

Syllabus Master History of Society

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## **THE CHOREOGRAPHY OF TIME**

### **TEMPORALITY AT NINETEENTH CENTURY WORLD EXPOSITIONS<sup>1</sup>**

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Some time ago a picture in a Dutch newspaper caught my eye.<sup>2</sup> There was something odd about it. Against a background of windmills, a man and a woman were looking straight into the camera lens. Their clothes and hair seemed to be from the 1960s. I wondered whether they were Japanese tourists, somewhere in the Netherlands. But somehow, the whole scene looked more like a decor for a theater production.

The photograph turned out to be part of a series that played an ingenious trick with time and space. The man and woman were Belgian actors in Nagasaki. They were posing as Dutch people imitating Japanese tourists. In 2001 photographer Barbara Visser had placed these imitation tourists against the backdrop of Dutch architectural replicas in a Japanese theme park called *Huis Ten Bosch City*.<sup>3</sup> The real Huis Ten Bosch is a seventeenth century palace in The Hague, nowadays the residence of the Dutch queen. Ten years ago the real estate developer Yoshikuni Kamichika decided to construct *Huis Ten Bosch City* so that Japanese people could catch a glimpse of "historical Holland" without having to travel to the West. The park has several life-size replicas of existing Dutch buildings and cityscapes. They are positioned with no regard for their actual geographical proximity in the Netherlands; in the theme park, windmills and dykes stand next to a cathedral and a castle. This reality is more perfect than the real one. There is no litter in the streets, and none of the buildings are defaced by graffiti. The garden of the real Huis Ten Bosch is unfinished, but the Japanese one has been completed. Interestingly enough, this view of "Holland" comes from Asia and has, in turn, been manipulated by a Dutch artist.

To what extent is this choreography of time a typical example of a postmodernist

relationship to past and present?<sup>4</sup> Barbara Visser's pictures seem to relate to the rapid transformation of society, the current processes of globalisation, and the increasing hybridity of identities and boundaries. The order of time and space is completely blurred. The photographic representation of the theme park deliberately challenges the distinction between "real" and "false" versions of reality, between historically accurate representations and entertainment. Would this experiment have been possible or even thinkable in a modern context? To be able to understand the peculiarity of this layered 'Dutch' setting in Japan and the historicity of its ironic play with time and space, it is worthwhile to compare this image with some earlier theme parks set up at the world expositions. Since their inception in 1851, world expositions manipulated with time and space. Particularly in the nineteenth century, these gigantic spectacles attracted millions of visitors who encountered exhibits of foreign countries and past cultures, giving them a feeling of traveling through time and space. For several (educational and entertaining) reasons the organizers constructed different time frames located at sites within the same fair where time seemed accelerated, stagnated or frozen. To avoid that the public felt disoriented and confused after their visits, they developed specific narrative strategies to guide the visitors on the immense fair grounds.

This article reflects on the nineteenth-century world expositions from Jan Assmann's perspective on the heterogeneity of cultures.<sup>5</sup> I will regard the fairs as heterogeneous wholes with diverse time sites that articulated and stimulated new temporal experiences. They offer a fascinating case to examine people's past relationship at the time, and to find out if and how these modern theme parks differ from postmodern examples.

## **EXPERIENCING TIME AT THE WORLD EXPOSITIONS**

The world expositions that became *en vogue* in the second half of the nineteenth century overwhelmingly expressed the growing gap between the space of experience and the horizon of expectations. These vistas celebrated scientific and technological progress, and stimulated competition between Western nations. From 1851 onwards, millions of people visited the sites of industry and artisanship in London, Paris, Vienna, Philadelphia, Chicago, Brussels, and other cities, to see manufactured goods, tools, machinery, inventions and architecture, primarily from Western countries. A significant new strategy of these expositions - very likely derived from classical mnemonics - was to match the classification of the exhibited items with an explanatory tour.<sup>6</sup> World fairs were complex narratives, articulating specific temporal experiences. The

exhibitors presented their - often national - view on society by organizing the construction of rooms, halls and pavilions, the selection and ordering of objects, the textual explanation and marketing of the exposition. The whole lay-out - a configuration of time - produced meaning to the objects on display, whereas walking tours and illustrated guides helped the visitors to link the elements and to refigure time. All these narrative efforts made the expositions "readable".<sup>7</sup>

Although each world exposition had its own rhetoric and "plot", generally these manifestations popularized some important Enlightenment ideas and perspectives for the larger public. This happened in three ways: in the encyclopedic urge to classify every single object, in the desire for a visual overview of the world as a whole, and in the extreme emphasis on progress and the future by ingenious choreographies of time. For most organizers the rationale of an exposition was the advancement of Western civilization: "the world had to be seen as being in some kind of advancing flux, with a stable - and inevitable - future of plenty on the horizon".<sup>8</sup>

One of the most impressive examples was the Paris *Exposition Universelle* in 1867.<sup>9</sup> Mining engineer Frédéric Le Play designed an exposition that articulated a utopian desire for a harmonic, rational society. Its plot comprised the rise, progress and triumph of Western civilization. Le Play carefully planned every last detail of his exposition's main building. He designed a coherent unity by organizing the classification of displayed objects into an architectural form. Seven concentric oval galleries were built on the Champs de Mars.<sup>10</sup> In the roofed-over galleries, all objects were displayed according to specific categories. By touring one gallery, spectators could compare countries in a particular category. The outer ring was reserved for shops, restaurants and cafés from the participating countries. The next ring was full of steel and smoke; there were power looms, spinning machines, typesetting machines, tractors, locomotives and cannons. The innermost ring was devoted to the history of labor since the Stone Age. Sixteen radial cross-sections offered exhibition-space to the various countries, so that a pie-shaped cross-section showed all exhibits from a single country. In this microcosm, objective time was expressed as a linear progression. The diachronic layout was intended to represent precise dates and to illustrate industrial changes and improvements. From the innermost ring, which represented the past, visitors walked outwards, to ever-larger galleries displaying modern products and production processes. Those who walked from the outside inwards moved backwards in time. In this exposition, the choreography of time was based on the rational and utopian doctrine of progress.

But even before construction was completed, it became clear that the design was not feasible. The number of exhibitors was larger than had been expected and this dramatic increase in scale threatened to disrupt the narrative structure of the exposition. In addition, some countries

found that they were allotted too little space in a certain gallery, while others had trouble filling it. This was especially true of the machine gallery, since the pace of development varied significantly from country to country. Another problem was that some exhibits, such as model homes, farms and tents with camels, had to be erected outside. Initially, an attempt was made to extend the classification system beyond the building, but for practical reasons it was decided instead to mix the various locations. This resulted in a peculiar outdoor park.<sup>11</sup> The temporal and geographical structure was completely lost in this area of the exposition. It functioned as a refuge for exotic constructions and follies, which housed particularly non-Western exhibits.

It might seem that the main exposition building and the rest of the grounds told contradictory stories. As it turned out, however, the chaotic outdoor park actually became a subtext that supported Le Play's plot. This occurred to me when I looked at the only open space in the exposition structure: the palm garden. This was intended as a recreational area where visitors could rest their feet, but it was in fact the epicenter of the exposition.<sup>12</sup> The middle of the garden featured a shrine that displayed coins, banknotes, and weights and measures of the so-called "civilized" nations. Above the shrine, a dome-shaped roof supported a turning globe, powered by a clock that ran on Parisian time. These symbols of modernity and rationality expressed a Western European desire to impose standard measures – and especially the French-born metric system – on the rest of the world. The objects on display reflected Western wealth that was partly gained from the exploitation of the non-Western countries represented outdoors. The composition of the building and the surrounding grounds referred to the global balance of power. At the time England and France were developing into full-fledged imperial empires, which saw themselves as the center of the world.<sup>13</sup>

Seen from this angle, the outdoor area functioned as a choreography of anachronistic space. With this phrase Anne McClintock refers to colonized human beings who, in a temporal sense, exist in a permanent prehistory, while spatially they live on the fringes of the modern empire. As anachronistic beings, irrational, robbed of any will power, they are the perfect embodiment of the archaic "primitive" peoples.<sup>14</sup> The 1851 London world exposition had given a slightly different slant to this imperialist staging of time. In the Crystal Palace, the British colonies formed the central focal point, but they were positioned in such a way that visitors could also survey and judge them from galleries upstairs. Illustrated maps guided spectators through the building, and seemed to bring the "overseas possessions" within reach.<sup>15</sup> In this way, world expositions domesticated imperialism, while also highlighting ethnic differences.

Interestingly enough, these expositions were also manifestations of what contemporary

Henri Bergson in 1889 had called "homogeneous, spatial time". This French philosopher supposed a pure duration ("durée") of the heterogeneous reality, which consists of ever-changing different situations, or succession of states. This duration is situated in human consciousness, where it can be experienced with intuition. Yet, duration cannot be measured and is not countable. Time is a constant flux. Men are capable to imagine a spatial representation of time in which different units are located, offering a false way of measuring "la durée". This fixed and spatially represented time belonged to public time in contrast with private time.<sup>16</sup> World fairs very much stimulated a public uniform time, but they offered visitors also the opportunity to experience the simultaneity of the unsimultaneous and the plurality of private times.

Visitors from different social and geographical backgrounds came to the fair. Non-whites attracted a great deal of attention. One of journal *Punch's* drawings shows the *Crystal Palace* as an exhibit packed with Oriental looking people, with Western spectators gawking at them. Other caricatures depict them as primitive beings. One drawing has black visitors "from the Cannibal Islands" leering at a child in a restaurant as if the child were a potential appetizer.<sup>17</sup> The act of gazing at the exotic evoked a new sense of self in the white, Western individual. These drawings and caricatures were the first expressions of a globalizing society. Modern perceptions of time were articulated by staging the difference between inferior and superior civilizations. In this choreography, "negroes" lived in the pre-history of Western society. The time difference emphasized racial inequality, an argument that also served to discourage the deplored practice of "interracial marriage" in the colonies.

At later world expositions, indigenous people from the colonies worked as restaurant personnel, and later still, someone conceived of the idea of putting the people themselves on display. In 1877, anthropologists and ethnographers began to experiment with this idea in the Paris *Jardin d'Acclimation*, a plant and animal garden.<sup>18</sup> In the anthropological section of the 1878 world fair,<sup>19</sup> the public could acquaint itself with the evolution of *Homo sapiens*. "Negro" skeletons were compared to those of apes and other animal species.<sup>20</sup> The 1883 Amsterdam world exposition displayed colonized people in their "own" habitat; Javanese men and women lived and worked in a replica of a *kampung* (a Javanese village), while Surinam "natives" stayed in huts under a big tent.<sup>21</sup> From this period onwards, colonial exhibits with "real" people were a standard attraction at world fairs. Entire villages with hundreds of inhabitants were constructed. Sometimes people were grouped according to race so that visitors could more easily study human evolution.

Burton Benedict points to another phenomenon. War dances and marriage ceremonies were some of the rituals accompanying the original life cycle of non-Western people. They were

grounded in objective time, in the rhythm of the seasons and life-stages. However, at expositions these rituals degraded into a weekly spectacle.<sup>22</sup> To the spectators this entertainment signified the ethnic background of the performers. The performers themselves did not assign meaning to the rituals beyond their entertainment value in the colonial exhibit. The rituals were no longer a consciously perceived marker of objective time. They had lost their temporal orientation.

Occasionally, the staged opposition between Western superiority and non-Western inferiority was cancelled out by the interaction between spectators and people on display. This happened for instance with Louise Yda, a black Creole woman who had been brought from Surinam to the Dutch National Exhibition of Women's Labor in 1898. Louise Yda did not allow herself to be reduced to a mere object in the West Indies exhibit. As the crowds stared at "this great attraction", she walked around with self-assurance, communicated with the visitors, and to the amazement of all she appeared to speak perfect Dutch.<sup>23</sup> In this case the displayed "object" was certainly not mute, on the contrary, she intervened in the process of reading the exposition.

Eventually, people began to protest against the housing and working conditions for the indigenous black and colored people at expositions, and there were also complaints about the very fact that they were on display. At the 1897 Brussels' world exposition a Congolese village housed 267 "natives" who could be observed from catwalks. Due to the cold weather that summer, seven Congolese died.<sup>24</sup> Their graves can still be visited at the Catholic cemetery in Tervuren. Some years before, in 1893, Frederick Douglass had condemned the existence of Dahomey village at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, claiming that the Africans were made to look like savages and that this implicitly justified discrimination against black Americans.<sup>25</sup> Despite the criticism nothing much changed, and the villages long remained popular. These human expositions substituted the colonial trip, taking spectators in opposite directions: forwards in space and backwards in time. Yet, the backward movement did not imply an inversion of time.<sup>26</sup> The exposition's structure - with its deliberate divisions into Western versus non-Western exhibits and modern manufacturing versus artisanship - was intended to be a narrative of the world that confirmed the West as the center of the world and the present as the universal point of reference. Pavilions and exhibits displayed the various stages of progressing civilization, "climbing the rungs of the evolutionary ladder",<sup>27</sup> from backward and savage to civilized and superior. This choreography of time stimulated visitors to compare different societies and civilizations.

However, the sheer number of innovations and the unprecedented crowds of spectators caused many to experience the intended order as total chaos.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, in the last decades of

the nineteenth century the bourgeois worried increasingly about the dangers of the masses. They feared the massification and commercialization of culture, the degrading level of art, and the mixture of different "publics" on one location.<sup>29</sup> All "sorts of people" could invade particularly the exposition grounds; apart from high admissions for special exhibits or performances, permitted only by the elite, social mixing could easily take place. World fairs became one of the first spaces where different classes could more or less coexist. To handle the densely packed crowds, the designers drew up schedules of fixed opening hours and viewing days for certain exhibits or performances. Newspapers and guides allowed visitors to familiarize themselves with the vast exposition grounds. There were special walking tours for white middle class women, which took them to shops and parks, providing an opportunity for leisurely viewing. Their presence pushed the growing commercial goals of the expositions. A typical exposition feature was the apparent liberty for these women to visit the sites without male companions. While wandering on the exposition grounds, they seemed to challenge the male concept of the flâneur. However, this strolling was more connected to the rituals of urban commodity consumption.<sup>30</sup> Women had become important targets for selling goods, making their husbands spend. Particularly the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago assured them a safe cultural place, while masking the social dangers of mixing classes, races and ethnic groups. The imaginary bird's-eye view, reproduced in maps and tourist guides, displayed the Exposition as a distant panorama, offering the illusion of mastery and comprehension.<sup>31</sup>

Men and women, rich and poor, young and old, shuffled side by side through halls and pavilions. Both the design of rooms and the display of objects, products and people with information plaques steered the viewers in their interpretation. But visitors also retained considerable freedom of choice. They could move about as they pleased, skip over exhibits or return for a second look, and they could compare notes with others. As they walked, they could weave together all these impressions into their own stories. Thus, while the narratives of the world expositions expressed features of new temporal experiences, they also allowed visitors to "refigure" its plots.

## **THE PAST AS OBJECT OF ENTERTAINMENT**

World expositions had another far-reaching consequence. The escalator, the telephone, electric light, x-ray photography and many other inventions that were first introduced at world fairs embodied a future that lay within reach of the industrialized countries. But these inventions also

increased the separation from their own past. New technology improved mobility and communication; it made the world appear smaller and accelerated the historical process. Yet, it also pushed the past further away. As a result, the past became an object on display as well: the world fairs featured historical villages.

The attraction of these locations proved how ambivalent the bourgeoisie felt towards modernity: they had a nostalgic longing for a historical context that was long gone.<sup>32</sup> The first historical villages – Old Vienna, German Village and Irish Village – made their appearance at the World's Columbian Exposition. They were, along with the "negro villages", relegated to Midway Pleasance. This was an entertainment park next to the White City, the heart of the exposition where serious exhibits about industry, arts and sciences were held. To American immigrants, the historical sites functioned as recognizable landmarks at this immense exposition heralding an unknown future.<sup>33</sup> Later world fairs included districts like Old Antwerp, Old Brussels, Old Paris and Old Plantation.<sup>34</sup> All these sites were meant to domesticate and objectify the Western past. Inevitably, the simplification of history in these villages led to reductionist stereotypes, just as in the colonial villages. For example, the Insulinde Kampong at the Dutch National Exhibition of Women's Labor – a collection of huts where Javanese people lived under the street lanterns of The Hague – was supposed to represent the entire Indonesian archipelago.<sup>35</sup> In the same way, historical villages combined historical figures and monuments in one setting, resulting in "unhistorical" tableaux. However, there were two crucial differences between historical and colonial villages. For one, the people who worked in the historical villages took their costumes off at the end of the day and went home. They were actors. The indigenous people in the colonial villages were supposed to play themselves and often lived on the exposition grounds. Another difference was that historical villages staged memorable events from national history, which the spectators could take pride in. As such, these villages belonged to the invented traditions.<sup>36</sup>

The *haussé* of invented traditions in the late nineteenth century points to experiences of discontinuity. In the industrialized world, traditions were invented or reinvented because the link with the past was no longer self-evident. To prevent social disintegration, the elite promoted activities that legitimized modern institutions and evoked a sense of continuity. The ritual nature of these inventions engendered a sense of belonging and recognition desired by the masses. The rational focus on the future at world expositions therefore generated its own emotional counterforce: nostalgia.<sup>37</sup> World fairs had become, in the words of Robert Rydell, "modern pilgrimages", sharing with older holy places the promise of conferring authenticity upon experience and souvenirs.<sup>38</sup> At the same time they celebrated the past as a preparation for a



better future.

The visitor's obsession with authenticity and the past influenced the fitting out of the fairs. Inscribed in a high culture setting, modern buildings and exhibits were molded with historic materials and exposed unique paintings, old manuscripts, and memorabilia of heroic figures. It also inspired the justifications for organizing a world exposition. The prestige was strengthened when the manifestation celebrated a significant commemorative occasion of the host nation: a century of American Independence (Philadelphia 1876), the centenary of the French Revolution (Paris 1889), the landing of Columbus in the New World (Chicago 1893).<sup>39</sup> The 1900 world fair in Paris explicitly intended to be one great retrospective, to reflect the old and the coming century, with France as the leading country of Western civilization. Hence, the slogan of the gigantic world exposition, "Le bilan d'un siècle" (balance of a century). In the large historic site "Le Vieux Paris", French history was "reconstructed" in different stages with houses and little streets from the fifteenth until the eighteenth century. People dressed in historical costumes walked through the streets, watched from a distance by the public.<sup>40</sup> Yet the whole fair turned out to be a disappointment. Critics missed the pedagogic quality; cheap pleasure dominated the exposition, satisfying only the curiosity of the spectators. Visiting the fair was like walking through a public garden or a "grand bazaar". The vulgarity of modernity was considered a decadent hybridity of genres and styles, of commerce and culture.<sup>41</sup>

The organizers and designers of the nineteenth century world fairs created recognizable, heroic images and sites of the Western past, present and future. Various temporal spaces allowed visitors to experience the simultaneity of the unsimultaneous. Nostalgic references to the past compensated for the disorder of modern society and the uncertainty of the future. However, particularly since the 1880s, the colonial and the historic were turned into objects of entertainment. The dominance of commercial goals gradually disarranged the choreography of time, and seemed to undermine the narrative of the world exposition. Interestingly enough, precisely the growing capacity of the Western visitors to assess what was real authentic and what was not, what was high culture and what was not, affirmed their superior identity.<sup>42</sup> Yet, this issue invokes a more general question about whether we actually may conceive a world exposition as a kind of (historical) narrative. Perhaps these expositions were just illustrated encyclopedias, a non-linear series of historical and modern pictures without any plot. Indeed, an important characteristic of a plot is its "end point" which makes the story into a meaningful whole.

In my view these world expositions are grand narratives of modernity, unfolding the world

from a specific European (later Western) perspective. They were more than a series of at random exhibits, pictures and performances. Apparently there are arguments for the non-linearity of the world expositions, because the public could make their own choices when and how, and in what sequence, the pavilions and exhibits could be visited.<sup>43</sup> Yet, the classification of the exhibited items was deliberately and carefully matched with explanatory tours. In these memory theaters the visitors were directed through detailed guides, walking tours, illustrated maps, and special newspapers. And although the public had the feeling that they could make their own choices, and they could to a certain extent, their experiences were manipulated. Walking from one spot to another never occurred without them watching and perceiving elements of the exposition. For instance to reach a sideshow of the exposition they always had to pass specific pavilions or buildings, comparable with the layout of department stores: customers always have to pass products and items before they reach the cash desk. The end-point of the exposition was the triumph of Western civilization, represented by the epicenter or palm garden of the 1867 Exposition, the Eiffel tower of the 1889 Exposition, or the White City of the 1893 Exposition. The presence of the Western narrative of superiority was overwhelming. Although visitors experienced the fairs as chaotic, there is a lot of evidence that the majority of the masses understood its message: the ever-continuing progress of time and civilization of the Western world. This modern plot remained for a long time in the twentieth century the dominant view, eroded only after the 1970s and 1980s in, what we call, the postmodern era.

### **TIME CHOREOGRAPHIES IN POSTMODERNITY**

Nowadays we notice an Asian country putting a European country's past on display, and this "Japanese decor" in turn becomes the object of a Dutch photographer's gaze. This visual inversion disrupts the hierarchical choreography of Western superiority versus non-Western inferiority, in my opinion rightly so. Indeed, in the words of Umberto Eco, here the notion of historical reality is absolutely democratized.<sup>44</sup>

But the gap between the space of experience and the horizon of expectations is only getting wider. Grand narratives have been demythologized and undermined. There seems to be no plot anymore. How far can we go? The human need for a point of reference, for an orientation in time, is as strong as ever. This increasing tension may lead to a desire for rigid and superficial histories. To overcome a servile repetition of the past, Paul Ricoeur proposes to struggle against the tendency to consider the past only from the angle of what is done, and unchangeable: "We

have to reopen the past, to revivify its unaccomplished, cut-off - even slaughtered - possibilities."<sup>45</sup> Therefore, I would suggest, the challenge to historians is, in Martin Heidegger's words, to keep "the future past" dynamic, to remain open to an unknown or unrecognizable past.<sup>46</sup> This will also give the present new perspectives. To achieve this, however, we must first engage in a thorough discussion of the notion of time.

## References

- <sup>1</sup> This is a translated and summarized version of my inaugural lecture (Dutch language) *De enscenering van de tijd* (Rotterdam 2001). For an English version see also Maria Grever, 'The choreography of time', in Lisette Smits and Barbara Visser ed., *Barbara Visser is er niet* (Zürich, JRP-Ringier Kunstverlag AG, 2006), 9-15.
2. Hans den Hartog Jager, "Alles kantelt. Barbara Visser in Japan", *NRC Handelsblad* (27-7-2001).
3. Barbara Visser, *A Day in Holland/Holland a Day* (Den Haag 2001). For centuries the Dutch were the only sailors in the world to be allowed to enter Nagasaki (actually the island Descima) and to have contact with the Japanese.
4. On post-modernity see David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity. An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford 1990). On blurring the boundaries between game and illusion, the real World and Possible Worlds, see Umberto Eco, "Travels in Hyperreality" (1975) in Idem, *Travels in Hyperreality. Essays* (San Diego 1986) 1-58.
- <sup>5</sup> Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt. History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs* (New York 2002) 12.
6. The difference between the *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry and All Nations* in 1851 in London (the first world's fair) and all its predecessors was precisely the linking of exhibits to explanatory walking tours. P. van Wesemael, *Architectuur van instructie en vermaak. Een maatschappijhistorische analyse van de wereldtentoonstelling als didactisch verschijnsel (1798-1851-1970)* (Delft 1997) 112-113.
7. Mieke Bal, *Double Exposures. The Subject of Cultural Analysis* (New York/London 1996), 3-5.
8. Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas. The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester 1988), 23.
9. For a detailed analysis of time experiences at world fairs, see my article "Tijd en ruimte onder één dak. De wereldtentoonstelling als verbeelde vooruitgang", in Grever and Jansen ed., *De ongrijpbare tijd*, 113-130. See also Alice von Plato, *Präsentierte Geschichte. Ausstellungskultur und Massenpublikum im Frankreich des 19e Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt/New York 2001), 153-180.
10. Whereas Crystal Palace in 1851 was based upon cartographic schemes, Le Play modeled his building after the city. Very likely he was inspired by the "ideal cities" from the sixteenth century utopian literature, in particular the Sun City of Thomas Campanella. See Van Wesemael, *Architectuur van instructie en vermaak*, 196. Also P. Mainardi, *Arts and Politics of the Second Empire: the Universal Exhibitions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven 1987). Ricoeur makes an interesting remark about utopia's, relevant to the world fairs which I analyze here: "The idea of progress which still bound the past to a better future, brought one closer by the acceleration of history, tends to give way to the idea of utopia as soon as the hopes of humanity lose their anchorage in acquired experience and are projected into an unprecedented future. With such utopias, the tension becomes a schism." Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* III (Chicago 1988) 215.
11. *Grand Album de L'Exposition Universelle 1867* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1868) 15, 21, 45, 51, 85-87.

12. *Grand Album 1867*, XI and 67 (drawing of central palm garden).
13. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London 1993) 6-7.
14. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather. Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York/London 1995) 30. Although McClintock also takes women, paupers, Irish, and other ethnic men and women into account, she focuses on colored and black people in the "peripheral" colonies of the Western empires. They were considered to be spatially and temporally backward.
15. J.A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851. A Nation on Display* (New Haven/London 1999) 4-5.
16. J.J.A. Mooij, *Tijd en geest. Een geschiedenis* (Kampen 2001) 188-191; Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*, 33.
17. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, 159-160, 174-175.
18. They were exposed, first, at the proposal of anthropologists and ethnographers, but soon with commercial purpose. These expositions date from the eighteenth century and fitted into older traditions of fair entertainment, where people with serious physical deformity were exposed. See Maria Grever and Berteke Waaldijk, *Transforming the public sphere. The Dutch National Exhibition of Women's Labor in 1898* (Durham 2004).
19. Seven years after Charles Darwin's publication *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (London 1871). Darwin's theory evoked many hostile reactions. His ideas were often misunderstood. Men and women did not spring from the apes, human beings and apes have common forbears. See Wendorff, *Zeit und Kultur*, 402-403.
20. Dutch journal *De wereldtentoonstelling van 1878 te Parijs* nr. 19 (24-8-1878), 302.
21. Marieke Bloembergen, *Koloniale vertoningen: Nederland en Indië op de wereldtentoonstellingen (1880-1931)* (Amsterdam 2002).
22. Burton Benedict, "Rituals of Representation: Ethnic Stereotypes and Colonized Peoples at World's Fairs", in R.W. Rydell and N.E. Gwinn ed., *Fair Representations. World's Fairs and the Modern World* (Amsterdam 1994), 28-61, 57. About the way people use time as an instrument for orientation in different Asian cultures, see also the volume of Van Schendel and Schulte Nordholt ed., *Time Matters*. On the influence of the colonial expositions on Western art: J.M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism. History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester 1995).
23. Grever and Waaldijk, *Transforming the public sphere*.
24. *Europa in euforie. De tijd van de wereldtentoonstellingen 1851-1913* (Brussel 2002), 126-127.
25. Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago 1984), 52-53; L. Rabinovitz, *For the Love of Pleasure. Women, Movies, and Culture in Turn-of-the Century Chicago* (New Brunswick 1998), 60. Already in 1889 French and Dutch newspapers complained about the bad treatment of people from the colonies at the French world's fair.
26. See also the analysis of "time-reversal in Umeda ritual" by A. Gell, *The Anthropology of Time. Cultural Constructions of Temporal Maps and Images* (Oxford 1992), 37-53.
27. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 66.
28. Journalists described packed masses who flooded the exhibition grounds; see the account in the journal *De wereldtentoonstelling van 1878 te Parijs* no. 4, 11 mei 1878, 74. On the crowds at the 1851 world fair in London, see Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition*, 151-158.
29. Christoph Prochasson, *Paris 1900. Essai d'histoire culturelle* (Paris 1999) 140-151.

30. Rabinovitz, *For the Love of Pleasure*, 178-181.
31. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 41; James Gilbert, *Perfect Cities. Chicago's Utopias of 1893* (Chicago 1991) 65-68; Rabinovitz, *For the love*, 11, 61.
32. Lieven de Cauter, *Archeologie van de kick. Verhalen over moderniteit en ervaring* (Leuven 1989) 118-119.
33. Gilbert, *Perfect Cities*, 77-78, 112.
34. De Cauter, *Archeologie van de kick*, 118-119; Winfried Kretschmer, *Geschichte der Weltausstellungen* (Frankfurt/New York 1999) 163 and 169.
35. Grever and Waaldijk, *Transforming the public sphere*, 135-170.
36. Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions", in idem and Ranger ed., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge 1984) 1-14.
37. David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge 1988) 4-13.
38. James Gilbert, "World's Fairs as Historical Events", in Rydell and Gwinn, *Fair Representations*, 13-27, 23.
39. Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 16.
40. Von Plato, *Präsentierte Geschichte*, 277-279.
41. Prochasson, *Paris 1900*, 151-153; Gilbert, "World's Fairs as Historical Events", 20.
42. Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 (1989) 217-236. See also Berteke Waaldijk, "Wereldtentoonstellingen en het World Wide Web. Een historische vergelijking", *Tijdschrift voor genderstudies* 6 (2003) 43-60.
43. Waaldijk, "Wereldtentoonstellingen en het World Wide Web", 51-52.
44. Eco, "Travels in Hyperreality", 14.
45. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* III, 216.
46. See Veronica Vasterling, "De rechte lijn en de lus. Heideggers onderzoek naar de tijd en de geschiedenis van het tijdbegrip", in Grever and Jansen ed., *De ongrijpbare tijd*, 175-187, 187.