

Face to Face with Heritage

From Africa as an Icon of Italian Colonial Consciousness to the Contemporary Enhancement of Cultural Diversity Through the Cipriani Mask Collection

Valentina Rizzo

(Museo di Antropologia dell'Università di Bologna, Italia)

Abstract This paper's aim is to present a project for the enhancement of a collection from that period, Cipriani's masks, that is on display at the University of Bologna's Museum of Anthropology, by engaging with the system of representation that prevailed in anthropology at the time, and the issue of its legitimacy. The specific focus of this paper is to present the hypothesis of a project titled *Ex: the Dialectical Paradigm of Enhancement* based on the interpenetration of contraries. This project consists of three parts: extinction (the object's past), extension (the object's present) and the exhibition as a dialectical synthesis. Themes touched on include the negotiations between physical anthropologist and cultural anthropologist on the politic of enhancement of the collection and the common interest to go beyond the concept of racism.

Summary 1 The Extinction and Extension of a System of Representation. – 2 Exit and the Elaboration of a Synthesis about Otherness. – 3 Exposition: Portraits of Contemporary Cultural Diversity.

Keywords Italian Colonialism. Museums. Representations.

1 The Extinction and Extension of a System of Representation

The words colonialism and Africa appear frequently on the pages of Italian history books addressing the twentieth century. Museums and anthropology are closely connected with this historical period in which scientific knowledge and models of representation constructed systems for 'thinking' the otherness that was kept alive in people's collective, shared mentalities. This paper aims to present a project for the enhancement of a collection from that period, Cipriani's masks, that is on display at the University of Bologna's Museum of Anthropology, by engaging with the system of representation that prevailed in anthropology at the time, and the issue of its legitimacy. First, I would like to thank Professor Maria Giovanna Belcastro, Physical Anthropologist at the Department of Biological,

Geological and Environmental Sciences of the University of Bologna, who hosted me as a cultural anthropologist. The project represents a synthesis of discussion about the past and future prospects for carrying out an operation of enhancement on Cipriani's Collection of Masks.

Collaboration between cultural and physical anthropologists is the first step necessary for understanding how a dialectal model of thinking about heritage might be possible and for promoting such a model.

My task, as a guest-anthropologist, consisted in a recognition of sources and bibliography about the masks. The aim is to treat the collection not only as a material data, but as a peculiar data acquired and exhibited by The Museum of Anthropology of Bologna. That's why the majority of the bibliography is taken from the library of the Department to which the Museum belongs. Every proposal of enhancement was discussed and approved as a synthesis of two different visions on the Collection between physical anthropologist and me as a cultural one.

This foreword could show the reason of a dialect method to promote and re-interpret the Collection.

Enhancement, indeed, is a critical action in museography; thanks to this process, museums are able to communicate critical arguments to the public. The specific focus of this paper is to present the hypothesis of a project titled *Ex: the Dialectical Paradigm of Enhancement* based on the interpenetration of contraries. This project consists of three parts: extinction (the object's past), extension (the object's present) and the exhibition as a dialectical synthesis. The final aim is to provide a stimulating starting point for discussing the politics of representing 'Others' on the basis of Cipriani's collection of facial masks shown in the University of Bologna's Museum of Anthropology. In this case, particular attention is granted to the masks created during the period from 1927 to 1932 in Africa, although the Museum also has masks from Yemen (1927-1932), three masks of Chinese people's faces, one of a Philippine person, probably cast during a mission in Asia (1935) and the mask of a Sardinian person from a trip to Sardinia (1934); in this collection, "each of the masks is identified by: the name of the type, sex, age, and the place of origin" (Calanchi, Frassetto 1996, 124). I would like to emphasize in particular the crucial importance of the rhetorical process in explaining the process by which scientific instruments became heritage, and the kind of content they carried with them as objects in an exhibition. The masks as artifacts were purchased by Fabio Frassetto, the physical anthropologist who established the Institute of Anthropology of Bologna in 1908. Frassetto probably acquired them from the anthropologist and ethnologist Lidio Cipriani as part of his scientific collection with the intention of including them in the University of Bologna's Museum of Anthropology. The historical-scientific value of this collection lies in the fact that it was an instrument for studying human variability, a method which is no longer in use and is currently *extinct*.

From its initial origins, anthropology has produced a number of objects: for measuring otherness (Biometric Sciences), for taking photos of people in impersonal environments (Ethnographic photography), and for collecting objects (tribal art) and sometimes even human beings (such as Ote Benga, the 'Hontettot Venus'). For the majority of travelers, the act of collecting was a necessary way to document their fieldwork:

Collecting by travelers was omnivorous, because of their varied expertise and because all of them proposed to create a map of the places and peoples they had visited through these collections, almost always still unknown to the West, and to bring home the material 'proof' of their routes. (Puccini 2014, 37)

One of the most interesting examples is given by the Dakar-Gibuti expedition led by the Ethnographer Marcel Griaule. About that field, Michel Leiris, as he wrote in *Afrique Fantôme*, sentenced the robbery of artifacts from villages. The collection of objects, artifacts, masks from Oceania to Africa, tells about method and relationships during the colonization.

Over the course of my research I never located a legal document establishing that a fiscal transaction had taken place between Cipriani and Frassetto, but the historical sources suggest this collection was part of the original collection. I can hypothesize, however, that the masks were indispensable objects in a museum of anthropology. The museum followed the standards constituted by collections representing human variability, collections which attest to collaboration at a European level. For instance, the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Bologna hosts collections from Germany (Prof. Eugen Fisher, University of Berlin) and Austria (Prof. Josef Weninger, University of Wien) as well as other objects that are part of the collection that Dumoutier, Tramonda and Poch put together during the first years of the 20th century. A large part of Frassetto's work involved biometrical studies, and he sought to unify measurement methods by creating a synthesis of eugenics and biology. Each object comprising this historical collection is closely connected to Frassetto, either deriving directly from his own work or from the relationships he maintained with other European scientists through the S.A.S. *International Bulletin for the Unification of Methods and the Synthesis of Eugenic Anthropology and Biology*.¹ In August 1938 the fascist government, and in particular the Minister of Popular Culture, created the Office of Race. The ideological foundation for this approach revolved around the use of para-scientific equipment designed according to anthropological models and focused on

1 The original title of the text was *Bulletin du Comité International pour la Standardisation Anthropologique Synthétique*.

measurements, compilations and classifications. The aim was to demonstrate a direct link between physical data and psychological data to justify colonization through a theory of racial inferiority (Chiozzi 1994, 91).

To produce the facial masks in this collection, the subjects were made to lie down on the floor and the anthropologist created a plaster cast of the face of the indigenous person. This procedure produced a negative mold that could be used as a master to produce masks and copies. The most difficult part was ensuring that the people cooperated with the entirety of the operation, as in many cases they were not very confident about participating (Labanca 1992, 47). Unlike Fabio Frassetto, Cipriani was an ethnologist, although he practiced this discipline in a period in which observation had not been critically interrogated as a component of fieldwork. The fact that Cipriani never negotiated his presence in the field is key to thinking about the problem of legitimacy of representation that must be clarified in order to enhance this collection. As Jacopo Moggi has explained in reference to Cipriani's photos:

Beyond his involvement in the racial policies of the Fascist regime, Cipriani's career should be remembered for his important scientific contributions and in particular for his photographic collections. His photographs aspired to objectivity because they were based on a clear separation between the observing subject and the object being pottered. Convinced that there must be a great distance between the two protagonists of the operation, he used new stratagems based on technological innovation using Leica camera he could even take photographs of people who were unwilling to be depicted. (Landi, Moggi 2014, 29)

According to the *thesis* of that period, the sciences that treated human beings used various instruments to give intellectuals, scientists, and the people of the nation representations. It is not possible from our contemporary perspective to theorize about the methods of representation. These instruments in a museum offer us suggestions about a new life for the objects. Although anthropology (cultural and physical) has by now thoroughly discarded the concept of race, visitors often view these masks as 'faces from all over the world'. Indeed, the word 'race' lingers on in our language as an expression of cultural diversity. In antithesis with the past, the present of the object highlights peoples' ability to interpret the objects on display using expressions from the past. Objects could write diaries about their stories. In studies of material culture Igor Kopytoff (1986) pinpoints the biography of objects and their ability to move in many different social rules.

According to science, representations serve to order the world in an objective way; in reality, however, the world is more complex. I would argue that instruments contribute to constructing an image:

Image derives from the word *imago*, which evokes the idea of imitation

in perceptual terms: *im-* from which the word imitation originates and *sim-* which gives rise to *similis* or *simulacro*, terms that index the representation of something convincing (Pennacini 2010, 188). Images are thus associated with the sense of sight and, if this serves to strengthen the level of mindset, then it surely also strengthens the level of ideas (from the Latin *eidos*, derived from the linguistic root meaning “to see”). Ideas are in flux; indeed, as Plato has argued, ideas are by their nature dynamic, live and animated (Remotti 2010, 310). During the period of interaction in Africa, Europeans not only captured the typologies of human and ethnological variability, they also added and imposed their own cultural categories to legitimize this difference. If the production of ideas is continually changing, this must be matched by a reorganization of images. But how? Cultural anthropologist concept should not be felt as interferences. The interesting experiences of ‘Museum Studies’, for example, are untimely.

2 Exit and the Elaboration of a Synthesis about Otherness

Before going ahead, I want to introduce a short reflection on the terms coming from material culture often to better understand how to recombine a code from language to museology. How might the exhibit maintain this historical context and suggest what indigenous people would have said if they had been able to negotiate their identities? In the museum, objects are subjected to a change of value. Museums transmit not only knowledge but also a model for expressing its content. Using a semiotic definition, in this article I consider two levels of practices. First, the code used in the field of museology is based on semiotics in that it is capable of simultaneously analysing language and, at the same time, our natural world (Fabbri 1999, 8) and it can go beyond the distinctions it itself creates, thereby separating the dimension of *paradigma* from the dimension of *sintagma* (separating the taxonomic order from rules of combination) (9). Cipriani’s masks have a scientific past and a present in museology, but to enable the masks to recount history and a critical vision of humanity, the exhibition would need to recombine the past and present in a way that allows the masks to say something about these elements. Obviously, the method must be coherent with the uses of items. In his studies of deep social relationships, Marx observes how people establish relationships with objects. In particular, the impulse to criticize and to reveal the intimacy between society and objects comes from the historical and philosophical context of social suffering and the prevalence of Hegelian Idealism. In his *Theses on Feuerbach*, Marx notes the relational sequences of material culture, highlighting the way German language fixes complexity and variability: *Gegenstand* is the object in a phenomenological key, it is something that remains in front of; object, on the contrary, creates relationships and is

projected outside of the subject. In talking about Marx, Baudrillard claims that anthropologists often reduce natives' systems of representation to mere mythology. Anthropologists create fetishism. This takes the place of scientific analysis, passing on the "whole western ideology" (Baudrillard 2010, 81-3), which was 'crystallized' first in the *Wunderkammer* and then in the museum, before the adoption of new, contemporary approaches to museology. The predicament of culture is a critical ethnography of the West in its changing relations with other societies. Analysing cultural practices such as anthropology, travel writing, collecting, and museum displays of tribal art, James Clifford shows authoritative accounts of other ways of life to be contingent fictions that are now actively contested in postcolonial contexts. Clifford, starting from the poetess and Princeton professor Susan Steward, comments:

She shows how collections, most notably museums, create the illusion of adequate representation of a world by first cutting objects out of specific contexts (whether cultural, historical, or intersubjective) and making them 'stand for' abstract wholes, a 'Bambara mask', for example, becoming an ethnographic metonym for Bambara culture. [...] Paralleling Marx's account of the fantastic objectification of commodities, Steward argues that in the modern Western museum 'an illusion of a relation between things takes the place of a social relation'. [...] The objective world is given, not produced, and thus historical relations of power in the work of acquisition are occulted. The making of meaning in the museum classification and display is mystified as adequate representation. The time and order of the collection erase the concrete social labor of its making. (Clifford 1988, 220)

During the first half of the 19th century, scholars in North America took a pioneering role in launching a discussion about collecting and the organization and exhibition of objects associated with 'Others'. The reason for this attitude can be traced to colonial policy in that exploitation and the progressive establishment of the country led to the original territories of indigenous peoples being organized into gradually more institutionalized units. For example, Pitt-Rivers' collection was developed along these lines and aimed at highlighting the exotic rather than the ancient according to two main principles of organization: similarities of form and functional affinities. In this logic the objects take part, like links, in the chain of progress. The "Ethnological Society" treated material culture as an aspect of physical description, attributes that differentiate among the races. Indeed, the general overview 'Evolution of culture' grants a great deal of attention to identifying similar objects and organizing them according to the principle of continuity or modification through small gradations. In this way, it was possible to lead to the degeneration or progress of humanity. Identity constructions were related to material forms, so the approach was not only

phenomenological but relational and dialectic. The development of American anthropology linked the structure of museological reflection to ethnology and physical anthropology in a 'joint study of optics'. Franz Boas, the father of historical particularism, organized the Museum of Natural History according to academic principles, as if it were a university, bringing in a large number of researchers to contextualize the objects. The many innovations showcased here included the idea of scenes from daily life, that is, "the ethnological specimen in its history and environment" (Jackins 2000, 62). This idea represented a crucial step towards ensuring that visitors understand the contents within a more complex frame, as well as a way to help less cultured visitors grasp the materia. These were fictions, reconstructions, in which the *limes* were not to have been obscured but rather highlighted. French museums summed up the many theoretical shifts that anthropology had taken over time, emphasizing the steps and policy changes that had taken place in museum anthropology. The example of Pablo Picasso's *Les Femmes d'Alger (O. J. R. M.)* is particularly telling. More than the result, it is the "tormented genesis of this work" (Ginzburg 2014, 144) akin to art premier that interests us. Carlo Ginzburg analyses the process through which Picasso, who was powerfully influenced by African art and more specifically the African art on display at the Trocadéro in Paris, overcame exoticism. In *Rapporti di Forza*, Ginzburg conducts a highly-detailed analysis of the historical sources to trace concepts of history, rhetoric and testing from their origins. The case of Picasso aids us in understanding representation and the meanings associated with exhibition and, therefore, fuelling a reflection on the objectives of exhibition. It was precisely Picasso's education in the classical tradition that allowed him to seize and take possession of art he conceptualized as exotic. This example has a great deal to teach. Picasso went over the piece again and again, making changes. The *Femmes d'Alger* certainly constitutes an effective interpretation on the process of ethnographic and museological representation. Following a process of reviewing and negotiating the images, the postures of classical Venuses met African masks, not just any masks but the masks already in the process of becoming museum displays that Picasso viewed and studied at the Trocadéro in Paris. This example should have clarified the process of building of a mindset and the chain of reflections on visitors about cultures.

As Ginzburg says:

Of course the juxtaposition of classic echoes and elements inspired by figurative traditions found in the *Femmes d'Alger* was radically foreign to racism and exoticism. However, that juxtaposition indirectly testified to the strength of a cultural tradition that had provided the ideological justification and intellectual tools for Europe to conquer the world. (Ginzburg 2014, 144)

Obviously, discourses are produced in different dimensions and in more or less dense gradations. What we need to grasp is the potential of representations to produce social work and dynamic processing, knowledge and awareness of collection processes. According to Michel Foucault, the main characteristic of modern Western culture is the continuous accumulation of time in an immobile space. In his analysis, the public museum and national library thus represent emblems of efforts made as early as the nineteenth century to introduce a new space of representation. Brian Durrans, a researcher at the British Museum, has noted that:

The issue of who controls representation, however, is hardly a productive subject for discussion outside a wider programme concerned with political power. Taken in isolation, as if it were a matter lightly to be considered by curators or directors, this deeply political question finds itself parodied as merely another consumer choice. It is strangely inconsistent for those emphasizing the social embeddedness of museums, as most contributors to *Exhibiting Cultures* do, to imply that control over the images created by exhibitions can be resolved without tackling the embracing issue of political power. (Durrans 1992, 11-15)

The most important aspect of exhibition is getting the exhibition right. To return to the case of Bologna's Museum of Anthropology, it would be inappropriate to extend the collection regarding African cultures; in some ways, Cipriani's collection remains an isolated historical scientific collection that testifies to an unresolved question about the legitimacy of representation. By recovering the etymological meaning of the word *fingere* from latin *fingo* (to pretend) we can attend to the value of constructing nothing more than patterns of representation, in which material production is an expression: "The operation was simple but so delicate, it encountered many barriers, one of them being the subjects' candid fear of dying by suffocation" (Cipriani 1938; Calanchi, Facchini 1996, 124).

3 Exposition: Portraits of Contemporary Cultural Diversity

In the human sciences - Carlo Ginzburg explains-, the concept of representation has had a great success, often due precisely to its ambiguity. "On the one hand, 'representation' stands for reality represented, and thus evokes absence; on the other hand, it makes visible the reality being represented and therefore suggests presence" (Ginzburg 2014, 82). In the field of exhibition, for example, objects occupy the space of a specific environment which in turn has a certain set of cultural connotations. The objects are placed in relation to each other to communicate and suggest discourse. In the representation of a subject, the intimate relationship of presence/

absence comes to life. The idea that these two elements are in opposition, however, is a western assumption that proceeds by distinguishing rather than the application of procedural order. In relation to dualism, the German historian and art critic Carl Einstein has argued that cube-surrealism functions to overturn the hierarchy among levels of reality:

One thing is important: to shake up what is called reality by means of non-reconciled hallucinations in a way that alters the existing hierarchies of value. [...] The dense fabric of this reality is torn and the tensions of duality come to life. (Einstein 1929, 95)

In a sense, the operation that a museum carries out with its exhibits is to resolve the conflict of the relationship between what is present and what is missing, what you use and what you admire, as occurs in hyperbolic manner in a technology museum. From an historical-anthropological perspective, there is also another scenario that reveals the increasingly dense interweaving of biological science and politics with society. The fascist period process of interventionism in Africa was not only generated by the relationship among academics, intellectuals, scientists and the PNF; the nation's involvement was meant to constitute an effective element for producing a representation of Africa as opposed to the values associated with the identity of *Ventennio* in Italy.² An idea of Africa "gradually reduced to virtual reality, artificially reconstructed" was 'invented,' was gradually transformed into an Africa on display, the Africa of museums exhibits and colonial fairs that was set up again and again by "relocating and deporting images, objects, products, men and women, fauna and flora" from the colonies "into the squares of Italy" in order to display them in real life - and in contrast - with the country's still-existent internal otherness (Triulzi 1999, 180). This political process of representation was a fundamental element of the *Overseas Exhibition* inaugurated in Naples on May 9 1940. Indeed, this exhibition was designed to represent the value of the fascist enterprise and the civilizing mission of fascist colonial rule in Africa, in contrast with the previous mode of government. It lasted just over a month but, due to Italy's entry into the war, it was presented with great fanfare: 54 buildings and 150 exhibition halls built in 500 days. Gianni Dore writes:

An assembly of representatives of ethnic groups, environments, landscapes and techniques: indigenous people offering special group photos, a walk down the paths with a decorated camel, busy demonstrating shooting with bow and arrow or the javelin, engaged in daily technical actions such as weaving the hut. A simulation of fragments of real life. (Dore 1992, 52)

2 Italian word that indicates the two decades of Fascist government.

The evolution/degeneration opposition is the most typical contradiction of positivist thought, and it is the reason why the 20th century racism continued to live its own eugenic myth of evolutionary progress in opposition to the degeneration represented by inferior races, which were later slated for elimination (Villa 1999, 408). Fascism inherited the keen interest many scholars displayed in racial eugenics. Beginning with the conquest of Ethiopia in 1936 and the racial laws of 1938, social scientists showed increasing interest in the bio-genetic category of the 'Italian race'. The size of the collection testifies to a clear political vision on the part of the museum in which the prevailing perspective is that of aggregation as an opportunity to represent and, in the case of Durrans, specifically to represent cultures. Expressions of the construction of a new scientific cultural order, the museum institutions opposed the chaotic disorder of impromptu displays with the fixity of their representations (Cafuri 2000, 13-14). This transition from chaos to order within the museum was meant to simultaneously represent the history "of the progress of science from error to truth" (Bennet 1995, 4). In the museum, objects live a new experience of life. Exhibition was understood as the synthesis of the interpenetration of two opposites, one extinct (the past) and one extant (present in the sense of presence) capable of interpreting the subject in the light of present-day needs. This factor is not reducible:

To discover the various uses of things is the work of history. So also is the establishment of socially-recognized standards of measure for the quantities of these useful objects. The diversity of these measures has its origin partly in the diverse nature of the objects to be measured, partly in convention. (Marx 2011, 53)

It follows that the task of anthropology is to find social and museological measures and to generate discourses that contribute to producing value in the society through museums and their associated practices.

The ethnography of an object should recount the meaningful relationships involved in the given context of reference, highlighting the close interactions among people and objects through a form of narration that transcends categorizations and the distinction between form and content; otherwise, it ends up being "merely didactic", as "the material forces would not be historically conceivable without form, and ideologies without material forces would be individual whims" (Gramsci 1975, 869). This statement of Gramsci refers to the theory of hegemony and the "historical bloc" (Gramsci 2012, 120) according to which material forces are the content and ideologies the form. Gramsci's main point in this passage is to develop, including through material forms, ideology as a way of developing a populations' own group consciousness rather than as a form of 'false consciousness'. Unlike Marx, Gramsci does not argue that intellectual groups determine the historical

process; rather, he claims that economic processes determine intellectual groups' ways of being. The very origin of different historical realities can be found in the formation of a hegemonic social group that 'cements' the whole society around it through the ideology of the organization of consent, the state apparatus, thus creating an historical bloc. The concept of historical bloc therefore refers to both the existence of this close relationship between structure and superstructure within a given society, and the potentially dominant class' possibility of establishing the conditions for the creation of a new social organization that provides an alternative to the existing one.³ There is a recent point of contact between the world of museums and that of anthropology in that both have experienced a kind "crisis of representation" (Cafuri 2000, 1). Indeed, since the colonial period, with science museums and modern museums, the object has been subjected to a form of control that anthropology initially took an active part in enacting. Later, the discipline distanced itself from this approach and rejected it. In its application in museum contexts, anthropology must avoid a one-dimensional approach that treats representation as a unique means of making reparations to otherness. In the contemporary context, the role of anthropology must contribute in terms of applied anthropology, not only theory.

The most considerable part of the project is to involve visitors. The majority of the public consists in children who come to the museum to know the history and the hypothesis about the evolution. The renovation applied on the Collection could extend the public, pointing to adults and to new segment of people, for example blind people. Scientific Museums of the University are often part of two institutions: the System of Museums of the University and the Scientific Department of the University, from which every 'responsible' is called. The duplicity of competence on the museum gets more complicate the realization of projects. It could be necessary have double agreements on a project. Projects of participation must consider a solid structure to give business case and continuity. An unvaried presence of employed staff (not of volunteers) makes an innovative idea into a program. To re-think a collection is a hard task and it is a politic negation of idea from a different field. As Frances Larson (referring to the Shrunken Heads of the Shuar) explains, "museums have a duty to tell the stories of the dead, and to show other cultures as rational, meaningful and part of the same modern community" (Larson 2014, 52). How is it possible to extend the field and the imaginary of the faces of Cipriani? Cecilia Penacini shows in several of her works how objects contribute to create a

3 According to Gramsci, the Communist Party needed to develop the hegemonic role of the working class and implement its program for a new historical bloc. In the work of Gramsci, the concept of historical bloc, like that of hegemony, therefore forms part of a larger recognition of the importance of theory and, in general, of politics, especially in their critical function in relation to economic trends.

mindset about Africa (Pennacini 2011, 2014). At first I was sure about the necessity to consider the Cipriani's Collection as portraits. After debating in the museum we decided to borrow a code out of the action of seeing. Nowadays masks are exhibited exactly as in the past. My idea starts from the will that it is possible to maintain the historical set, adding elements from contemporary debates on culture and on nature. If the mask as a visual object provides evidence of human variation, the same mask might also offer a feeling or experience of equality. The approach developed by David Howes, for example in *Varieties of sensory experience* (1991), calls for considering the different systems of classification used in other societies, showing that ocularcentrism is a western apparatus produced by specific historical and cultural events. The Marxist perspective also contributes to providing a useful vocabulary for addressing the theme of material culture and has been decisive in defining the dialectical process, a project', we should continue even today.

To produce a critical combination of the elements outlined above, this project considers the use of touch as a way of gaining familiarity with and experiencing the collection. This approach would allow visitors to trust in the object, accepting all of its ambiguities and recognizing the invisible dimension that an object in a museum possesses. In suggesting exercises for ethnographers, Sara Pink proposes a perspective of feeling for interpreting through the use of resonance. I believe that a collection such as Cipriani's needs to overturn the orders of knowledge to propose a new way of orienting representation. Touching without seeing will never demonstrate the difference between a Tuareg type and a Bosciman type. And yet the aim of a museum is no longer to show visitors things, but rather to enchant them. Exhibition might offer many aesthetic possibilities, but the absence of this creativity must take a leading role in recounting histories and offering suggestions. As a first step, the interpenetration of opposites comprises two aspects of an object, its past (thesis, extinct) and present life (which is extensive in that it raises the object to an interpretative level based on contemporary social value) and a synthesis, that is, the exhibition. The legitimacy of the representation can only be resolved through clear intentions and the public demonstration enacted by this representation based on a temporary form of legitimacy, a code that is partially shared and, unquestionably, an honest acknowledgement of the inherent ambiguity of representation itself.

Bibliography

Barsanti, Giulio; Landi, Mariangela (2014). "Tra antropologia, etnologia e psicologia comparata. Il Museo della storia naturale dell'uomo. Paolo Mantegazza e Aldobrandino Mochi". Moggi Cecchi, Jacopo; Stanyon,

- Roscoe (a cura di), *Le collezioni antropologiche ed etnologiche*. Vol. 5 di *Il Museo di storia naturale dell'Università di Firenze*. Firenze: Firenze University Press, 3-23.
- Baudrillard, Jean [1972] (2010). *Per una critica dell'economia politica del segno*. Milano: Mimesis.
- Bennett, Tony (1995). *The Birth of the Museum. History, Theory, Politics*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Cafuri, Roberta (2000). "Quale cultura, storia e territorio rappresentare oggi?". Remotti, Francesco (a cura di), *Memoria, terreni, musei*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1-29.
- Calanchi, Elisabetta; Frassetto, Fabio (1996). "La diversità umana delle collezioni del museo di antropologia dell'Università di Bologna". *Museologia Scientifica*, vol. 13, 113-130.
- Centro Furio Jesi; Bidussa, David (a cura di) (1994). *La menzogna della Razza. Documenti e immagini del razzismo e dell'antisemitismo fascista*. Bologna: Grafis.
- Cipriani, Lidio (1932). *In Africa dal Capo al Cairo*. Firenze: Bemporad.
- Cipriani, Lidio (1936). *Un assurdo etnico. L'Impero etiopico*. Firenze: Bemporad.
- Cipriani Lidio (1938). *Ricerche antropologiche sulle popolazioni della regione del Lago Tana*. Reale Accademia d'Italia, vol. 16, 7-28.
- Chiozzi, Paolo (1994). "Autoritratto del razzismo. Le fotografie antropologiche di Lidio Cipriani". Centro Furio Jesi (a cura di), *La menzogna della razza. Documenti e immagini del razzismo e dell'antisemitismo fascista*. Bologna: Grafis, 91-4.
- Clifford, James (1988). *The Predicament of Culture. Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*. London; Cambridge (USA): Harvard University Press.
- Dore, Gianni (1992). "Ideologia coloniale e senso comune etnografico nella mostra delle terre italiane d'Oltremare". Labanca, Nicola (a cura di), *L'Africa in vetrina. Storie di musei e di esposizioni coloniali in Italia*. Treviso: Pagus, 47-65.
- Durrans, Brian (1992). "Behind the Scenes, Museums and Selective Criticism". *Anthropology Today*, 8, 11-15.
- Eco, Umberto (1976). "Introduzione". Fagone, Vittorio (a cura di), *Il Momento artigiano. Aspetti della cultura materiale in Italia*. Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 7-12.
- Einstein, Carl (1929). "André Masson, étude ethnologique". *Documents*, 1(2), 93-104.
- Fabbi, Paolo (1999). "Oggetti come segni. Programmi d'azione e di comunicazione". Di Valerio, Franca (a cura di), *Contesto e identità. Gli oggetti fuori e dentro i musei*. Bologna: Clueb, 8-9.

- Frassetto, Fabio (1939). *Trent'anni di storia della cattedra e dell'istituto di antropologia generale ed applicata della R. Università di Bologna e breve curriculum vitae del Prof. Frassetto*. Bologna: Tipografia Luigi Parma.
- Frassetto, Fabio (1940). "Per una metodologia riguardante la diagnosi e la valutazione dei caratteri morfologici e metrici nello studio della personalità del delinquente (Codex Anthropologicus)". *Bollettino del Comitato Internazionale per L'unificazione dei metodi e per la sintesi in Antropologia Eugenică e Biologia*. Vol. 10, Bologna, 1-11.
- Ginzburg, Carlo (2014). *Rapporti di forza. Storia, retorica, prova*. Milano: Feltrinelli.
- Gramsci, Antonio (1975). *Quaderni dal Carcere. Quaderno 7*. Gerratana, Valentino, Edizione Critica. Torino: Einaudi, 869.
- Gramsci, Antonio (2012). *Il moderno Principe. Il partito e la lotta per l'egemonia. Quaderno 13. Notarelle sulla politica del Machiavelli*, Donzelli, Carmine (a cura di). Roma: Donzelli Editore, 120.
- Jackins, I. (2000). "Franz Boas e le mostre. Sui limiti del metodo museale in antropologia". Stocking G. W. (a cura di), *Gli oggetti e gli altri. Saggi sui musei e la cultura materiale*. Roma: Einaudi, 9-71.
- Kopitoff, Igor (1986). "The Cultural Biography of Things. Commoditization as Process". Appadurai Arjun. (ed.), *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 64-91.
- Labanca, Nicola (1999). "Il razzismo coloniale italiano". Burgio, Alberto (a cura di), *Nel nome della razza. Il razzismo nella storia d'Italia 1870-1945*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 145-63.
- Landi, Mariangela; Moggi Cecchi, Jacopo (2014). "L'antropologia coloniale: 'dai popoli del mondo all'uomo del fascismo'. Nello Puccioni, Lidio Cipriani". Moggi Cecchi, Jacopo; Stanyon, Roscoe (a cura di), *Le collezioni antropologiche ed etnologiche*. Vol. 5 di *Il Museo di storia naturale dell'Università di Firenze*. Firenze: Firenze University Press, 23-32.
- Landra, Guido (1949). "Antropologia". Landra, Guido; Gemelli, Agostino; Banissioni, Ferruccio (a cura di), *Antropologia e psicologia*. Milano: Bompiani, 312-15.
- Larson, Frances (2014). *Teste Mozze. Storie di decapitazioni, reliquie, trofei, souvenir e crani illustri*. Novara: Utet.
- Marx, Karl (1977). "Tesi su Feuerbach". Barletta, Giuseppe. (a cura di), *Marx, Engels, Lenin. Sulla scienza*. Bari: Dedalo Libri, 167-71.
- Marx, Karl [1967] (2011). "Processo di produzione del Capitale". Libro 1 di *Il Capitale. Critica dell'economia politica*. Edizione Integrale. Roma: Grandi Tascabili Economici Newton.
- Marx, Karl; Engels, Friedrich (1969). *L'ideologia tedesca. Critica della più recente filosofia tedesca nei suoi rappresentanti Feuerbach, B. Bauer e Stirner, e del socialismo tedesco e dei suoi vari profeti*. Roma: Editori Riuniti.

- Pennacini, Cecilia (2010). "Immagini". Pennacini, Cecilia (a cura di), *La ricerca sul campo in antropologia. Oggetti e metodi*. Roma: Carocci, 187-221.
- Pennacini, Cecilia (2011). "La riscoperta del patrimonio culturale dell'Uganda contemporanea". *La ricerca africanistica in Italia. Studi in memoria di Bernardo Bernardi*. Num. 1-2 di *L'uomo Società Tradizione Sviluppo*. Roma: Carocci, 115-137.
- Pennacini, Cecilia (2014). "The Visual Anthropology Archive. Images of Africa in Italian Collection". Ferrarini, Lorenzo (a cura di), *Archivio di Etnografia, Making Images of Africa*, 9. Bari: Edizioni di Pagina, 93-111.
- Pink, Sarah (2009). *Doing Sensory Ethnography*. London: Sage.
- Puccini, Sandra (2014). "I viaggiatori nel museo". Moggi Cecchi, Jacopo; Stanyon, Roscoe (a cura di), *Le collezioni antropologiche ed etnologiche*. Vol. 5 di *Il Museo di storia naturale dell'Università di Firenze*. Firenze: Firenze University Press, 33-8.
- Remotti, Francesco (2010). "Idee". Pennacini, Cecilia (a cura di), *La ricerca sul campo in antropologia. Oggetti e metodi*. Roma: Carocci, 287-323.
- Triulzi, Alessandro (1999). "La costruzione dell'immagine dell'Africa e degli africani nell'Italia coloniale". Burgio, Alberto (a cura di), *Nel nome della razza. Il razzismo nella storia d'Italia 1870-1945*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 165-81.
- Turci, Mario. (1999). "Uomini, oggetti, musei. Sguardi d'antropologia fra disciplina e immaginazione". Di Valerio, Franca (a cura di), *Contesto e identità. Gli oggetti fuori e dentro i musei*. Bologna: Clueb, 161-76.
- Villa, Renzo (1999). "La critica antropologica. Orizzonti e modelli di lettura alla fine del XIX secolo". Burgio, Alberto (a cura di), *Nel nome della razza. Il razzismo nella storia d'Italia 1870-1945*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 407-22.

