

“Give, so you don’t die for nothing”: Community perspectives on German colonialism in Tanzania’s Singida Region

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During the colonial period, thousands of cultural belongings from the African continent, as well as other parts of the world, were translocated to German ethnographic collections. These cultural belongings, including many everyday objects often originating from former colonial territories, can still be found in German museums today. In recent years, cultural belongings from colonial contexts have become the subject of intensive discussions in Germany and internationally. These, for example, involve questions about the extent to which it is appropriate for certain cultural belongings to be in German museums and whether they should be returned. In particular, this concerns cultural belongings that are considered to have special cultural significance or that may have been forcibly appropriated during German colonial rule. However, their meaning as well as the origins and circumstances of their appropriation are often poorly documented. In many cases, therefore, it remains unclear whether cultural belongings were acquired as diplomatic gifts, through purchase or trade, coercion, theft or looting.¹

Even when a violent or coercive context of appropriation seems obvious, it is often impossible to prove this on the basis of archival records, as in the case we investigated. In our provenance research project, we therefore sought to find out what members of descendant communities of translocated cultural belongings can tell us about the historical context of their appropriation and what these objects of everyday life mean to them. We hope that the research findings will be received as relevant knowledge and perspectives for the ongoing restitution debate. With our research contribution, we would also like to encourage reflection on what these insights could mean for relations between the two countries of Tanzania and Germany and their people.

Research project and study design

The German-Tanzanian collaborative provenance research project ‘Ethnographic and Anthropological Spoils of War from Military Expeditions in German East Africa as Collection Items for German Museums’ is based at the History Department of Leibniz University Hannover (*Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Universität Hannover*), led by Prof. Dr. Brigitte Reinwald, Professor of African History, and funded by the German Lost Art Foundation (*Deutsches Zentrum Kulturgutverluste*). It collaborates with the National Museum of Tanzania, the Central Archive and Ethnological Museum of the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*, the *Museum am Rothenbaum* (MARKK) in Hamburg and *Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover*.

The research project uses the example of a colonial collection of Nyaturu cultural belongings to investigate the circumstances of appropriation in a colonial military context and the significance of the colonial translocation of cultural belongings for descendant communities, thus employing a case study research design.

¹ Larissa Förster, “Ethnographic collections,” in *Guidelines for German Museums: Care of Collections from Colonial Contexts*, ed. German Museums Association, 3rd ed. (Berlin: medialis Offsetdruck GmbH, 2021), 106–07, <https://www.museumbund.de/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/mb-leitfaden-en-web.pdf> (accessed 23.01.2026); H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy, *The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage: Toward a New Relational Ethics* ([Paris]: Ministère de la Culture, 2018).

These Nyaturu cultural belongings were sent to the Berlin Museum of Ethnology in 1899 by the German colonial officer Gideon von Grawert (1869–1941).² At the time, Grawert was station chief of the military district of Kilimatinde and carried out military expeditions towards Nyaturu territories in today's Singida Region in Tanzania from the *boma*³ of Kilimatinde between 1897 and 1899.⁴ Grawert led "patrol battles in North Kilimatinde"⁵ from 2 to 8 December 1897 and again from 23 April to 4 May 1898, as well as "patrol battles in Turu and Iramba"⁶ from 17 February to 17 March 1899. Already before Grawert, German colonial officers had fought against Nyaturu communities. In 1896, for example, a German military expedition crossed the entire Turu region from north-east to south, attacking Nyaturu communities along the way, because of their refusal to submit to German colonial rule: Before this invasion of Wanyaturu territory, Mhati (or Muati) from Uniahati, who was appointed by the military station of Kilimatinde to rule over the Wanyaturu, had allegedly been killed by people from Puma and Kahiro.⁷ In 1900, when Grawert had already left the Kilimatinde station, several traditional leaders from Puma were sentenced to death for the murder of Mhati and his family. These traditional leaders from Puma were referred to as Naguai, Habbe, Hamas and Kimpundu in German archived files.⁸ All this happened long time before the *boma* in Singida was built in 1908, whereupon the German colonialists attempted to dominate the area from there.⁹

The collection of Nyaturu cultural belongings sent to Berlin by Grawert, together with an explanatory list, consisted of around 170 pieces. It included a wide range of cultural belongings from various areas of life, such as agricultural equipment and tools, household goods and furniture, clothing and jewellery, weapons and armour, badges of honour and affiliation, toys, accessories for the use of smoking products and alcoholic beverages, a medical and a musical

² Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum (SMB-PK, EM), Erwerbungsbücher des Ethnologischen Museums, Inv. 3 Inventarverzeichnis I MV, p. 269; SMB-ZA, I/MV 0721 (Erwerbung ethnologischer Gegenstände aus Afrika, vol. 21, duration: 1898–1901), fol. 183–187; Maximilian von Grawert, "Grawert," *Gothaisches genealogisches Handbuch* 14 (2021): 150; Bundesarchiv (BArch), R 9365/30 (Ranglisten der Offiziere Kaiserliche Schutztruppen, duration: 1889–1914), n. pag.

³ *Bomas* (fortified outposts, garrisons) have been described as "multipurpose spaces visited frequently by African colonial subjects, both voluntarily and involuntarily." (Michelle Moyd, "Bomani: African Soldiers as Colonial Intermediaries in German East Africa, 1890–1914," in *German Colonialism Revisited: African, Asian, and Oceanic Experiences*, ed. Nina Berman, Klaus Mühlhahn and Patrice Nganang, Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2014), 102.) Accordingly, colonial officers and *askari* (African soldiers) of the military station interacted with the surrounding areas in many ways, not only through military expeditions into the surroundings, but also through the sometimes forced visits of Africans to the *boma*. People visited a *boma* or were brought there by *askari* to work, to pay taxes, to take part in juridical proceedings or community meetings (*mashauri*), to trade, or to attend public events. (Ibid., 101–11.)

⁴ Ernst Nigmann, *Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1911), 59–60, 152, 201, (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg/CC BY-SA 4.0 [<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.de>]), <https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/PPN826064787> (accessed 23.12.2020); The United Republic of Tanzania: National Archives of Tanzania, ed., *Guide to the German Records, Vol. 1* = Eckhart G. Franz and Peter Geissler, eds., *Das Deutsch-Ostafrika-Archiv: Inventar der Abteilung „German Records“ im Nationalarchiv der Vereingten Republik Tansania, Dar-es-Salaam, Band 1: Einleitung, Zentralverwaltung*, Veröffentlichungen der Archivschule Marburg, Hochschule für Archivwissenschaft 9,1 (Dar-es-Salaam/Marburg: Archivschule Marburg, 1973), 90–3, 105.

⁵ Nigmann, *Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Schutztruppe*, 152. Cf. also *ibid.*, 59–60.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ BArch, R 1001/288 (Militärische Expeditionen der Schutztruppe, vol. 10, duration: February–December 1897), military report Stadlbaur, n.d., fol. 16–21.

⁸ Tanzania National Archives (TNA), G 55/22 (Gerichts-Sachen. Farbige, vol. 1, duration: 1899–1902), no pagination.

⁹ Eberhard von Sick, "Die Waniaturu (Walimi): Ethnographische Skizze eines Bantu-Stammes," *Baessler-Archiv* 5, no. 1/2 (1915): 1.

instrument.¹⁰ While the major part of this collection remained in the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, a total of 59 objects were distributed in 1902 as colonial doublets to ethnographic collections in Hamburg, Stuttgart, Lübeck, Hannover, Coburg, Braunschweig, Göttingen, Giessen and Oldenburg. Specifically, the objects were given to the *Museum für Völkerkunde* in Hamburg, *Württembergischer Verein für Handelsgeographie und Förderung deutscher Interessen im Auslande* in Stuttgart, the *Museum für Völkerkunde* in Lübeck, the *Provinzial-Museum Hannover*, the *Herzogliche Naturwissenschaftliche Sammlungen* at the Veste Coburg, the *Städtisches Museum* in Braunschweig, the ethnographic collection of the University of Göttingen, the Geographical Institute of the University of Giessen and the *Grossherzogliches Naturalien-Cabinet* in Oldenburg.¹¹ These collection items could therefore be found today in the *Museum am Rothenbaum* (MARKK) in Hamburg, the *Linden Museum* in Stuttgart, the Ethnological Collection of the Hanseatic City of Lübeck, the *Landesmuseum Hannover*, the Coburg Natural History Museum, the Braunschweig Municipal Museum, the Ethnological Collection of Göttingen University, the Museum of Giessen and the Oldenburg State Museum for Nature and Man.

Research on this case of a colonial collection of Nyaturu cultural belongings included examining the cultural belongings under investigation in the depots of the cooperating museums, archival research, the study of primary sources and scientific literature, and qualitative research in Singida Region including semi-structured focus group interviews and guided visits to historical sites and the Singida Regional Ethnographic Museum.¹²



Guided visit of Kilimatinde with Hezli Bilishan Semango.
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The qualitative research in Singida Region focuses on 21 groups of cultural belongings, consisting of 45 individual items. These are held by the Ethnological Museum (*Ethnologisches Museum*) in Berlin, the *Museum am Rothenbaum* (MARKK) in Hamburg and the *Landesmuseum Hannover*. This selection comprises cultural belongings related to fighting, cultural belongings with specific social functions for certain groups of persons, and objects of everyday life which refer to Nyaturu subsistence economy.

The circumstances surrounding the acquisition of the researched collection cannot be clarified on the basis of archival sources. It seems close at hand that these cultural belongings were looted, but archival sources provide no evidence that they were appropriated by force. Research in museum and national archives revealed no further information on the military actions by

¹⁰ SMB-ZA, I/MV 0721 (Erwerbung ethnologischer Gegenstände aus Afrika, vol. 21, duration: 1898–1901), fol. 183–187. For a collection item from this convolute now in the Ethnological Museum in Berlin cf. the 'bowl zither' with ident. No. III E 7513: "Sammlungen Online: Recherche, isumbi," Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, <https://id.smb.museum/object/209136> (accessed 13.02.2024).

¹¹ SMB-ZA, I/MV 0781 (Kolonial-Dubletten, duration: 1899–1902), fol. 251–300.

¹² The Singida Regional Ethnographic Museum is located in Singida town and is affiliated with the Open University of Tanzania (OUT). It exhibits artefacts and provides information on the Hadzabe, Nyiramba, Taturu, Kimbu, Nyisanzu, Barbaig, Nyaturu, and Gogo ethnic groups in Singida Region.

Gideon von Grawert against Wanyaturu people between 1897 and 1899. There are no corresponding reports in the archive files on the military expeditions of the colonial troops in German East Africa,¹³ nor could any files from the Kilimatinde district office on the military actions in question be found in the German Federal Archives or the Tanzania National Archives. The archive files of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, the MARKK in Hamburg, and the *Landesmuseum Hannover* also contain no information on the specific appropriation context of the convolute consigned by Gideon von Grawert in 1899. Therefore, the qualitative research based on semi-structured interviews was carried out in order to strengthen the Tanzanian perspective in the research project and to complement the limited archival information.

The aim of this research was, firstly, to share information with representatives of Nyaturu communities in Tanzania about the cultural belongings of Wanyaturu people that were probably looted by Gideon von Grawert and are now in the collections of the cooperating German museums. Secondly, the aim was to provide a case study on a colonial collection of Nyaturu cultural belongings to investigate the circumstances of appropriation in a colonial military context and the significance of the colonial translocation of cultural belongings for Wanyaturu people living today. More specifically, the research objective was to find out more about the historical context of Gideon von Grawert's military actions before 1899, memories of interactions with the Kilimatinde military station, and the significance of the cultural belongings in question for representatives of Nyaturu communities living today. So, the interview guide covered the topics of memory culture on German colonialism, military violence, and looting in Singida Region, and the Nyaturu cultural belongings in German museums.

The qualitative research consisted of two parts. Exploration of the historical context, in which the Nyaturu cultural belongings were appropriated, was guided by the following research questions: In how far can local memories elucidate the appropriation context of the cultural belongings sent to Germany by Gideon von Grawert in 1899? And to what extent and how are military expeditions by the German colonial power and associated looting passed on orally? The key questions guiding the research into the significance of the translocated Nyaturu cultural belongings in German museums were: What significance do members of Nyaturu communities today attach to the objects held in Berlin, Hamburg, Hannover and possibly other German museums? And to what extent is the existence of their own cultural heritage in German collections of interest to representatives of Nyaturu communities?

¹³ Cf. BArch, R 1001/288 (Militärische Expeditionen der Schutztruppe, vol. 10, duration: February–December 1897)–R 1001/290 (Militärische Expeditionen der Schutztruppe, vol. 12, duration: November 1899–April 1903).

Documentation of the qualitative research process

Research approach and framework

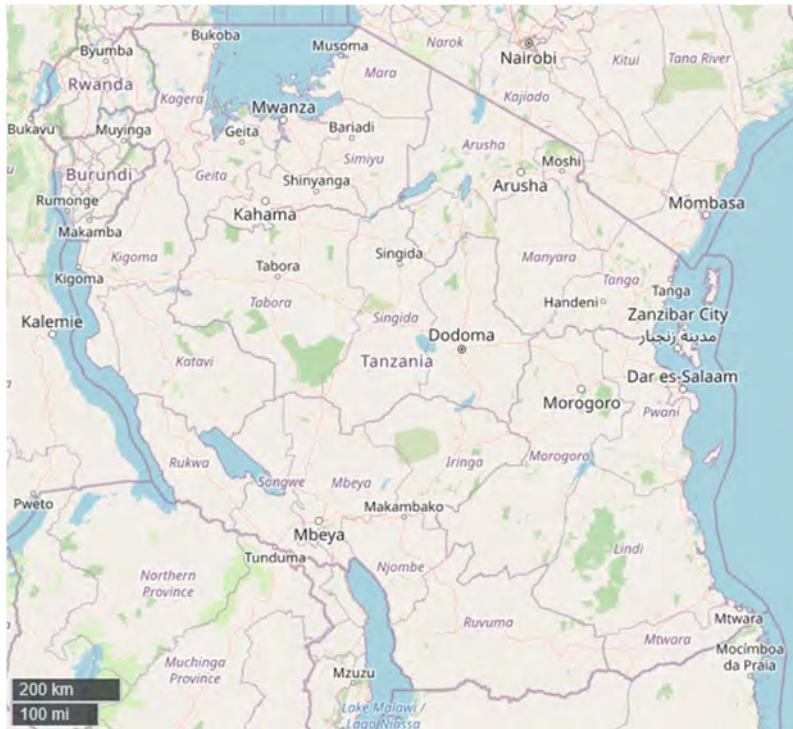


Figure 1: Singida Region in Central Tanzania. © OpenStreetMap, 2026/01/27, Open Database License: <https://www.openstreetmap.org/copy> right.

The research team consisted of two research partners from Tanzania and Germany, the authors of this report, and Salimu Hussein Jelejeza¹⁴ as Research Assistant. As part of the qualitative research, the research team visited eleven towns and villages in Singida Region. These are located within a radius of approximately 75 km north to approximately 140 km south of the town of Singida. Twelve interviews were conducted there with a total of 73 interviewees. These were representatives of the local administration and community: chairmen, chief executive officers, local cultural officers, elders and chiefs. Contact with the interviewees was established by the local

administration, and the interview groups of five to eight people were selected from within the communities as experts and representatives. The towns and villages were selected on the basis of historical sources documenting military contact with the German colonial power stationed in Kilimatinde at the end of the 19th century. A purposeful sampling strategy was therefore pursued for the study.

Before recording the interviews, the research team informed the interview groups about the research project on the collection of Nyaturu cultural belongings, which had been sent to Berlin in 1899 by colonial officer Gideon von Grawert, showed photos of focus objects and answered questions. The semi-structured focus group interviews were then conducted in Kiswahili and lasted between approximately 1 hour 20 minutes and 3 hours each. A total of almost 20.5 hours of interview material was recorded. After excluding one interview in which no ethnic Wanyaturu were present, 17.5 hours remained for transcription, translation into English and qualitative data analysis. Of the 67 interviewees, 82% identified themselves as belonging to the Wanyaturu group, 39% were women and 61% were men, with ages ranging from 27 to 107 years, with a median age of 66 years.

In addition to the information and interview sections, the research visits to the communities also included administrative activities and lasted between four and six hours each. The research team also received three guided excursions to historical sites. In total, the research team spent approximately 65 hours in the field during their seven-week research stay in the Singida Region in June and July 2025. During an exploratory research trip for liaising with Nyaturu

¹⁴ In his main occupation, Salimu Hussein Jelejeza is employed as Cultural Officer at the Ministry of Information, Culture, Arts, and Sports.

communities and site investigations in March and April 2025, part of the research team had already spent another 44 hours in the field.

In preparation for the provenance research, the research team obtained the necessary research permit from the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH) as well as a residence permit as a researcher in Tanzania, and contacted the regional administration of Singida Region. The Central Ethics Committee at Leibniz University Hannover reviewed the research project and stated its ethical acceptability. After thorough examination, the data protection officer of Leibniz University Hannover also issued a data protection clearance statement under the European General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

Qualitative data analysis

Thematic analysis of the focus group interviews was chosen as qualitative analytic approach. This approach supports identifying and interpreting patterns or themes of the co-produced data, acknowledges the active and reflexive role of the researchers in elaborating the underlying meaning of the interviews and its interpretation based on the research questions, and is well suited for historical research in general and this case study in particular.¹⁵ The specified analysis steps were slightly adapted for practical application to the research purpose, involving descriptive coding, highlighting exemplary quotes, categorising, developing themes, interpreting, and linking findings to literature and archival sources (see table 1). Transcription of the recorded interviews and translation into English was carried out by Halima Juma Adam, a researcher specialising in Li’iti Kidanka’s legacy, memory culture, and cultural heritage in the Singida Region, and a Kinyaturu, Kiswahili, and English speaker.

Steps of thematic analysis	Applications of thematic analysis steps
1. Familiarizing with the data	Research-team meetings during data co-production for reviewing recorded interviews and joint reflection on insights and experiences of the data co-production process. Reading and re-reading of transcripts and field notes during data analysis, reflective writing of an analytic memo. The Analytic memo is being updated throughout the process of data analysis during steps 2–5.
2. Generating initial codes	Descriptive coding and highlighting exemplary quotes which provide relevant insights. Coding is prepared by one researcher, followed by joint discussion and refinement.
3. Searching for categories and interrelations	Categorising codes and interrelating categories by observing patterns and relationships in data.
4. Developing themes	Developing themes as part of a thematic map by reviewing patterns found in step 3 on the basis of codes and categories, and returning to the data, including reviewing exemplary quotes. (Steps 2–4 are conducted for each focus group interview.)
5. Defining and naming themes	Refining the essence of each theme in relation to the research questions. Providing a detailed analysis of each theme, including relevant subthemes and selected exemplary quotes, while developing an accompanying narrative. Final naming of

¹⁵ Cf. Sirwan K. Ahmed et al., “Using thematic analysis in qualitative research,” *Journal of Medicine, Surgery, and Public Health* 6 (2025) 100198: 2, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gmedi.2025.100198> (accessed 13.11.2025).

Steps of thematic analysis	Applications of thematic analysis steps
	themes, considering their content and scope in relation to other themes. (Step 5 combines themes of all focus group interviews, i.e. complete data set.)
6. Writing up	Presenting findings through a coherent narrative and relating them to research questions. The report includes a detailed account of themes, data extracts (exemplary quotes), and analytic commentary. Data is interpreted and findings are linked to literature and archival sources.

Table 1: Six phases of thematic analysis, adaption based on thematic analysis developed by Braun and Clarke.¹⁶

As researchers, we used thematic analysis within a realist epistemological framework to report perspectives, experiences, meanings and the reality of our research participants. Our aim was to provide a rich thematic description of our data set, in order to present all themes relevant for developing a sound understanding of the research topic. Applying an inductive approach, our analysis was data-driven to ensure that the interview partners’ perspectives were brought to bear. In order to maintain proximity to these perspectives, we developed themes at the semantic level limiting ourselves to explicit meanings of the co-produced data.

As researchers, we want to be transparent on how our positioning shaped our analytical decisions and our research. We acknowledge our positions as Tanzanian and German researchers engaged with colonially appropriated cultural belongings of Nyaturu communities in Singida Region. Our interpretations and assumptions are informed by these specific positions. In addition, we were perceived by interview partners as representatives of the respective countries. Our reflexive practice involved recognising power imbalances in knowledge production, reflecting on ethical responsibility, respecting community perspectives and decisions, and explicit research choices based on joint critical reflections. Our analytical focus for the historical context was placed on colonial military and structural violence, including looting, and its impact on Nyaturu society. For the second part of the interview on the significance of the translocated Nyaturu cultural belongings under research, the analysis did not focus on individual objects, but on the general significance of their material culture in German museums for the representatives of Nyaturu communities, and related meaningful aspects of Nyaturu cultural heritage. Furthermore, the impact of the convolute’s translocation to Germany for the interview partners and their expectations regarding these objects, and beyond, were emphasised.

During the analytical process, emphasis was placed on the collaborative approach to joint data analysis of the two research partners. In addition, the ongoing interactive research process will include member checking, i.e. feedback by community representatives, at an international conference in Singida in March 2026, where research results will be presented, and involve scientific feedback as provided during the same conference.

These research findings, also presented below, are the result of the co-production of knowledge as a process between researchers and community representatives. This process involved reconstructing and documenting the focus groups’ history of experience of German colonialism in Singida Region and its lasting impact. These community perspectives are made available as a

¹⁶ Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, “Using thematic analysis in psychology,” *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, no. 2 (2006): 87, <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa> (accessed 13.11.2025); cf. also Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, “Toward good practice in thematic analysis: Avoiding common problems and be(com)ing a knowing researcher,” *International Journal of Transgender Health* 24, no. 1 (2023): 1–6, <https://doi.org/10.1080/26895269.2022.2129597> (accessed 13.11.2025); Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, *Thematic analysis: A practical guide* (Los Angeles: SAGE, [2022]), 35–6.

contribution to the ongoing debate on translocated cultural belongings from colonial contexts. They provide additional information that is not covered in colonial archival sources and can thus offer new insights for evaluating the historical context of German colonialism and current processes of historical reappraisal. The research results presented here therefore do not represent a source-critical historical evaluation of the co-produced data, but are intended to systematically reflect and comment on the main themes discussed by the focus groups as a supplementary contribution to the existing corpus of sources.

The research results thus reflect the remembrance of representatives of Nyaturu communities who shared handed-down memories and local perspectives on German colonialism and the translocation of cultural belongings. The oldest interview partners were able to recount memories that had been passed on to them by their parents or grandparents. For the younger interview partners, however, the history of German colonialism lies three to four generations (of 25 to 30 years each) in the past, meaning that the memories that have been passed down may have undergone multiple transformations. In addition, possible memory compression must also be taken into account.

Research results

The interview partners provided rich and detailed insights into local memories of German colonialism in Singida Region and their perspectives on the significance of the Nyaturu cultural belongings translocated to German museums. Below, we first present themes related to the historical context of German colonialism in Singida Region. We then share themes that we were able to co-develop from the perspectives of our interview partners on their cultural heritage in German ethnographic collections.

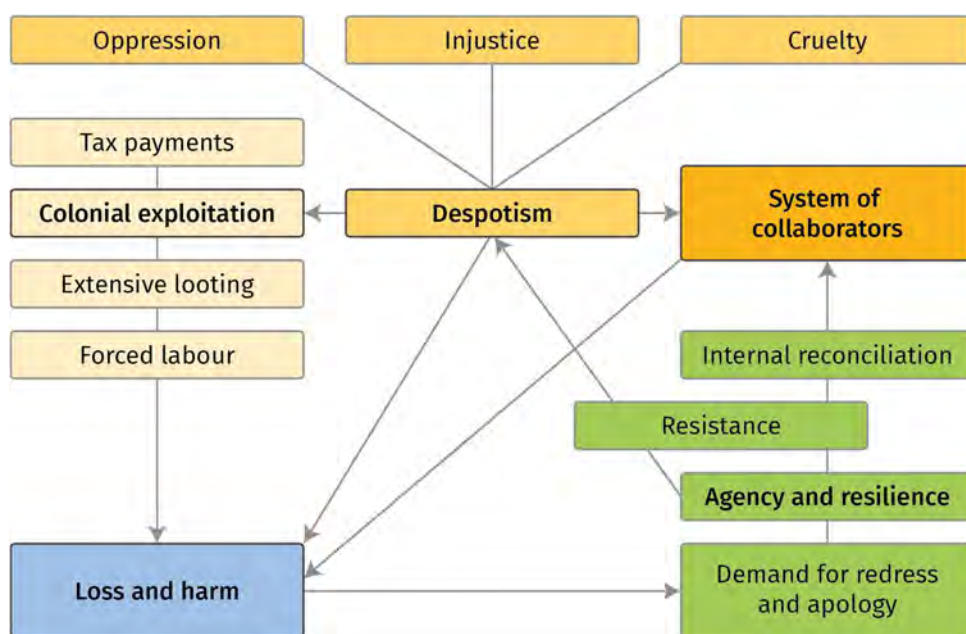


Figure 2: Thematic map on the historical context: themes and subthemes.

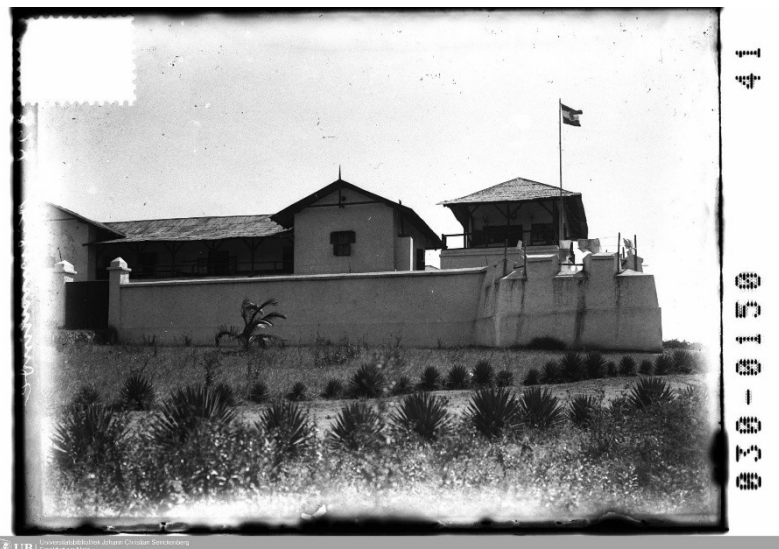
Despotism

The prevailing description of German colonial rule in Singida Region by the interview partners can be summed up with the term despotism. Elements of this despotic rule passed down through recounted memories are oppression, cruelty, and arbitrariness, perceived as injustice. Therefore, violence of various kinds and degrading treatment played a particularly prominent role in local memories passed down in Nyaturu communities and shared by members of the focus groups. The violence experienced included the killing of people, abductions (to Kilimatinde and

unknown places), and imprisonment, military attacks, physical violence, and sexual violence. "First of all: the Germans, the first thing they did was oppress us. They oppressed our ancestors by killing them." Jumanne Yahaya Kisuda,¹⁷ for example, stated. And another interview partner explained: "If you resisted, it was the gun—you'd be shot, or taken away and disappeared, or killed [...]."

In his work on the emergence of the German colonial state in Togo, sociologist Trutz von Trotha identified despotic action as the central feature of colonial rule at the local administration level, which was supported by intermediary action. In despotic action, arbitrariness is accompanied by the threat of violence. In intermediate action, the group of those being ruled can only be reached through the involvement of administrative intermediaries.¹⁸ In this sense, the focus groups provided information on how German colonial rule in the region was managed through colonial stations and military expeditions as instruments of despotic rule on the one hand and the establishment of intermediate structures with collaborating chiefs on the other (for the latter, see the theme 'system of collaborators' below).

Kilimatinde is remembered as regional colonial centre and military base of the occupying power. As such, it was the starting point for military expeditions into Nyaturu territories at the turn of the century and it is where people were brought by *askari* (locally recruited colonial soldiers) for imprisonment or for being killed. Since the *boma* or military station of Kilimatinde was far away for many Nyaturu communities, representatives of German colonialism were mainly experienced as members of military expeditions who exerted unpredictable violence against



Kilimatinde military station. © Bildarchiv der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft, Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, Bildnummer/shelf mark 030-0150-041.

Wanyaturu people, even without them showing open resistance. Military overpowering was perceived as a main instrument of power,¹⁹ and the German colonial period as a time of war: "When the Germans were here, there was war. Then my grandfather died during the war against the Germans because when they started killing people carelessly, people were fleeing and scattering. Now my grandfather stayed there and said he could not leave and abandon his property. So, when he remained there, later when people returned, they found he had been killed and all his belongings had been taken, and his grave is there at Issuna hill." Hossea Mkhanda Mkhambi recounted.

The following two quotations also illustrate how these wars of colonial despotism unfolded: "So, we remember those matters [German attacks] for their cruelty. The cruelty was terrible.

¹⁷ Some of the interview partners requested not to be anonymised and expressed their decision in their declaration of consent.

¹⁸ Trutz von Trotha, *Koloniale Herrschaft: Zur soziologischen Theorie der Staatsentstehung am Beispiel des „Schutzgebietes Togo“*, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), [1994]), 335–44.

¹⁹ In this sense, the colonial military expedition has been described as "actual instrument of colonial rule" by Dierk Walter, *Organisierte Gewalt in der europäischen Expansion: Gestalt und Logik des Imperialkrieges*, (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2014), 167; translation E.K.

And the Germans acted brutally without real cause. You would just wake up in the morning and hear gunshots ringing out, and we had no guns. [...] Truly, those wars that were fought, they were terrible wars, wars that were unjust. But we survived. We survived. For my part, I add this: those attacks, they were ambushes. Attacks that targeted a single person right at their home. Now, if one person was targeted, the others, once they heard the gunshot, they fled. And they had no way to help you. Once a gunshot was fired, that was the end—everyone fled.” “You find a house burned, and those inside—if children, they died. If it was an adult who at least saw the German soldiers arriving, he might escape by fleeing and leave the family behind.”

Colonial exploitation

Military expeditions were used not only for oppression, but also for exploitation of local populations. According to the interview partners, these two aspects were the main purposes for German colonial representatives to pass through Nyaturu territories: “Regarding these German caravans, on their routes, I think they were mainly for war.” And: “The caravans were for taking away our wealth,” we were told. The interview partners further described military expeditions and looting as core parts of the German colonial system and rule. In this sense, looting served the purpose of domination, as Ally Almasi Nkayaghwa told us: “For the most part, the Germans (in how they were) so that they could rule you, for the most part, they used ways to first strip you of whatever you had; property, weapons—then they would rule you.”

Looting was an integral part of German military expeditions, and the colonial military power looted extensively, the interview partners explicated. Looting of valuables and cultural belongings included hoes, hunting equipment like spears, knives, and shields, weapons, such as bow, arrows, clubs, knives, and spears, household goods, such as clay pots, calabashes, traditional plates, and ladles, or ritual objects like beads, partly appropriated through invasion of ceremonies. Looting of natural resources included minerals, gold, diamonds, leopard skins, elephant tusks, rhino horns, and timber. Looting of livestock and food included cattle, goats, sheep, chicken, eggs, honey, and animal skins. Livestock was looted for food or trade, and was taken without compensation. In addition, the head of Nyaturu resistance leader Li'ti Kidanka (see below) is also remembered to have been looted and brought to Germany.

The following statements by Juma Shabani Gwau illustrate how a general context of violence, threat and fear facilitated looting, even without the use of violence in every incident of looting: “The things that were looted include shields, spears, bows. [...] The Germans looted many things and went away with them, and a local person who refused suffered harm—when the European said it was an order. Our elders used to call it; ‘German force.’ We were told that they used to come quietly, enter into houses, beat you, take what they wanted, and leave. [...] When the Germans passed, they looted people’s property. And those properties, part they distributed to chiefs and others they left with. For example, livestock they used with their army as food. So, when they arrived at a rich man’s house, they simply ordered someone to give out cows. We were told they used to say: ‘Give, so you don’t die for nothing.’ A person who refused, they killed him. Livestock was taken for their food and for giving those who helped them—because the German army was large. And again, they took livestock by choosing for themselves—and you could not resist.”

Apart from looting, colonial exploitation was also carried out through tax payments and forced labour as carriers—of loads or German officers—or as soldiers. In connection with forced labour, the lives of Wanyaturu people were treated as worthless, the interview partners described to us. They even spoke of the ‘looting’ of people. In particular, forced labour as a carrier was connected to the extensive looting practice which materialised in Kilimatinde as a logistical hub, a place for storage of goods and resources and their eventual translocation to Germany or possibly other parts of the colony. Hezli Bilishan Semango told us: “The German military expeditions looted many things from various villages. Example: wealth which today are counted

as valuables. They looted minerals which today we count as government possessions. But also, they looted people from villages and people's houses. These people they forced to carry their loads and the things they wanted to be carried, like gold, diamonds, leopard skins and elephant tusks. All those and more, they carried. They also looted timber, rhino horns, and other various things. All those they took using force."

"I remember the stories from our elders about what they went through; they were made to carry loads and walk on foot from here all the way to Kilimatinde—while their feet were pierced and they were driven like cattle. Walking from here to Kilimatinde on foot, while carrying loads—truly they were tortured enough. The things that were done to our elders pain me deeply. Let them return our things—they are thieves, those things are ours—of our culture." Christina Msuni Ipini said. While another interview partner narrated: "Now, if you grew weak along the way and dropped, it meant you were a dead man—you would be killed. It was forced labour. And even those who got exhausted on the way, whether from hunger or sickness, they were left right there in the bush, while others continued the journey. So, it was extremely hard work for our parents and grandparents. The Nyaturu person was treated as worthless. That's what happened. Because if you grew weak, fell sick on the way, or got injured, you were left in the wilderness, becoming food for hyenas."

System of collaborators

"Ignorance is the foundation of despotism."²⁰ wrote the aforementioned Trutz von Trotha, and (with regard to the German colony of Togo): "The German invaders' ignorance of the region and the people and cultures they subjugated was profound."²¹ Therefore, the colonial local administration was dependent on the local knowledge of intermediaries. An essential component of this intermediate order was the system of collaborators. In the case of the Wanyaturu, these collaborators or collaborating chiefs were locals appointed as leaders by the German colonisers. According to passed-down memories, their task was to share information with German colonials of Kilimatinde, especially about resistance to colonial rule, and to receive instructions from Kilimatinde, for example to provide the German army with livestock and food. In return, they could receive support for Wanyaturu people or themselves from the Kilimatinde station, e.g. in the form of food or clothing. Some of the collaborators were motivated by their own ambitions for power and hoped to strengthen their position in internal conflicts. Collaborating chiefs could therefore be considered as illegitimate leaders by Wanyaturu people, at the same time being compared to oppressed, low-ranking soldiers and described as a system of spying collaborators by interview partners.

"First of all, the Germans put leaders who were accepted by them—these were people who were inside the community of the Wanyaturu, for example this Igwe and other leaders whom we used to call hamboi—it is like chairmen. Now those are the ones who were collecting things for the Germans, like cows which were needed for food—for the Germans, so those collaborators are the ones who would come to you and say we are taking this cow and this other one, even without asking—it is an order." Another interview partner, Joshua Samueli Majengo, explained: "The main interaction was through this collaborator who is Igwe, who was already connecting the Germans from Kilimatinde up to here, to the Wanyaturu. He just brought them for the sake of fighting with the clan of Lundi whom he already had hostility with, but when the Germans reached here, they changed their target and decided to begin ruling all of us, and that is where war started until we began fighting them, and some of our other elders began to suffer effects like being killed as they have said about Mzee Hango Nkindwa."

²⁰ Trotha, *Koloniale Herrschaft*, 373; translation E.K.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 374; translation E.K.

In the focus groups, Mwati (also called Maghogho) was particularly well remembered, and described as undignified and violent leader. Mwati was said to have been a man of extraordinary strength who was feared by all. This was understood to be the same Mhati (or Muati), who was appointed by the military station of Kilimatinde to rule over the Wanyaturu and for whose killing in 1896 persons were still being executed four years later, as can be read in the above-mentioned archive sources.²² According to Mughenyi Hassan Kimu, Mwati was killed after raping a woman. Mughenyi Hassan Kimu went on to explain: "Since Mwati was a puppet leader of the Germans, the Germans became very angry and said, for the act that was done—of killing their leader—then the people must be intending to overthrow the German government. So, they started hunting those who had killed Mwati, and finally those who had killed him fled and went to hide in a forest called Kimari. That forest is along the road from Singida to Manyoni, on the eastern side. So, the German soldiers ambushed those Nyaturu who were suspected to have killed that Mwati, and finally they were all killed [...]."

Collaborators could also use their position to protect their own community against the German colonisers. At the same time, they could also become victims of colonial violence. According to handed-down memories, a local collaborator called Mr. Mtimbo decided against inviting people to a meeting with Germans from Kilimatinde and was killed for his failure. Hossea Mkhandi Mkhanbi related: "Where Mtimbo was killed is our farm, meaning it's our place. I asked my father, and he said that Mtimbo was like those who are now called village executives. Now, he was told to invite people to come and receive the German. He was given this order by a German officer from Kilimatinde who came to hold a meeting here in Issuna. When that officer arrived, he didn't find people, except he found Mtimbo and a few others. The officer asked Mtimbo, 'Where are your people?' Mtimbo said, 'I invited them but they haven't yet arrived,' so the German became angry and told Mtimbo, 'Go there to the tree and kneel down!' The German shot Mtimbo with bullets until the tree was perforated. And that tree still exists to this day."

Impacts of German colonialism: Loss and harm

While military reports in the colonial archive certainly provide information about the excessive use of force, looting of livestock, and taking people captive, these reports offer little insight into the colonial officers' understanding of the effects of their military expeditions and colonial rule on the populations affected.²³ In contrast, the lasting impacts of German colonialism are still evident in local memory today.

Accordingly, the effects of German colonialism on Wanyaturu people were devastating. In general, the German colonial period was perceived as a time without peace, in which people suffered from the lack of peace and security. Family members were killed or disappeared never to be found again. Killings also resulted in the loss of expert knowledge. Interference in political and social structures and the system of colonial collaboration caused internal military conflicts, distrust, and social insecurity. The extensive looting and destruction by the German military caused impoverishment and loss of livelihood among formerly prosperous communities. In order to protect their property, people fled and became refugees in their own homeland. German colonial violence and looting also damaged the mental well-being of Wanyaturu people: "Because the one who was looted was left with nothing. He was left only with strong anger in his heart. Everywhere the Germans passed, they created hatred; people had no peace." The trauma caused by German colonialism lasts until today. Basilisa Kibuwi said: "Truly, the Germans treated us very badly. They left us with deep sorrow that continues even today."

²² TNA G 55/22 (Gerichts-Sachen. Farbige, vol. 1, duration: 1899–1902), no pagination.

²³ See, for example, BArch, R 1001/288 (Militärische Expeditionen der Schutztruppe, vol. 10, duration: February–December 1897), military report Stadlbaur, n.d., fol. 16–21.

Looting caused serious impoverishment, in particular through livestock plundering, and even loss of freedom, as people were driven into slave-like living conditions:²⁴ “In a big way for the Wanyaturu, the German brought big effects indeed. Maybe to the point that even many of our grandparents ended up with no way to get cattle. It reached a time when people (our grandparents) were forced to ask for a chance to go and be ‘invested in’ [note: euphemism meaning taken under someone’s control; Halima Juma Adam] by that man (the German) like a slave.” Ally Almasi Nkayaghwa explained.

The loss and permanent disappearance of family members through killings, forced labor, and abductions apparently caused the greatest suffering. This may be illustrated by the following statements:

“Our elders were victims of the Germans. The biggest impact for everyone was the taking of youths—the Germans entered every village and said, ‘Give us one youth,’ whether you wanted or not you had to give one youth. The youths taken in this way did not return, and we do not know what the fate of those youths where they were taken was.” (Juma Shabani Gwau)

“Looting involved looting people—that is taking people. You just think, a person is taken from the house by force, and his relatives know completely that this fellow of ours who is taken by the coloniser it is not easy he returns, surely people lacked peace and they lived with sadness and grief—because people understood completely that the one taken does not return again. People lacked peace and did not get help. To say the truth, the colonisers brought a big problem of lack of peace in the community.” (Kasmiri Joakimu Malolo)

“Now the problem is, when those German soldiers saw especially a girl who had reached puberty, those German soldiers were people whose minds were corrupted, they were not right in their heads. So, when they came across a girl of age, they just took her without agreement. The girl was simply carried off, even if she would later be abandoned somewhere along their path, maybe in Arusha—they did not care. The life of that girl was worthless to them, they did not care. And there were girls we never recovered at all. They were never found. That is why I told you, one of my aunts was carried off by those German soldiers and she never returned to this day.” (Hipoliti Sinda)

Agency and resilience

Agency of Wanyaturu people appears to have been limited during German colonialism. Resistance was met with physical or military violence and lethal force: “The interaction with the Germans was mostly in situations of resistance. When resistance occurred, that’s when there were beatings and gunshots.” Juma Shabani Gwau told us: “The Germans persecuted our ancestors greatly during that period of their rule here in the country. They beat them with whips made from the skins of wild animals, and the natives (our elders) who resisted that rule were killed. A person who refused to follow German rule was arrested and hanged or shot.” “Many people were hanged there at Kilimatinde because of refusing to be ruled by the Germans.” John Sife Kimonko said. And Joram Zakaria Ntandu recounted: “The Germans passed through Puma and killed that chief they had appointed—because that chief did not follow their demands. So, some of the people of Puma opposed by following their chief, and those people too were killed.”

²⁴ Although the German colonial administration claimed to be committed to the anti-slavery cause in East Africa, slavery was not abolished, but legally recognised and maintained by the colonial state. In spite of this government policy, slavery in German East Africa came to an end during the colonial period, mainly due to contemporary socio-economic factors. (Jan-Georg Deutsch, *Emancipation without abolition in German East Africa, c. 1884–1914*, (Oxford: Currey, 2006), 242–246.) It is also possible that the quoted statement refers to exploitative forms of wage labour or forced labour. A detailed description of forced labour as a systemic phenomenon of colonialism can be found in: Trotha, *Koloniale Herrschaft*, 344–373.

However, local agency during colonial time becomes apparent in resistance to colonial rule and in related internal support such as that just described. The resistance leader Li'ti Kidanka is an important person in Nyaturu memory culture. According to local remembrance, she successfully defeated the Germans by fighting them with bees until she was betrayed by a relative and killed by her opponents, probably in 1904.²⁵ Juma Selemani Njou said: "The memories we have are about one woman who was called Li'ti. That woman fought against Germany by using the bravery of bees." "That woman was brave. She was called Li'ti. That woman was greatly hunted. That Li'ti fought with the German armies, and many times she defeated them. That woman used the power of bees—that is, when the Germans approached her home, they would start being attacked by bees. They fought like that for several years, and later the Germans did investigations because they struggled a lot to shoot her and kept missing." Mughenyi Hassan Kimu told us. "[W]henver a soldier was coming to fight with her, she, Li'ti, would throw bees at them and the bees were attacking the soldiers causing them to flee. The Germans failed several times to fight with that woman," another interview partner explained, adding: "Li'ti was captured and killed, and her skull was taken to Germany." "The Germans killed Li'ti [...]. The Germans killed all those people who had influence in the community to remove from people the hope of resisting German rule." Lida Nkii Lida said.

According to local memories, areas without open resistance also experienced killings, physical violence, and exploitation by colonials, as well as internal military conflicts due to collaborators attempting to carry out German orders: "Because when the people [...] were sent to kill my grandfather and his companions, they found a big force of locals who had united with my grandparents to resist. So, they fought [...], people died, and my grandparents fled, but later returned. They eventually reconciled [...]—because he was still one of their own—and they were allowed back. We returned, though it was difficult. So that's what we remember—that the German caused terrible problems, brought about wars that had no real basis, no reason at all, only because of the German's provocation." Nevertheless, people showed resilience and achieved internal reconciliation.

Today, the interview partners call for redress for historical injustice, cruelty, and losses, including historical reappraisal, compensation, and an apology. Charles Mdoma Mtundu said: "I think that, in the way in which the Germans ruled us, and the things they did to us, they should in present life think for themselves and think of how to wipe our tears off, because they contributed in a big way to weaken our lives from where we were to going backwards in development." "And if they themselves have remembered to come to us and ask us about these matters, maybe they can help us in some way (to compensate) for what they did to us. [...] But (I emphasise), the Germans did many evils to us, they killed our ancestors. I do not know (for now) what important thing they can do for us to compensate. Or how they will help us to compensate for what they did." Jumanne Yahaya Kisuda reflected. "Our point is that we have human thoughts, human feelings. We say: they should see that those who were treated in this way were human beings. And so, at least they should console us, even with something small. That's why I said—just a little consolation, so that perhaps our spirits can rest." Hipoliti Sinda shared. And Husseni Gallawa Gwau commented: "[B]esides needing these items to be returned, we as Wanyaturu should also come and be asked for forgiveness, for the things that were done to us, the cruelty, because our things were taken cruelly. Now we need Germans to come and ask for forgiveness."

After having shared their knowledge and perspectives on German colonialism in Singida Region, the focus groups discussed the significance of the Nyaturu cultural belongings

²⁵ For further information on Li'ti Kidanka, cf. for example Halima Juma Adam in: "Podcast: Who was Li'ti Kidanka, the Queen of the Bees?," DW Podcasts: Shadows of German Colonialism, 27.12.2024, 10 min., 23 sec., <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bbe7-t6F5C0> (accessed 22.01.2026). Cf. also Marguerite Jellicoe, "The Turu Resistance Movement," *Tanzania Notes and Records* 70 (1969): 4–7.

translocated to German museums. The related themes are presented below as community perspectives on Nyaturu cultural heritage in German museums.

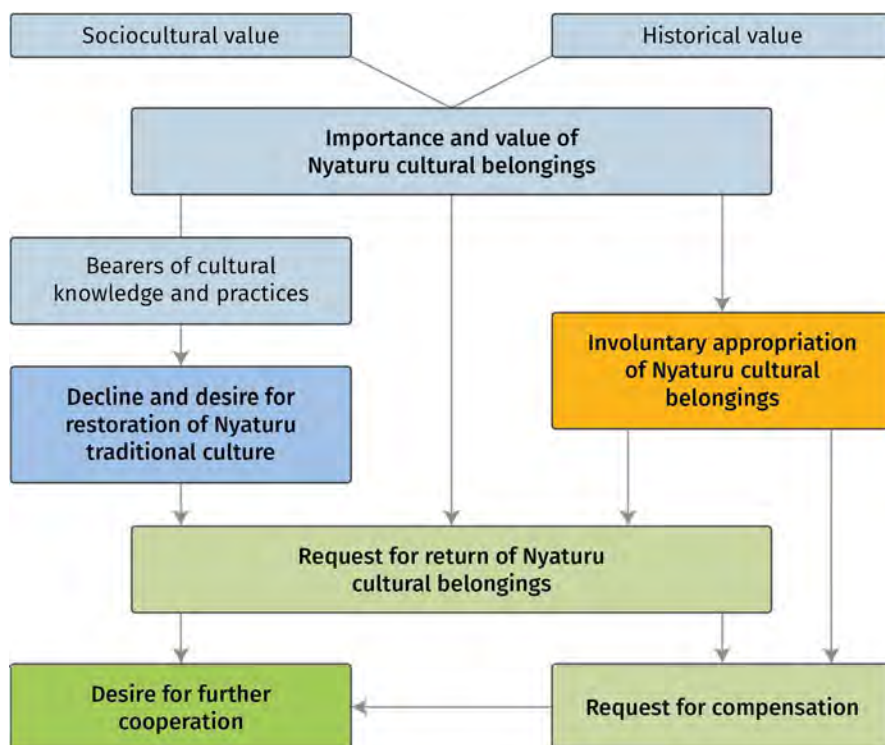


Figure 3: Thematic map on Nyaturu cultural belongings in German museums: themes and subthemes.

Importance and value of Nyaturu cultural belongings

The Nyaturu cultural belongings under research are of great importance and value to the overwhelming majority of interviewees. After all, cultural belongings are indispensable for Nyaturu culture and the bearers of cultural knowledge and practices. Therefore, significance of Nyaturu cultural belongings is connected to various aspects of personal, social and cultural life among Wanyaturu people. Nyaturu cultural belongings were described to be of culture-preserving, memory-conveying, identity-forming, uniting, functional, protective, healing, ritual, ceremonial, social, political, educational, moral, knowledge-related, geographical, emotional, and decorative significance. Furthermore, some of the Nyaturu cultural belongings are signs of affiliation and related to groups of age, gender, position and/or social status. Apart from their great cultural meaning and value, some of the cultural belongings were considered of significant past economic value and also played an important role in trade and exchange. Some of these aspects may be demonstrated by the following statements.

“These objects, completely, by rule, they are the culture of Mnyaturu, and the culture of Mnyaturu cannot be one without these objects being present, and the rule as it is is that, without these objects it means that we have no culture.” (Gwau Ikhanya Bulali) “So us we have been deprived of all our cultural items, we do not have them, so when I want to explain or teach someone I will teach only in theory because there is no reality [...]. We don’t have the ability to do a complete culture, we do a culture which is theoretical, there are no practices. [...] So, our culture will not have any reality, thus it will be a half culture or an acting culture that is not real.” (Mughenyi Hassan Kimu)

“So, the relations are big and they have big meaning to us because they are objects that our grandfathers used. They are objects with meaning for the present time, the past, and the coming.” (Hezli Bilishan Semango) “These objects remind us far and we understand them all well. There is none which has no meaning to us.” (Ezereda Yona Malungu) “The importance of those

objects [...] is history for our children and our generations, that is the importance which we see." (Jeremia Martin Misholi)



Focus group interview, from left to right: Mwanaidi Sira Duadi, Amina Mlali Kundyia, Joseph Mghana Hango, Ally Almasi Nkayaghwa, Petro Haji Saidi, and Salimu Hussein Jelejeza. © Flower Manase, 2025/06/11.

"Owning these materials is very great respect for a Nyaturu. If you have materials like these you are respected in the community—you are counted as one who has held the culture in its correctness." (Isaya Muna Laliku) "A town where these things exist, is a town which the Nyaturu community respects. And people go there to rent these things." (Eze-reda Yona Malungu) "A Mnyaturu had only one principle—each object had to be present in a person's homestead, that is when a person's homestead was considered complete. [...] For someone

who lacked an object or some of them, they could go and borrow from their neighbour depending on the activity they wanted to do." (Ally Almasi Nkayaghwa)

"These are our objects, of our language, of our culture, from ancient times till now. For example, that small kibuyu, we call it kihongoo, that was our traditional thermos used in our caretaking, for all of us—when we were small children." "And this is a kibuyu (gourd) decorated for the love of her child, like flowers." (Tausi Kisesea Humbe)

"Here are bracelets which the Wanyaturu were wearing. These bracelets were their art and they were being sold in big auction markets. Long ago there were auction markets so people were doing trade by exchanging products. For example, for these bracelets, the Wanyaturu would exchange them for cows. The traders of these bracelets were bringing them from other places. But also, these bracelets were being worn by high status people who had many cows. People who did not have many cows were not able to buy these bracelets." (Mughenyi Senge Mughenyi alias Chief Ndovu)

Decline and desire for restoration of Nyaturu traditional culture

Nyaturu cultural belongings are still used and known until today, although Nyaturu traditional culture has been declining. Its decline was linked to the desire for continuation and restoration of Nyaturu traditional culture: "They are things which are truly needed, old items are being used until now, in the villages you find people still continue to use them, therefore those objects should reach towns (city spaces) so that all youth understand where their parents and their people of the past came from, therefore the Germans should make a plan to return them to us." Mwanahamisi Rajabu Songoro declared.

Some of the cultural belongings have been preserved over time while others have been lost: "Objects like this now are lost, they are not easily seen. We need them to return because they are very few [...]." Isaya Muna Laliku said. "For example, here I see a picture of a mortar, for children nowadays they will just read about a mortar but the real picture they cannot see. And here before me I see a picture of a spear and an arrow, also so all these items were used in the

tradition of our parents or our elders, meaning that; the present generations cannot see such items because they have become rare." Abubakar Ukhotya exemplified.

As Nyaturu material culture is indispensable for cultural knowledge and practices, cultural belongings are necessary for the continuity of traditional culture in general. Loss of cultural belongings and the knowledge to produce them, therefore, is connected to the decline of Nyaturu traditional culture and knowledge. Neema Hussein Mwigha explicated: "The absence of these items makes us fail to do our traditional practices well [...]. For me in my marriage I used this, and for now I don't think there is any Nyaturu customary marriage that will take place because we no longer have items like this."

The colonial translocation of cultural belongings to Germany as destruction of Nyaturu traditions by German colonialism was cited as one of the reasons for the current scarcity of Nyaturu material culture. In addition, the displacement effect of new religions on traditional culture, school education, and globalisation in general were mentioned as factors influencing the decline of traditional culture. "But for now these items are no longer there because the Germans took them. Now when we have a ceremony we fail where to get these items so that we can complete our Nyaturu ceremonies." Mughenyi Hassan Kimu told us. "The importance is that these things are our property which we were using, and we still wanted them to be here, because after these things were taken our culture of Mnyaturu has deteriorated a lot." Gwau Ikhanya Bulali said. And Hipoliti Sinda stated: "For now, many of these objects are lost, many people do not know them, and this knowledge is lost. We cannot thank the Germans and say that they have preserved them for us—instead, we blame the Germans very much for interfering with us and destroying our traditions."

Still, some of the interview partners expressed their appreciation for the preservation of Nyaturu cultural belongings in Germany, as part of their desire for restoration of their traditional culture: "We thank them for preserving them because they could have decided to burn them or to lose them, but they preserved them. For that we thank. For preserving for us—I say they preserved for us because still this is our property, property of Tanzanians." Hezli Bilishan Semango explained.

Involuntary appropriation of Nyaturu cultural belongings

For the focus groups, the involuntary appropriation of the Nyaturu cultural belongings was obvious. The following arguments were put forward to support this view.

Firstly, there are cultural restrictions on the ownership of cultural belongings. Since Nyaturu cultural belongings are linked to cultural knowledge about the rules governing their use, their possession requires receiving cultural lessons and teachings of social norms: "Those are our rules that you must go through lessons before you can own these traditional items. Meaning also the rule included the lessons that a person is supposed to receive before owning a traditional item. Because some were not supposed to be seen, others were allowed to be seen." Joseph Shaban Muna expounded.

Secondly, the necessity of cultural belongings for everyday and social life makes a voluntary transaction highly unlikely. Tausi Kisesea Humbe elucidated: "They were not taken voluntarily, but by stealing from us or either by force and seizing from us because the owners of these items had uses with them. Therefore, these tools, they could not give to a German. For example, kipeyu and kibuyu for storing traditional brews, when they were doing their ceremonies, they would sit together and have conversations to unite those two children while having a drink stored in this container. Now if you give your container to someone, what about another day when you want to marry someone? You will not get that container and not everyone knows how to make such a container, there were special craftsmen, and there were payments you give

a craftsman so that you are made such items. Therefore, Wanyaturu did not give these items voluntarily.”

Thirdly, the economic value of Nyaturu cultural belongings could be considerable, as already hinted at in the last quote. Beads and copper, for example, were of great value, and also producing cultural belongings by special craftsmen was costly, the interview partners argued.

Fourthly, the lack of a trusting relationship was cited. However, this would have been necessary, apart from a shared language, in order to be able to come into contact at least with certain cultural belongings. This was mentioned for the case of the beads belt (ifampa) by Tausi Kisesea Humbe: “This bead-string—the one who could see it on a woman was only her partner, and it was a great joy for the woman wearing it. But the one who could see it was only her partner. So, it is surprising how the Germans got it, since it stayed on the woman’s waist.” And Mughenyi Hassan Kimu elaborated further: “[I]t is not easy to give something such as waist beads, to give a person. In the year 1899 even if a stranger, a man, was not a white person, even if he was a person from any other tribe, it was not possible for a Nyaturu woman to agree to a man of another tribe different from a Mnyaturu man, to even to approach her, therefore it is very clear according to how that period was, that it was not easy for such interaction to have been a voluntary one.”

Fifthly, for the reasons mentioned above, some cultural belongings are indicative of an involuntary appropriation of the convolute under research. In addition to the already mentioned private female objects, this applies in particular to secret female objects, weapons, and ritual or healers’ objects. Shabani Juma Ramadhani explicated: “These things were not given voluntarily because if you look here, many are weapons which were used for the purpose of self-defence. Even those small gourds, which were used in healing matters, they could never be given to anyone. A person cannot give his ritual item to someone else voluntarily—it is something impossible. We did not give the bow as a gift—bow, spear, knife, all those were self-defence weapons which a person is given according to age/group and responsibilities, not as gift, so these things were not given voluntarily.”

The convolute sent to the Berlin Ethnological Museum by the colonial officer Gideon von Grawert in 1899 also contains secret female objects that are not to be seen by any man, nor even talked about in front of men. The presence of these secret objects in a museum collection is still considered humiliating for Nyaturu women today.

Finally, the historical context of German colonial rule in Singida Region in which the cultural belongings were appropriated was characterised as a context of war and oppression, of colonial force, danger, and cheating. Ultimately, Nyaturu cultural belongings in German museums were therefore regarded as evidence of the inhumane treatment of ancestors and as testimonies of suffering. According to community perspectives, Wanyaturu people would not have offered their culture to their perpetrators. Only collaborators, who had to fear the consequences of losing their position, offered gifts which therefore cannot be seen as voluntary transactions either. As Shabani Juma Ramadhani put it: “These materials people were dispossessed during the time of war—when they were overpowered, they left some materials and ran to save lives. [...] The history we have is about the way our grandfathers were tortured by the Germans. A person being tortured cannot give something voluntarily not even one day. Even those who were leaders, collaborators of colonisers—even them they did not give property voluntarily but because of fear of protecting positions.”

Request for return of Nyaturu cultural belongings

The focus groups called on the heads of the cooperating museums as well as German and Tanzanian state authorities to return their cultural heritage from German collections. On the basis of the oppressive appropriation context of German colonialism in Singida Region, Nyaturu

cultural belongings in German museums are seen as ancestors' property and Nyaturu heritage. "The Germans wronged us greatly by taking away our things, and with the other things they did. [...] If truly they have good intentions, they should return these objects. They should not perform for us and pretend to be hypocrites. They should return our objects sincerely and also offer us an apology." Hipoliti Sinda said.

Nyaturu cultural belongings are deeply connected to Nyaturu culture and identity. Legitimate ownership of Nyaturu cultural belongings, therefore, is connected to related cultural knowledge and affiliation. But Germans are lacking knowledge about Nyaturu cultural belongings in their museums, we were told. Also for this reason, the presence of Nyaturu cultural heritage in German museums is seen as illegitimate by some of the interview partners. One of them commented: "These objects are important to be in the hands of a person who has understanding of how to use them together with the meaning of owning these objects. [...] These objects are the right of a Mnyaturu. I really wonder about these Germans who stay with things that are not theirs, they have no use with them, nor do they know their traditions and culture."

Some interview partners emphasised that it is not their intention for their looted cultural heritage to be exhibited in German museums and for Germans to benefit from it. Since it was assumed that German museums generate income from Nyaturu cultural belongings, the view was expressed that the history of colonial exploitation continues as long as the cultural belongings remain in German museums. Although some of the interview partners considered the possibility of producing cultural belongings for German museums or leaving part of the collection in Germany as a connecting element or compromise, most of the interview partners preferred the return of all Nyaturu cultural belongings. Mughenyi Senge Mughenyi alias Chief Ndovu expressed: "These objects will not do any purpose to us because they are not with us, they are in Germany, we do not benefit from them, those who will benefit, maybe, are the people of Germany." And Juma Said Maghogho contemplated: "These items could fulfill a function while being in German museums only if they (the Germans) are giving us motivation (dividend), that is when it will be of benefit to us. But we say it is better they bring them here so that we continue seeing our items, because there are other items of more value than those, so let them bring all so that they continue being used by us." In another focus group, Huseni Sungita Mangi pronounced: "I support the chairman's point of returning those items and having a museum built, because we will all—both us and the Germans—remember them together. And if the Germans want to come visit to see them then they will have to come all the way here."

Overall, the return of the Nyaturu cultural belongings is of great importance to the focus groups, as the existence of Nyaturu cultural belongings in Singida Region has been declining while they continue to be of great significance and value for Nyaturu culture. Since Wanyaturu people do not have access to their cultural heritage in German museums, the cultural belongings should be returned to a Tanzanian, regional or local museum in Singida Region for the cultural education and knowledge, historical information, and economic benefit of Wanyaturu people, according to community perspectives. Return to a museum in Singida Region featured most prominently among the interview partners. It was also requested that the process of negotiating the return of Nyaturu cultural belongings between the responsible Tanzanian and German authorities be initiated, and that Nyaturu chiefs be involved and community perspectives considered. The following statements may illustrate these perspectives.

"These objects should be returned because there (in Germany) they have no benefit, they are just sitting, here our children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren and great-great-grandchildren do not understand history because when the Germans took them they also made it that people stopped making them, but if our people see them (the objects) in our museums they will be able to learn that our tribe used to have this and that item, thank you." (Mwanahamisi Rajabu Songoro)

"I think if these materials should be returned, it will be of help to us, first of all, if those materials return, they should not stay in the national museum but they should come to our region, also to our district, so that we continue to benefit because right now what we are seeing in pictures is not here anymore, not at all, and some of these items are completely lost. Therefore, if they come near here, we will continue to honour them, we will do tourism and go to see these items which were of our old days, and they will teach us and we will continue to preserve our culture for the present generation and future." (Adam Gwao)

"In addition, I am very thankful to them (the Germans) for taking these objects to preserve them in their place, and also bringing them in pictures to us, they have shown us that they knew these objects belonged to us but they kept them for us in Germany, and now they should bring them to us so that it becomes a memory for this generation we are giving birth to, and they (our generation) should know, yes, the traditions of their ancestors—that they used such objects. That the objects have great meaning." (Joseph Mghana Hango)

"[T]hese memories, since they are the heritage of Tanzania and Singida, we ask if there is a possibility that these items be returned for the heritage of Tanzanians. This is a request, that these items be returned for the heritage of our Tanzania and Singida as a whole." (Petro Haji Saidi)

"So, our ancestors were stripped of them, and these are objects you cannot get today. So, these objects should be returned and assessed, and their costs repaid. And when they are returned, come as you have come today, not that when they are returned the costs and everything else end in Dodoma or Dar es Salaam with people who did not (rightfully) give opinions. It should reach here, and we should be told: we built this office (or this and that) out of this compensation—so the whole community (of Wanyaturu) is involved." (Mughenyi Hassan Kimu)

"I request our government together with the government of Germany and our chiefs, to sit together and discuss so as to return our items very quickly, thank you." (Mwarabu Seleman Muna)

Due to the sensitive nature of the secret female cultural belongings in the convolute, we have received special requests for these items. It was urgently requested not to disclose these cultural belongings and related knowledge to men and the public. They should be handled in a respectful way and not placed in a museum, also not in Singida. Instead, the secret female cultural belongings should be returned to knowledgeable elderly women, already hidden, and they should be kept hidden from men's sight in Singida Region.

Request for compensation

The request for return of the Nyaturu cultural belongings was connected to a request for compensation in some of the focus groups. For example, interview partners asked to share revenue presumably generated by Nyaturu cultural belongings in German museums: "And maybe our friends have used them for great benefit for us. So, that benefit, let's share it, so that it becomes one benefit for all." Joseph Mghana Hango proposed. And Mwarabu Seleman Muna said: "As I said at the beginning, that these objects have stayed in Germany in their exhibitions for a very long time. So, the German government has got very big income from having these possessions, so we ask that we be compensated at least a little because the objects have stayed there for long, so that they (the Germans) can at least wipe our tears, us the people of Singida, because they have used our items."

Other interview partners justified their demand for compensation with the violent context of the appropriation: "So, our plea—as those who today have been given the chance to be interviewed—is that these items be returned to us, and also the suffering should be considered, because our ancestors suffered. There should come a point where people feel compassion and pain, [...] let it reach a point where we are listened to, so these matters are considered, and finally our weapons are returned with compensation, because our relatives suffered and their

dignity was degraded. They were treated with inhuman cruelty, so we ask for it to be that way.” Mughenyi Hassan Kimu pleaded. Mwajuma Hasani Selemani suggested: “Because these objects were taken through plundering, then, the two governments need to sit and discuss to figure out the proper way of compensation, whether returning them or if there are other agreements that can be made, then it will be good.”

Among other things, it was proposed that compensation be provided in the form of a museum to be built: “[W]e would ask that these items be returned here to their origin, and before being returned, because the Germans took them and benefited from them, then they should build a museum for us, and then return our items to us.” Gwau Ikhanya Bulali requested.

Desire for further cooperation

One focus group connected their request for compensation to a sense of deep responsibility arising from a shared history of violence and to a desire for economic cooperation. The background to this request is also the exploitation and looting of mineral resources such as gold and gemstones during German colonialism and the associated concern to make amends for the economic damage caused. “[W]hen people fight a war and it finishes, they usually swear an oath for peace and they become brothers and their lives become one and intertwined. Therefore, if these things are returned here and put in the museums here, Germans are required to come and collaborate with us economically, because our country is not allied with any side. Those Germans have already become our brothers and sisters. [...] There is no possibility for us not to continue harboring bitterness towards Germans because they now have the upper power economically, including with regards to the property they took [...]” Huseni Sungita Mangi explained.

Also, additional research guided by community interests, e.g. on certain historical personalities of the Wanyaturu, was requested. Other interview partners wished for continued international cooperation which should include mutual exchange on Nyaturu and German perspectives and culture. They requested an open dialogue also including the broader public into further developments of the research project’s results and a possible restitution process, e.g. via regional radio broadcasting. For this, they also expected the research project to pass on shared perspectives and knowledge and report back on the project’s results.

Conclusion

The project ‘Ethnographic and Anthropological Spoils of War from Military Expeditions in German East Africa as Collection Items for German Museums’ uses the example of a colonial collection of Nyaturu cultural belongings to investigate the circumstances of appropriation in a colonial military context and the significance of the colonial translocation of cultural belongings for descendant communities. The aim of this research was, firstly, to share information with representatives of Nyaturu communities in Tanzania about the cultural belongings of Wanyaturu people that were probably looted by colonial officer Gideon von Grawert and are now in the collections of the cooperating German museums. Secondly, the aim was to examine the historical context, in which these cultural belongings were appropriated, and the significance of the translocated cultural heritage in question for representatives of Nyaturu communities living today.

The main findings of this case study reveal that German colonialism in today’s Singida Region is remembered as a despotic rule characterised by colonial exploitation, oppression, injustices and cruelty, engineered in a system of collaboration with local traditional rulers. According to local memories, this led to loss and harm caused by extensive looting, forced labor and tax payment, excessive colonial violence with degrading treatment, and provocation of internal conflicts. Description of the impacts of German colonialism on Wanyaturu people included lack

of peace, impoverishment, loss of relatives, and damage to mental well-being, resulting in long-term consequences. In local remembrance, Wanyaturu people responded to the German colonial system with local agency and resilience, for instance in the case of Li'ti Kidanka's resistance against German colonial rule and through achieving internal reconciliation. In view of the cruelty and long-term effects of German colonialism, representatives of Nyaturu communities demanded redress and an apology from the descendants of the former colonial power.

The findings further reveal that Nyaturu cultural belongings, including everyday objects, acquired through involuntary appropriations during the period of German colonial rule are significant to community representatives and continue to hold historical value, sociocultural value, and traditional value as bearers of cultural knowledge and practices. Since Nyaturu traditional culture has been declining, such values disclose the relevance of cultural belongings to Nyaturu communities of today, hence raising claims for the return of Nyaturu cultural heritage in all focus groups and for compensation for committed colonial injustices and atrocities by various interview partners. Some representatives of Nyaturu communities expressed a desire to develop cooperation and partnership with Germany as a way of comfort, repair of the relationship, returning ownership, building trust and friendship.

These research results offer the potential to add community perspectives to ongoing provenance research on collections from former German colonies held in German museums, and may provide particularly relevant information for the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, the *Museum am Rothenbaum* (MARKK) in Hamburg, the *Landesmuseum Hannover*, the *Linden Museum* in Stuttgart, the Ethnological Collection of the Hanseatic City of Lübeck, the Coburg Natural History Museum, the Braunschweig Municipal Museum, the Ethnological Collection of Göttingen University, the Museum of Giessen and the Oldenburg State Museum for Nature and Man. This case study shows that local memories can fill the gaps in the colonial archive, even if the colonial officer who appropriated the cultural belongings in question is not personally remembered within descendant communities. Handed-down memories can provide profound insights into the historical context of German colonial rule, in which cultural belongings were appropriated, describing systematic military violence and looting carried out by members of the local colonial administration. These perspectives on the historical context of German colonialism, gained through documentation of local remembrance in Singida Region, can be linked to and are supported by archival sources and scientific literature.

This provenance research project was able to share information with representatives of Nyaturu communities about the existence of their cultural heritage in German museums, employing qualitative methodology, preparatory field trips and focus group interviews with Nyaturu elders (male and female) aged between around 60's to 100's and local government leaders aged between around 30's to 60's. The study findings indicate that the significance of cultural belongings for representatives of Nyaturu communities is connected to awareness and education of young people about their culture. We therefore recommend further research studies to be conducted focusing on young Nyaturu people (youths and children), examining their level of interest, awareness and understanding of cultural belongings appropriated during the German colonial period.

The research findings could further encourage to include voices of local stakeholders to ongoing restitution dialogues. In this sense, the findings from this research study could be employed in Germany and Tanzania, informing policy and decision makers and aiding the museums, researchers, scholars, and cultural practitioners in understanding local perspectives on the historical context of Nyaturu cultural belongings and their significance and relevance to Nyaturu communities of today. These insights could serve as a basis for initiating a 'return process' of Nyaturu cultural belongings as part of the restitution dialogue. Based on the great importance and value attributed to the translocated cultural belongings by representatives of Nyaturu communities and their remembrance of an oppressive, violent and exploitative context of

appropriation during German colonialism, all focus groups demanded the return of their cultural heritage from German collections. The interviewed Nyaturu representatives requested that the return process be initiated immediately by the responsible of the cooperating museums as well as the relevant German and Tanzanian state authorities. They also asked for their expressed perspectives and interests to be taken into account.

For the German side, guidelines for dealing with cultural property and human remains from colonial contexts were recently published, which also set out the principles governing the return of cultural property from colonial contexts.²⁶ On the Tanzanian side, a government body has been set up and mandated to coordinate negotiation and return processes.²⁷ The largest part of the researched convolute of Nyaturu cultural belongings sent to Berlin in 1899 is located in the Ethnological Museum of the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* of the *Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation). Already in 2022, the Foundation Board authorized the President of the *Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* "to enter into an agreement for the return of objects from Tanzania that have been identified as war booty from the Maji-Maji War and other wars since the colonial conquest."²⁸

In Tanzania and Germany, prerequisites for returns of cultural belongings have been established, and it can therefore be concluded that the parties involved are willing and open to engage in joint return processes. This engagement can open up a dialogue on what a restitution process entails for each party. It therefore also offers the opportunity for a deeper mutual understanding of a shared past as a basis for trusting and future-oriented relations.

²⁶ "Joint Guidelines for dealing with cultural property and human remains from colonial contexts agreed by the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media, the Minister of State at the Federal Foreign Office, the Cultural Affairs Ministers of the *Länder* and the municipal umbrella organisations", Translation, 14 October 2025, https://www.cp3c.org/relevant_documents/20251126_Joint%20Guidelines_for_Dealing_with_Cultural_Property_and_Human_Remains_from_Colonial_Contexts.pdf (accessed 28.01.2026), 9–14.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁸ Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, "PRESS RELEASE: Foundation Board clears the way for returns to Namibia and Tanzania," Berlin, 27. June 2022, https://www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/fileadmin/user_upload_SPK/documents/presse/pressemitteilungen/2022/220627_STR_Namibia-Tansania-ENG.pdf (accessed 08.01.2026), 1.

Acknowledgements

We are deeply grateful to our interview partners for sharing their knowledge and perspectives, thus co-producing this research. However, responsibility for the research results lies solely with the authors. We would like to thank the staff of the museums cooperating in the project for their continuous and constructive collaboration, as well as the National Museum of Tanzania, the Central Archive and Ethnological Museum of the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*, the *Museum am Rothenbaum (MARKK)* in Hamburg and *Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover* for their institutional support. We would like to thank the German Lost Art Foundation (*Deutsches Zentrum Kulturgutverluste*) and the staff of its Department of Cultural Goods and Collections from Colonial Contexts for making this research possible and for their supportive accompaniment of the project. We are indebted to our project manager Prof. Dr. Brigitte Reinwald for her trusting and wise guidance. Our special thanks go to Salimu Hussein Jelejeza, Halima Juma Adam and Anke Arkenberg for their invaluable contribution to the research project, and to all the staff at the History Department of *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Universität Hannover* who kindly supported the project.

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Appendix

Convolute of Nyaturu cultural belongings sent to the Ethnological Museum in Berlin by Gideon von Grawert in 1899

[Serial Number]	Items	Names in Kinyaturu	Ident. No. EM, MARKK, NLMH
1	Two large wooden vessels for pombe	kamelo	III E 7471, III E 7472
2	Two small wooden vessels for milk	kamelo	III E 7473, III E 7474
3	Two large wooden troughs for mtama, also serves as a measure for the purchase of cattle and goats 1 goat = 1 trough of mtama 1 male bovin = 3 troughs of mtama 1 female bovin = 10 troughs of mtama	mpe	III E 7476
4	1 musical instrument for unmarried men, they play by placing the instrument on the inverted wooden trough and only until they are married.	isumbi	III E 7513
5	1 pumpkin bowl with black decoration for milk.	luka	III E 7479
6	2 pumpkins with black painting for milk	baki	III E 7481, (III E 7480?)
7	2 pumpkins decorated with black stripes, with a narrow opening. If a Nyaturu woman wants to visit her friend, she fills a pumpkin with flour and takes it to her friend, who then receives the contents as a gift when she greets her	dahoa	III E 7482, III E 7483
8	1 large earthenware vessel for pombe	teko	III E 7484
9	1 medium-sized earthen vessel for cooking mtama porridge or similar dishes.	njungu	III E 7485
10	1 small earthenware vessel for cooking meat.	schungu	III E 7486
11	Two pumpkins decorated with beads and shells, as a toy for girls. When a girl goes to sleep, she fixes this pumpkin over her bed. The grated and strongly scented bark of a tree is put into the pumpkin. The women mix it with fat and rub it on.	tulawa-lumba	III E 7516, III E 7517
12	Two small pumpkins covered with wax and wrapped in beads. The woman who has given birth for the first time receives	muimo	III E 7514, III E 7515

[Serial Number]	Items	Names in Kinyaturu	Ident. No. EM, MARKK, NLMH
	one of these as a gift from the other women after she has shown them her child, as a sign that she has been accepted into the ranks of mothers. People who have not yet had children are not allowed to see this thing.		
13 [1 doubl.]	Two small pumpkins as snuffboxes	mambudda	III E 7520–
14 [1 doubl.]	Three [4 present] small snuffboxes, 2 [3] made from tumbled leather, 1 from cattle horn	mambudda	–III E 7523
15	A water pipe	ipunde (ipundi)	III E 7518 a–c
16 [2 doubl.]	Four beaded belts (white, blue, red), the wide ones for women, the narrow ones for girls.	ipampa	III E 7501, III E 7502, NLMH: 4099
17	A beads necklace (blue, yellow) for women	samawata	III E 7499
18	A beads jewellery with shells on a leather strap, which is attached to the collar and hangs down the back.	kiningenie	III E 7498
19	A beads jewellery, worn around the ankles	gilanda	III E 7507
20	A grass belt, like the ones men wear around their bodies.	maila	III E 7500
21	A warrior headdress made from monkey hair	nga	III E 7496
22	A warrior headdress made of animal skins, worn hanging down the back [(completely eaten up by the moths).]	nga	
23 [2 doubl.]	3 brass headdresses, are only worn by warriors who have already killed several enemies.	yelliga	III E 7495
24	2 brass bracelets for men and women	ikomai-kunku	III E 7503 a, b
25 [2 doubl.]	1 bundle of iron bracelets for women	samatja	III E 7504 a–c, MARKK: C 3288
26	1 brass thumb ring	idissa	III E 7505/ III E 7506
27	2 wooden spoons for preparing ugali	mtinko (mtenco)	III E 7487, III E 7488
28	1 whisk	kepehe	III E 7491

[Serial Number]	Items	Names in Kinyaturu	Ident. No. EM, MARKK, NLMH
29	2 small wooden trays for cooked meat, one with handle and one without	solu	III E 7477, III E 7478
30	1 leopard skin as war jewellery, hangs down on the back	baganda	III E 7497
31 [doubl.]	Cords with strung wooden sticks, carried by the women to the dance	mukimbili	
32	1 cattle horn as a tobacco tin	upembe	III E 7519
33 [1 doubl.]	3 double-edged knives for cutting meat, two knives in sheaths	upio	III E 7455 a, b, (III E 7454 a, b?)
34	2 single-edged knives for woodworking	nyollo	III E 7456, III E 7457 (?)
35	1 small axe for woodworking and for softening skins by scraping.	mbadji	III E 7458
36	1 axe, only for felling trees and splitting wood	kehendo	III E 7459
37	1 wooden hoe, for working the soil	ite	III E 7461 a, b
38	1 wooden spade with which the soil is dug out for sowing.	pambadjo	III E 7460
39 [1 doubl.]	3 iron hoes, for working the soil	issiri	III E 7462, (III E 7463 a, b?)
40	1 hammer to knock notches out of the hoes	nyondo	III E 7464
41	1 awl with wooden handle for punching holes in leather when sewing	mukupa	III E 7465
42	3 irons with wooden handle for perforating hoes and axe handles	metodjo	III E 7466 –III E 7468
43	1 head pad for carrying loads [according to the EM Berlin database: braided ring for newly married women]	singinkadda	III E 7512
44	3 wooden chairs, 2 round and 1 oblong	itumbi	III E 7492 –III E 7494
45 [1 doubl.]	2 Wanyaturu sticks	manga (?)	III E 7439 (?)
46	1 wooden spear covered with wax and wrapped in rope.	itope	III E 7440
47	2 different Wanyaturu shields	Ngua	III E 7437, III E 7438
48 [5 doubl.]	Several [11] Wanyaturu spears	mquaha	III E 7441, III E 7444, III E 7446, MARKK: C 3291, NLMH: 4098

[Serial Number]	Items	Names in Kinyaturu	Ident. No. EM, MARKK, NLMH
49 [37 doubl.]	1 bundle [57] Wanyaturu arrows	menre (menre, me- nere)	III E 7451 a–f, III E 7452 a–f, III E 7453 a–i, MARKK: C 3290a–C 3290d, NLMH: 4100–4103
50 [4 doubl.]	1 bundle [7] Wanyaturu bows	uta	III E 7448, III E 7449, III E 7450
51 [1 doubl.]	3 anklets made of brass beads, worn by men and women	nenge	III E 7508 a, b
52	1 Nyaturu sword	mquaha	III E 7447
53	1 cupping head. To use, the wood is pulled out, the cupping head is placed on the incision in the skin, sucked in from above and at the same time the wax on top is closed with the teeth.	kinuno	III E 7470
54	2 horn spoons for scooping fat	ipembe	III E 7489, III E 7490
55	1 razor	imoelo	III E 7469
56	1 comb to style the hair for young men.	ipande	III E 7509
57	1 iron finger ring	idissa	III E 7505/ III E 7506
58	2 skins prepared for carrying children. The skin is placed over the child sitting on the back, the straps are crossed on the chest, then passed under the child’s buttocks over the mother’s back and tied at the front.	ngori ya kupapa mana	III E 7510, III E 7511
(59)	1 bag for transporting tobacco	(from Usandaui)	III E 7524
(60)	1 fishing rod	(from Usandaui)	III E 7525
(61)	1 bundle of poisoned Wataturu arrows (for hunting)	(from Magnati at Gurui mountain)	III E 7526 a–e

Table 2: Transcription of list by Gideon von Grawert in: SMB-ZA, I/MV 0721 (Erwerbung ethnologischer Gegenstände aus Afrika, vol. 21, duration: 1898–1901), fol. 184–186; ident. no. added and focus objects of research highlighted; E.K.

EM: Ethnological Museum of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, MARKK: Museum am Rothenbaum in Hamburg, NLMH: Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover.

Photographs of Nyaturu cultural belongings in the Ethnological Museum (*Ethnologisches Museum*) of *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*



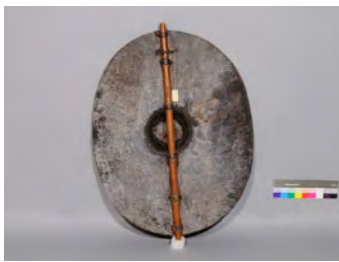
III E 7437. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum / Lars Malareck.



III E 7437. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum / Lars Malareck.



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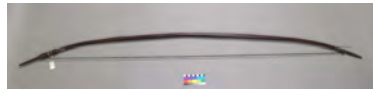
III E 7446. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum / Juliane Padluschat.



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III E 7454 a, b. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum / Luise von Bresinski.



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III E 7497. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum / Hendryk Ortlieb.



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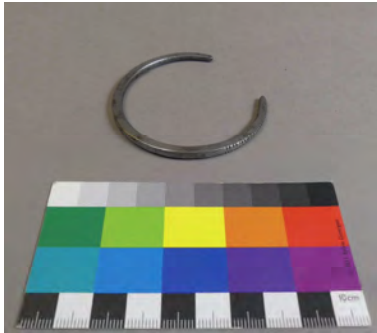
III E 7498. © Eva Künkler, 2025/02/20.



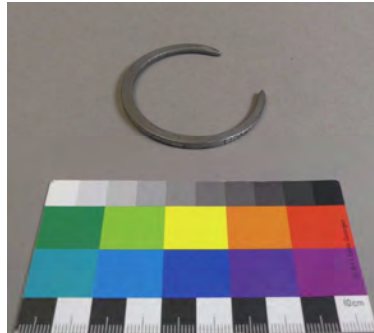
III E 7503 a, b. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum / Olga Borowiak.



III E 7503 a, b. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum / Olga Borowiak.



III E 7504 a. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum / Rhoda Fromme.



III E 7504 b. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum / Rhoda Fromme.



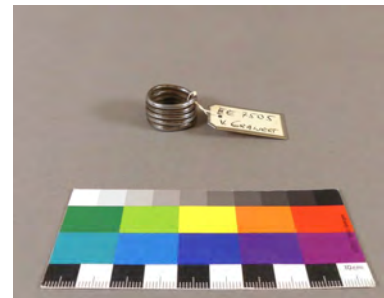
III E 7504 c. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum / Rhoda Fromme.



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The work photographs above were taken by the museum's collection managers and conservators, as well as during the authors' visit to the depot.

Photographs of Nyaturu cultural belongings in *Museum am Rothenbaum (MARKK)* in Hamburg



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