Zanzibar Pizza Hut: Stone Town's Duckorated Sheds

by
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ABSTRACT

Zanzibar Pizza Hut: Stone Town's Duckorated Sheds examines three cultural artifacts produced in Zanzibar's Stone Town—Christ Church at the Old Slave Market, the kanga cloth, and the Zanzibar Pizza. These artifacts, which emerged in 1897, the early twentieth century, and the late 1980s, respectively, demonstrate a similar set of contradictions between what these objects' suggested meaning is and what the conventions of naming imply, contradictions that produce what I'm calling Duckorated Sheds. Ultimately, the symbolic forms of these architectures have meanings that are obfuscated by the descriptions around them.

The shared salience of these cultural artifacts lies in the way they exist in and amplify multiple temporalities—knotting together the supposedly rupturing moments of the end of slavery, the inauguration of colonial power, and the late-millennium embrace of corporate multinational capitalism. The logics of Duckorated Sheds suggest less a rupturing event than a continuation of existing modes of thinking, being, and non-being—a continuation of slavery and of colonization in all its metastasized recapitulations. These objects ultimately lubricate the semiotic friction that occurs when a restructuring event alters the modes by which meaning is rendered. Zanzibar Pizza Hut takes these specific Duckorated Sheds and applies their logics to the design of a pavilion in Stone Town's Forodhani Gardens, a colonial vestige that sits underutilized during the day but serves as the site for a food market in the evening, mainly geared towards tourists. Zanzibar Pizza Hut attempts to design for a variety of actors, all the while maintaining the awareness of the underlying continuities produced by the logic of the Duckorated Shed.

Thesis Supervisor: **Ana Miljački**
Title: Professor of Architecture

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The transcontinental connections and systems of exchange that would later be called “Swahili culture” proliferated along the Indian Ocean coast beginning in the eleventh

Figure 1: Charles Porter Brown, *Zanzibar Harbour*, 1878 (oil on canvas) by Brown, Charles Porter (19th Century); Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, USA

Figure 2: Zanzibar Beauty, from *World on the Horizon: Swahili Arts Across the Indian Ocean*, Smithsonian National Museum of African Art, reproduced on https://www.northcountrypublicradio.org/news/npr/614361414/seaglefestival.org

century.[1]

However, Swahili culture as a moniker of self-identification emerged in the late nineteenth century after the British Empire became the dominant bureaucratic actor within Zanzibar.[2] In 1896, the British engaged in the world's shortest war, a 38–45 minute skirmish that left 500 Zanzibaris and one British sailor dead, and several of the Sultan of Zanzibar's buildings destroyed.[3]

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[1] For more on transcontinental exchange, see Abdul Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African Commercial Empire into the World Economy, 1770-1873.* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1987), https://public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=4806522.

[2] Prita Meier, *Swahili Port Cities: The Architecture of Elsewhere*, African Expressive Cultures (Bloomington ; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2016), 1–25.

[3] For more on the Anglo-Zanzibar War, see Norman R. Bennett, *A History of the Arab State of Zanzibar*, Studies in African History ; 16 (London: Methuen : distributed by Harper & Row Publishers, 1978).

Figure 3: Anglo Zanzibar War Aftermath, Wikimedia Commons

During this war, Zanzibar became a British Protectorate, abolishing slavery in the process. One form of subjugation, slavery, became replaced by another—colonialism. Through this undertaking, administrative modes of naming, identifying, and, ultimately, subjugating produced a distinct, common group identity—*waswahili*, or Swahili people. As art historian Prita

Figure 4: Zanzibar Slave Market, Wikimedia Commons


Zanzibar, ... 190
Suaheli girl
Coutinho Bros., Photographers, Zanzibar 24

Meier writes “British overlords ‘created’ colonial citizens by policing local life, demarcating the cosmopolitanism of local culture and by appropriating existing material enactments of selfhood.”[4] Swahili identity was intimately bound up with these modes of creation, being, and non-being.

[4] Meier, *Swahili Port Cities*, 23.

Figure 5: “Suaheli Girl,” from *Sailors and Daughters: Early Photography and the Indian Ocean*, Smithsonian National Museum of African Art, https://indian-ocean.africa.si.edu/.

As commodities, humans, and human commodities from around the world collided in port cities across the Indian Ocean, they converged at the greatest scale in Zanzibar, the nexus of Swahili culture.

Figure 6: Stone Town, Author's own photo.


MASIKINI NAE MTU

This thesis examines cultural artifacts in Zanzibar to further expand upon Meier's assertion that in Zanzibar, "object entanglements are highly fractured in contrast to the romanticized ideas of a unitary Swahili material culture."[5] In Zanzibar Pizza Hut, I will examine three cultural objects underxamined by Meier—the kanga cloth, the Zanzibar Pizza, and Christ Church at the Old Slave Market.

[5] Meier, 23.

Figure 7: *Duka la Kanga* (Kanga Store), Stone Town, Author's Own Photo, left above.

Figure 8: Zanzibar Pizza stand, Stone Town, Author's Own Photo, left below.

Figure 9: Christ Church at the Old Slave Market, Author's Own Photo, right above.

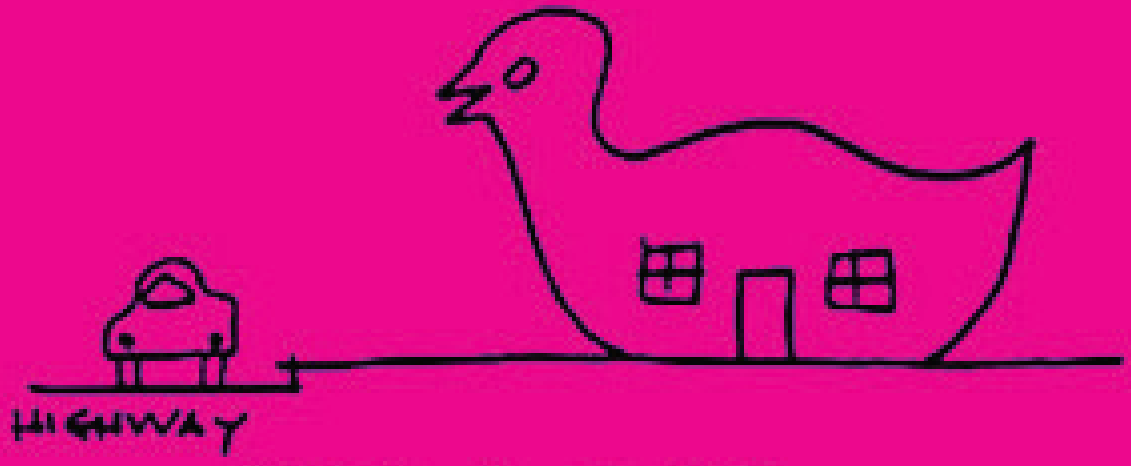
In my examination, I draw from Robert Venturi, Denise Scott-Brown, and Steven Izenour's *Learning from Las Vegas*, which uses Las Vegas as a mode from which to understand a post-1968 return to emphasizing historical reference within architecture. Venturi, Scott-Brown, and Izenour distinguish between the Duck and the Decorated Shed in regards to architectural regard for ornamentation—architecture whose form and structure is constitutive and referential to its purpose, the duck, and architecture whose ornamentation and signs serve as appendages to an unremarkable, banal form, the decorated shed.[6]

Denise Scott Brown, who spent her childhood in Johannesburg, claimed in 2017 that "my view of Las Vegas is an African view."[7] If we *very* cautiously accept Africa as an epistemological category, can we repatriate this African way of viewing towards an examination of these three cultural artifacts?

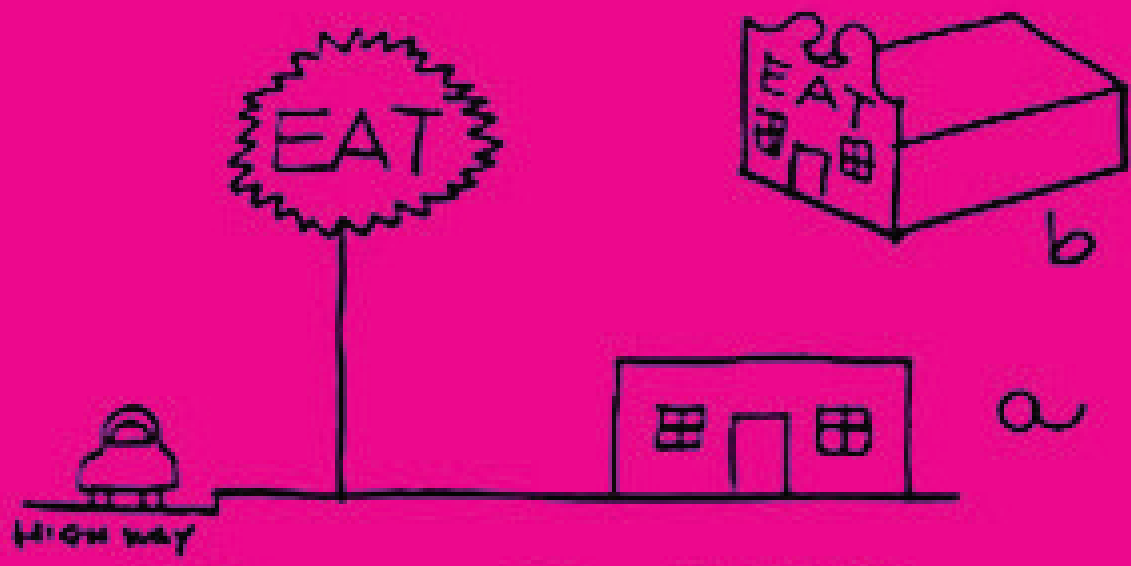
[6] Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*, Facsimile edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2017), 65–80.

[7] *Robert Venturi & Denise Scott Brown - My Love of the South African Landscape (Part 1) (21/118)*, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wCMg-7FE51I.

Figure 10: "Duck and the Decorated Shed," Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*, Facsimile edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2017), 65

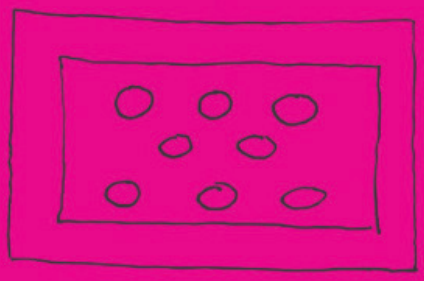


DUCK

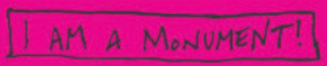


DECORATED SHED

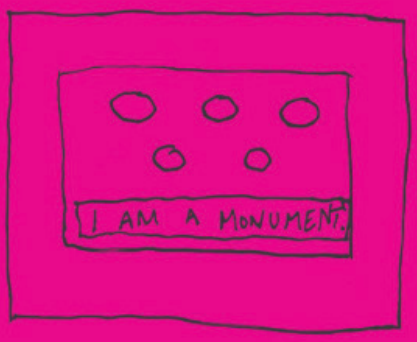
I would like to propose that this process of repatriated viewing allows for us to view the kanga cloth, the Zanzibar Pizza, and Christ Church at the Old Slave Market as not ducks, nor decorate sheds, but Duckorated Sheds, whose entangled histories and combinatory logics offer new possibilities.



DUCK

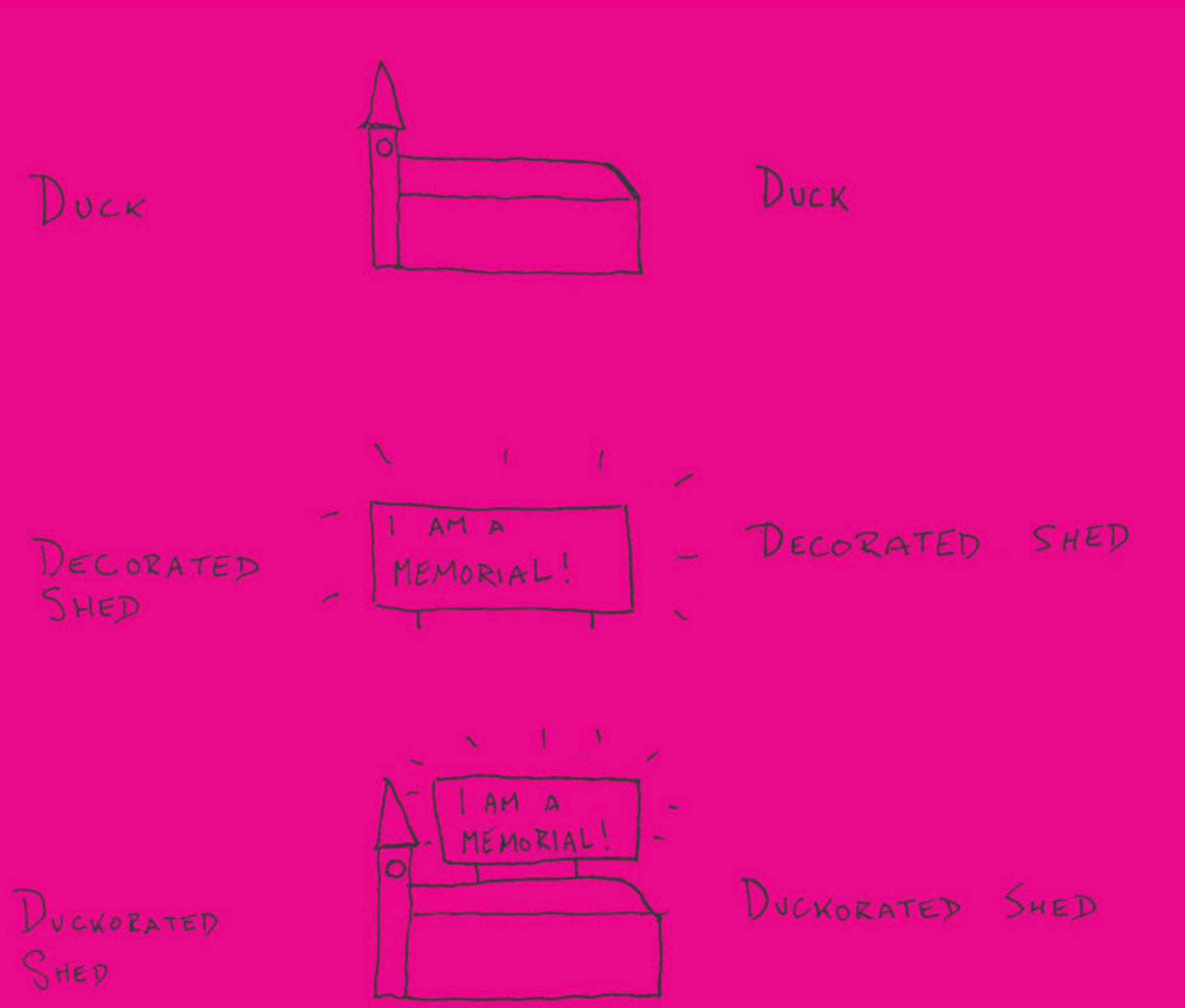


DECORATED SHED



DUCKORATED SHED

Figure 11: The Duckorated Shed, Author's Own Drawing



Prior to colonization, enslaved people wore *marekani* cloths, imported from places like Salem, MA and dyed with indigo.[8]

[8] See Rose Ong'oa Morara, "One Size Fits All: The Interplay of Kanga, Makawa, Swahili Poetry, and Taarab in the Communication of Zanzibari Women" (Dissertation, Arkansas State University, 2009); Sarah Fee, "'Cloths with Names': Luxury Textile Imports in Eastern Africa, c. 1800–1885," *Textile History* 48, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 49–84, https://doi.org/10.1080/00404969.2017.1294819.

Figure 12: A woman wearing *kaninki*, a cheap cotton cloth imported from America and dyed black by slave women on the East African coast, late 19th early 20th century. Photo from Zanzibar National Archive, AV 36.95. Cited from Rose Ong'oa Morara, "One Size Fits All: The Interplay of Kanga, Makawa, Swahili Poetry, and Taarab in the Communication of Zanzibari Women" (Dissertation, Arkansas State University, 2009)

Figure 13: *Kisutu*, an English manufactured cloth printed in Indian to remake it for the East African market. Cited from Rose Ong'oa Morara, "One Size Fits All: The Interplay of Kanga, Makawa, Swahili Poetry, and Taarab in the Communication of Zanzibari Women" (Dissertation, Arkansas State University, 2009).

Meanwhile, Zanzibari elites highly coveted *kisutu* cloths, manufactured in India using a woodblock printing technique produced under the British and sold in the East African market. As *waswahili* identity congealed in the late-nineteenth century upon the abolition of slavery in 1897, formerly enslaved people began experimenting with methods of printing, carving vegetables to imprint dyes, using unripe bananas as a wax, or woodblocks like those used in the *kisutu* cloths. Text began to figure prominently on these adorned textiles, a marker of inscription for formerly enslaved people into the dominant social order of British colonization and the English language.[9]

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[9] Sharifa Zawawi, *Kanga: The Cloth That Speaks* (Bronx, NY: Azaniya Hills Press, 2005); Chieko Orimoto, *Kanga Collection =: Kanga Kwa Jumla = Kanga Korekushon* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2016).

Figure 14: "Zanzibari women wearing antecedents of kanga in the late 1800s. The woman in the back left wears a design featuring the letters of the alphabet." Photo credit: Zanzibar National Archive, AV54.16. Cited from Rose Ong'oa Morara, "One Size Fits All: The Interplay of Kanga, Makawa, Swahili Poetry, and Taarab in the Communication of Zanzibari Women" (Dissertation, Arkansas State University, 2009).

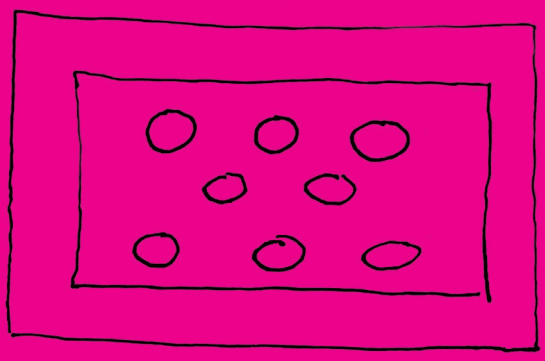
Figure 15: http://amassingstuff.blogspot.com/2013/05/african-printed-cloth.html

By the 1930s, British manufacturers began noticing these texts and began printing Swahili proverbs on cloths that they sold to Swahili markets. Since then, their manufacturing has dispersed beyond just Britain, and the vibrant designs are both figurative and non-figurative—reflecting the tensions between Christian and Islamic practices contained within the archipelago's cultural landscape. Those elements that are figural are often symbols of power—from cashews to abundant agricultural bounty to presidents.[10]

[10] Ong'oa Morara, "One Size Fits All: The Interplay of Kanga, Makawa, Swahili Poetry, and Taarab in the Communication of Zanzibari Women."

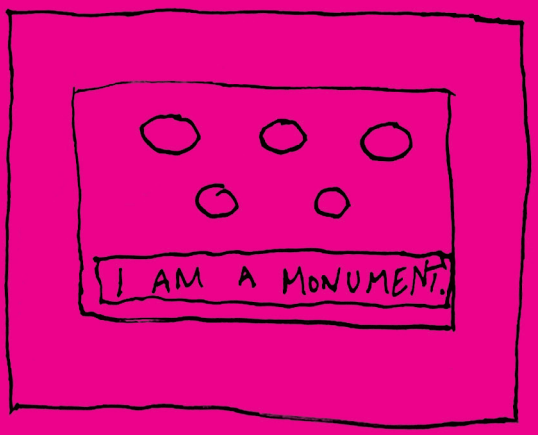
However, rarely do people purchase or wear the cloths solely for their visual appeal. Rather, *Kangas* are worn in order to communicate the short messages subtly incorporated into their design, both in the act of wearing and in the act of giving. Sold as a long cloth with the design reprinted twice, cloths are typically cut in half and either worn together or given as a gift to someone else, sometimes commemorating a celebratory occasion, or sometimes to cross the boundaries of cultural taboos—like confronting a neighbor over a domestic dispute. In effect, the designs operate as a duck, encouraging visual interpretation. However, the messages, while not fundamental to the cloth's design, convey a message often contradictory to the aesthetics of the fabric and strangely entangled with a variety of meanings. When combined, they often produce a Duckorated Shed.

Figure 16: Duckorated Shed, Author's Own Drawing



DUCK

DECORATED SHED



DUCKORATED SHED

Ten years commemorating the Zanzibar Revolution

Usianue peke yako shauriana na wenzako

“Don’t go alone, come together with your neighbors”

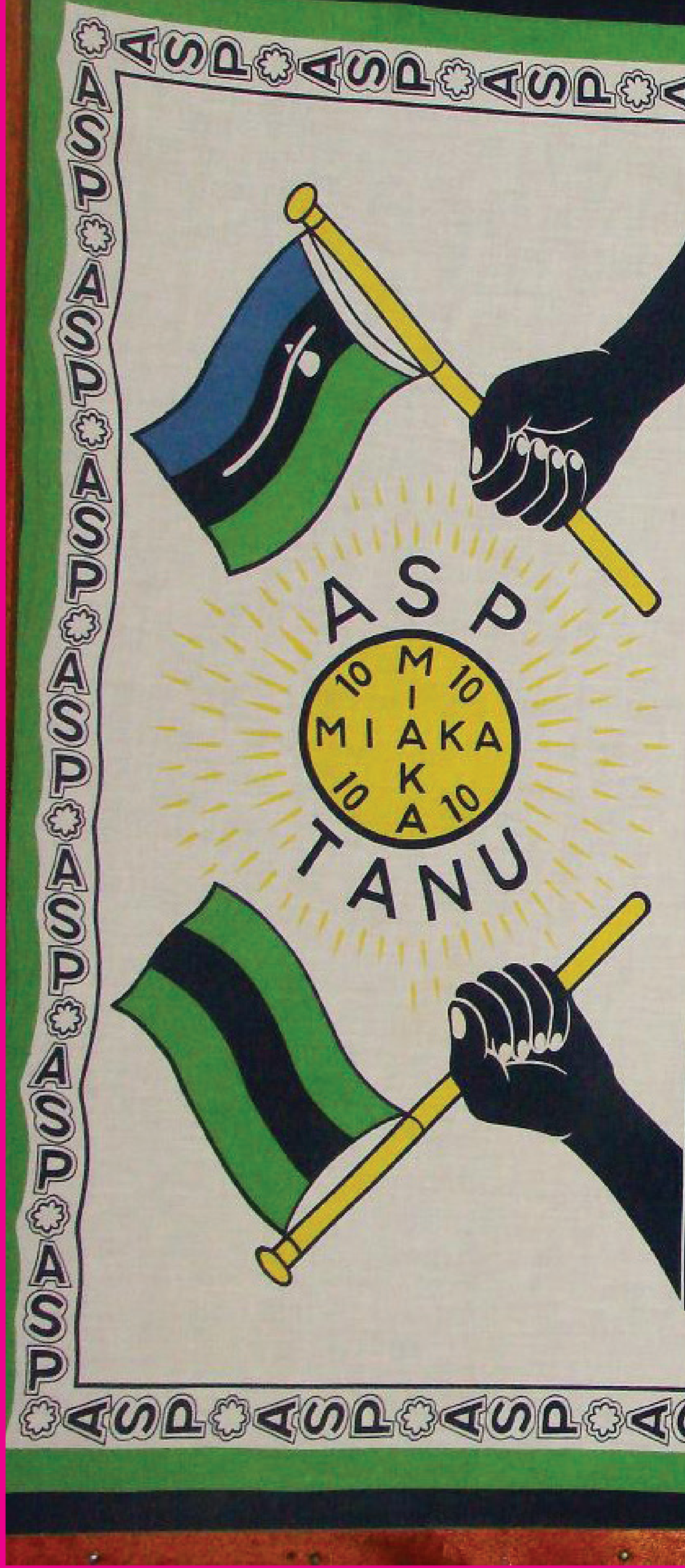
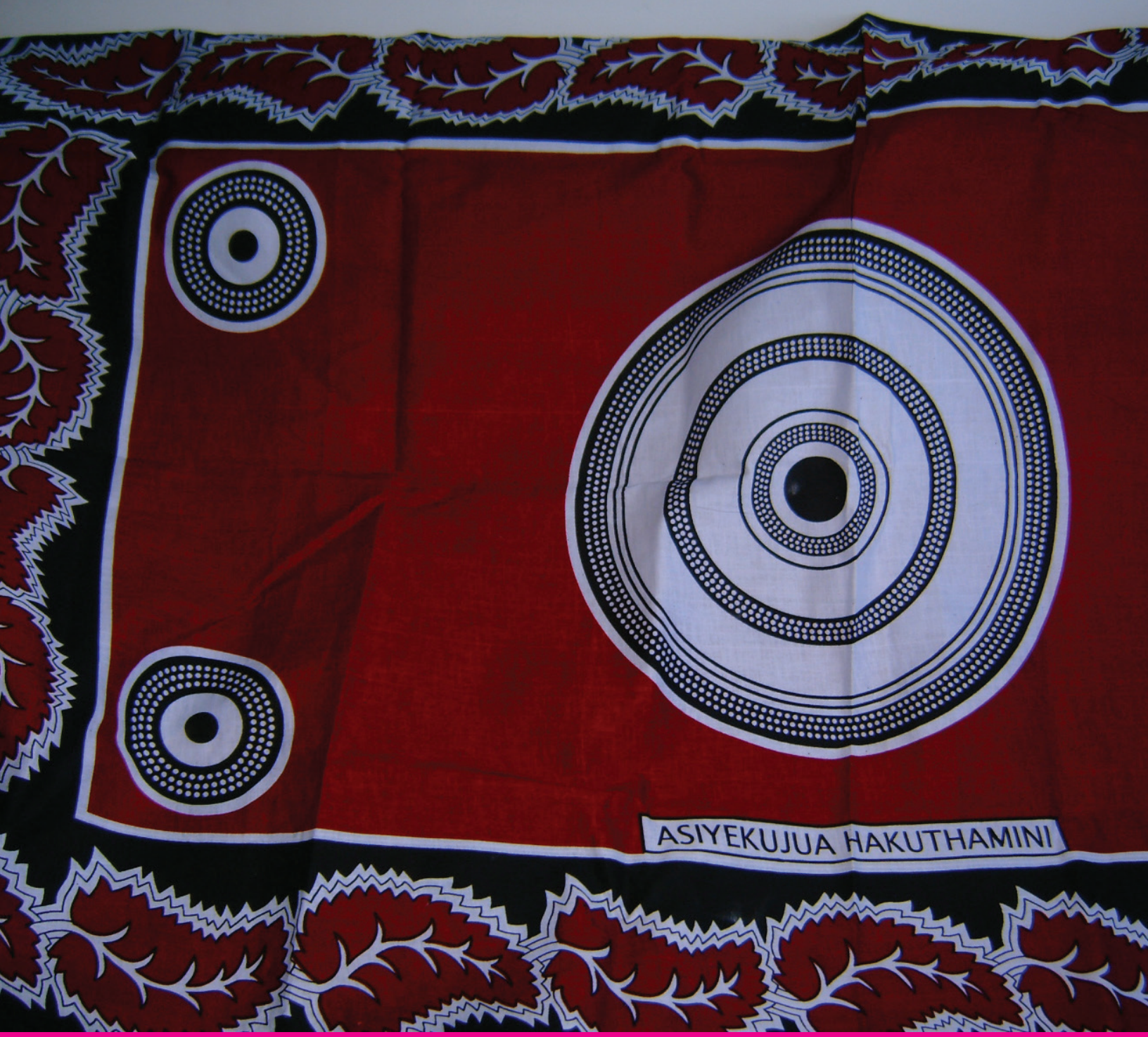


Figure 17: Kanga Cloth, The Kanga Book, https://www.facebook.com/thekangabook/photos


MAPINDUZI
MIAKA 10 10
12 JAN 1964 - 12 JAN 1974
MAPINDUZI
1964
1974
MAPINDUZI
TANU
ASP
TANU
MIAKA 10 10
ASP
USIAMUE PEKE YAKO SHAURIANA NA WENZAKO

Jicho
“eyes”

Figure 18: Kanga Cloth, The Kanga Book, https://www.facebook.com/thekangabook/photos


ASIYEKUJUA HAKUTHAMINI

Asiyekujua hakuthamini

**“he who does not know you,
he doesn’t care”**

Figure 19: Kanga Cloth, The Kanga Book, https://www.facebook.com/thekangabook/photos

Mwanamke akiwezesha kila jambo anaweza
“an empowered woman can do anything.”

Figure 20: Kanga Cloth, The Kanga Book, https://www.facebook.com/thekangabook/photos


ANA MKE AKIWEZESHWA KILA JAMBO ANAWEZA

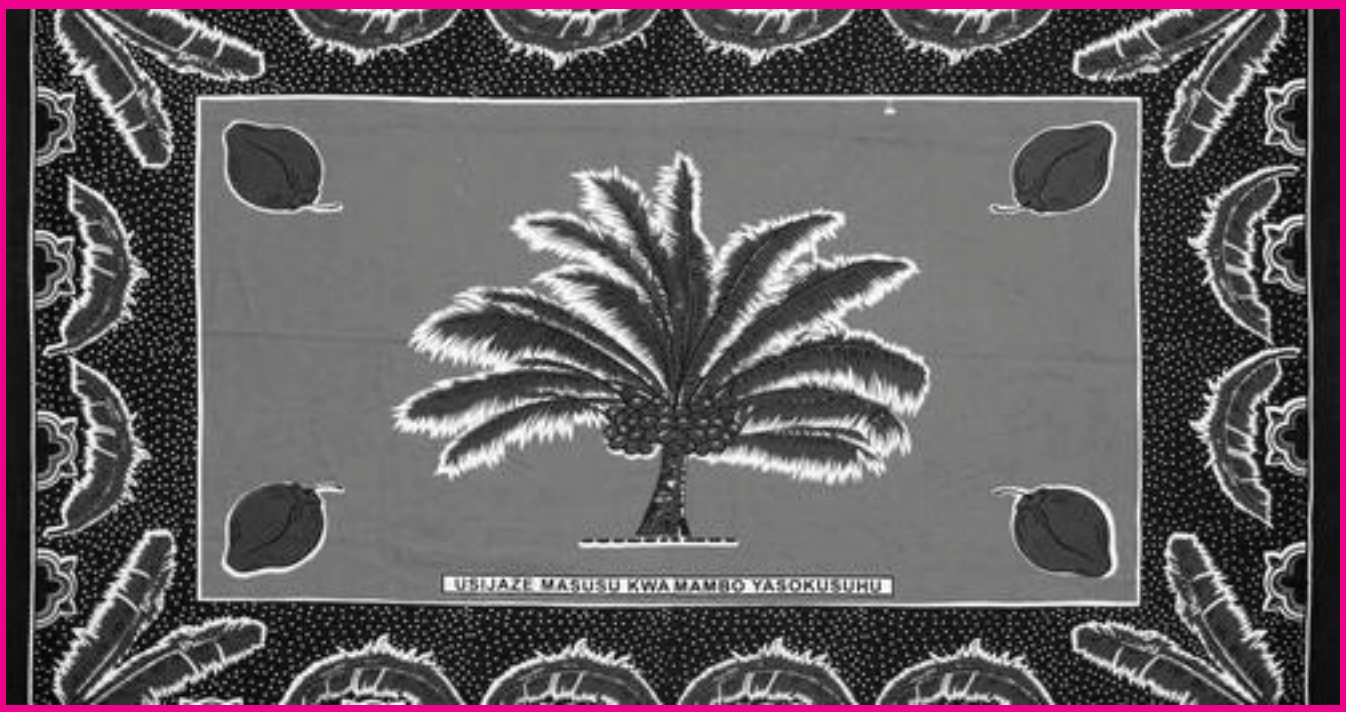
Hongera Barack Obama: Upendo na amani ametujulia mungu
“Congratulations Barack Obama, God has given us hope and love”

Figure 21: Kanga Cloth, The Kanga Book, https://www.facebook.com/thekangabook/photos

Figure 22: Kanga Cloth, The Kanga Book, https://www.facebook.com/thekangabook/photos

Ubaya hauna kwao mola nisitri na njama zao

“Lord do not let evil plot and conspire against these three of mine”



Usijaze masusu kwa mambo yasokusuhu

“Do not fill your mind with things that do not concern you”

Figure 23: Kanga Cloth, The Kanga Book, https://www.facebook.com/thekangabook/photos

Figure 24: Kanga Cloth, The Kanga Book, https://www.facebook.com/thekangabook/photos

Nimekinai umasikini wangu cha mtu sitamani

“I have refused my poverty, which for anyone I will not wish”

Maneno si mkuki msemayo sihituki

“Words are not spears, I am not offended by the person who said them”

Figure 25: Kanga Cloth, The Kanga Book, https://www.facebook.com/thekangabook/photos


SI MKUKI MSEMAYO SISHITUKI

A similar contradiction emerges in the night market sited at Forodhani Gardens within Zanzibar's Stone Town.

Figure 26: British Jubilee Gardens Under Construction, 1930s, Matson Photo Service, Library of Congress

Figure 27: Zanzibar British Jubilee Gardens, 1930s, Matson Photo Service, Library of Congress

Figure 28: Zanzibar Skyline, 1930s, Matson Photo Service, Library of Congress

Figure 29: British Jubilee Gardens 1980s, in Sheriff, Abdul, and Zanzibar, eds. *Historical Zanzibar: Romance of the Ages*. 1st ed. London: HSP, 1995.

Figure 30: British Jubilee Gardens 1980s, in Sheriff, Abdul, and Zanzibar, eds. *Historical Zanzibar: Romance of the Ages*. 1st ed. London: HSP, 1995.

Figure 31: British Jubilee Gardens 1980s, in Sheriff, Abdul, and Zanzibar, eds. *Historical Zanzibar: Romance of the Ages*. 1st ed. London: HSP, 1995.

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Figure 33: British Jubilee Gardens 1980s, in Sheriff, Abdul, and Zanzibar, eds. *Historical Zanzibar: Romance of the Ages*. 1st ed. London: HSP, 1995.

The rapid influx of tourists in the 1990s catalyzed the re-appropriation of the Former British Jubilee Gardens into a night market prominently selling Zanzibar Pizza, a culinary concoction that resembles a *mutabbaq*, a popular flatbread across the Indian Ocean Coast.[11]

[11] Sarah Khan, "The Mysterious Origin of Zanzibar Pizza," accessed May 1, 2023, https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20201216-the-mysterious-origin-of-zanzibar-pizza.

Figure 34: Mr. Big Banana, Zanzibar Pizza Stand, Forodhani Gardens, Author's Own Photo

Figure 35: Tahira Waseem, “Mutabbaq: Saudi Street Food,” Asaan Recipes, https://asaanrecipes.com/saudi-street-food-mutabbaq/

Mutabbaq means folded in Arabic, demonstrating how the mixing of ingredients creates a constitutive relationship. Similarly, the Zanzibar Pizza consists of an unleavened bread into which a variety of fillings are placed—from onions to Babybel cheese to Nutella—wrapped up and grilled into a circular pie. While the dish suggests a variety of cultural influences, it more closely resembles its culinary counterparts along the Indian Ocean rather than the Italian dish more familiar to European tourists.

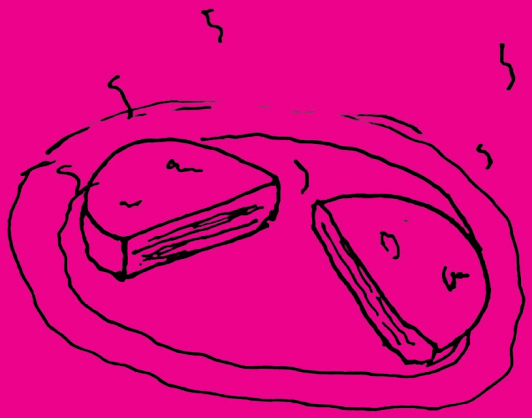
Figure 36: Preparing Zanzibar Pizza, Author's Own Photo


MR. BIG BANANA
ZANZIBAR PIZZA
SALT PIZZA
+255 777 476 815
Please come & Enjoy Zanzibat test
Contact: us +255 777 424 798/+255 777 202 024
nutella

Figure 37: Preparing Zanzibar Pizza, Author's Own Photo

However, the name renders the food familiar for the mostly European tourists who descend on Stone Town, in increasing numbers since the late 1980s. While the Zanzibar Pizza enacts a culturally similar act of folding to that of the *mutabbaq*, its description as a pizza, a piece of bread ornamented with vestigial toppings, renders it as a Duckorated Shed as well.

Figure 38: Duckorated Shed, Author's Own Drawing



DUCK

DECORATED
SHED

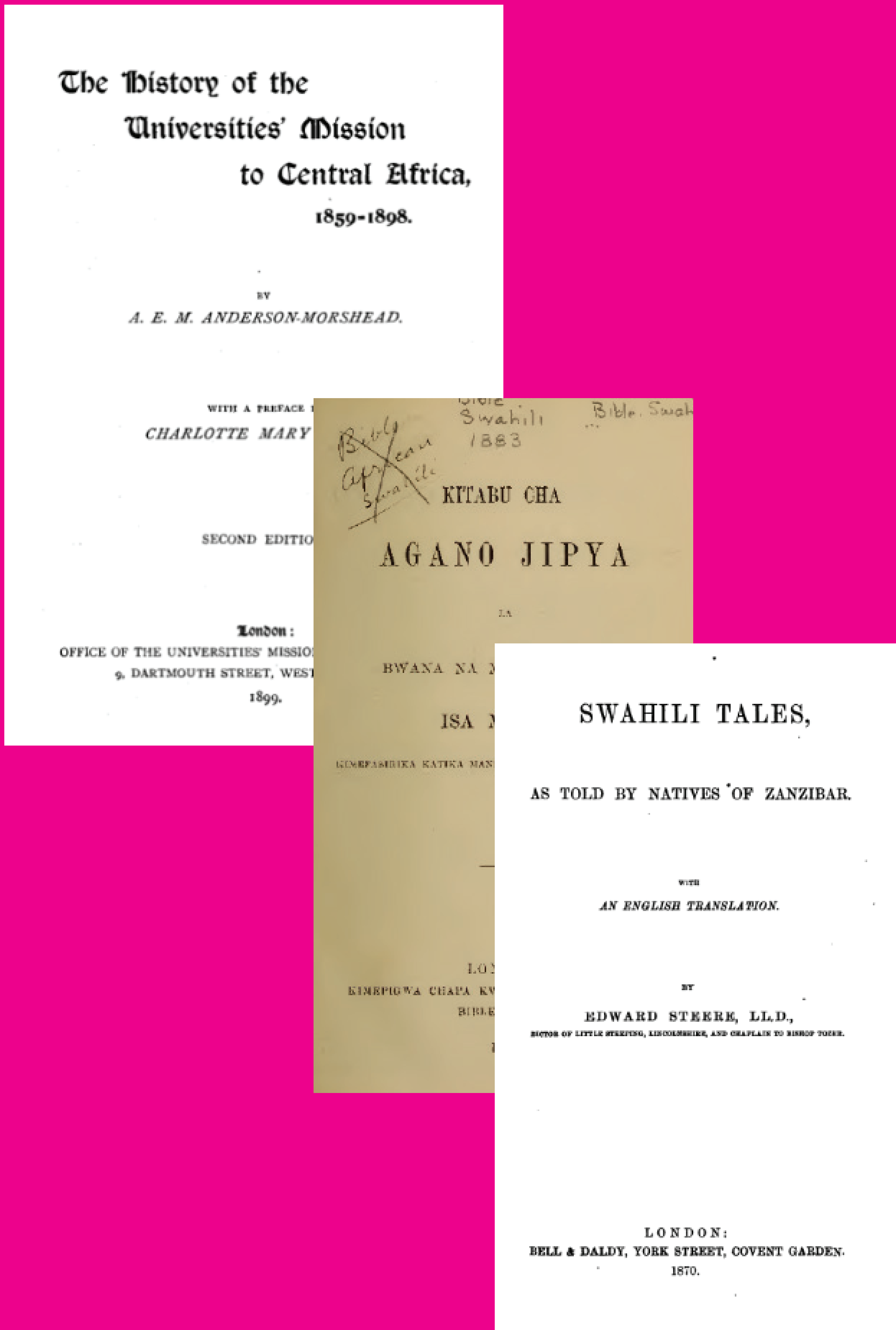
DUCKORATED
SHED

This contradiction figures similarly in missionary architecture as well. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) was established to bring Christianity to today's Tanzania, Kenya, and Malawi. Privileging methods of culturally sensitive assimilation, the UMCA's approaches diverged from those of most other Anglican missionary societies at the time, which utilized heavy-handed methods of proselytization.[12] This approach of cultural sensitivity was shepherded by Bishop Edward Steere—an early head of the UMCA, translator of both Swahili folk tales and the Bible, and co-architect/builder of Christ Church in Stone Town. This UNESCO world heritage site sits on the world's last slave market—the demolition of which helped usher in the establishment of Zanzibar as a British protectorate.[13] Anglican missionaries facilitated conversations between the British government and the Sultanate, leading to the deployment of military force and the swift demise of the independent Sultanate of Zanzibar.

[12] G. Alex Bremner, "The Architecture of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Developing a Vernacular Tradition in the Anglican Mission Field, 1861–1909," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68, no. 4 (December 2009): 514–39.

[13] Unesco, "Christ Church Anglican Cathedral (Former Slave Market in Zanzibar)," *CIPDH - UNESCO* (blog), accessed December 11, 2021, https://www.cipdh.gob.ar/memorias-situadas/en/lugar-de-memoria/catedral-anglicana-iglesia-de-cristo-antiguo-mercado-de-esclavos-de-zanzibar/.

Figure 39: Various Book Covers by Edward Steere, Archive.org



The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1859-1898.

BY

A. E. M. ANDERSON-MORSHEAD.

WITH A PREFACE B

CHARLOTTE MARY

SECOND EDITIO

London:

OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITIES' MISSIO

9, DARTMOUTH STREET, WEST

1899.

Bible Swahili 1883

Bible. Swah

KITABU CHA

AGANO JIPYA

LA

BWANA NA M

ISA M

KIMEFASIRIKA KATIKA MAN

LO

KIMEPIGWA CHAPA KW

BIBLE

SWAHILI TALES,

AS TOLD BY NATIVES OF ZANZIBAR.

WITH

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

BY

EDWARD STEERE, LL.D.,

RECTOR OF LITTLE STEEPING, LINCOLNSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO BISHOP TOZER.

LONDON:

BELL & DALDY, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1870.

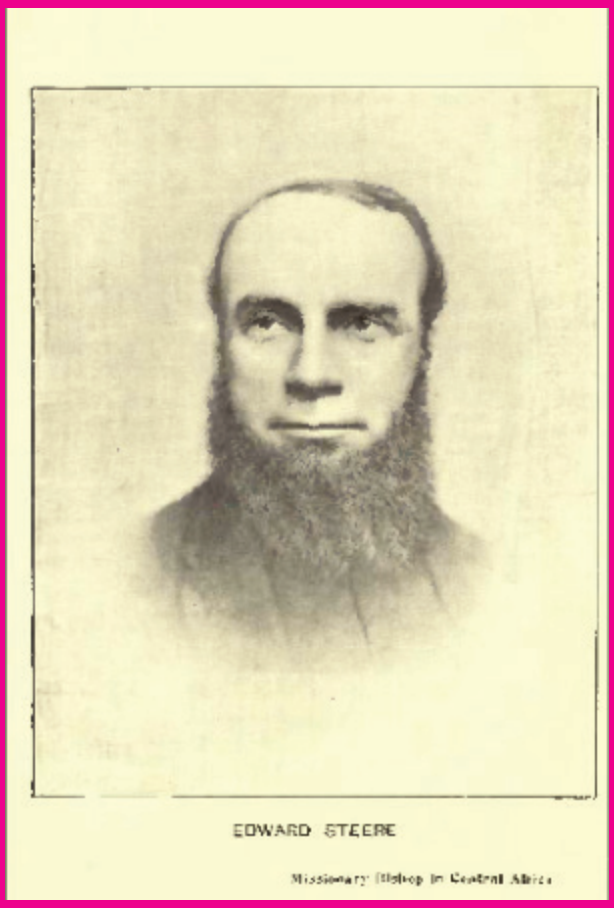


Figure 40: Heanley, R.M. *A Memoir of Edward Steere*. Fourth Edition. London: Office of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1909.

Figure 41: Portrait of Edward Steere, Zanzibar, Author's Own Photo

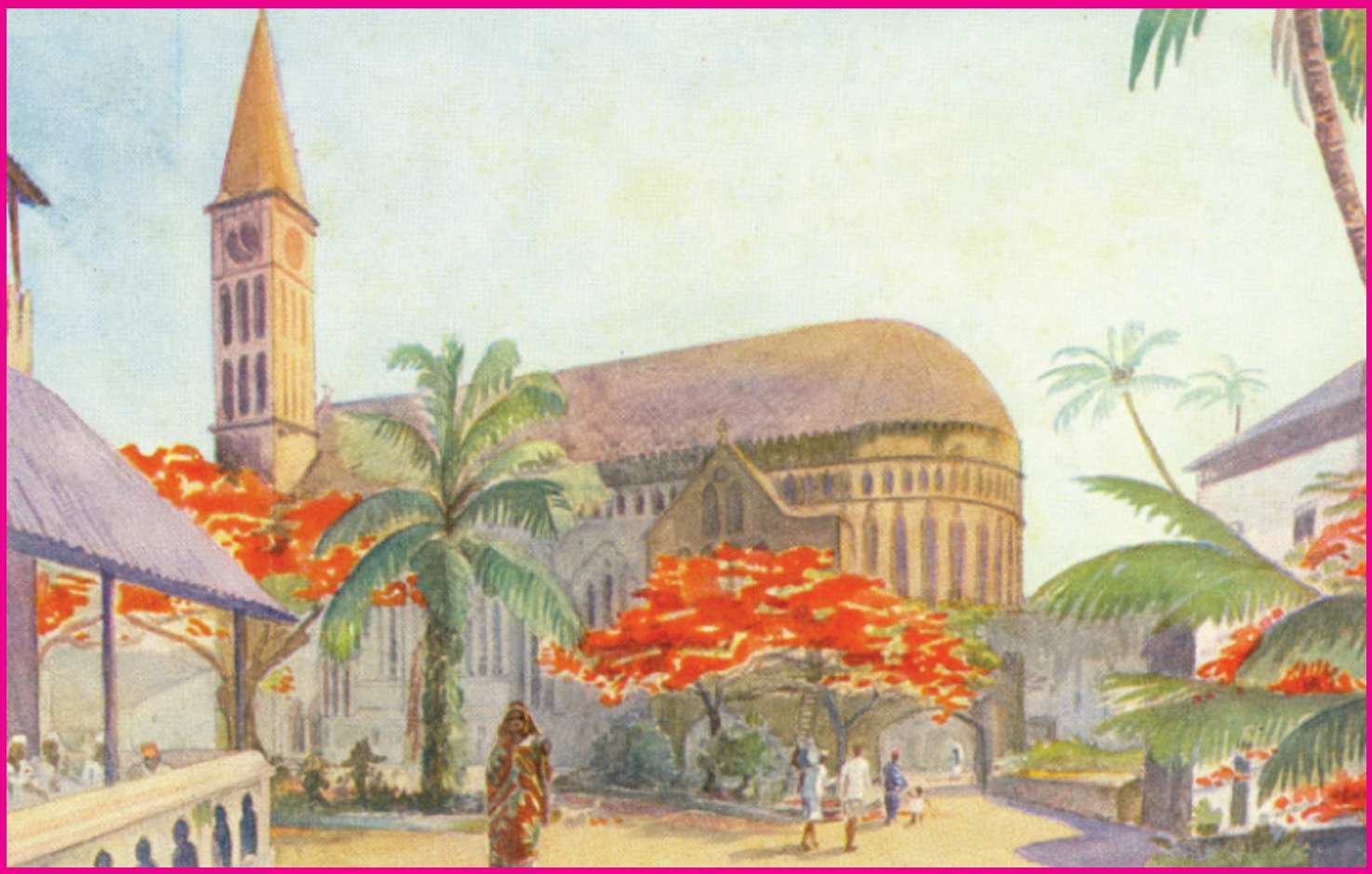


Figure 42: Christ Church, Zanzibar, Postcard, The Humphrey Winterton Collection of East African Photographs: 1860-1960, Northwestern University

Figure 43: Christ Church, Zanzibar, Author's Own Photo

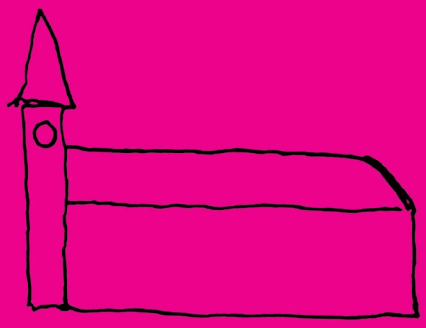

ECCE AGNUS DEI

Figure 44: Christ Church, Zanzibar, Author's Own Photo

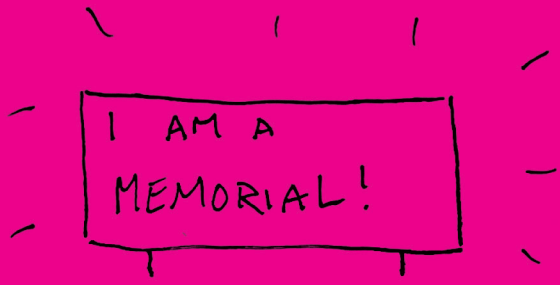
At Christ Church in Zanzibar's Stone Town, architectural ornament renders visible the struggles for power and conquest. As the Church's designer and builder, Edward Steere, wrote, "Do not call it a Cathedral. It is the Memorial Church in the Old Slave Market. The fact of the slave-market site and the memorial character are what justify its costliness."[14] Crenelated parapets suggest the defensive architecture of Oman (the Sultanate that Zanzibar was a part of until the mid-nineteenth century), but serve purely decorative purposes. These crenelations, both on the church and across Swahili architecture in Stone Town, suggest a military presence that only existed on a large scale during British colonialism. These crenelations ultimately serve as ornamentation to a form that contains within it the layered histories of colonization, but whose signs—a memorial to slavery—suggest alternative layered histories. The church, a duck, becomes a memorial, and its combination, as figured through this architectural artifact, operates as a Duckorated Shed.

[14] Henry Morton Stanley, *Stanley's Despatches to the New York Herald 1871–1872, 1874–1877*, ed. Norman R. Bennett (Boston University Press, 1970), 184.

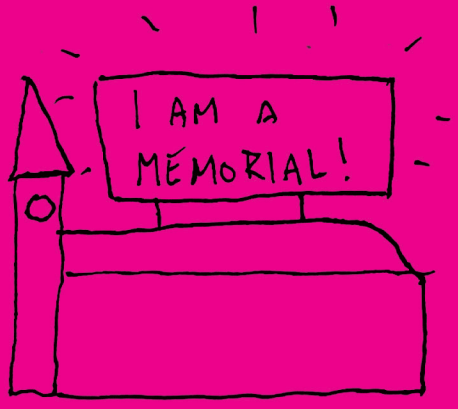
Figure 45: Duckorated Shed, Author's Own Drawing



DUCK



DECORATED SHED



DUCKORATED SHED

When examining these three cultural artifacts—the kanga cloth, the Zanzibar pizza, and the Memorial Church at the Old Slave Market—a similar contradiction emerges between what these objects' suggested meaning is and what the conventions of naming imply. Ultimately, the symbolic forms of these architectures have meanings that are obfuscated by the descriptions around them.

The shared salience of these cultural artifacts lies in the way they exist in and amplify multiple temporalities—knotting together the supposedly rupturing moments of the end of slavery, the inauguration of colonial power, and the late-millennium embrace of corporate multinational capitalism. These three artifacts enact a material articulation of slave narratives, defined by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., as "the attempt of blacks to write themselves into being," whether written into being through pizza, lettered cloth, or crenelated parapet.[15]

The Swahili word for development is *maendeleo*, whose root, *-endelea*, most frequently means "continuation." The slave narratives embedded in these objects—which are intimately tied with notions of development—suggest less a rupturing event than a continuation of existing modes of thinking, being, and non-being—a continuation of slavery and of colonization in all its metastasized recapitulations. These objects ultimately lubricate the semiotic friction that occurs when a restructuring event alters the modes by which meaning is rendered.

As an architecture student, I am called to project outward, to imagine utopian possibilities. However, the non-possibility of utopia (etymologically, the roots of utopia are eu- "non" and -topos "place") places the notion of utopian possibilities on fundamentally unstable ground.

Rather than learning from the Duckorated Shed to attempt, and inevitably fail, to project the utopian, my thesis, Zanzibar Pizza Hut, borrows from notable Senegalese architect Pierre Goudiaby Atèpa, who built off of Constantinos Doxiades's notion of entopia. In his 1973 undergraduate thesis, in the thick of pan-African independence movements, Atèpa wrote, the "Ideal African city moves from reconstruction towards escape and would best fit Doxiadis' definition of an 'ENTOPIA'..., conceived with 'reason and dream,' between dystopia and utopia."—a realistic imagining.[16]

[15] Henry Louis Gates Jr., "Introduction," in *The Slave's Narrative*, ed. Charles T. Davis and Henry Louis Gates Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), xxiii.

[16] Pierre Goudiaby, "The Ideal African City" (Thesis, Rennselaer, NY, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1973), 3–5.

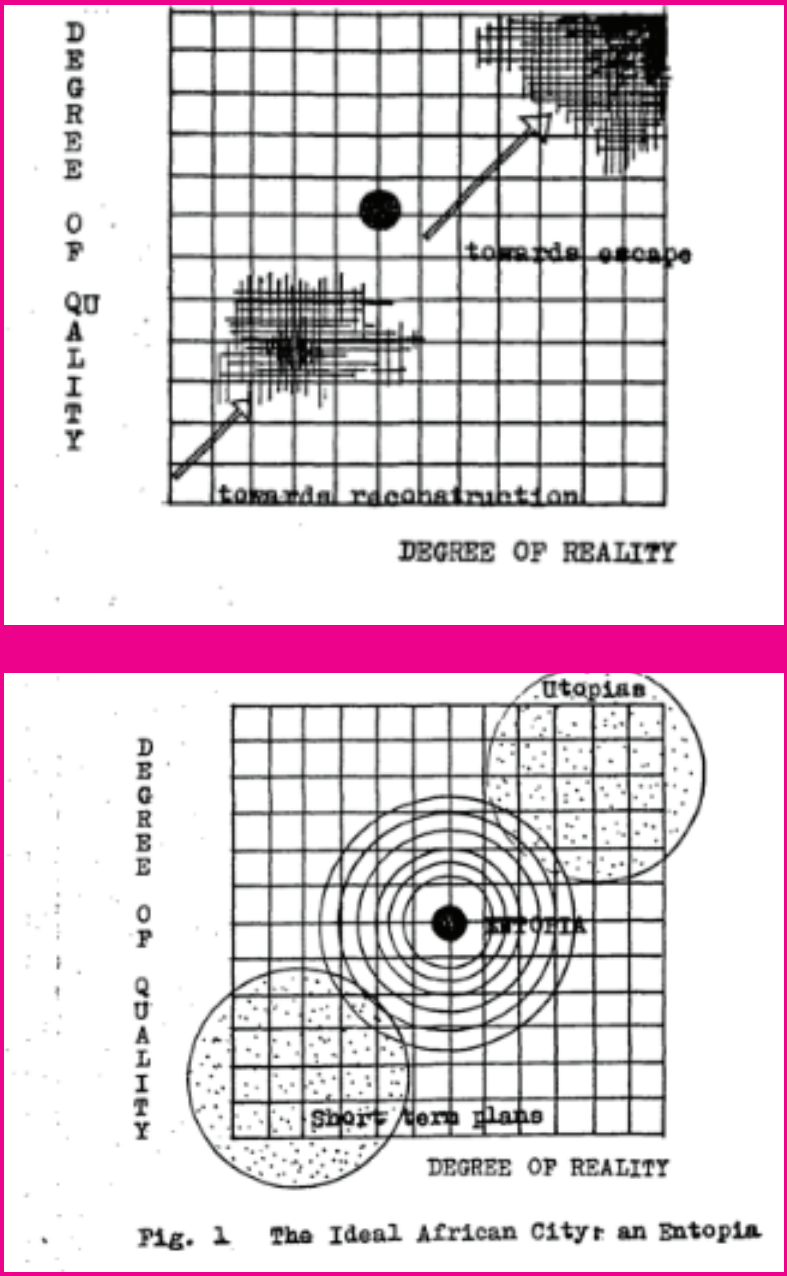


Figure 46: Pierre Goudiaby. “The Ideal African City.” Thesis, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1973, 9-10

Zanzibar Pizza Hut is not intended to be a utopian proposition, but is rather situated between reconstruction and escape, between dystopian and utopian.

To think architecturally is to think entopically, and to think entopically through the Duckorated Shed is to operate on a site, using cultural artifacts whose value lies in their ability to confirm and evade meaning. Zanzibar Pizza Hut attempts to concatenate these cultural artifacts, speculating on a future that sits between reason and dream.

Figure 47: Stone Town Street Scene, Wikimedia Commons

Figure 48: Zanzibar Mosque, Wikimedia Commons

Zanzibar Pizza Hut is an entopic deployment of operations learned from an examination of the Duckorated Sheds onto the site of what is today called Forodhani Gardens, presently named for its proximity to the former British Customs house, *forodha* in Swahili. Built, however, by the British as the Jubilee Gardens in 1936, Forodhani Gardens is also a colonial vestige that today serves several purposes. One of the largest public spaces in the area, the park contrasts with other major public spaces of Stone Town, like the small alleys where people can set up TVs outside, or the segregated mosques that many, but not all, attend.

The Garden is often a launching point for tourists looking to go on a sunset cruise or snorkeling. It's also essentially the only place you can purchase a Zanzibar Pizza at the Night Market, which emerged in the early 90s as President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, or Mzee Rukhsa "Mr. Anything Goes" privatized much of Tanzanian industry mostly for the benefit of a global elite.

While the night market emerges only after sunset, the part of the park the Night Market is set up on remains highly underutilized during the day.

Figure 49: Forodhani Gardens, Author's Own Photo

No structure exists to shade from the sometimes sweltering heat. While tourists contribute millions of Tanzanian shillings in taxes annually through their purchase of the pizzas in the evening, the tax money rarely benefits the *vijana*, or young men, who occupy the park most hours.[17] *Vijana*—who are almost never women, as there's too much traditionally female work to be done at home—often crowd the small pavilion in Forodhani Gardens to gain shelter in the shade. They often sit, waiting to engage global capital figured through Euro-American tourists. The hustle in hopes of the possibility of prosperity—perhaps someone will want a sunset cruise or a tour of prison and will pay $75 for it. Because *vijana* often hold secular globalized capital in such high esteem, their frequent desire for being incorporated into a particular form of the global market alienates them from the other public and semi-public spaces of Stone Town—namely, the mosque. This increasingly secularized youth culture, though, continues to be spatially excluded from these other public spaces.

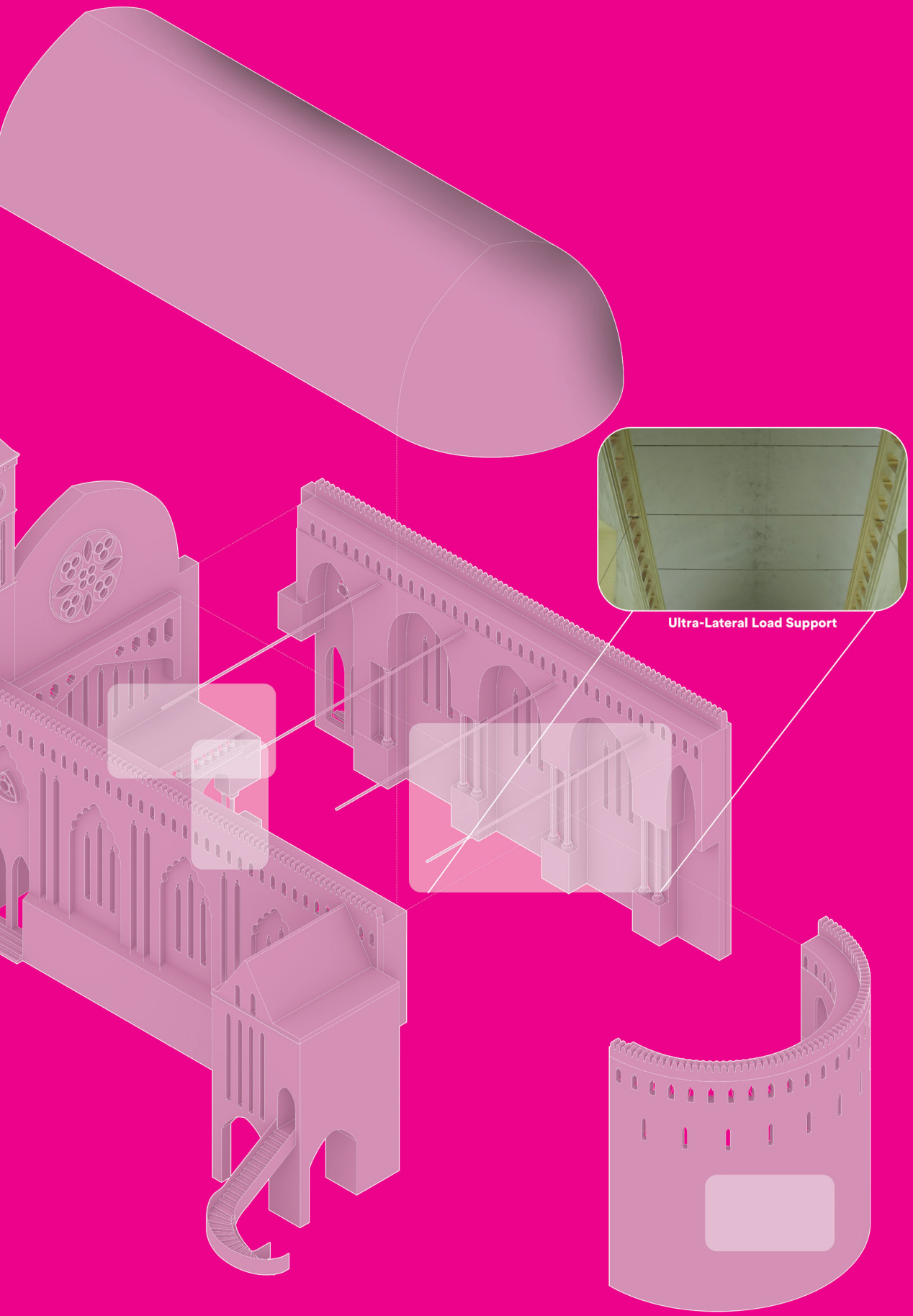
Zanzibar Pizza Hut as an entopian Duckorated Shed attempts to provide further refuge for *vijana*, while simultaneously activating an underutilized space. While

[17] For more on the histories of youth culture and the implications of the usage of *vijana*, see Andrew M. Ivaska, "'Anti-Mini Militants Meet Modern Misses': Urban Style, Gender and the Politics of 'National Culture' in 1960s Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania," *Gender & History* 14, no. 3 (November 2002): 584–607.

Figure 50: Forodhani Gardens, Author's Own Photo

Christ Church at the Old Slave Market served as the first example of a barrel vault on the island, its structural instability required the imposition of lateral tie bars later on. Columns imported from England installed upside-down while Bishop Edward Steere visited his wife overseas suggest an object of resistance for the *vijana* of yore. And the enlarged narthex in the rear allowed the unconverted—the *vijana* not-yet or never convinced by the allure of Christianity—to observe the spectacle of the church service.

Figure 51: Christ Church, Author's Own Drawing



Ultra-Lateral Load Support

These elements hold entopian potential in the Zanzibar Pizza Hut. Tie bars and the motif of the arch, informed by other post-independence modernisms across the continent along with artforms like the *maquettes extrèmes* by Congolese artist Bodys Isek Kingelez, ground the underutilized site.[18] The barrel vault, when multiplied, produces a shade structure for the *vijana* who hope to at some point more directly engage with global flows of exchange. For now, they also have a place to rest in the sweltering heat. These vaults also contain storage space for the food vendors who typically schlep their stands home every day. The vaulted space can cover the stands during the day, stowed away behind the kanga curtains, which can provide a variety of messages depending on who is hired to man the security of the storage.

[18] Chika Okeke-Agulu, "Kingelez's Audacious Objects," in *Bodys Isek Kingelez* (New York, NY: Museum of Modern Art, 2018), 32–37.

Figure 52: "Ville fantôme," Bodys Isek Kingelez, 1996, 120 × 240 × 580 cm, CAAC — The Pigozzi Collection

Figure 53: Aldo Spirito, *Cathédrale Saint-Paul d'Abidjan*, 1985, Abidjan, Ivory Coast, Wikimedia Commons

Figure 54: Site Plan, Author's Own Drawing

Upside-down columns pay homage to the resistances of *vijana* past while providing a critical infrastructure for the inverted barrel vaults above. The vaults collect rainwater and deposit them in a tank below. This tank then dispenses water at another set of columns that contain a basin for washing, crucial for the stands that then set up around the perimeter at night.

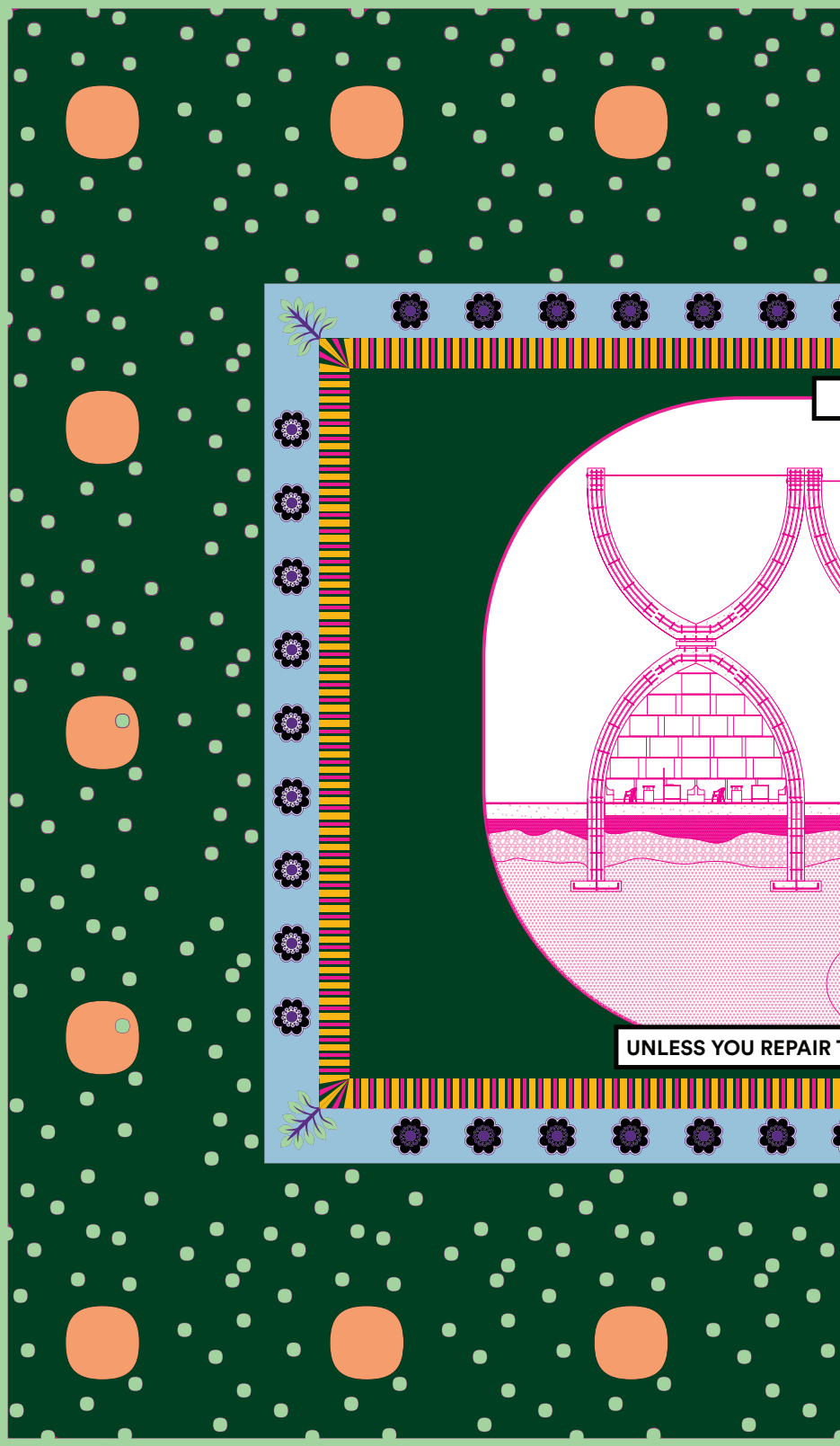


Figure 55: Section, Author's Own Drawing

USIPOZIBA UFA UTAJENGA UKUTA

THE CRACK, YOU WILL HAVE TO REBUILD THE ENTIRE WALL

Since rain is rare in the evening, the stalls are set up uncovered along the perimeter of the Zanzibar Pizza Hut. The proportions of this setup reflect in plan the compositional proportions of the kanga, while its orientation gestures towards its formal origin point—the church. The barrel vault also serves a similar function to the narthex space, allowing those excluded from exchange to observe. In the Zanzibar Pizza Hut, those without a place now have a place, providing agency for the *vijana*, whose frequent desire for inclusion in global multinational corporate capitalism often leaves them without a space in Zanzibar's Stone Town.

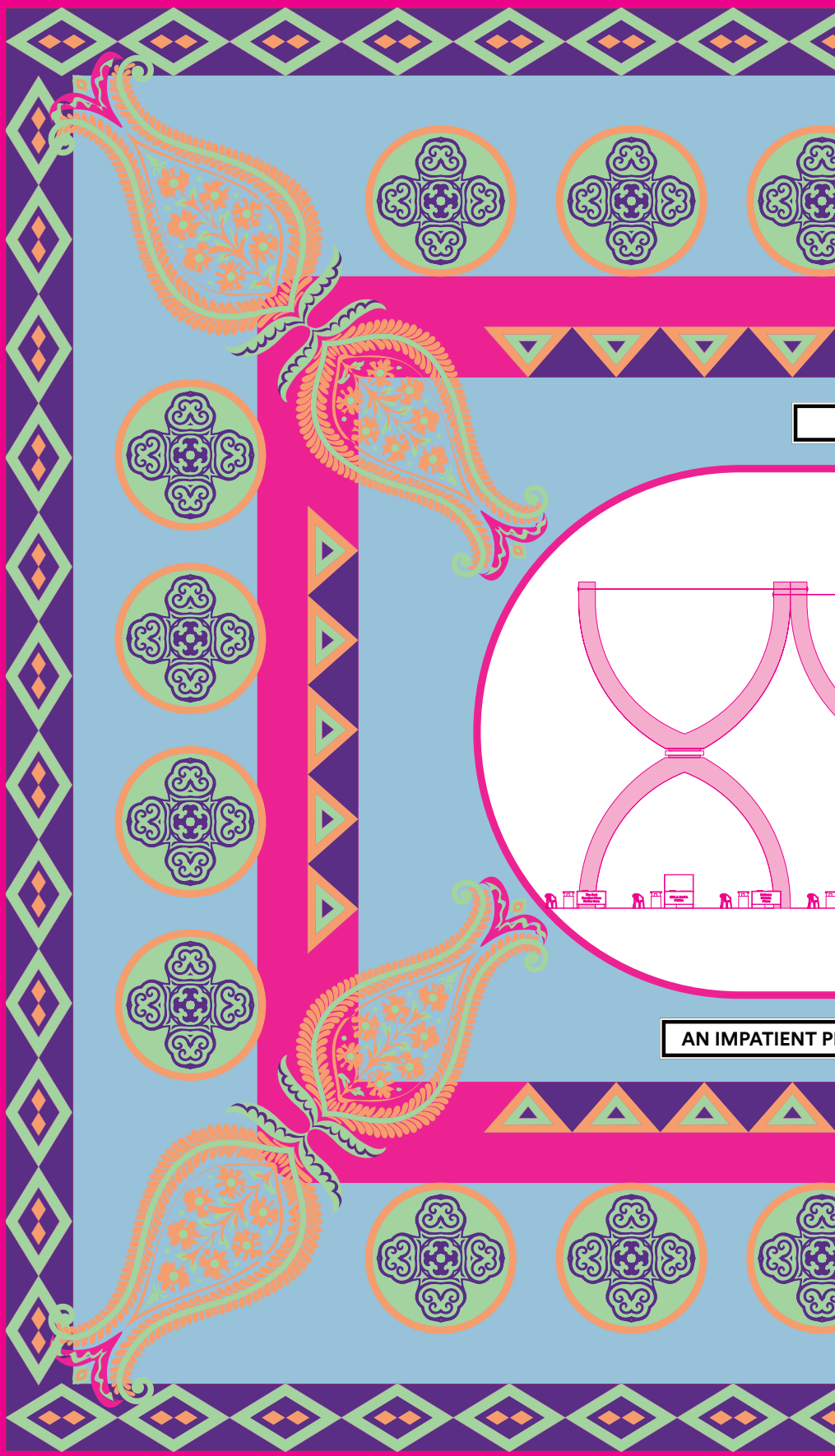


Figure 56: Elevation, Author's Own Drawing

MWENYE PUPA HADIRIKI KULA TAMU

ERSON DOES NOT HAVE THE TIME TO EAT A RIPE FRUIT

Zanzibar Pizza Hut chains together material artifacts that lay bare material articulations of slave narratives. Ronald Judy, however, suggests that slave narratives' fantasies of claiming agency ultimately reify the very structures of meaning that these narratives purportedly undermine.[19]

[19] Ronald A. T. Judy, *(Dis)Forming the American Canon: African-Arabic Slave Narratives and the Vernacular* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 88–97.

Figure 57: Formwork Diagram, Author's Own Drawing

THE CATHEDRAL IS BOTH A DUCK AND DECORAT

II BATA NA KIBANDA KILICHOPAMBWA PAMOJA

Ultimately, attempts at facilitating agency run the risk of cementing positions of alterity. And as Achille Mbembe writes, "Africa and the Black Man have become signs of an alterity that is impossible to assimilate; they are a vandalism of meaning itself, a happy hysteria."[20] It is my hope, in Zanzibar Pizza Hut, that this happily hysteric proposition ultimately provides a substrate that is atopian (without a place) from which we can interrogate the nothingness that structures meaning—the negativity that structures positive being, the slave that whose presence incites the master to recognize his existence.

[20] Achille Mbembe, *Critique of Black Reason*, trans. Laurent Dubois (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 38.

Figure 58: Plan, Author's Own Drawing

AN IMPATIENT PERSON DOES NOT HAVE THE TIME TO
MWENYE PUPA HADIRIKI KULA TAMU

On Couplets and Conversion

The following is an amended version of a paper I wrote for Professor Nasser Rabbat's *Orientalism, Colonialism, and Representation* class. In it, I describe the ways in which culturally sensitive approaches to proselytization emerged within Stone Town and how these approaches helped usher in the establishment of Zanzibar as a British Protectorate.

> *"There are many writers who have passed away, and what they have written remains...Write nothing save what, if you see it at the last day, you will be glad to have written."*
>
> — Arabic Proverb, reproduced by Edward Steere, 1879, cited from *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, 249

It was 1864, and preacher Edward Steere had been traveling around South Africa with his companion Bishop William Tozer, the leader of the missionary society the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA).[1] Steere, who would eventually succeed Tozer at his post, landed in Zanzibar, ready to proselytize and convert Zanzibaris to Anglican Christianity.

A common proverb in Zanzibar at the time of Tozer and Steere stated, "When you play the flute in Zanzibar, all Africa, as far as the lake, dances."[2,3] At the time, Zanzibar operated as the nexus of Swahili culture, which was itself a hybrid amalgamation with a language that developed in the 9th century CE as a *lingua franca* between indigenous Africans, Arabs, Persians, and Indians who lived and traded goods like gold, spices, ivory, and enslaved people along

[1] The UMCA (1857–1965) was an Anglican Christian institution located at the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, and Dublin that had outposts mainly in Zanzibar and Malawi and served as one of the first institutions that aimed to train indigenous priests and missionaries. The UMCA was founded in response to a call by David Livingstone after his return from his well-documented and publicized travels.

[2] The lake referred to in the proverb is Lake Victoria, which is surrounded by present-day Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya.

[3] W.H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar: Its History and Its People*, 2nd ed. (Cass & Co. Ltd, 1967), 346.

the shores of Indian Ocean.[4] The inherent cosmopolitanism of Swahili culture, along with its tentacular web of trade connections between the coast and the mainland, meant that a command of Swahili culture facilitated a command of the governing procedures and practices that would enable conversion of the diverse cosmologies not only on the urban coast but also in the more remote rural areas.

Steere began his proselytizing mission in the way all foreign visits to Zanzibar were to begin, with a visit to the Sultan. Upon their arrival, Sultan Majid bin Said bequeathed the Mission five slaves to Steere and Tozer. To Steere, the gift of the slaves represented an ambitious challenge with potentially immense rewards. About the slaves he and Tozer would receive, supposedly emancipate, and educate, Steere wrote:

> You have not one word in common. Yet these are the missionaries of the future. When anyone tells his friends in England that our plan is to educate native missionaries, people say it is a very good plan, and no doubt in a few years we shall see great results. But when you come to begin with the actual pupils, you will see that it is not a work of a few years, but rather, as life is in Africa, of several lifetimes.[5]

These former slaves were never once described of as freemen, only as "*wenyeji*" ("natives")[6] or "*watumwa waliyekombolewa*" ("released slaves").[7] It was these arguably still enslaved people who served as the foundation for Steere's proselytizing mission.

However, converting these men, and others, in addition to forced coercion, required a deep knowledge of Swahili culture that Steere initially lacked. Steere first encountered the Swahili language through the work of Johann Ludwig Krapf, who published the first Swahili-English dictionary and was "misled by a pedantic clique of so-called learned men in Mombas[a], who induced him to accept as pure Swahili an over-refined kind of dialect, scarcely or not at all intelligible to the mass of the nation."[8] Because of the deep complexities of Swahili culture that entangled the British Empire with Arab, Indian, and indigenous influences,[9] Steere had to intervene into Zanzibari culture

[4] For a relatively early (14th century) account on the cosmopolitanism of the culture along the Swahili Coast, see Ibn Battuta, *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa*, ed. Said Hamdun, trans. Noel Quinton King, Expanded ed (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005), 110–13.

[5] R.M. Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, Fourth Edition (London: Office of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1909), 80.

[6] While the term "*wenyeji*" roughly translates to "natives," the etymology of the word provides further insights into the entanglements between language and positionality regarding colonial encounters. In Swahili, the prefix "*w-*" implies the noun class of multiple people, while the root "*-enye*" implies "who is/are," so "*wenye*" in essence translates to "people who are." The suffix "*-ji*" at the end of a noun denotes reflexivity, so "*wenyeji*" etymologically describes people who are themselves, as if the people speaking Swahili are the ones who are themselves, and that a distance is established between the foreign missionary observing and the people who are themselves—the natives.

[7] Michelle Greenfield-Liebst, "Sin, Slave Status, and the 'City': Zanzibar, 1865–c. 1930," *African Studies Review* 60, no. 2 (September 2017): 151, https://doi.org/10.1017/asr.2017.81.

[8] Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, 73.

[9] I use these terms for the sake of clarity in my argument, but in reality the identities signified by each of these terms are much more complex and nuanced.

with a level of exactitude that was precise enough to manage distrust from not only indigenous Africans but also Arab and Indian elites who operated within the city.

Unlike a figure like Krapf, who could be "misled" by the "pedantic clique" of Swahili elites in Mombasa, Steere's attention to the language and culture of Zanzibar led to a more surreptitious, guided approach to proselytization. Reverend Chauncy Maples, who at the time served as the Archdeacon of Nyassa, in approximately present-day Malawi, visited Steere from 1875–76 in Zanzibar. Maples noted of Steere that:

> Amongst his acquaintances in Zanzibar, Bishop Steere numbered not a few of the native grandees, Arabs and others. With these he was always a favourite. His courteous manners, which he knew well how to adapt to the Arab ideas of etiquette and propriety, gave him an *entrée* to their houses, which in various ways proved very useful, and I think not a few, had they been brave enough to face martyrdom for the faith, would have entered themselves as his catechumens, and placed themselves in his hands for definite Christian instruction.[10]

In his missionary practices, Steere expressed a level of respectful curiosity to the customs and traditions of his context. In a place like Zanzibar, this approach was crucial, given the control the ruling Arab elite had on social institutions and structure, a control that only expanded throughout the mid-nineteenth century as the Sultanate of Zanzibar was established and solidified its power along the Swahili Coast.[11] At the time of Steere's presence in Zanzibar, Sultan Majid bin Said became the first Sultan of the Zanzibar Sultanate. His rise to power came after the death of his father — Said bin Sultan Al-Busaidi, the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. This rise, however, was contested, and eventually concluded with the separation of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman into the Sultanate of Oman and the Sultanate of Zanzibar.[12] During this period, Islam spread around the Indian Ocean coast, rendering an understanding of linguistic and religious cultural nuances even more important. Since Zanzibar remained an independent Sultanate until 1890 when the British Empire established Zanzibar as a protectorate, perceptive missionary activity served a crucial role in developing a foundation for building trust between Arab elites and the British Empire.

This understanding of these cultural nuances supported the mission not only in Zanzibar, but also across the Indian Ocean. Maples, who traveled extensively around the Swahili coast, wrote about Steere's influence among the Arab elites in Lindi, a Swahili coastal city in present-day southern Tanzania, stating "[Steere] became very intimate with the Arab coterie there, and to this day he is spoken of in that town with marked respect, which, when the Arab disdain for all who are not of their faith is taken into account, is not a little noteworthy."[13] Since these written accounts come from Christian missionaries whose authority rose in tandem and was entangled with the authority of the British Empire, the origins of these accounts raise questions about the extent to which these Arab elites truly respected Steere. However, at the very least, Steere's peers demonstrated a reverence for the ways in which Steere could connect with those around him, transcending linguistic and religious barriers to build relationships.

The importance of building connection within the cosmopolitan spaces of Zanzibar so heavily influenced Steere that at times he purported to not actually be a missionary. When Bishop William Tozer fell ill and resigned in April 1872 as the Head Bishop for

[10] Chauncy Maples, "Archdeacon Maples' Letter," in *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, by R.M. Heanley, Fourth Edition (London: Office of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1909), 177.

[11] Hans-Joachim Kissling, Frank Ronald Charles Bagley, and Richard Maxwell Eaton, *The Last Great Muslim Empires*, History of the Muslim World 3 (Princeton (N.J.): M. Wiener, 1996), 179.

[12] For more on this split, see Salem ben Nasser Al Ismaily, *The Sultanate of Zanzibar* (Indianapolis, IN: Dog Ear Publishing, 2014).

[13] Maples, "Archdeacon Maples' Letter," 177–78.

the UMCA, Steere was nominated to succeed him. Although Steere would eventually accept, he wrote to Reverend JW Festing in London, saying:

> I do not possess some of the essential elements of a Missionary character. I can be very friendly with Negroes and Arabs, and can learn to use their language, and enter into their modes of thought, mainly because I am content to accept them as my teachers rather than to put myself forward to teach them.
>
> This disposition enables me to be useful to the Mission as an interpreter of European thought to Negroes, and of Negro thought to Europeans, but it makes it very necessary that the head of the Mission should take a more decided line.[14]

In this account, Steere's views demonstrate a disjunction between his attitude towards the act of proselytizing and the act of communication. This epistemological delineation separated words from the Word, a separation that mimicked the modes of British colonial administration that differentiated the bureaucracies of capital extraction from the bureaucracies of religiosity. For Steere, the acts of interpreting the other and the acts of interpreting the Bible, while both acts of interpretation, could not be explicitly viewed as similar acts, for in doing so would not only further garner distrust among the population to be proselytized but also incite self-doubt for the missionary, rendering the exercise of missionary activity either insurmountably difficult or even futile.

This attitude, however, was merely that — an attitude. In Archdeacon Maples' letters recollecting his experiences with Steere, Maples provides further accounts that reinforce Steere's personal views that he himself performs the duties not of a missionary but of a translator. However, this performance is questioned by Maples, when he writes:

> Yet, if much that [Steere said about his inability to consider himself as a missionary] … to this effect was undoubtedly true, it may be questioned whether *we* [emphasis in original] can venture to deny to him this name of missionary, when we consider his devotion in the Master's service, his unflagging energy, his brave example, his inflexible determination to dare and do all that was possible to be done, his self-sacrificing zeal, his dauntless faith.[15]

Steere's colleague saw through Steere's performance of naïveté, that his work was in fact not only about accessing proselytes' "modes of thought" but also penetrating it in the service of a higher order.

As Maples continues to recall his time with Steere, Maples explicitly demonstrates how Steere's performance of passive engagement with the subjects of missionary activity was in fact an active engagement. Within the same passage that describes whether Steere's activity is that of a missionary, Maples continues by describing — as an aside in the middle of a Swahili lesson with Steere — a conversation he had about missionary John Prediger Farler's role in converting the Bondei people.[16] Maples recalls Steere saying, "If things go on as they are now, Farler will have all the Bondei people at his feet, and the whole tribe will be converted to Christianity."[17] Given the surrounding context of this recollection — which is all about both Steere's hesitancy to call himself a missionary and the processes of translating and printing — it appears as if Maples is implying that Steere himself saw the act of communicating and translating as inextricable from the project of conversion. Despite this slippage within Maples' letter, the political complexities at the time obligated Steere to maintain the façade that he saw the processes of translating and proselytizing as distinct, separate acts. However, examining the objects where these processes of translating and proselytizing collide — namely the books that Steere

[14] Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, 126.

[15] Maples, "Archdeacon Maples' Letter," 169.

[16] John Prediger Farler was another missionary who worked both on Zanzibar's northern island of Pemba and mainland Tanzania. The Bondei people are mainly located in and around the city of Tanga, which sits adjacent to the Indian Ocean trade winds.

[17] Maples, "Archdeacon Maples' Letter," 169.

translated and published — reveals further slippages.

Because Steere allowed himself to "enter into [Zanzibaris'] modes of thought," he spent countless hours listening to Zanzibaris and recording the common stories he heard. In 1870 he published these accounts in a volume entitled *Swahili Tales as Told by Natives of Zanzibar*. The book, which is a compendium of twenty-four folk tales conveyed to Steere by a variety of interlocutors, delivers a diverse set of stories with side-by-side Swahili-English translations. To Steere, the book aims to enable other missionaries to begin to learn the Swahili language and culture. The act of translation, then, becomes a means through which the processes of linguistic understanding can then be used to bring proselytes closer to the Anglican Christian word of God, in turn facilitating colonial extraction and domination.

From indigenous tales of Fumo Liongo, the warrior and hero within Swahili culture; to the story "Aboo-Mohammed the Lazy" from *One Thousand and One Nights*; to "Sultan Darai," which resembles the European folk tale "Puss in Boots," the stories contained within *Swahili Tales* reinforces the notion of the cosmopolitanism of Swahili culture. However, a fundamental difference is created by Steere's act of transcription and translation, for the act of translation fixes the story and creates a boundary between written and oral traditions while allowing the transcribed and translated text to assume an authoritative position. As postcolonial theorist Trinh T. Minh-ha notes, "…'oral' and 'written' or 'written' versus 'oral' are notions that have been as heavily invested as the notions of 'true' and 'false' have always been."[18] This act of transcription and translation allows Steere to grant space to his interlocutors, to state that, "…a Swahili is by definition a man of mixed Negro and Arab descent, [so] he has an equal right to tell tales of Arab and Negro origin."[19] At the same time, however, the publication allows Steere to mediate between his interlocutors and his readers, assuring the latter of the former's abilities to perform the acts that seem to contradict the perceptions of the Anglophone readers back in England. This operation acts as an investment in furthering the notions of oral and written as equally invested in claims to truth and fiction, a truth that only Steere can regulate and disseminate.[20] This relationship between hegemonic and an othered culture is described in detail by Edward Said in his seminal work *Orientalism*. While Zanzibar does not neatly fit into the categorical distinctions provided by Said, its representation within writings by Steere resonate with the distinctions between Orient and Occident that Said describes as produced by the West. Said notes, "Orientalism is premised upon exteriority, that is, on the fact that the Orientalist, poet or scholar, makes the Orient speak, describes the Orient, renders its mysteries plain for and to the West. He is never concerned with the Orient except as the first cause of what he says."[21] In this case, "what he says" describes the Zanzibaris stories and these stories' future potential as objects that proselytizers can use to displace the stories contained within *Swahili Tales* by the stories of the Bible for the Swahili-speaking population.

[18] T. Minh-Ha Trinh, *Woman, Native, Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 126.

[19] Edward Steere, *Swahili Tales as Told By Natives of Zanzibar* (London: Bell & Daldy, 1870), vi.

[20] Rather than fully erasing his interlocutors, Steere does deserve credit for recognizing his interlocutors in *Swahili Tales*. As recognition is an important step in halting the reproduction of tropes of the other, I reproduce their names here: Hamisi wa Kayi, Mohammed bin Khamis, Masazo (Steere's household cook and servant), Mohammed bin Abdallah, Mohammed bin Abd en Nuri, Munyi Khatiba, and Hassan bin Yusuf.

[21] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 1st ed (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 20–21.

While this overall structure of the book and Steere's reflections on the process of conversion seem to suggest that the displacement of Swahili folk tales for Biblical tales occurs through missionary work as catalyzed by *Swahili Tales*, the process instead begins much earlier — in the act of Steere's transcription itself. In the preface, he notes, "…most of [the stories] have some touches put in by the narrator on the inspiration of the moment. Of this kind is the substitution, out of compliment to us, of church for mosque in the story of 'the Kites and the Crows.'"[22] Other instances of substitution include the usage of the Swahili word *Mungu* instead of *Allah* to describe God in the story "Mohammad the Languid" from *One Thousand and One Nights*, a story that, given its origin, would almost unfailingly refer to God as *Allah*.[23] These substitutions are peculiar, especially given Steere's claim that, "All the tales are printed exactly as they were related."[24] This declaration appears to place Steere in a position of neutrality, as merely the conveyor of the words he receives. However, there is a two-sidedness inherent to the process of recording and transcribing that Steere recognizes but fails to ruminate on adequately. Therefore, the transcription process operates to fix the tales with the Christian bent that his interlocutors place on the stories because of Steere's presence as the recorder.

Steere fails to recognize just how crucial this substitution is in laying the groundwork for conversion. As Jacques Derrida notes, "… for the notion of translation we would have to substitute a notion of *transformation*: a regulated transformation of one language by another, of one text by another."[25] This act of substitution — of English for Swahili, of Christianity for Islam — fundamentally transforms the way in which the text becomes interpreted, understood, and re-transmitted. This act of substitution is the reason Steere believes that his fellow missionary "will have all the Bondei people at his feet" even though Steere himself believes he does not possess the capacity for acting as a missionary would.

This procedure of surreptitious transformation through translation is crucial to establishing a common ground between missionaries and their proselytes, to building trust through demonstrations of understanding within the milieu of linguistic and cultural difference. Steere's recollections on this topic demonstrate his masterful ability to create common connection while transforming that connection to one that serves his own means. In an 1879 letter, Steere discusses one of his proselytes, Christease, who, "was printing off some of the book of Genesis, and went on like clockwork, and then they came and looked at the type and read the couplet, which comes out of the 'Arabian Nights,' and approved of it highly, and saw another of our printers setting up type."[26] The couplet to which Steere refers reads, "There are many writers who have passed away and what they have written remains / Write nothing save what, if you see it at the last day, you will be glad to have written."[27] Here, the converted Christian, Christease, is operating a tool — the printing press — that serves to mechanically reproduce both the words on the street and the Word of God. Christease's strong approval of the printing of the Arabic couplet suggests an appreciation for the ways in which Steere's approach to proselytization figures cultural practices deemed outside of Christianity. Yet, just as Christease can deftly navigate between ensuring that the book of Genesis

[22] Steere, *Swahili Tales as Told By Natives of Zanzibar*, v.

[23] Ibid., 176.

[24] Ibid., i.

[25] Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 20.

[26] Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, 249.

[27] Ibid.

and an Arabic couplet are printing properly, so too, can Steere navigate between ensuring that the book of Genesis and an Arabic couplet are achieving the effect of a system of transformation, a system that enables the Church to achieve its aims of converting nonbelievers within Zanzibar.

While this system of transformation possessed a level of power at effecting cultural change in how English missionaries perceived Zanzibaris and how Zanzibaris perceived their own stories in relation to the church, this power remained a soft power, a term that political scientist Joseph Nye coined in the 1990s as a process of co-opting, rather than coercing through cultural processes.[28] While Nye situates this notion within the context of post-WWII American power that he contrasts with the hard power of the British Empire, Steere's work, too, operates as a form of soft power, ushering in the establishment of Zanzibar as a British Protectorate — a form of hard power — a decade later.

While hard and soft power can be distinguished from each other, these two types of power are also mutually constitutive and often indistinguishable, garnering skepticism from all angles. Salme bin Said or Emily Ruete, the princess of Zanzibar and Oman who converted to Christianity, married a German merchant, and moved to Germany in 1866, questioned these missionaries' power. Despite eventually converting to Christianity, she asked, "…how should I, as a Muslim, feel attracted to the new religion [of Christianity] if people, who had been born and brought up in Christianity themselves, dealt so disdainfully with their religion?"[29]

In this process of proselytization, the line between co-option and coercion, between soft and hard power, maintains its thinness. Steere masterfully navigated this thin line, a thin line that frequently reveals itself as an object of disdain for those (Salme bin Said among them) whose language, culture, and identity are subject to the processes of co-option and coercion, even as those subjects enclose themselves within that same logic.

[28] Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, 1st ed (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 5.

[29] Emilie Ruete, *An Arabian Princess between Two Worlds: Memoirs, Letters Home, Sequels to the Memoirs: Syrian Customs and Usages*, trans. E. J. van Donzel, Arab History and Civilization, v. 3 (Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1993), 427.

Conceiving Christ Church, 1864–79

The following is an amended version of a paper I wrote for Professor Nasser Rabbat's *Orientalism, Colonialism, and Representation* class. In it, I recount—using Bernard de Cluny's twelfth-century notion of the scorn for the world, from which the first hymn sung in Christ Church derives—the ways in which varied timescales and conceptions of difference drive the realization of Christ Church and suggest potential afterlives.

It was Christmas Day, 1873, on the outskirts of Zanzibar's Stone Town.[1] British Acting Consulate General at Zanzibar, Captain W.F. Prideaux was laying the first stone for a grand church imagined by Bishop Edward Steere. However, that stone served merely as a gesture towards what would eventually evolve from the activities that, at present, were being undertaken in a "thatched mud hut." In this thatched mud hut, "A picture of the Crucifixion was hung up, so that the Mohammedans could be under no delusion; but possibly they thought it a sort of Kebla [sic] for the Christians."[2] Under this Christian *qibla*, Bishop Edward Steere inaugurated the decade-long construction process of what would eventually become Christ Church.[3]

[1] Stone Town lies on a peninsula on the western edge of Unguja Island, one of the three islands in the Zanzibar Archipelago. The city's name (colloquially called *mjini,* or city, in Swahili, for the singularity of urban concentration on the island) derives from the usage of local coralline limestone to construct permanent structures within the peninsula. While development of stone and lime buildings took several hundred years, by the fourteenth century, most of the town, which was a vibrant Swahili trade port, had dwellings for the elite merchant class built with stone and lime. For more on the early development of Stone Town, see Abdul Sheriff and Javed Jafferji, *Zanzibar Stone Town: An Architectural Exploration* (Zanzibar: Gallery, 2001); and Mark Horton and John Middleton, *The Swahili: The Social Landscape of a Mercantile Society*, The Peoples of Africa (Oxford, UK ; Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

[2] A.E.M. Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1859–1898*, Second (London: Office of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1899), 90.

[3] During the construction process, the Church is referred in texts and letters as the slave market church. Following the completion of the Church, Steere renamed it after the Benedictine Monastic community known as Christ Church, Canterbury, to whom the Canterbury Cathedral belonged until the English Reformation.

For now, however, Europeans would refer in correspondence to the future space of worship as the Slave Market church. Sited on the alleged location of the world's last slave market, the church was not to operate as the nexus of the proselytizing mission of the missionary society — the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (or UMCA) — but rather as a monument to the coordinated efforts of the British Empire and its affiliated Christian bureaucracies to stamp out slavery around the world. Edward Steere, pioneering translator and eventual Head Bishop of UMCA, implored against the consideration of the future site as a cathedral,[4] as the nexus of the UMCA's missions, saying, "Do not call it a Cathedral. It is the Memorial Church in the Old Slave Market. The fact of the slave-market site and the memorial character are what justify its costliness."[5] And indeed, both the church itself, and eliminating slavery in the Sultanate proved to be costly endeavors.

In January 1873, eleven months before Prideaux laid the first brick, Sir Bartle Frere, former Governor of Bombay, and afterwards Governor of the Cape Colony, visited Sultan Barghash bin Said of Zanzibar, and discussed the possibility of eliminating slavery in the Sultanate. According to the official history of the UMCA, the Sultan stated "that he had very little power without his chief men; he would ask them. They replied that it was blasphemous to change what Abraham and Ishmael had done; that as all their fathers had held slaves, there always would be slaves, and so a slave trade, as long as the world lasted."[6] This obduracy, however, abruptly changed course when:

> Sir Bartle Frere departed, and in his stead appeared nine men-of-war: an English admiral with six ships, two French ships, and one American ship. Then the Sultan sent for his chief men, and they consulted. The form of the present European argument against slave-trade was convincing, and they gave in.[7]

The costliness of this process, of bringing "nine-men-of-war"[8] figured not only on the level of hard military power but also in the on-the-ground negotiations of the land that consisted of and surrounded the old slave market. According to letters Steere wrote in 1873, Jairam Senji, described by Steere as the "heathen Hindi" who would sell some lands around the slave market, raised the price of land tenfold in the negotiation process, allegedly under guidance from Sultan Barghash himself.[9] Even though Steere worked steadfastly to assimilate Christianity into the cultural norms and forms of Zanzibar, he still encountered resistance.

Steere's letters alongside official histories of the UMCA reveal both the resistance that Steere would face in constructing the church and how Steere would have to operate in such an overtly and covertly

[4] The irony is, however, that the Church was eventually consecrated as a cathedral in 1903. Anxieties surrounding the process of consecration in such a politically charged environment like Stone Town made it difficult to execute that process. See G. Alex Bremner, "The Architecture of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Developing a Vernacular Tradition in the Anglican Mission Field, 1861–1909," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68, no. 4 (December 2009): n. 89.

[5] Henry Morton Stanley, *Stanley's Despatches to the New York Herald 1871–1872, 1874–1877*, ed. Norman R. Bennett (Boston University Press, 1970), 184.

[6] Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1859–1898*, 87.

[7] Ibid., 88.

[8] Although the campaign against slavery emerged from an awareness of slavery's evils, the means by which the British Empire approached ending slavery were through compulsory strategies that arguably enacted violence and exploitation on scales equally pernicious as those of slavery. For more on this relationship, see Eric Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

[9] Edward Steere, "Undated Letter," 1873, 72542cB01, Letters and material relating to Dr. Steere part 1, page 182, British Online Archives, https://microform.digital/boa/documents/3165/letters-and-material-relating-to-dr-steere-part-1.

hostile environment, an environment where Sultan Barghash interfered with his land purchases and where everyday Zanzibaris would call Steere and his missionaries "*wenye dhambi*"[10] (people who have sinned).[11] Because of that resistance, the proceedings in the ad hoc chapel on Christmas, 1873 did not included Bishop Steere preaching, for fear of Muslim resistance.[12] He only prayed, and the congregation, consisting of most of the island's Europeans and some curious Zanzibari proselytes, many of whom were freed in the service of providing the UMCA with labor,[13] sang "Jerusalem the Golden," a work that was widely popular in the 1860s in England.[14]

The hymn, which revels in the beauty of the Holy Land, "with milk and honey blest…/ what radiancy of glory / what light beyond compare!"[15] comes from the 3000-verse, twelfth-century satirical poem by Bernard of Cluny called *De Contemptu Mundi* (Scorn for the World). While the hymn itself is upbeat and seems to the UMCA historians to reveal on that Christmas morning "how strong must have seemed the contrast between *then* and *now*,"[16] between slavery and a moral Christianity, the majority of the work's verses decry the institutional corruption both within the church and broader medieval society. Cluny wrote, "The age is foul; I do not call the age filthy, but I call it filth itself. The age abounds in filth; I do not call the age dead, but I call it death itself. O wicked times!"[17] *De*

[10] Edward Steere, "Letter to Ann Steere," June 4, 1874, 72542cB01, Letters and material relating to Dr. Steere part 1, page 239, British Online Archives, https://microform.digital/boa/documents/3165/letters-and-material-relating-to-dr-steere-part-1.

[11] Although Steere himself translates *wenye dhambi* as sinner, the *wenye dhambi* may not necessarily have the same level of connotation of deviance from sacred laws, given the word *dhambi* comes from an Arabic word (ذَنْب) that means offense. An offender may not necessarily be a sinner, despite Steere's conflation.

[12] Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1859–1898*, 91–92.

[13] It is perhaps important to note that the legal distinction between slave and freed slave requires complication. As Michelle Greenfield-Liebst notes, "The official legal freedom of the former slaves, however, had a limited impact upon their social standing; it took ingenuity, good fortune, and—most of all—time to move on from one's slave status." These designations were legal above all else, and did not necessarily open up opportunity for greater freedom and agency within Zanzibar. Many slaves themselves were businessmen and wage laborers, whose agency contrasts with the lack of agency of slaves in, say, America in the early nineteenth century. For more, see Michelle Greenfield-Liebst, "Sin, Slave Status, and the 'City': Zanzibar, 1865–c. 1930," *African Studies Review* 60, no. 2 (September 2017): 139–60, https://doi.org/10.1017/asr.2017.81.

[14] J.M. Neale, trans., *Medieval Hymns and Sequences*, Third Edition (London: Joseph Masters, 1867), 70."number-of-pages":"252","publisher":"Joseph Masters","publisher-place":"London","title":"Medieval Hymns and Sequences","translator":[{"family":"Neale","given":"J.M."}],"issued":{"date-parts":[["1867"]]},"locator":"70"}],"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"}

[15] Bernard de Cluny, "Hora Novissima," in *Medieval Hymns and Sequences*, trans. J.M. Neale, Third Edition (London: Joseph Masters, 1867), 81–82."page":"68-93","publisher":"Joseph Masters","publisher-place":"London","title":"Hora Novissima","translator":[{"family":"Neale","given":"J.M."}],"author":[{"family":"Cluny","given":"Bernard","dropping-particle":"de"}],"issued":{"date-parts":[["1867"]]},"locator":"81-82"}],"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"}

[16] Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1859–1898*, 91.

[17] Bernard de Cluny, *Scorn for the World: Bernard de Cluny's De Contemptu Mundi: The Latin Text with English Translation and an Introduction*, trans. Ronald E. Pepin, Medieval Texts and Studies, no. 8 (East Lansing, Mich: Colleagues Press, 1991), 17.

Contemptu Mundi attempts to contrast the beauty of the past with the ills of the present in order to open up space for a vision of a more palatable future. In using the hymn to produce a contrast between "*then* and *now*," Steere, like *De Contemptu Mundi* aimed also to produce a contrasting vision of *now* to incite change and imagine what *could be*. The funds for his church had yet to be fully secured, and the church, despite the military prowess of the British, French, and American ships, had yet to gain full acceptance from Zanzibaris. While Steere's choice of "Jerusalem the Golden" aligns with an imagined possibility for a newly converted congregation, anxieties over the wickedness of broader social, economic, and political transformations lie repressed within the proceedings celebrating the future church. In effect, the hopes for a world outlined in the brief hymn "Jerusalem the Golden" required addressing the underlying societal problems at play in the broader text of *De Contemptu Mundi* — problems that manifest not only in twelfth-century France but also nineteenth-century Zanzibar. Examining the processes surrounding the design and construction Christ Church reveals varied

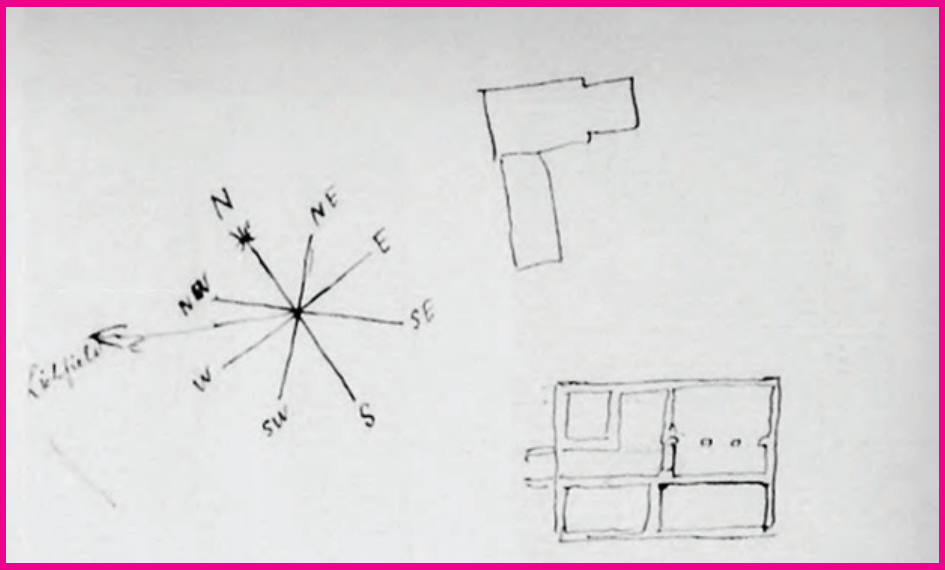


Figure 59: Steere's drawing of a floor plan of a chapel at Kingskerswell, 1857.[1]

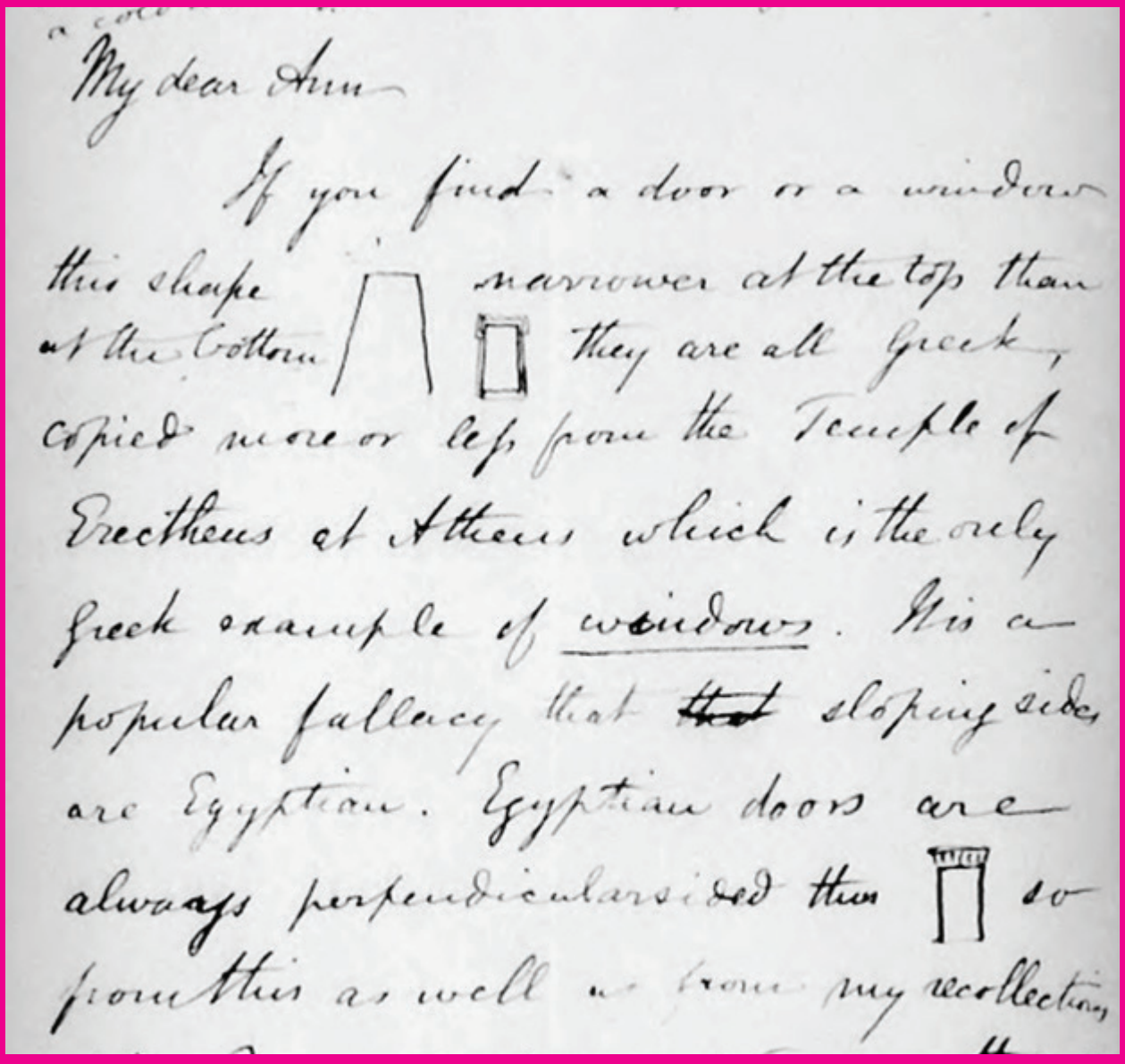
[1] Steere, "Letter to Ann Steere," June 5, 1857.

Figure 60: Steere's sketch of the Church at Kilienane, 1857.[2]

[2] Edward Steere, "Letter to Ann Steere," August 25, 1857, 72542cB01, Letters and material relating to Dr. Steere part 1, page 2438, British Online Archives, https://microform.digital/boa/documents/3165/letters-and-material-relating-to-dr-steere-part-1.

instances of scorn for the world that Steere and the UMCA confronted, demonstrating the challenges related to encounters with difference as figured in the relations between church and state, between missionary and mission, between proselytizer and proselyte.

The scorn for the world the UMCA dealt with in Zanzibar extended beyond subtle aggressions from the Sultan. Even before Steere's arrival in Zanzibar, his predecessor, Bishop William Tozer, experienced the barrage of conflicts related to the slave trade in Zanzibar in the earliest forms of the UMCA's congregation there. While the first five congregants to the Mission were all slaves who were confiscated by the Sultan from a dhow that had not paid its import duties, the second set of congregants of the UMCA in Zanzibar came from the island's inland areas. According to the UMCA's official history:


My dear Ann

If you find a door or a window this shape narrower at the top than at the bottom they are all Greek, copied more or less from the Temple of Erectheus at Athens which is the only Greek example of windows. It is a popular fallacy that sloping sides are Egyptian. Egyptian doors are always perpendicular sided thus so from this as well as from my recollection

Figure 61: Steere's analysis of different types of thresholds.[3]

[3] Steere, "Letter to Ann Steere," June 5, 1857.

...a wretched troop of slaves had been caught and brought to the coast, and there packed in an Arab dhow between decks. In a space two feet high, in heat unimaginable, were literally packed like herrings 300 human beings, fifty of whom were children. The dhow, after sheltering at Zanzibar, started off for Arabia, when the wretched slaves heard shots fired, one of which came among them and wounded a little girl. For about ten minutes, a desperate battle was fought, and then the Arabs left the ship and swam for land; the fresh air was let in, and the wretched slaves who had only uncooked rice to eat, and who were wasted to skeletons, were put on board a British man-of-war, and liberated.[18]

[18] Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1859–1898*, 51–52.

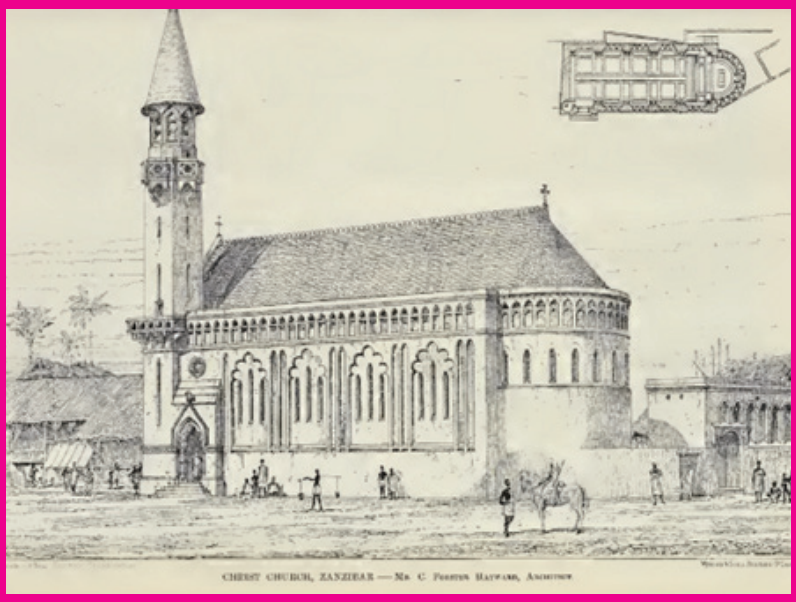


Figure 62: Christ Church, Zanzibar as depicted in *The Builder*, 1881.[4]

[4] "Christ Church, Zanzibar," *The Builder*, May 28, 1881, 666.

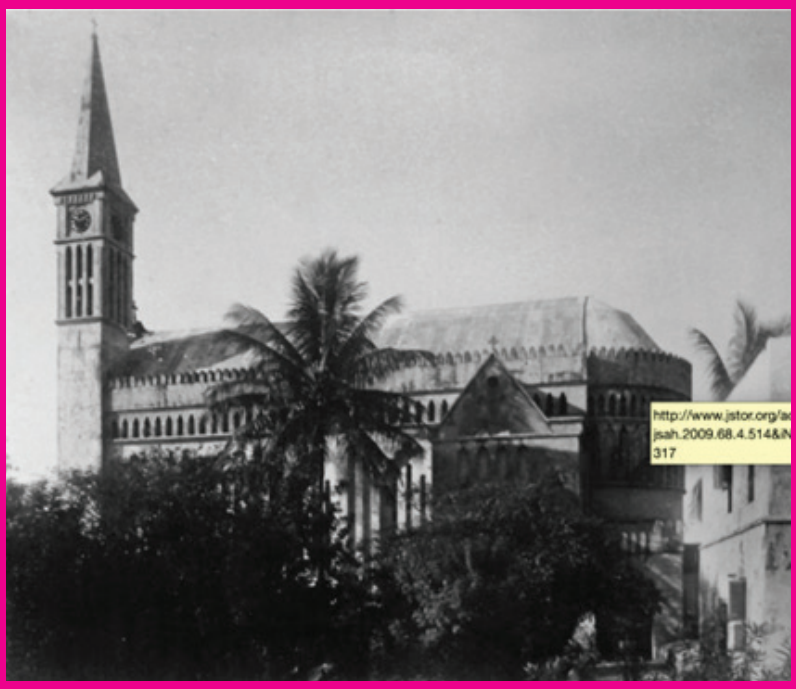


Figure 63: Christ Church, as completed, late nineteenth century.[5]

[5] Bremner, "The Architecture of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Developing a Vernacular Tradition in the Anglican Mission Field, 1861–1909," fig. 1.

From this battle, fourteen of the children were bequeathed to the UMCA, building a critical mass of congregants whose agency, while stifled by their status as slaves, remained subject to obligations to the Mission as a result of their supposed salvation. The Mission, caught in the crossfires of British hard military power, responded to the British state's scorn for the world by replicating the same conditions and structures, introducing a new form of scorn for the world that led Tozer, by the end of his tenure, to be perceived by Steere as having "…an aversion to the native [that] seems to grow stronger and stronger."[19]

The scorn for the world that Steere hoped to combat through his work came not only from Muslims within Zanzibar but also prominent figures in Euro-American society. In 1874, journalist, explorer, soldier, and colonial administrator Henry Morton Stanley traveled to Eastern Africa on a journey funded by the New York Herald and the Daily Telegraph to circumnavigate the African Great Lakes and "discover" the source of the Nile. Three years after enrapturing audiences across England and America with his dispatches on the search for Protestant missionary David Livingstone, Stanley found himself again in Zanzibar in November of 1874, and encountering firsthand the challenges faced by Bishop Edward Steere in constructing the church. He wrote:

> …if we look from the windows and examine the character of the ground into which the walls of the building have been sunk, we will see that it is a quagmire, with putrid heaps of cow dung and circular little pools of sink-water, which permeate through the corrupting soil, and heave up again in globules and bubbles, exhaling the vilest odor that ever irritated the civilized European's nose…I can only hope that the dismal future suggested by the scenes near the mission building may never be realized.[20]

It is as if Livingstone's reading of the conditions of the church reflected the attitudes of Cluny in describing the age as "filth itself." Despite claims towards the positive futures foretold by processes of proselytizing, underlying anxieties over current conditions — political, social, and environmental — raised doubts that forced a figure like Steere to counter existing sentiments for institutional progress of the UMCA.

The scorn for the world Steere encountered forced him to confront skepticism and resistance through a novel form of mission building that more discreetly operated within existing cultural

[19] Edward Steere, "Letter to Festing," January 4, 1873, 72542cB01, Letters and material relating to Dr. Steere part 1, page 177-178, British Online Archives, https://microform.digital/boa/documents/3165/letters-and-material-relating-to-dr-steere-part-1.

[20] Henry Morton Stanley, *Stanley's Despatches to the New York Herald 1871–1872, 1874–1877*, ed. Norman R. Bennett (Boston University Press, 1970), 185.

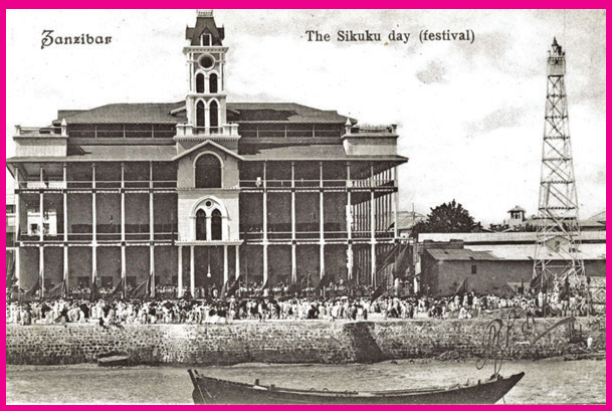


Figure 64: Postcard of the House of Wonders in the late-nineteenth century.[6]

[6] "Antique Postcards Photos of Zanzibar by Verlag Albert Aust Hamburg, Verlag Albert Aust Hamburg, Continho Brothers, Gomes & Son, P. de Lord, ARP de Lord Showing Houde of Wonders Zanzibar Creek, Arab Cemetary, Dhow Harbour, Mizigani Road," accessed December 11, 2021, https://omanisilver.com/contents/en-us/d263.html.

frameworks — from preaching in Swahili to building rapport with Muslims whom he never expected to convert. Steere's deft maneuvering of the cultural context of Zanzibar enabled him, despite this resistance, to begin to build sentiment in his and the Mission's favor. However, as noted in Steere's 1882 obituary in the London newspaper *The Times*, "There was sentiment enough underlying the idea [to build Christ Church] to insure [sic] plenty of support at home; but sentiment without cement will not raise thick walls in East Africa."[21] Thick walls, operating as both fortifications for the British Empire and enclosures for the divine spirit, required a deep commitment to ensure realization. Consequently, Steere got to work leveraging the enthusiasm back in England to construct the church.

Although architect C.F. Hayward, Steere's childhood friend, produced the drawings for the church, he operated mostly as architect-of-record given the distance and limited funding. Steere himself noted that, "I have to be Architect-Engineer and all and how to get a great stone put into its place is more than I can quite understand. However, we will do something."[22] Steere exacted a level of control over the Church's construction that encompassed nearly every facet of its design and realization. Luckily, Steere's acuity for sketching and drawing can be traced back to the decades leading up to

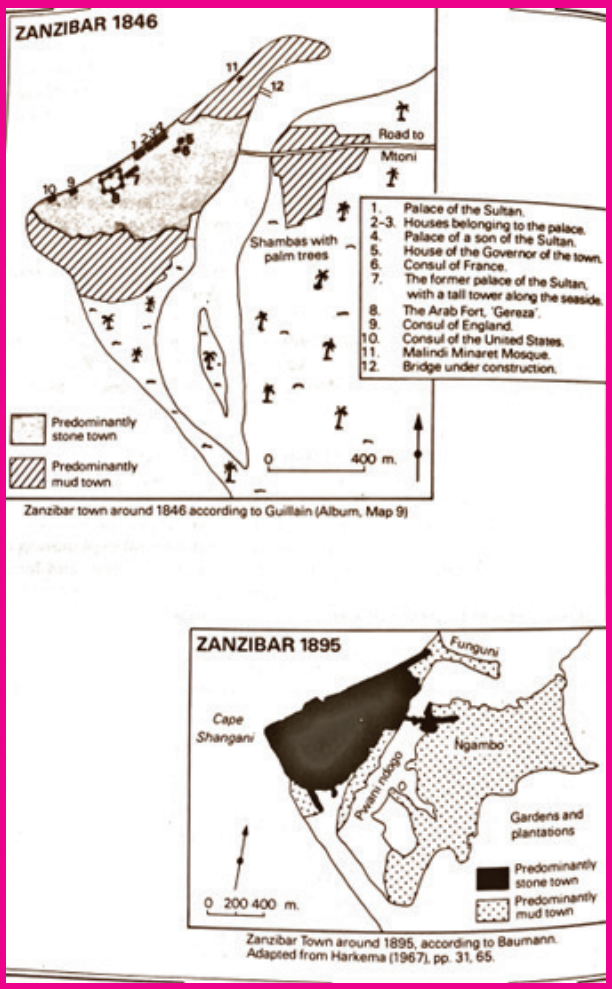


Figure 65: Map showing the development of Stone Town. Christ Church is located along *Pwani ndogo* (Little Creek) on the lower map.[7]

[7] Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar*, 120.

[21] Horace Waller, "Bishop Steere and His Work," *The Times*, September 19, 1882.

[22] Steere, "Undated Letter," 1873.

Figure 66: Etching of Christ Church from Ngambo Creek, 1884.[8]

[8] "Central Africa : A Monthly Record of the Work of the Universities' Mission" (Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1884), 45, 72542cB01, Letters and material relating to Dr. Steere part 1, page 295, British Online Archives, https://microform.digital/boa/collections/29/volumes/175/central-africa-a-monthly-record-of-the-work-of-the-universities-mission#paginate.

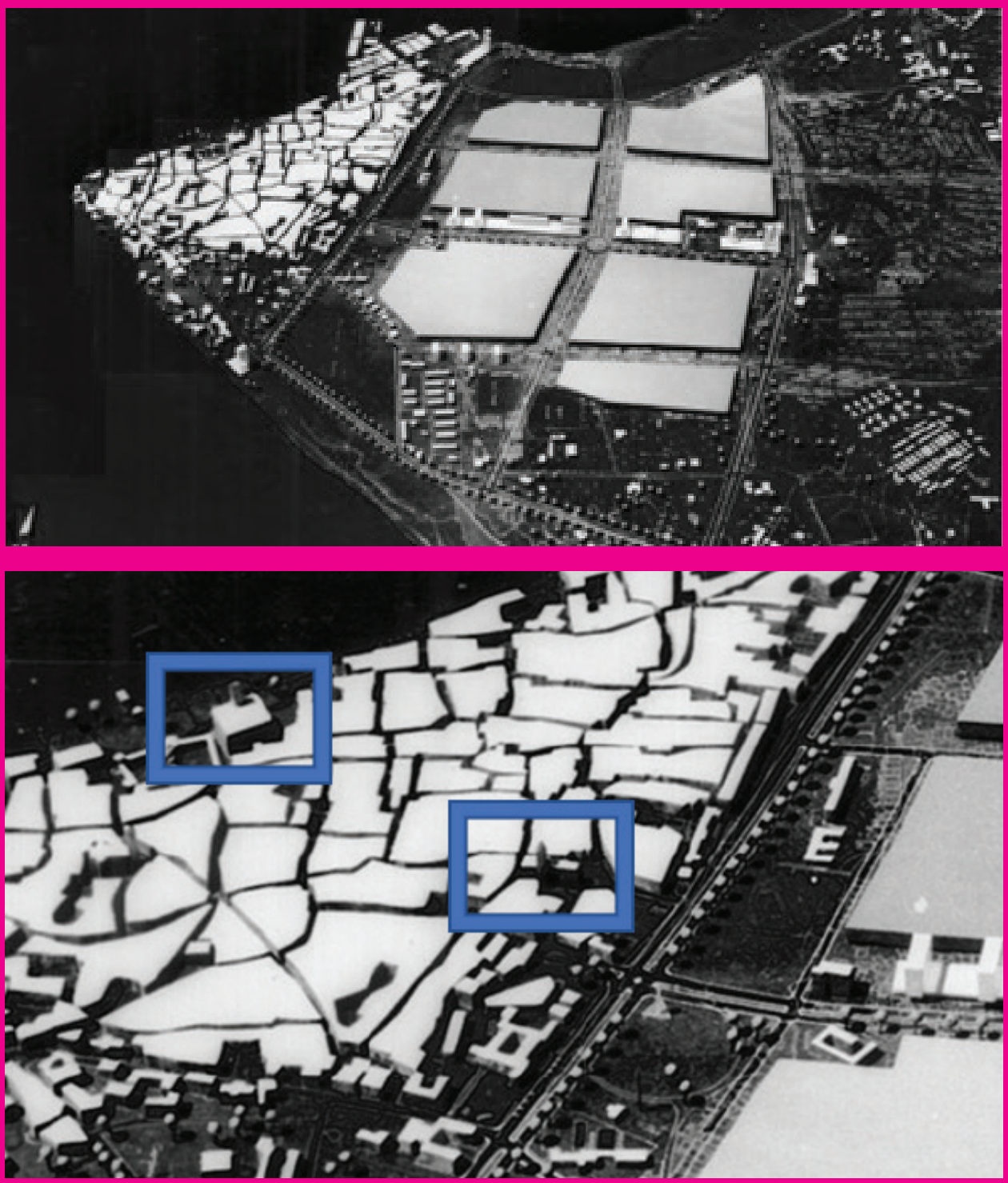


Figure 67: Site Plan of Zanzibar by Scholz and Willumat (above), 1968.[9]

Figure 68: Detail (below) showing the rendering of the towers of the House of Wonders (left) and Christ Church (right).

[9] Ludger Wimmelbücker, "Architecture and City Planning Projects of the German Democratic Republic in Zanzibar," *The Journal of Architecture* 17, no. 3 (June 2012): fig. 13, https://doi.org/10.1080/13602365.2012.692610.

his time in Zanzibar. Throughout the 1850s, Steere's correspondence with those closest to him includes sketches ranging from floor plans of the spaces he occupied to exterior perspectives of prominent architectural monuments (Figure 18, Figure 19). While Steere had a penchant for language, translation, and textual description, from an early age he realized the importance of visual representation and projection in communicating his conceptions of the world.

Steere not only represented the world through sketch but also utilized orthographic projection to narrate architectural lineages and genealogies. In 1857, while in Kingskerswell, Devon, England, Steere wrote to his wife (who never followed him in his missionary activities) about window and door shapes in relation to a ruined chapel known as "The Spital," which Steere purchased with the Guild of Saint Alban in 1855 and sought to renovate.[23] In Steere's analysis (Figure 20), thresholds that were narrower at the top than the bottom were "all Greek, copied more or less from the Temple of Erechtheus at Athens, which is the only

[23] R.M. Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, Fourth Edition (London: Office of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1909), 36.

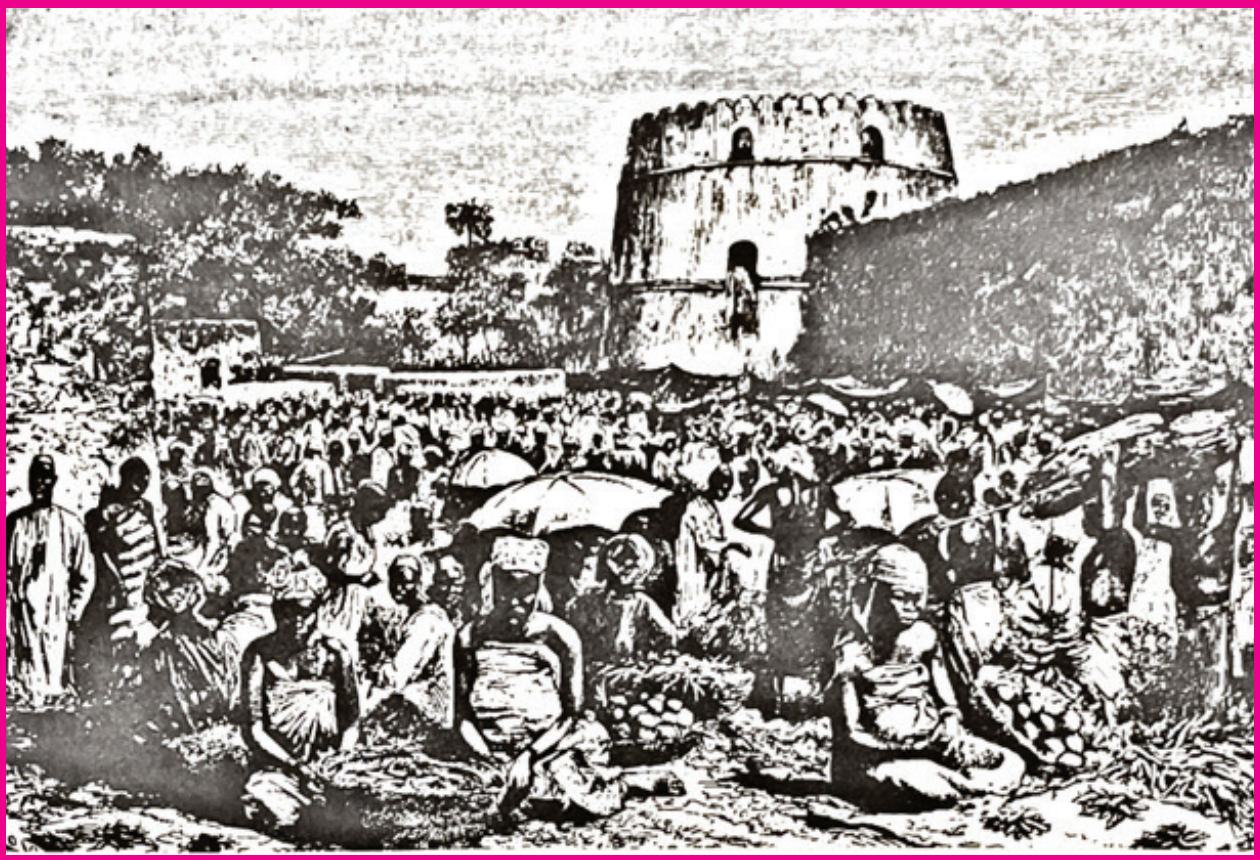


Figure 69: Fruit market located within the walls of the Old Fort. Note the stylistic similarity of the crenellations with those of Christ Church.[10]

[10] Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar*, 139.

Greek example of windows."[24] In addition, Steere sought to correct the "popular fallacy that sloping sides are Egyptian. [Instead,] Egyptian doors are always perpendicular-sided."[25] Although Steere's "success did not equal his expectations" with the renovation of the derelict chapel and the Guild to be contained within it, Steere saw a fundamental relationship between the role architecture played in placing relatively new institutional formations in longer term historical narratives. The Spital at Tamworth was not just a small, relatively unsuccessful Christian Guild. It was to be a place that thrived in the mythos of Greek civilization, a civilization whose narrative construction the British Empire increasingly used to articulate both the hegemony of the Empire and the West more broadly. And as Western cartographic procedures and technologies became increasingly important tools of bureaucratic power, Steere's plans sketched architectural program alongside a compass rose, representational decisions that would lay the foundation for a successful process of strengthening the UMCA's presence and position within Zanzibar.

In addition to understanding the mutually reinforcing relationship between architectural production and institutional formation, Steere's sketches also demonstrate both the fragmentary nature of the sketch and the dynamic nature of institutional formation. As Steere worked with Hayward to design Christ Church, he developed the Church under a host of uncertainties. In the decade between the laying of the first brick and the completion of the Church (which occurred after Steere's death), uncertainties were abound during the process of the Church's construction. Although it is likely that Steere worked with Hayward to develop the plans for the Church during his visit to England in 1874, several discrepancies exist between published drawings of the church as designed by Hayward and as realized by Steere, revealing

[24] Edward Steere, "Letter to Ann Steere," June 5, 1857, 72542cB01, Letters and material relating to Dr. Steere part 1, page 1305, British Online Archives, https://microform.digital/boa/documents/3165/letters-and-material-relating-to-dr-steere-part-1.

[25] Ibid.

Figure 70: Sketch showing Christ Church in an incomplete state.[11]

[11] Edward Steere, "Letter to Rev. Days," March 7, 1876, 72542cB02, Letters and material relating to Dr. Steere part 2 page 72, British Online Archives, https://microform.digital/boa/documents/3165/letters-and-material-relating-to-dr-steere-part-1.

underlying political, economic, and cultural factors that influenced the ultimate figuration of the Church.

Hayward's etching of Christ Church, published in British publication *The Builder* in 1881 (Figure 21), presents Hawyard's idealized version of the Church, which contrasts the realized version of the Church (Figure 22) in several ways. Perhaps most strikingly, the spirelet markedly differs from that of the 1881 representation. Instead of a circular spire with a viewpoint at the top, the Christ Church's spire contains a rectangular tower with a clock at the top. Two years prior to Hayward's publication of the etching of the Church, Steere wrote to his wife Ann that "Seyed Barghash the Sultan says an [sic] staircase turret could be a capital place for a clock and told [Zanzibar resident and major UMCA benefactor] Dr. Kirk he would give £100 to buy one."[26] As a revision in the initial plans, Steere's acceptance of Barghash's gesture achieved several aims. On one hand, it enacted a performance of trust between the Sultan and UMCA, but it also inscribed the Church into a formal visual language that mirrored that of the Sultan's House of Wonders, or *Beit al Ajaib*, itself under construction at the same time with a large tower containing clocks (Figure 23). Barghash gave his blessing for the clock under the condition that the Church's spirelet be shorter than the *Beit al Ajaib*'s tower.[27] Steere's acquiescence to the Sultan further demonstrates his adept maneuvering of the political complexities in Zanzibar. Despite hidden animosities between the figures, furthering the UMCA's mission required a continued public diplomacy with figures of power like the Sultan.[28]

The clock's significance lies not only in its

[26] Edward Steere, "Letter to Ann Steere," April 3, 1879, 72542cB01, Letters and material relating to Dr. Steere part 1, page 527-529, British Online Archives, https://microform.digital/boa/documents/3165/letters-and-material-relating-to-dr-steere-part-1.

[27] Bremner, "The Architecture of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Developing a Vernacular Tradition in the Anglican Mission Field, 1861–1909," 523.

[28] Despite his private animosity, Sultan Barghash was also overtly quite generous, offering several gifts over the years, including plots of land for further Mission development around the slave market site. For more, see Edward Steere, "Letter to Festing," August 1, 1874, 72542cB01, Letters and material relating to Dr. Steere part 1, page 295, British Online Archives, https://microform.digital/boa/documents/3165/letters-and-material-relating-to-dr-steere-part-1.

Figure 71: Photograph from 1886 showing the Church's interior.[12]

[12] Bremner, "The Architecture of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Developing a Vernacular Tradition in the Anglican Mission Field, 1861–1909," fig. 7.

use as a diplomatic tool, but also in its mode of producing a monumental visual coherence between the Eastern and Western edges of Stone Town. Although today Christ Church sits on the exterior of Stone Town, at the time the Church sat at the eastern edge of Stone Town, divided from the expanding neighborhood of Ngambo (literally translated as the other side) by the Pwani Creek (Figure 24). This boundary condition placed the Church in plain view for those most willing to convert to Christianity — those most economically vulnerable who lived in the mud houses across the creek (Figure 25). Within the urban landscape of late-nineteenth century Zanzibar, the unobstructed view of the Church further emphasized its monumentality and justified its value. Although other leaders of the UMCA expressed skepticism about devoting so many resources to constructing a mission in a vice-filled city center that could detract from the purer possibilities of missionary work in a rural context, Steere also recognized the fact that Zanzibar's Stone Town was the "great centre of trade for all that immense coast, 2,000 miles in extent, and the vast countries which lie behind it."[29]

This monumentality operated not only through the massiveness of the structure and its placement as a discrete object built on the scale of the divine on the outer edge of an otherwise winding, disorienting, agglomeration of buildings built on the scale of the human, but also on its relationship to other monumental structures within the city. For travelers to Zanzibar, Sultan Barghash's House of Wonders' clock tower would be one of the first buildings they would see, an awe-inspiring sight for exhausted travelers sailing down the Indian Ocean. The similar form and monumentality of the church would enable the association of the monumentality of approach to the "great centre of trade" with the institution of the church, further emphasizing the importance of the church (and Christianity) within the urban landscape otherwise defined by its Islamic character.[30] Despite further development of Stone Town and its extents, the Church's relative

[29] Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, 74.

[30] Ibid., 76.

Figure 72: Contemporary photo of Christ Church's interior. Note the horizontal tie bars absent in Figure 30.[13]

[13] Unesco, "Christ Church Anglican Cathedral (Former Slave Market in Zanzibar)," *CIPDH - UNESCO* (blog), accessed December 11, 2021, https://www.cipdh.gob.ar/memorias-situadas/en/lugar-de-memoria/catedral-anglicana-iglesia-de-cristo-antiguo-mercado-de-esclavos-de-zanzibar/.

monumentality persisted into the twentieth century when architects from East Germany worked with the Zanzibari government in the 1970s to build large housing blocs across from Christ Church. In their site models of Stone Town, they rendered little legible except the House of Wonders and Christ Church towers (Figure 26, Figure 27).

In addition to inscribing the church into the realm of monumental objects in the physical landscape, the clock tower also enabled the church to mark its importance in the social landscape, further demonstrating the assimilationist principles of the UMCA's missionary activities. As a gesture towards indigenous practices of time telling, Steere agreed to set the clocks to Swahili time, whereby time is counted in the number of hours since sunrise rather than since the official day beginning. Because of the Swahili coast's proximity to the equator, the sunrise and sunset times vary little throughout the year, enabling time to be easily measured by the number of hours since sunrise, which hovers around six o'clock.[31] This gesture, "out of compliment to the Sultan,"[32] further demonstrates the ways that Steere managed the Sultan's scorn for the world, by contextualizing a foreign institution through local cultural practices. Despite adopting this practice, however, Steere also described the sound of the clock as "very homelike,"[33] further emphasizing how the disciplinary nature of clock-time, while framed in terms of complimenting local customs and characters, maintains its disciplinary organizing principles that facilitated the expansion of European industrialization and the lands subject to imperial domination that support it.[34]

Other architectural components also point to the paradoxes at play in incorporating local elements into the foreign institution of the Church. Consider the crenellations on the parapet, absent in Hayward's rendering of the Church. These elements first figured in Zanzibar in the Old Fort, constructed in 1699 after Omani Arabs ended Portuguese occupation.[35] The Fort, which initially served as a prison and garrison but in the 1880s operated as a fruit market (Figure 28), sat next to the Sultan's Palace and on the opposite side of Stone Town close to the main harbor. The crenellations, which adorn mostly forts and state buildings, inscribe the religious structure into the buildings representing state power. Although Steere embraced a separation of church and state, claiming that "what the State will not, the Church must do,"[36] Steere's decision to incorporate the architectural elements of state power into elements of an institution with roles and responsibilities beyond that of the state, reinforces the productive conflation between the UMCA's role in converting Zanzibaris to Christianity and in converting materials and surplus labor value into elements fundamental to the British Empire.

While some of these discrepancies between the Church as idealized in Hayward's representations and as actualized

[31] As an example, noon in Swahili time is six o'clock, since it's approximately six hours from sunrise.

[32] Edward Steere, "Letter to Ann Steere," November 13, 1880, 72542cB01, Letters and material relating to Dr. Steere part 1, page 593-597, British Online Archives, https://microform.digital/boa/documents/3165/letters-and-material-relating-to-dr-steere-part-1.

[33] Ibid.

[34] For more about the development of time discipline and the development of clocks, see E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past & Present* 38 (December 1967): 56–97..

[35] Bremner, "The Architecture of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Developing a Vernacular Tradition in the Anglican Mission Field, 1861–1909," 522.

[36] Edward Steere, *The Universities' Mission to Central Africa: A Speech Delivered at Oxford* (London: Harrison, 1875), 17.

under Steere's oversight occurred before the church was fully opened and operational, others were incorporated after the fact. This latency demonstrates how even the hulking fixity of buildings stood no chance against the dynamic, unshakeable will that Steere possessed in fulfilling an approach to proselytization that worked to assimilate foreign institutions into localized forms. With the Church open and operational, Steere realized some of the deficiencies in the arrangement of the church in making the space amenable to cultural codes and practices of recent and potential converts. The narthex space, for example, near the entrance of the church was enlarged to allow for more interested parties to observe the proceedings within the church. Further, Steere also worked to build a women's gallery, noting that "since the present state of feeling, it would be impossible for ladies holding any position to throw themselves on the floor of the Church where men worship."[37] The construction of the gallery space continued into the early 1880s after the Church had been opened to service. In mid-1882, Steere had "some feeling that he was not long to be here."[38] As he settled his accounts, he wrote a letter to his Secretary at home, saying "I want to complete the translation of the Bible, and I must build the western gallery in the Church. When that is done I shall feel as though my work is over."[39] By equally emphasizing the importance of the architectural adjustment with Steere's translation activities, Steere demonstrates how he places the modes by which the transformations of the "living stones"[40] occur — through language — on the same plane as the modes by which the transformations of the non-living stones that construct the church. Both are equally important, mutually constitutive, and crucial for enabling the UMCA to thrive in the East African context.

While Steere demonstrated a strong internal motivation to realizing his goals, tied to a nuanced understanding of the importance of physical and rhetorical maneuvering, this strong internal motivation also reflects outwardly in his meticulous precision and attention to detail. As one figure vividly recounted in Steere's obituary:

> I shall not easily forget first meeting [Steere], a slightly stooping broad-shouldered figure, over-hanging eyebrows with keen eyes, a face a little stern, but with such a kind expression always about the mouth that it does not easily fade from one's recollection. In repose his hands hung down half closed like a sailor's. There was more character about Bishop Steere's hands than there is in some people's faces. Broad strong hands he had, ready to grasp or to heave. It was there that one saw the carpenter and architect in his many-sided nature; now hauling on a rope, now handling a trowel, and then what patient perseverance he had. Seven times did he make the native workmen pull down and rebuild the groining of the arch under the organ-gallery of his Cathedral [sic], till the impulsive Africans wept tears of vexation of the apparently hopeless job; but it now stands the only piece of work of that kind in Zanzibar.[41]

[37] Bremner, "The Architecture of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Developing a Vernacular Tradition in the Anglican Mission Field, 1861–1909," n. 87.

[38] "Central African Mission: Report of Anniversary Services and Meeting" (London: Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1882), 5.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1859–1898*, 90.

[41] Waller, "Bishop Steere and His Work."

While most of this recollection focuses on Steere's incorporation of the foreign architectural elements like the barrel vault that make Christ Church "the only piece of work of that kind in Zanzibar," the account overlooks the more localized elements that Steere utilized. These elements enable the Church to be inscribed into the predominant governing regime of the Sultanate while simultaneously offering a counter to that same regime. A quiet, surreptitious nuance pervades Steere's approach to his missionary activity, a nuance that escapes the perception of both proselytizer and proselyte.

This precision and unfailing motivation permeated the entire construction process, leveraging both expertise and technological advancements from Europe to realize the Church. Utilizing coralline limestone, the predominant rock used in Stone Town for anyone in the upper classes and a traction engine imported from England, Steere orchestrated the quarrying of stone several miles south in Mbweni, where stones were dragged across and through the creek that Livingstone described as "circular little pools of sink-water, which permeate through the corrupting soil,"[42] where the traction engine sat stuck for several nights, unable to be retrieved. The wood formwork for the construction of the barrel vault took several years, as the laborers employed to build the church waited months for the cement and pulverized coral to cure, an incompleteness that Steere sketched (Figure 29). This arduous construction process provided a means to demonstrate a particular knowledge to the proselyte and the deficiencies in knowledge of that same indigenous laborer. As recounted in Steere's memoir, a laborer "asked the Bishop what had been placed in the cavity when the stone was laid," to which Steere replied "a parchment with a record in Arabic and English of the object of the building had been put in, with a few coins…" The laborer replied, however, "'I know why the roof does not fall. It was the very powerful *medicine you put in that stone!'* [emphasis in original]"[43] The tribulations encountered in the process of constructing the barrel vault had been re-framed to demonstrate foreign expertise, which had been rendered supernatural by the account of the local laborer. Yet this expertise remains an incomplete one, as the thrust lines of the barrel vault place too much horizontal force onto the main structure of the walls, demonstrated by the need for inelegant tie bars that are visible today in the Church in its 2014 restoration (Figure 30, Figure 31). Despite the seeming magic of the Portland cement and the purported expertise of Steere, his incomplete understanding of structural engineering left the component of the church most legible as an index of foreign expertise also as an index of Steere's incomplete knowledge.

And perhaps it is the stone as such that leaves the most indelible mark in the social and political history of Stone Town itself. Despite Christianity still being a relatively marginal religion for Zanzibaris, the Church contributed significantly to further stratifying and segregating classes within Stone Town that accelerated at the turn of the twentieth century. Many contemporary accounts lament the segregation of the Arab and European quarters from the indigenous

[42] Stanley, *Stanley's Despatches to the New York Herald 1871–1872, 1874–1877*, 185.

[43] Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, 232.

African ones.[44] But this segregation did not always exist, as Abdul Sheriff notes that lower-class mud houses sat adjacent to the stone houses in Stone Town as late as the 1870s.[45] Yet as the UMCA noted in 1882:

> ...when we were trying to buy land at a town on the coast, the natives came and said, 'We will not sell it to you if we can help it; we know what you want it for, you are going to do as you did in Zanzibar. First of all you will build a house, then you will want more land and will build a church, then you will bring more people about you and you will make us all Christians, so we had better stop you at the beginning.[46]

In effect, although the Church itself maintained a relatively small influence in Zanzibar, its presence and its ability to leverage foreign capital to transform the neighborhood around Christ Church produced and perpetuated the inequalities the continue to persist in Zanzibar. Despite attempts at nationalizing housing in the mid-twentieth century, the transformations of a variety of actors, not excluding the UMCA, led to further spatialization of inequalities, to further scorn for the world.

The UMCA both heightened these inequalities and helped lay the foundation for future domination, over which Britain prevailed when Zanzibar became a British protectorate in 1890.[47] While Britain's strategy of rule was generally agnostic to the religions of the ruled land, the UMCA proved crucial for introducing British notions, ideals, and worldviews into Zanzibari norms and forms. Whether the imposition of God into Arabic folk tales or the imposition of a faulty barrel vault into the architectural vocabulary of Zanzibar, Steere and the UMCA managed scorn for the world through graceful negotiations that opened the possibility for more direct forms of conquer, much of which involved payments — direct and indirect — to existing governing structures. While the UMCA articulated itself as existing outside the bounds of the state, its instrumentality in facilitating state building left it corrupted by the structures of unequal exchange it helped facilitate. I return, once again, to the origin of the first hymn chosen by Steere to inaugurate Christ Church, *De Contemptu Mundi*:

> Now everybody can carry off the gifts of heaven for a bribe...O erroneous way! Grace is not possessed for free now; it is wickedly carried off by force, demanded for money, held by money. Grace is sold, grace is handed over because of savage force. Not grace, but violence is seen in these actions. Grace, grace...grace stands in name but lies fallen in rank: the money-chest is its source... O evil age![48]

O evil age, indeed!

[44] For more on Zanzibar's segregation patterns, see Iga Perzyna and Juma Muhammad, "Side Effects: Foreign Oppression and Otherness in Ng'ambo, Zanzibar Town," *Architectural Review*, November 28, 2019, https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/side-effects-foreign-oppression-and-otherness-in-ngambo-zanzibar-town; and Abdul Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African Commercial Empire into the World Economy, 1770-1873.* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1987), https://public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=4806522.

[45] Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar*, 147–48.

[46] "Central African Mission: Report of Anniversary Services and Meeting," 33–34.

[47] Colonial power struggles in Zanzibar trace to the 1885 Scramble for Africa, with both Germany and Britain vying for power in the Sultanate. Although Germany offered military protection for Zanzibar from 1885–90, it did not officially become a British protectorate until 1890. Although not direct colonization, the Sultante's status as a protectorate imposed foreign military power on the region and a host of confrontations between native Zanzibaris and the British military. For more, see Abdul Sheriff and Ed Ferguson, eds., *Zanzibar Under Colonial Rule* (Ohio University Press, 1991); and William C. Bissell, *Urban Design, Chaos, and Colonial Power in Zanzibar* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana Univ. Press, 2011).

[48] Cluny, *Scorn for the World*, 167–69.

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