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The cultural biography, itinerary and intersections of a second-hand artefact – The case of the Knysna Half Marathon Family Champion Tankard

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Abstract

Second-hand cultural objects not only possess a very definite biography but also have a multi-layered history. The nature of this history and the cultural artefact's evolving identity is determined, firstly, by its journey from first into second exchange and beyond, and, secondly, by the institutions, including second-hand or charity shops, individuals or groups who came to own it. Artefacts as well as places where they are exchanged, such as second-hand shops, can each provide a valuable lens to investigate the nature, social function, locational politics and exchange journey of these places and artefacts as a marker of memory. This is amply demonstrated by research into an obscure second-hand artefact, namely a beer tankard inscribed 'Knysna Half Marathon Family Champ', acquired from a charity shop. The object was initially appropriated by a South African family as a sports trophy to reward the best-performing athlete within their circle in the Knysna Half Marathon. Through their actions, the family inadvertently tied together the different geographic localities associated with the artefact (Knysna, South Africa and Sheffield, United Kingdom) to the Le Roux/Rous family in a manner not originally foreseen. The trophy was continuously and ritually awarded for 14 years before its mysterious disappearance. Following a long search, the researcher unravelled the mystery of its origins and use. Finally, the trophy was reunited with its original owners. Within this context, the tankard served as a record of one family's engagement with a form of purposive leisure and their relations of love, intimacy and caring. Therefore, this article seeks to map the Knysna tankard's cultural biography, itinerary and intersection with several diverse issues such as location, charity shopping or second exchange, sports, and family.

Keywords: athletics, cultural biography, Knysna, Le Roux/Rous, Sheffield, South Africa, tankard

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INTRODUCTION

According to Dutch archaeologist David R. Fontijn the identity of individuals and objects are transformed when they travel. In the case of the former, to new destinations, and in the latter case, when they change ownership due to trade or exchange.[1] Appelgren and Bohlin (2015) agree with this observation. They argue that travelling and second-hand trading are culturally generative forces that reconfigure 'objects-in-motion' and leave indelible marks on affected parties or objects.[2] The object's itinerary, or everything that happens to it en route to its final destination, and the nature and quality of the routes and paths chosen, are further determined by people who have to make an appropriate choice based on a number of factors, including specific cultural or moral preferences.

Consequently, 'new' routes are constantly being constructed which, inevitably, redefine the object's future role or uses.[3] The second-hand shop, charity shop or hospice shop – called 'nothing shops' in the United Kingdom – is a key mediator in this process. These establishments are often negatively perceived and approached as a category of retail establishments unsuitable for upmarket locations, non-value-adding entities that negatively affect rather than enhance the "tone of the place".[4] These shops, however, are legitimate and heterogeneous consumption spaces and draw on the same practices and ideas embedded within conventional retail spaces.[5] Furthermore, they fill an important retail gap and possess an identifiable clientele with particular stocks of knowledge who deliberately frequent these spaces due to both need and choice. In addition to providing nostalgic and pleasurable value for some, these shops provide cash-strapped consumers with an opportunity to obtain high-value items beyond their financial reach within the first cycle of exchange.[6]

1 D.R. Fontijn, Epilogue: Cultural biographies and itineraries of things: Second thoughts, in D.R. Fontijn, H.P. Hahn & H. Weiss (eds), *Mobility, meaning and transformation of things: Shifting contexts of material culture through time and space* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 183-195.
2 S. Appelgren & A. Bohlin, Growing in motion: The circulation of used things on second-hand markets, *Culture Unbound* 7(1), 2015, p. 144.
3 Fontijn, pp. 192-193.
4 P. Jackson & B. Holbrook, Multiple meanings: Shopping and the cultural politics of identity, *Environment and Planning A* 27, December 1995, pp. 1923-1924.
5 N. Gregson & L. Crewe, Dusting down second-hand rose: Gendered identities and the world of second-hand goods in the space of the car boot sale, *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 5(1), 1998, p. 81.
6 M.-C. Cervellon, L. Carey & T. Harms, Something old, something used: Determinants of women's purchase of vintage fashion vs second-hand

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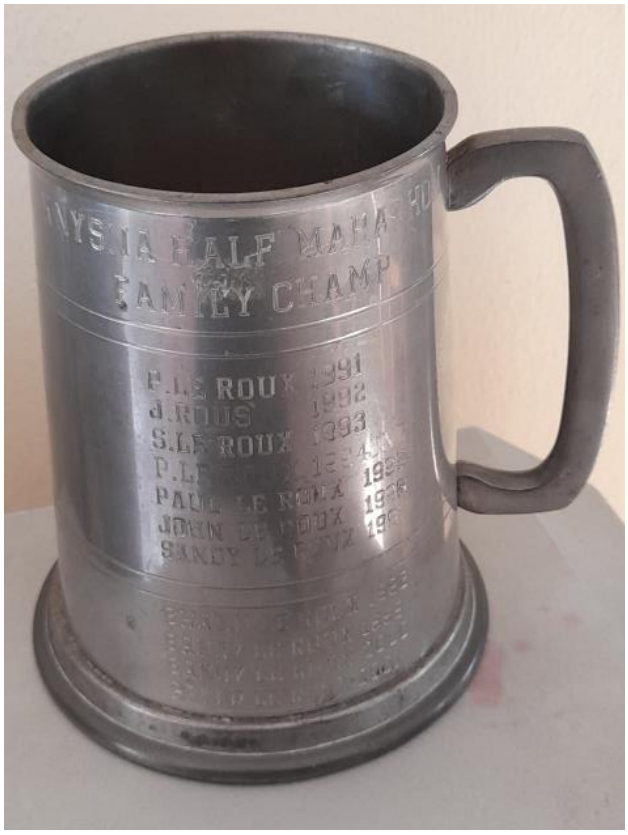

Figure 1: Knysna Half Marathon Family Champion tankard. (photo: H. Snyders)

Because of their diverse stock and the manifold roads that individual items travel before reaching a particular retail space, Benford et al. (2016), in a different context, defines the second-hand shop as a collection of "accountable artefacts"[7] or "probe objectives" that are storied and, when interrogated, would deliver diverse accounts of their histories.[8] Therefore, patrons of these establishments, as buyers and sellers, are the key agents in the process of launching objects on a new path that may often result in redefining their purpose or a new identity.

Against this background, this article maps the cultural biography and itinerary of a second-hand pewter tankard, an artefact historically associated with male public drinking, inscribed 'Knysna Half Marathon Family Champ Trophy' (Figure 1). The article also explores the intersection of location, exchange, charity shopping, sports, family and identity in accordance with existing literature and the theoretical position that objects have a social life, a cultural biography, and an itinerary.[9]

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This article uses a combination of secondary literature, oral history and personal archives (especially electronic mail records) – a 'morphing' of the 'traditional stores of knowledge' with internet-based sources – to retrace and reconstruct the history of the 'Knysna Half Marathon Family Champ' tankard.[10] Day and Vamplew (2015) argue that "history remains a genre of empirical knowledge that is based upon the remains of the past and, unless there is some evidence from the past, there can be no sports history".[11] The electronic age's records and search tools, namely informal verbal meetings, telephone conversations, electronic mail and search engines, and other forms of 'computer-supported cooperative work', including social media such as Facebook, are key elements of decision-making. Because of their centrality in that process, they actually "dictate how histories are written".[12] Facebook, in particular, is one of the most cost-effective means of recruiting research participants or searching for specific people. It provides researchers with the means "to access the imponderabilia of everyday life of those interlocutors who use it".[13] Hitchcock (2013) further strongly argues that combining these sources are critical for the historian who wants to write credible and evidence-based history.[14]

ARTEFACT ENCOUNTERS AND LOCATIONAL INTERSECTIONS

The tankard that forms the basis of this study was purchased in May 2018 from a charity shop in a small shopping centre adjacent to a conventional modern shopping mall precinct.[15] The St Luke's Hospice Shop is located within the Tokai Village Centre, a smaller centre within the larger Blue Route Mall's shopping precinct in the southern suburbs of Cape Town. The two centres share a parking area that conveniently consolidates the two spaces into one retail and service complex, spread over a significant

fashion, *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management* 40(12), 2012, pp. 956-974; H. Brembeck & N. Sörum, Assembling nostalgia: Devices for affective captation on the re: heritage market, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23(6), 2017, pp. 556-574; Gregson & Crewe, p. 78.

7 S. Benford, A. Hazzard, A. Chamberlain, K. Glover, C. Greenhalgh, L. Xu, M. Hoare & D. Darzentas, Accountable artefacts, *Proceedings of the 2016 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems - CHI '16* (New York, 2016), no p. no.

8 *Ibid*.

9 See A. Appadurai (ed.), *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 88-103; A. Appadurai, Commodities and the politics of value, in S. Pearce (ed.), *Interpreting objects and collections* (London, 2012), pp. 88-103; C. Gosden & Y. Marshall, The cultural biography of objects, *World Archaeology* 31(2), 1999, pp. 169-178; Fontijn, p. 192.

10 M. Johnes, Archives and historians of sport, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 32(15), 2015, pp. 1785.

11 D. Day & W. Vamplew, Sports history methodology: Old and new, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 32(15), 2015, p. 1717.

12 J. Grudin, Computer-supported cooperative work: History and focus, *Computer* 27(5), 1994, p. 19; Johnes, p. 1785.

13 S. Dalsgaard, The ethnographic use of Facebook in everyday life, *Anthropological Forum* 26(1), 2016, p. 97.

14 T. Hitchcock, Confronting the digital: Or how academic history writing lost the plot, *Cultural and Social History* 10(1), 2013, p. 9.

15 B. Capp, Gender and the culture of the English alehouse in late Stuart England, *COLLeGIUM: Studies across disciplines in the humanities and social sciences II* 2, 2007, pp. 103-127.

area in terms of scale and layout.[16] They are further situated in an upmarket area where land is an expensive commodity.

The precinct is surrounded by several exclusive (mostly white-owned) private residential estates and security complexes, established on land formerly known as Blouvlei, and alienated from its original black inhabitants under the notorious *Group Areas Act no. 41 of 1951*.[17] It now borders several black or 'coloured' working-class neighbourhoods (established under the system of apartheid) within easy walking distance from the mall complex. The precinct, therefore, services diverse people across cultural, gender, age and racial lines and, like most South African neighbourhoods and residential and business areas, continues to display the country's apartheid-era racial and spatial patterns and arrangements. Locationally, it serves as a buffer zone between the different residential areas, literally allowing safe and continuous interaction while maintaining the spatial status quo.[18] This inevitably contributes to treating consumers from the 'other side' as visitors.

The St Luke's Hospice Shop, an example of 'shopping for good', in turn, is surrounded by a well-known family restaurant and a number of professional practices, including medical and other health and wellness service providers (doctors, eye specialists, ophthalmologists, dieticians, a health and beauty clinic); financial and legal services (accountants and attorneys); retailers (pet barber, laundrette, stationery shop); and funeral services.[19] The hospice shop is thus strategically positioned away from the traditional marginal spaces of exchange, and in an area that enhances its competitive presence, thereby increasing its client exposure.[20] This favourable location provides adequate parking and direct visibility from the incoming access roads. The location ensures the hospice shop's continued exposure to passers-by (non-retail shoppers). Thus, the shop can capitalise on the flow of clients visiting the surrounding businesses.[21]

Being located close to a network of services 'softens' the shopping experience for older people for whom the scope and scale of the precinct otherwise might have been problematic. The smaller centre's proximity to the main centre also assists in the seamless integration of the retail world remembered by older people (the second-hand shop) and the world and values of the new consumer (modern shopping mall). They can, therefore, better manage the precinct's layout and scale while accessing more personalised services under safer circumstances, given the high visibility of security personnel in the precinct.[22] These are important experiences since research elsewhere indicates that unhygienic shopping centres and surroundings, lack of personal services, poor quality and limited to no value-for-money goods, and inconvenience, cause elderly consumers stress.[23] Within the South African situation where high crime figures are an issue, security, in particular, is an even bigger concern.[24]

Given the nature of charity or second-hand shops, the tankard was displayed on a shelf crowded with a variety of objects, including goblets, toys and other silverware, and positioned adjacent to shelves carrying books, magazines and second-hand clothing. Most of the items on display as well as the tradable goods accepted by the shop and still in stock are domestic goods. This is consistent with the observation, albeit in a different context, made by Gregson, Crewe and Brooks (2002) that these shops are often 'feminised spaces' regarding their staff, clients, stocking profile, and organisation.[25] Shelves, the display of goods, and shop layout are arranged in such a fashion that they attract the anticipated female customer.[26] Like the other merchandise, the tankard was displayed and sold 'as-is' with no obvious attempt to enhance

16 D. Beer, Blue Route Mall – A green guide for responsible urban development, *Betonwerk und Fertigteil-Technik* 80(4), 2014, pp. 20-25.

17 See, for example, A. Kamish, Coloured and black identities of residents forcibly removed from Blouvlei: On identity: Displacement, removals, and memory, *South African Historical Journal* 60(2), 2008, pp. 242-257; F. Cleophas, An overview of cultural capital in Blouvlei, *South African Historical Journal* 70(4), 2018, pp. 654-673.

18 Kamish, pp. 242-257; Cleophas, pp. 654-673; W. Taliep, Belletjiesbos, Draper Street and the Vlak: The Coloured neighbourhoods of Claremont before Group Areas, *African Studies* 60(1), 2001, pp. 65-85.

19 T. Fitton, The *'quiet economy': An ethnographic study of the contemporary UK charity shop* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of York, 2013), p. 107; P. Harrison-Evans, *Shopping for good: The social benefits of charity retail* (London, 2013), p. 1.

20 Gregson & Crewe, p. 78; G. Hawkins & S. Muecke (eds), *Cultural economies of waste* (Washington, D.C., 2003), p. 36.

21 S.J. Ferrandi, *The InforMALL: Shopping malls as infrastructures to support small-scale informal businesses* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2018), p. 15.

22 Jackson & Holbrook, p. 1923.

23 M. Keller & T. Vihalemm, Coping with consumer culture: Elderly urban consumers in post-Soviet Estonia, *TRAMES: A Journal of the Humanities & Social Sciences* 9(1), 2005, pp. 69-91; Y.-S. Kang & N.M. Ridgway, The importance of consumer market interactions as a form of social support for elderly consumers, *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing* 15(1), 1996, pp. 108-117; G.G. Rousseau & D.J.L. Venter, Mall shopping preferences and patronage of mature shoppers, *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology* 4(1), 2014, pp. 1-12; R. Gant, Elderly people, personal mobility and local environment, *Geography* 8(3), 1997, pp. 207-217.

24 R. Peiser & J. Xiong, Crime and town centers: Are downtowns more dangerous than suburban shopping nodes? *Journal of Real Estate Research* 25(4), 2003, pp. 577-606; P.L. Brantingham, P.J. Brantingham & P. Wong, Malls and crime: A first look, *Security Journal* 1(3), 1990, pp. 175-181; B. Poyner, Crime prevention and the environment: Street attacks in city centres, *Police Research Bulletin* 37, 1981, pp. 10-18; J.B. Kinney, P.L. Brantingham, K. Wuschke, M.G. Kirk & P.J. Brantingham, Crime attractors, generators and detractors: Land use and urban crime opportunities, *Built Environment* 34(1), 2008, pp. 62-74.

25 N. Gregson, L. Crewe & K. Brooks, Shopping, space and practice, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 20**,** October 2002, p. 600.

26 *Ibid*.

its attractiveness through polish or restoration.[27] The tankard consequently displays scratches and dents accumulated during prolonged use. It has also, along the way, lost part of its original shape. At a selling price of forty rand (R40), it was neither the cheapest nor the most expensive item on the shelf or in the shop.

Contrary to expectations and the *Second-Hand Goods Act no. 6 of 2009* the hospice shop where the tankard was sold failed to provide any required statutory information or further clues about the artefact's origins and provenance. Chapter 4 of the Act, among others, prescribes the safekeeping of detailed records, including a register for recording the personal and other details of both buyers and sellers that dealers had to keep for a maximum period of five years.[28] In this case, nothing was on record. With the hospice shop not having any information about the origins or details about the tankard's former owners, it was, therefore, impossible to immediately identify its "local definition".[29] Therefore, the search for further clues shifted to the engravings on the artefact body.

BIOGRAPHY, ITINERARY AND SECOND EXCHANGE

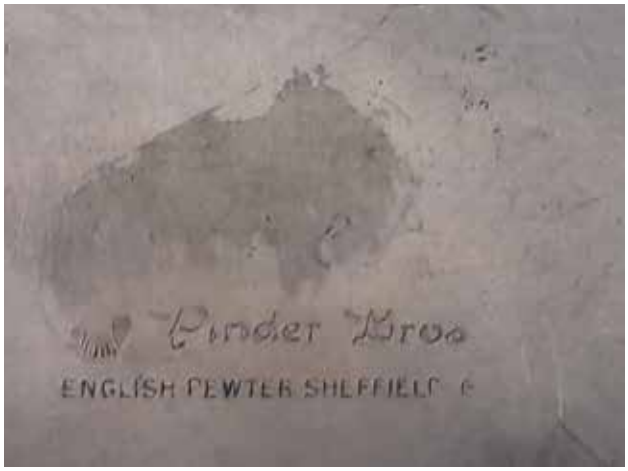

Figure 2: Pewter mark on the tankard. (photo: H. Snyders)

According to the etchings on the bottom of the tankard, Pinder Brothers Ltd, located in Sheffield in the United Kingdom, manufactured it (Figure 2).[30] The company was originally established in 1877 as silversmiths and electroplaters. They only ventured into pewterware manufacturing in 1963 (almost a century later) in reaction to client demand. The company's original pewter mark, printed rather than engraved into the tankard's body, and officially listed in the publication *British Pewter Marks of the 20th Century*, has not changed over the last half-century.[31]

The addition of pewterware to Pinder Brothers' retail catalogue coincided with the increased use of the product during the late twentieth century, concomitant with an increased nostalgia and need for items, artefacts and decorations that evoke a feel of the past.[32] This, seemingly, was pronounced during the mid to late 1960s, a period of counterculture and a time during which a significant group of people was not only prepared to challenge the established norms and values of society but were also willing, based on their subject assessment of the status quo, to "blaze new trails because they found the old ones were leading them into denser thickets".[33] Coincidentally, this era also witnessed a shift away from drinking for its 'wholesome to thirst-quenching pleasures' to a new tradition or habit where quantity and the drinking vessel's size, in particular, played a critical role.[34] In this process, the tankard played a useful part in ecclesiastical and domestic furnishings over centuries. It became an integral part of the material culture of a more indulgent and decadent era and, simultaneously, a marker of memory of this period, especially of its drinking culture.[35] Against this background, it became a useful lens to investigate and make sense of drinking: As a set of social practices, its evolution, and intersections through which personal and group identity are constructed, embodied, performed, and transformed.[36]

Throughout more than 140 years and up to the present day, Pinder Brothers' primary business includes manufacturing cutlery, tableware, church vessels and ornaments. The tankard in question forms part of the catalogue of the company's classic range, including silver-plated products. The expansion of its pewterware range is directly related to its business expansion during the 1990s. The company acquired several smaller manufacturing firms, established an overseas client base, and increased its exportation activities. By 2017, more than 50 per cent of its total production was delivered to foreign markets.[37]

27 J. Ferrell, Degradation and rehabilitation in popular culture, *Journal of Popular Culture* 24(3), 1990, p. 89; Appelgren & Bohlin, pp. 143-168.
28 Republic of South Africa, *Second-Hand Goods Act no. 6 of 2009* (Pretoria, 2009), p. 20.
29 H.P. Hahn, Global goods and the process of appropriation, in P. Probst & G. Spittler (eds), *Between resistance and expansion: Explorations of local vitality in Africa* (Münster, 2004), p. 216.
30 Pinder Bros Ltd, *A History of Pinder Bros Ltd since 1877,* https://www.pinder.co.uk/history/ (accessed: 30.9.2018).
31 Pewter Society, *British Pewter Marks of the 20th Century,* https://www.pewtersociety.org/sites/default/files/2019-06/British_Pewter_Marks_of_ the_20th_ Century.pdf (accessed: 21.5.2018).
32 R.T.N., Pewter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 11(11), 1916, p. 231; T.H. Witkowski, A marketing history of pewter and its competitors, *Journal of Micromarketing* 14(1), 1994, p. 51.
33 J. Willis, *Daily life in the 1960s counterculture* (Santa Barbara, 2019), p. vxii.
34 N. McCrae, Football and beer in the 1960s: Transformation of the British brewing industry and its impact on local identity, *Sport in History* 28(2), 2008, p. 250.
35 A. Money, Material culture and the living room: The appropriation and use of goods in everyday life, *Journal of Consumer Culture* 7(3), 2007, p. 331.
36 M. Dietler, Alcohol: Anthropological/archaeological perspectives, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35, 2006, p. 235.
37 Pinder Bros Ltd; Newsroom, 'Little mesters' of the future find a home at Sheffield firm with 140 years of history, *Sheffield Telegraph*, 11.10.2017,

The prominent reference to 'Sheffield' on the artefact body indicates that this specific tankard was imported. However, from the available information, it cannot be determined who the South African importer was. A wide search revealed that Pinderware, both pewter and silver-plated, are widely available on local online platforms as individual artefacts, offered for sale on a second-hand basis. Other etchings and clues to the object's provenance are the words 'Knysna Half Marathon' and 'Family Champ' (Figure 3). Knysna is a town in the Eden District Municipality in the Southern Cape region of the Western Cape Province. The combination of the geographic localities of 'Knysna' and 'Sheffield' on the same object effectively ties these distant localities together and with Cape Town as its destination, signifies a transnational journey of more than 14 000 kilometres (land transport) between two continents, two cities and the town of Knysna. The addition of the term 'Half Marathon' on the artefact added further clues but, at the same time, it raised further questions about the object's itinerary and its appropriation as a sporting object.

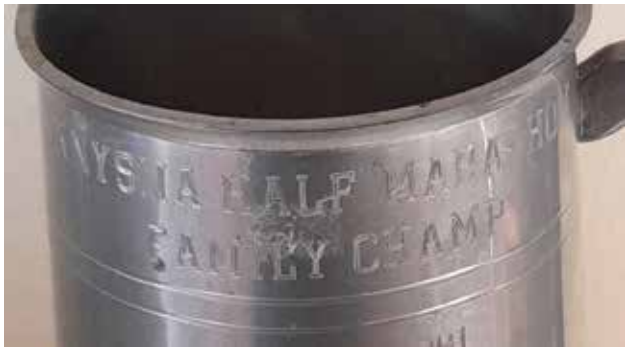

Figure 3: 'Knysna Half Marathon Family Champ' engraved on the tankard. (photo: H. Snyders)

The Knysna Marathon and associated Half Marathon are iconic athletic events closely related to the town's annual Oyster Festival.[38] A fixed event on the municipal tourism calendar, the Knysna Marathon Club, in conjunction with Athletics Southwestern Districts, initiated the festival in 1984 as part of the inaugural festival formerly known as the Knysna Winter Festival. The organising club was formed on 4 January 1984 under the chairmanship of former South African Olympian and World Record Holder of the 400 m in the late fifties and early sixties, Malcolm Spence. The first race of 42.2 km was staged on 14 July 1984, sponsored by Willards Foods, and consequently designated the 'Willards Knysna Forest Marathon', with the half marathon becoming a subsidiary of the main event.[39] As a result, the period between the two events (club and race), was no more than six months. Given the short space of time, hosting the event was a very special occasion since it signalled the launch of a new athletic tradition. By 2018, the year in which the tankard was procured, the marathon celebrated its 34th anniversary.

Immediate questions about the family's identity, their whereabouts and fate as a collective, besides their reasons for disposing of the 'trophy', came into play. Fontijn (2013), in a different context, suggests that the sale of cherished personal possessions of modern families are often indicative of an abrupt and even unforeseen twist of fate that might have befallen them.[40] One of the possible factors that needed to be considered was burglary and theft of the object as the search for further clues about the tankard's biography and journey continued. An important initial step was to make enquiries to the Knysna Marathon Club in the hope of accessing their existing formal records or event archives. This proved to be a dead-end since the club, at that stage, did not maintain archives and neither did it store or conserve complete entry lists or final race results.[41] A random search on the Internet, however, proved more fruitful. Such a search resulted in the discovery of several results lists published online. Some of these listed the participants' club affiliation, final ranking and age group detail.[42] This breakthrough gave added impetus to the search. It significantly increased the possibility of reconstructing the race, its history and the association of the Le Roux/Rous family with the event. Notwithstanding, it remained a challenging undertaking.

The chronological list of names, initials and surnames 'Le Roux' and 'Rous' (Figure 4) and a timeline or list of dates (1991-2005) engraved on the trophy body, in the final instance, proved to be the most significant source of information. Given the frequent occurrence of the shared surname 'Le Roux' in comparison to the single appearance of 'Rous' on the artefact, combined with the hospice shop's dearth of information about its origins, it was assumed that this group may constitute an actual family; that they might have been blood relatives who combined their attendance of the annual Knysna Oyster Festival with participation in the half marathon.

The Le Roux/Rous family, judging by the first date inscribed on the tankard, entered or started to record their association with and participation in the seventh Knysna Half Marathon in 1991. The list of names on the artefact body (Table 1) further indicated that

https://www.sheffieldtelegraph.co.uk/news/little-mesters-future-find-home-sheffield-firm-140-years-history-442670#gsc.tab=0 (accessed: 20.11.2019).

38 Visit Knysna, Why is our festival called the Knysna Oyster Festival? *Knysna Oyster Festival: History*, http://www.oysterfestival.co.za/history (accessed: 4.9.2007).

39 S. Liedberg, *Brief History of the Knysna Marathon Club,* https://knysnamarathonclub.com/kmc-history/ (accessed: 30.8.2021).

40 Fontijn p. 185.

41 Hendrik Snyders Private Collection (HSPC): Telephonic communication with Knysna Marathon Club, 10.8.2018.

42 Liedberg.

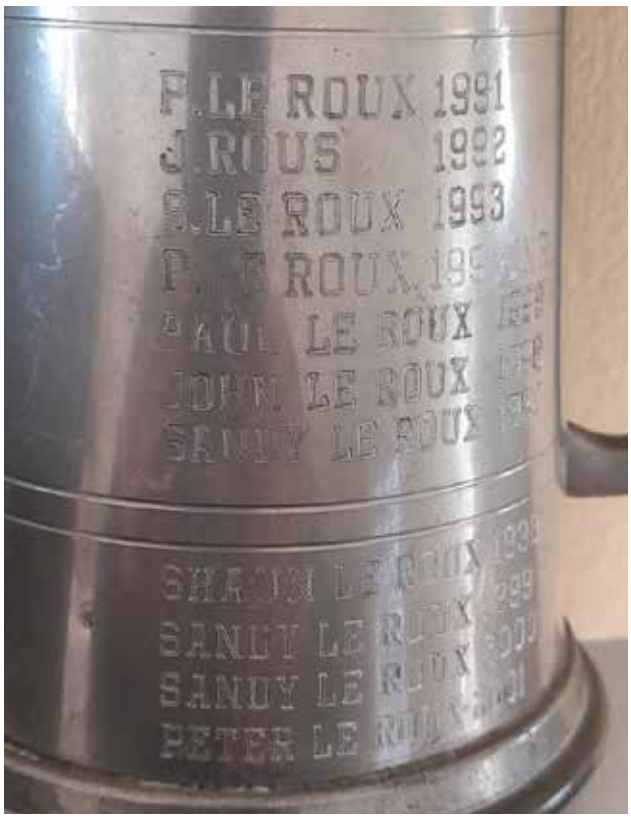

Figure 4: Surnames Le Roux/Rous engraved on the tankard. (photo: H. Snyders)

some group members held the trophy for a successive number of years, while others appeared only once as the 'Family Champion'. The name 'Sandy Le Roux' appears five times (1997, 1999, 2000, 2003 and 2004) while the initial 'S. Le Roux' appears only once (1993). Although it may refer to 'Sandy', it was uncertain whether it was the case since later inscriptions indicated that 'Shaun Le Roux' also won the trophy in 1998 and 2002.

Similarly, the tankard carries the set of initials, 'P. Le Roux' (1994) but later inscriptions indicated that the initial 'P' might refer to either Paul (1995) or Peter (2001), both previous winners. Fortunately, the first 'P' carries an additional inscription ('JNR'), which commonly refers to 'junior', suggesting that the recipient was a minor or junior family member in that particular year. By simply following the engraved dateline and name chronology, it was possible to trace the tankard's accumulated history. This act further emphasised that the object derived its significance from the persons and the events to which it is connected.[43]

Between 2018 and 2021, the researcher intermittently searched for the original owners of the artefact with the aid of social media, principally using Facebook and the Internet. This was complemented by the random e-mailing of persons carrying the Le Roux surname and an ongoing search for race results. A breakthrough finally came in July/August 2021. Sandy Le Roux, a Cape Town businessman associated with the Plumstead-based investment company, Baobab Investment Management (Pty.) Ltd, responded positively to an e-mail enquiry. He confirmed most of the inscribed detail on the artefact body. More importantly, he confirmed the identity of everybody on the list of former trophy-holders as being blood relatives. This was subsequently confirmed in a follow-up communication by John Le Roux. He self-identified as the patriarch and the father of Shaun, Sandy and Paul Le Roux, and the brother of Peter and the uncle of 'the Rous chap' (see Figure 5). The rediscovery of the tankard, he further noted, "brought back many happy memories". Recalling the history of the family's annual trek to Knysna, he wrote:

> As a family, we used to go to Knysna every June/July and run the Knysna half marathon and then the trophy would be engraved with the winner's name. We still haven't worked out how the trophy left the family but are glad to know it is in good hands.[44]

Similarly, Sandy wrote:

> The trophy is for our extended family from Cape Town, who used to trek up to Knysna each year and run the half marathon. We are intrigued as to how it ended up with you – can you confirm who the last winner was? Thanks for reaching out, brought back some good memories for all of us![45]

And further, "Thank you, you have Le Roux's and Rouses all over the world reminiscing about some good days from the past!"[46]

Therefore, the 'Family Champ' tankard's object biography, itinerary and meaning are clearly defined by the context in which it was appropriated and used ('the Festival'); its status as an indicator of one family's engagement in purposive leisure.[47] Furthermore, it concretely celebrated this annual 'pilgrimage'; assisted in producing both "sociability, through the creation and maintenance of social links" and forging a "dense skein of ties between people".[48] In addition, it supports Gregson, Crewe and Brooks' (2002) contention that "shopping as practiced" (acquiring the tankard for use as a 'family

43 Gosden & Marshall, p. 170.
44 HSPC: John Le Roux to Hendrik Snyders, 25.8.2021.
45 HSPC: Sandy Le Roux to Hendrik Snyders, 20.8.2021.
46 HSPC: Sandy Le Roux to Hendrik Snyders, 24.8.2021.
47 M. Harrington, Practices and meaning of purposive family leisure among working- and middle-class families, *Leisure Studies* 34(4), 2015, pp. 471-486.
48 Gosden & Marshall, p. 173.

Table 1: Chronological list of winners.

Year	Surname	Name
1991	Le Roux	P
1992	Rous	J
1993	Le Roux	S
1994	Le Roux	P (Jnr)
1995	Le Roux	Paul
1996	Le Roux	John
1997	Le Roux	Sandy
1998	Le Roux	Shaun
1999	Le Roux	Sandy
2000	Le Roux	Sandy
2001	Le Roux	Peter
2002	Le Roux	Shaun
2003	Le Roux	Sandy
2004	Le Roux	Sandy

championship trophy' in this case) becomes a far more meaningful act, indeed "a means of constituting, and not simply reflecting, relations of love and caring".[49] Moving beyond the inscribed chronological list of winners' names (or trophy holders) as an archival record, the available information points to the tankard's ritual use and function.[50] During the process of 'winning', 'losing' and 'award' the artefact formally exchanged its original identity as an imported container or drinking vessel. It adopted a new identity (a memento with a ritual function) to become a signifier of the very intimate relationship between the object and the group, the artefact and the individual recipients, and the group members themselves. These relationships are thus formally embedded in the artefact body through the engravings, thereby demonstrating what Hoskins (2006), albeit in a different context, called the object's "complex intentionalities".[51] Gosden and Marshall (1999) further note that "as people and objects gather time, movement and change, they are constantly transformed, and these transformations of person and object are tied up with each other".[52] Consequently, the artefact served as a source of collective memory and an instrument that can help repair long-forgotten or 'eroded memories' while reminding former participants of their involvement in significant and meaningful experiences that were "something bigger than oneself".[53]

Figure 5: Sandy and Peter Le Roux and family during the last tankard handover. (photos: S. Le Roux)

49 Gregson, Crewe & Brooks, p. 598.
50 J. Hoskins, Agency, biography and objects, in C. Tilley (ed.), *Handbook of material culture* (London, 2006), p. 74.
51 *Ibid.* pp. 74-85.
52 Gosden & Marshall, p. 169.
53 B.T. Taylor, Dusting off the trophies: Filling the gaps in the forensics collective memory, *Communication and Theatre Association of Minnesota Journal* 34(1), 2007, pp. 89-90.

Given the tankard's use as a memento whose exchange depended on actual performance, and its close association with one particular (family) group or identity, it further acquired the same status as carvings, totems and masks in other societies.[54] Importantly, given its use within a sporting environment, it further transmitted sporting cultures and shaped "self-perceptions of physical competence" through the family.[55] Given the Le Roux/Rous surname's close association with the French Huguenots that emigrated to South Africa in the seventeenth century following religious persecution in France, the history captured on the tankard, albeit in a small way, added another layer to the eventful life and legacy of this extended family group. Having survived an equal measure of financial success and poverty, individual members of this larger family left an indelible mark on South African society. The tankard, therefore, inadvertently acquired an additional identity to add to its existing biography, namely that of a historical artefact containing useful information about a significant South African sports event, locality, municipality, town, and a family.[56]

CONCLUSION

As outlined, second-hand goods, due to their journey from first to second exchange and beyond, and through their close association with individuals and groups, are multi-layered repositories with distinctive and even comprehensive cultural biographies. This has effectively turned the ordinary artefact into a source of collective memory. Due to its close interactions with humans in different settings and its ritualistic and totemic use, such artefacts also serve as signifiers of the very intimate relationship (past and present) that existed or continues to exist between individuals and the group. In cases where it intersects with significant events of public concern, it further serves as a means or mechanism to reconstruct certain historical events.

54 Gosden & Marshall, p. 175.
55 S. Wheeler, The significance of family culture for sports participation, *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 47(2), 2012, pp. 235-252.
56 S.K. Cahn, Turn, turn, turn: There is a reason (for sports history), *The Journal of American History* 101(1), 2014, pp. 181-183; A.T. Johnson, Rethinking the sport-city relationship: In search of partnership, *Journal of Sport Management* 7(1), 1993, pp. 61-70.