods of Contact: Encounters, Asymmetries, and Cultural Exchange

The interactions between the members of the 1890–92 expedition and local rulers or communities were central to shaping not only the course of the journey but also the nature of the collected materials. Far from being passive or incidental, these contacts were complex social encounters, marked by negotiation, resistance, strategic alliance, and, at times, violence. This chapter interprets these relationships not merely as background to collecting, but as constitutive to the very form and meaning of the acquired Cultural Belongings.

While many of the expedition's acquisitions were framed as diplomatic exchanges or market transactions, the methods of contact were deeply embedded in colonial structures of hierarchy. Gift-giving was frequently used as an entry point to political relationships: cloth, beads, or manufactured goods were offered to local rulers to secure safe passage, provisions, or porters. In return, rulers often presented livestock, food, or Belongings of local cultural significance. However, the apparent symmetry of these exchanges was undermined by the implicit coercion of colonial presence. The fact that German expedition leaders travelled with armed escorts, bore the authority of imperial mandates, and exercised military action when needed, rendered most of these interactions profoundly unequal.

The nature of contact shifted depending on location. In places like Bukoba or Tabora, relationships were more formalised, treaties were signed, and objects collected as part of a

political ceremony. In more remote or resistant areas, such as the Lendu Plateau or Mpororo, local communities often fled, leaving behind objects later absorbed into the collection. These acts of “unopposed collecting”, removing items from abandoned villages or homes, reveal a fourth mode of acquisition beyond Jan Hüsken’s typology: neither purchase, gift, nor plunder, but silent appropriation under colonial dominance.

Still other moments highlight the expedition’s effort to stage relationships in symbolic ways. Blood brotherhood ceremonies, for example, performed with local rulers or influential intermediaries, were intended to formalise alliances. These performances, however, were often transactional: they helped to secure specific objectives, goodwill, porters, guides or information, and then dissolved. The resulting objects, cloths or weapons, can thus be read as material traces of staged affinity under asymmetrical terms.

The quality of contact also influenced documentation. Items acquired through more cooperative or extended encounters often came with contextual details, while others, taken abruptly or without interaction, remained obscure. These gaps are not only logistical but structural: they reflect the colonial conditions under which knowledge was made, collected, and selectively preserved.

Ultimately, the modes of contact during the expedition reflected a spectrum, from formal diplomatic interaction to unilateral appropriation, each inscribed with the colonial logics of power, difference, and entitlement. The Cultural Belongings collected along the way are therefore not just objects of aesthetic or ethnographic interest; they are material witnesses to the social and political entanglements of empire. Understanding their provenance requires an understanding of the forms of human interaction that enabled or inhibited their collection—interactions shaped not only by curiosity and exchange but also by fear, strategy, hierarchy, and refusal.

4 Conclusion

This thesis has examined the 1890–92 German expedition to East Africa through the lens of provenance research, tracing the circumstances under which Cultural Belongings were acquired and exploring how these collecting practices reflect broader colonial dynamics. Chapter 2 presented a detailed reconstruction of the expedition’s movements, contextualising the acquisition of objects within the shifting power structures and logistical realities of German colonial expansion. Chapter 3 extended this inquiry beyond the field, turning attention to what happened after the objects reached Berlin: how they were classified, fragmented, redistributed, and eventually historicized in museum collections. Together, these chapters show that collecting did not end with acquisition; it continued through institutional processes that reshaped the objects’ meanings and their visibility within European knowledge systems.

The first central research question, under what conditions Cultural Belongings were acquired during the expedition and what this reveals about the expedition’s methods and power structures, was answered through close analysis of diaries, letters, and museum records in Chapters 2 and 2. It became clear that contact between expedition members and local communities was rarely neutral. Gifts, trades, and purchases were all framed by asymmetrical relationships, and many items were acquired under conditions of limited consent or through direct appropriation. These findings challenge romanticised narratives of exploration and underscore the deeply embedded inequalities of colonial collecting.

The second guiding question, what legacy the expedition left behind and how this could inform future treatment of the associated collections, draws attention to the long afterlife of the expedition’s activities. The Cultural Belongings acquired remain material witnesses to acts of extraction, diplomacy, and violence. Their provenance, often fragmented or obscured, reflects broader colonial silences that continue to shape how such objects are presented in museums today. Recognising this legacy requires not only historical transparency but ethical responsibility: to exhibit and inform about the collection, to return context to displaced objects, to critically interpret their presence in collections, and, where appropriate, to support restitution or shared stewardship initiatives with communities of origin.

This study has also highlighted how certain types of objects, such as those taken from abandoned settlements, mislabelled in museum records, or acquired outside formal channels, fall through the cracks of conventional provenance categories. These ‘silent’ artefacts point to

the need for more nuanced typologies of acquisition and more interdisciplinary approaches to tracing colonial-era collections.

Further research is needed in the form of a systematic comparison with collections from parallel German expeditions could offer insight into patterns and divergences in collecting practices. More importantly, collaboration with researchers, communities, and institutions in East Africa is essential to recontextualise the objects and open possibilities for knowledge exchange, narrative rebalancing, and potential restitution. Engaging with the legacy of this expedition should not be limited to historical critique; it should also serve as a foundation for more equitable futures in museum practice.

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6 Appendix

6.1 Appendix 1: The Collection of the Expedition of Emin Pascha and Dr. Stuhlmann from 1890-92

The following list is compiled from the Acquisition Process *E 1266/91*¹⁶⁶ in the Acquisition file *Akte I/MV 0709*, as well as the Acquisition Processes *E 1402/1891*¹⁶⁷ and *E 1232/1892*¹⁶⁸ in the Acquisition file *Akte I/MV 0710*. The list represents the three big shipments attributed to the collection of the 1890-92 expedition and thus to the collectors Emin Pasha and Dr Franz Stuhlmann. It also includes artefacts subsequently counted as part of the expedition, which only became part of the museum collection in 1893. The list contains the historical collector's numbers, the SMB identification numbers, the original (German) designations and descriptions (compiled from the acquisition files and the entries in the main museum catalogue¹⁶⁹), an English translation of these, the place and date of acquisition as far as possible and a personal deduction of the circumstances of acquisition. Following Appendix 2 (6.2), belongings that are no longer part of the SMB collection but were passed on to other museums are marked with grey lettering. Care must be taken with the purpose of some of these cultural belongings, as these attributions are not always based on knowledge or description, but simply on guesswork. The following list is subject to errors and omissions.

Legend to the following list:

red lettering = uncertain transcription | red question marks ??? = illegible word | white and grey background = cultural belongings of the collection | blue background = cultural belongings, acquired before 1890, but are still part of the collection
grey lettering = artefacts which are no longer part of the SMB collection (sent to other museums)

¹⁶⁶ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0709 Erwerbungsverfahren 1266/ 1891*, Museum Archive Berlin, Pp. 360-365.

¹⁶⁷ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte I_MV_0710 Erwerbungsverfahren 1402/ 1891*, Museum Archive Berlin, Pp. 118-130.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. *Akte I_MV_0710, Erwerbungsverfahren 1232/ 1892*, Pp. 414-452.

¹⁶⁹ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Hauptkatalog "Afrika" III E Band 1, 1844- 1894, HK Afr 21*.

Historical Collector Number (Sammlernr.)	Identification Number (Ident.-Nummer SMB)	Original (German) Designation/ Short Description <i>(compiled of the acquisition lists & entries in the main catalogue)</i>	English Translation of the Description	Acquisition date	(Presumed) Acquisition Context + Place of Acquisition
Shipment from the German Protectorates/ Sendung aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten XXIII Acquisition Process 1266/90 (I/ MV 0709)					
1	III E 2459	Kinderklapper/ Floßbrassel aus Rohr, Tabora	Children's rattle made of cane, Tabora	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (definitive between 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	purchased in Tabora, Tanzania (according to acquisition file note)
2	III E 2460	Probe von Aschensalz, wie es dem Schnupftabak beigemischt wird, Wagogo	Sample of ash salt as added to tobacco snuff, Wagogo	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (betw. 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	purchased in Tabora, Tanzania (acquisition file)
66	III E 2442	eiserner Armring, Wakumba Ugogo	iron bangle, Wakumba Ugogo	betw. 1.7.- 18.7.1890	uncertain acquisition, Ugogo, Tanzania
67a	III E 2443	Speer mit Messingspitze, Uganda	Spear with brass tip, Uganda	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (betw. 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	purchased in Tabora, Tanzania (acquisition file)
67b	III E 2444	Keule oder Zepter aus Elfenbein, Wanjuema	Ivory club or sceptre, Wanjuema	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (betw. 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	purchased in Tabora, Tanzania (acquisition file)
69	III E 2445	2 Armringe aus Elfenbein, Tabora	Ivory bracelets, Tabora	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (betw. 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	purchased in Tabora, Tanzania (acquisition file)
70	III E 2446	Rindenzeug, Waganda	bark cloth, Waganda	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (betw. 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	purchased in Tabora, Tanzania (acquisition file)

71	III E 2447	Halsband mit bunten Glasperlen und Bananenfasern, Waganda	Necklace with colourful glass pearls and banana fibres, Waganda	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (betw. 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	purchased in Tabora, Tanzania (acquisition file)
72	III E 2448	Spindel für Baumwolle mit Garn, Waganda	Spindle for cotton with yarn, Waganda	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (betw. 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	purchased in Tabora, Tanzania (acquisition file)
73	III E 2449	Halskette mit Körnern von 'Anona muricata'	Necklace with seeds of 'Anona muricata'	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (betw. 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	purchased in Tabora, Tanzania (acquisition file)
74	III E 2450 ab	eisernes Messer, mit Handgriff aus Holz, teilweise mit Kupfer verkleides und mit eingeschalgenen Verzierungen, + Scheide aus Holz mit Leder bezogen, mit 5 Affenschweifen, Wanjuema	Iron knife, with wooden handle, partly covered with copper and with inlaid decorations, + sheath made of wood covered with leather, with 5 monkey tails, Wanjuema	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (betw. 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	purchased in Tabora, Tanzania (acquisition file)
75a	III E 2451	großes Signaltrompete/ Blaßhorn aus Elfenbein, verziert, Wanjuema	Large signalling trumpet/ pale horn made of ivory, decorated, Wanjuema	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (betw. 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	purchased in Tabora, Tanzania (acquisition file)
75b		großes Signalthorn aus Elfenbein, Wanjuema	Large ivory signalling horn, Wanjuema	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (betw. 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	purchased in Tabora, Tanzania (acquisition file)

77	III E 2453	Tanzmaske aus Holz, Wanjuema, "Große Tanzmaske, Manjema. helmartig, fast den ganzen Kopf deckend, mit einem Umhang aus Bastfasern."	Wooden dance mask, Wanjuema, "Large dance mask, Manjema. helmet-like, covering almost the entire head, with a cape made of bast fibres."	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (betw. 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	purchased in Tabora, Tanzania (acquisition file)
76	III E 2452 (<i>entered in the SMB database as: III E 2460</i>)	Tanzmaske aus Holz mit Hühnerfedern, Wanjuema, "Tanzmaske der Manjema, die in Tabora gekauft wurde."	Wooden dance mask with chicken feathers, Wanjuema, "Manjema dance mask bought in Tabora."	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (betw. 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	purchased in Tabora, Tanzania (acquisition file)
78	III E 2454	Speer, Wanjuema	Spear, Wanjuema	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (betw. 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	purchased in Tabora, Tanzania (acquisition file)
79	III E 2455	Speer zum Rinderschlachten ; Wagogo	Spear to kill cattle, Wagogo	betw. 1.7.- 18.7.1890	uncertain acquisition, Ugogo, Tanzania
	III E 2456	Kopfschmuck (Muschel in ???); Wagogo	Headdress (shell ???), Wagogo	betw. 1.7.- 18.7.1890	uncertain acquisition, Ugogo, Tanzania
	III E 2457	Fischnetz; Wagogo am Bulu-Bach	Fishing net, Wagogo near Bulu-Stream	betw. 1.7.- 18.7.1890	uncertain acquisition, Ugogo, Tanzania
	III E 2458 /2441 (<i>2 numbers assigned</i>)	große bemalte Schachtel mit Deckel 'Lindo' aus Baumrinde	large painted box with lid 'Lindo' made from tree bark	<i>presumably</i> 7.8.1890 (betw. 3.8.- 24.8.1890)	<i>presumably</i> purchased in Tabora, Tanzania
Shipment from the German Protectorates/ Sendung aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten XXXX Acquisition Process 1404/91 (I/ MV 0710)					
1	III E 2463	Tanzschurz mit rasselnden Früchten, Uganda, Sep. 1890	Dance apron with rattling fruits, Uganda, Sep. 1890	Dec 1890 -Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, Uganda

2	III E 2464 ab	Sandalen mit Otterfell, rot und schwarz gemustert, Uganda, Jan. 1891	Sandals with otter fur, red and black patterned, Uganda, Jan. 1891	Dec 1890 -Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably gifted, Uganda
3	III E 2465 ab	Sandalen aus Büffelhaut, bunt bemalt, Uganda, Jan. 1891	Sandals from buffalo skin, colourfully painted, Uganda, Jan. 1891	Dec 1890 -Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably gifted, Uganda
4	III E 2466 ab	Schwert mit Holzscheide, Wahuma, Südlicher Nyansa Ruoma's Land, Okt. 1890	Sword with wooden sheath, Wahuma, Southern Nyanza Ruoma's Land, Oct. 1890	Oct 1890	uncertain acquisition, Tanzania
5	III E 2467 a-g	Rohrköcher, 6 Pfeile "vergiftet", Ussukuma, Südlicher Nyansa 1890	Cane quiver, 6 arrows 'poisoned', Ussukuma, Southern Nyanza 1890	Sep 1890	uncertain acquisition, Tanzania
6	III E 2468	Halsgehänge mit Holzperlen, "Kirusani", Süd-Westlicher Nyansa, 4. Nov. 1890	Neck pendant with wooden pearls, 'Kirusani', South-western Nyanza, 4 Nov. 1890	Nov 1890	uncertain acquisition, Tanzania
6	III E 2469	Halsgehänge mit Holzperlen, "Kirusani", Süd-Westlicher Nyansa, 4. Nov. 1890	Neck pendant with wooden pearls, 'Kirusani', South-western Nyanza, 4 Nov. 1890	Nov 1890	uncertain acquisition, Tanzania
7	III E 2470	Eiserne Messer, in der Fläche gekrümmt mit langem Holzgriff, 4 Stück, Uganda Jan. 1891	Iron knives, curved in the surface with long wooden handle, 4 pieces, Uganda Jan. 1891	Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably gifted by King Mwanga; Uganda
7	III E 2471	Eiserne Messer, in der Fläche gekrümmt mit langem Holzgriff, 4 Stück, Uganda Jan. 1891	Iron knives, curved in the surface with long wooden handle, 4 pieces, Uganda Jan. 1891	Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably gifted by King Mwanga, Uganda
8	III E 2472 ab	Armringe aus dünnem Metalldraht geflochten, von Männern getragen, 8 Stück, Bukoba Westlicher Niansa, Nov. 1890	Bracelets woven from thin metal wire, 8 pieces, Bukoba Western Niansa, Nov. 1890	Nov 1890	uncertain acquisition, probably gifted by King Mwanga; Uganda
9	III E 2473	Halsschnur, aus Haaren, saitenartig mit Draht umwickelt, Bukoba	Necklace, made of hair, wrapped with string-like wire, Bukoba	Nov 1890	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased, Tanzania

10	III E 2474	Kopfschmuck, aus Bast gedrehte Schnur, Bumpeka, Usinja, 24. März 1891	Headdress, cord twisted from raffia, Bumpeka, Usinja, 24 March 1891	24.10.1890	uncertain acquisition, Tanzania
11	III E 2475	Saugrohr, sorgfältig aus buntem Stroh geflochten, 2 Stück, Uganda	Suction pipe, carefully woven from colourful straw, 2 pieces, Uganda	28.12.1890	gifted by Kimbúgwe, Uganda
12	III E 2476	geflochtenes Beutelchen für Kaffeebohnen mit eingeborenem Kaffee gefüllt, Uganda Jan. 1891	Braided coffee bean bag filled with native coffee, Uganda Jan. 1891	Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased, Uganda
13	III E 2477	Kopfring mit kleinen bunten Glasperlen, Waganda, Uganda	Head ring with small colourful glass beads, Uganda	Dec 1890 -Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably gifted, Uganda
14	III E 2478	korbartig geflochtenes Schälchen, Bukoba	Basket-like woven bowl, Bukoba	Nov 1890 -Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, Tanzania
15	III E 2479 ab	Armringe Elfenbein, 2 Stück, Ihangiro	Ivory bangles, 2 pieces	Nov 1890	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased, Tanzania
16	III E 2480	Kürbisflasche als Schöpfgefäß, Uganda	Pumpkin bottle as a scooping vessel	Dec 1890 -Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, Uganda
17	III E 2481	eisernes Werkzeug mit langem stockartigem Stiel, Uganda	iron tool with long stick-like handle, Uganda	Dec 1890 -Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, Uganda
18	III E 2482	Thonschalen, ganz zertrümmert, 3 Stück, Uganda	Clay bowls, completely crushed, 3 pieces, Uganda	Dec 1890 -Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably gifted, Uganda
19	III E 2483	Flaschenförmige Gefäße aus schwarzem Thon, ganz zertrümmert, 4 Stück, Uganda	Bottle-shaped vessels made from black clay, completely smashed, 4 pieces, Uganda	Dec 1890 -Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably gifted, Uganda
19	III E 2484	Flaschenförmige Gefäße aus schwarzem Thon, ganz zertrümmert, 4 Stück, Uganda	Bottle-shaped vessels made from black clay, completely smashed, 4 pieces, Uganda	Dec 1890 -Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably gifted, Uganda
20	III E 2486 a	Pfeifenköpfe aus Thon, meist zerbrochen, 8 Stück, Uganda	Pipe bowls made of clay, mostly broken, 8 pieces, Uganda	28.12.1890	gifted by Kimbúgwe, Uganda

20	III E 2488	Pfeifenköpfe aus Thon, meist zerbrochen, 8 Stück, Uganda	Pipe bowls made of clay, mostly broken, 8 pieces, Uganda	28.12.1890	gifted by Kimbúgwe, Uganda
20	III E 2489 a	Pfeifenköpfe aus Thon, meist zerbrochen, 8 Stück, Uganda	Pipe bowls made of clay, mostly broken, 8 pieces, Uganda	28.12.1890	gifted by Kimbúgwe, Uganda
21	III E 2486 b	Pfeifenrohre, 4 Stück, Uganda	Pipe stems, 4 pieces, Uganda	28.12.1890	gifted by Kimbúgwe, Uganda
21	III E 2489 b	Pfeifenrohre, 4 Stück, Uganda	Pipe stems, 4 pieces, Uganda	28.12.1890	gifted by Kimbúgwe, Uganda
22	III E 2490	großes trichterartiges Geflecht, Bestimmung unbekannt, Uganda	Big funnel-like mesh, purpose unknown, Uganda	28.12.1890	gifted by Kimbúgwe, Uganda
23	III E 2491	Bastschnur, netartig geflochten, zum Tragen von Gefäßen, Uganda	Bast cord, net-like braided, for carrying vessels, Uganda	Dec 1890 -Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, Uganda
24	III E 2492	Puschel mit schwarzen Hahnfedern, Uganda	tuft with black cock feathers, Uganda	Dec 1890 -Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably gifted, Uganda
25	III E 2493	Baumwollzeug, Uganda	Cotton stuff, Uganda	Dec 1890 -Jan 1891	uncertain acquisition, Uganda
26	III E 2494	Sieb, schüsselförmig, Uganda	Sieve, bowl-shaped, Uganda	28.12.1890	gifted by Kimbúgwe, Uganda
27	III E 2495 a-c	Flasche, schüsselförmige Körbe, 4 Stück, Uganda	Bottle, bowl-shaped baskets, 4 pieces, Uganda	28.12.1890	gifted by Kimbúgwe, Uganda
28	III E 2495 - III E 2500	Thierfelle, Uganda (davon 6 Stück als naturhistorisch an das Königl. Museum für Naturkunde zu senden)	Animal skins, Uganda (6 of which are to be sent to the Royal Museum of Natural History)	partially on 13.12. in Ssésse	1 was purchased in Ssésse, Rest uncertain acq., Uganda
29	III E 2501	Braunes Rindenzeug, 25 Stück, Uganda	Brown bark cloth pieces, 25 pieces, uganda	<i>probably partially:</i> 13.12.90 Ssésse/ 26.12.90 Kampala	purchased on the market in Ssésse and Kampala, Uganda
30 (marked again as 25)		große und kleine Stücke	Large and small pieces		

Shipment from the German Protectorates/ Sendung aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten XXXXIX Acquisition Process 1232/92 (I/ MV 0710)					
1	III E 2512	viereckiges, langes, schmales Schild aus Flechtwerk auf Rücken getragen; Wassongora nördl. von Wansing	square, long, narrow shield of wattle carried on the back; Wassongora north of Wansing	26.10.1891	uncertain acquisition
2	III E 2560	kleines geflochtenes Rückenschild, mit geflochtener Tragschnur; Seonga, Lendu	small wattled back label, with braided carrying cord; Seonga, Lendu	Oct 1891	uncertain acquisition
3	III E 2559	großer Schild geflochten, um den Hals auf dem Rücken getragen; Süd-Lednu am Wawira	large wattled shield, carried around the neck on the back; South Lednu on the Wawira		uncertain acquisition
4	III E 2622	Schild; Bukoba	shield; Bukoba		uncertain acquisition
5	III E 2584	großes, rundes Schild mit Felleinfassung am Rand, mit 6 eisernen Rhomben verziert; Wakoko beim Runsorro, dasselbe nördlich der Lur-Kolonie	large, round shield with fur edging around the edge, decorated with 6 iron rhombuses; Wakoko near Runsorro, the same north of the Lur colony		uncertain acquisition
6	III E 2724	länglich, runder Schild mit Leder überzogen; Ussika, Wassinjanga	elongated, round shield covered with leather; Ussika, Wassinjanga	04.06.1891	uncertain acquisition
7	III E 2617	Schild; Nera, Landschaft nördl. von Ussukuma	Shield; Nera, landscape north of Ussukuma	30.01.18??	uncertain acquisition
8	III E 2561	geflochtener Schild, mit vorne fest aufgeflochtenem Köcher mit Tragband; A-Lendu	wattled shield, with quiver firmly woven onto the front with carrying strap; A-Lendu		uncertain acquisition
9	III E 2594	kleiner geflochtener Köcher, mit langer Tragschnur; Waholi- Wakondjo	small braided quiver, with long carrying line; Waholi- Wakondjo	25.12.1891	uncertain acquisition

10	III E 2562	Köcher aus Holzrinde geflochten, mit breitem Trageband aus Leder; Lendu	Quiver wattled from wood bark, with wide leather carrying strap; Lendu		uncertain acquisition
11	III E 2513 a-d	4 kleine Holzpfeile mit Eisenspitze, Giftpfeile; Wassogora, Wald bei Ssonja	4 small wooden arrows with iron points, poisoned arrows; Wassogora, forest near Ssonja	10.10.1891	uncertain acquisition
12	III E 2567 a-f	5 Rohrpfeile und ein Holzpfeil, mit längerer Eisenspitze; Lendu bei Nkoba	5 Rohrpfeile und ein Holzpfeil, mit längerer Eisenspitze; Lendu bei Nkoba	01.10.1891	uncertain acquisition
13 a	III E 2568	5 Holzpfeile; Lendu	5 wooden arrows; Lendu	Oct 1891	probably found and taken
13 b	III E 2563	geflochtener Köcher, mit Leder-Trageschnur; Lendu	wattled quiver, with leather carrying cord; Lendu	Oct 1891	uncertain acquisition
14	III E 2657	Kopschmuck aus Kupfer- und Messingzungen befestigt an einem Lederreif; Wanjaturu	Head ornament made of copper and brass tongues attached to a leather ring; Wanjaturu	June 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably taken; Tanzania
15	III E 2536	Kalabassen Löffel, mit Kerbenschnitzerei verziert, Wadumbo- Wakoko- Wa???	Calabash spoon, decorated with notch carving, Wadumbo- Wakoko- Wa???	02.11.1891	uncertain acquisition
16	III E 2572	Diademartiger Kopfschmuck für die Stirn, Eisen mit geflochtener Schnur zum Festbinden; Alur (Ssonga)	Diadem-like headdress for the forehead, iron with braided cord for tying; Alur (Ssonga)	10.10.1891	uncertain acquisition
17	III E 2741 a-c	Sichelmesser, am unteren Arm; Walo-kiru	Sickle knife, on the lower arm; Walokiru		uncertain acquisition
18 a	III E 2541	Messer mit geschweifter Klinge, Wambuta	Knife with curved blade, Wambuta		uncertain acquisition
18 b	III E 2540	Messer mit geschweifter eiserner Klinge, Holzschaft; Wambuta	Knife with curved iron blade, wooden shaft; Wambuta		uncertain acquisition

18 c	III E 2754	Messer mit Holzgriff; Wakussu	Knife with wooden handle; Wakussu	05.12.1891	purchased
18	III E 2542	Messer mit sehr breiter, blattförmiger Klinge; im Wambuttilager gefunden	Knife with a very broad, leaf-shaped blade; found in the Wambutti camp		found and taken
19	III E 2635	" Ssimbi " Kaurigeld, Bündel mit 10 Schnüren, 1 bananentraube= 10-40 Kauri; Bukoba	' Ssimbi ' Kauri money, bundle with 10 strings, 1 banana bunch = 10-40 Kauri; Bukoba	March 1891	uncertain acquisition
20	III E 2526	vier dünne Armringe aus Pflanzenfaser geflochten, Wassongora	four thin bracelets woven from plant fibre, Wassongora		uncertain acquisition
21	III E 2634 a-f	" njerere " 6 Armringe mit Messingdraht umspinnen, die Ringe dienen auch als Geld, 1 Stück= 10-50 Kauri; Bukoba	' njerere ' 6 bracelets wound with brass wire, the rings also serve as money, 1 piece = 10-50 Kauri; Bukoba		uncertain acquisition
22	III E 2569	geflochtenes Körbchen; Lendu Wassongora	braided basket; Lendu Wassongora	Oct 1891	uncertain acquisition
23	III E 2660	Hacke der Einwohner von Irangi	Hoe of the inhabitants of Irangi	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
24	III E 2633	Bukoba-Tabak in Rolle verschnürt; Bukoba	Bukoba tobacco tied up in a roll; Bukoba	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
25	III E 2608	Saiten-Instrument in Form eines Holzvogel mit 6 Saiten, aus einer fortlaufend Schnur; Usindja, Süden Viktoria-Njansa	Stringed instrument in the shape of a wooden bird with 6 strings, made from a continuous string; Usindja, South Victoria-Njansa	May 1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
26	III E 2535	Puppe zum Andenken an Verstorbene, sehr roh aus Holz geschnitzt, Andeutungen von Tätowierungen, Ober und Unterlippe mit Durchbohrung; Lager am Banjoro-Bergabhang, Banjoro- Wassongora ???	Doll in memory of the deceased, very crudely carved from wood, hints of tattoos, upper and lower lip pierced; camp on the Banjoro mountainside, Banjoro-Wassongora ???	29.10.1891	found and taken

27	III E 2595	genetzter Sack , zum Aufbewahren von Gegenständen; Wakoli-Wakondja, Bukira	netted sack , for storing objects; Wakoli-Wakondja, Bukira	29.11.1891	uncertain acquisition
28	III E 2564	Gürtelschurz für Mädchen, aus Lederstreifen, vorne mit dicht stehenden kurzen eisernen Kettchen; Lendu Süd Ost Ssonga	Belt apron for girls, made of leather strips, with short iron chains close to the front; Lendu South East Ssonga	Oct 1891	uncertain acquisition
29	III E 2578	Messer mit sehr langem Holzstiel; Walesse	Knife with very long wooden handle; Walesse		uncertain acquisition
30	III E 2517 ab	2 lange Holzpfeile mit eiserner Spitze; Banguah Wassongora	2 long wooden arrows with iron tip; Banguah Wassongora		uncertain acquisition
30	III E 2518 a-d	4 lange Holzpfeile oben zugespitzt; Banguah Wassongora	4 long wooden arrows sharpened at the tip; Banguah Wassongora	1891	uncertain acquisition
30	III E 2519 a-c	3 dünne Pfeile, zugespitzt, durch erhitzen gebräunt und gehärtet; Banguah Wassongora	3 thin arrows, sharpened, browned and hardened by heating; Banguah Wassongora	1891	uncertain acquisition
30	III E 2520 a-d	4 dünne Holz-Pfeile, mit zugespitzter Spitze; Wassongora	4 thin wooden arrows, with pointed tip; Wassongora	1891	uncertain acquisition
30	III E 2521	Pfeilspitze aus Eisen mit vielen kleinen Widerhaken; Banguah (Wassongora)	Iron arrowhead with many small barbs; Banguah (Wassongora)	1891	uncertain acquisition
31	III E 2596	Pfeifenrohr, aus geschnitztem Holz; Wakoli- Wakondjo-Wald, westl. von Issangu Fluss, A???	Pipe stem, made of carved wood; Wakoli- Wakondjo forest, west of Issangu river, A????	25.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
32	III E 2607	kleiner Pfeifenkopf, verziert; Usindja	small pipe bowl, decorated; Usindja	March - May 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
33	III E 2606	Pfeife aus grauem Rohr, mit langem Pfeifenrohr; Usindja, S. Nyansa	Pipe made of grey cane, with long pipe stem; Usindja, S. Nyansa	March - May 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania

34	III E 2331	geschnitzter Löffel; Bukoba	carved spoon; Bukoba	March 1891	uncertain acquisition
35	III E 2598	Pfeifenkopf aus schwarzem Thon, mit bemalten Verzierung; Kirewia Wawamba	Pipe bowl made of black clay, with painted decoration; Kirewia Wawamba	15.06.1891	uncertain acquisition
36	III E 2548	Pfeifenkopf aus schwarzem Thon; Wambuba	Pipe bowl made of black clay; Wambuba	22.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
37	III E 2599	Großer Pfeifenkopf, Thon, schwarze Oberfläche, reich verziert, weiße u. rote Streifen; Baira-Wakondjo Bukira	Large pipe bowl, clay, black surface, richly decorated, white and red stripes; Baira-Wakondjo Bukira	29.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
38	III E 2597	Pfeifenkopf aus Thon mit geometrischen Verzierungen; Waholi -Wakondjo	Pipe bowl made of clay with geometric decorations; Waholi - Wakondjo	25.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
39	III E 2549	Schöpflöffel mit langem Stiel aus Thon, Wambuba	Ladle with long handle made of clay, Wambuba	22.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
40	III E 2577	der große Korb, Form der a-Lur in Lendu; Lendu	the large basket, form of the a-Lur in Lendu; Lendu		uncertain acquisition
41	III E 2628 a-d	4 geflochtene wasserdichte Körbchen mit schwarzen Mustern der Wahuma-Völker; Bukoba + Usindjo	4 woven waterproof baskets with black patterns of the Wahuma people; Bukoba + Usindjo	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
42	III E 2650	gestrickter Sack mit genetztem Tragband; Wakondje am Runssoro	knitted sack with netted carrying strap; wakondje on runssoro		uncertain acquisition
43	III E 2661 ab	Dolch mit Handgriff aus Holz + mit Leder überzogene Holzscheide, umwickelt mit Eisendraht; Irangi	Dagger with wooden handle + leather-covered wooden sheath, wrapped with iron wire; Irangi	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
44	III E 2579	Schwert mit schwarzem Holzstiel; Walesse	Sword with black wooden handle; Walesse		uncertain acquisition

45	III E 2636	großer Schurz aus Bananenbast für Weiber, aus lauter einzelnen Büscheln zusammengebunden; Bukoba	large apron made of banana bast for women, tied together from individual bunches; Bukoba	March - May 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
46	III E 2662	Milchgefäß, becherförmiges Holzgefäß mit Lederschnur zum Aufhängen; Irangi	Milk vessel, cup-shaped wooden vessel with leather cord for hanging; Irangi	1892	uncertain acquisition, Tanzania
47 a	III E 2533	Puppe zum Andenken an Verstorbene, "nackte weibliche Figur, von besonderer Rohheit", um den Hals Andeutung einer dicken Schnur; Wadumbo-Wakoko	Doll in memory of the deceased, 'naked female figure, of particular rawness', with a thick cord around the neck; Wadumbo-Wakoko	Sep 1891	found and taken
47	III E 2534	Ahnenfigur, ungemein roh gearbeitet, Narbentätowierung angedeutet über den Brustwarzen, an Oberarmen und Rücken; Wadumbo-Wakoko	Ancestor figure, extremely crudely worked, scar tattooing indicated above the areolas, on the upper arms and back; Wadumbo-Wakoko	Sep 1891	found and taken
48	III E 2679	großer Lederreif für den Kopf, in der Mitte große, weiße Straußenfeder; Masai	large leather headband, large white ostrich feather in the centre; Masai	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
49	III E 2618 ab	2 Klapperschurze, breiter Fellgurt; Nera, nördl. von Ussukuma	2 rattling aprons, wide fur belt; Nera, north of Ussukuma	Jan 1892	uncertain acquisition
50	III E 2589	Klapper; Wakoko -Wakondjo	Rattle; Wakoko -Wakondjo		uncertain acquisition
51	III E 2747 a-c	große Wasserpfeife, Flaschenkürbis mit Zwischenstück aus Holz, Kopf aus Thon und Deckel aus Eisenblech; Irangi	large water pipe, gourd with wooden spacer, head made of clay and lid made of sheet iron; Irangi	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
52	III E 2629	Blasebalg, Holz mit Fell bespannt; Usindja Bukoba, Ussukuma	Bellows, wood covered with fur; Usindja Bukoba, Ussukuma	1890	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania

53	III E 2722 a-d	Lederköcher mit 22 Pfeilen; Was-sukuma, Wanjamuessi	Leather quiver with 22 arrows; Was-sukuma, Wanjamuessi	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
54	III E 2527	kleiner, fast kugelförmiger Flaschenkür-bis (Kalabasse), mit 2 Hänkeln und Schnur zum Aufhängen, Öffnung um-flochten; Wassongoru	small, almost spherical bottle gourd (calabash), with 2 handles and string for hanging, braided opening; Was-songoru	31.10.1891	uncertain acquisition
55	III E 2601	Doppeltopf zum Wassertrinken; Wakoli-Wakondjo & Andrboke	Double pot for drinking water; Wakoli-Wakondjo & Andrboke	27.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
56	III E 2543	Messer mit kleiner Eisenklinge und lan-gem Holzstiel; Wambuba	Knife with small iron blade and long wooden handle; Wambuba	23.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
57	III E 2524	Holzpfeife; Wassongoru	Wooden pipe; Wassongoru	31.10.1891	uncertain acquisition
58	III E 2529	Leibschnüre, aus 28 einzelnen umfloch-tenen Pflanzenfaserschnüren, in der Mitte durch zylinderförmige Eisen-Perle zusammengehalten; Wakumbo- Wakoko	Body cords, made of 28 individual braided plant fibre cords, held together in the middle by a cylindrical iron bead; Wakumbo- Wakoko	02.11.1891	uncertain acquisition
58 a	III E 2530	Glocke aus Holz, mit 3 hölzernen Schle-geln, Wadumbo-Wakoko	Wooden bell, with 3 wooden mallets, Wadumbo-Wakoko	Sep 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably found and taken
59	III E 2531	kleiner Topf, aus schwarzem Thon gear-beitet; Wadusubo- Wakoko (= Wabot-chi)	small pot, made of black clay; Wadusubo- Wakoko (= Wabotchi)	Sep 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably found and taken
59	III E 2532	Napf aus schwarzem Thon gearbeitet; Wadusubo- Wakoko (= Wabotchi)	Bowl made of black clay; Wadusubo- Wakoko (= Wabotchi)	Sep 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably found and taken
60	III E 2645 ab	Pfeifenkopf mit Sieb (?), aus gelblich grauen Thon; Ussui norwestl. Von Usindja	Pipe bowl with sieve (?), made of yel-lowish grey clay; Ussui northwest of Usindja	1892	uncertain acquisition, Tanzania

61	III E 2558	Pfeifenkopf aus grauem Thon; Kavalli, Walegge	Pipe bowl made of grey clay; Kavalli, Walegge	01.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
62	III E 2590 a	Stampfmörser (Model für Kinder), aus Holz; Wakoko- Wawambo, bei Rewau in Issembo	Pounding mortar (model for children), made of wood; Wakoko- Wawambo, at Rewau in Issembo		uncertain acquisition
62	III E 2590 b	Stampfholz zum Mörsen; Wakolto- Wawamba, bei Rewau in Issembo	Stamping wood for mortaring; Wakolto- Wawamba, near Rewau in Issembo	21.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
63	III E 2552	Korb, zylindrisch; Wambuba	Basket, cylindrical; Wambuba	23.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
63	III E 2753	Töpfchen aus schwarzem Thon; Wambuba	Black clay pot; Wambuba	23.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
64	III E 2523	Signal-Pfeife aus Holz, geschnitzt; Was-songora W. Abhang Lendu Plateau	Wooden signal pipe, carved; Was-songora, western slope of Lendu Plateau	28.10.1891	uncertain acquisition
65	III E 2544 b-f	6 Holzpfeile mit Eisenspitzen, Giftpfeile; Wambuba= Wakando, bei Wassongoro	6 wooden arrows with iron tips, poison arrows; Wambuba= Wakando, near Wassongoro	Sep 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably found and taken
65	III E 2544 a	Köcher aus Flechtwerk, mit Leder überzogen, mit Lederschnur zum Anhängen und kleinem, klappenförmigen Liederdeckel mit 32 Pfeilen, ebensolche Köcher bei Wassongoro	Quiver made of wattle, covered with leather, with leather cord for hanging and small, flap-shaped lid with 32 arrows, similar quivers at Wassongoro	Sep 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably found and taken
66	III E 2603	Doppelklapper aus Holz (ähnlich 2589); Wakoli- Wakondjo, Bukira	Wooden double rattletrap (similar to 2589); Wakoli- Wakondjo, Bukira	29.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
67	III E 2646	sehr sorgfältig geflochtenes Korbmodell; Kiriamo (Wanjoro)	very carefully woven basket model; Kiriamo (Wanjoro)	17.12.1891	uncertain acquisition

68	III E 2640 ab	Messer aus Eisen, Holzgriff mit Messingband spiralförmig eingewickelt + Scheide aus Holz und Leder; Wakuma	Knife made of iron, wooden handle spirally wrapped with brass band + sheath made of wood and leather; Wakuma		uncertain acquisition
69	III E 2626 ab	2 zylindrische Milchgefäße aus schwarzem Thon, oben mit Flechtmuster verziert; Kjamtuara, westl. von Bukoba	2 cylindrical milk jars made of black clay, decorated with a woven pattern at the top; Kjamtuara, west of Bukoba	04.04.1891	uncertain acquisition
70	III E 2574	Hüftschnur aus großen Eisenperlen, einzeln auf gedrehte Schnur festgeknüpft; Lur	Hip cord made of large iron beads, individually tied to a twisted cord; Lur	10.10.1891	uncertain acquisition
71	III E 2573	Messer für Frauen, wird an der Hüftschnur getragen, zum Abschneiden von Getreide, mit kurzem, flachen Griff, dieser ist mit 4 mit Eisen überzogenen kleinen Zähnen geschmückt; Lur	Knife for women, worn on the waist cord, for cutting grain, with a short, flat handle decorated with 4 small teeth covered with iron; Lur	10.10.1891	uncertain acquisition
72	III E 2570	flachenförmiges Körbchen; Lendu -Wassongora	flat basket; Lendu -Wassongora	Oct 1891	uncertain acquisition
73	III E 2593	großer Topfhelm, in Gestalt eines menschlichen Kopfes mit zwei kurzen Hörnern; Wadumbo-Wakoko	large pot helmet, in the shape of a human head with two short horns; Wadumbo Wakoko	Sep 1891	uncertain acquisition, probably found and taken
74	III E 2522	großer Panzer/ Schild aus doppeltem Leder mit kurzen Tragriemen; Wald-Wawira, Wassongora	large armour made of double leather with short carrying straps; forest Wawira, Wassongora		uncertain acquisition
75	III E ??? > III E 1538	En??? (Double mit 1538); Wanjoro	En??? (Double with 1538); Wanjoro	14.12.1891	uncertain acquisition

76	III E 2537	Körbchen mit Trageschnur, sehr sorgfältig geflochten; Wawira	Basket with carrying cord, very carefully woven; Wawira	04.11.1891	uncertain acquisition
77	III E 2641 a	Hacke von Karagwe, nur die eiseren Klinge vorhanden; Kamtuara Bukoba	Hoe from Karagwe, only the iron blade present; Kamtuara Bukoba		uncertain acquisition
78	III E 2638	Speerspitze mit Tülle; Wahuma, Karagwe	Spearhead with spout; Wahuma, Karagwe		uncertain acquisition
79	III E 2588	Signalhorn aus Elfenbein, mit Tragriemen aus Leder; Wakoko	Signal horn made of ivory, with leather carrying strap; Wakoko	18.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
80 a	III E 2575	Schnur aus Muschelscheiben, sind in der Mitte dicker; Wawira	String made of shell discs, are thicker in the middle; Wawira	10.04.1891	uncertain acquisition
80	III E 2576	Schnur mit Perlen aus geschnittenen Flussmuscheln; Wawira	String with beads made from cut river mussels; Wawira	10.04.1891	uncertain acquisition
81	III E 2545	Köcher aus Fell, mit 2 Henkeln und schmalem Tragstreifen aus Leder; Wambuba	Quiver made of fur, with 2 handles and narrow carrying strip made of leather; Wambuba	27.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
82	III E 2554	Leibschurz aus 2 Bändern bestehend, jedes band jeweila aus 4 geflochtenen Graszöpfen bestehend; Walegge, Karewia	Waist apron consisting of 2 bands, each band consisting of 4 braided grass plaits; Walegge, Karewia	06.06.1891	uncertain acquisition
83	III E 2555	Amulett mit 2 Zähnen; Walegge (Wakondja - Wawamba) Karewia	Amulet with 2 teeth; Walegge (Wakondja - Wawamba) Karewia	06.06.1891	uncertain acquisition
84	III E 2556 a-c	2 Armbänder aus ganz dünen Reifen, geflochten mit Eisen- und Messingperlen; Walegge (Wakondja - Wawamba) Karewia	2 bracelets made of very thin tyres, woven with iron and brass beads; Walegge (Wakondja - Wawamba) Karewia	06.06.1891	uncertain acquisition
85	III E 2625	großer Löffel; Bukoba	large spoon; Bukoba	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania

86	III E 2602	Töpfchen, von Stuhlmann veranlasste Nachbildung; Wawamba	Small pot, replica commissioned by Stuhlmann; Wawamba	27.06.1891	uncertain acquisition
87	III E 2551	Töpfchen, von Stuhlmann veranlasste Nachbildung eines großen Topfes; Wambuba	Small pot, a replica of a large pot commissioned by Stuhlmann; Wambuba	27.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
88	III E 2591	Fingerring mit zwei Vogelklauen; Wakoko	Finger ring with two bird claws; Wakoko	20.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
89	III E 2547 a	Lippennagel aus Eisen, eben solche auch bei Wald-Wawira; Wambuba (Wakoko)	Lip nail made of iron, also found in Wald-Wawira; Wambuba (Wakoko)	22.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
89	III E 2547 bc	2 Lippennägel aus Messing; Wambuba	2 brass lip nails; Wambuba		uncertain acquisition
89	III E 2547 de	2 Lippennägel aus Messing; Wambuba	2 brass lip nails; Wambuba		uncertain acquisition
90	III E 2644 a-c	3 Holzpfeile mit Eisenspitze; Karagwe	3 wooden arrows with iron tips; Karagwe	Feb 1892	uncertain acquisition
91	III E 2637 ab	2 Schurze aus Raphiafasern für Weiber; Kjamtuara bei Bukoba	2 aprons made of raffia fibres for women; Kjamtuara near Bukoba		uncertain acquisition
92	III E 2605	Signalhorn aus Elfenbein, von einem kleinen Zahn stammend; Wald Wakondja bei Ongenja	Signalhorn aus Elfenbein, von einem kleinen Zahn stammend; Wald Wakondja bei Ongenja	30.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
93	III E 2546 a	runde Lederkissen, für das Handgelenk mit Lederstreifen zum Festbinden, zum Schutz gegen Aufschlagen der Bogensehne; Wabubo, Wadambo, Wassongora, Zendii	round leather cushions, for the wrist with leather strips for tying, to protect against impact of the bowstring; Wabubo, Wadambo, Wassongora, Zendii	22.12.1891	uncertain acquisition

94	III E 2557	Kissen für das Handgelenk, aus Leder; Walegge, Süd-Lendu Kavalli	Cushion for the wrist, made of leather; Walegge, South-Lendu Kavalli	Dec 1891	uncertain acquisition
95	III E 2546 b	runde Lederkissen, für das Handgelenk mit Lederstreifen zum Festbinden, zum Schutz gegen Aufschlagen der Bogen-sehne; Wabubo, Wadambo, Wassongora, Zendii	round leather cushions, for the wrist with leather strips for tying, to protect against impact of the bowstring; Wabubo, Wadambo, Wassongora, Zendii	22.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
96	III E 2546 c	runde Lederkissen, für das Handgelenk mit Lederstreifen zum Festbinden, zum Schutz gegen Aufschlagen der Bogen-sehne; Wabubo, Wadambo, Wassongora, Zendii	round leather cushions, for the wrist with leather strips for tying, to protect against impact of the bowstring; Wabubo, Wadambo, Wassongora, Zendii	22.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
97	III E 2538 a-c	3 Holz-Pfeile; Wald-Wawira	3 wooden arrows; forest Wawira	27.08.1891	uncertain acquisition
98	III E 2750	Schlegel für Rindenstoffe, aus der Spitze eines Elefantenzahnes; nördl. des Albert-Edw.-See, Butucku	Mallet for bark cloth, made from the tip of an elephant's tooth; north of Albert Edward Lake, Butucku	01.07.1891	uncertain acquisition
99	III E 2587 a-k	10 Pfeile, gefiedert; Wakoko	10 arrows, feathered; Wakoko	20.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
100	III E 2630	Holzpfeile mit Kopf aus schwarzem Thon; Bukoba	Wooden arrows with black clay head; Bukoba	07.04.1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
101	III E 2539	Speer, mit eiserner Spitze, mit Eisenband an Spitze umwickelt; Walumbi am Lindu-Fluss	Spear, with iron tip, wrapped with iron band on tip; Walumbi on the Lindu River		uncertain acquisition
102	III E 2609	Schmiede-Feuerhaken; Usindja	Forging hook; Usindja		uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
103	III E 2619	Stab aus Holz, Spazierstock; Uganda	Wooden stick, walking stick; Uganda		uncertain acquisition; Uganda

104	III E 2648	Speer mit langer Spitze und eisernem Schuh; Wakondjo	Spear with long point and iron shoe; Wakondjo		uncertain acquisition
105	III E 2623	Holzspeer, vorne einfach zugespitzt, an Feuer gehärtet, Eisenschuh; Bukoba	Wooden spear, sharpened at the front, hardened by fire, iron shoe; Bukoba	March - May 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
106	III E 2571	Speer mit eiserner Spitze; A-Lur bei Kiro im Lendu-Plateau	Spear with iron tip; A-Lur near Kiro in the Lendu Plateau		uncertain acquisition
107	III E 2655	Wasserlanze, anstelle eines Schuh ein langes, spindelförmiges Holz als Schwimmer; Vitschumbi, Albert-Edward-See	Water spear, instead of a shoe a long, spindle-shaped wood as a float; Vitschumbi, Albert Edward Lake		uncertain acquisition
108	III E 2580	Speer mit eiserener Spitze; Walesse (oder Wakoko)	Spear with an iron tip; walesse (or wakoko)		uncertain acquisition
109	III E 2651	großer Luxus-Speer; Wakondjo Nord-West Seite Alb.-Edw.-See	large luxury spear; Wakondjo north-west side Albert Edward Lake		uncertain acquisition
110	III E 2585	Speer; Wakoko	Spear; Wakoko		uncertain acquisition
111	III E 2656	Speer; Wakondjo, 4h westl. Vitschumbi, Süd West Alb.-Edw.-See	Speer; Wakondjo, 4h west of Vitschumbi, South West Albert Edward Lake		uncertain acquisition
112	III E 2553	Lanze mit blattförmiger Tulle, am Schaft zickzack Ornamente; von Wanyuema erhalten	Lance with leaf-shaped tulle, zigzag ornamentation on the shaft; received from Wanyuema		uncertain acquisition
113	III E 2586	Speer, am Schaft eingeritzt "Walessi"; Wakoko	Spear, 'Walessi' scratched on the shaft; Wakoko		uncertain acquisition
114	III E 2652	großer Luxus- Speer; Wakondjo, nord-westl. Vom Alb- Edw.-See	large luxury spear; Wakondjo, north-west of Albert Edward Lake		uncertain acquisition
115	III E 2658	Speer Wataturu/ Wanjaturu	Spear Wataturu/ Wanjaturu	14.06.1892	uncertain acquisition, probably taken; Tanzania

116	III E 2653	Speer; Wakondjo, West Ufer Alb.-Edw.-See	Spear; Wakondjo, west shore of Albert Edward Lake		uncertain acquisition
117	III E 2643	Langer Eisenstab, mit kurzem Holzstück am Griff, Hohzeitszeichen der Königin von Mpororo, das sie an ihre Chefs verteilt; Mpororo	Long iron rod, with a short piece of wood on the handle, token of honour of the Queen of Mpororo, which she distributes to her chiefs; Mpororo		uncertain acquisition
118	III E 2642	Riesenbogen (auch in Nkole solche Riesenbögen); Karagwe	Giant arch (also in Nkole such giant arches); Karagwe		uncertain acquisition
119	III E 2723 ab	Zwei Bogen; Wassakuma	Two arches; Wassakuma	1892	uncertain acquisition
120	III E 2659	6 Holzpfeile mit Eisenspitzen; Wanjaturu & Wataturu	6 wooden arrows with iron tips; Wanjaturu & Wataturu	14.06.1892	uncertain acquisition, probably taken; Tanzania
121	III E 2581	Bogen, ein Ende mit Eisen umwickelt, Bogen der Waldvölker; Wakoko- Walessa	Bow, one end wrapped with iron, bow of the forest peoples; Wakoko- Walessa		uncertain acquisition
122	III E 2582	Bogen, Sehne fehlt, Bogen der Waldvölker; Wakoko- Walessa	Bow, bowstring missing, bow of the forest peoples; Wakoko- Walessa		uncertain acquisition
123	III E 2583	Bogen der Waldvölker; Wakoko- Walessa	Bow of the forest peoples; Wakoko- Walessa		uncertain acquisition
124	III E 2780	Melkgefäß aus Holz; Bukoba	Wooden milking vessel; Bukoba	March - May 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
125	III E 2777	ein in Blättern eingeschnürter Sack Kaffee; Bukoba	a sack of coffee wrapped in leaves; Bukoba	March - May 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
126	III E 2779	ein in Blättern eingeschnürter Sack Kaffee; Bukoba	a sack of coffee wrapped in leaves; Bukoba	March - May 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
127	III E 2778 ab	2 kleine Proben Kaffee, in Blättern eingeschnürter; Bukoba	2 small samples of coffee, tied up in leaves; Bukoba	March - May 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania

128	III E 2784	gewebter Stoff mit einer breiten Kante aus bunten Streifen; Manyema, Wakussu	woven fabric with a wide edge of colourful stripes; Manyema, Wakussu	05.12.1891	purchased
128 a	III E 2782	gewebter Stoff, rot gefärbt; Manyema, Wakussu	woven fabric, dyed red; Manyema, Wakussu	05.12.1891	purchased
128 b	III E 2783	gewebter Stoff mit bunten Streifen; Manyema, Wakussu	woven fabric with colourful stripes; Manyema, Wakussu	05.12.1891	purchased
129 a	III E 2774	Speer mit langer Tülle; Ussukuma	Spear with long shaft; Ussukuma	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
129 b	III E 2773	Speer mit Tülle, am Ende zusammengebogener, eiserner Ring; Ussukuma	Spear with spout, iron ring bent together at the end; Ussukuma	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
129 c	III E 2772	kurzer Speer, lederüberzogener Schaft mit eingelassenem Dorn; Irangi	short spear, leather-covered shaft with embedded spike; Irangi	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
129 d	III E 2771	kurzer Speer mit eiserner Spitze; Ussukuma	short spear with iron tip; Ussukuma	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
130 a	III E 2775	Bogen mit dem Rest einer Thiersehne; Nera, nördlich vom Viktoria-Nyansa	Bow with the remains of an animal bowstring; Nera, north of the Victoria-Nyansa		uncertain acquisition
130 b	III E 2776	Bogen; Nera, nördlich vom Viktoria-Nyansa	rch; Nera, north of the Victoria-Nyansa		uncertain acquisition
131	III E 2705 a	Wedel mit langem Holzstiel,??? ??? Mit Fellstreifen umflochten; Massai	Fronde with long wooden handle,??? ??? Braided with strips of fur; Masai	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
132	III E 2769	Strohmatte mit schwarzen Fäden geflochten; Mpororo	Straw mat woven with black threads; Mpororo		uncertain acquisition
133	III E 2762	Ohrpflock mit Flechtwerk überzogen, an beiden Enden eine Kaurimuschel; Wawira	Ear peg covered with wickerwork, a cowrie shell at both ends; Wawira		uncertain acquisition

134	III E 2770	flaches Brettchen aus weichem, leichten Holz mit eingebrannten Löchern; Wambuba	Flat board made of soft, light wood with burnt holes; Wambuba		uncertain acquisition
135	III E 2738	Dolchmesser aus Holz mit Eisentülle + Scheide aus Holz und Leder; Lur	Dagger knife made of wood with iron sheath + sheath made of wood and leather; Lur	05.12.1891	purchased
136	III E 2763	eisernes Messer mit Holzgriff	Iron knife with wooden handle	05.12.1891	purchased
137	III E 2764	spindelförmiges Werkzeug aus Eisen, in der Mitte hohl und mit kleinem Loch zu Drahtziehen; Bukoba	spindle-shaped tool made of iron, hollow in the centre and with a small hole for wire drawing; Bukoba	<i>probably</i> 24.01.1891	uncertain acquisition, probably gift from King Mwanga
138	III E 2765	Hammer aus Eisen, typische Form für Uganda; Bukoba	Hammer made of iron, typical shape for Uganda; Bukoba	<i>probably</i> 24.01.1891	uncertain acquisition, probably gift from King Mwanga
139	III E 2766	Steinbohrerartiges Werkzeug aus Eisen; Bukoba	Stone drill-like tool made of iron; Bukoba	1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
140	III E 2767 ab	eiserner Kolben zum Einklemmen, des zu ziehenden Drahtes; Bukoba	iron plunger for clamping the wire to be pulled; Bukoba	1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
141	III E 2761 ab	zwei kleinere, eiserne Armringe; Karagwe	two smaller, iron arm rings; Karagwe		uncertain acquisition
142	III E 2751	Rückenschild wohl von Manis Temineki, durchbohrt, wohl als Schmuck oder Amulett getragen; Mpororo	Back shield probably by Manis Temineki, pierced, probably worn as jewellery or amulet; Mpororo		uncertain acquisition
143	III E 2760	Haustür Glocke aus einer nussartigen Frucht mit 2 Holzstäbchen als Klöppel	Front door bell made from a nut-like fruit with 2 wooden sticks as clappers		uncertain acquisition
144	III E 2759	2 geflochtene Halsringe, Wassongora	2 braided neck rings, Wassongora		uncertain acquisition

145	III E 2757	2 eiserne Angelhaken; Njamsassi am Alb.-Edw.-See	2 iron fishhooks; Njamsassi on Albert Edward Lake		uncertain acquisition
146	III E 2758	große Holzdose mit Deckel, mit eingeschnitzten, geometrischen Verzierungen; Buitua	large wooden box with lid, with carved geometric decorations; Buitua		uncertain acquisition
147	III E 2781	Gehänge aus Fellstreifen, Schmuck für den Dolch, wird auch am Kopf getragen; Karagwe	Pendant made of strips of fur, jewellery for the dagger, also worn on the head; Karagwe		uncertain acquisition
150	III E 2755	Rindenbast, ruft nach Tonkabohnen	Bark bast, calls for tonka beans		uncertain acquisition
151	III E 2550	Rindenstoff - Verarbeitung 2. Stadium; Wambuba	Bark cloth - 2nd stage processing; Wambuba	20.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
152	III E 2604	soft bark cloth, purple coloured; Andeboko, Wakoli- Wakondjo	soft bark cloth, purple coloured; Andeboko, Wakoli- Wakondjo	28.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
153	III E 2525	dicker & weicher Rindenstoff, purpur-violett; Wassongora	thick & soft bark cloth, purple-violet; Wassongora	28.10.1891	uncertain acquisition
154	III E 2654	Tabak von R???sorro	Tobacco from R???sorro	Jan 1892	uncertain acquisition
155	III E 2649 ab	"Wambuba mupara" Blatt, graugelb grünlicher Harz aus einer "Neger"hütte im Wald; Busandi-Wald westl. Issango	'Wambuba mupara' leaf, grey-yellow greenish resin from a "negro" hut in the forest; Busandi forest west of Issango	27.12.1891	uncertain acquisition
156	III E 2739	weiße und rote Farbe zum bemalen der Gesichts	White and red paint to paint the face		uncertain acquisition
157	III E 2737	Probe von Eisenerz, von Eingeborenen zur Eisengewinnung genutzt; Kituliro	Sample of iron ore, used by indigenous people to extract iron; Kituliro		uncertain acquisition
158	III E 2647 b	Esslöffel aus Muschel; Wanjoro	Shell tablespoon; Wanjoro		uncertain acquisition
159	III E 2600	Pfeifenkopf aus Thon mit geometrischen Verzierungen	Pipe bowl made of clay with geometric decorations		uncertain acquisition

160	III E 2632	Pfeifenrohr, beschädigt (vielleicht zu 2631 gehörig); Bukoba	Pipe stem, damaged (perhaps belonging to 2631); Bukoba	March - May 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
161	III E 2592	Körbchen, oben in Leder eingefasst mit Ornament-Bemalung, unten rot bemalt & spitz zulaufen; Wakoko	Basket, top edged in leather with ornamental painting, bottom painted red & tapered; Wakoko		uncertain acquisition
162	III E 2735	Lippenpflock, Stäbchen aus Quarz; Lendu	Lip peg, quartz rod; Lendu		uncertain acquisition
163	III E 2614 ab	2 Holzpfeile; Shashi, S.O Victoria Nyansa	2 wooden arrows; Scharschi, South-East Victoria-Nyanza	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
164	III E 2639	Perlen aus einem kreidefarbenen, undurchsichtigen Glas; Herkunft unbekannt	Pearls made of a chalk-coloured, opaque glass; origin unknown	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
165	III E 2720	großer, fast zylindrischer Korb mit flachem Boden; Ussukuma	large, almost cylindrical basket with a flat base; Ussukuma	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
166	III E 2620	breiter, geprägter Gürtel mit Messingschnalle, 2 eisernen Schellen & Kaurischnecken; Uganda	wide, embossed belt with brass buckle, 2 small, iron bells & cowrie shells; Uganda		uncertain acquisition; Uganda
167	III E 2721	Signalhorn aus Elfenbein, an Spitze beschädigt; Ussukuma	Signal horn made of ivory, damaged at the tip; Ussukuma	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
168	III E 2627	Krug aus schwarzem Thon; Bukoba	Jug made of black clay; Bukoba	March - May 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
169	III E 2716	Armband, "in der Art der Massai-Armbänder"; Wagogo	Bracelet, 'in the style of the Maasai bracelets'; Wagogo	1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
170	III E 2705 b	Wedel mit sehr langhaarigem, weißen Fell umwickelt; Massai	Fronde wrapped with very long-haired, white fur; Masai	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania

171	III E 2706	Kopfputz, aus breitem Lederstreifen mit ??? , einem Stück Affenhaut und einem Büschel Vogelfedern; Massai	Headdress, made of a wide strip of leather with ??? , a piece of monkey skin and a tuft of bird feathers; Masai	1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
172	III E 2726	Schurz aus drei Streifen Ziegenfell; Ussukuma	Apron made from three strips of goat-skin; Ussukuma	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
173	III E 2717	Klapper aus Holzstäbchen mit zwei ??? ; Wagogo	Rattle made of wooden sticks with two ??? ; Wagogo	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
174	III E 2718	Schnur mit weißen, blauen und schwarzen Glasperlen; Wagogo	String with white, blue and black glass beads; Wagogo	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
175	III E 2719 a	Schnur mit Früchten, Halsschmuck; Wagogo	String with fruits, necklace; Wagogo	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
176	III E 2719 b	Lederriemen mit Messingperlen (Halsschmuck); Wagogo	Leather strap with brass beads (neck jewellery); Wagogo	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
177	III E 2611	Gurt aus zwei Gewinden, einer aus Eisendraht, der andere aus Kupferdraht	Belt consisting of two threads, one made of iron wire, the other of copper wire		uncertain acquisition
178	III E 2612 ab	Zwei Spiralen aus Messingdraht; Uk-rene Insel im Victoria See	Two spirals made of brass wire; Uk-rene Island in Lake Victoria	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
179	III E 2733 ab	Lippenpflock aus Holz, von Frauen in der Oberlippe getragen; gehören zuden Wawira am Huri, ganz im Norden des Wawira-Gebietes, Wandesana	Wooden lip peg, carried by women in the upper lip; belong to the Wawira on the Huri, in the far north of the Wawira region, Wandesana	1891	uncertain acquisition, maybe purchased
180	III E 2615	Spazierstock; Quelimane	Spazierstock; Quelimane	Sep -Dec 1888	uncertain acquisition; Mosambique

182	III E 2613 ab	2 gefiederte Holzpfeile, lange vergiftete Holzspitze mit einer dreieckigen Eisenblättchen, a) oben sorgfältig mit dickem, schwarzen Haar umwickelt; Shashi, Süd Ost Victoria Nyansa	2 feathered wooden arrows, long poisoned wood tip with a triangular iron blade, a) carefully wrapped with thick black hair on top; Shashi, South East Victoria-Nyanza	1892	uncertain acquisition
183	III E 2616	Pfeil, Spitze fehlt; angeblich aus Shashi Süd Ost Viktoria Nyansa	Arrow, tip missing; supposedly from Shashi South East Victoria-Nyanza	1892	uncertain acquisition
184	III E 2736	Probe von Reis; Tabora	Sample of rice; Tabora		uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
185	III E 2707 a-d	4 Hölzer eines aus 9 solchen Stücken bestehenden Musikinstrument, werden auf Bananenstämme gelegt; Ost-Nguru	4 pieces of wood of a musical instrument consisting of 9 such pieces and are placed on banana trunks; East Nguru	1892	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
187	III E 2744	großer, breitkrempiger Strohhut, aus Blättern der Ukinde-Palme geflochten; Kelimane	large, wide-brimmed straw hat, woven from leaves of the Ukinde palm; Quelimane	Oct -Dec 1888	uncertain acquisition; Mosambique
188	III E 2674	Geflecht in konischer Form, "Rattenfalle (Vors Loch gelegt)"; Usegua	Wickerwork in conical shape, 'rat trap (placed in front of hole)'; Usegua	Sep 1888	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
189	III E 2725	Kopfschmuck eines Uniamwesi-Tänzers; Wanyamnesi	Headdress of a Uniamwesi dancer; Wanyamnesi	27.11.1888	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
190	III E 2708	rundlicher Korb aus Bast; Ost-Nguru	round raffia basket; East Nguru	Sep 1888	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
191	III E 2709	rundlicher, nicht fertig geflochtener Korb aus Bast; Ost-Nguru	round, unfinished woven basket made of bast; East Nguru	Sep 1888	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania

192	III E 2745 ab	2 Armring aus Elfenbein, aus mehreren Stücken zusammengesetzt, Teilung charakteristisch für Nyassa-Stämme; Tabora	2 Bracelet made of ivory, composed of several pieces, division characteristic of Nyassa tribes; Tabora	Feb 1889	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
193	III E 2746 ab	5 Armringe aus Flusspferd-Haut, Quelimane, <i>3 davon weitergegeben</i>	5 bracelets made from hippopotamus skin, Quelimane, <i>3 of which have been passed on</i>	Oct -Dec 1888	uncertain acquisition; Mosambique
194	III E 2680	große Ledertaschen mit Tragriemen, von Frauen auf der Stirn getragen; Wakuafi, Usegua	large leather bags with carrying straps, these straps are worn by women on the forehead; Wakuafi, Usegua	18.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania
195	III E 2681	kleines eisernes Messer, in Lederscheide zum Rasieren des Kopfhaares; Wakuafi	small iron knife, in leather sheath for shaving the hair on the head; wakuafi	18.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania
196	III E 2682	Armring aus Messing, offen, mit eingritzten Linien verziert, Frauenschmuck; Wakuafi, Usegua	Brass bracelet, open, decorated with incised lines, women's jewellery; Wakuafi, Usegua	18.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania
197	III E 2683	Messingspirale im oberen Ohrloch von Frauen getragen; Wakuafi, Usegua	Brass spiral worn in the upper ear hole by women; Wakuafi, Usegua	14.09.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
198	III E 2684	eiserner Haken mit Messingknopf im Ohr von Frauen getragen, gerader Stiel mit Messingdraht umwicklet; Wakuafi, Usegua	iron hook with brass button worn in the ear of women, straight handle wrapped with brass wire; Wakuafi, Usegua	18.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania
199	III E 2664	Schamschurz mit Gürtel auf Grasfasern mit bunten kleinen Glasperlen; Matungu, Usegua	Shame apron with belt on grass fibres with small colourful glass beads; Matungu, Usegua	01.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania

200	III E 2685	Ledergürtel mit bunten Glasperlen benäht, zum Festhalten der aus Haut bestehenden Kleidung; Wakuafi, Usegua	Leather belt sewn with colourful glass beads, to hold clothing made of skin; Wakuafi, Usegua	18.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania
201	III E 1539	Gürtel zum Festhalten der aus Haut bestehenden Kleidung, getragen von Frauen; Wakuafi, Usegua	Belt, to hold clothing made of skin, worn by women; Wakuafi, Usegua	18.09.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
202	III E 2610	eisener Hammer, von oder in Uganda übliche Form; Bukoba	iron hammer, of or in Uganda common form; Bukoba	24.01.1891	uncertain acquisition, probably gifted by King Mwanga; Uganda
203	III E 2673	Form um Tabak zu pressen, aus Palmblatt; West Usegua	Mould for pressing tobacco, made of palm leaf; West Usegua	15.09.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
204	III E 2686	langer Lederriemen zum Befestigen der Ochsen; Wakuafi, Usegua	long leather strap for fastening oxen; Wakuafi, Usegua	18.09.1888	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
205	III E 2728	dreieckiges Stück aus dem Boden einer Schnecke, zum Anhängen durchbohrt; Wanyamwesi, Bagamoyo	triangular piece from the base of a snail, pierced for attachment; Wanyamwesi, Bagamoyo	25.06.1888	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
206	III E 2665	Gehänge aus weißen & blauen Perlen an Haarlocke getragen, zwischen den Augen herabhängend; Mbaha, Usegua	Pendant of white & blue beads worn on a lock of hair, hanging down between the eyes; Mbaha, Usegua	25.08.1888	uncertain acquisition, purchased; Tanzania
207	III E 2687	Halskette aus Kupfer für Frauen; Wakuafi, Usegua	Copper necklace for women; Wakuafi, Usegua	18.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania
208	III E 2675	gedrehte Schnur mit zwei kurzen Holzgliedern, "Daua" gegen Leibschmerzen um den Leib getragen; Usegua	twisted cord with two short wooden links, 'Daua' worn around the body to relieve abdominal pain; Usegua	01.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania

209	III E 2698	Halsgehänge mit eisernen & kupfernen Kettchen und bunten Perlen; Süd-Massai	Necklace with iron & copper chains and colourful pearls; South-Massai	June 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
209	III E 2699	Halsring, Messingdraht mit Kupferdraht umwickelt; Süd-Massai	Neck ring, brass wire wrapped with copper wire; South-Massai	June 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
209	III E 2700	Halsring aus Eisendraht mit Kupfer umwickelt; Süd-Massai	Neck ring made of iron wire wrapped with copper; South Massai	June 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
209	III E 2701	großer Halsring, dicker Eisendraht mit dünnerem umwickelt, mit vier Ösen; Süd-Massai	large neck ring, thick iron wire wrapped with thinner wire, with four eyelets; South-Massai	June 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
209	III E 2702	Armband aus Leder, mit bunten Perlen benäht; Süd-Massai	Leather bracelet, sewn with colourful beads; South-Massai	June 1892	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
210	III E 2514	langer Pfeil, aus Holz mit eiserner Spitze; Wassongora	long arrow, made of wood with iron tip; Wassongora	30.10.1891	probably found and taken
211	III E 2516 ab	2 lange Pfeile, mit eiserner Spitze und Widerhaken; Wassongora	2 long arrows, with iron tip and barbs; Wassongora	26.10.1891	probably found and taken
212	III E 2515 a-c	3 Holzpfeile mit eisernen Spitzen mit Widerhaken; Wassongora	3 wooden arrows with barbed iron tips; Wassongora	26.10.1891	probably found and taken
213 a	III E 2565 ab	2 Pfeile aus Rohr mit Eisenspitze, vergiftet; Lendu	2 arrows made of pipe with iron tips, poisoned; Lendu	25.10.1891	probably found and taken
213 b	III E 2566 ab	2 Pfeile aus Rohr mit Eisenspitze, vergiftet, b) mit eingeritzter Verzierung; Lendu	2 arrows made of cane with iron tip, poisoned, b) with incised decoration; Lendu	25.10.1891	probably found and taken
214	III E 2711 ab	2 große Beinringe, aus Messing, von Monda Frauen; Unzur Nguru	2 large brass leg rings by Monda women; Unzur Nguru	08.09.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania

215	III E 2712 abc	3 eiserne Armringe, aus Eisendraht zusammengebunden; Kibudu gekauft; Wakaguru bei Momboya	3 iron bracelets, bound together from iron wire; bought by Kibudu; Wakaguru near Momboya	04.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania
216	III E 2713	ringartiger Gegenstand, scheinbar aus dem Holz einer Schlingpflanze, "Daua" gegen Feinde und wilde Thiere, an Dorfzaun gehängt; Ost-Nguru	ring-like object, apparently made from the wood of a climbing plant, 'daua' against enemies and wild animals, hung on the village fence; East Nguru	10.09.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably taken; Tanzania
217	III E 2714	Stäbchen aus Holz, Medizin gegen Schlangebiss; Nguru	Wooden sticks, medicine against snakebite; Nguru	07.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania
218	III E 2667	2 Ringe aus Palmblatt-Streifen, im Ohr getragen von Usegua-Frauen; Matungu, Usegua	2 rings made of palm leaf strips, worn in the ear by Usegua women; Matungu, Usegua	25.08.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
219	III E 2731 ab	2 Fußschellen eines Unyamwesi-Tänzers, 2 Gefäßrasseln aus Eisen; Bagamoyo	2 footcuffs of an Unyamwesi dancer, 2 iron vessel rattles; Bagamoyo	25.11.1888	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
220	III E 2676	vielfach geknotete Schnur mit zwei weißen, glatten Perlen, "Daua" gegen Feinde & wilde Thiere vor dem Tore des Dorfes; Usegua	a string knotted many times with two white, smooth pearls, 'Daua' against enemies & wild animals in front of the village gate; Usegua	17.09.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably taken; Tanzania
221	III E 2677	Ziegenhorn an langer Eisenkette, Abzeichen von Jägern des Dorfes Matungu (Usegua), 3 viereckige Eisenblechstücke als "Daua" gegen Löwen, Kette Unguza ; Usegua	Goat horn on a long iron chain, badge of hunters from the village of Matungu (Usegua), 3 square pieces of sheet iron as 'daua' against lions, Unguza chain; Usegua	01.09.1888	taken; Tanzania
222	III E 2730	kleine Wasserpfeife, aus einem kleinem Kürbis in schwarzem Thon; Wanyamwesi, Bagamoyo	small water pipe, made from a small gourd in black clay; Wanyamwesi, Bagamoyo	1889	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania

223	III E 2666	Armspirale für den Unterarm aus Messing; Usegua	Arm spiral for the forearm made of brass; Usegua	25.08.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
224	III E 2669	Tabakdose mit Deckel aus Holz; Matungu, Usegua	Wooden tobacco box with lid; Matungu, Usegua	01.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania
225	III E 2671	Tabakdose mit Deckel aus Holz; Matungu, Usegua	Wooden tobacco box with lid; Matungu, Usegua	01.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania
226	III E 2670	Dose für Schnupftabak, aus gelbem Holz, mit Deckel zum Überstulpen aus dunklem Holz und feinem Kerbschnitt; Matungu, Usegua	Box for Snuff, made of yellow wood, with lid made of dark wood and a fine notch cut; Matungu, Usegua	01.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania
227	III E 2688	Kupferdrahtspirale auf große Eisendrahtmanschette aufgezogen, für Frauen; Wakuafi, Usegua	Copper wire spiral wound on large iron wire cuff, for women; Wakuafi, Usegua	18.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania
228	III E 2689	Eisen-Halsring mit einfachem Hakenverschluss, der ist mit Kupferdraht umwickelt, für Frauen; Wakuafi, Usegua	Iron neck ring with simple hook fastener, wrapped with copper wire, for women; Wakuafi, Usegua	18.09.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
228	III E 2690	Eisen-Halsring mit Hakenverschluss, der Ring ist mit Kupferdraht umwickelt, dass ein Muster ergibt, für Frauen; Wakuafi, Usegua	Iron neck ring with hook fastener, the ring is wrapped with copper wire to create a pattern, for women; Wakuafi, Usegua	18.09.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
229	III E 2672	Rolle von flach zylindrisch gepresstem Tabak, wird so aus Usegua an der Küste verkauft, 1Stk.= 1 Pesa= 2,2 Pfennig; Bagamoyo	Roll of flat cylindrically pressed tobacco, sold from Usegua on the coast, 1pc = 1 pesa = 2.2 pennies; Bagamoyo	30.06.1888; <i>1889 is more probable due to his travel route</i>	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania

230	III E 2748 a-c	3 zugespitzte Holzstückchen, Fußangeln, werden von Eingeborenen in Boden gesteckt; Wambuba & Lendu	3 sharpened pieces of wood, foot pegs, are stuck into the ground by indigenous people; Wambuba & Lendu		found and taken
231	III E 2678	Pfeifenkopf aus schwarzem Thon, mit geometrischen Mustern verziert; Usegua	Pipe bowl made of black clay, decorated with geometric patterns; Usegua	Aug 1888	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
232	III E 2668	Halsschmuck aus Giraffenschwanzhaar wird von Männern & Weibern im Dorfe Mbaha (Usegua) getragen, oft 8-12 Stk. Verschied. Größen übereinander; Usegua	Neck jewellery made of giraffe tail hair is worn by men and women in the village of Mbaha (Usegua), often 8-12 pieces of different sizes on top of each other; Usegua	25.08.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
233	III E 2732 ab	ganz kleiner Dolch, mit Schied aus Holz, am Oberarm getragen; Uniamwesi, Bagamoyo	very small dagger, with wooden sheath, worn on the upper arm; Uniamwesi, Bagamoyo	24.06.1888	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
234	III E 2624	4 Angelhaken; Bukoba	4 fishing hooks; Bukoba		uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
235	III E 2691	Zeugstück mit Muster, über der Schulter getragen; Wakuafi, Usegua	Piece of cloth with pattern, worn over the shoulder; Wakuafi, Usegua	14.09.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
236	III E 2715 a-c	3 Thonfiguren, aus nicht gebranntem Thon; Ost-Nguru	3 clay figurines, made of unfired clay; East Nguru	Sep 1888	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
236	III E 2715 d-e	2 Thonfiguren, nicht gebrannt, werden auf eine Art Bettgestell gestellt als "Daua" wenn Leute sich Kinder wünschen; Ost-Nguru	2 clay figures, not fired, are placed on a kind of bedstead as a 'daua' when people want children; East Nguru	Sep 1888	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
237	III E 2663	Lendenschurz aus Pflanzenfasern, getragen von einer alten Frau; Usegua	Loincloth made of plant fibres, worn by an old woman; Usegua	Sep 1888	uncertain acquisition; Tanzania
238	III E 2692	scheibenförmiger Ohrpflock aus Holz; Wakuafi, Usegua	disc-shaped ear peg made of wood; Wakuafi, Usegua	14.09.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania

239	III E 2693	scheibenförmiger Ohrpflock aus Holz; Wakuafi, Usegua	disc-shaped ear peg made of wood; Wakuafi, Usegua	14.09.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
240	III E 2694	Haarschmuck aus Lederbändern mit Messingperlen, wird am Zopf befestigt; Wakuafi	Hair jewellery made from leather straps with brass beads, attached to the plait; wakuafi	14.09.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
241	III E 2695	dünnes Lederarmband, dicht mit Kupfer- & Eisenringen besetzt; Wakuafi	thin leather bracelet, densely studded with copper & iron rings; wakuafi	14.09.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
242	III E 2696	Armband mit Kupferdraht, blauen Perlen; Wakuafi	Bracelet with copper wire, blue pearls; Wakuafi	14.09.1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
243 a	III E 2697	2 Armbänder mit Messingdraht umwickelt; Wakuafi	2 bracelets wrapped with brass wire, Wakuafi	18.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania
243 b	III E 2704	2 Armbänder mit Messingdraht umwickelt, Wakuafi	2 bracelets wrapped with brass wire, Wakuafi	18.09.1888	purchased; Tanzania
244	III E 2743	Mützenartige Kopfbedeckung aus gelbem, schwarzen und rotem Strohgeflecht; Mosambik	Cap-like headgear made of yellow, black and red woven straw; Mozambique	Sep -Dec 1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Mozambique
245	III E 2703	Fellschurz mit einem mit bunten Perlen bestückten Lederlappen und Gehänge von eisernen Ketten mit Schellen; Wakuafi	Fur apron with a leather flap decorated with colourful beads and a suspension of iron chains with bells; wakuafi	Sep 1888	uncertain acquisition, probably purchased; Tanzania
246	III E 2729	Glas mit Probe von Bangi, wird von Wanjamwesi aus Pfeife geraucht	Glass with sample of Bangi, smoked from pipe by Wanjamwesi		uncertain acquisition
247	III E 2710	geflochtene Schnur mit der die 4 Hölzer von III E 2707 zusammengebunden werden; Ost-Nguru	braided cord with which the 4 timbers of III E 2707 are bound together; East Nguru		uncertain acquisition
248	III E 2727	fast kugelförmiges Kürbisgefäß mit geometrischen Verzierungen	Almost round gourd vessel with geometric decorations		uncertain acquisition

249	III E 2621	Flaschenkürbis, mit schlankem, hohen Hals; Uganda	Bottle gourd, with slender, high neck; Uganda		uncertain acquisition
250	III E 2740	Schleifstein, auf 3 kurzen, dicken Füßen; Sansibar	Grindstone, on 3 short, thick feet; Zanzibar		uncertain acquisition

6.2 Appendix 2: List of Forwarded Belongings and Duplicates

The list is compiled from the file *Kolonial-Dubletten 1890-1902*¹⁷⁰, as well as a list from *E 1516/92* in Acquisition File *I/MV 0711*. The following list is subject to errors and omissions.

Hist. Collector Number (Sammlernr.)	Identification (Ident.-Nummer SMB)	Original (German) Designation/ Short Description	English Translation of the Description	Institute to which Duplicates were Delivered
Shipment from the German Protectorates/ Sendung aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten XXIII				
Acquisition Process/ Erwerbungsverfahren 1266/90 (I/ MV 0709)				
75b	III E 2451 (<i>Ident. Nr. of the remaining cultural belonging/s</i>)	Große Signalhörner aus Elfenbein, 1 von 2 Stück , Wanjuema	Large ivory signalling horns, 1 of 2 pieces , Wanjuema	Leipzig
Shipment from the German Protectorates/ Sendung aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten XXXX				
Acquisition Process/ Erwerbungsverfahren 1404/91 (I/ MV 0710)				
7	III E 2470/ 71 (<i>Ident. Nr. of the remaining Cultural Belonging/s</i>)	Eiserne Messer, in der Fläche gekrümmt mit langem Holzgriff, 2 von 4 Stück , Uganda Jan. 1891	Iron knives, curved in the surface with long wooden handle, 2 of 4 pieces , Uganda Jan. 1891	Leipzig, Dresden
8	III E 2472 ab (<i>Ident. Nr. of the remaining C.B.</i>)	Armringe aus dünnem Metalledraht geflochten, 4 von 8 Stück , Bukoba Westlicher Niyansa, Nov. 1890	Bracelets woven from thin metal wire, 4 of 8 pieces , Bukoba Western Niyansa, Nov. 1890	Leipzig, Dresden, Jena, Oldenburg
11	III E 2475 (<i>Ident. Nr. of the remaining c.b.</i>)	Saugrohr, sorgfältig aus buntem Stroh geflochten, 1 von 2 Stück , Uganda	Suction pipe, woven from colourful straw, 1 of 2 pieces , Uganda	Leipzig
18	III E 2482 (<i>Ident. Nr. of the remaining c.b.</i>)	Thonschalen, ganz zertrümmert, 1 von 3 Stück , Uganda	Clay bowls, completely crushed, 1 of 3 pieces , Uganda	Leipzig

¹⁷⁰ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (SMB), *Acquisition file: Akte "Kolonial-Dubletten" I_MV_0781*, Museum Archive Berlin, Pp. 68-204 (*Bl. 27-104*).

Hist. Collector Nr.	Identification Number	German Designation/ Short Description	English Translation of the Description	Receiving Institutes
19	III E 2483/ 84 (Ident. Nr. of the remaining Cultural Belonging/s)	Flaschenförmige Gefäße aus schwarzem Thon, ganz zertrümmert, 2 von 4 Stück , Uganda	Bottle-shaped vessels made from black clay, completely smashed, 2 of 4 pieces , Uganda	Leipzig, Dresden
20	III E 2486a/ 88/ 89a (Ident. Nr. of the remaining C.B.)	Pfeifenköpfe aus Thon, meist zerbrochen, 4 von 8 Stück , Uganda	Pipe bowls made of clay, mostly broken, 4 of 8 pieces , Uganda	Leipzig, Dresden, Jena, Oldenburg
21	III E 2486b/ 89b (Ident. Nr. of the remaining C.B.)	Pfeifenrohre, 2 von 4 Stück , Uganda	Pipe stems, 2 of 4 pieces , Uganda	Leipzig, Dresden
27	III E 2495 a-c (Ident. Nr. of the remaining C.B.)	Flasche, schüsselförmige Körbe, 1 von 4 Stück , Uganda	Bottle, bowl-shaped baskets, 1 of 4 pieces , Uganda	Leipzig
29	III E 2501 (Ident. Nr. of the remaining c.b.)	Braunes Rindenzeug, 15 von 25 Stück , Uganda	Brown bark cloth pieces, 15 of 25 pieces , Uganda	Leipzig, Dresden, Jena, Darmstadt, Oldenburg
Shipment from the German Protectorates/ Sendung aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten XXXIX				
Acquisition Process/ Erwerbungsvorgang 1232/92 (I/ MV 0710)				
30	III E 2520	4 dünne Holz-Pfeile, mit zugespitzter Spitze; Wassongora	4 thin wooden arrows, with pointed tip; Wassongora	Altenburg, Göttingen, Prussia Society in Königsberg
49	III E 2618 ab	2 Klapperschurze, breiter Fellgurt; Néra, nördl. von Ussukuma	2 rattling aprons, wide fur belt; Néra, north of Ussukuma	Leipzig, Stuttgart
103	III E 2619	Stab aus Holz, Spazierstock; Uganda	Wooden stick, walking stick; Uganda	Prussia (Königsberg)
41	III E 2628	4 geflochtene wasserdichte Körbchen mit schwarzen Mustern der Wahuma-Völker; Bukoba + Usindja	4 woven waterproof baskets with black patterns of the Wahuma people; Bukoba + Usindja	Göttingen
91	III E 2637 ab	2 Schurze aus Raphiafasern für Weiber; Kjamtuara bei Bukoba	2 aprons made of raffia fibres for women; Kjamtuara near Bukoba	Leipzig

Hist. Collector Nr.	Identification Number	German Designation/ Short Description	English Translation of the Description	Receiving Institutes
158	III E 2674 b	Esslöffel aus Muschel; Wanjoro	Shell tablespoon; Wanjoro	
75	III E ...	En??? (Double mit 1538); Wanjoro	En??? (Double with 1538); Wanjoro	
42	III E 2650	gestrickter Sack mit genetztem Tragband; Wakondje am Runssoro	knitted sack with netted carrying strap; wakondje on runssoro	Prussia (Königsberg)
200	III E 2685	Ledergürtel mit bunten Glasperlen benäht, zum Festhalten der aus Haut bestehenden Kleidung; Wakuafi, Usegua	Leather belt sewn with colourful glass beads, to hold clothing made of skin; Wakuafi, Usegua	Leipzig
242	III E 2696	Armband mit Kupferdraht, blauen Perlen; Wakuafi	Bracelet with copper wire, blue pearls; Wakuafi	Stuttgart
243 a	III E 2697 ab	2 Armbänder mit Messingdraht umwickelt; Wakuafi	2 bracelets wrapped with brass wire, Wakuafi	Altenburg, ???
209	III E 2700	Halsring aus Eisendraht mit Kupfer umwickelt; Süd- Massai	Neck ring made of iron wire wrapped with copper; South Massai	Prussia (Königsberg)
236	III E 2715 d-e	2 Thonfiguren, nicht gebrannt, werden auf eine Art Bettgestell gestellt als "Daua" wenn Leute sich Kinder wünschen; Ost-Nguru	2 clay figures, not fired, are placed on a kind of bedstead as a 'daua' when people want children; East Nguru	Hildesheim
193	III E 2746 abc	5 Armringe aus Flusspferd-Haut, Quelimane, 3 davon weitergegeben	5 bracelets made from hippopotamus skin, Quelimane, 3 of which have been passed on	Hildesheim, Altenburg, Göttingen
127	III E 2778 a-d	2 kleine Proben Kaffee, in Blättern eingeschnürter; Bukoba	2 small samples of coffee, tied up in leaves; Bukoba	Altenburg, Göttingen, Veste Coburg
124	III E 2780	Melkgefäß aus Holz; Bukoba	Wooden milking vessel; Bukoba	Leipzig
Some artefacts seem to have come back to Berlin after some time.				

7 Statement of Authorship

I, Beatrice Zillmann (s4247140), hereby confirm that I have written this thesis independently and have not used any sources, publications, templates or aids other than those specified and cited. All parts of my work that are taken verbatim or in meaning from other works have been labelled as such, indicating the source, so that, to the best of my knowledge, my thesis does not infringe upon anyone's copyright nor violate any proprietary rights.

I certify that this paper has not been submitted by me or any other person for any other examination or to another institution, neither in English nor any other language.



Beatrice Zillmann, 10.07.2025