Bailey, D.W. 2020. Releasing the visual archive: on the ethics of
destruction. In B. Olsen, M. Burstrøm, C. DeSilvey, and Þ.
Pétursdóttir (eds) *After Discourse: Things, Affects, Ethics*, pp.
232-56. London: Routledge.

14

RELEASING THE VISUAL ARCHIVE

On the ethics of destruction

Doug Bailey

Oslo, June 2017: Releasing images

Pouring bleach into the plastic beaker, I look into the face of the women in the image. Posed in front of a gridded background, her eyes wide, she looks sharp right, beyond the frame, as if her attention is drawn to someone shouting or to a door slamming. The wall behind the woman is pink, though an unnatural shade; I wonder if the time that has passed since the photograph was processed has caused the image's colour dyes to deteriorate. The cardboard slide mount and the image it holds are from another era, in terms both of photographic chemistry, of acetate film stock, of emulsion and dye, but also of anthropology, and of anthropometric query into human diversity, race, and sexuality. The gridded background looks hand-made: lines almost parallel but not quite, verticals in a darker colour, perhaps once blue; horizontals lighter, maybe red. The woman's brown hair is short, brushed close over her ears. Eyebrows arch in question or in surprise at what is happening out of our sight: she is in her world, of that place, in front of that camera. Neither now nor here, she is locked inside the fieldwork of a long-retired professor, in a laboratory, in one of the buildings on the campus where I now work, once exposed on a screen for students: since then kept locked out of sight in the drawer of a file cabinet in a museum storeroom. Looking towards the lowest part of the image, I see small beads of a necklace and just a trace of blue fabric across the shoulders of her dress. Her lipstick is bold. Who is this woman? What kind of object is this 35-mm slide? (Figure 14.1).

With plastic tongs pressed tight together with black metal bulldog clips, I have clamped the slide containing the woman. Thus supported and held vertically, the slide stands at the bottom of a straight-sided, wide-based, broad-mouthed, plastic laboratory beaker. I pour in more bleach. The liquid's level rises. Past her chin, then the crown of her head, and then the top edge of the slide's cardboard mount. What
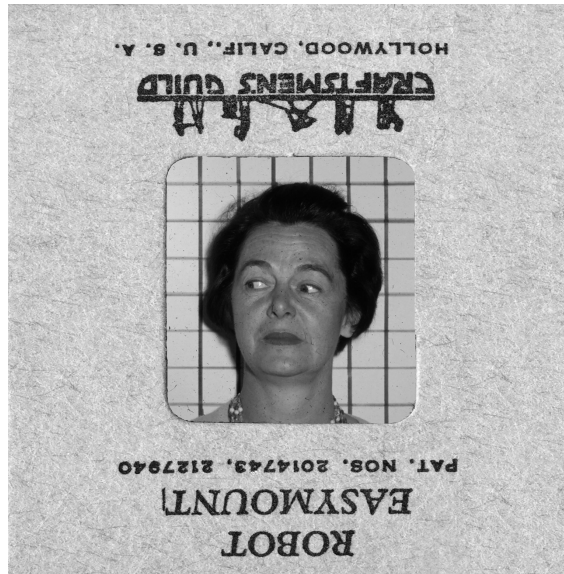
FIGURE 14.1 Slide 0123: unbleached.

Photo: Doug Bailey

is this image–thing? Where has it come from? Who created it? When and where was it processed? At what photographic lab? How was it used? Printed across the bottom of the cardboard mount, the words "ROBOT. EASY MOUNT" and in smaller font, two patent numbers. Across the top, "CRAFTSMENS GUILD" in arty typeface, a row of barely discernable human figures printed above the letters; the typographic reference is art deco. Below that, "HOLLYWOOD, CALIF. U. S. A." Running vertically along the right edge of the mount, a strip of white tape, reading "TREG-001_0123," that someone has attached much more recently, long after the photograph was taken, the film was processed, and the square of plastic film inserted and glued between the two faces of its grey cardboard mount.

When the level of liquid has fully covered the slide and its mount, I stop pouring. Closely, I look at the woman. I face her. Immobile, she still looks to her side, in alarm. After four of five seconds, tiny bubbles come away from slide and drift towards the surface of the bleach. The first bubbles are clear. I look closer as more begin to fizzle out of the slide. I see that they are yellow. They flow in streams, faster, up towards the surface of the liquid. The yellow colour makes me think of smoke swirling from a chemical fire at some neglected toxic waste dump, spontaneously igniting or torched by local trouble makers. Just below the surface of the bleach, a thin hazy cloud of yellow liquid billows to find its shape. With slowly curling wisps reaching outwards, the cloud of pigment moves towards the right under its own power, seeking an escape, exploring new spaces into which suddenly, after long confinement, it has been released (Figure 14.2).

FIGURE 14.2 Slide 0123: bleaching stage 1.

Photo: Doug Bailey

FIGURE 14.3 Slide 0123: bleaching stage 2.

Photo: Doug Bailey

From the plastic support of the slide's image, more coloured bubbles (darker) now jet towards the surface. These reds come from every part of the image: the woman's face, her hair, the skin of her neck and ears, the gridded background, from its lines and its pink surface. As if super-heated air-bubbles coming from a deep underwater vent, they hurry upwards. With increasing speed and in greater density, they pour toward the surface of the bleach to form darker sets of clouds mingling with or clashing against the yellows which continue their swirl and spread. More bubbles of red dye release from the image. The woman's face is gone (Figure 14.3).
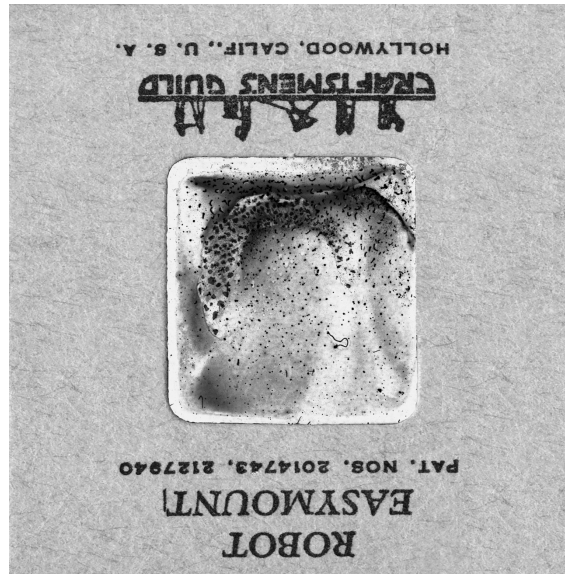
FIGURE 14.4 Slide 0123: released.

Photo: Doug Bailey

Her hair loses its visible composition, now transformed into base molecules: coloured traces freed from emulsion long bonded to the film's plastic. Just below the liquid's surface, the dark, red clouds start a push to the left, the yellow ones move right. The face, the grid, the hair, the woman, gone: their two-dimensional constitution once held rigid in three-colour emulsion dyes, now disarticulated into forms and molecular traces I can no longer identify as visual representation, let alone as a bodied person, never again as a record within an anthropological study. The image no longer exists. The representational thing has dissolved. On the plastic surface where once there had been a woman, previously locked in gelatin layers of cyan, magenta, and yellow, long fixed within an academic study, now all that remains is an empty plastic square held in its cardboard mount (Figure 14.4)

Out of the bleach, I pull the tongs and the slide, now a non-image. In its wake, activated clouds of colour dance through the liquid. They have life. They swim. Dyes swirl and collide under their own strength, graceful in their own energies, on the move, released. One long curving loop, dark purple, arcs from the top of the bleach to the bottom of the beaker, looking for a way out, a final escape. (Figure 14.5).

Dissolving image things

In the early summer of 2017, I dissolved the images from the surfaces of over 1000 colour 35-mm transparencies that had been part of the archive of the anthropological

FIGURE 14.5 Slide 0123: clouds of dyes and pigments.

Photo: Doug Bailey

museum in the North American university where I work. With some minor vari-
ation the description of the process of dissolution of transparency TREG_001-
0123 provided above could apply to each of the slides that I immersed in bleach.
I applied the same methods, and obtained similar results. The decision to dissolve
these images in this way was my imperfect solution to the conundrum that I faced
when opening a cardboard box of visual material of dubious ethical foundations: a
box of visual things carefully collected and stored in an ethnological archive of a
large, federally funded teaching institution. My intentions for handling these trans-
parencies had started within professionally informed standards of image treatment
within modern visual anthropology: visual repatriation to descendent communities.
As I came to know the images inscribed on the film, however, I realized that normal
practices of visual repatriation would not be possible.

In the early stages of work, a series of simple, easily anticipated questions
emerged. What were these slides? Who had taken them? Who were those people
(and, I realized as I started cataloguing them, what or who were the non-human
subjects, the animals and artefacts) captured in these images? Other questions were
more complex, though still not unique in discussions of museum collections of
visual things. What role should these transparencies play within my institution's
research activities and pedagogic practices? How does an anthropological institu-
tion resolve its relationship with its cultural archive, especially when so much of it
had been obtained through, at best dubious, and, most often, unethical means? What
is a curator's moral responsibility either towards images taken without the subject's
consent, or towards images originally made under what we now see as outdated
and unprincipled practices of examining, recording, categorizing, dehumanizing
"exotic" peoples?

Other, increasingly difficult questions surfaced. What rights do I recognize
that things like these transparencies hold? What do these things ask of me? What

responsibilities do I have to them? Indeed, do I have responsibilities? Do these image-things have their own individual rights? Further, who am I to make decisions about the place, role, or even existence of these things, to adjudicate over what is "best practice," of what I should do to them? Ultimately, what are the ethics of the eventual decision that I took to destroy the slides' images by soaking them in bleach? Did my acts of dissolution violate a broader ethics of care? To the slides? To my institution? To the people captured in those layers of dye, emulsion, and plastic? To my institutional predecessors who loaded the film into the camera, who paid for the processing, who catalogued and stored the slides, and who projected that woman's image on a screen to a lecture hall full of students? My attempts to find answers to those questions led me first to explore these issues and then to find a way to release the emulsified images from the plastic surfaces of those slides.

San Francisco (2010): The box of slides

The slides that are now dissolved came to me in a cardboard box: a selection of images that a museum curator had made from a large archive of similar materials in the months after our university made her job redundant. The university had placed into receivership the collection of artefacts, photographs, audio recordings, field notes, and other ethnographic and archaeological material collected over sixty years of professors' fieldwork and study; with this decision, the curator's job dissolved. For years, she had struggled to care for these things, for the most part without proper or regular financial or administrative support. By the early 2000s, the collection was in poor condition. Textiles from South America were piled in a corner on top of insect infested cardboard boxes of Inuit dolls. Museum inventories and catalogues were chaotic, incomplete, and inaccurate (in fact, two separate catalogues existed, neither cross-tabulated with the other). Some artefacts had disappeared, most probably on their way to eBay or Craigslist or to a faculty member's office bookshelf.

Holding the ultimate legal responsibility (and acting as an agent of the State of California), the university took the critical decision to transfer the collection from the Department of Anthropology to the Department of Museum Studies. The transfer of material and of responsibility came after heated and detailed consultation and collections assessment; not all parties accepted the final solution. Some in the Anthropology Department complained that "their" research and teaching materials had been taken from them; some in the Museum Studies Department complained that their already overstretched budget could not support the work required to properly conserve and store the material. Many consoled the (now ex-) curator, suddenly released into a retirement she had not sought.

Regardless, the decision was made. The museum was closed. The curator lost her job. What many stakeholders did not know until much later, however, was that, even in retirement, the curator had kept a copy of the key to the locked museum stores. As the university eventually discovered, in the month or two before the physical transfer of material from one department to the other could be completed, the retired curator sifted through files and objects, shredding some records and

disposing of material which she preferred that the collection's new managers either not receive or not know of its existence. Her motives in doing so will never be known (she passed away not long into retirement), and suggestions founded more on gossip than on fact (as well as on hardened intra-departmental animosities) regularly found voice at end-of-semester, department drinks parties.

What matters, at least for the present chapter, is that one of the final acts that the curator undertook (after she had left the university's employment) was to select over a thousand colour slides which she found particularly offensive, to place them in a cardboard box, to put the box into a large black garbage bag, and to throw the bag into a campus trash dumpster. While her intent was to discard the slides, the result was otherwise. By chance, an adjunct professor walking to the parking lot passed by the trash, wondered what was in the bag, looked inside, recognized the slides' labels and subjects, and carried the box back into the Anthropology Department. As the chairperson of the department at that time, I took a quick look inside the box, glanced at a few of the slides, thought little about them, and stored the box under a table my office.

Excavating a box of slides

When the box was next opened, it had been shipped from San Francisco to Norway, where I had time, now several years later, to examine its contents in detail. One immediate and obvious approach was to take advantage of the collection of slides as an exercise in contemporary archaeology. What could be simpler or more intellectually stimulating than to apply standard methods of excavation and analysis, to treat the box as if it were a site, and to dig down through the layers of slides as if they were artefacts in sedimented strata? With luck, the result would be an engaging contribution to discussions and debates about material culture, the archaeological process, and about both as introductions to archaeologies of the contemporary past. Once excavated and then made the subject of academic study within a contemporary archaeology, the slides could be sent back to rejoin the larger collection of visual materials under the curatorial care and control of the Museum Studies Department and, where possible, to be repatriated to the relevant individuals.

The excavation of the box was straightforward: after removing the initial large features near the site's surface (a boxed carousel tray [Inv. no. Treg-001-0007], and a context sealing cardboard sheet [Inv. no. Treg-001-0017]), excavation continued down through a dense apparently undifferentiated cache of slide-artefacts. Facing a taphonomically undistinguished fill of slide-artefacts, excavation proceeded in 10 cm spits, using a quadrant method to recover as much information as possible about variation among the objects at different levels and in different areas of the site (Figure 14.6). Each slide was numbered with a unique inventory number, and any potential cuts and fills within the cache were noted. Once the sterile layer at the bottom of the box was reached, post-excavation analyses began.

Chronology was straightforward, both through absolute dating, provided by date-stamped months and years on many slide-mounts (Figure 14.7) (ranging from November 1960 to December 1986), and through relative, micro-chronologies that

FIGURE 14.6 Excavation in progress: quadrant method.

Photo: Doug Bailey

FIGURE 14.7 Chronology detail.

Photo: Doug Bailey

followed slide–to–slide comparison, and through the recognition of handwritten numbered sequences that I identified as orderings of individual slides that had been used in specific lectures. Other sets of sequencing information were recovered; painstaking analyses of the museum's cataloging numbers (hand-written on the

slides' plastic, paper, or metal mounts) produced ordered histories of individual slides as they entered the collection's larger storage files. Vital provenience information came from studies of the materials of manufacture of the slide mounts and of the geographic location of processing (e.g., California, Switzerland, Canada). In summary, post-excavation analysis produced robust chronologies and typologies of the material recovered from the site.

Problems emerged, however, when I turned away from the material analyses, typologies, source locations, and chronologies, and started to examine the images inscribed onto the glass or plastic base layers of the slides. Standard methods of archaeological classification were applied, and they produced the following image categories: 1) hominin fossils (and casts of hominin fossils); 2) living animals (exclusively non-human primates in zoos and safari parks); 3) ethnographic field subjects (e.g., ritual dances); 4) subjects for medical anthropology study (primarily of skin pigmentation); 5) human reproduction (ranging from x-rays of pregnant women at full term to line-drawings of reproductive organs); 6) dissection of fetuses of non-identifiable species; 7) human face and head morphology (with notations of ethnic and geographic origin); 8) general human anatomy (including x-rays of individual bone and dental casts). Further sub-categories were delimited. For example, the human reproduction category could be refined to distinguish photographs of live births in delivery rooms, from artist's cut-away drawings of the stages of labor and birth. Other examples of sub-categorization included variation in how the slides had been originally created and obtained. Thus, many of the slides in the human reproduction category had been purchased ready-made as educational aides from medical supply companies (e.g., The Carolina Biological Supply Company, Burlington, North Carolina); others had been made outside of the educational materials industry (e.g., the images of fetal dissections) and had been processed privately away from the costs and oversight of commercial laboratories.

Several preliminary conclusions are of note. First, the assemblage of slides is not a random mixture of images representing a sample of the different subjects present in the many 10,000s of images in the original larger collection of the Anthropology Department. On the contrary, strong connections link particular categories of images that were selected for discard, and these connections cut across other variables that post-excavation analysis recorded and analyzed. Thus, slides of hominin fossils and their casts were present in a wide range of different types of films exposed and of mounts used; they were made at distinct periods of the department's history through the second half of the twentieth century.

What emerged from the study of the images was one theme linking all categories of slides: the visual examination and analysis of, and the experimentation on, living and non-living subjects, all of which are human beings, their relatives, and their ancestors or non-human relatives. One proposal is that the newly retired museum curator selected these particular slides for discard due to their image content, and that she left unselected (and thus retained in the larger museum archive) other images from a much greater range of categories which were present in the

slide collection: field excavations, artefacts, and many teaching slides related to the study of linguistic, economic, and cultural anthropology. The selection of slides to be discarded was limited to physical and biological anthropology.

A second conclusion closely follows the first and, I suggest, sheds more light on the curator's decision to select these particular images for disposal. Not only was slide selection focused on the anthropological study of the human, but, in many cases, images selected were of anthropological practices which have come under intense ethical, moral, and professional scrutiny in the last 30–40 years as the discipline of anthropology developed as a self-reflective, politically aware, collaborative, and non-exploitational practice particular as concerns photographs from anthropological study.[1]

Regardless of the curator's actual intentions in her selection of individual slides to remove from the collection before its relocation to a new departmental home, the assemblage of image-artefacts excavated from the cardboard box presents critical questions: what should happen to these slides, or to refer to the questions posed more generally at the start of this chapter, what do these slides demand of me, and what is my ethical responsibility to them? There is no easy or correct set of answers to these questions. One way forward would be to follow the robust, ethical, tradition within visual anthropology and in the practices of a growing number of museums, collections, and archives of visual materials: the physical repatriation of images to members of descendent communities. Within a discussion of visual repatriation rests a second, equally important conversation: what roles do institution and museum collections of images play in their positions as cultural archives? The discussion that follows here places the box of slides within the potentials of the practice of visual repatriation and within the recognition of the power of the archive. This fuller discussion of these two issues helps clarify my deliberations about my ethical responsibility to the 1221 slides.

Visual repatriation and the archive

The disciplinary move towards the repatriation of anthropological photographs developed within a body of scholarship that explored the ethics of visual materials (Gross et al. 1988; Pinney 1989; Binney and Chaplin 1991; Edwards 1994, 2003; Poignant and Poignant 1996; Fienup-Riordan 1998; Peterson 2003; Pinney and Peterson 2003), and is (or should be) the standard practice for archives of images in anthropological and museum collections. Critical to the emergent practice of visual repatriation was a recognition of the exploitative ways that anthropology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries employed technologies of photography and cinematography as efficient and (supposedly) objective means of recording human diversity (Edwards 1992, 2001; Edwards and Hart 2004a, 2004b; Morton and Edwards 2009; Pinney 1992, 2011; Pinney and Peterson 2003; Banks and Vokes 2010). Much of the call to repatriate images developed alongside late 20th century critiques of early anthropology's dehumanization and objectification of indigenous people, first by capturing them on photographic plate or film, and second by collecting

and controlling those images within western cultural and educational institutions (Poignant 1992; Edwards 1992, 2009).

The technologies and powers of fixed and moving image recording developed in parallel (both chronologically and conceptually) with the births of ethnography and anthropology in the last half of the 19th century (Pinney 1992, 2011; Grimshaw 2001; Griffiths 2002). Central to the emerging sciences for the study of humankind stood efforts to explain human capabilities and appearances through theories and languages of biological evolution (Spencer 1992) and assumptions of western, Caucasian superiority in matters cultural, social, intellectual, and moral. The images that captured local indigenous (and other non-western) peoples and which were collected in institutions of learning and cultural display were central to the methods of ethnographic study and to the broader intellectual industries of the social sciences (Im Thurn 1893; Portman 1896).

The late 20th century questioning of the assumption that western image producers, archives, and institutions had inalienable rights to obtain, collect, maintain, and control access to (and dissemination of) images of people who were defined at the time as exotic or primitive developed in parallel with similar changes in the status of human remains and cultural material across the social sciences (e.g., The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in the United States). The result of this shift in understanding the essence and power of the photographed individual was a commitment to return those images and films to local, descendent communities for their own control and use.

Visual repatriation, however, invokes more than just the physical return of photographs and films. Through image repatriation, descendent communities re-engage (or encounter for the first time) long lost recordings of ancestors and disremembered cultural and ritual practices (e.g., Geismar and Herle 2010). In addition, modern communities re-appropriate that original material for new, local, contemporary purposes, often resulting in the creation of novel visual and cultural works (see Morton 2015). Thus, visual repatriation of historic anthropological images instigates, in the present, original creative action and community debate about events and people of the past.

In their discussion of visual repatriation, Marcus Banks and Richard Vokes describe the practice as the "unstitching" of living subjects who had been sutured into older anthropological projects through the technology of photography (Banks and Vokes 2010, pp. 337–8). Visual repatriation unties the imposed connections that had been created in the original anthropological and ethnological appropriations, collections, storages, displays, and publications. In turn, visual repatriation presents the potential for new stitchings as descendent communities re-examine, re-interpret, and use anew images in re-weaving their own histories and political journeys into, though, and out of colonial exploitation and dislocation. In these ways communities exert control over their own histories (Harlan 1995, 1998; Rickard 1995; Tsinhnahjinnie 1998, 2003; Hill 1998; Vizenor 1998; Chaat Smith 1995; Aird 1993, 2003).

These local impacts of visual repatriation are worth noting, particularly in the ways that the children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren of people

once photographed now reclaim and re-appropriate the photographs returned. Repatriated images are absorbed, resocialized, and repositioned through modern communities' social structures and repositories of political history and cultural knowledge (Bell 2003; Poignant 1992; Morton and Oteyo 2015). In addition, the moments and conversations that envelope an image's re-entry into a community make visible previously hidden, locally embedded and negotiated sets of restrictions, rights, and responsibilities, for example, that govern who is allowed to see or possess a particular image. Previously unrecognized social topographies of private and public space for the viewing and storing of images become visible in a community's control of photographs, and as the complex rules of quarantine and availability are brought into play, particularly in response to the death of an individual once photographed or filmed (Michaels 1991; Gross et al. 1988, 2003). Usually only visible from a local perspective, variations in image availabilities and rules for viewing them often fluctuate, shifting along dimensions of age, gender, and lineage. Thus, according to local regulation, the rights to view or show an image can alter depending on when and where an image or a person is positioned; rights to view can range in scale from individual to family to initiation group to the community at large, and back again, in ways that may not mesh with (or even be visible to) non-local anthropological observation.

Through the repatriation of images, descendant communities re-appropriate, re-engage, and re-deploy anthropological photographs for their own local, modern purposes, often with an aim to regain control of their own histories or to uncover previously hidden or overwritten events (Harlan 1995, 1998; Rickard et al. 1995; Tsinhnahjinnie 1998; Hill 1998; Vizenor 1998; Chaat Smith 1995; Aird 1993, 2003). In Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie's terms, the issue is one of the photographic sovereignty that a community (or an individual) recognizes and controls in the act of reclaiming a photograph to tell one's own story (Tsinhnahjinnie 1998; see also Rickard 1995). In some cases, as Binney and Chaplin (1991) show for the Tuhoe Maori at Urewera in New Zealand, the local response to, and use of, repatriated images succeed to confirm and articulate past events, conflicts, and resistances that colonial-authored histories had suppressed or overlooked. The repatriated images bring to life heavily conflicted realities, long forgotten or excluded from the histories or rememberings written or spoken by those who had held power at the time. In many cases, visual repatriation projects (Brown et al.'s [2006] work with the Kainai Nation in Alberta Canada is a robust example) have forced anthropologists to accept not only that they must let go of the photographs (in literal and physical senses) but also that they must relinquish their non-local and industrialized academic, attempts to create, distribute, and adjudicate meanings and values of images, particularly where previous control and determination of meaning had rested with a non-local photographer and the original project's external sponsoring institution.

Also important has been the recognition of variation in the ways that different communities (and indeed different constituents within any single group) understand the status of a person inscribed in a photograph or a film. While any short comment on visual repatriation risks an overgeneralization of local perceptions of

the photographed individual, it is reasonable here to note that many non-western communities understand that the physical image of a person (the printed photograph, the photocopy, the slide transparency, the printed reproduction in press or online) contains an essence, soul, shadow, or spirit of that individual depicted. Jocelyn Dudding writes of the Maori concern for the *maui* (or life force) understood to be invested in photographs of ancestors, and of the resulting objections by descendants to the 2001 sale of 19th-century photographs and their concern that the sale, use, and reproduction of those photographs would dissipate and dilute the life forces of the people represented in the images (Dudding 2003; see also Binney and Chaplin 1991). Similarly, Joshua Bell reports how the Purari in Papua New Guinea understand photographs as shadows or reflections of the soul (as *avea*) of the person photographed, and, therefore, that photographs exist as things much more complex and multi-dimensional than a piece of chemically treated paper (Bell 2003, 2008; see also Halvaksz 2008, 2010). In these and other examples, it becomes clear that photographs of people possess materialities both physical (they can be taken away, sent, shipped, kept, sold, traded, stored, locked-up, put on display) and spiritual (they retain, transport, possess essences of the living being contained in the chemical inscription that is the photograph).

Relevance to 35-mm slides

My confrontation with the 35-mm transparencies from my university's museum, that is the subject of this chapter, benefits in several ways from this short discussion of visual repatriation. First, there can be no debate over the ethical responsibility possessed by collections managers, institutional curators, and archivists who maintain control over stores of images of people to repatriate those images to descendent communities, if those communities can be identified and located. Thus, the most straightforward objective for me would be the return each 35-mm slide to the person contained in the image, or to his or her descendant(s). The second benefit of the discussion of repatriation is born of ethnographic collaboration with non-western communities: the recognition of the presence and the strength of non-western definitions of the non-material essences contained in a photograph of a person, whether that essence is understood in terms of spirit, soul, or along some other mobile, fluid, and extra-temporal, extra-physical register. Taken together then, these observations forced me to shift my perception of the 35-mm slides at the center of this chapter: my position is that it is unethical to keep these images in the university's museum collection; I must acknowledge that the images' non-physical statuses and essences most probably extend well beyond the museum's original identifications and uses of them as catalogued artefacts in a collection and in service to academic pedagogy and research.

Taking one step farther, an understanding of the ethical grounds of visual repatriation forced me to confront the moral responsibilities that I have to the subjects contained in the slides' images. I cannot avoid the reality that each person who is photographed in each slide maintains and possesses a life that reaches far beyond

traditionally understood limits of chemical dyes, emulsions, and the plastic materials mounted in the cardboard or metal surrounds. Of equal, though less obvious, consequence is the matching reality that the non-human species pictured in the slides (the chimpanzees and bonobos, for example), and the physical objects (the fossilized human bone and the casts of such fossils) have similar spiritual essences. From such a perspective, I realized that I could not avoid the ethical responsibility I had to those slides, perhaps a responsibility that is closer to the one that I have to living beings (human or animal). Before turning back to the slides themselves, to the questions posed at the start of the chapter, and to the practical consequences of this discussion of visual repatriation, it is important to consider these slide-images, in their newly recognized enlivened status, as objects collected and then retained in a museum archive.

Archives

The 1221 slides that the museum curator discarded were one small part of a larger collection of images, artefacts, recordings, and ethnographic materials. Established and then used as a resource for teaching and research, the museum stores were an archive that faculty and students valued and exploited in delivering classroom-based education and in building their individual careers within the political economy of the American academic anthropological tradition: observe, appropriate, classify, interpret, publish. While traditional academic and institutional perceptions have seen archives of images and artefacts as static and neutral repositories of cultural goods and records to be preserved and safe-guarded, it is critical for us to recognize that other, more robust, conceptions of what constitutes an archive have complicated the definition of museum collections and the roles that those collections and their individual contents can or should play. The core text in this more critical approach is Jacques Derrida's *Archive Fever: a Freudian Impression* (1995).[2] Derrida's comments are essential not only for a broader engagement with archives across disciplines (in and outside of academia and cultural institutions) but more directly to the material at the center of this chapter, particularly in the way that Derrida's discussion disrupts the assumption that the correct place for the 1221 slides was the museum stores, that the museum and its curator had a duty to preserve, conserve, and protect them, and most relevant, what responsibilities I had to the slide-images and how I treated them.

At the beginning of his disruption of the status of the archive, Derrida makes the fundamental point that an archive is about authority. Derrida takes us to the Greek origin of the word: *arkheion*, the house of the archons, the place where official documents were kept and consulted (Derrida 1995, p. 2). The documents that were held in the *arkheion* were the documents that spoke, imposed, and recalled the law. As magistrates, the archons held the authority to keep and guard these official documents; they also held the power to interpret them. From this Derrida delivers a second vital point: there is no political control of a community without the control of the archive and, thus, of the documents that speak the law of that

community (Derrida 1995, p. 4n1). Democracies, for example, are communities in which people have access to the archive, to what makes up that archive, and to how it should be interpreted. Next, Derrida argues that archives are "institutive and conservative." They keep, they reserve, they save, but they do so in an unnatural fashion. Archives do more than keep the law that the people obey; in the acts and places of keeping the law, the archive itself (and not its contents) creates the law (Derrida 1995, p. 7).

Derrida's next comments make best sense in light of the subtitle to the original lecture and its subsequent publication (*Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*) as well as to the context of that lecture: a colloquium at the Courtauld Institute in London, but organized by the Société Internationale d'Histoire de la Psychiatrie et de la Psychanalyse and the Freud Museum. Derrida argues that there is something in human nature that both runs against the archive and its existence, but which, in doing so, also brings about the very need for the archive into existence: this is the death drive, which Derrida calls "anarchivic" or "archiviolithic" (Derrida 1995, p. 10). Within human nature, the death drive threatens us with forgetfulness and the destruction of what we know (Derrida 1995, p. 12). Derrida defines this as a "violence of forgetting," an "anarchive," and a potential putting to death of that thing upon which the archive is made: the law (Derrida 1995, p. 79). The archive, thus, comes into being in opposition to the death drive, and an archive fever, therefore, is the internal contradiction aroused in opposition to that natural drive to forget and to destroy (Derrida 1995, p. 19).

Next comes a critical observation: the act of making the archive (for Derrida, the "archivization") produces, more than it records, the events that it stores and preserves (Derrida 1995, p. 17). Thus, the technology of the archive determines the event that is then archived; thus any meaning to be found in an archive will always be determined by the structure of the archive and not by any original event that that archive may contain or reflect (Derrida 1995, p. 18). Another vital point follows. Archives are not about the past as much as they are about the future (in Derrida's terms, an archive is a "pledge" or a "token" of the future) (Derrida 1995, p. 18). An archive does not, therefore, record what happened in the past; it structures the future.

Other observations of importance follow. The archive only exists because it rests on the use and power of titles, of classification, of hierarchization, and of order, all of which are tools that provide the archive with its appearance of legitimization (Derrida 1995, p. 40). Thus, the archive is built with a set of rhetorical instruments: the tools of control and organization. In this sense, we can see that the archive only exists because of itself; it augments itself and in doing so generates its own authority (Derrida 1995, p. 68). And thus we loop back to Derrida's first comment that archives are about authority: they do not respect or follow an authority that comes from outside the archive or from any other body of power; an archive creates its own authority within and for itself.

In sum then, Derrida's work destabilizes the archive as archaeologists, anthropologists, and museographers had come to know, value, respect, use, construct,

and maintain it. In the light of his argument, we can now see that what we find in an archive is not an objective and absolute record of past events that thus requires saving, maintaining, curating, preserving, guarding, and protecting. On the contrary what we find in an archive is nothing but the frame of the archive itself, its structure, and its technologies, created in response to a subliminal death drive that is part of human nature. Thus, archives are not repositories of original facts or sets of information, the originality of which requires preservation and protection. In preserving the archive (or the museum stores and collections) we are only ever preserving the structure of a collection and the political structures and imbalances that ordered and funded its creation. The consequences of these observations are both catastrophic and liberating, overturning the standard sacred values that we normally assign to museum collections and other archives, but also opening up rich potentials for what archive contents are free to do, once they are loosened of the limitations imposed on them by regimes of care or by the drive for preservation.

The contents of an archive, therefore, are the victims of archivization: collected, curated, purchased, donated, stolen, registered, catalogued, used (created even) as component parts of larger institutional (and social and political) projects that the museum or institutional collection serves. In many cases, these archiving projects are constructions of particular types of knowledges within specific politicized ways of seeing the world, and for most anthropological museums, this is a vision of the world-out-there, which is thus seen (defined for the first time, even) as other and different, regardless of whether or not that difference is held as derogatory, racist, or culturally devalued. On the other hand, and in a more positive sense, we now recognize the liberating potential that this more robust understanding of an archive presents. We begin to see new and empowered statuses and potentials of the objects and images held within a collection or museum store. We realize that the artefacts, photographs, and other collected materials, which were previously held at the mercy of the politicized structure and technology of the archive, are fully and always eligible for release from the confines of their collections. They are freed from what held them before: the unnatural drive for their preservation and protection, their archivization, their suffering as a side effect of the archive fever that afflicts a large part of the museum community and the heritage conservation industry. Derrida's revelations about the archive thus grant the collections' contents their freedoms. Within the context of visual repatriation, as discussed above, and its call to return images of original communities and descendants, the Derridian undermining and unlocking of the doors of the archive fit comfortably and help me move towards a resolution of the conundra presented by the 35-mm transparencies.

Decay, destruction, and release

These discussions of visual repatriation and of the archive undermined my original perception of the 1221, 35-mm slides that I had cleverly excavated from their cardboard box. Regardless, I still had no clear idea of what were my responsibilities to these image-things and to the people, animals, and other objects held within them.

Visual repatriation requires me to return images to descendent communities, but there were no descendent communities for me to reach out to: no names had been preserved of who had been photographed; no field notes or records of these photographic projects existed.[3] Even more futile would be any attempt to apply a visual repatriation methodology and ethos to the rest of the slides, the subjects of which were non-human primates, of dissected animals, of hominin fossils, and of fossil casts. If I followed my reading of Derrida, then the images were free to depart the archive: but to what destination, and by what means? Releasing the transparencies from their containment in museum file drawers and locked storerooms would take a half-step towards liberation; each person (and each animal and object), however, would remain still trapped within in the dyes and emulsions of each slide.

Part of a solution to the dilemma of how to fully release the subjects held within the slides comes from a reading of anthropologist Liam Buckley's work on collections of colonial era photographs in the National Archives of The Gambia (Buckley 2005). Buckley writes of the social lives of colonial images and of the role that the National Archive played (and continues to play) in colonial and postcolonial states, particularly in Africa. More importantly, however, Buckley makes us think about the realities of the unexpected and positive potentials that live within the processes of decay and of loss, potentials that he could not avoid as he carried out his fieldwork.

> One afternoon, while doing research in the National Archives, I was told by the Keeper of the Records. "Liam, you have something stuck to your forehead." It was a piece of a page about the size of a postage stamp from one of Bahoum's [a Gambian civil servant who photographed state events from 1947–56] albums. The power had gone down that day, the ceiling fan had stopped, and I was sweating – a piece of the brittle page must have broken off and stuck to my hand and had been transferred to my forehead as I wiped off the sweat. My hands and face were filthy and covered in brown dust. Around me, piles of newspapers stacked haphazardly filled the tables. I would open up manila folders to find small ants crawling within, files would fall apart, rusty paper clips would break, and pages would easily tear.
>
> (Buckley 2005, pp. 249–50)

Working in an archive that was in active decay, Buckley encountered difficult decisions that needed to be made about the archive he studied in The Gambia. Buckley makes a strong case against the need to preserve that archive, suggesting that the best course of action may be to allow the archives to decay. Buckley argues eloquently for letting decay happen, indeed for decay to have a right to be allowed to happen (Buckley 2005, p. 250). He wrestles with questions of why we work so hard to prevent loss and decay, asking who has the right to look after "material culture as they inevitably expire" (Buckley 2005, p. 250). In this, I am reminded of the ethics that drive visual repatriation, and the question of who has the right to retain, collect, use, or publish historic anthropological photographs.

Echoing Derrida, Buckley notes that the source of institutional order, regulation, command, and control is grounded in modernity and its political desires and economic contexts (Buckley 2005, p. 250). Taking the argument farther, however, Buckley shows us that archived colonial photographs are valued and monitored according to a set of local moral expectations, and that while those expectations include the rights to care for materials, they also include the rights to destroy. In this reasoning, decay becomes a central practice of archiving (Buckley 2005, pp. 250–1). In the local Gambian context, Buckley elevates the value of decay, as opposed both to the currencies of preservation and (for the community where he lived while carrying out his research) to assumptions (and desires by museographers) that members of the public should donate historically valuable photographs and documents to government archives. On the contrary, Buckley notes that local families felt no pressure to give their recently deceased relatives' possessions and records to state institutions of cultural archiving and remembering; in fact, a more likely practice was for descendants to destroy the deceaseds' objects and images. Buckley's article is a detailed account of decay as a process that invokes feelings for an intimacy with objects, as well as with the political and social contexts in which images, in particular, were made. In the context of colonial photographic archives, the discussion, Buckley suggests, "asks us to imagine ways of letting go" (Buckley 2005, p. 250).

Releasing the slide archive

In reading Buckley, not only did I come to see that decay was an appropriate, ethical, and professional response to questions of how best to handle archives, but further, I was drawn powerfully to the potentials that could result not only from decay, but from accelerating the processes of decay, particularly though the intentional destruction of materials held in archives and museum collections. If the normal voyage of visual repatriation (back to descendant communities) was not available to the 35-mm slides from the my university's archive, and if I no longer believed that my approach to an archive must adhere to sacred codes of preservation, containment, and the protection of its contents, then I could start to see an ethical route coming into focus: I could release the people, animals, and objects held in the slides that had been trapped in the museum collection. If, as noted from the ethnography of repatriated photographs, those images existed as spiritual essences, then the methods that should be employed in that release would require a capacity and a strength satisfactory enough to allow those essences to escape into spiritual realms of existence, most probably in media and through forms that irreversibly deconstituted them as the visual representations in which they had been held since the moment that each image had been locked down onto the glass and plastic supports in the dyes and emulsions.[4]

As described at the beginning of this chapter, the agent of release that I found to have this capacity and strength was sodium hypochlorite as present in the form of domestic cleanser *Clor*.[5] While there is nothing particularly special about *Clor*,

its application to the transparencies had both the intended chemical effects as well as unanticipated, less tangible, references: bleach is used in domestic contexts in the Western industrialized world to clean, to remove stains, to kill germs, to "make things right." Though I had not thought about the use of sodium hypochlorite in these ways when I was pouring the bleach into the plastic beakers, I started to make these connections as I sat and watched the static materials of dyes and emulsions transform from recognizable shapes (of faces, bodies, fossils, and bones) into amorphous clouds, bubbles, streams of colour, and soaring, semi-transparent, liquid vapors: movement from static and material to mobile and essential. Once I saw the material images release into liquid form, I faced new questions that came unexpectedly with the spontaneity of the success of the bleach releases. Where should I put the liquefied de-constituted essences of people, animals, and objects? What was their final destination? My answer was to send the fluid back into the natural world, down through the plumbing of the Academy of Sciences and out into the Oslo fjord.[6]

Some might see this action of bleaching, the dissolving, the dissolution (and indeed of the introduction of toxins into the Norwegian waterways) as violent, unnecessarily (and permanently) destructive acts. Others might ask what right did I have to enact these image releases, particularly when I am a white, male academic, employed by the very institution that captured and imprisoned these image that held these people, animals, and objects. Others, still, might object that in using a toxic chemical, I was doing damage in a fully industrial way, and they might ask if it was not possible for me to achieve the same results with less violent, more environmentally harmful agent of release.[7] These questions and objections worried me as well, until I came to see that the levels of violence that I sought were necessary (required even), and that the agent (i.e., me) of dissolution, of destruction, and of release needed to be a member of that same academic community that had captured the people, animals, objects on film and held them in its archive. In defining the process of release in terms of an essential, almost ritual, act that transformed a fixed, trapped image into a liberated and mobile spread of essences, I recognized that the success of this transformation between media and between states of being would rely on an equivalence of violence.[8] Violence defined the original acts of capturing each person, animal, and object's image with a camera, of processing that transparency film, of cataloging and labeling each mounted slide, of suspending each in slide files, of exposing to the public each slide with white projector light in a lecture hall, and of returning each to its place of containment in the museum files and stores. The release of individuals from within each image required an act of equal violence carried out by a similarly positioned institutional academic.

Acknowledgements

Archaeology and Heritage in the 21st Century team at the Centre for Advanced Study at the Norwegian Academy of Sciences in Oslo (Hein B. Bjerck, Mats Burström, Caitlin DeSilvey, Alfredo González-Ruibal, Tim LeCain, Saphinaz-Amal Naguib, Þóra Pétursdóttir, Chris Witmore) with special thanks to Bjørnar Olsen who led that team and who invited me to join them. In addition, I gained immensely from the comments and critique from colleagues at the following institutions who participated in workshops about the box of slides and the ethics of release: Department of Anthropology (UC Berkeley); Institute for the Study of the Ancient World (New York University); Saxo Institute (University of Copenhagen); Museum of Antiquities (University of Gothenburg); Department of Archaeology (Arctic University of Norway, Tromsø); Department of Archaeology and Classical Study (Stockholm University); Archaeology Center (Stanford University); Cotsen Institute of Archaeology (UCLA); Historical Museum (Oslo); Society for Visual Anthropology (American Anthropological Association); Material and Visual Worlds Program (SUNY Binghamton); Department of Art History (Rutgers University).

Notes

1. Excellent and important discussions of these developments include the following: Green 1984; Binney and Chaplin 1991; Edwards 1992, 2001; Turner 1995, 2002; Faris 1996; Banks and Morphy 1997; Ginsburg 1998, 1999, 2011; Ginsburg et al. 2002; Lydon 2005, 2010, 2014; Morphy and Edwards 2009; Grimshaw 2001; Pink 2003; Ruby 2005; Banks and Ruby 2011; Conor and Lydon 2011; and Pinney 2011.
2. A large literature and debate have formed over the status of the archive: Sekula 1983; Schwartz 2000; Hamilton 2002; Morton 2005; Stoler 2009; Rand 2010; Derrida 2010; Banks and Vokes 2010; Lydon 2010; Conor and Lydon 2011.
3. There remains the possibility that a person represented in the slides reproduced in this chapter or in an audience with which I discuss this material will recognize herself or himself. The potential consequent shift in agency and "ownership" will add a further, open-ended, dimension of responsibility to this project and its things.
4. There are other ethical concerns that emerge, and though it is not the task of this chapter to address these fully, it is worth raising them here. First, is a recognition that although I dissolved the images from the slides (with the result that the slide no longer exists as it once was – I have altered it, literally, beyond recognition and, as such, that original slide cannot be stored, projected, studied, or viewed as it once was) now, however, there exist electronic facsimiles of those original images. These copies live on in an unexpectedly large number and range of forms and places: here in the illustrations in this chapter; in the electronic files (as jpegs and tiffs) that I retain of the scans that I made of the slides before I treated them with bleach; and in the electronic files of PowerPoint presentations that I have created and presented at conferences, in classes, and at workshops. Furthermore, all of those electronic ghosts of the images currently drift in and out of being, rematerializing among a large, and seemingly always expanding range of electronic repositories (them-selves perhaps also to be understood as archives): the hard-drive of the laptop I am using to type these words; the external hard drive where I hold a copy of the files for the ori-ginal Oslo dissolving project; the two cloud-based backup systems that I use as second and third copies of all of my work; and, in an unintended turn of events, on the hard-drive of a laptop that was stolen from my car while writing this text.

Second, is the revelation that there also exist paper copies of many of the slides, most clearly in the five photo-books that I created during the Oslo project (Bailey 2017a–e), and that these books are openly available via Amazon (search for *The Book of Miko*). In further, perhaps unending, expansions of the distances that electronic representation can reach, there also exist downloadable pdfs of those photobooks (again from Amazon), as well as the sample images available on the relevant Amazon webpages offered as tasters to potential purchasers. One can add to this list the electronic versions of the image files held on the servers of the photo-books' publisher. In addition, Vimeo.com hosts a copy of the video of one of the slides as its image is detached and dissolved by the bleach.

In all of this, I have come to realize that in undertaking my assault on the archive of images and in my efforts to release the images by dissolving them, I may have done the opposite of what I had originally intended; I have reproduced and distributed them, and I have done so in a way that is almost without control or recall. How do I respond to members of a lecture's audience or from this book's editors and peer-reviewers when they tell me that in claiming to have dissolved and destroyed, I have actually done the opposite?

A first reply is that one of (unexpected) and powerful consequences of recording the dissolutions of the slide imagery and then, more powerfully, of showing those videos in public was the affect that the videos had on the people watching. Some were appalled. One was moved to tears. Others reported that in the clouds of pigment and chemicals they found characteristics and qualities similar to what they would expect in an art gallery, of a performance work, or from video art. Regardless of the content or the mood of these reactions, I remain convinced that the only (or perhaps, the most effective) way to draw in, stimulate, and provoke the viewers (to push them to commit to the work) was to show videos of the dissolutions in action; to do that required that I have imagery (both video clips of slides as they dissolved, and photographs revealing the before, during, and after stages for individual slides). In this sense, the work (the images, the videos, the photobooks, the PowerPoints, this chapter) is performative. A second reply is that the dissolving project, the lectures that are based on it, the PowerPoint presentations, the photo-books for sale on Amazon, and again, this book chapter itself (with its illustrations) have a primary goal of sparking conversation, argument, debate, support, and (inevitably, as it turned out) consternation about taking radical action within the realm of archive thought and action, be that photographic, archaeological, or otherwise. The act of dissolution as rhetorical stimulant.

The alternative step to take, or perhaps better, another direction in which to head would be to destroy all of these facsimiles. All of the electronic files. All of the printed copies. This chapter included. I see no reason to object to taking that path. My decision to record, reproduce, distribute, and disseminate, however, is a decision based on my belief that it is more important (or at lease of equal importance) to use these images and my contested, performed, rhetorical destructions of them, as "things" themselves that provoke debate within the politics of archives and images, especially within anthropological and archaeological institutions and among museum curators, archivists, and educators.

5. Dissolutions of the images took place in Oslo, at the Center for Advanced Study in the Norwegian Academy of Sciences; the local commercially available bleach is sold under the trade name, *Klor*.

6. For the record, soaking the transparencies was one the last of a series of attempts I had made to explore how to accelerate the decay of the images. Earlier attempts included punching holes with a stationery hole maker, cutting with scissors, and burning over an open flame. The open flame treatment helped me recognize the need to transform the material from solid slide to non-solid smoke or vapor. The experiments with scissors and hole-punch had given me the feeling that I was physically abusing both the slides and the

essential people and objects contained. Indeed, the hole punching reminded me of the 1930s Farm Security Administration's Roy Stryker's treatment of negatives that he judged did not follow the shooting scripts that agency photographers were meant to follow (Jones 2010).

7. Indeed, these where the most frequent questions and reactions from audiences to whom I presented this work, in Binghamton, Copenhagen, Gothenburg, New Brunswick, New York, Stockholm, and Tromsø.

8. I am indebted to Geneviève Godin and her cohort in the Department of Archaeology at Arctic University of Norway at Tromsø for helping me recognize the importance of violence and its balance.

References

Aird, M. 1993. *Portraits of Our Ancestors*. Brisbane: Queensland Museum.

Aird, M. 2003. Growing up with aborgines. In C. Pinney and N. Peterson (eds.) *Photographies Other Histories*, pp. 23–39. Durham, NC.: Duke University Press.

Bailey, D.W. 2017a. *The Book of Miko*. Volume 4, number 4 (Reproduction and Fossil). San Francisco, CA.: Blurb.

Bailey, D.W. 2017b. *The Book of Miko*. Volume 8, number 3 (Subjects and Dissection). San Francisco, CA.: Blurb.

Bailey, D.W. 2017c. *The Book of Miko*. Volume 17, number 1 (Ethnicity and Sexuality). San Francisco, CA.: Blurb.

Bailey, D.W. 2017d. *The Book of Miko*. Volume 23, number 6 (Grid and Classification). San Francisco, CA.: Blurb.

Bailey, D.W. 2017e. *The Book of Miko*. Volume 43, number 6 (Release and Destroy). San Francisco, CA.: Blurb.

Banks, H. and Morphy, H. (eds.) 1997. *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Banks, M. and Ruby, J. (eds.) 2011. *Made to be Seen: Perspectives on the History of Visual Anthropology* . Chicago, IL.: University of Chicago Press.

Banks, M. and Vokes, R. 2010. Introduction: anthropology, photography and the archive. *History and Anthropology* 21(4): 337–49.

Bell, J.A. 2003. Looking to see: reflections on visual repatriation in the Purari Delta, Gulf Province, Papua New Guinea. In Laura Peers and Alison Brown (eds.) *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*, pp. 111–22. London: Routledge.

Bell, J.A. 2008. Promiscuous things: perspectives on cultural property through photographs in the Purari Delta of Papua New Guinea. *International Journal of Cultural Property* 15(2): 123–39.

Binney, J. and Chaplin, G. 1991. Taking photographs home: the recovery of a Maori history. *Visual Anthropology* 4: 431–42.

Brown, A.K, Peers, L.L. and members of the Kainai Nation. 2006. *Pictures Bring Us Messages: Sinaakssiiksi Aohtsimaahpihkookiyaawa: Photographs and Histories from the Kainai Nation*. Ontario: University of Toronto Press.

Buckley, L. 2005. Objects of love and decay: colonial photographs in a post-colonial archive. *Cultural Anthropology* 20(2): 249–70.

Chaat Smith, P. 1995. The ghost in the machine. *Aperture* 139 (*Strong Hearts: Native American Visions and Voices*): 6–11.

Conor, L. and Lydon, J. 2011. Double take: reappraising the colonial archive. *Journal of Australian Studies* 35(2): 137–43.

Derrida, J. 1995. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. (trans. Eric Prenowitz). Chicago, IL.: University of Chicago Press.

Derrida, J. 2010. *Copy, Archive, Signature: A Conversation on Photography*. Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press.

Dudding, J. 2003. Photographs of Maori as cultural artefacts and their positioning within the museum. *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 15: 8–18.

Edwards, E. (ed.) 1992. *Anthropology and Photography, 1860–1920*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Edwards, E. 1994. Visualizing history: Diamond Jenness's photographs of D'Entrecasteaux Islands, Massim, 1911–1912: a case study in re-engagement. *Canberra Anthropology* 17(2): 1–25.

Edwards, E. 2001. *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology, Museums*. Oxford: Berg.

Edwards, E. 2003. Introduction: "locked" in the archive. In L. Peers and A.K. Brown (eds.) *Museums and Source Communities*, pp. 83–99. London: Routledge.

Edwards, E. 2009. Evolving images: photography, race and popular Darwinism. In D. Donald and J. Munro (eds.) *Endless Forms, Darwin, Natural Sciences and the Visual Arts*, pp. 167–93. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press.

Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (eds.) 2004a. *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*. London: Routledge.

Edwards, E. and Hart, J. 2004b. Mixed box: the cultural biography of a box of 'ethnographic' photographs. In E. Edwards and J. Hart (eds.) *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, pp. 48–64. Routledge, New York.

Faris, J.C. 1996. *Navajo and Photography: a Critical History and the Representation of an American People*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico.

Fienup-Riordan, A. 1998. Yup'ik elders in museums: fieldwork turned on its head. *Arctic Anthropology* 35 (2): 49–58.

Geismar, H. and Herle, A. (eds.) 2010. *Moving Images: John Layard, Fieldwork and Photography on Malakula Since 1914*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.

Green, D. 1984. Veins of resemblance: photography and eugenics. *Oxford Art Journal* 7(2): 3–16.

Ginsburg, F. 1998. Institutionalizing the unruly: charting a future for visual anthropology. *Ethnos* 63(2): 173–201.

Ginsburg, F. 1999. Shooting back: from ethnographic film to the ethnography of media. In T. Miller and R. Stam (eds.) *A Companion to Film Theory*, pp. 295–322. London: Blackwell.

Ginsburg, F. 2011. Native intelligence: a short history of debates on indigenous media and ethnographic film. In M. Banks and J. Ruby (eds.) *Made to Be Seen: Perspectives on the History of Visual Anthropology*, pp. 234–55. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ginsburg, F., Abu-Lughod, L., and Larkin, B. (eds.) 2002. *Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain*. Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press.

Griffiths, A. 2002. *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology and the Turn of the Century Visual Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Grimshaw, A. 2001. *The Ethnographer's Eye: Ways of Seeing in Modern Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gross, L., Katz, L. and Ruby, H. (eds.) 1988. *Image Ethics: the Moral Rights of Subjects in Photography*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gross, L., Katz, L. and Ruby, H. (eds.) 2003. *Image Ethics in the Digital Age*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Halvaksz, J. 2008. Photographing spirits: indigenous photography, ancestors and the environment in Papua New Guinea. *Visual Anthropology* 21(4) (special issue *Haunting Images: The Affective Power of Photography,* edited by B. Smith and R. Vokes): 310–26.

Halvaksz, J. 2010. The photographic assemblage duration, history and photography in Papua New Guinea. *History and Anthropology* 21(4): 411–29.

Hamilton, C. (ed.) 2002. *Refiguring the Archive*. New York: Springer.

Harlan, T. 1995. Creating a visual history: a question of ownership. *Aperture* 139 (*Strong Hearts: Native American Visions and Voices*): 20–32.

Harlan, T. 1998. Indigenous photographies: a space for indigenous realities. In J. Allison (ed.) *Native Nations: Journeys in American Photography*, pp. 233–45. London: Barbican Center.

Hill, R.W. 1998. Developed identities: seeing the stereotypes and beyond. In T. Johnson (ed.) *Spirit Capture*, pp. 139–60. Washington, DC.: Smithsonian Institution.

Jones, W.E. 2010. *Killed: Rejected Images of the Farm Security Administration*. New York: PPE.

Lydon, J. 2005. *Eye Contact: Photographing Indigenous Australians.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Lydon, J. 2010. Return: the photographic archive and technologies of indigenous memory. *Photographies* 3(2): 173–87.

Lydon, J. (ed.) 2014. *Calling the Shots: Aboriginal Photographies*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press

Michaels, E. 1991. A primer of restrictions on picture-taking in traditional areas of Aboriginal Australia. *Visual Anthropology* 4: 259–75.

Morton, C. 2005. The anthropologist as photographer: reading the monograph and reading the archive. *Visual Anthropology* 18(4): 389–405.

Morton, C. 2015. The ancestral image in the present tense. *Photographies* 8(3): 1–18.

Morton, C. and Edwards, E. (eds.) 2009. *Photography, Anthropology and History: Expanding the Frame*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Morton, C. and Oteyo, G. 2015. The Paro Manene Project: exhibiting and researching photographic histories in Western Kenya. In A.E. Coombes and R.B. Phillips (eds.) *Museum Transformations: Art, Culture, History*, pp. 311–35. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.

Peterson, N. 2003. The changing photographic contract: aborigines and image ethics. In C. Pinney and N. Peterson (eds.) *Photography's Other Histories*, pp. 119–45. Durham, NC.: Duke University Press.

Pink, S. 2003. Interdisciplinary agendas in visual research: re-situating visual anthropology. *Visual Studies* 18(2): 179–92.

Pinney, C. 1989. Other people's bodies, lives, histories? Ethical issues in the use of a photographic archive. *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 1: 57–69.

Pinney, C. 1992. The parallel histories of anthropology and photography. In E. Edwards (ed.) *Anthropology and Photography, 1860–1920*, pp. 74–95. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Pinney, C. 2011. *Photography and Anthropology*. London: Reaktion Books.

Pinney, C. and Peterson, N. (eds.) 2003. *Photography's Other Histories*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Poignant, R. 1992. Surveying the field of view: the making of the RAI photographic collection. In E. Edwards (ed.) *Anthropology and Photography*, pp. 42–73. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press.

Poignant, R. and Poignant A. 1996. *Encounter at Nagalarramba*. Canberra: National Library of Australia.

Portman, M.V. 1896. Photography for anthropologists. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 25: 75–87.

Rand, R. 2010. Thoughts on "Archive Fever." *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 7(2): 207–11.

Rickard, J. 1995. Sovereignty: a line in the sand. *Aperture* 139 (*Strong Hearts: Native American Visions and Voices*): 51–54.

Rickard, J., Longfish, G., Jackson, Z., Carroll, P.S., Carraher, R. and Tsinhnahjinnie, H.J. 1995. Sovereignty: a line in the sand. *Aperture* 139 (*Strong Hearts: Native American Visions and Voices*): 50–9.

Ruby, J. 2005. The last 20 years of visual anthropology: a critical review. *Visual Studies* 20(2): 159–70.

Schwartz, J. 2000. Records of simple truth and precision: photography, archives, and the illusion of control. *Archivaria* 50: 1–40.

Sekula, A. 1983. Reading an archive: photography between labour and capital. In B.H.D. Buchloch and R. Wilkes (eds.) *Mining Photographs and Other Pictures: a Selection from the Archives of Shedden Studio, Glace Bay 1948–1968*, pp. 193–202. Halifax: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, University of Breton Press.

Spencer, F. 1992. Some notes on the attempt to apply photography to anthropometry during the second half of the nineteenth century. In E. Edwards (ed.) *Anthropology and Photography*, pp. 99–107. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press.

Stoler, A.L. 2009. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Im Thurn E.F. 1893. Anthropological uses of the camera. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 22: 184–203.

Tsinhnahjinnie, H.J. 1998. When is a photograph worth a thousand words? In J. Alison (ed.) *Native Nations: Journeys in American Photography*, pp. 41–55. London: Barbican Art Gallery.

Tsinhnahjinnie, H.J. 2003. When is a photograph worth a thousand words? In C. Pinney and N. Peterson (eds.) *Photography's Other Histories*, pp. 40–52. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Turner, T. 1995. Representation, collaboration, and mediation in contemporary ethnographic and indigenous media. *Visual Anthropology Review* 11(2): 102–6.

Turner, T. 2002. Representation, politics, and cultural imagination in indigenous video: general points and Kayapo examples. In F. Ginsburg, L. Abu-Lughod, and B. Larkin (eds.) *Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain*, pp. 75–90. Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press.

Vizenor, G. 1998. Fugitive poses. In M. Katakis (ed.) *Excavating Voices: Listening to Photographs of Native Americans*, pp. 7–15. Philadelphia, PA.: University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.