

Ethnographic Spectacle

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While the term “ethnographic” refers to the scientific description of the culture of a society by someone who has lived in it, “spectacle” denotes a public event or show that is exciting to watch and experience. The terminological contrarities that arise when these terms meet go to the heart of the unease inherent in ethnographic spectacle with its scientific, educational, popular, entertaining, and commercial dimensions. The European practice of creating ethnographic spectacles goes back many centuries. Elaborate Indian villages were created by the city of Rouen as early as 1551 for the royal entry of Henry II. “The villages were peopled with 300 naked ‘Indians,’ composed of fifty apparently authentic Tupinambas and 250 French sailors and prostitutes ‘undressed’ for their parts” (Parker Brien 2006, 100). The New World “savages” fought battles, burned villages, and even copulated to amuse the king. Three illustrated books were published on Brazil less than a decade after the royal entry to Rouen. Painted ethnographic portraits such as Albert Eckhout’s life-sized depictions of the inhabitants of Brazil date from the short-lived mid-seventeenth-century Dutch Brazil, when Johan Maurits was governor in Recife. The ethnographic portraits and natural history paintings, together with many sketches and collections of objects, formed part of Maurits’s collection, which was accommodated in the newly built Mauritshuis in The Hague on his return. The collection was used to enhance the prestige of its owner and to entertain guests: Mary Stewart is portrayed by artist Adriaen Hanneman dressed in a Brazilian red feather cloak manufactured for exchange with European colonizers (Françoze 2012). Most of Maurits’s collection, including the red feather cloak, was gifted to European rulers and intended to elicit a return, and so limited in terms of broader social impact. Paintings of national types, such as the series depicting various ethnic groups in teeming Istanbul, created by the Flemish painter Jean Baptiste Vanmour, were commissioned by government in the early eighteenth century. (The paintings were commissioned by Dutch Republic ambassador to the Ottoman empire, Cornelis Calkoen, and are now part of the collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.) These early examples of visual and performative representation laid the foundations for what came later: they involved encounters, misunderstandings, manipulation, and visual and material productions of difference that were politically, commercially, and scientifically significant.

When the South African Khoikhoi woman Saartje Baartman boarded a ship from the Cape to Liverpool in 1810, she believed she was undertaking a journey that would enable her to make her fortune. However, she was brought to London and sold to a showman as “part of a traffic of animals, plants and people for display as objects representing colonial expansion” (Qureshi 2004, 335). She was exhibited as the “Hottentot Venus,” who could be viewed (after payment of an admission fee) at a range

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of locations in Britain; she was transported to Paris in 1814, where she died a year later. Living exhibition was followed by Georges Cuvier's dissection of her remains, which were later displayed as a specimen of comparative anatomy—initially at the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle (from 1827) and later at the Musée de l'Homme (from 1937). Saartje Baartman's remains were repatriated for burial to South Africa in 2002.

The history of generalized public ethnographic spectacle starts in the early nineteenth century and is connected with visual technologies such as panoramas, dioramas, and colonial world's fairs—part of the exhibitionary complex (Bennett 1995). Ethnographic spectacle persists in the spectacular encounters of twentieth-century adventure film, in the contextualizing performances associated with global art, and in postcolonial recycling of the genre. All these distinctive forms instantiate ways of presenting, creating, and experiencing human differences, using the visual and material technologies that developed and overlapped with one another during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The historical social relations and subjectivities of their production, reception, and circulation constitute a core area of contemporary anthropology.

The rise of the discipline of anthropology, around 1830 and 1840, is paralleled by the rise of the panorama, the first example of which opened in London in 1793. In addition to permanent, metropolitan venues, there were moving panoramas that made world events, landscapes, and peoples known to the inhabitants of remote areas as early as the 1820s. Panoramas also featured at world's fairs, where they were among the most popular attractions—well into the twentieth century. From 1850 onward, world's fairs brought together the most advanced industrial technologies of Western nation-states with the arts and crafts of their nonindustrialized colonial territories in characteristic nineteenth-century exhibition architecture, often featuring native villages or streets with indigenous inhabitants. While such ethnographic spectacles were popular with domestic audiences, Middle Eastern visitors were shocked to find themselves transformed into objects of inspection against their will (Mitchell 1989). So great was anthropologist Franz Boas's discomfort at negotiating the exhibition of living indigenous people for nine months at the 1893 Chicago World's Exposition that he turned to the museum as the more proper venue to collect scientific data and organize materials for academics and the broader public (Glass 2009, 93). Ethnographic film, starting in 1898 with the first footage shot by Haddon during the Cambridge Torres Strait Expedition, quickly assumed an important role in ethnographic museums both as a new means of collecting and as a potential educational medium. Prized for its potential to record with verisimilitude, film was also feared by some for its proximity to popular culture and to the adventure movies that were so popular between the two wars (Bell, Brown, and Gordon 2013). In reenacting moments of first contact between Western adventurers and indigenous peoples, museum-sponsored ethnographic film developed various tropes (such as first contact and salvage), partly through interaction with Hollywood productions, that persisted well beyond the interwar years. Ethnographic performance is being reconfigured not only in ethnographic museums, cultural centers, and theme parks worldwide (Hendry 2000; Stanley 2007) but also, increasingly, in modern and contemporary art museums as a form of context for audiences unfamiliar with non-Western art. The contextualizing sand-painting performances by Aboriginal artists Billy Stockman Tjapaltjarri and Michael Nelson

Tjakamarra at the Asia Society in New York in 1988 therefore deserve scrutiny both as spectacles of cultural difference and as forms of culture making (Myers 2002). This raises the question of what distinguishes contemporary performances from those of the past.

Ethnographic spectacle can be defined as the display, performance, or representation of culture, by means of people, objects, or activities deemed characteristic, for an audience that does not share (or is assumed not to share) the ethnic or national identity of the performers. The representation, whether in words, images, objects, or reconstructions, attempts to create an ordered and organized rendering of difference in the world that can be looked at and grasped. The ambiguity of early ethnographic spectacle in combining the scientific and the popular and in attempting to be both educational and entertaining has been criticized as orientalism—projections of the exotic imbricated with differential power relations (Said 1978); for creating the world-as-exhibition where the inside and the outside of representation break down (Mitchell 1989); and in terms of postcolonial experience being subject to representational distortion (Tobing Rony 1996). A further question is therefore how the continuing appeal of ethnographic spectacle and its changing uses can be explained.

The panorama, life group, ethnographic film, and performance can be seen as distinctive variations of ethnographic spectacle, overlapping one another as they span the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is less a developmental sequence than a history of strategies of display for ethnographic representation (see Stanley 1998, 151), a history of taken-for-granted ideas that is not preoccupied with origins but with contingencies (see McCarthy 2007, 10). The following sections therefore examine the compelling features of these strategies: their distinctive forms of production, dissemination, and reception. It also considers the notions of identity, authenticity, representation, realism, illusion, reenactment, performance, audience, immersion, and remediation entangled in the various genres and their visual economies.

Panoramas

The panorama was one of the most distinctive nineteenth-century media; there were not only famous permanent panoramas of cities but also moving panoramas that traveled widely throughout the provinces of England. Panoramas were among the first widely divulged and influential media that enabled people to feel part of the imagined community of the nation (Blunkett 2013). The confluence of fine art and popular attraction in the panorama make it a compelling case through which to explore ethnographic spectacle. Panoramas were enormous canvases suspended on the inside of cylindrical rotundas, a few of which (including the Parorama Mesdag, which opened in 1881 in The Hague and is the world's oldest in situ panorama) have survived, been restored, and expanded.

Established by the artist H. W. Mesdag, the Panorama Mesdag is accessed via the Mesdag Museum. Three small successive galleries filled with paintings by Mesdag form a prelude to a dark, narrow corridor and spiral staircase leading to the Panorama's viewing platform. Emerging thus into this radiant scene intensifies the illusion of

climbing to the top of Seinpost Dune by the coastal village of Scheveningen and being able to survey the coastline, fishing village, and, further inland, The Hague. This panoramic view was painted by Mesdag, together with three fellow artists, on a huge canvas spanning the inside of the purpose-built cylindrical room. Both top and bottom of the painting are obscured by the velum and *faux terrain* respectively. Kinetic immersion is intensified by the changing natural light filtered from above, while real objects strewn over the sand between the viewing platform and painted sand of the canvas obscure the de facto gap between platform and wall. Sound effects of breaking waves and seagulls further augment the illusion.

Sublime views and battle scenes were the two main genres of early panoramas. Blending landscape painting with ethnographic portraits—often included in battle panoramas—shaped and transformed viewers' knowledge of other cultures. The inclusion of human subjects in panoramas created particular habits of viewing that were remediated through later visual technologies, such as cinema. Many nineteenth-century panorama battle scenes and sublime views include indigenous people: Aborigines were portrayed in the 1828 Panorama of Sydney, Māori formed part of the 1840 Bay of Islands Panorama, and the 1868 Sioux War Panorama combined a battle scene with landscape and Native Americans.

From 1821 on in the United Kingdom, touring panoramas traveled to places such as Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, where they used Freemasons' halls, theater buildings, or the semipermanent structures left by traveling circuses for longer residencies. Panoramas also traveled to remoter areas of southwest England, where they were sometimes integrated into fairs (Blunkett 2013). Panoramas sometimes depicted events, such as the Battle of Waterloo (1815), the Bombardment of Algiers (1816), and the coronation of George IV (1821), but also distant cities (New York) and territories (the Arctic regions). A moving panorama of Taranaki, New Zealand, was shown in Plymouth in 1841. Such panoramas were thus part of the nineteenth-century "settler revolution," at once global and local, enabling relatives back home to picture the new circumstances of kin who migrated to Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States.

World's fairs

Starting around 1850, world's fairs brought together objects, people, architecture, and locations in an unprecedented way. The well-documented Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations held at Crystal Palace in London, 1851, set the scene with displays of historical periods ("medieval"), industrial ("moving") machinery, mining equipment, and colonial crafts (such as canoes) and products (such as cotton and sugar), exhibited in a huge palace constructed from iron and glass. Dickinson's *Comprehensive Pictures of the Exhibition* (a series of paintings) show indigenous people staffing the Indian and Turkish exhibits dressed in distinctive garments, sometimes as single figures, as with the woman depicted by the Trinidad section, and sometimes as groups, as with two men and a boy standing beside the taxidermically prepared elephant (see Picard n.d.). Such visitors from far-flung empire can also be seen in a view of the exterior of the building, where a group of turbaned men and a group of

(Native American) women with long plaits are themselves clearly objects of attention for local visitors. In addition to diverse produce—such as Māori carvings, products such as flax *kete* (carrying baskets), flour, and wood samples (McCarthy 2007, 33), a lifelike figure can be seen installed before the New Zealand section (Picard n.d.). Two San children were displayed at the Crystal Palace in 1851 (Poignant 2004, 190).

The 1867 Paris World Exposition featured both displays of industrial achievement in the metropolis and exhibits of colonial archaeology and ethnology from the peripheral colonies, such that those people were represented as “primitive others” (Hinsley 1991). Carl Hagenbeck, who was famous for his Hamburg Thierpark, displayed (at various times during the 1870s) an “Eskimo” family from Greenland (together with their artifacts), Lapps and reindeer, Patagonians, Labrador Eskimos, and Northwest Coast Bella Coola. Native villages were central to the 1889 Paris Exposition, which featured some twelve African villages, as well as to the famous Rue de Caire, and greatly impressed O. T. Mason, curator of the American National Museum. The 1893 Chicago World’s Exposition followed in the footsteps of Paris 1889 in its ambition to illustrate the progress of civilization in the celebration of 400 years of European settlement of the Americas.

There were also attempts at engaging public anthropology to educate and “to formulate the Modern,” as G. B. Goode put it (cited in Hinsley 1991, 346). F. W. Putnam was appointed in 1891, with German-born anthropologist Franz Boas as his assistant, to create an anthropologically informative, outdoor exposition of native peoples of the Americas. The figures were installed in their houses, attired in native costume, and surrounded by utensils, implements, weapons, and their handicrafts, and this was presented as a last chance to see the remnants of native tribes. Boas brought fifteen Kwakwaka’wakw live performers from Fort Rupert in British Columbia to provide extra interest for the exhibition of objects and a reconstructed Northwest Coast village. The performers lived on the fairground for nine months demonstrating craft and tool-making techniques and also performing songs and stories for scholars and dances for important visitors and the public (Glass 2009, 93). The Hamat’sa, or “cannibal dance,” gained public prominence through its dramatic staging at the fair and the rumor of cannibalism. Boas photographed the performers in their costumes and various poses.

The commercial framing of the Chicago Exposition was such (negotiating the competing claims of education and entertainment with live performers) that Boas abandoned the live display of indigenous people and turned to the museum, and the life group, as an alternative means of educating the public. The life group was supposed to combine “technologies of convincing visual spectacle ... with scientific pretensions to authenticity and veridical (often photographic) representation” (Glass 2009, 94). Yet there was a tension between using life groups to animate objects in three-dimensional space and the technology of their viewing—often with a two-dimensional glass plane in front of them reducing the sculptural qualities of the visual field to a flat, static, singular image.

Despite these reservations, colonial “panoramania”—huge paintings combined with dioramas and *tableaux vivants*—were among the most popular attractions at universal and colonial expositions of the late nineteenth century and beyond. Although Boas gravitated away from both world’s fair and museum in the early twentieth century

as a means of public anthropology, enthusiasm for the nineteenth-century media of ethnographic spectacle continued and even gained a new lease of life through their incorporation into universal expositions. One of the sources of this popular renewal came from fine art. The Society of French Orientalist Painters contributed to the immensely popular panoramas at the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition, which drew some 39 million visitors. The Trocadéro Gardens housed such attractions as the colonial pavilions; the Trans-Siberian Panorama; the Palace of Algerian Attractions; the moving stereorama *Poème de la Mer* (showing the Algerian coast); the Maréorama (a sea voyage from Marseille to Constantinople), experienced from a pitching, rolling bridge (and involving one and a half kilometers of canvas); and the spectacular Panorama Tour du Monde, with a walk-down spiral featuring dioramas containing indigenous persons from the countries represented, constituting a form of animated panorama. These scenes combined indigenous village with theatrical performance in what has been termed “plastic ethnology.” Benjamin observes that “in the Tour du Monde [the painter] Dumoulin played fast and loose with ethnic and national identity, particularly that of peoples colonized by European powers” (2014, 121). Javanese dancers and a gamelan orchestra performed, for example, before Angkor Wat (Cambodia), creating a “collage of exotic icons.” Both the Algerian Diorama and a reconstructed generic casbah were inspired by the 1889 Rue du Caire exhibit, which had seriously affronted Egyptian visitors (Mitchell 1989).

Aboriginal and other indigenous performers displaced by frontier conflicts could end up on display and in performances in the modern spectacles that were staged in fairgrounds, circuses, exhibition halls, theaters, and museum spaces (Poignant 2004). In 1883, two groups of Australian Aborigines from neighboring northern Queensland communities were abducted overseas by the showman R. A. Cunningham, to feature in P. T. Barnum’s 1883 Ethnological Congress of Strange Savage Tribes before touring dime museums in the United States during the winter of 1883–84.

It would be inaccurate, however, to suggest that world exhibitions exclusively served the interests of imperial nations by creating spectacles of native peoples. Māori agency at world’s fairs from 1851 onward can be seen in the 1876 Philadelphia exhibition. The New Zealand court reflected the values of Māori exhibitors in the collection of weapons, garments, and ornaments shown there “on behalf of several prominent chiefs” (McCarthy 2007, 35). In this they contrasted sharply with the Native American displays, which were intended to create “the impression of Indians as the antithesis of progress” (McCarthy 2007, 36). Even in live displays, Māori were not easily ascribed to subservient roles. At the 1879 Sydney International Exhibition, which was a commercial rather than an ethnological venture, Māori participants disappointed officials as “types” of their race and were ill at ease in their “war paint and feathers” (McCarthy 2007, 38).

One of the novelties at the 1895 Ethnographic Exposition in Paris was that African performers were filmed dancing, sacrificing animals, and conducting other rituals for “coin-throwing French spectators.” Félix-Louis Regnault made the first “ethnographic films” meant to capture physical form in motion and intended to serve as “an unimpeachable scientific index of race” (Mitchell 1989, 217). Besides yielding material for the study of gesture and the study of race, this new medium opened up new ways of

creating popular spectacle and, later in the twentieth century, ethnographic film and indigenous video.

Motion pictures

While millions of people came to world's fairs to gawp at displays of native villages with real people in them, camera-wielding adventurers would from 1900 onward bring moving images of very foreign peoples to millions more (Heider [1976] 2006, 19). With the decline of live ethnographic shows, movies often took over their venues, whereas the style of documentary presentation had its roots in vaudeville and Hagenbeck's exhibits (Gordon, Brown, and Bell 2013). Adventurers Martin and Osa Johnson exemplify those who joined the vaudeville circuit (1910), where film footage of exotic places was incorporated into their show. In 1917, the Johnsons organized their own expedition to Melanesia and Borneo, and later they traveled to Central and East Africa. While their films were not informed by modern ethnographic understanding—detailed description and analysis of human behavior based on long-term study on the spot—they certainly created a wide awareness of the exotic and set the scene for Robert Flaherty's influential 1922 film *Nanook of the North* (Heider [1976] 2006).

During the interbellum, motion pictures offered audiences a new form of ethnographic spectacle: adventure exploration transported viewers to faraway places in dashing company. Merian Cooper and Ernest Schoedsack accompanied Bakhtiari herders on their annual trek from winter to summer pastures. The film, which follows hundreds of people and thousands of animals crossing icy rivers and steep, snow-covered mountains, is “sheer visual spectacle” based neither on reconstruction nor prior understanding of the filmmakers (Heider [1976] 2006, 25). This 1925 epic film contrasts sharply with the same filmmakers' 1933 *King Kong*. Whereas the Bakhtiari tribesmen are presented as attractive and heroic, and the expedition has been compared to “a nostalgic visit to distant kin living in the ancestral home,”—the dangerous *King Kong* expedition is quite differently inflected, mirroring deeply rooted attitudes toward Africa (Bradburd 2013). The Bakhtiari film was simultaneously a record of the cultural ordeal of which the filmmakers were a part, a cinematic spectacle, and a dramatic story of native life.

Reconfiguring ethnographic spectacle

One of the late twentieth-century debates about ethnographic spectacle revolved around the question of whether globalization through the modern world economy leads to an inevitable homogenization of culture through its commoditization. Some contended that, with the 1980s rise of heritage, ethnographic performance became little more than a recolonization of “formerly primitive peoples” by global white monoculture (MacCannell 1992). Others have taken issue with these questionable assumptions, proposing instead that cultural renewal in the Pacific and elsewhere is based on a genuine confluence between tradition and modern forms of social organization. This means that ethnographic performance can be used by a range of *indigènes*—including

coal miners and rural dwellers—so that the question becomes “whether and under what social conditions individuals and groups may sustain their sense of identity through performances in a postmodern world” (Stanley 1998, 151). Such a perspective envisages diversity of display strategies rather than a unilinear development.

The Kwakwaka'wakw U'Mista Cultural Center, northern Vancouver Island, exemplifies one such postcolonial strategy. Built to accommodate the potlatch regalia confiscated by the Canadian state in 1922 and returned in 1979 and 1987, U'Mista developed into a “living museum” that brought its exhibition forward to see what it might mean in the context of contemporary life. The performance and the enactment of tradition by living bodies are seen as intrinsic to educating children. U'Mista also engages in outreach activities to publicize Kwakwaka'wakw culture beyond its remote location of Alert Bay. U'Mista does this by reconfiguring traditions of showmanship that go back to the Chicago 1893 World Exposition, engaging in joint performances with other indigenous artists, and making films and participating in contemporary world exhibitions. U'Mista thus collaborated with General Motors at the 1986 World Exposition on Transportation and Communication in Vancouver, in creating a “spirit lodge” for the General Motors Pavilion. This project led to the “Native American” village at Knott's Berry Farm in southern California, where U'Mista helped develop the live performance for Mystery Lodge. Holavision technology allowed a live performer, wearing a Kwakwaka'wakw mask, to conjure up a series of animal forms that then appear to interact with the narrator. The “nearly past” tense of this ethnographic show—in selecting certain mythological elements, mediating them technologically, and combining them with family values—does, however, make a link to contemporary life that is quite different from salvage ethnography, even if it does not match Stanley's (1998) criteria for ethnographic performance.

Another current use of ethnographic performance is to provide context for contemporary art shows. This practice dates back at least to 1941, when performances and dances were staged in designated areas of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, as part of the “Indian Art in the US” exhibition. Visitors could watch sand paintings being created, dancers performing, and silversmiths at work—at a respectful distance. Navajo sand painters regularly created ritual paintings, over several days, that were then ceremonially destroyed. These were among various installation techniques intended to dissolve the “unified totalized presentation of these objects as ‘exhibition’” (Staniszewski 1998, 87). Performers do more, however, than create context: their living bodies authenticate contemporary global art.

Sand paintings executed by Papunya Tula artists Billy Stockman Tjapaltjarri and Michael Nelson Tjakamarra at the Asia Society's *Dreamings: The Art of Aboriginal Australia* exhibition in New York in 1988 were among the events providing context and publicity for the show (Myers 2002). The exhibition included five types of art (wood sculpture, bark painting, acrylics, shields, and *toas* [direction signs from Central Australia]) from four areas (Arnhem Land, Cape York, Central Desert, and Lake Eyre) of Australia. The sand paintings were part of the cultural production of Aboriginal art at the Asia Society and decisive in that art acquiring fine art status. The artists drew selectively on designs they were entitled to use as elders (being both initiated men and owners), thereby creating an unprecedented fusion of

demonstration and performance that could be viewed by women and noninitiates. Constrained by Asia Society programming and goals, they nonetheless produced a genuine representation of the exercise of Aboriginal rights to country through their paintings.

The film *The Couple in the Cage: A Guatinaui Odyssey* (Fusco and Heredia 1993), which documents a performance from the project *The Year of the White Bear* (1991–92), by video maker Coco Fusco and performance artist Guillermo Gómez-Peña, demonstrates how film can infuse ethnographic spectacle with a new twist. The actors perform two recently discovered American Indians from the fictive island of Guatinaui in the Gulf of Mexico, to the bewildered spectators at several museums and other public venues in the United States and Europe. The film shows people struggling to adopt an attitude and to articulate their discomfort with the situation engineered by the performers. *Couple in a Cage* brings archaic ethnographic spectacle forward into the time and space of the audience by means of the performers' physical enactment of it. Led to their enclosure and locked up by minders, inside the cage they become (for small change) objects of entertainment, derision, titillation, feeding, and photography. They evoke surprise, fascination, outrage, and confusion: "Do museums still exhibit humans?" At the end of the performance, the couple are led away from the cage: the captives have turned the tables, enabling the audience to express its deepest doubts through "captivation." The parties involved in such spectacles veer between politeness and embarrassment, depending on whether performer or audience predominate in defining the situation. By drawing the audience into the performance, the artwork engineers a time and space for articulating the emotional and political complexity of the ethnographic spectacle.

Today, ethnographic spectacle has been reconfigured as new presences and voices reflect upon encounters in unfamiliar ways using a range of media. Two examples must suffice here. Indigenous Australian artist photographer Christian Thompson's encounter with photographs at the Pitt Rivers Museum archive resulted in his "spiritual repatriation" of these images through performance and the creation of his own photographs, and was documented in the film *We Bury Our Own* (Pitt Rivers Museum 2012). Queensland artist Abe Muriata's blog post on *Indigenous Australia: Enduring Civilization* (2015) explicitly reflects on contemporary encounters. The British Museum commissioned a basket from Abe Muriata as part of its project; the basket was exhibited as the final work in the London show, next to a film of its making. Muriata's blog on participating at the British Museum event expresses the subtleties involved:

An invitation and visit to this event became the highlight of my more than 15 years of basket weaving, of practising my culture and as an artist. Seeing my own work on display at the British Museum made me as proud as the day my first basket was displayed at the Queensland Art Gallery. It was not only an achievement for me but it was there for everyone to see. I've taken my work out of my cultural home, the home of my ancestors, and given it to the world. (Muriata 2015)

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Authenticity, Cultural; Boas, Franz (1858–1942); Display, Anthropological Approaches to; Ethnographic Engagement; Ethnographic Film; Ethnography; Ethnography, Experimental; Heritage; Human Remains, Rights and Treatment of; Indigenous Media; Materiality; Media Anthropology; Museum Experiments; Objecthood; Postcoloniality; Public Anthropology; Representation, Politics of; Theater, Anthropology and; Theme Parks, Anthropological Study of; Tourism, Travel, and Pilgrimage

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