



Curiosities [1]

Marta Bashovski

University of Victoria

I. In the Enlightenment Room, July 2014

It's my first visit to the British Museum. Previously, I've avoided it, viewing the space as an homage to the spoils of colonialism. That, and I tend to feel anxious around large groups of tourists. I find myself here now, on the recommendation of a professor who suggests that, given my interest in the history of ideas and their ordering, the Enlightenment Gallery would be the one spot in the Museum I really should see. I arrive only a couple of hours before the museum's 5:30 closing time and right away, I am sucked into the vast gift shop that takes up most of the central section of the Museum's Great Court, a wide marbled space with rooms and hallways jutting off to the galleries. Much of the gift shop is aimed at children -- there are toy Vikings, toy pharaohs, costumes, colouring books. A series of costumed rubber ducks, including one wearing what appears to be a version of the regalia of North American plains people. I consider buying it as a grotesque souvenir, but decide the incredulity is not worth the five pounds.

The Enlightenment Gallery -- The Museum's Room 1-- is located just off the Great Court. Walking in, I see a large gilded compass and a placard entitled "Classifying the World." There is something of the uncanny in being greeted by a museum representation of the basis for my research. The room looks like the library of a learned 19th century gentleman, because that is what it is. Floor to ceiling bookshelves house the library of George III [2] and display cases are evenly spread throughout, showing the collections of the British Museum's main benefactor, Sir Hans Sloane, a physician, traveller, collector, and the president of the Royal Society after Isaac Newton. The Enlightenment Gallery doesn't seem to be a major attraction, and the knots of people I worked through in the Great Court mostly don't wander into here. Perhaps visitors are more mesmerized by the exoticisms in the Viking and Pharaoh galleries, the Parthenon marbles and their narratives of civilizational origins (and imperialist looting), than in examining the underpinnings of the whole venture. Is it because the modes of understanding represented in the Enlightenment room are so integrated into our own ways of thinking that they appear a bit boring? Aren't museums spaces where we go to see the unfamiliar? Or to learn something new about what we think we already know? Perhaps this is why I feel at home here, staring at the

"Classifying the World" placard -- there is a comfort in the ordering that accompanies the feeling of being overwhelmed by all of these objects. [3]

I look for the map of the space to orient myself. There are 24 numbered cases altogether, and I can look at them in order, or not, instructs the map. In this sequence, "Classifying the World" is in the middle, "The Natural World" beginning the sequence on the right side of the room and "Trade and Discovery" closing the sequence on the left. I turn left to find prizes of British exploration -- here, a Mowachaht bowl, there, a Maori hand club, each accompanied by a commemorative medal from Captain James Cook's pertinent expeditions. I learn that through Cook's three Pacific voyages, collectors transported an estimated two thousand "ethnographic objects" in the cramped spaces of Cook's ships (Newell 2003, 248). I feel an excitement of recognition at the shapes and faces of the BC coast -- not an identification, exactly, but a kind of homey comfort, a symbol of home so far away, even when these items are themselves so far away from home, labeled briefly, their stories far from them. Yet, in seeing them here, there is a comfort in finding something to situate myself with. To classify myself with. This is followed by a slight embarrassment at both this thought and what it might suggest about me.

I move around the cases, snapping pictures of the ceremonial and spiritual belongings, some of which I know are the subject of ongoing struggles between the museum and the people whose ancestors they were taken from. [4] Later, I review the photos I've compulsively taken. Zooming in and out of the images, I consider this practice of representing these representations of Enlightenment curiosity. By taking these photos, in this gesture of taking a photograph, I've reproduced the ethos of the Enlightenment room, carrying its objects with me, to preserve, to show to those in other places in the world. What else am I doing, after all, but reproducing the British Museum's self-representation as "embodiment of the Enlightenment, and certainly one of its greatest achievements" as the Enlightenment Gallery's curator, Kim Sloan, puts it in the exhibition's accompanying volume (Sloan 2003, 14).

I pause at the many pairings of objects and commemorative portrait coins. Who gave and who took these objects? How did these exchanges occur? The objects are silent and their placards do not reveal their stories, though, undoubtedly, these stories are hidden away in the museum's backrooms. [5] Here they sit, as the visible collections of Hans Sloane and George III, the eternally paired Mowachaht bowl and the image of James Cook. Cook's image was etched into thousands of coins and cameos commemorating his various missions, representing the relationships between travellers and hosts. The eternally paired Mowachaht comb and the image of James Cook through which the museum understands its mission to "hold...in trust for the nation and the world a collection of art and antiquities from ancient and living cultures" (British Museum, "About Us"). Cook's journeys, in fact, were funded by Sloane and the Royal Society and, upon Cook's death in 1790, the British Museum established a "South Sea Room" to hold the collections gathered on his voyages.

"The Birth of Archeology" section of the exhibit examines another time and place so held "in trust," the remains of ancient Greek and Roman civilizations. [6] Enlightenment Europeans, the placard explains, sought to develop precise methods of extraction and classification for understanding the objects of their intellectual and civilizational predecessors, modes of mapping

and reading landscapes which enabled the emergence of modern archaeology. Yet, while the Enlightenment gallery largely celebrates Enlightenment's 'hits,' the Museum's displays don't shy away from the misses of Enlightenment modernity. Sometimes, Enlightenment's misses allow the contemporary viewer a coy smile: some chipped pottery is labeled with a placard reading "Cases of Mistaken Identity." It explains that "[s]ome artefacts were assumed to be Roman because they were skillfully made; others did not seem to be good enough to be Roman." The bowls in question were, in the late eighteenth century, "presented to the Museum as 'probably Brazilian'" and later found to be Simian ware from Gaul.

Case 7 ("The History of Art") offers a narrative of the diversity of classifying practices, the different modes of arranging undertaken by collectors like Sir Hans Sloane. Sometimes, objects would be arranged by subject, sometimes by use -- for war, for transport. Sometimes chronologically, "to relate to the rise and fall of civilizations." Sometimes by whether or not an object, as in the case of French collector Bernard de Montfaucon's prints, was religious or secular (god or not?). And in these modes of collecting and arranging -- "typical of many European 'cabinets of curiosity'" as Case 14, "Curiosity and Curiosities" explains -- there is a narrative about the drawing of a boundary between the classical and the modern, between cataloguing curiosities for the sake of cataloguing and cataloguing for grander purposes. Here, the cataloguing of curiosities began to take on a significance relevant to both mankind's mastery over the natural world, and the improvement of our social and political worlds (Huxley 2003, 79).

As I undertake my own classification of these classifications, I find the Enlightenment Gallery clearly demonstrates the transition between curiosity for curiosity's sake and a curiosity of greater aims in the way it positions its two patrons, Hans Sloane and George III. Case 12 ("Revolution in Science") reminds us, somewhat wistfully, that Sloane's collecting interests are on the wrong side of progress. While the Royal Society, at the time of his tenure and thereafter, was interested in conducting experiments to demonstrate scientific principles and creating new instruments to further the understanding of the laws of nature, Sloane remained a collector of ephemera, beautiful objects that illustrated different "approaches to science across time and place." [7] By contrast, George III, the Enlightenment Room's other main benefactor, was enamored with the most modern instruments, those that "illustrated contemporary theories of science," establishing the ways in which Europeans could come to know the changing world. There seems to be more than a simple distinction on the order of progressive scientism between Sloane, the old-fashioned collector-scientist and George III, the cutting edge ruler-scientist. While Sloane, as a natural historian, was interested in collecting and observing, for George III, the experimental philosopher, the aim is to intervene as a way of learning. Both seem driven by curiosity, but how does curiosity become order? What kind of order? And for whom? What happens to curiosities when they are classified in different ways? Sloane's and George III's approaches, as represented by the Enlightenment Gallery's narratives and classifications, are studies in curiosities. Curiosity -- a noun describing the odd objects represented here; curiosity -- an abstract noun describing the search for the not-yet-knowns that are the promise of Enlightenment.

Poking around these questions later, I learn that the historian of science Lorraine Daston has written about the transformations curiosity itself underwent in the 16th and 17th centuries, in tandem with both revolutions in science and colonization. By the seventeenth century, Daston argues, empiricist curiosity was linked to a kind of focused attentiveness, the drive to record everything -- an inquisitiveness -- becoming linked to a drive to consume it -- an acquisitiveness. There is, Daston suggests, a "structural affinity" between curiosity and the market for luxuries -- both insatiable. This was "decisive for the chosen objects of curiosity in early-modern science" - the objects in cabinets of curiosity like Sloane's *were* rare, exotic luxuries, collected from afar, and their value was *exchange* value, not use value (Daston 1995, 396-7). By the eighteenth century, the focus and attention with which curiosity became associated began to be separated from meandering wonder, which was associated with the vulgarities of the non-expert, the common and the arbitrary. Enlightenment desires for universal collections -- encompassing the everyday rather than the exotic -- gradually replaced vast collections of curiosities. This universality is represented in the many cases of the Enlightenment Gallery, itself a representation of the British Museum as a "collection of collections" (Sloan 2003, 133).

Yet, as I make my way around the edges of the room I find myself perhaps more mesmerized by its organization than by its contents, by the centralization of the classification of collections inasmuch as the collections themselves. I find it difficult to do anything other than enumerate -- organize and reorganize, study and teach myself these systems. I've spent most of my time here reading the placards and thinking about the way they frame these collections. I'm sucked into re-classifying. Are the objects themselves important now? In the Enlightenment Room, can they be anything more than the classifications they enable and mobilize?

The announcement comes that the museum will close in fifteen minutes and I scramble to return to the central collection -- "Classifying the World" -- which I've saved until the end. Opened in 2003 as part of the museum's 250th anniversary celebrations, the Enlightenment room "aims to recreate the experience of a museum visitor in the early years of the British Museum from its foundation in 1753 to the death of George III in 1820" ("Accessing Enlightenment," n.d., 1). In my explorations, I've found the room to be like a massive cabinet of curiosities, where curiosity is foregrounded as an impetus for the distinctiveness of the Enlightenment. This, it seems, may have been curator Kim Sloan's aim as she recreated how the museum appeared to its eighteenth century visitors for twenty-first century eyes. In the Museum's original collection, Thorsten Oppen explains, antiquities were displayed alongside natural history specimens, "and as a consequence the entire Museum resembled an old-style library with adjacent curiosity cabinet, albeit on a grand scale" (2003, 66).

Given the stunning novelty of the age, how could classification be anything but a necessary tool to make sense of this novelty? How might visitors to the museum view the wider world the museum's collections open to them, but through some kind of order? The gallery's central orienting description -- "Classifying the World" -- explains just this: the Enlightenment proliferation of classification systems to organize the many novel objects and ideas with which seventeenth and eighteenth century Europeans were faced. Based on perceived similarities and differences, and ordered along trajectories of progress and decline, these classification systems

attempt to gain knowledge about a world growing larger, denser and more complex through its ordering into manageable orders. These orders, by the late 18th century, are transposed to and encompass every aspect of human life from biological discoveries and mathematical regularities, to the religious practices of distant peoples and the emergent legal orders of nascent post-revolutionary European states. Despite -- or perhaps because of -- my immersion in these stories, I feel an incredulity at the obviousness of the order, and the obviousness with which this obviousness is presented. It seems a given that these collections were "arranged to gain knowledge about the world, past and present." Is it just as obvious that "[d]uring the Enlightenment, many people believed that lack of social and moral progress stemmed from ignorance about the world, its natural phenomena and its human history[?]" That, perhaps, one doesn't have to think about George III's interests in the advancement of science to consider Enlightenment practices of classification a political project? The breadth of these Enlightenment projects is breathtaking to my mind trained in the period's modes of persistent questioning of the conditions of possibility for such orders. An anxiety crystallizes upon consideration of the way, in its attempt to display the orders of Enlightenment pursuits of knowledge through classification and representation, the exhibit must, of course, itself reproduce and represent these classifications.

The exhibit smooths over many of the debates about the ordering it displays -- the politics through which these classifications emerged. [8] I wonder about assumptions of the possibility of scientific certainty and the European, and specifically British, management of human and natural worlds. Somehow, my visit to the Enlightenment room showcases both the crucial role of practices of classification to Enlightenment and modern thought and troubles their seeming obviousness. I leave thinking about Foucault's reflections on the boundaries of ways of knowing, the shifts when what he calls "the stark impossibility of thinking *that*" (2002, xvi) becomes something else. Foucault's call for recognizing practices of classification *as* classification leaves them open to critical analysis. Yet, do the many layers of representation in the Enlightenment room signal such a change, or are they, in their simultaneous desire "to recreate the experience of a museum visitor in the early years of the British Museum" reinforcing the classifications they seek to represent as historical, or in the past? How does one *really* think without classifying, think in ways other than through ordering and taking both pride and comfort in that order? Many possible responses have been given to this question, and yet, none seem are simultaneously (and alternatively) violent and comforting as classification.

II. Block "Lebed," Entrance "B," Apt. 61, August 2014



A week later, I am in my paternal grandmother's living room, on the opposite end of Europe, perhaps beyond Europe, but that is all in contention, and perhaps beyond the point. I am in a small city in the northwest corner of Bulgaria, the country of my birth, looking at my family's oldest photographs, some from as far back as the turn of the twentieth century. There are two ancient photos, of grandfathers many greats over, remembered only as legends -- Dedo Yotso, Dedo Neno. Yotso, one generation older. He is wearing a traditional embroidered vest and a heavy cylindrical wool cap pulled low. His thick white mustache conceals the possibility of an upturned lip below it.

His eyes are relaxed, maybe there's a twinkle, gazing to the photographer's left. A late 19th century village gentleman, he owned a lot of the land around Tsar Petrovo, built my paternal grandmother's ancestral home and was known to have no time for tax collectors. Neno married Yotso's daughter Maria. He was nothing special, says my father, but the handsomest man in the village, so she liked him. His chin juts up, his cap pushed back on his head. He seems to be looking down at the photographer with a steady gaze. His mustache is dark, ends pointing up, and he wears a suit jacket and white shirt. A wild one, he drank and fought in the pubs, drank Yotso's fortunes away, and embarrassed his family until he died young. If it wasn't for him, we might have been rich, my father muses. And qualifies, well, maybe not; they had five children. I am curious about how much of these men's personalities the photos convey. I'm not sure if it's the stories that are filling that in for me. Almost a century apart, I feel a closeness to these people as I hear my father tell their stories, laughing.





I am drawn to a photograph where my grandfather is a child -- eight or nine years old. He is standing at the back of a formal family photograph, against a pull down backdrop of leafy trees and Greek columns. Seated in front of him are his much older brother Pero and his father Vulcho. Standing behind them are Pero's young wife (her name seems to have disappeared from the familial memories) and my great-grandmother Nenka. All of them wear hats or headscarves, my grandfather's a child's newsboy cap, the older men wide brimmed wool hats. Pero has a suit on, Vulcho a vest and sweater. Baba Nenka's white shoes stand out from her dark tights and the dark floor. They all gaze directly at the camera, expressions as neutral as possible on this rare occasion, or so I read them. [9] My father remembers them, Pero especially. My great uncle Pero was quite the joker and hapless with electronics. Three transistor radios my father brought him back from business trips to Czechoslovakia, Hungary,

Poland, and three times Pero lost them or broke them in the fields, but insisted on a new one each time. Quite the character. But not quite family? At least not in my usual caricatured way -- the academic distance to, not quite protect myself, but maybe. The distance -- academic, I tell myself -- because I, nearly a century and usually an ocean and two continents away, can't possible relate. I've spent much of the last twenty-two years training myself to *not be like them*. A common story, and yet I didn't really know it was mine, too. As an oddly-named teenager in rural BC, I never wanted to share a story -- or at least not Pero's, and not my father's, and not this country's (if its countless stories can be combined so violently into one). Now, when I am here, I feel gangly and out of place. I'm not one of you, with my stiff posture and prissiness about dust and sweat, and my awkward accent and strange, impersonal arm's length interactions. "Защо е толкова дръпната Марта? Какво и е неудобно?" Some things don't translate into the English I was so desperate to perfect as a child, and in these moments I feel like maybe I am of here, even if when I am here, I am conflicted. Yet, back in Canada (home?), I find I now take possession of my birthplace. It has become my interesting 'fact' about my white, unaccented, unmarked body. "Did you know, in Bulgaria..." and so on. I embody an intermeshing of inquisitiveness and acquisitiveness.

A smart person once told me that no matter what you're researching, there is one major problem at stake throughout your career, and that problem has a very personal dimension. And so, today, I catalogue the photos and lives of my ancestors here, as I listen to my father joyfully tell their stories. I take photos of these photos, so I'll have them, to remember them, but also,

perhaps, for projects like this one. I repeat the motions I went through in the Enlightenment gallery, here. Am I "дръпната" because I often see myself as an academic, as a preserver or observer of this space rather than its inhabitant? That I take comfort in doing so? Is part of what I am doing here, so mesmerized by a kind of holding "in trust" of my family's stories, a kind of museumification? I photograph these photographs, digitize them, preserve them for a world beyond this one -- these village farmers from whom I am descended, who never left, but are now not only traveling, but traveling in the disguise of my interpretation. And in this academic classification, this mapping of my life, "my" Bulgaria, I feel closer to "them" -- my family. Is it about identification or consumption? Both? I remember Derrida's comment about writing a thesis -- "never have I felt so young, and at the same time so old." Somehow, a haphazard and not at all meticulous systematization, ordering the family photos, has the same effect, "as if two stories and two times, two rhythms were engaged in a sort of altercation in one and the same feeling of oneself, anachrony in oneself" (2004, 113). Is my obsession with classification in part due to my own perceived lack thereof, migrating and avoiding those like me, resisting and being captivated by inclusions and exclusions? Terrified, I feel a connection and a comfort in classifying. My father's stories situate the photographs like the Enlightenment room's placards: contemporary classifications to connect and re-center. The relationship between classification and storytelling becomes more complex, less oppositional, and more political than my academic writing wishes it to be. In my case, it also becomes more personal.

Notes

[1] My thanks to Kelly Aguirre, Todor Bashovski, Guillaume Filion, Joëlle Alice Michaud-Ouellet, Danielle Taschereau-Mamers and two anonymous reviewers for reading earlier versions of this text. Their comments have contributed significantly to improving this work and are very much present in it. All shortcomings that remain are, of course, my own.

[2] While the Gallery is housed in the space of the King's Library, George III's books and papers have been transferred to the British Library. The books lining the shelves of the Enlightenment Gallery are on loan from the Parliament Library.

[3] The British Museum, at its founding in 1753 was aimed at collecting the ordinary as well as the exotic -- its initial aim, in fact, was the universality so inextricable from Enlightenment aims. It was only in the late 19th century that the museum focused in on collecting cultural objects, as its scientific collections were transferred to the Natural History Museum, and its fine arts collections to the National Gallery, among others (See Sloan and Burnett 2003). In this sense, the Enlightenment Gallery is a representation of an earlier form of knowledge collecting and classifying, a form that nonetheless seems quite familiar, even though distinct from the museum's current mission.

[4] Years ago, when the British Museum's "Hidden Treasures" exhibit came to the Royal BC Museum in Victoria, a friend joked that it should be called "Stolen Treasures," and commented that her community was in litigation with the British Museum to retrieve a ceremonial object housed there. Subsequently, I've come to find out that there is a large literature on the

repatriation of indigenous objects from museums. See, for example, the debate in the media around the recent "Indigenous Australia: Enduring Civilization" exhibition at the British Museum (Farago 2015, Daley 2015). In British Columbia, the Haida have been involved in a long-standing negotiation with the British Museum (among others) for the use and return of Haida sacred objects and human remains (see *Skidgate Repatriation and Cultural Committee*, www.repatriation.ca). For more general reflections on the Canadian context of repatriation struggles, see Fisher 2012; Bell and Napoleon (eds.) 2008.

[5] Some of these stories -- or at least references to them -- are also located in the exhibition's accompanying volume, *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by its curator, Kim Sloan, and Andrew Burnett. In her opening essay, and in a series of essays on 'Voyages of Discovery,' Sloan and other contributors complicate narratives of discovery and exchange, suggesting that through re-examining "the texts of varied entanglements, we can hope to recover snatches of the vivid lives behind those stilled objects under glass" (Newell 2003, 247). Yet, these explications are often oblique, and do not refer to the aforementioned struggles around the return of the objects housed in the museum's galleries.

[6] The most infamous of these are perhaps the Parthenon marbles, a collection of ancient Greek sculptures and architectural pieces, obtained and removed under suspicious circumstances by Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin (whose name is often used in relation to these objects) between 1801 and 1812. The marbles have been the object of a dispute between Greece and the United Kingdom, with Greece's repeated requests for the return of the marbles rebuffed, and a recent mediation offer by UNESCO declined by the British Museum. See, for example, Alderman 2015 for a media commentary on the conflict, and the web site of the International Association for the Reunification of the Parthenon Sculptures (<http://www.parthenoninternational.org/>) for more in-depth archives of events related to the conflict. In another case, that of the Koh-i-Noor diamond, on display in London as part of the Crown Jewels, then Prime Minister David Cameron commented that returning the diamond to India would set an "unworkable precedent," and that "[i]f you say yes to one, you suddenly find the British Museum would be empty" ("Koh-i-Noor: India says it should not claim priceless diamond from UK" 2016).

[7] Sloane's collections are akin to the cabinets of curiosity that predated museums like the British Museum, where his collections were intended to "satisfy or stimulate a type of enquiry that was both legitimately all-encompassing and somewhat arbitrary" (Syson 2003, 115). There is an extensive literature on the history of cabinets of curiosity in Europe from the 15th to the 19th centuries. For more detailed examination, see, for example Yaya 2008, and, especially, MacGregor 2007.

[8] These debates are also largely left out of the Gallery's accompanying volume of essays. See Sloan and Burnett 2003, eds. A particularly esoteric and engaging narrative of one such cluster of debates is that around the creation of universal scientific languages in the seventeenth century -- the debates that pre-dated the neat orders and labels marking the butterflies and mollusks in the Enlightenment Gallery's "The Natural World" section. See Slaughter 1982.

[9] "Какво се хилиш като малоумна?" Roughly translated, "Why are you grinning like an idiot?" was the often repeated maternal extended family's reproach to my mother when looking at my aunt's wedding photos. My mother, then 19, stands at the end of the family lineup smiling nervously, while the rest stare deeply into the camera. I've been told that smiling in formal photographs was not considered appropriate. Perhaps this is why I seek the twinkle in the eye and the upturned lip beyond Dedo Yotso's mustache.

Works Cited

"About us," The British Museum, accessed 12 October,
https://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/management/about_us.aspx

"Accessing Enlightenment Study Pack," The British Museum, accessed 12 October,
<https://www.britishmuseum.org/pdf/British%20Museum%20Study%20Pack%20Accessing%20Enlightenment.pdf>

Alderman, Liz. "Greece Rules Out Suing British Museum Over Elgin Marbles." *The New York Times*, May 14, 2015. Accessed 6 November 2015.
http://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/15/world/europe/greece-british-museum-elgin-marbles.html?_r=0

Anderson, R.G.W. et. al., eds. 2003. *Enlightening the British: knowledge, discovery and the museum in the eighteenth century*. London: The British Museum Press.

Bell, Catherine and Val Napoleon, eds. 2008. *First Nations Cultural Heritage and Law: Case Studies, Voices, and Perspectives*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Daley, Paul. "Preservation or plunder? The battle over the British Museum's Indigenous Australian show." *The Guardian*, April 9, 2015. Accessed October 22, 2015.
<http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2015/apr/09/indigenous-australians-enduring-civilisation-british-museum-repatriation>

Daston, Lorraine. 1995. "Curiosity in early modern science." *Word & Image* 11(4), 391-404.

Derrida, Jacques. 2004. "Punctuations: The Time of a Thesis," trans. Jan Plug, in *Eyes of the University: Right to Philosophy II*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford UP, 113-128.

"Enlightenment Gallery," curated by Kim Sloane, Room 1, The British Museum, London, United Kingdom. Visited July 14, 2014.

Farago, Jason. "To return or not? Who should own indigenous art?" *BBC Online*, April 21, 2015.

Accessed October 22, 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20150421-who-should-own-indigenous-art>

Fisher, Darlene. 2012. "Repatriation Issues in First Nations Heritage Collections," *Journal of Integrated Studies* 1(3). Accessed October 22, 2015.
<http://jis.athabasca.ca/index.php/jis/article/view/79/75>

Foucault, Michel. 2002. *The Order of Things*. London: Routledge.

Huxley, Robert. 2003. "Challenging the dogma: classifying and describing the natural world." In Kim Sloan and Andrew Burnett, eds. *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, 70-79.

King, J.C.H. 2003. "Romancing the Americas: public expeditions and private research c. 1778-1827." In Kim Sloan and Andrew Burnett, eds. *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, 234-245.

"Koh-i-Noor: India says it should not claim priceless diamond from UK." *BBC News*, 16 April 2016. Accessed 17 April 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-36079644>.

MacGregor, Arthur. 2007. *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*. New Haven, CT: Yale UP.

MacGregor, Arthur, ed. 1994. *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum*. London: The British Museum Press.

MacGregor, Neil. 2003. "Preface." In Kim Sloan and Andrew Burnett, eds. *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, 6-7.

Newell, Jennifer. 2003. "Irresistible objects: Collecting in the Pacific and Australia in the reign of George III." In Kim Sloan and Andrew Burnett, eds. *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, 246-257.

Opper, Thorsten. 2003. "Ancient glory an modern learning: the sculpture-decorated library." In Kim Sloan and Andrew Burnett, eds. *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, 58-67.

Resnais, Alain and Chris Marker. 1953. *Statues Also Die* [*Les Statues Meurent Aussi*]. Youtube video, 30:03, posted by "cerebrodepao," August 19, 2012,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hZFeuiZKHcg>

Slaughter, M.M. 1982. *Universal Languages and Scientific Taxonomy in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP.

Sloan, Kim with Andrew Burnett, eds. 2003. *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*. London: The British Museum Press.

Sloan, Kim. 2003. "'Aimed at universality and belonging to the nation': the Enlightenment and the British Museum." In Kim Sloan and Andrew Burnett, eds. *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, 12-25.

Syson, Luke. 2003. "The ordering of the artificial world: collecting, classification and progress." In Kim Sloan and Andrew Burnett, eds. *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, 108-121.

Yaya, Isabel. 2008. "Wonders of America: The Curiosity Cabinet as a Site of Representation and Knowledge." *Journal of the History of Collections* 20(2), 173-188.