Problematika demokratizacije kustoske moći u *online* kolekciji Kraljevskog muzeja središnje Afrike

●

Problematics of Democratizing Curatorial Power in the Royal Museum for Central Africa's Online Collection

SAŽETAK

Ovaj rad propituje i kritizira vizualne efekte primjene revijalnoga muzejskog postava [*panoply display*], bez ikakvih kontekstualnih informacija, u dva povezana slučaja. Prva je kolonijalna izložba na belgijskoj Svjetskoj izložbi 1897. godine, na kojoj je tisuće predmeta iz belgijskog Konga bilo izloženo u skupinama formiranima po estetskom načelu, bez pripadajućih legendi, često ambijentalno popraćenima skulpturama i muralima suvremene belgijske izrade. Drugi slučaj ovakvog načina izlaganja koji se razmatra u članku značajka je jedne internetske stranice na kojoj korisnici sami biraju digitalne prikaze različitih predmeta iz muzejske zbirke poput afričkih ritualnih predmeta, oruđa i primjeraka životinja te belgijskih kolonijalnih medalja, sporazuma, pušaka, odjevnih predmeta, pa čak i okova. Pod krilaticom „Napravite vlastiti muzej Afrike", ovaj je alat osmišljen povodom ponovnog otvaranja Kraljevskog muzeja središnje Afrike (Royal Museum for Central Africa), belgijskoga kolonijalnog muzeja koji je izrastao iz izložbe 1897. godine. Zaključna je teza članka da primjenom revijalnog načina izlaganja [*panoply display*], čak i u digitalnom obliku, ovaj alat, koji je sličan aplikacijama poput Pinteresta ili Instagrama, slučajno grupira izloške na način koji sugerira nekritički stav o belgijskom kolonijalizmu, slično izložbi 1897. godine koja ga je veličala. Fokus je stavljen na uključivanje modela tamnopute ruke od smole koja, fotografirana za ovaj alat na bijeloj pozadini, izgleda kao da je odsječena. Ovaj izložak, grupiran s ostalim eksponatima u internetskom sučelju, podsjeća na užasnu praksu odsijecanja i skupljanja ruku domorodačkih naroda središnje Afrike koju su pokrenuli belgijski kolonizatori.

→

ABSTRACT

What do a nineteenth-century ethnographic exhibit and a twenty-first-century museum website tool have in common? More than one might expect. Belgium's 1897 International Exposition included a colonial exposition that displayed panoplies and dioramas of items taken under colonial violence in what is today the Democratic Republic of the Congo. These objects came to form the initial collection for Belgium's Royal Museum for Central Africa, an institution that has in recent years underwent a period of renovation and expansion (reopening in 2018) with the aim of revisiting its history and displays. To create engagement with the museum, its website has offered a feature that allows visitors to curate virtual image boards of objects from the collection, with resulting effects semantically linked to the 1897 Brussels exposition. This online tool, while stemming from an admirable impulse to share curatorial control, falls short by juxtaposing items that tell of traumatic histories with no criticality or contextualizing information. Analyses of visual configurations of this tool, along with comparative examinations of the 1897 displays, offer evidence for this argument, as well as an example of how collections that represent painful histories call for especially thoughtful design of digital, public-facing tools.

Hannah Kiefer

Virginia Commonwealth University / Virginia Commonwealth University
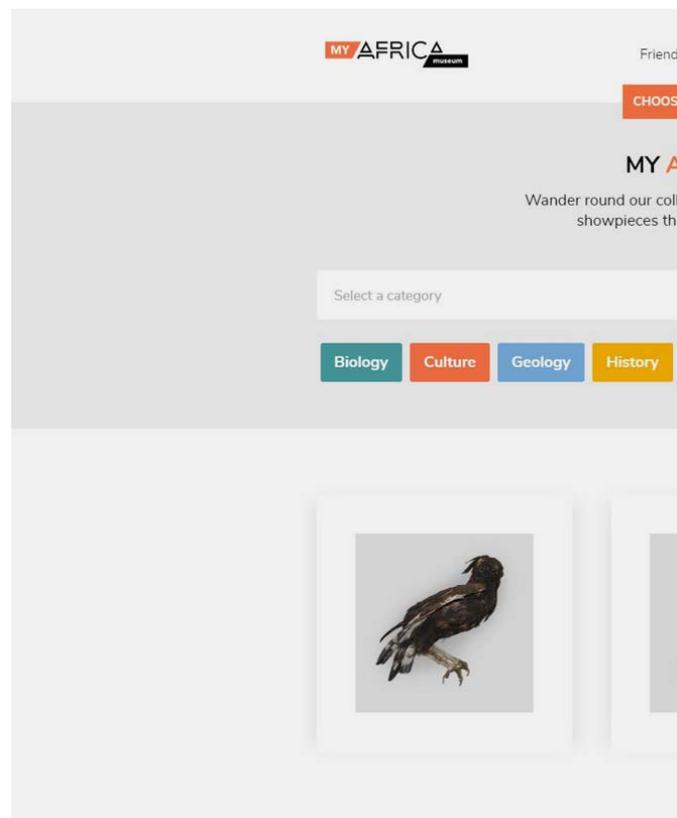
Kao dodatna argumentacija u ovom se članku upotrebljava i metodologija usporedne vizualne analize koja se primjenjuje na fotografije izložbe iz 1897. godine i na snimke zaslona suvremenoga internetskog alata. Drveni sarkofag naroda Ntomba s područja današnje Demokratske Republike Kongo pojavljuje se na fotografijama kolonijalne izložbe, kao i u digitalnom alatu te služi kao poveznica između ova dva trenutka muzejskog postava. Analiza ovih dvaju izložbenih rješenja dotiče se povijesti belgijskog kolonijalizma, formiranja kolekcije Kraljevskog muzeja središnje Afrike i nedavnih napora Muzeja da osuvremeni svoj imidž i poruku. U razmatranju različitih elemenata i vizualnih efekata alata *My Africa Museum*, članak postulira da je teško postići ravnotežu u posredovanju između doprinosa stručnjaka i uključenosti zajednice u muzej, posebno kada je zbirka muzeja izravni rezultat kolonijalnog imperijalizma i nasilja.

U zaključku članak razmatra obnovljeni ikonoklazam koji je u Belgiji usmjeren protiv simbola i prikaza kralja Leopolda II. Dok se zemlja bori sa svojom prošlošću, a Kraljevski muzej središnje Afrike pokušava se osuvremeniti, posebna pažnja koja se inače poklanja prikazima i spomenicima mora se primijeniti i na digitalne oblike izlaganja kako bi se izbjeglo ponavljanje zastarjelih i imperijalističkih epistemologija.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI
digitalno kuriranje, Belgijski Kongo, Svjetska izložba 1897., društveni angažman, revijalni postav (*panoply display*), kolonijalna etnografija

s of the museum   Other people's AfricaMuseum   Rules   NL FR EN

E YOUR AFRICAMUSEUM ›

AFRICAMUSEUM
ections and find among the hundreds of
at one item that really grabs you.

Museum building

STUDIJE | STUDIES

Fig. 1. *My Africa Museum* Tool, 2019, Royal Museum for Central
Africa, April 5, 2019. / Sl.1. *My Africa Museum*, digitalni alat Kraljevskog
muzeja središnje Afrike, 5. svibnja 2019.
↑

INTRODUCTION

At the 1897 International Exposition in Brussels, curators at
the Colonial Exposition used a display technique that was of
the moment—the panoply—to show large numbers of cen-
tral African objects to fair goers. These items, acquired under
the aegis of Belgian colonialism, came to make up the initial
collection of an institution now known as the Royal Museum
for Central Africa (RMCA), located in Tervuren, Belgium, in
the same park where the fin-de-siècle exhibition took place.
Some of these items are visible on the institution's website
today in a digital curation tool designed to spark community
engagement with the museum, which has recently complet-
ed a five-year period of renovation and re-examination of its
imperialist roots (*Fig. 1*).

Although vastly different in aim and conception, these dis-
plays both function as panoplies, which are mounted displays
of arms or other items with no accompanying information.
The earlier of the two presented a worldview that natural-
ized Belgian imperialism in Central Africa. The effect of the
RMCA's digital curation tool is surprisingly similar: this online
feature, in an attempt to share curatorial power, accidentally
replicates an epistemological structure that validates troubling
histories of violence. In the vein of museological and anthro-
pological investigations of exhibitions, such as those undertak-
en by Barbara Saunders and Tracy Lang Teslow, this paper
will visually analyze the two display instances to interrogate
matters of control and of semantics that arise around collect-
ing and displaying objects gathered under the colonial rule.[1]

BELGIAN IMPERIALISM ON
DISPLAY AT THE 1897
INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

In 1897, colonial-era Belgium attempted to solidify its
standing as a world power and entice colonial investors by
staging the International Exposition in Brussels, only three
years after a similar exposition in Antwerp.[2] As in other
world's fairs put on by colonizing states, Belgium included an
exhibit to represented its colonial holding, a Central African
region 76 times the size of Belgium known as the Congo Free
State, which King Leopold II controlled as a personal fief-
dom.[3] This lavish exhibition took place at one of Leopold II's
palaces, and displayed several rooms of import and export
goods, Belgian sculpture, and Congolese art, tools, weapon-
ry, and power objects taken from various regions. In the park
grounds outside, mock villages housed 267 Congolese men,
women, and children who had been brought from central
Africa to be put on display, seven of whom died during the
exhibit's four-month duration.[4]

The objects displayed at this exposition represented several
decades of collecting and looting. Colonial officers began
sending Congolese items and zoological specimens to Belgium
as early as the 1870s, before Belgian actions in central Africa
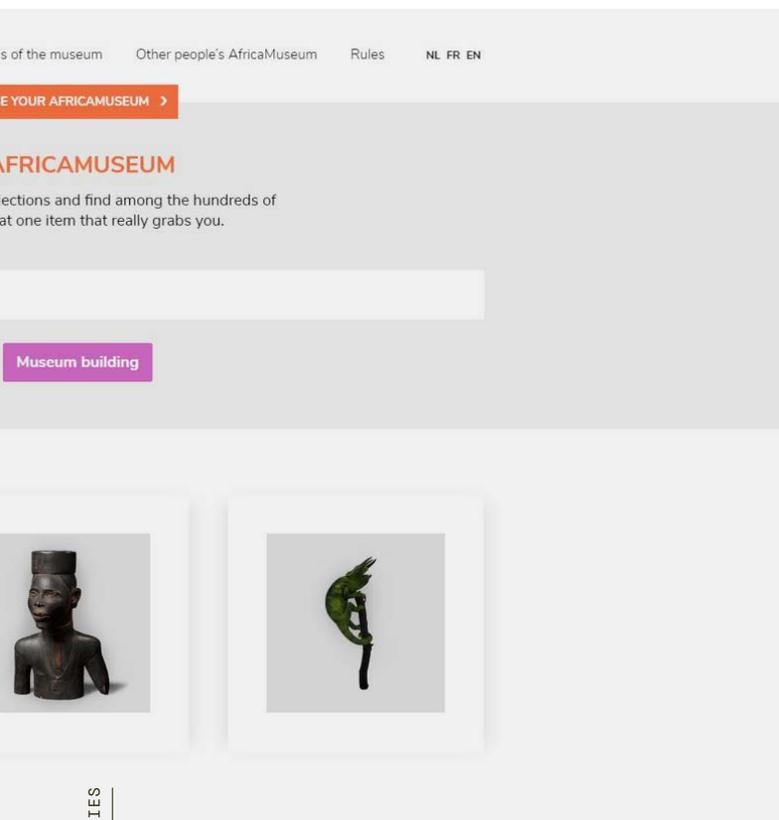had been accepted by other European nations at the Berlin

1
Saunders, "Congo-Vision"; Lang Teslow, "Reifying Race."
2
Blanchard, Boetsch, Snoep, *Human Zoos*, 210, 213.
3
Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 87.
4
Blanchard, Boetsch, Snoep, *Human Zoos*, 210.

Conference of 1885.[5] Anne-Marie Bouttiaux and Maarten Couttenier, both of the Royal Museum of Central Africa, and Boris Wastiau of the Geneva Museum of Ethnography, have traced the provenance of certain items back to moments of colonial violence that saw the slaughter of tribal leaders and the plunder of their power objects.[6] Items were also acquired during scientific-cand religious missions, displacement of peoples, and natural resource extractions.[7]

In the 1897 exhibition palace, these materials were displayed in a large hall called the "Ethnography Room" , carefully composed in panoplies to "make tangible to the public, in its entirety, the colonial work of the Belgians," in the words of curator Théodore Masui (*Fig. 2*).[8] By organizing and interpreting material culture taken from this immense region comprising diverse languages and cultures, Masui and his team formed an artificially holistic view of the region and framed Belgian involvement as a mission of improvement-through-colonization. A hall on the other side of the symmetrical building explained the economic benefits of colonialism to Belgium through displays of import and export goods, and communication and transportation technologies. An underground gallery connecting the two sides of the palace displayed preserved fish from the Congo river.

The mode of display for the "Ethnography Room" exhibits, the panoply, was popular in ethnographic museums that came into existence in the nineteenth century, as well as in private homes and printed publications.[9] In each instance, whether the objects were similar or not, the decorative arrangement of items took precedence over categorization or displays of data. For example, the walls of the section for the Maniema region were hung with spears, shields, textiles, sculptures, photographs, and other items, all presumably from the eastern region in question (*Fig. 3*). Dioramas and murals narrativized the items on display through a Belgian perspective, and the unnamed makers of the African objects were represented sculpturally in tableaux by Belgian sculptor Charles Samuel. These sculptures imagined Africans from each exhibited region and furthered the narrative of Belgian benevolence in central Africa. In the Maniema section, for instance, the sculpture depicts Leopold's false alibi for asserting control in central Africa: the elimination of the "Arab" slave trade.[10]

Two other sculptural bodies in this Maniema section tell a more nuanced tale of Belgian colonialism through their display in the 1897 exhibition, and today as part of the RMCA collection. These two sarcophagi from the Ntomba culture, one male and one female, were displayed at the 1897 exposition without their original carved weaponry, dressed around the waist to cover the sculptural genitalia, becausenudity was deemed obscene in these Congolese objects but acceptable in the tableaux created by Samuel.[11] Today, one of these sculptures appears in the "Choose Your Own Africa Museum" tool.

DISPLAYS OF IMPERIALISM AND RECKONINGS: THE ROYAL MUSEUM OF AFRICA TODAY

The female Ntomba figure, officially acquisitioned by the RMCA in 1927, is today documented in a new context: it is part of that institution's online tool called "Choose Your Own Africa Museum." The RMCA is the contemporary name for the Museum of the Congo, which was formed in 1898 after the Exposition as part of Leopold II's efforts to increase public support for his "personal" African colony.[12] In 1910, following the death of Leopold II, The Ministry of Colonies took control, renamed it the Museum of the *Belgian* Congo, and continued to display Congolese objects and specimens in the framework of colonialist self-glorification. Even post-1960, in the years following Congolese independence from Belgium, the museum—which took on the new name of RMCA and expanded its collecting and research practices to all of sub-Saharan Africa—remained a tribute to Leopold II and his colonial enterprise.[13]

In December of 2018, the RMCA reopened after a five-year closure for expansion and renovation. Director Guido Gryseels wrote that this "reform process entails a totally new approach to the representation of present-day Africa in all its facets (...) so as properly to convey knowledge on Central Africa to the public at large, for example, by working directly with the African communities and diasporas"—a claim which may not have been realized in the renovation process, where an advisory committee comprised of Belgian scholars from the African diaspora stopped meeting after claiming that their advice was ignored during the project.[14]

Hugo deBlock has assessed the end result of the renovation, arguing that while artistic interventions by contemporary artists Aimé Mpane and Freddy Tshimba question the museum's colonialist infrastructure (its golden statues of a personified Belgium "civilizing" personified "Kongo," marble inscriptions of names of colonial Belgian "pioneers," all protected from alteration under heritage law), the extant glorifications of Belgium's colonial past supersede the interventions from contemporary artists. DeBlock concludes that the RMCA's exhibition redesign, too, misses opportunities to clarify the museum's mission in the 21st century, and that its displays do not impart the careful provenance work conducted by RMCA researchers such as Maarten Couttenier.[15]

In his review of the updated museum, Adam Hochschild noted that many labels now acknowledge that the museum collection purports to represent Central Africa, but was composed entirely by Europeans, while others point out that historic photographs were staged by their white creators to tell certain stories about colonialism.[16] Despite these redressals, Hochschild notes, the museum fails to link Belgian exploitation of Congolese resources with the European nation's own prosperity. And, like deBlock, Hochschild

critiques the continued presence of faunal and floral speci-mens alongside African art, culture, and history, the signature combination of the (now outdated) ethnographic museum.

"CHOOSE YOUR AFRICA MUSEUM" INTERACTIVE TOOL

The "Choose Your Africa Museum" tool was designed to coincide with the RMCA's reopening, and as such should be viewed in light of the museum's updated mission, as described by Gryseels. By using digital reproductions and social networking in this online feature, the RMCA is pre-sumably attempting to share the power inherent in collecting, interpreting, and displaying materials on a grand scale, a goal that has been revolutionized by digital tools that allow museums to "relinquish some [...] curatorial authority, and collaborate with 'virtual' partners in novel ways," in Clare Harris' words.[18] This is a reversal, Harris continues, of nine-teenth- and twentieth-century museum philosophies that prioritized bringing objects into the institutional space, as institutions in the twenty-first century instead race to digitize their collections and make them widely available.[19]

Even in its title, the "Choose Your Africa Museum" tool indicates a desire on the part of the museum to redistribute institutional authority. Contributions from tool users, includ-ing "Friends of the Museum" (Belgian celebrities) and other website visitors show how interpretation and curation have been ceded to the public within this online subset of the mu-seum collection. Many of the contributors to the "Friends of the Museum" videos self-identify as having Congolese roots; two describe this as the reason for a "connection" to the RMCA.[20] Certainly, making space for Congolese-Belgian voices on this platform is a positive attempt to redress the collection's origins and the tradition of colonialist propagan-da in alignment with Gryseel's stated vision, yet in this in-stance it is not sufficient.

ASSESSMENT OF THE "CHOOSE YOUR AFRICA MUSEUM" AND 19th-CENTURY RESONANCES

An examination of the "Choose Your Africa Museum" tool will elucidate this assertion. The interface of this virtual tool presents images of several hundred collection items that are arranged randomly, or in subsets that the user can select, with names such as "Culture," "History," and "Biology" (*Fig. 1*). Tellingly, the "Culture" category contains Congolese items such as power objects and instruments, while the "History" category is made up of mostly European-made objects such as commemorative medals, guns, and even a pair of shackles. This organization implies that Congolese history consists only of its period of Belgian colonization and that Congolese-made items are somehow *outside* of history. As Johannes Fabian has argued, time is the tool that anthropology uses to other people and to deny their modernity.[21] Likely created to make the website tool easy to navigate, this classification sys-tem instead reinforces such ideologies.

5
Bouttiaux, "Des Mises En Scène De Curiosités Aux Chefs-d'œuvre Mis En Scène," 596–597.
6
Couttenier, "EO.0.0.7943," 79–90; Wastiau, "The Scourge of Chief Kansabala," 95–118;Bouttiaux, "Des Mises En Scène," 596–602.
7
Bouttiaux, "Des Mises En Scène," 602.
8
Masui, Liebrichts, *Guide De La Section De L'état Indépendent*, xi.
9
Couttenier, "One Speaks Softly, like in a Sacred Place"; Wastiau, "The Scourge of Chief Kansabala," 97–103.
10
Saunders, "Congo-Vision," 86.
11
Bouttiaux, "Des mises en scene," 599.
12
Stanard, *Selling the Congo*,40.
13
Claessens, Gryseels, Landry, "Integrating the Past," 638; Silverman, "Diasporas of Art," 627.
14
Claessens, Gryseels, Landry, "Integrating the Past," 640–641; Hochschild, "The Fight to Decolonize the Museum."
15
Couttenier, "EO.0.0.7943."
16
Hochschild, "The Fight to Decolonize the Museum."
17
Ibid.
18
Couttenier, "EO.0.0.7943," 126.
19
Harris, "Digital Dilemmas," 126.
20
My Africa Museum.
21
Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 37–47.

Fig. 2. Musée du Congo, Tervuren, Belgium, 1897, collotype. Wellcome Library no. 22891i. CC BY. /
Sl. 2. Muzej Konga, Tervuren, Belgija, 1897., svjetlotisak, Wellcome Library no. 22891i. CC BY.
↑

Fig. 3. Musée du Congo, Tervuren, Belgium: one of five interior scenes, 1897, collotype. Wellcome Library no. 22892i. CC BY. /
Sl. 3. Muzej Konga, Tervuren, Belgija, 1897., svjetlotisak, Wellcome Library no. 22892i. CC BY.
↑

With each visit to the "Choose Your Africa Museum," items appear in new configurations. With no information attached to these displays (until an item is selected), the effect is analogous to that of the 1897 Ethnography Room, in both arrangement and the complete decontextualization of the objects. The objects on the virtual "wall" of the RMCA website tool, arranged in uniform grids, become a panoply in digital form. Some of the same items from the 1897 exhibit show up as photographs in the "My Africa Museum" interface, one example being the female Ntomba sarcophagus described earlier.

On a recent visit to the "Choose Your Africa Museum" tool, an image of this sarcophagus was placed alongside a drinking vessel, a cosmetic pot, a backrest-shaped funerary sculpture, and a statue, all from different cultures in what is today the Democratic Republic of the Congo (*Fig. 4*). A final object was a photograph of a white man wearing a pith helmet and holding an umbrella while seated on a cow. The images of these objects are sized to be roughly equal. The over 2-meter tall Ntomba figure, eye-catching in its 1897 display, is here shrunken to the same dimensions as the other items, appearing as if it could be held in one's hand.

The interface of the "Choose Your Africa Museum" allows users to select from these arrays to create Pinterest or Instagram-style panoplies of items which, once selected, are then placed against brightly colored backgrounds that correspond with the category of collection. Users can add comments to their selected objects, which are then shared with other website visitors (*Fig. 5*). The effect is incongruous with the historic violence under which many items were collected, as shown by Bouttiaux, Couttenier, and Wastiau. This dilemma highlights the fine line between institutional and community authority that many museums grapple with: how do museums, especially those with imperialist roots, include marginal voices and create communal investment without abandoning expert knowledge?

Even barring user input, however, this website feature is problematic in the object groupings created by its algorithm. The array described above jumbles together artistic, utilitarian, and ritual objects from various cultures, and juxtaposes them with an image of a European man in a pith helmet, aheadwear which has come to symbolize nineteenth-century European colonialism.[22] Such a grouping visually signals that these items somehow belong together, which flattens cultural difference and positions colonial history as the predominant narrative of Central African history. Many of the digital items have little data attached to them, although there is some variance, and none provide provenance information.

Other random configurations of the "Choose Your Africa Museum" tool produce even more unsettling synergies. One such configuration, generated from a
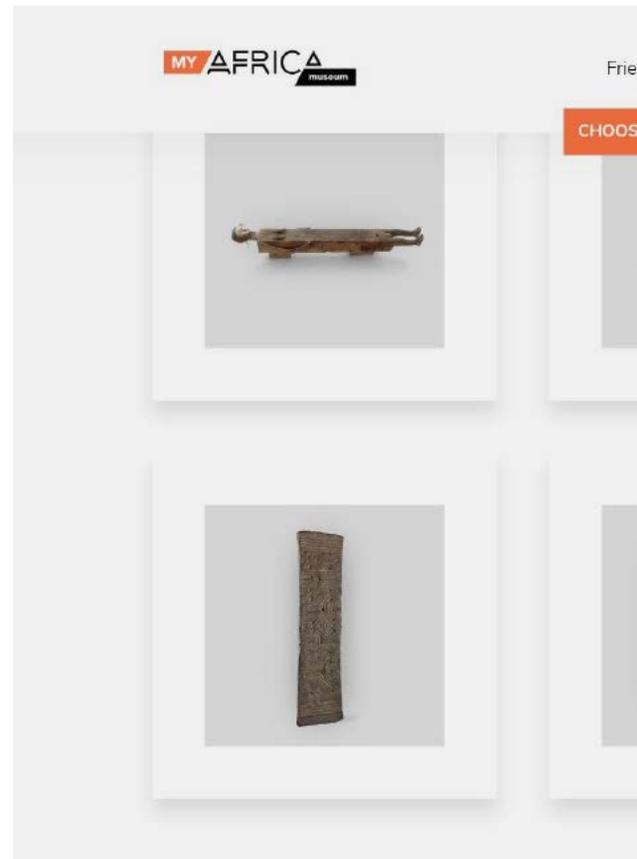
22
Chico, *Hats and Headwear around the World*, 380.
23
"Emin Pasha Relief Expedition Catalogue Description."
24
Hochschild, *Leopold's Ghost*, 47–58, 67–72.
25
Julien Volper and Emmanuel Gilissen of the RMCA, email communication with the author, March 12, 2019.
26
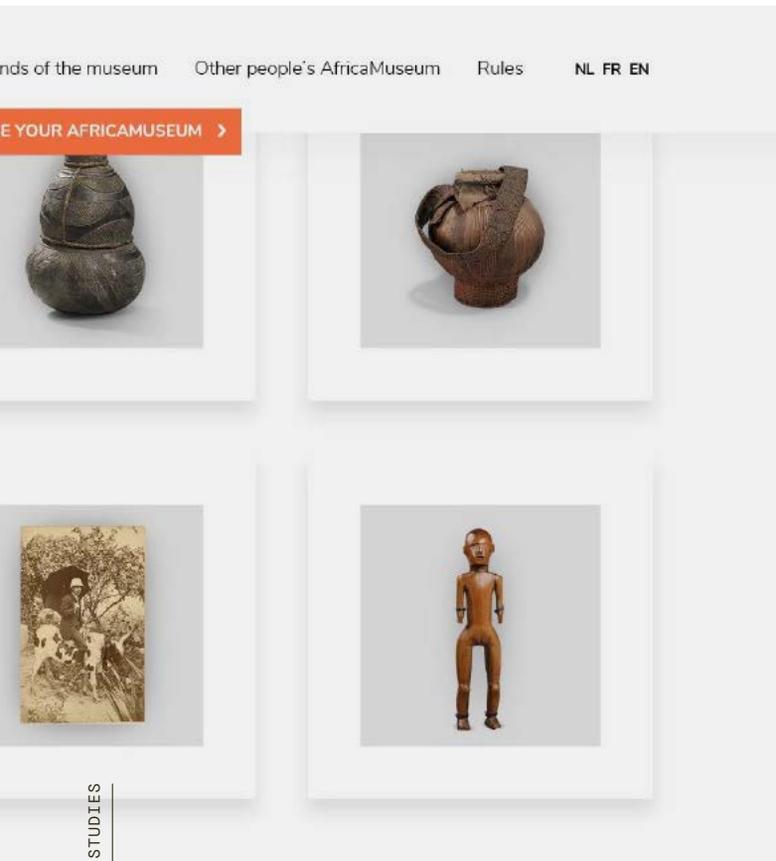Richards, *Race, Racism, and Psychology*, 13–16.

Fig. 5. *My Africa Museum* Tool, 2019, Royal Museum for Central Africa, March 24, 2019. / Sl. 4. *My Africa Museum*, digitalni alat Kraljevskog muzeja središnje Afrike, 24. ožujka 2019. /
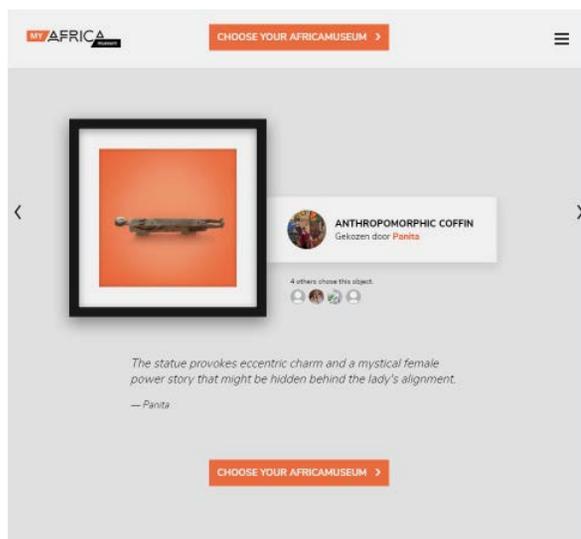↑

Fig. 5. *My Africa Museum* Tool, 2019, Royal Museum for Central Africa, April 5, 2019. / Sl. 5. *My Africa Museum*, digitalni alat Kraljevskog muzeja središnje Afrike, 5. travnja 2019.
↑

visit to the website, presents preserved animal specimens, a photograph of a figure on a bridge, a thumb piano, Henry Morton Stanley's cap, and a realistic model of a hand (*Fig. 6*). The specimens and artifacts grouped together in decontextualized thumbnails represent the pillaging of culture and natural resources from Central Africa, and the cap and model of a hand recall the violence that was used to accomplish this. Henry Morton Stanley's cap, according to the linked information, was worn by him during his 1887–1888 expedition to find Emin Pasha, a provincial governor in the Egyptian Sudan. This expedition was like Stanley's other voyages through Africa in that it was marked by many fatalities.[23] This personal item of Stanley's indexes him and the atrocities he personally committed and those he abetted through his work in Africa.[24]

Even more directly representative of colonial atrocities in this display is the human hand model, which is classified under "Biology" along with animal specimens (*Fig. 7*). This hand is, per museum curators, a resin model used to show the difference between human and primate hands.[25] (The reopened museum has a display with human and primate hands side-by-side, but the hand now installed has light-colored skin; they are secured to a pedestal and do not float disembodied in space). This classification and use recalls the scientific racism that emerged in the 19th century and sought to rank humans in a hierarchy of genetic worth, with Africans considered to be the least evolved.[26] More immediately, however, this brown hand, cut off below the wrist, recalls the horrific practice of severing and collecting hands that was instigated by colonial officials in the Belgian Congo. This brutality originated from a policy enforced by rubber companies and the colonial state to ensure that Congolese soldiers used ammunition only to kill humans, and not to hunt animals or stockpile for rebellion. A right hand presented to colonial agents was "proof" of a noncompliant indigenous person's death, although this horrific barter system led to the maiming of the living as well, as soldiers and communities struggled to meet Belgian rubber quotas.[27] The hand in the "Choose Your Africa Museum" tool would be disturbing in any context because it is only titled "human hand" and is shockingly realistic. The updated display of a moored, light-skinned hand in the physical museum may reflect a realization of this dark irony. The inclusion of the photo of the brown "cut-off" hand in the online tool, however, marks a grave oversight. Its uncritical juxtaposition with other items relating to or collected under Belgian colonialism trivializes a horrendous history of violence.

The effect of this digital panoply is not unlike the displays in the 1897 Ethnography Room. The latter presented a story of total Belgian control over the various people groups represented, which is the history that the "Choose Your Africa Museum" unintentionally retells with its fraught image groupings. By using a digitized form of the 1897 display, a visual array with no identifying labels, the creators of this online tool are once again offering an uncritical presentation of a collection with profoundly troubling roots.
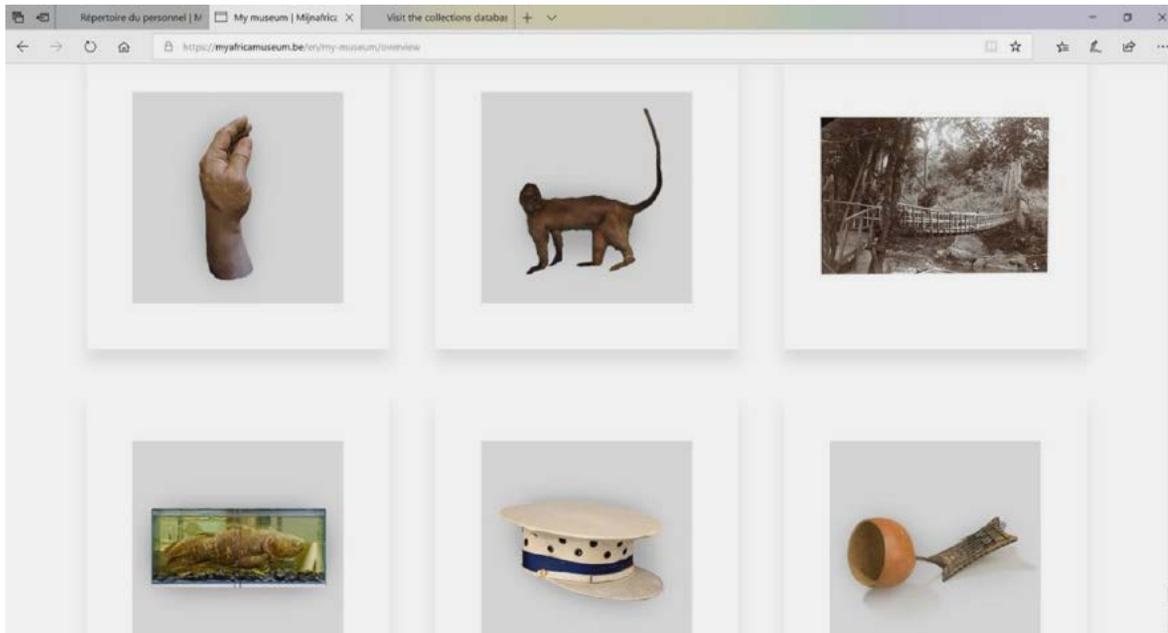
Fig. 6. *My Africa Museum* Tool, 2019, Royal Museum for Central Africa, March 7, 2019. / Sl. 6. *My Africa Museum*, digitalni alat Kraljevskog muzeja središnje Afrike, 7. ožujka 2019.
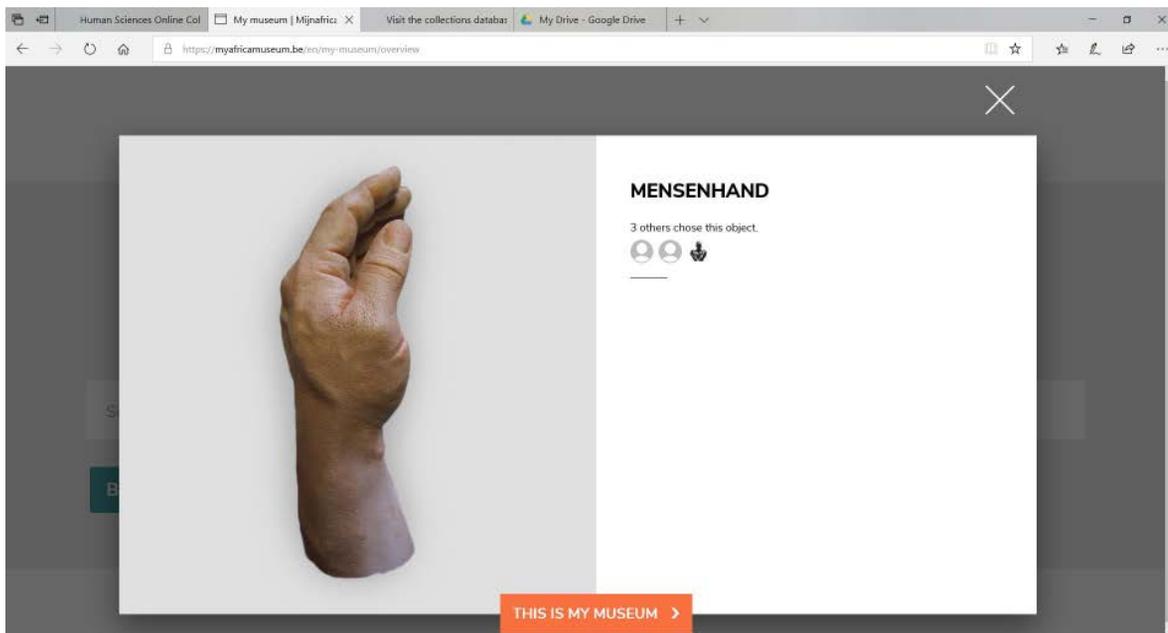↑

Fig. 7. *My Africa Museum* Tool, 2019, Royal Museum for Central Africa, March 7, 2019. / Sl. 7. *My Africa Museum*, digitalni alat Kraljevskog muzeja središnje Afrike, 7. ožujka 2019.
↑

The physical presence in 1897 of these objects indexed imperialist domination, and, lest this message of imperialism be lost on 19th-century viewers, the inclusion of the sculptural figures brought (whole) bodies into the exhibition space, while actual Central Africans lived outside on display. This narrative of bodily control through imperialism is echoed in the inclusion of the "human hand" item on today's RMCA website, a fragment of a body that indexes the central Africans who suffered under Belgian colonialism.

Also pointing back to 1897, this model hand, along with Stanley's cap, visually transform the other items in the panoply into spoils of conquest, whether cultural (the instrument), scientific (the animal specimens), or the landscape itself in the photograph. This effect encapsulates the historical truth of the RMCA's original collection, born in colonial exploitation. Yet the visual grouping of these items, stripped of information or critical evaluation, presents a dark history as nothing more than interesting items to be arranged as website visitors wish. What could be a didactic tool for better understanding instead encourages unquestioning acceptance of the presence of such loaded items in Belgium. In this virtual museum experience, expert input and textual information are needed to critically assess the collection and tell its history correctly.

New trends and possibilities in the technologies of museum display call for renewed attention to contextual semantics. Recent protests in Belgium over the policing of people of color, fueled by the death of African American George Floyd at the hands of the United States police, have seen renewed iconoclasm against statues of Leopold II. The RMCA has not been spared; a sculpture of Leopold II in the museum park grounds was vandalized with paint.[28] In June of 2020, another bust of the monarch was removed in Ghent and, in a step unprecedented in the Belgian monarchy, King Phillipe expressed regrets (stopping short of an official apology) to Congolese president Felix Tshisekedi over the violence enacted against the Congolese during the Belgian colonial era.[29]

The RMCA leadership is certainly aware of the controversy behind symbols of Leopold II's colonial rule, else the museum redesign would never have taken place (mixed as its reception has been). However, awareness and expert contextualization of such histories must also extend to the digital realm and its modes of display. The panoply, although no longer commonly used in museums, lends itself particularly well to the museum website interface. It would be extreme to insist that digital materials always be grouped with like exhibits, or displayed with extensive textual information. However, in collections such as the RMCA's, uncritical displays, whether designed to bolster colonial control or community engagement, naturalize painful histories and imperial mindsets. Certainly, the RMCA is not the only institution whose collection is built on imperialism. Such museums must use caution in using new forms of digital display so that they do not unwittingly recreate old epistemologies.

.

28
"Should statues of Leopold II be removed after the death
of George Floyd?"
29
Petrequin, "Belgium takes down statue."

BIBLIOGRAPHY / POPIS LITERATURE

Blanchard, Pascal, Boetsch, Gilles, and Jacomijn Snoep. *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage*. Arles: Actes Sud—Musée Du Quai Branly, 2011.

Bouttiaux, Anne-Marie. "Des Mises En Scène De Curiosités Aux Chefs-d'œuvre Mis En Scène: Le Musée Royal De L'Afrique à Tervuren: Un Siècle De Collections." *Cahiers D'Études Africaines* 39, 155/156 (1999): 595–616.

Bouquet, Mary. Museums: *A Visual Anthropology*. New York: Berg, 2012.

Chico, Beverly. *Hats and Headwear around the World: A Cultural Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2013.

Couttenier, Maarten. "'One Speaks Softly, like in a Sacred Place': Collecting, Studying and Exhibiting Congolese Artefacts as African Art in Belgium (1850–1897)." *Journal of Art Historiography* 12 (2015): 12–52.

Couttenier, Maarten. "EO.0.0.7943." *Low Countries Historical Review* 133–2 (2018): 79–90.

"Emin Pasha Relief Expedition Catalogue Description," The National Archives, United Kingdom, https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/1f0ce2cc-e813-4ff9-bd9c-cefd4da0b6fe.

Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

Fisher, Philip. *Making and Effacing Art: Modern American Art in a Culture of Museums*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Grimshaw, Anna, and AmandaRavetz. *Visualizing Anthropology*. Bristol: Intellect, 2005.

Gryseels, Guido, Landry, Gabrielle, and Koeki Claessens. "Integrating the Past: Transformation and Renovation of the Royal Museum for Central Africa, Tervuren, Belgium." *European Review* 13, 4 (2005): 637–47.

Harris, Clare. "Digital Dilemmas: The Ethnographic Museum as Distributive Institution." *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 5, 2 (2013): 125–36.

Hochschild, Adam. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998.

Jones, Karin. "1897 Exposition Congolaise, Tervuren: Colonialism and the Belgian Avant-garde." PhD diss., University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2014.

Lang Teslow, Tracy. "Reifying Race: Science and Art in *Races of Mankind* at the Field Museum of Natural History." In: *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture*, edited by Sharon Macdonald, 53–76.New York: Routledge, 1998.

Masui, Théodore, and Charles Liebrechts. *Guide De La Section De L'état Indépendant Du Congo À L'exposition De Bruxelles-Tervueren En 1897*. V. Monnom: 1897.

Rahier, Jean Muteba. "The Ghost of Leopold II: The Belgian Royal Museum of Central Africa and its Dusty Colonialist Exhibition." *Research in African Literatures* 34, 1 (2003): 58–84.

Richards, Graham. *Race, Racism, and Psychology: Towards a Reflexive History*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Saunders, Barbara. "Congo-Vision." In: *Science, Magic, and Religion: The Ritual Process of Museum Magic*, edited by Mary Bouquet and Nuno Porto, 75–94. New York: Berghahn Books, 2006.

Silverman, Debora L. "Art Nouveau, Art of Darkness: African Lineages of Belgian Modernism, Part I." *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 18, 2 (2011): 139–181.

Silverman, Debora L. "Art Nouveau, Art of Darkness: African Lineages of Belgian Modernism, Part III." *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 20, 1 (2013): 3–61.

Silverman, Debora L. "Diasporas of Art: History, the Tervuren Royal Museum for Central Africa, and the Politics of Memory in Belgium, 1885–2014." *The Journal of Modern History* 87, 3 (2015): 615–67.

Stanard, Matthew G. Selling the Congo: *A History of European Pro-empire Propaganda and the Making of Belgian Imperialism*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011.

Vanthemsche, Guy. *Belgium and the Congo, 1885–1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Verswijver, Gustaaf, and Buat, Alger. *Treasures from the Africa-Museum, Tervuren*. Antwerp: C. De Vries-Brouwers, 1995.

Wastiau, Boris. "The Scourge of Chief Kansabala: The Ritual Life of Two Congolese Masterpieces at the Royal Museum for Central Africa (1884–2001)", 95–118. In: *Science, Magic, and Religion: The Ritual Process of Museum Magic*, edited by Mary Bouquet and Nuno Porto, New York: Berghahn Books, 2006.