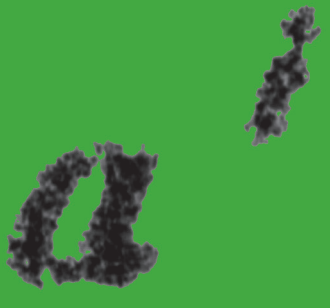
HUNTING & COLLECTING

Sammy Baloji



edited by

LOTTE ARNDT AND ASGER TAIAKSEV

a research project with

SINZO AANZA SVEN AUGUSTIJNEN JAMES ENSOR JAN FABRE GUIDO GEELEN JANE GRAVEROL OSCAR JESPERS JAN VAN DE KERCKHOVE MARIE-JO LAFONTAINE SALOMÉ LALOUX-BART CHRIS MARKER AND ALAIN RESNAIS RENZO MARTENS CHRISPIN MVANO CONSTANT PERMEKE MANU RICHE AND PATRICK MARNHAM GEORGES SENGA JOSEPH STEVENS

Galerie Imane Farès / Mu.ZEE

HUNTING & COLLECTING

Sammy Baloji

edited by

LOTTE ARNDT AND ASGER TAIAKSEV

with essays by

LOTTE ARNDT
SANDRINE COLARD
YASMINE VAN PEE
PATRICIA VAN SCHUYLENBERGH

Galerie Imane Farès / Mu.ZEE

"It may be that the economy–every economy–with all its logical and technical aspects, ultimately boils down to just two activities: hunting and gathering, and that despite all appearances we have never really moved beyond these."

Achille Mbembe, "The Zero World. Materials and the Machine,"
in: Sammy Baloji, *Mémoire Kolwezi,* Africalia & Stichting Kunstboek, 2014, p. 74.

HUNTING & COLLECTING
FOREWORD

Phillip Van den Bossche

Hunting & Collecting is the title of the exhibition and research project that Sammy Baloji conducted at Mu.ZEE in the summer of 2014. It is inspired by Achille Mbembe's formulation, whilst Mbembe's words are also a reflection of Baloji's research. Both contemporary thinkers are searching for models of thought and one of the ways they are doing this is by conceiving of imagination as a social practice, as a type of work in which individual and local representations are linked to global possibilities.

These words might sound complicated but in the light of Sammy Baloji's exhibition (2014) and artist book (2016), we might be able to understand them in a better way. The exhibition's starting point was a new series of photomontages by Baloji. These are based on a historic document–a photo album belonging to Belgian commander Henry Pauwels. The images are hunting scenes, a vision of a region and its people from the perspective of a hunter who wants to record his activities. They date from his expedition to what was then the colonial Belgian Congo in 1911-1913 and they also show the traces of early industrialisation. Sammy Baloji re-examines the Great Lakes area using Pauwels' photographs. In his photomontages, he combines a present-day reportage by Congolese photographer Chrispin Mvano with the historical photographs from the hunter's album. How do the two realities relate to each other? Which other factors fall outside the scope of the photomontage?

Baloji asked Patricia Van Schuylenbergh, a researcher at the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren, to provide some historical context to Pauwels' album. He also requested research into the exploitation of raw materials. What is the link between minerals and local conflicts? How many NGOs are working or have worked in southern and northern Kivu? In this way, Sammy Baloji made an abstract field of research concrete. He brought together people and stories from different places and contexts through the process of carrying out the research. Baloji has also used this way of working, of finding facts and considering information with other people, by inviting a selection of artists and their works for the exhibition: photographer Georges Senga, writer Sinzo Aanza (Claus Sinzomene), documentary director Manu Riche, artists Renzo Martens, Salomé Laloux-Bard and Sven Augustijnen, and filmmakers Chris Marker and Alain Resnais. Historic and contemporary elements and information circulated in the kind of permanent state of motion that is the driving force behind creative thinking. At the same time, this allows us to look at (colonial) history and the current reality of a region in the Congo differently. Most of all, it is the basis for building and expanding a critical discourse.

How does the museum collection fit within a research field such as migration, the exploitation of raw materials, industry versus agriculture, armed conflicts and war? What connection points are there between the imagination and political and social reality in James Ensor's prints and documents from the photographic archive at the Museum of Central Africa? In the exhibition, Sammy Baloji invited us to consider a number of works by Belgian artists from the late 19th and the 20th century like James Ensor, Constant Permeke, Oscar Jespers, Jan van de Kerckhove, Guido Geelen, Jan Fabre, Sven Augustijnen, Marie-Jo Lafontaine and Jane Graverol in dialogue with the paired concepts of 'hunting and collecting.' By doing this, he gives us an opportunity to look at these artworks from a new perspective. They are much more than a pleasant pastime: The works of art in a collection or the documents in an archive are bearers of information that need to be reread. The exhibition proposed to reconsider them in their relation to the concepts of hunting and collecting.

In a conversation the artist, art historian and curator Toma Muteba Luntumbue recently stated: “The museum is basically an ideological construction, a ‘vehicle’ for an imperialist narrative that has been condemned by history, but that continues to exist in representations and the collective imagination.” Sammy Baloji opened a postcolonial dialogue with *Hunting & Collecting*, an encounter wherein his artistic practice allows for visual conversations that are much more interesting than theory. He brings together artists and scientists, combines historical documents and economic data with the ‘Belgian’ art collection of the museum. Through this approach, Baloji is able to use the displays to generate ‘collective subject’ knowledge. The term comes from Achille Mbembe, the prolific author of works like *Critique de la raison nègre* (2013). It is an invitation to join divergent forces into a logical movement. Within the context of an exhibition, a ‘collective subject’ can be described as a platform for reflection upon a topic. It creates some space for the power of the individual artist’s creation, combined with the critical thinking of diverse individuals, and for reflection upon the operation of the museum as an institution.

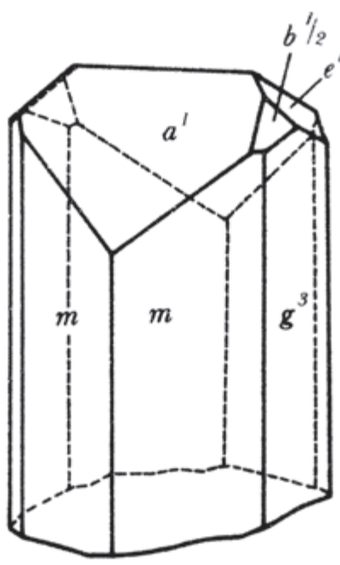


Fig. 95

THE REPRESENTATION OF GAME
INTRODUCTION

Sammy Baloji

The agricultural bulletin of the Belgian Congo asserted in 1925 that hunting–a sport entirely worthy of interest–carried out by the colonists, for whatever reasons, was noble and respectable provided that it did not result in the massacre of animals and that it respected the interests of future generations. Meanwhile, indigenous hunting, permitted on grounds of minimal equity, has been subject to the near-total restriction of the use of rifles. According to colonial legislation this would avoid the slaughter of game and provide for a weekly supply of meat and fish to Africans working in industry and agriculture, in a land with little farming. The observation of these principles and the improved security of access to hunting reserves allowed colonists and later hunting enthusiasts to make financial gains from the export of ivory, taxes collected on hunting permits, the licensing of weapons, and so on.

Arguments against the massacre of certain animals did not rule out hunting in general. On the contrary, the following pages of the bulletin discuss the richness and diversity of animal life in the colony. That account aimed not only to underline the need to preserve those animals, but also to encourage the use of game and hunting for sport, and even to prompt an in-depth study of Congolese fauna, which subsequently attracted new members to zoological circles. They, in turn, soon added to colonial museums and zoological gardens by bringing together those animal species in their collections and enclosures. The stuffed or captured individuals were presented in their reconstructed natural settings: an overall picture of African game emerged, a picture worthy of the colonial effort.

The hunting trophy does not stop at the head torn from the animal’s body. Its symbolism (subjection and display) spreads to the conquered land, to its wildlife, its plant life and its residents. What underpins the hunting scene is the relationship with oneself, with others, with animal specimens and territory. In the colonial perspective, finding arrangements with local populations is one possibility, just as much as fighting and destroying them when judged necessary, is another one.

Beyond independence colonial geographical boundaries persist, ethnic or clanic configurations are cemented, and African politicians imitate the colonial model, opting indeed for the in vogue branches of political, sociological and economic thought. The land itself provides raw materials of world interest that awake conflicting appetites. Under the guidance of politicians, rival groups are arming themselves, rising up against each other, and killing and avenging each other.

Achille Mbembe, in his text, speaks of the paradigm of hunting and gathering: *“The paradigm [...] is not unique to primitive economies. Deep down, all economies–capitalist in particular–have kept a basic primitivity, which constitutes a hidden spring and, sometimes, it manifests itself. Destruction and collapse are indeed key moments [...]. They are the last stop at the end of the line, after which the cycle, potentially, may not restart. But to talk of destruction or collapse, one must first acknowledge the confrontation between man and matter. [...] The work necessary to produce life–work that includes the production of symbols, languages and signs. Processes whereby, when caught by machine, human beings are transformed into matter–the matter of man and the man of matter. And the conditions of their decline.”*[1]

What if in the Congo, the concatenation of a capitalist economy with authoritarian political rule starts with destruction? My dear friend John Livingston (not to be confused with the explorer) takes the singer’s Tiken Jah Fakoly’s words and makes them his own, saying: “They are killing us like camels in the desert, we understand!” He has deliberately changed the

geographical reference, but he clearly names the situation. When it comes to them, the families that have been driven away from their land, scarred by rape, massacres, unemployment, uncertainty for their future, and the interminable wait for a (deferred?) end, in moments of distress eventually let go: *"Tuna choka! Tuna kufa sawa nyama, batu uwe bote, basi inchi Ibakiye yabo."*[2]

In responding to Mu.ZEE's invitation to present my work and to tie it in with its own collection, it seems to me relevant to invite the works by Congolese or international artists, who in one way or another have been interested in the Congolese conflict and who in their own personal way provide a critical analysis of the situation. Similarly, the contribution of the Royal Museum for Central Africa on colonial history and its link with the present, as well as the Congolese, Belgian and international excavations and articles, increase our understanding of the situation and offer a plurality of readings.

These combined elements constitute a hunting scene worthy of our era.

NOTES

1. Achille Mbembe, "Le monde zéro, Matière et Machine," in: Sammy Baloji: *Mémoire/Kolwezi*, Africalia & Stichting Kunstboek, Brussels, 2014, p. 73.

2. English translation: "We are tired! We will die like animals, let them kill us all and the country will stay theirs." Comments heard in the camps of displaced people displaced in Bulengo, where more than 15.000 families now live, having fled the war in eastern Congo.


Le chef Tsitsilongo


Le substitut Bull et le Ct Pauwels
à Kindu.
Maison du médecin

Lionne tuée le 31 décembre 1912 par le Commandant Daniels.

Le Scanabout

Pha

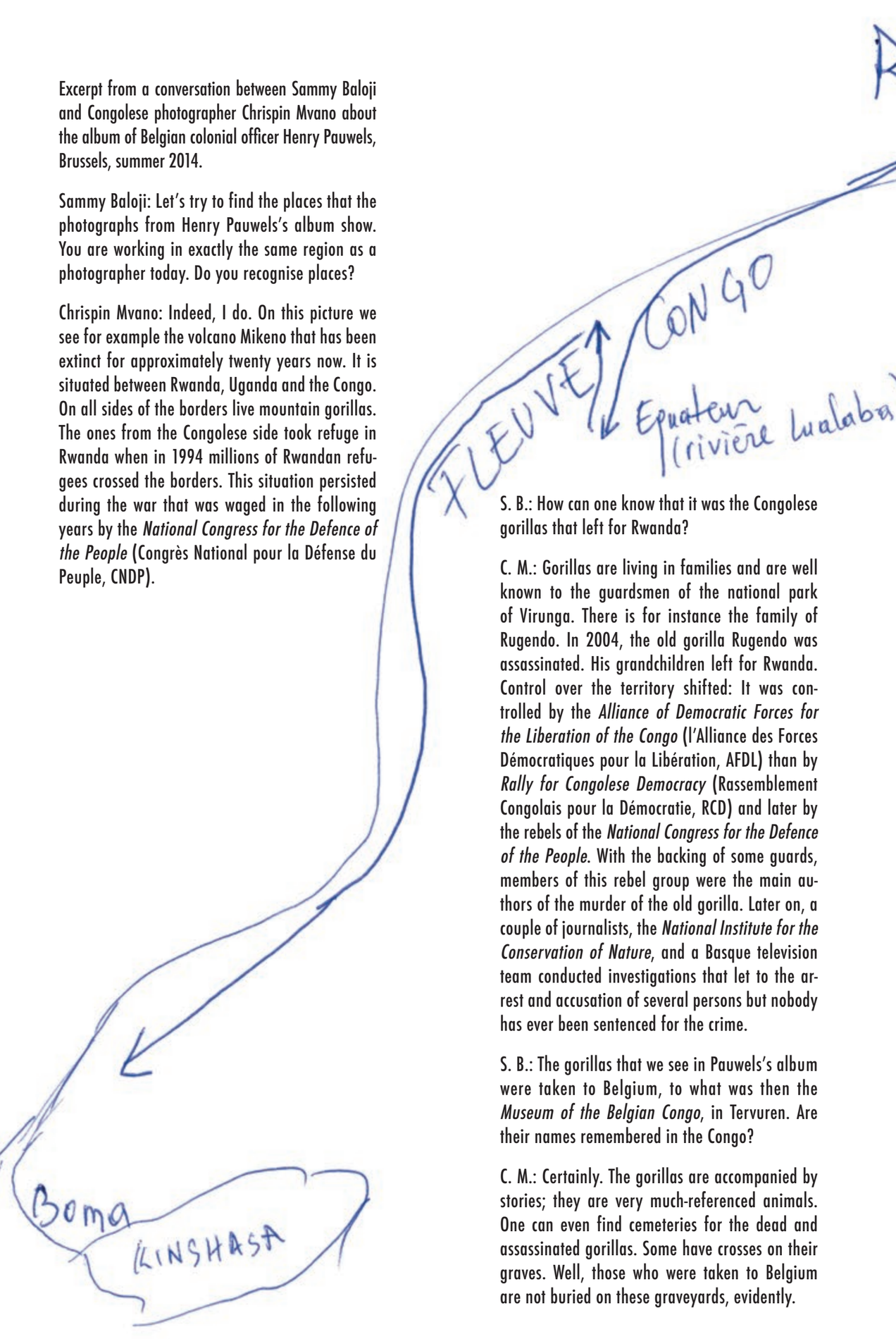
Le Ruwenzori

Gorille mâle

Excerpt from a conversation between Sammy Baloji and Congolese photographer Chrispin Mvano about the album of Belgian colonial officer Henry Pauwels, Brussels, summer 2014.

Sammy Baloji: Let's try to find the places that the photographs from Henry Pauwels's album show. You are working in exactly the same region as a photographer today. Do you recognise places?

Chrispin Mvano: Indeed, I do. On this picture we see for example the volcano Mikeno that has been extinct for approximately twenty years now. It is situated between Rwanda, Uganda and the Congo. On all sides of the borders live mountain gorillas. The ones from the Congolese side took refuge in Rwanda when in 1994 millions of Rwandan refugees crossed the borders. This situation persisted during the war that was waged in the following years by the *National Congress for the Defence of the People* (Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple, CNDP).



S. B.: How can one know that it was the Congolese gorillas that left for Rwanda?

C. M.: Gorillas are living in families and are well known to the guardsmen of the national park of Virunga. There is for instance the family of Rugendo. In 2004, the old gorilla Rugendo was assassinated. His grandchildren left for Rwanda. Control over the territory shifted: It was controlled by the *Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of the Congo* (l'Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération, AFDL) than by *Rally for Congolese Democracy* (Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie, RCD) and later by the rebels of the *National Congress for the Defence of the People*. With the backing of some guards, members of this rebel group were the main authors of the murder of the old gorilla. Later on, a couple of journalists, the *National Institute for the Conservation of Nature*, and a Basque television team conducted investigations that let to the arrest and accusation of several persons but nobody has ever been sentenced for the crime.

S. B.: The gorillas that we see in Pauwels's album were taken to Belgium, to what was then the *Museum of the Belgian Congo*, in Tervuren. Are their names remembered in the Congo?

C. M.: Certainly. The gorillas are accompanied by stories; they are very much-referenced animals. One can even find cemeteries for the dead and assassinated gorillas. Some have crosses on their graves. Well, those who were taken to Belgium are not buried on these graveyards, evidently.

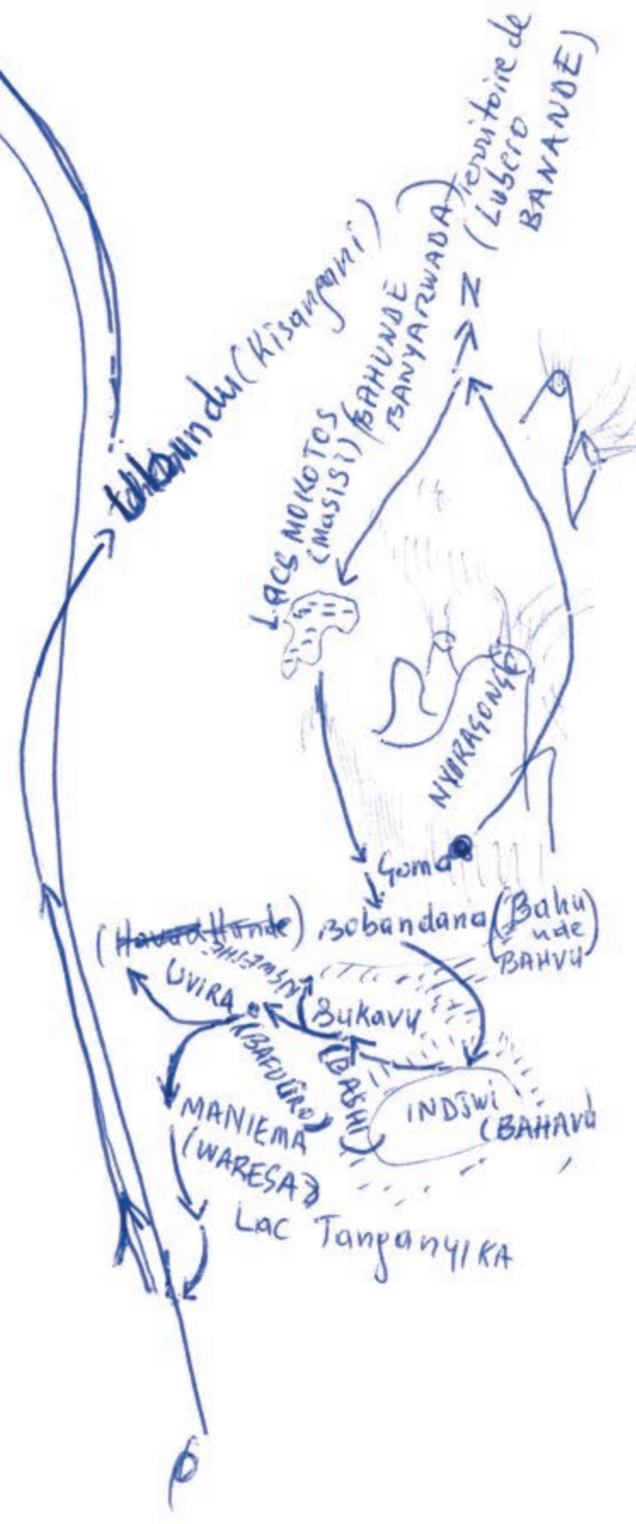
[...]

C. M.: Look here: Pauwels has misspelled the names. The volcano on the photo is called the Nyiragongo, which is derived from the traditional appellation "Nina Ongo." It is more than 3.470 metres high and situated at the northern shores of lake Kivu. It's the big volcano of the city of Goma and it is still very active. In 2002, its irruption left disastrous consequences for Goma: hundreds of people were killed, many more displaced, and the economy of the region was paralysed for a long time. Even today, the lava lakes threaten this very densely populated region.
On this photo one can see the national park of Virunga and the river Rwindi. Here, in the savannah, lions hunt antelopes and also give birth...
On the photo below I see the hippopotamus from lake Eduard. This has to be close to Vitshumbi, about 10 kilometres from National Road no. 4. The caption says *Lion shot north of Lake Eduard* (Lionne tirée au nord du Lac Édouard).
In the second half of the twentieth century, Mobuto had very big castles built in this region that were destroyed by the war afterwards. A military checkpoint of the *Congolese Army* (Armée Nationale Congolaise) is situated now at that place. It is a very tense location because the rebels of the M23 and the government forces are facing each other there.

S. B.: Was the entire region involved in the war?

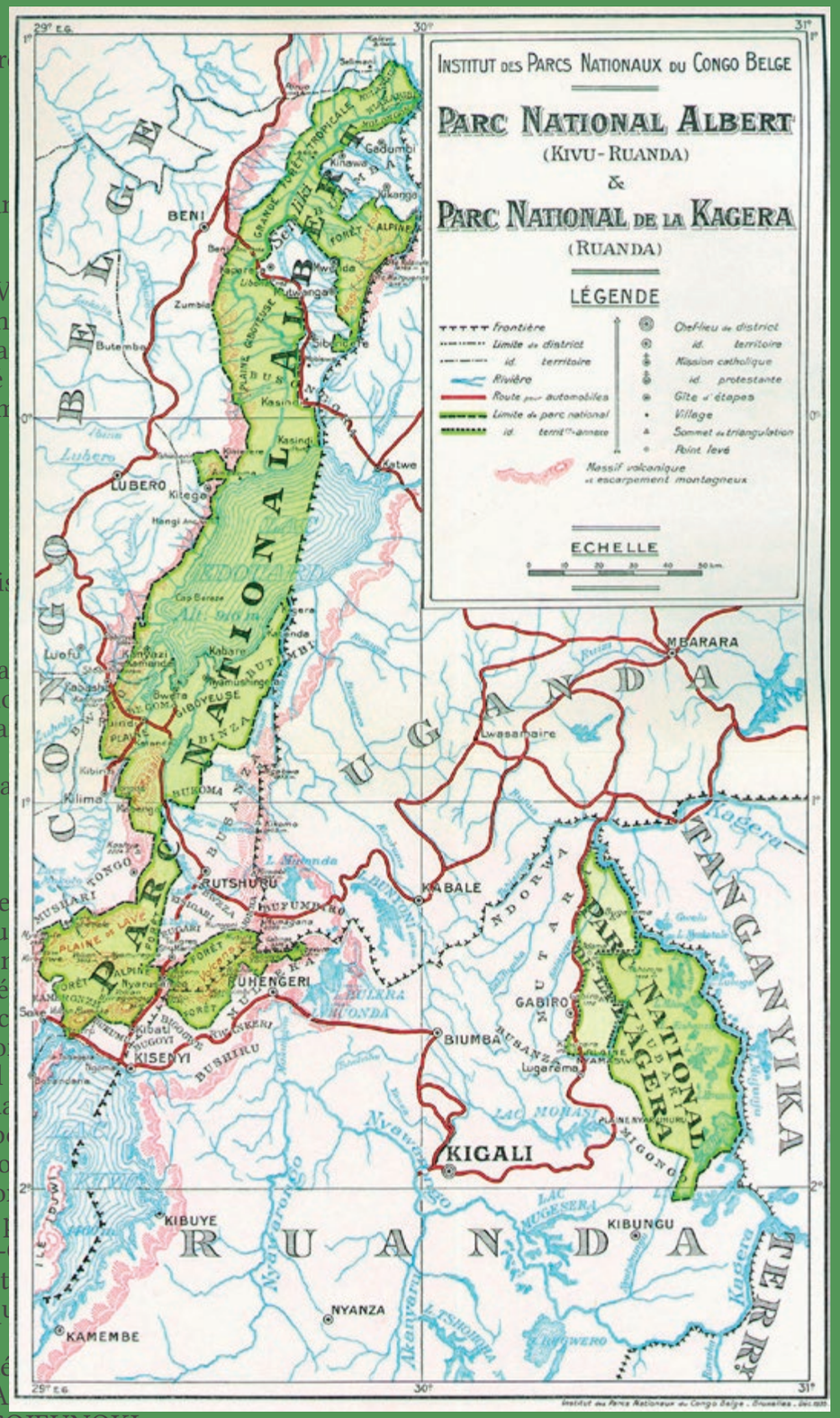
C. M.: Yes. The natural park has become one of the main zones of retreat and accommodation for the fighting groups. The traces of these confrontations are ubiquitous.

Transcription by Marta Kucza.



NGO'S IN NORTH AND SOUTH KIVU (SELECTION)

-Artsen zonder gr
-Mama Kivu
-KYJO ngo
-PEHA
-REHA
-APIDE ism Oxfa
-Root Capital
-VIC ong
-Human Rights W
-Dierenartsen zon
-FOPAC met Oxfa
-Oxfam solidarité
-RAEK met Oxfam
-LOFEOACO
-PADEBU
-AGRICONGO
-SOS Faim
-Trias
-Solidarité Socialis
-Vredeseilanden
-WWF
-Louvain Coopéra
-Caritas Internatio
-En avant les enfa
-11.11.11
-Action pour la pa
-Memisa
-ACODEV
-ACTEC
-Advocaten zonde
-Associations pou
-Médecins du mon
-RCN justice & dé
-Centre Multifonc
-Comité d'Amélio
-Comité Régional
-Communauté Isla
-Conseil-Action p
-Département Éco
-Fédération Régio
-Fondation civile p
-Groupe d'Appui-
-Groupe d'Exploit
-Jeunesse Islamiqu
-La Planète
-Lutte contre la dé
-Organisation d'A
-Programme CECOJEUNOKI
-Programme d'Éducation Virunga/Kacheche



-Association Maendelo Kujitegemea
-Groupe d'Études et d'Actions pour le Développement du Sud-Kivu
-Société de Coopération pour le Développement de Fizi
-Association Coopérative des Apiculteurs de Mudaka
-Association Coopérative des Éleveurs et Agriculteurs pour le Développement à Kabare
-Association visant à l'intégration des Veufs et Orphelins au Développement
-Comité de Santé et de Développement de Birava
-Société de Protection Humaine
-Syndicat d'Initiatives de Nindja
-Syndicat d'Initiatives pour le Développement en Milieu Rural
-Union pour le Développement de la Zone de Kabare
-Groupe Apprenons à Lire et à Écrire
-Action pour le Développement des Jeunes Paysans
-Actions Concertées pour le Développement à la base
-Association de Jeunes pour le Développement Local
-Cadre pour le Développement du Bassin d'Etila
-Planification Autopromotionnelle Communautaire
-Syndicat d'Initiative pour le Développement de Shabunda
-Association Elimu
-Centre Chrétien pour le Développement des Paysans en Milieu Rural
-Centre d'Animation et d'Encadrement Rural
-Collectif pour le Développement Industriel
-Comité d'Action pour le Développement Intégral
-Action pour le Développement de l'Artisanat en Milieu Rural
-Mutuelle pour le Développement d'Ikoma
-Partenaires en Développement
-Broederlijk delen
-Centre National de Coopération au Développement
-CEMUBAC (Centre scientifique et Médical de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles pour ses Activités de Coopération)
-Centri Triconinental
-Collectif Stratégie Alimentaire
-Conseil des Communautés Africaines en Europe/Belgique
-Cooperation par l'éducation et la culture
-Croix rouge Belgique
-Formations de cadres Africains (échos communication)
-Enfance Tiers de monde
-Entraide et Fraternité
-Frères des Hommes
-FUCID (fondation universitaire pour la coopération internationale au développement)
-Geomoun
-Globalize Solidarity
-Handicap International
-ITECO Wallonië
-KBA/FONCABA
-Chaine de l'espoir
-Protos
-Rode Kruis Vlaanderen Internationaal
-SOS - Layettes Solidarité & Développement


1120


BELA
55

FROM THE CONGOLESE MINES TO A BELGIAN MUSEUM, AND BACK. POSTCOLONIAL CONNECTIONS OF INVISIBLE GLOBAL VALUE CHAINS

Lotte Arndt

– *"While the cutting critical gesture of collage reveals the constructed, differentiating nature of all words and images, critique itself is paradoxically more powerful by including the very images and words it seeks to unmask."*[1]
– *"Classified, labelled, conserved in showcases and collections, [statues] enter art history: a paradise of forms where the most mysterious relationships are established."*[2]
– *"Monkeys and apes have a privileged relation to nature and culture for Western people: simians occupy the border zones between those potent mythic poles."*[3]

From August 3rd to September 21st, 2014, the Mu.ZEE in Ostend showed *Hunting & Collecting*, an ambitious group exhibition that was conceived by Sammy Baloji, Phillip Van den Bossche (director of the Mu.ZEE) and curator Anouck Clissen, but included the collaboration of and a close exchange with many other contributors. *Hunting & Collecting* affirmed the power of critique as a foundation for an artistic approach, and proposed an archaeology of present-day exploitation. The exhibition was based on assemblages of heterogeneous visual materials, an approach inspired by Sammy Baloji's own work, which frequently resorts to collage techniques.
Collages and assemblages make possible the coexistence of discrepant realities in one space. On this basis, seemingly disconnected aspects of the globally intertwined, but fundamentally divergent living conditions of different populations become visible in their interrelations: Geographical distance and separation in time are both shaken by the suggestive juxtaposition of documents and artworks. They thus allow for a radical questioning of the destructive consequences of global capitalism, and unsettle the hierarchies established by the categorical, social and cultural divisions of modernity.

Transhistorical connections—At the heart of the exhibition stand the photographic album by Belgian serviceman Henry Pauwels[4] and the photo-reportages that the Congolese photographer Chrispin Mvano conducted a hundred years later in the same places where the officer took his hunting pictures in the early 20th century. Defining the core of the exhibition round this *vis-à-vis*, Sammy Baloji gathers both groups of images in a double projection and superimposes them in the photomontage *The Album*.[5] Both works operate as close intertwinements of the colonial past with the conflictive present of the Kivu-region in Northern Congo where protracted wars have been ravaging both population and environment, leading to several million people being killed and millions being displaced and living in extremely precarious situations.[6]
This conception of history, where present and past are not imperviously distinct entities but dynamic and interacting, has been extensively reflected on in postcolonial theory. In his seminal text *Orientalism*, Edward Said states for instance that "imperialism [is so vast and detailed] as an experience with crucial cultural dimensions, that we must speak of overlapping territories, intertwined histories common to men and women, whites and non-whites, dwellers in the metropolis and on the peripheries, past as well as present and future."[7]
The sudden resurgence of the colonial past in the present, sometimes in such unexpected places as the Belgian coastal city of Ostend, is spelled out throughout the exhibition. The museum is transformed into a laboratory, into a site where silenced colonial histories can resurface in the suggestive, often highly speculative pairings of documents and artworks that used to be kept in separate categories. Research in the museum is not carried out here as an academic process, but as a sensitive interrogation of

heterogeneous archives: Fine art from Belgian artists included in the Mu.ZEE collection and historical documents from the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren; personal memories and official history; animal and human perspectives; colonial representations and contemporary conflicts; advertisements and critical drawings from the beginning of the twentieth century until today are coming together and their juxtaposition allows new readings. Far from being the exclusive work of an isolated artist, the conception of the exhibition was based on multiple collaborations between people with different trajectories, knowledge, conceptual approaches and institutional situations. Dialogue and exchange, the multiplication of viewpoints is thus one of the core proceedings at work in *Hunting & Collecting*.

The three showcases in the final part of the exhibition circuit are paradigmatic of this collaborative approach. They bring together the private collection of hunting objects and books from the colonial period belonging to museum attendant Patrick Colaert.[8] His memories of the Congo confer to the bows, spearheads, and arrows the meaning of the lost promises of a period when–as a child–he was still unaware of the colonial condition of the desired adventures in wildlife. As testimonies of a nostalgia that is both of childish naivety and closely tied to Belgian colonialism, these artefacts remained in private spaces for decades, before acquiring new meaning within the public frame of the exhibition.

Many artists have questioned the figure of the museum guard. One can think of Andrea Fraser (*Museum Highlights: A Gallery Talk*, 1989), Fred Wilson (*Guarded View*, 1991), and Issac Julien (*The Attendant*, 1993), who reread institutions through the eyes of the guard, a figure of the margin, who is mute by profession and finds him- or herself most often relegated to quietly keeping objects that are mostly not even explained to him or her.

In the case of *Hunting & Collecting*, the guard becomes the figure that establishes one of the connections between the Belgian colonisation of the Congo and the Mu.ZEE as an institution. His contribution of objects hints at the pervasiveness of the traces of colonial history in the Belgian population whose material vestiges may slumber in private storerooms but can unexpectedly show up when a connection to the present is established. Many formerly colonising societies still remain stuck in what the British sociologist Paul Gilroy describes as 'postcolonial melancholia': the inability to overcome fantasies of imperial greatness, to recognise the loss of colonial domination, to become one potentially contested view among many others. This pathological situation which, according to Gilroy, implies economic, psychological, political and cultural strata, leads to a kind of nostalgic freeze, which impedes open and plural social structures from emerging and favours racism, exclusion and inequality.[9]

In contrast, the showcases with the hunting objects exposed at Mu.ZEE put the petrified past at work by confronting it to images of colonial relations and contemporary exploitations.

Sammy Baloji juxtaposes the guard's objects with recontextualised advertisements and historical documents. These assemblages render the telescoping of geographically and temporally distanced realities possible. Where no connection seemed to exist, the suggestive rapprochement of two images spontaneously shifts their meaning. This is the case for three postcards that are included in the windows, in which one can see blood spurting from a cell phone. The shocking images stem from an Indonesian advertisement warning against using telephones while driving. But in the *Hunting & Collecting* context, they refer to a pernicious raw material, coltan, which is included in cell phones and many other electronic devices. Coltan plays a crucial role in the financing of the war in the region (see pp. 140-141). A classic conflict mineral, it links the ongoing killings in northern Congo that remain relegated to the margins of international news agendas, to smooth global communication: Seemingly purely virtual proceedings appear here in their connectedness to warfare and exploitation.

Imaging exploitation—From colonial times until today, the Congo is amply inscribed in the global economy mainly in the form of exploitation of its wealth: without even speaking about the loss of population during slavery, the country is continuously being emptied of its natural resources, whether through the use of a low-paid working force, through the hunting of wildlife, or through the extraction of minerals and fossils from the soil. While the local consequences of those economies are devastating for large sections of the population, the splendid products–hunting trophies, noble metals, wood, or the abstract monetary outcome of mineral resources[10]–are presented proudly to admiring international spectators.

Among the central elements of the image essays in this book are photographs and scientific drawings of precious stones from the Katanga soils. These pictures have been taken and distributed by *Gécamines*[11], the huge state-owned Congolese mining company of colonial origin, which plays a key role in the extraction of metals and minerals from the country since the mid-1960s.[12] The stones are of striking beauty. Presented on black cloth, spectacularly lit, or pictured as abstract geometrical drawings, accompanied by the corresponding chemical formula, they do not seem to have any connection to the rough realities of mining, the hard physical work and the spoliation of a country's resources without creating any benefit for its inhabitants. Their polished physical appearance neither reveals the hardship involved in their extraction, nor their inclusion in global value chains that draw profits out of the country. Capital, as an abstract social relation, dissolves the physical characteristics of a commodity. In Karl Marx's wording, "all that is solid melts into air."[13] In a similar manner, the abstract scientific drawings of the minerals do not reveal any connection to the extraction from the soil. Therefore they can stand in a metaphorical manner for the work that the exhibition *Hunting & Collecting* conducts in order to connect seductive appearances of commodities and images in the frame of global capitalist consumption with the materiality of the often destructive social relations created by their production–in colonial times and in the present.

Though they are classic mining products, precious stones share the invisibility of their extraction with the production processes of high-tech commodities such as mobile phones, laptop computers and tablets that are among the most iconic consumer goods of the globalised world.[14] These items represent more than anything else a seemingly post-material economy that is characterised by digital information and wireless communication, but that fully depends on material conditions.

In contemporary post-Cold-War capitalism, the production of many commodities is distributed in hundreds of geographically distant steps. This process remains mainly invisible for the consumer, and makes it difficult to hold the companies accountable for labour and environmental abuses along the whole supply chain. Like the shiny precious stones, the commodity can appear without wearing the traces of the hardship of its production.

Collage and assemblage, which are the main strategies of Sammy Baloji's artistic practice and the guiding principle of the exhibition *Hunting & Collecting*, aptly deal with this fragmentation in a critical way.[15] By bringing together heterogeneous elements, the single parts of a story that is dispersed in time and space remain visible in their physical disruption and therefore constitute a composition without suggesting a holistic view.

Juxtaposing polarities runs as a curatorial principle throughout the exhibition. In this way the harmful participation of the Congo in global capitalism is shown in two films: On the one hand, Renzo Martens's polemical artist documentary *Episode III: Enjoy Poverty* (2008) asks with a great deal of despair and cynicism why the population of the country does not benefit from Congolese resources. As the film shows, even the profitable business of selling the images of war and poverty is mainly reserved to Western and international journalists and NGO's. Their presence in the region is far from being a humanistic, selfless engagement. Rather, non-governmental organisations and journalists participate in the aid economy that flows high sums of bi- and multilateral transferrals into the country, benefiting mainly the crowd of international aid workers and not local people.[16] In the exhibition this topic is addressed through the presence of a long list that show hundreds of NGO's working in the Kivu region (see pp. 20-21). Their impressive number stands in sharp contrast with the scandalously unaltered humanitarian situation.

As Renzo Martens's work also shows, the exploitation of the region by international mining companies is often made possible by NGO-conducted humanitarian tasks and the United Nations' assured containment of the armed conflicts. On the basis of his work, one can ask if the images of exploitation intended to denounce poverty and war are not exploitative images themselves: they make a profit (in the economic sense, but also in a symbolic one, in the art-field and beyond) to the detriment of workers, refugees, and peasants in the region. And they repeat representations of misery and balefulness that show people as powerless victims, while the white European artist (with a great deal of self-criticism) in the role of the (post-)colonial traveller (with nearly messianic features) is the main agent. It is precisely this uncomfortable situation that Martens creates in his work, when he purposefully re-enacts figures and relations of colonial and present day exploitation in order to confront spectators with the perversity of the situation.

On the other hand, the documentary *Snake Dance* (2012) by Belgian filmmaker Manu Riche and scriptwriter Patrick Marnham follows the making of the atomic bomb, from the moment when the uranium is extracted to the bomb's explosion, by way of the places where it was made. The extraction happened in the Congo; the manufacture took place in New Mexico, in a region that appears only as "empty land" after the eviction and extermination of the native population; and the bomb exploded in Japan in 1945. As the film shows, the geographical scope is a global one, and no link in the chain can be excluded.

It is not by chance that the filmmakers structure their narrative around art historian Aby Warburg. The writer was not only strongly interested in the cultural practices by which the Hopi, first nation inhabitants of the New Mexico region, are trying to channel forces of nature. He is also the thinker of the afterlives of images, of mnemonic techniques that compose visual relations in the form of an atlas's plates. Parallels to this dynamic working table that allows for new connections, for a resurgence of silenced memories,[17] can be found in the approach of *Hunting & Collecting*. The show relies on the semantic shifts that the cross-disciplinary gathering of artworks and documents from separate collections can bring about. Images here become vectors of hidden memory, connecting distant moments of interrelated processes.

From natural resources to agents—The abundant use of colonial hunting images, and their constant visual questioning in *Hunting & Collecting* unchains a critical interrogation of the colonial order and its contemporary afterlives. As the images in Henry Pauwels's album clearly show, colonisation as an integral part of modernity divides the world into civilised and uncivilised, culture and nature, the West and the rest. In this binary system African populations are aligned with nature, belonging to a land that is characterised as unspoiled by Human hand.[18]

The colonial project aims to dominate, subject, control and transform this "original wilderness" but also keeps a fascination with this othered space, its inhabitants and its promised transgressions. Colonial hunting and its present-day aftermath, the big game safari with shooting permission enact both, the seduction and lust of danger that the fantasy of uncontrolled nature and wildlife engenders, and the triumphalist male gesture of bravery and supremacy that the portraits of the hunters with their slain prey stages as much as the trophies brought to European living-rooms. Women, the colonised and apes find themselves classified and pictured on the side of nature, intuition and sensitivity, while the white male hunter–here impersonated by Pauwels–incarnates the controlled rationality of the promise of Western modernity.

Feminist critics and postcolonial cultural theorists and artists have played a key role in rethinking the categories of modernity and their classification systems in order to shift the hierarchies that they include. Published in 1989, Donna Haraway's *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science* has opened the path for a fundamental shift in primatology. The US-American science theorist links the history of primatology to "the production and reproduction of differences along the power axes of race, class and gender".[19] Apes that had formerly served as the natural 'Other' to humans, simultaneously close and far, and that had throughout the racist assumptions of evolutionist theories in the nineteenth century been approximated to Africans, become in this approach allies in the struggle, countering the dividing lines of gendered, racialised and species classifications. One can think for instance of the interspecies solidarity that German filmmaker Helke Sanders creates by introducing in her film *Muttertier; Muttermensch* (Animal-mother; Human-mother) a female chimpanzee on a TV-Screen that conducts interviews with half a dozen women, deconstructing naturalised conceptions of motherhood.[20] In opposition to the male-centred cultural theories of dominant primatology, the female ape here retells a herstory[21] of evolution that places the mother-child relation at the origin of communication, language and therefore culture.

Another example could be Rosemarie Trockel's statement that every animal is a female artist, by which she points to the sustained reserving of the art sphere for male artists only, just as much as the border that separates animals from humans. In the art magazine *Slight Discomforture* (1985) which she edited, you can find an excerpt taken from the German weekly magazine Der Spiegel which, under the title "Congo's art," tells the story of a chimpanzee named Congo, who supposedly painted as virtuously as Jackson Pollock.[22]

More recently New York-based artist Coco Fusco has employed the figure of chimpanzee psychologist Dr. Zira from the novel and films *Planet of the Apes*[23] in her performance lecture *Observations of Predation in Humans: A Lecture by Dr. Zira, Animal Psychologist* (2013). The artist incarnates Dr. Zira from Ape City, who conducted experiments on human subjects and dissected their brains. As an expert in human behaviour she works for her society to avoid the human forms of aggression that lead to harm and balefulness. Her studies on humans were key to discerning between those hominids who would destroy each other and those who would not. In Dr. Ziras's eyes, humans and their aggressive behaviour represent the danger that has to be brought under control, if a life in peace shall be possible.

In all three examples, apes take the role of active agents, who mirror and critically question the human social order.[24] They refuse the role of the natural 'other' to human civilisation, and contribute to calling into question the legitimacy of this opposition.

Though none of the mentioned artworks is present in the exhibition, the critical impulse that they give is nevertheless clearly identifiable in the curatorial approach. In the exhibition *Hunting & Collecting* the violent representations of the triumph of the hunter over his prey contained in Henry Pauwels's album and in the archive images from RMCA Tervuren, are unsettled by image assemblages that include paintings from the collection of the Mu.ZEE and historical photographs: the counter-narratives arise in the juxtapositions of images. Rather than to perpetuate a voyeuristic "poverty porn,"[25] which includes the staring gaze on the slain game, the sometimes drastic oppositions in the assemblages require an active analytical work of association and recomposition. Across temporal and spatial separations animals and humans connect beyond the categorical oppositions that divide them.

One example can be Joseph Stevens, a Belgian animal painter from the 19th century, who imagines an *Ape as a Gravedigger* (see p. 6). The landscape in the painting is wintry, the ape's undressed feet leave traces in the snow and the lantern's light does not shine far in the depressing brown colours of the graveyard. An ape's presence in the European winter is surprising, and points to the availability of representations of species that live in the colony. The imperial imagination does not stop at the borders of the metropolitan territory. The sad animal figure is depicted as the keeper of the division between the dead and the living: It appears as a figure that belongs as much to the human world (it is clothed, and apparelled with human attributes) as to nature. Among the ambiguities of the painting is the fact that King Leopold II, responsible for crimes in the colonised Congo that caused the death of several million people, was one of Stevens's clients. What could appear as a painting without any connection to the colonial history quickly turns out to be interwoven into the dense colonial entanglements.

Likewise, beings at the border of human and animal are the main agents on Frits van den Berghe's painting *Het rijk der natuur* (The Realm of Nature, 1928-1929). Here, two women are persecuted by figures with faces resembling cows and horses while a seductive red flower holds them back from escaping. A postcard of the diorama in which the stuffed group of gorillas was on display in the Congo museum in Tervuren (today: Royal Museum for Central Africa) since the second decade of the twentieth century is juxtaposed to the painting. Stuffing is probably among the most literal techniques for the preservation of a henceforth inoffensive wildlife, prepared for the presentation in a museum's diorama. In the confrontation with van den Berghe's painting, the painted animal-like figures seem to chase the human figures from the canvas directly into the diorama, and to make them part of this staged arrangement that proudly presents wildlife as deprived of agency and fully under control. In an age in which humans are likely to have become the decisive geological agent, and are considered the most destructive forces on earth, menacing the planet and its limited resources they, rather than animals, appear as threatening.[26] This same idea can be found in the black and white caricature of a hunter that has been killed by a gorilla (see p. 42). The animal, rather than prolonging the logic of hunting and revenge, interrupts it by breaking the rifle. Far from only humanising animal behaviour, the background of the image shows ample fauna: The fuzzy forests plants in the drawing fuse with unanimated matter like the mineral Calcite on the neighbouring page and attribute life and agency to the forces of the forest.

Pursuing the idea of animated matter and animal agency, insects are deployed in army divisions and go to war in hilly wax landscapes conceived and modelled in the installation *Battlefield* (1998) by Jan Fabre (see p. 22). Here again colonial taxonomies are challenged: Historically, bugs have been among the first animal species that colonial collectors brought from Africa, because they were easy to hunt and did not demand much space during transport. Entomological collections were among the first in the newly opened Congo Museum in Tervuren, which gathered over the years gigantic stocks of preserved, stuffed or dried animals in their subterranean storerooms.[27] In Fabre's installation the bugs and cockroaches seem to take their revenge, and run out of control in a postcolonial power-shift that one can read as the terrifying afterlives of colonial divisions. These still resonate in the armed confrontations in the area of the Great Lakes, devastating entire regions in power struggles along division lines created in colonial times, and nourished by present day economic interests.

Disquiet in the museum—Contemporary critics have highlighted that museums as institutions in general, and their collections in particular, have been participating–consciously or not–in imperial history, and still carry the traces of this involvement.[28] Under the influence of postcolonial critique and lately sometimes encouraged by funding possibilities, art museums are starting to reflect on their colonial histories.[29] They follow a minority of ethnographic and natural history museums that began in the past decade to critically reconsider their collections.[30] These museums frequently have recourse to artists in order to shed new light on the objects, often stemming from collecting contexts that are inseparable from colonial history.[31]

Hunting & Collecting inverts this proceeding by bringing documents and photographs from the colonial period to an art museum that has no obvious links to colonial history. The selected artworks from the collection are brought into resonance with historical documents and works by invited contemporary artists. As Sammy Baloji states, "since we were in a museum of modern and contemporary art, we looked for links between the works and documents that we had brought. It was a matter of questioning their secret links."[32]

One example for this proceeding can be the inclusion of a historic postcard of the ship that the British explorer Henry Morton Stanley[33] used during his trips to the Congo. The postcard points to the traces of colonial history of the coastal Belgian city of Ostend, where it had been shown (probably at the end of the nineteenth, beginning of the twentieth century) in a wooden outdoor construction (see p. 100). The image faces Constant Permeke's drawing *De roeier* (The Oarsman, n.d.). A Belgian expressionist, Permeke spent the major part of his life in Ostend and had been concentrating on drawing and painting local fishermen until the mid 1920s. He preferred subjects strongly tied to local Belgian realities, and Stanley's trips to the Congo had certainly not been on his artistic agenda. Nonetheless, the juxtaposition of both images allows for a polysemic opening of the drawing, and makes the history of the imperial conquest of the Congo resonate in coastal fisheries.[34]

Though from a similar period, the painting *Idolen, Spoken* (Idols, Ghosts; 1928-1929) of Belgian artist Frits van den Berghe is much more clearly marked by a primitivist influence. The size and contours of the bodies of the figures on the canvas vary widely, and range from abstract to anthropomorphic designs, while their faces have the shape and the eyeholes of masks. Placed on an irregular white background, the figures stand autonomously in the painting (see p. 106).

The work is shown in a dynamic triangulation with spearheads belonging to attendant Patrick Colaert and stills from Chris Marker and Alain Resnais' famous film *Statues Also Die* (1953). The latter interrogates the epistemological order that reserves a museum like the Louvre for European artists while African creations–classical art and objects of use alike–are relegated to the Museum of Men (Musée de l'Homme). The filmmakers state that the isolation of African objects in museum display cases corresponds to a conception of culture that only respects its own paradigms. They demonstrate how the imposition of social models from European society in the frame of colonisation goes along with the economic exploitation of the African continent, and the transformation of pre-colonial cultural practices into commodities that lose their meaning in the process–they die.

Though the opposition of a "tradition" threatened by "Western modernity" that runs through the film has been widely criticised since the 1980s, when cultural syncretism was highlighted as a productive process by many authors, the film remains a very pertinent reflection on the Western relation to African art in the colonial context, and an aesthetic masterpiece.[35] Interestingly enough, it includes a hunting scene that shows the death of an orang-utan. The animal falls behind after having received a lethal cut in the stomach, while the voice-over comments: "Here is the death of an animal. Where is the force that inhabited this hand? It is freed now, it is roaming, it will torment the living until it will be received in its former appearance."[36] Then a series of rapid cuts, jumping through densely edited frames of bellicose sculptures that occupy the screen follows–they are shown in close-ups and zoom-ins as animated artworks that regain straying vital forces. As film historian Peter Bloom has argued, this passage bears the traces of Sensualism, a current in French philosophy and thought of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and celebrates a ritualistic unity of the world.[37] But it also allows for connecting the fate of the ape to the erasure that the disappearance of each living being means for those remaining. This idea is finally not very far from Walter Benjamin's messianic conception of history, constructed on the growing piles of dead that need for their redemption a revolution in the present.[38] If the connection is not made, the sufferings of the past are lost for the future. To quote again the voice-over of the film, "One goes still to the country of death by losing the memory."

Hunting & Collecting calls for further crisscrossing of the categorical divisions that separate the canon of European art from works by African artists. Modes of display are among the key tools that can consolidate or disrupt these categories. Using display codes improperly thus became an interesting option. For instance, Jan van de Kerckhove's *Garde Royale* (1967), a sculpture that clearly wears the marks of primitivist formal renewals, is shown as an archival image (see p. 24). By keeping the inventory number and reconstituting the coloured background of the archival photography, the sculpture becomes a historical document. At the same time, the intense colour also resonates with the organisation of space: As institutional critics of museum displays have extensively demonstrated, in modern contexts the colouring of the exhibition

space frequently corresponds to geographical divisions.[39] Cultural objects from non-Western authors are then attributed to these coloured spaces. In contrast, the white cube with its reputation of neutrality that allows in the modern tradition for the deployment of the auratic artwork,[40] has for a long time been reserved for European artists.

Hunting & Collecting inverts the colour scheme. The archive image of the sculpture faces a white-framed painting by Bela Sara, one of the painters in the Hangar School at Lubumbashi, which was set up by the French Pierre-Romain Desfossés in the 1940s.[41] Desfossés brought together painters who had been involved in murals, encouraging them to hang on to their wall-drawing activity, while transposing it on to canvas. The Frenchman was interested in the procedures and motifs that the Lubumbashi painters introduced. Sammy Baloji proposes to read this interest in its simultaneity "with the rising up against Academicism which, from James Ensor to Pablo Picasso, shook up art in Europe. These painters' recourse to the Congo by way of practices outside the West served for getting away from the tradition of academicism."[42]

Some of the hunting scenes painted by Bela and his painter colleague Pili-Pili Mulongoy are only available nowadays through the photographic archive of the RMCA Tervuren. They were photographed in Lubumbashi in the 1950s and are therefore printed as black and white reproductions (see p. 25 and 45). Nevertheless, it was decided to show them on a white background, highlighting their status as artworks rather than as documents.

Questioning the canon—Transcultural appropriations occur all along the twentieth century between African and European artists, but they do not take place under the same conditions on both sides. While African modernists are often confronted with scepticism and an expectation of 'authenticity,' the formal appropriations that transform paintings and sculptures from Africa into symbolic resources for European artists are numerous, and highly canonised.[43] Though it is less well-known than the French movement, several works in the exhibition testify to the incidence of primitivism and Afrophilia among Belgian artists.[44]

In his work *Les Demoiselles de Bruxelles* (2008), Brussels-based artist Sven Augustijnen engages with a critical reinterpretation of the art historical canon. Through its title, the artist invites us to revisit the primitivist use of African artefacts in one of Pablo Picasso's best-known works. Indeed, as Jennifer A. González has pertinently shown, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (1907) can be considered as a "paradigmatic moment of the merging of so-called 'primitive' aesthetics with modern art."[45] According to the art historian the painting "signals a modernist interest in the racial or cultural Other that is more than stylistic. Ironically, the power of Picasso's vision is not only his innovations in post-cubist abstraction, but the painting's ability to effectively mask the actual colonial legacy that led to the conditions of the painting's historical emergence. The object, like a sexual fetish, is used to mask a hidden fear (cultural difference, contamination by sexually transmitted diseases), but it is also used to enable fantasies of inaccessible, or at least inappropriate and dangerous, cross-racial desire."[46]

Beyond the racial dimension of primitivism, the painting asserts a white male's gaze on (partly racialised) women's bodies, in socially precarious situations. As Carol Duncan develops in great detail in her analysis of displays in public art institutions, African classical art is frequently used by European artists in the first decades of the twentieth century as a "means of framing women as 'other,' one whose savage, animalistic inner self stands opposed to the civilised, reflective males."[47] The women's bodies with the mask-like-faces become seductive objects of the desiring gaze.

Les Demoiselles de Bruxelles itself engages with tricky questions of gendered exploitation. Augustijnen suggests, in his homonymous artist book, that King Leopold II's merciless imperial crimes committed in the Congo could be related psychologically to his frustrated sexuality–and that this could be a result of the social constraints of the royal family.[48] The photographic part of the work focuses on postcolonial female migrants in the former colonial metropolis in order to show the prolongation of exploitation in the present. The artist portrays sex workers in Brussels in front of the colonial monuments in the city centre. In a somewhat similar way to Renzo Martens' film, *Les Demoiselles de Bruxelles* opts for picturing their bodies and for entering the economic chain of exploitation that the work denounces. Both works wilfully engage with terrains where their own involvement in asymmetrical postcolonial power-relations becomes obvious.

As Augustijnen's work pertinently underlines, the question of representation remains pressing, in the museum and beyond. The series comprises a photograph picturing a colonial monument on one of Brussels's most prestigious streets, *Avenue Louise*. It represents the forced recapture of a runaway slave by bloodhounds and thus echoes the practice of colonial hunting (see p. 110). The image shows the monument at night, in striking whiteness, lit by strong spots. At a time when museums like the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam substitute racist historical titles of paintings and sculptures[49], the city of Brussels does not see a need to revise the presence of symbolic affirmations of enslavement and violent submission of African people in the public space.[50]

Through its predilection for intriguing objects, contradictory juxtapositions, and speculative convergences, the exhibition reserves a lot of space for the complexities of the intertwinements of colonialism and art history. Two particularly remarkable documents are the historic photographs that show Patrice Lumumba's[51] visit to Picasso's 1956 exhibition at the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels (see p. 96). In one of the photos taken by René Stalin from Inforcongo[52] Lumumba can be seen in front of Picasso's *Guernica* from 1937. One can read this emblematic image as premonitory: Picasso's cubist-expressionist depiction of the Germany and Italy-led destruction of the village of Guernica in support of the fascist side in the Spanish civil war gives a glimpse of Lumumba's own violent death less then five years later, in January 1961. His murder opened the way for Joseph-Désiré Mobutu's accession to power and the subsequent decades-long authoritarian rule.[53] Lumumba's assassination can be considered just as much a moment of historical closure with fatal consequences for the population for decades, as the victory of general Franco's troops over the Republican front in 1939 Spain.

An alternative reading could start from German-Swedish writer Peter Weiss's monumental philosophical novel *The Aesthetics of Resistance*:[54] Throughout the densely woven story, three young antifascist militants in the Europe of the late 1930s and early 1940s consult artworks–reaching back to antiquity–as guidance for their own struggles. In the Marxist perspective of overcoming class domination, they construe them like the informants of the ongoing opposition between the dominant rulers and the oppressed and exploited. *Guernica* is among the artworks that obtain a major role for their appropriation of history through art. In this sense, the image of Lumumba in front of Picasso's painting can be read as a moment of instruction in which the future Prime minister of independent Congo and iconic martyr of the struggle for independence understands in one of the highly symbolic places of the colonial power–the Museum of Fine Arts in Brussels–the frightening consequences of losing a battle for emancipation. By means of a *détour*[55] in the colonial capital, the aspirations of the Spanish antifascists and their supporters can become motivation and ideological allies for Lumumba's struggle for the independence of the Congo that–at the moment of the photograph in 1956–is still to come.

Bringing the war home—As argued before, *Hunting & Collecting*'s montage technique establishes transhistorical links. The same approach allows for postcolonial connections of geographically remote spaces. The exhibition shows works of artists from the Mu.ZEE collection which is mainly focused on nineteenth and twentieth century Belgian art, alongside the works of artists who refer to the Congolese present. Seemingly separated realities appear in their interrelatedness.[56]

Privacy, interiors, and shelter are themes that appear in several of the paintings in the exhibition. In discreet colours Constant Permeke shows a family drinking tea in their living room with friendly light illuminating the space from above and behind, giving a warm aspect to the earthen-darkish colours (see p. 23). On a second canvas the artist again portrays a family

in their interiors. The massive and frontally posed bodies look cosy, with attributes like smoking a pipe in the armchair with the cat on one's legs (see p. 104). Remaining within the register of privacy, Jef Geys series *Kleurboek voor volwassenen* (Colouring Book for Adults, 1964-1965), consisting of seven large format paintings, start from autobiographical observations, in order to explore the social norms conditioning our everyday life (see p. 105). *Belle jeunesse* (Beautiful Youth, 1998) portrayed by Marie-Jo Lafontaine in front of a colourful monochrome background seems to grows up with a slightly bored facial expression, in security and serenity (see p. 53).

Hunting & Collecting confronts these quiet images of privacy with disconcerting and disturbing realities, mostly in the Congolese context. The montage of the works in the exhibition recalls famous collage works such as Martha Rosler's *Bringing the War Home: House Beautiful* series (1967-1972) which inscribed the Vietnam war in slick advertisement pictures of US-American living rooms. In a similar approach, the relative serenity of many of the artworks in the collection is interrogated through the presence of their Congolese pairs. Among them is the work *Kadogos* (2014) by the Congolese photographer Georges Senga. The artist portrays children in a Northern Congolese holiday camp near Goma. These teenagers are so soaked with the imaginary of war that they dress up and play war even in their spare time–so convincingly so that it becomes clear that they can become real soldiers in a very short time (see pp. 133, 148-149).

Excerpts from a novel of Serge Amisi accompany the photographs. Amisi is the author of an autobiographical book titled *Souvenez-vous de moi, l'enfant de demain*.[57] He is now living in Paris and describes in his book his teenage experiences as a child soldier who was forcibly dragooned by Kabila's army in 1997 and who spent the whole war as a soldier until he arrived in Kinshasa.

The personal story of the child soldier Serge Amisi reappears in the work *Furor* by French artist Salomé Laloux-Bard (2013). Laloux-Bard asked Amisi to re-enact his experience in the forest of Tervuren surrounding the Royal Museum for Central Africa. The seventeen-minute sequence video shows in one single shot Amisi reliving his war memories (see p. 99 and 146). Through this transposition, the geographically remote spaces, which are nevertheless dovetailed by their history–one of the symbolic places of Belgian colonialism close to the capital and the forests in Northern Congo–, are reconnected. The actor, Serge Amisi, puts himself back in a combat situation. The spectator sees a set of preparations to get ready for an attack, including the use of drugs and his war cries.

A particularly crude depiction of the everyday atrocities of the war is to be found in the pages of Sinzo Aanza's unpublished novel *La brigade des nettoyeurs* (The Brigade of the Cleaners). The writer who comes from Goma describes the army brigade which was given by the Kabila government the task of getting rid of bodies, the ostensible traces of the killings of the war (see p. 135). The novel describes the daily round, through the eyes of one of the brigade's members, and with very rough details narrated in a thoroughly cold and sometimes even witty way. In this war environment, a story is woven between a man who is part of this brigade and a woman from the region.[58]

The exhibition creates a powerful environment to re-signify existing artworks: Placed in the context of the Congolese war, Jan Fabre's installation *Battlefield* (1998) for instance begins to resonate with the war in the region of the Great Lakes. The spectator is reminded of the Rwandan genocide in 1994, where calling the persecuted "cockroaches" preceded the extermination of more than one million people.[59] Similarly, *Les larmes d'acier* (The Tears of Steal, 1987) by Marie-Jo Lafontaine, a monumental work referring to male body-building culture even broadens the ambiguities of its subject. On 27 screens, the huge installation interrogates bodybuilding as a contradictory form of Western culture. The celebrated bodies are scattered and multiplied on the screens, while Maria Callas sings Bellini. The physical effort distorts the faces of the muscled men that seem simultaneously tortured by, and united with the training machines. Still, their martyrdom is self-chosen and, in spite of the martial title of the work, death as the counter-player in this culture of vanity remains a rather metaphysical threat, common to all living beings (see p. 50). The juxtaposition to James Ensor's *De Dood achtervolgt de Mensenkudde* (Death Chasing the Flock of Mortals, 1896) and the proximity of the forced martyrdoms in Laloux-Bard's, Senga's and Amisi's work however reminds us that warfare is closely connected to the celebration of sacrifice and masculinity.

In the visual narrations that run through the images, protected social spaces systematically appear as threatened. This is obviously the case in James Ensor's corrosive social critique of Belgian society at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries (see p. 108). But recklessness also appears as treacherous in the assembling of the images. For instance, Marie-Jo Lafontaine's *Beautiful Youth* slips on an ambiguous ground when it is confronted to the sculptured animal skulls (2002) by Guido Geelen, and juxtaposed to an historic photograph showing a dressed-up child amidst colonial hunting trophies, in front of a painted landscape (see p. 52). The view through Mu.ZEE's exhibition rooms seem to echo this illusory depth of the black and white picture background. The harmonious landscape appears here on the one side as artfully produced illusion: an image that covers and screens rather than showing; whereas it allows one to dive into the succession of the museum's rooms, which deploy the contested colonial imaginary and its present day resonances layer after layer. In the vanishing point of the view through the exhibition appears Sammy Baloji's collage *The Album* (2014) which superimposes Chrispin Mvanos images of the region of the Great Lakes to Henry Pauwels's colonial photography.

Inviting documents from the colonial period and contemporary artists who work about exploitation and war in present-day Northern Congo does considerably alter the view on the museum's collection. Seemingly distant geographical and artistic realities appear as entangled in multiple ways. In the perspective created by the intertwinements of the exhibition it is henceforth difficult to separate local social realities in Belgian cities and households, and their artistic representation from the global interdependencies of colonialism and the global economy.

NOTES

1. David Banash: *Collage Culture: Readymades, Meaning, and the Age of Consumption*, Amsterdam and New York, Rodopi, 2013, p. 31.
2. Chris Marker, Alain Resnais: *Les statues meurent aussi*, DVD, 30 min., Paris, Présence Africaine, 1953 (translation from French L. A.).
3. Donna Haraway: *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science*, London and New York, Routledge, 1989, p. 1.
4. See the contribution of Patricia Van Schuylenbergh to this volume.
5. See the contribution by Sandrine Colard in this volume.
6. See also Sammy Baloji's introduction and the excerpts from the dialogue of Chrispin Mvano and Sammy Baloji visiting together the pages of Henry Pauwels's album, pp. 18-19.
7. Edward Said: *Orientalism*, New York, Vintage, 1994 [1978], p. 61.
8. See conversation between Patrick Colaert and curator Anouck Clissen in this volume, pp. 125-132.
9. Paul Gilroy: *Postcolonial Melancholia*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2005.
10. See Louis Henderson's film *All that is solid*, France, 2014, HD, 15 min.
11. *Gécamines*, or *Société générale des carrières et des mines*, is a Congolese State-managed company based in Lubumbashi, in the Katanga province. It is one of the largest mining companies in Africa, and the biggest in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Founded in 1966 as a successor to the *Union Minière du Haut Katanga*, *Gécamines* is engaged in the exploration, research, exploitation and production of mineral deposits including copper, cobalt, tin, gold, zinc, among others.
12. See also the film *Code Minier* by Bodil Furu, Norway, 2013, 45 min.
13. Karl Marx: *The Communist Manifesto*, First Chapter, Berlin, 1966 [1848].
14. One could think at the work *Technofossil* (2015) by Belgian artist Maarten Vanden Eynde, who sculpts mobile phones in raw Malachite, and evokes through this form a future in which these communication devices will belong to the past.
15. See also Banash, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
16. See for some examples of development aid critique: Axelle Kabou: *Et si l'Afrique refusait le développement*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 1993; Arturo Escobar: *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1995; Gilbert Rist: *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, Expanded Edition, London, Zed Books, 2003.

17. One can consider Aby Warburg's *Atlas Mnémosyne* as a "tool for recollecting or 'sampling' through interposed images the grand chaos of history. All summed up, it is a matter of creating, with black atlas plates of constellated figures of all sorts, intelligible takes capable of operating certain "cuts of the chaos" in order to constitute a sort of archaeology or 'cultural geology' aiming to render the historical immanence of images visible. And as through rebounds or ricochets it is finally a matter of bringing about new concepts, new ways of thinking social and cultural temporality." Georges Didi-Huberman: "Échantillonner le chaos. Aby Warburg et l'atlas photographique de la Grande Guerre," *Études photographiques*, 27 May 2011, [online], http://etudesphotographiques.revues.org/3173. Accessed January 7, 2016 (translation from French: L. A.).

18. See the contribution by Sandrine Colard to this volume.

19. Astrid Deuber-Mankowsky: "Where the Hell lies the Exit to this Field. On the Continued Relevance of Donna Haraway's History of Primatological Knowledge", in: Anselm Franke and Hila Peleg (eds.): *Ape Culture*, Leipzig, Spector Books, 2015, p. 24.

20. Helke Sanders: *Muttertier; Muttermensch*, Germany, 1998, Beta SP, color, 62 min.

21. The neologism herstory from the 1970s is a feminist questioning of History with a capital H, which favours 'minor' stories over great events, and female collaborative structures over single male deciders. See for example Coco Fusco: *A Room Of One's Own: Women and Power in the New America*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-8Voh4nLWIw, access: January 10, 2016. For the concept of minor history see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka. Towards a Minor Literature*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

22. Rosemarie Trockel: *Slight Discomforture*, Issue 2, 1985, leaflet with text and pencil drawings, 25.7 x 19.5 cm.

23. Based on Pierre Boulle's novel *La planète des singes*, from 1963, the film adaptation under the title *Planet of the Apes*, realised in 1968 by Franklin J. Schaffner was followed by four sequels between 1970 and 1973, and many derivatives in the following years.

24. The exhibition *Ape Culture* that took place from April 30 to July 6, 2015 at Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin, was dedicated to the ambiguous figure of the ape and its relation to humans. Cf. Franke and Peleg, *op. cit.*

25. The term was coined by Colombian filmmakers Carlos Mayolo and Luis Ospina. They made a satire film in Cali called *Agarrando Pueblo* (*The Vampires of Poverty*), Colombia, 1978, 16 mm, 28 min.

26. Jürgen Renn and Bernd Scherer: *Das Anthropozän. Zum Stand der Dinge*, Berlin, Matthes and Seitz, 2015.

27. See http://uncensored.africamuseum.be/fr.

28. Christian Kravagna: "The Preserves of Colonialism: The World in the Museum." Translated by Tim Sharp, *eipcp*, http: //eipcp.net/transversal/0708/kravagna/en; Belinda Kazeem, Charlotte Martinz-Turek, Nora Sternfeld (eds.): *Das Unbehagen im Museum. Postkoloniale Museologien*, Vienna, Turia+Kant, 2009; artefakte//anti-Humboldt (eds.): *Darkmatter. In the Ruins of Imperial Culture*, Special Issue, "Afterlifes," www.darkmatter101.org/site/category/.../11-afterlives; Larissa Förster (ed.): *Transforming Knowledge Orders: Museums, Collections, Exhibitions*, Morphomata, Munich, Wilhelm Fink (2014).

29. One example are the research fellowships founded by the German Federal Foundation for Culture in 2016.

30. Critical interrogations of the Museum started much earlier in the US context, often carried out by minorities that pointed to striking discriminations. See Jennifer González: *Subject to Display. Reframing Race in Contemporary Installation Art*, Cambridge, Ma., MIT Press, 2008.

31. On behalf of two of Sammy Baloji's works elaborated in such a context, see Lotte Arndt: "Sammy Baloji's Works on Skulls in European Museum Collections," in: *Darkmatter. In the Ruins of Imperial Culture*, 2013, online: http: //www.darkmatter101.org/site/2013/11/18/vestiges-of-oblivion-sammy-baloji's-works-on-skulls-in-european-museum-collections/

32. Sammy Baloji, in: Mathieu K. Abonnenc, Lotte Arndt, Catalina Lozano (eds.): *Crawling Doubles. Colonial Collecting and Affect*, Paris, B42, 2016, p. 158.

33. Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904) was a key figure for the conquest of the Congo by Belgian king Leopold II who defined the Free State as his private property until 1908. From 1878 to 1886 Stanley worked as representative of the Belgian king in the Congo, and progressively extended his territorial claims. He took part in the Berlin Africa Conference (1884-1885) which fixed the rules and procedures of colonisation among Western powers–African officials were not convened.

34. A similar proceeding is chosen in the juxtaposition of Oscar Jespers *Visserskop* (Head of a Fisherman; 1926) and scenes from Manu Riche and Patrick Marnham's *Snake Dance* (see pp. 102-103).

35. See for example James Clifford: *The Predicament of Culture. Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1986.

36. Chris Marker, Alain Resnais: *Les statues meurent aussi*, DVD, 30 min., Paris, Présence Africaine, 1953 (translation from French L. A.).

37. See Peter Bloom: "La subversion des hiérarchies du savoir dans Les statues meurent aussi," in: Nicolas Bancel *et al.*: *Zoos humains*, Paris, La Découverte, 2004, p. 359.

38. Walter Benjamin: "On the Concept of History," in: *Selected Writings*, vol. 4, Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (eds.), translated by Edmund Jephcott *et al.*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2003 [1940].

39. See Mary Ann Staniszewski: *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1998, p. 112.

40. See Brian O'Doherty: *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space*, Cambridge, University of California Press, 1976.

41. In 1946 in Elisabethville (today Lubumbashi), Pierre-Romain Desfossés, a former Breton officer in the French navy, with a strong interest in African art and fascinated by the talents of local artists, opened the studio *Le Hangar* which quickly became officially known as the *Académie d'art populaire indigène*.

42. Sammy Baloji, in Abonnenc et. al., *op. cit.*, p. 169.

43. See Simon Gikandi: "Picasso, Africa and the Schemata of Difference," in: *Modernism/modernity*, vol. 10, no. 3, September 2003, pp. 455-480.

44. See for instance the photographs by British surrealist Roland Penrose from 1937, showing E.L.T. Mesens–one of the central figures of Belgian surrealism–and his colleagues and friends wearing African masks (see p. 95). For a self-reflexive practice, see the remarkable painting *L'Afrique inconnue: La mythologie comparée* realised in 1958 by Belgian artist Jane Graverol (see p. 97). As Yasmine Van Pee suggests in her essay, the painting indicates a considerable awareness of the mystifying images that the proliferation of standardised representations of the people and the country created in the last decade of Belgian colonisation of the Congo.

45. González, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

46. *Ibidem*.

47. Carol Duncan: *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, New York, Routlegde, 1995, pp. 116-117.

48. Cf. Sven Augustijnen: *Les Demoiselles de Bruxelles*, Brussels, asbl projections, 2011.

49. Cf. Nina Siegal: "Rijksmuseum Removing Racially Charged Terms From Artworks' Titles and Descriptions," New York Times http: //artsbeat.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/12/10/rijksmuseum-removing-racially-charged-terms-from-artworks-titles-and-descriptions/?ref=design&_r=2, accessed 26 January 2016.

50. For a contestations of these symbols, see the activities of initiatives like "Une place Lumumba à Bruxelles, pourquoi pas ?" or #decolonizebelgium. A brillant presentation of artist's and activist's initiatives countering the colonial monuments in Belgium is to be found in Gia Abrassart and Ben Yacoub: "La chasse aux spectres monumentaux dans la Belgique congolaise," *Africultures*, forthcoming. Building on ideas by Achille Mbembe, they propose to transform the 207 hectares of the park of the Tervuren museum into a graveyard for Belgian colonial monuments.

51. Patrice Lumumba (1925-1960) was the first Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Congo from June to September 1960. As a central figure for the struggle for independence, Lumumba became after his murder in January 1961, a globally known symbol for the repression of the hopes for emancipation in the formerly colonised countries.

52. Office de l'Information et des Relations Publiques pour le Congo Belge et le Ruanda-Urundi. *Inforcongo* was a service within the Colonial Ministry in Brussels. It had two regional branches, one as part of the General Government in Léopoldville (today Kinshasa) and the other in Usumbura (today Bujumbura).

53. Without the support from Western powers Mobuto wouldn't have come to power. In the frame of the Cold War he guaranteed a shield against socialism for the West, and collaborated closely on raw material exportation. Between November 1965 and May 1997, for more than 31 years, he was the head of government, leading an oppressive dictatorship over the Congolese population. Disrespect of Human rights was rampant, and corruption levels so high that it has been referred to as a cleptocratic regime.

54. Peter Weiss: *The Aesthetics of Resistance*, vol. 1. Translated by Joachim Neugroschel, Durham, Duke University Press 2005 [1975].

55. In Édouard Glissant's conception of detour, displacement and the passage trhough the former colonial centres becomes the condition for overcoming and reinvention. See Édouard Glissant: *Le discours antillais*, Paris, Gallimard, 1997 [1981], pp. 48-57.

56. This connection reminds me of Jean-Luc Godard and Ann-Marie Miéville's interrogations in their film *Here and Elsewhere* (1976). The filmmakers inquire critically about the conditions of image production in the European metropolis while the pictured Palestinian liberation fighters on the footage of their film are confronted with existential threats. Most of them die before the film is completed.

57. Serge Amisi: *Souvenez-vous de moi, l'enfant de demain*, Paris, Vents d'ailleurs, 2011.

58. In the exhibition, the novel was presented in the form of an audio piece and some pages were exhibited in a showcase.

59. Cf. Patricia Van Schuylenbergh, in: Abonnenc *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 164.