Check for updates

Museum Anthropology

ORIGINAL ARTICLE OPEN ACCESS

"Seen Again": Ethnography, Immersive Technologies, and Temporality in the Siberian Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum

Anya Gleizer[1] | Jaanika Vider[2] | Pablo Fernández Velasco[3]

[1]University of Oxford, School of Geography and the Environment, Oxford, UK | [2]Tallinn University, School of Humanities, Tallin, Estonia | [3]Centre for the Sciences of Place and Memory, University of Stirling, Department of Philosophy, Stirling, UK

Correspondence: Anya Gleizer (anna.gleizer@ouce.ox.ac.uk)

Received: 23 January 2025 | **Revised:** 3 July 2025 | **Accepted:** 7 July 2025

Funding: The research presented in this paper was carried out over a course of several years however, the bulk of new material presented is from fieldwork carried out in 2019 as part of the "Wandering in Other Worlds, Talking with the Spirits" project. This was primarily funded by the Royal Geographical Society Expedition Grant, the Oxford Research Centre for the Humanities (TORCH) Heritage Seed Award (0007298) and St Edmund's Hall. Anya Gleizer also received funding from the European Cultural Foundation STEP award, Santander Academic Travel Award (University of Oxford), Michael Pike Award (University of Oxford) and the Ruskin School of Art toward the fieldwork and production of her Master of Fine Art project. Jaanika Vider was funded by the MSCA CoFund (Grant number 847693) and Pablo Fernandez Velasco's work was supported by the British Academy [PFSS23\230053] and the Leverhulme Trust [LIP-2023-002] during the writing of this paper. The subsequent work in the Pitt Rivers Museum on the WiOW project was made possible by the Bertha Foundation.

Keywords: Evenki | immersive technologies | museum temporality | Siberian collections | VR

ABSTRACT

This paper proposes Virtual Reality (VR) and 360 film as promising fieldwork tools for addressing problematic temporalities in ethnographic museums and for collaborating with communities of origin. Focusing on the Maria Czaplicka Siberian collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, we examine how previous methods of display marginalized the Evenki by denying their co-evalness. Drawing on research in Evenkia in 2019 (part of the project Wandering in Other Worlds, Talking with the Spirits), we then analyze the potential of immersive technologies as fieldwork tools. While cautioning against the dangers of blindly trusting the promises of "empathy-production" and "immersion," we emphasize ways in which immersive technologies can facilitate the decentering of "western" observational focus. We discuss how carrying the museum into the field via VR helped to challenge the observer-observed relationship prevalent in the museum. Studying how community members chose to share, create, and "re-see" their own footage, we further argue that the cocreation of VR/360 film with communities from Baĭkit, Surinda, Chirinda, Tura, and Sulomay destabilized temporalities prevalent in the Pitt Rivers Museum, facilitating a shift toward an Evenki, helical timeline.

Spinning in the ancient dance
The soul does not grow old.
The dance stirs up the blood.
The years have run away
Like herds of reindeer
But the Yohoryo turns—It does not grow old

Nikolai Oyogir (2006), Evenki poet. "Yohoryo", in Гулувун дегдэдедэн (Let Not the Fire Die Out).

Go, go, go, said the bird: human kind
Cannot bear very much reality.
Time past and time future

This is an open access article under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

© 2025 The Author(s). *Museum Anthropology* published by Wiley Periodicals LLC on behalf of American Anthropological Association.

What might have been and what has been
Point to one end, which is always present.

T. S. Eliot, English poet (The Four Quartets).

1 | Introduction

A central concern in anthropology is how ethnographic research often denies the coevalness of the ethnographer and the ethnographic object, placing the latter outside of present time (Fabian 1983 [Fabian 2014]). In the context of the ethnographic museum, traditional modes of display push the portrayed cultures outside the temporality of the museum audience (Ivanov 2017). Lurking in the background of this temporal exile are epistemological assumptions about progress, the subject-object divide, and the existence of a static culture waiting to be observed. While ethnographic museums have in past decades made steady progress in addressing these issues, the prevailing institutional history and logic often impede change. Where such obstacles are compounded with unfamiliarity stemming from temporal, cultural, political, and geographic distance, such as in the case of Siberian ethnography in the UK, bridging the gap between the displayed, the displayers, and the viewers is even more challenging.

Despite political and cultural distance between the UK and the Russian North, the desire to fill gaps and produce representative collections in the 19th and 20th centuries brought Siberian objects to British museums. Today, the existence of these collections and past entanglements can, for the most part, only be discerned through publications and special displays.[1] A chief, and rare, example of a Siberian ethnography on permanent display in the UK is the collection acquired by Maria Czaplicka in 1914 to 1915 for the Pitt Rivers Museum of Anthropology and World Archaeology in Oxford (PRM). While a large portion of the collection has been on continuous display since 1915, it was, until recently, poorly understood. Biographical attention to Czaplicka in academic writing (La Rue 1996; Kubica 2015; Collins and Urry 1997; Vider 2017) and an exhibition shed light on the history of the collection, but involved almost no engagement with contemporary source communities. Since 2018, the art-based research project Wandering in Other Worlds, Talking with the Spirits (WiOW)[2] has engaged with the Siberian collection at the PRM in close collaboration with members of some Evenki communities.

In this article, we draw on creative fieldwork methods using 360° film and virtual reality (VR) in the Evenkia region of Siberia. We explore how immersive technologies can aid collaborative, artistic research with source communities that build connections across time and space. These connections play with the temporal disjunct between filming and viewing and performing and sharing, to disturb dominant museum temporalities. We argue that creative approaches to immersive technologies can subtly and playfully challenge the lack of coevalness in ethnographic museum collections and help transform the ethnographic display away from a logic of alienation and objectification toward one of participatory engagement across cultural boundaries.

2 | The Pitt Rivers Museum

Imagine walking into the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. The hush, the dimmed ambient light with rows of cabinets receding into shadows, glass glinting in the dusty shafts from spotlights, a carved totem rearing up to a receding ceiling from which an ancient boat hangs... all of it suspended in a time that is not "now." The "enchanted-attic" experience of walking into this museum for the first time leaves audiences floating in an alternative temporality; it is part of its magic and allure. The PRM's dense typological displays exemplify the Victorian "cabinets of curiosity" style, an anachronism evoked in museum studies discussions and used to draw in visitors. Many of the latter wish to preserve the "unchanging character" of the museum. However, while it is indeed unique in its continued use of typological classification and the display of over 30,000 objects in a small space, the museum is far from unchanged. The museum collection has grown over 10-fold since its inception in 1884, with the objects in its care variously stored, taken-off display and rearranged, new buildings have been erected, a temporary gallery at the entrance installed and taken down, labels rewritten and countless temporary exhibitions and artist interventions installed (van Broekhoven 2018). The very vision of the museum as a "cabinet of curiosities" has been intentionally curated with the previously light-filled space turned dark when the glass roof was boarded over in 1976, and new black-edged display cases commissioned for object displays.[3]

While retaining the Victorian appearance of its galleries, active collaboration with source communities (Harris 2013; Krmpotich and Peers 2013; Peers and Brown 2016) made the PRM one of the first museums in the UK to adopt the hallmarks of what we may call "decolonization". In recent years, the museum has repatriated human remains to the Māori community, held reconciliation rituals with the Maasai, Evenki, and Kenyah Badeng communities, invited refugees to interpret their collections from the Middle East and the Ukraine, and in 2020, it took all human remains off display, inviting the public to engage with questions surrounding their existence in collections. Conversations with and around collections and changes in display are, however, far from uniform across the museum, and until recently, the museum's efforts to reimagine its role escaped public attention[4]. The temporary nature of past artist interventions, museum projects, and special displays and the patchwork redisplay of permanent collections have created "messy temporalities" that complicate visitors' ability to engage coevally with cultures linked to the objects on display. The objects from the Siberian collection, acquired for the museum by the anthropologist Maria Czaplicka, are a case in point.

Comprising 154 objects, the collection represents over 80% of all the materials from the Russian North in the museum. The collection was formed during the 1914–15 expedition to the Yenisei region (see Figure 1) led by anthropologist Maria Czaplicka and jointly financed by the University of Oxford and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, which houses an ethnographic collection acquired for the museum by Henry Usher Hall.[5] Most of the ethnographic objects were acquired in the Illimpei tundra and along the Yenisei River between Krasnoyarsk and Golchikha. Czaplicka and Hall

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/muan.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

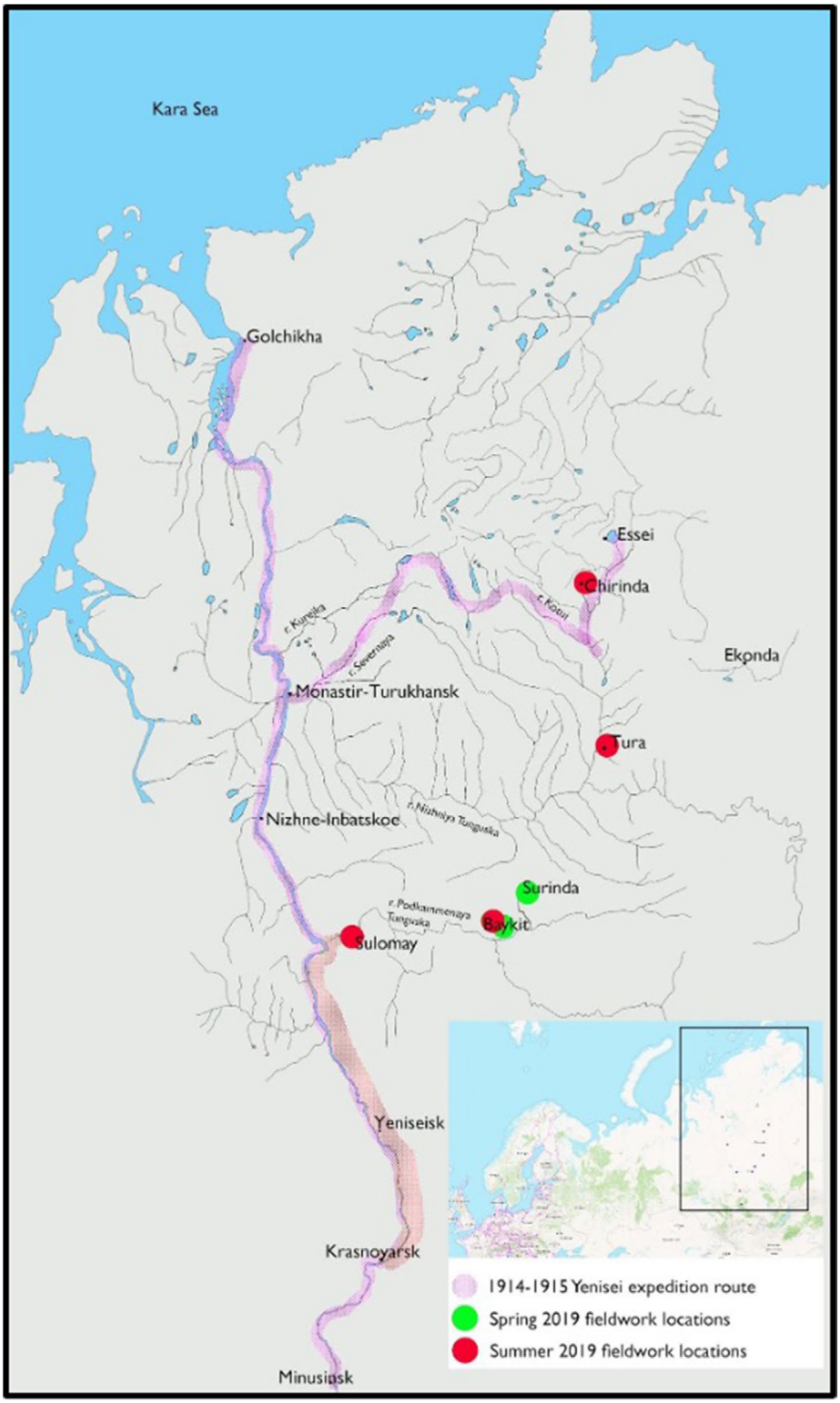

FIGURE 1 | Map depicting Czaplicka's first Siberian expedition to Evenkia in 1914–15, followed by the routes of our two expeditions in her footsteps in 2019.

bought, traded, and commissioned objects of Evenki, Dolgan, Ket, N'gnasan, Enets and Nenets provenance but also looted graves for human remains and sacred belongings (Vider 2021). Over half of the objects from the Czaplicka collection are on display, dispersed across three PRM galleries (see Figure 2) where their display and descriptions exemplify approaches of different eras. For example, bows and arrows in case 13.A and shamanic objects in the "Magic and Witchcraft" display are governed by case designs that favor visual placement over meaningful contextualization. Two model baby cradles are shown with other

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/muan.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

FIGURE 2 | Collection dispersal across three floors in the museum documented in May 2022 before the redisplay of "My Siberian Year" exhibition. Teal color indicates objects on display while purple indicates objects in open storage.

baby carriers in a former shop display cabinet, whose handwritten display texts dating to the 1930s give them a particularly historic feel. Finally, the "Arctic clothing" case, while updated in the recent past, exemplifies how the lack of contact with a source community has resulted in Siberian material culture appearing decontextualized from any contemporary practices or historic events, visually and narratively relegating it to antiquity. The adjoining display of Canadian and Greenland Inuit garments (with whom recent collaborations were upheld) includes modern color photographs and contextualized descriptions of traditional crafts (including how they changed in response to political and social shifts, for example, Danization, Christianization, household economy—see Figure 3) written in the present tense, along with visible modern technology (snowmobiles). In contrast, the text describing Siberian traditional reindeer-herding technologies and reindeer-skin-use is written in the past tense and includes only historic black and white photographs from 1915 (see Figure 3).

In juxtaposing these two adjacent displays, we contrast not the use of past versus present tense in labeling or the B&W versus color of the photographs, but a lack of ongoing relationship that would provide context, a rationale to update outdated information, and a sense of native Siberians existing within specific historical contexts shared by the ethnographers.

The absent relationship with Siberia and its inhabitants was also felt in the special exhibition "My Siberian Year" that marked the centenary of the Siberian expedition and was on display between 2014 and 2023 (see left of Figure 4). It was replaced by cocurated exhibition "Evenki Cosmologies and Shamanic Traditions" (see right of Figure 4) as part of the WiOW project and integrates some of film footage discussed in this article (see Gleizer and Belsey 2024 for discussion of this redisplay). However, it was this first iteration, mounted as a temporary exhibition, that most prominently showcased cultural belongings from the Russian North and became the catalyst for innovative research explored in this article.

Over the nearly 8 years that the 2014 "My Siberian Year" exhibit was on display, it increasingly diverged from the broader decolonial and collaborative outlook of the museum. For example, displaying a knife from a grave accompanied by Czaplicka's note that "The deceased died probably some score of years ago, as her grandnephew is still alive" (PRM RDF 1915.50), was at odds with the long-standing commitment of the museum to sensitively address such problematic provenance of the objects held by the museum (see Peers 2003, 2009). The knife was displayed without context or accompanying information on how Czaplicka removed it from the grave or why. Consequently, audiences were not encouraged to engage with it as a grave good nor as an item of problematic provenance. It was simply an unremarkable knife used for everyday purposes. The exhibition thus afforded an engagement with the object (knife) but not with the anthropological process (extraction) or the cultural practice (burial ritual and passage to an afterlife where the knife may be needed). This focus on stasis impeded it from becoming a site of engaged learning or interaction, the kind of movement forward that the museum aspires to facilitate. A particularly engaged viewer might read the label and wonder about anthropological processes, but during an audience survey, we found that most spent very limited to no time viewing it (Gleizer and Belsey 2024). An undecorated knife that cannot be reached physically or related to mentally or emotionally becomes as unremarkable as any knife in our cupboards at home. It does not engage with the story and therefore deflects audiences from seeing themselves as part of that story.

In another instance, a display label for the model sleigh used the past tense to explain that "the Evenki were reindeer herders. They depended on their herds for transport, meat, and milk, and used their hair and hide for clothing. Reindeer were also vital

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/muan.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

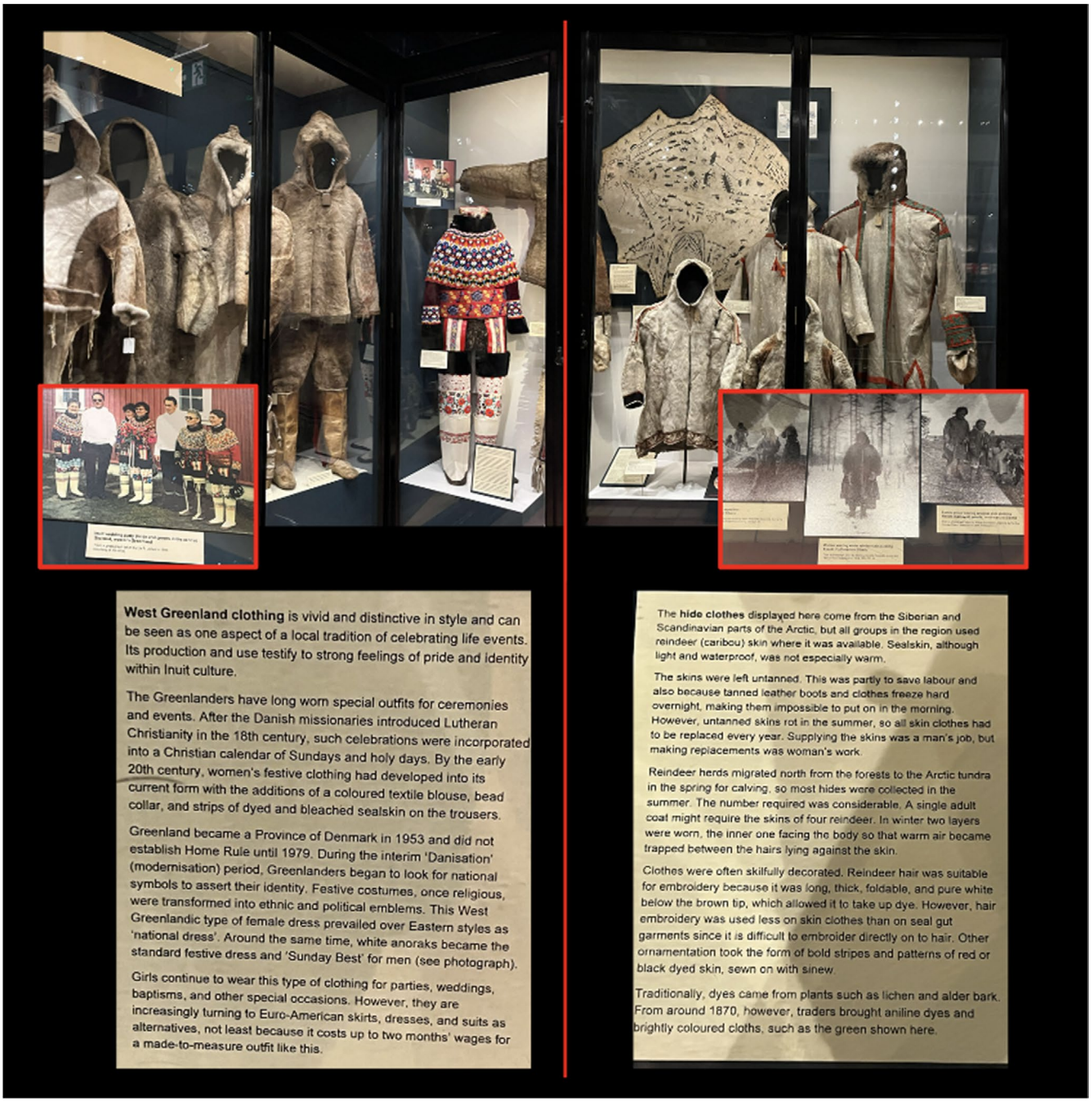

FIGURE 3 | Left: Greenland and Canadian Inuit Arctic Clothing case, with highlighted photograph of an Inuit wedding and adjacent informational text magnified. Right: Siberian Arctic Clothing case, with highlighted Czaplicka photographs and informational text magnified. Note excerpts of both texts: "West Greenland clothing is vivid and distinctive in style and can be seen as one aspect of a local tradition of celebrating life events. Its production and use testify to strong feelings of pride and identity within Inuit culture... Festive costumes, once religious, were transformed into ethnic and political emblems..." versus "All groups in the region used reindeer (caribou) skin where it was available... the skins were left untanned. This was partly to save labor and also because tanned leather boots and clothes freeze hard overnight making them impossible to put on in the morning. However, untanned skins rot in the summer, so all skin clothes had to be replaced every year. Supplying the skins was a man's job, but making replacements was women's work."

to spiritual wellbeing," which had a jarring effect of conveying the sense that either Evenki are no longer in existence or that they no longer herd reindeer, neither of which is true. Overall, the display conveyed stasis impeding the possibility of cultural understanding and manifested a central problematic in the temporality underlying anthropological discourse: the denial of coevalness.

3 | Theorizing Temporality in an Ethnographic Museum

Laura van Broekhoven has said that the PRM's outdated displays and reluctance to refashion itself wholesale have been seen as an illustration of ethnographic museums denial of coevalness (van Broekhoven 2018, 75). In Time and the Other, Fabian (2014)

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/muan.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

FIGURE 4 | Left: The "My Siberian Year" 2014 display case. Right: The 2022 "Evenki Cosmologies and Shamanic traditions" case, designed by Evenki elder Alexander Varlamov and executed as one of the forward facing outcomes of the continued work of the "Wandering in Other Worlds" project. Composite image reworked from (Gleizer and Belsey 2024), Copyright Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

remarks that while the ethnographer and the ethnographic object shared their temporality during the original ethnographic interaction, the resulting ethnographic material placed the Other outside the present time of the writing subject (and by extension, outside the present time of the reader of the ethnographic material). The target of Fabian's critique is a positivist anthropology that conceives knowledge as the reproduction of an observed (and observable) world. Such a positivist stance creates a schism between the observer and the observed object that reverberates in anthropological discourse as a separation between the ethnographer's time and the time of the Other.

One of the central cases for Fabian concerns the use of the ethnographic present tense: "the present tense 'freezes' a society at the time of observation; at worst, it contains assumptions about the repetitiveness, predictability, and conservatism of primitives" (Fabian 2014, 81). Such a discourse throws the ethnographic object outside of the temporality of the observer and into a primitive, changeless past. A shallow reading of the problem might suggest that we must simply avoid the present tense. However, as the example of the sleigh model text shows, the past tense can also serve to "freeze a society at the time of observation." Writing that "the Evenki were reindeer herders" obscures major changes that have occurred among Siberian Indigenous communities since 1914. Neither past nor present tense on their own can adequately address the post-Soviet collapse of reindeer herding and the enduring centrality of reindeer to Evenki worldview. The use of the past instead of the present tense, as long as it emerges from that same epistemological stance, will result in an equally othering discourse when it comes to temporality. The absence of a continued relationship and of historical context is more at fault than simply narrative tense. Similarly, it is not just the color of the photographs that lends the Inuit display a sense of coevalness with the viewer, but the specificity that arises from lively relationships they depict. A similar phenomenon was noted by Jocelyne Dudding, who described the effects of the digital repatriation of photo collections by Shirokogoroff and Lindgren/Mamen to Evenki and Orochon communities in China and Mongolia. Previous to their sharing with source communities "these photographs retain[ed] a 'communicative knowledge', that is information communicated visually, but … their conjunctive knowledge, which relies on social embeddedness, is restricted" (Dudding 2019, 341). However, "the process of digitally sharing the photographs with their originating communities enabled them to be recirculated, held, talked about, and viewed in a cultural setting unencumbered by any institutional context. As a result, their conjunctive knowledge was reanimated" (Ibid.). The recirculation of the photographs reanimated the relationships that they represented, contextualizing their subjects in a shared and ongoing historic relationship with visiting western anthropologists.[6]

Part of the problem is that temporalities—the ways in which we conceive of, experience and relate to time—are in themselves culture-specific rather than fixed or stable (Ringel 2016). Our

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/muan.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

chronologies are specific to our culture, and we then use them to taxonomize and temporalize other cultures. The historical timeline that is so pervasive in museum exhibitions provides a case in point: "The timeline carries with it assumptions about the narrative structure of history, about the primacy of chronological understanding, and about progress. It makes it seem as though history is a path to the present. More to the point, it hides those assumptions remarkably well. Timelines seem natural" (Lubar 2013, 1).

These naturalized museum timelines contrast with the timelines of the Indigenous communities whose objects they showcase. A recent article by Savlepova (2023) identifies key differences between Western and Evenki conceptions of temporality, as reflected in linguistic forms, idiomatic expressions, proverbs, and in-person interviews. For the Evenki, a traditionally nomadic people, time and aging are both expressed through metaphors of walking. For example, to live long is to "walk all the way to elderhood" [сагдандалаи ӈэнэми], and a person fixated on the past is "he who walks looking backwards" [амар-амардули ичэтчэри бэе] (Savlepova 2023, 97). This "walking forward of time" gives the Evenki a linear timeline; however, it does not share the Western sense of a past that is irretrievably behind the present. A key contrast comes from remembering that the long migrations of the Evenki followed annual cycles, and the linearity of time is also mediated with this sense of wandering and repetition. We can understand Evenki temporality as neither linear nor cyclical, but helical—with events that do not repeat but that can be revisited from new directions. This temporality is also reflected in Evenki mobility patterns, in which a multiplicity of points of constant return constitute a unified flexible system full of creative potential (Davydov 2017). The past is expressed in terms of rivers crossed, or reindeers run, without the assumption that one cannot return to those temporal "places" (e.g., "I have forded on foot through many woes" [би баран биргэвэ хэдэчэв]). Likewise, the conceptions of future imply a repetitive return (e.g., "will tomorrow, the day not rise again?!" [инэӈи юрэ этэн?!] Savlepova 2023, 95–96)[7]. A helical timeline affords its own different assumptions regarding coevalness, and it is important to consider its possible implications in the ethnographic museum setting.

There is a recent but growing acknowledgement of the importance of considering temporality in museum studies (Walklate 2022). Theorizing temporality is particularly relevant for ethnographic museums which are born out of the same positivist framework that see the world of the Other as a thing to be observed and represented. While the temporal schism in ethnographic writing gravitates around the grammatical tense separating the observed culture from the reader, the temporal schism in the ethnographic museum gravitates around the exhibition glass separating the observed culture from the viewer. In the traditional discourse of ethnographic museum practice, the observed culture is "frozen" in the time of its exhibited material culture. Here, the sense of distance between visitor and ethnographic object, both temporal and spatial, and embodied in a pane of glass, is the vehicle through which the traditional epistemology of anthropology denies coevalness (Dudley 2011).

How can we avoid depicting other societies as frozen in the past when our very ways of conceiving time are loaded with assumptions about progress? Simply tweaking grammatical tenses will not do—"an illusory way out is to represent cultural variability ethnographically while using a temporal structure of historical change that fits academic conventions to frame the ethnography" (Birth 2008, 14). In ethnographic museums that share the challenges of ethnographic writing, there are other means to overcome these challenges. Polysemic exhibition practice is one major way to challenge curatorial authority (Witcomb 2003). However, we understand this polysemy not just in terms of diverse sources of information (e.g., adding photographs and videos) but in terms of diverse temporalities—embracing, for instance, the helical temporality present in Evenki culture.

At heart, Fabian's problem with the ethnographic present was that "the anthropologist uses the taxonomic cover to hide his relentless appetite for the "Time of the Other", a time to be ingested and transformed into his own." (Fabian 2014, 104). Unless we go to the root of the problem, the ethnographic past becomes just another cover under which the ethnographer ingests and digests the time of the Other. A greater historical perspective is a necessary first step but to address anthropology's problem with time and alterity requires a thorough overhaul: "In taking the argument of Time and the Other to its ultimate conclusion, the result of this deconstruction would be an anthropology that is no longer defined as the science of non-Western Others (however progressively reformed) but as a discipline grounded in sustained, intersubjective fieldwork." (Bunzl 2014, 26).

Immersive technologies, when employed in creative ways, provide a promising medium for such intersubjective fieldwork. We mentioned above how input from contemporary Evenki collaborators re-enlivened a historic photographic collection in the digital repatriation project led from Cambridge university, described by Jocelyne Dudding. But, for us, the most moving episode her paper describes, (relevant here as another creative use of technology that resulted in an interesting warping of temporalities), involved the digitization of wax cylinder musical recordings, played and recorded by Elizaveta Shirokogorova to her Evenki hosts in 1912, and replaying them back to Evenki collaborators in 2015: "Listening to the old songs linked people across the centuries. Invariably the listener would reply in song, to which many would then add their voices" (Dudding 2019, 308). This approach transcended a simple revisiting of old material—through the use of music and song and the changing technologies that afforded its sharing, the author's team and their Evenki hosts were creating something new, and in the process, building a space where the voices of Evenki past coexist and intermingle in chorus with those of the Evenki present. That space seems to have always existed in Evenki conceptions of temporality. This project and its use of technologies managed to recreate it in anthropological discourse and practice. As we will see in the following section, through the creative use of other immersive technologies (in our case VR, see Figure 5), we can both call attention to and challenge the traditional temporalizing practices of anthropology that have resulted in a denial of coevalness.

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/muan.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

FIGURE 5 | Galina Veretnova, our closest Evenki collaborator, who worked with us on the WiOW project and helped curate the 2022 display case, rewatching the VR film of herself first experiencing VR in the Tura Museum, Evenkia, while visiting the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Copyright Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

4 | Immersive Technologies in Ethnographic Fieldwork

Ethnographic research has historically developed with the introduction and adoption of new technologies. In recent years, ethnographers have embraced digital methods ranging from wearable devices (Thoring et al. 2015) to Google Street View (Kostakos et al. 2019), and from YouTube (Paay et al. 2013) to social media (Gray 2016). The use of VR and 360° cameras has grown rapidly in documentary filmmaking (Bevan and Green 2018) and has also started to be adopted in ethnographic research (Mendonca and Ray 2017; Gómez Cruz 2017; Westmoreland 2020).[8] Immersive technologies bring some obvious benefits to ethnographic research. In practical terms, 360° cameras are easy to transport and set up and involve few compositional choices (Tojo et al. 2021). The researcher's role is limited to positioning the camera and deciding when to start filming. This reduction of the researcher's agency is part of the appeal: the camera becomes a panoptic spectator, rendering the resulting film into a sort of "archeological object" to which researchers and participants alike can return to in the future (Gómez Cruz 2017).

Crucially, the researcher/film-maker is also inevitably observed, along with any other observed object. In a way, Gómez Cruz argues, 360° technology has delivered the hopes that Margaret Mead expressed half a century ago of a "camera or tape recorder that stays in one spot ... becomes part of the background scene, and what it records did happen" (Mead 1975, 9). However, this supposed removal of researcher's agency can easily veer into problematic positivistic ideals of the ethnographer as an unnoticed "fly on the wall" who simply records what is already there (Weinberger 1994). Rather, one of the core qualities of film is what we can call "thick inscription": "the events, people, views and so on portrayed are represented in such a detailed manner that they generally resist total domination by the inevitably time-bound interpretation put upon them by the filmmaker" (Henley 2000, 215). This echoes the "raw" quality of photographs, which actually facilitate their openness to reinterpretation as part of a dynamic, cross-cultural, and historical process (Edwards 2001).

If the "fly on the wall" fantasy haunts 360° recording, a related fantasy haunts VR experiences: immersion. Central to mainstream visions of the potential of VR, immersion is often used to refer to the feeling of "being there" that one senses after putting on the VR headset.[9] The problem is that immersion is often, implicitly or explicitly, linked to empathy, especially among VR creators like filmmaker Chris Milk, who called VR the "ultimate empathy machine" (Milk 2015). The idea is that this technology allows us to immerse ourselves into the point of view of the Other and develop empathy as a result. Immersion and "fly on the wall" passive observation are intertwined fantasies both in VR culture and in ethnography (Messeri 2021). Discussing the classic work of Evans-Pritchard, Clifford Geertz described how "one can and usually does feel that one is looking through a crystal window to the reality beyond" (1988: 28–29). Expressing a similar sentiment, in discussing digital environments, Janet Murray foresees the potential of a medium that "melts away into transparency" (Murray 1998, 272). The resulting fantasy is one in which we can record reality as passive observers and then viewers can merge with the other in immersive experiences. The equivalent in the ethnographic museum setting is to imagine the offending glass of the display case melting away to offer visitors an unmediated immersive experience of Indigenous lives, through VR representations of their material culture. The flaw of this vision, of course, is that it privileges the pleasure and "visionary capabilities" of the assumed non-Indigenous museum

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/muan.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

visitor, who is granted a nonreciprocal access into "other" places. Reading the immersive technology through a relational lens would elucidate the power imbalances the idea of "immersion" obscures.

The understanding of VR as an "empathy machine" presumes to acknowledge the experience of the other, but instead, it hastily absorbs and consumes the other's experience into the experience of the viewer (Sora-Domenjó 2022; Bollmer 2017). This ingestion and absorption of the other's experience echoes Fabian's claim that, in ethnographic discourse, the temporality of the other is ingested and transformed into one's own. Moreover, in prioritizing empathy, especially in the context of political disenfranchisement, there is an implicit discounting of the voice of the other: "you cannot trust marginalized people when they speak their own truth or describe their own suffering... you have to experience it for yourself through digital representation, to know that it is true" (Nakamura 2020, 53). More broadly, there is a growing concern that embracing empathy as an unquestioned force for good, flosses over its darker potential for distancing and deception (Bubandt and Willerslev 2015; Throop and Zahavi 2020). Even if we grant that VR immersion can lead to empathy, it is not clear that we should pursue empathy rather than compassion, understanding, or solidarity (Gregory 2016).

In ethnography, there is also a worry that the VR immersion runs the risk of producing "improper distance" between the viewer and the subject of the film (Nash 2018). Improper distance are practices of communication that at once privilege Western voices over those of distant others and distance the Western viewer from their own privileged position, a dynamic that extends to competing temporalities (Chouliaraki 2011). Immersion obscures the distance that mediates the ethnographic encounter, reproducing problematic practices of anthropology: "through immersion, the classical anthropologist hopes to undergo some kind of transformation, a virtual out-of-body experience that will place him in the position of the indigene, from where he may view the world as the indigene does" (Strain 2003, 31). Lisa Messeri argues that VR is a 21st century reconfiguration of anthropology's perennial struggles with the binary of self and other, giving technological wings to Malinowski's hubristic entreaty for ethnographers to "grasp the native's point of view" (Messeri 2022, 576).

When considering adopting immersive technologies, it is thus important for us to remember that "the instruments or technologies of research were also instruments of knowledge and instruments for legitimating various colonial practices" Tuhiwai Smith (2021, 60). Wary of the broader narrative of immersion, passive observation and empathy that surrounds the technology, the Wandering in Other Worlds project sought to actively play with the specific possibilities of VR and of 360° video in order to reveal the construction and limits of ethnographic material (see also Westmoreland 2020). In using VR and 360° film as ethnographic tools in the field, we wanted to ensure that these experiences were reciprocal, mutually responsible and not just interrogations of a new technology. Rather than advancements toward a "view from nowhere", new technologies should be thought to provide a multiplicity of ways of seeing the world, thus challenging established paradigms in virtue of their multiplicity (Cruz et al. 2017). It is also crucial to clear the platform for Indigenous VR (Wallis and Ross 2021) as a new space in which Indigenous methods and forms of storytelling can be tested with an Indigenous viewer in mind. Opening up spaces in which these technologies can adhere to noncapitalist, non-extractive logics and remain inside community control, is perhaps the most creative application of VR/360° film so far.

Several initiatives employing VR give us hope about the possibilities of this technology in the heritage sector. For example, VR has been used to digitize traditional stories in rural Namibia (Arendttorp et al. 2023), for the preservation of Indigenous cultural heritage knowledge in Australia (Leavy et al. 2007), for the reinvigoration of Indigenous knowledge in Sarawak, Malaysia (Kreuger and Zaman 2023), for engaging descendant Inuit communities with their heritage sites (Dawson et al. 2018), and for language revitalization of the Northern Arapaho language (Kelly and Russell 2023), as well as in the Marshall Islands and in the Maldives (Lum and Schlossberg 2014).

The recent project by Kelly and Russell (2023) is particularly relevant here because it involves the use of 360° capture and VR as a method of elicitation (in their case, for language acquisition). They collect data using 360° recordings from the traditional Northern Arapaho homeland (which is now no longer part of their territory) and they bring it back to the community using VR. For them, a central concern in the use of the technology is the directionality of the project. Their use of the technology does not take from the community to bring it to a Western observer but is primarily a tool for the Northern Arapaho people to reconnect with their heritage, from which they were forcefully removed. This resonates with the intention we had to connect Evenki to their cultural heritage held in Oxford and to seek consultation about how to care for it.

Anthropological research that employs VR to foreground the distortions and disjunctures in the process of assembly (Westmoreland 2020) and embraces a fragmented and kaleidoscopic perspective (Pauwelussen 2017), shows a pathway to creative use of the medium to move between Indigenous and non-Indigenous settings. Messeri (2021) groups VR together with other methods that she refers to as "anthropologies of the unreal", which attend to both Western and non-Western ontologies, and open up opportunities to engage with reality otherwise, challenging colonial logics that perpetuate alterity. "The unreality of viewer experience" is in fact one of the characteristics that drew Gleizer to the medium:

> it makes the viewer hyper-aware of the unreality of her experience. In a VR headset...you are the perfect, reflective object...a pair of disembodied eyeballs floating in mid-air, cut off from precedent, body, culture, and history... Except of course you're not, as the claustrophobic awareness of the box on your head kicks in
>
> (Gleizer 2020, 42).

This sense of embodied and perceptual discrepancy in the VR headset settles in quickly, meaning that even relatively short VR experiences afford their viewers not only a sense of the scene but also, crucially, an experience in seeing and being (un)seen,

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/muan.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

albeit often on an unconscious level. This unintended effect of VR can be employed intentionally to underscore experiences so often felt by anyone under ethnographic scrutiny.

These new technologies can thus erode not only the inherent alterity but also the dominant mode of temporality of ethnographic museums. The expanded degrees of freedom in a 360° viewing turn the VR experience into an "emplaced time-capsule" that can be freely explored, navigated, and questioned, not just by viewers but also collectively by participants in the video itself (Gómez Cruz 2017). This freedom regarding the temporality of 360° film makes it a great technology for challenging the denial of coevalness underlying museum practices. The ability to return, multiple times, to a single episode or interaction in our fieldwork, which itself is placed in an indeterminate time-scape inside the headset, parallels the Evenki helical temporal framework much closer than a strictly linear European one. While traditional film also affords rewatching, the experience of reentering a VR film differs in one's ability to choose to see something new in each rewatching. In traditional film, the screen is fixed, presenting the same view over and over. In VR, a returning viewer can choose to turn their head and observe something else. Importantly, it isn't ever possible to see everything—the viewer is constantly forced to choose what to ignore.

5 | Where Is the Museum? VR And Fieldwork in Evenkia

The dissonance between the decolonial ethos of the PRM and the 2014 display of Siberian collections highlighted the need for new practices of cultural care. There was only a limited awareness of the existence of the Oxford collections in Siberia and no community consultation had taken place by 2019. Some of the objects held by the PRM (as well as their histories of extraction) needed active reconciliation and a reconfiguration of power dynamics. So, in 2019, our team[10] took 360 cameras and VR headsets from the museum into the field. The fieldwork consisted of two separate trips (see Figure 1) to the Evenkia region of Krasnoyarsk krai in March–April (Baĭkit, Surinda) and July–September (Sulomay, Baĭkit, Tura, and Chirinda), with filming in Oxford in June between two field trips.[11] No "final product" VR films were produced from these various shoots, but a growing and changing mashup of scenes that have been shown in different iterations for different audiences, and that have grown organically from our different engagements. Rather than describing the content of any one film, we use a chronological description of the process of filming and showing, filming and showing process following the Evenki storytelling format of "and then and then and then" [тар амардукин – "leaving that behind..."].

We began early in 2019 in Oxford: Anya Gleizer filmed in the PRM (see Figure 6) and various notable locations around the city, including Somerville College where Czaplicka had studied and Wolvercote cemetery where she is buried.

5.1 | Baĭkit Expedition

For the first trip, Anya Gleizer and Pablo Fernandez Velasco traveled to Baĭkit, where they stayed primarily in the local *internat* (residential school) and worked with Indigenous students (Evenki, Ket, and Chuvash). Interested in their imaginaries, we ran hands-on art workshops to find out what they imagined Oxford and English culture to be like (see Figure 7). We also

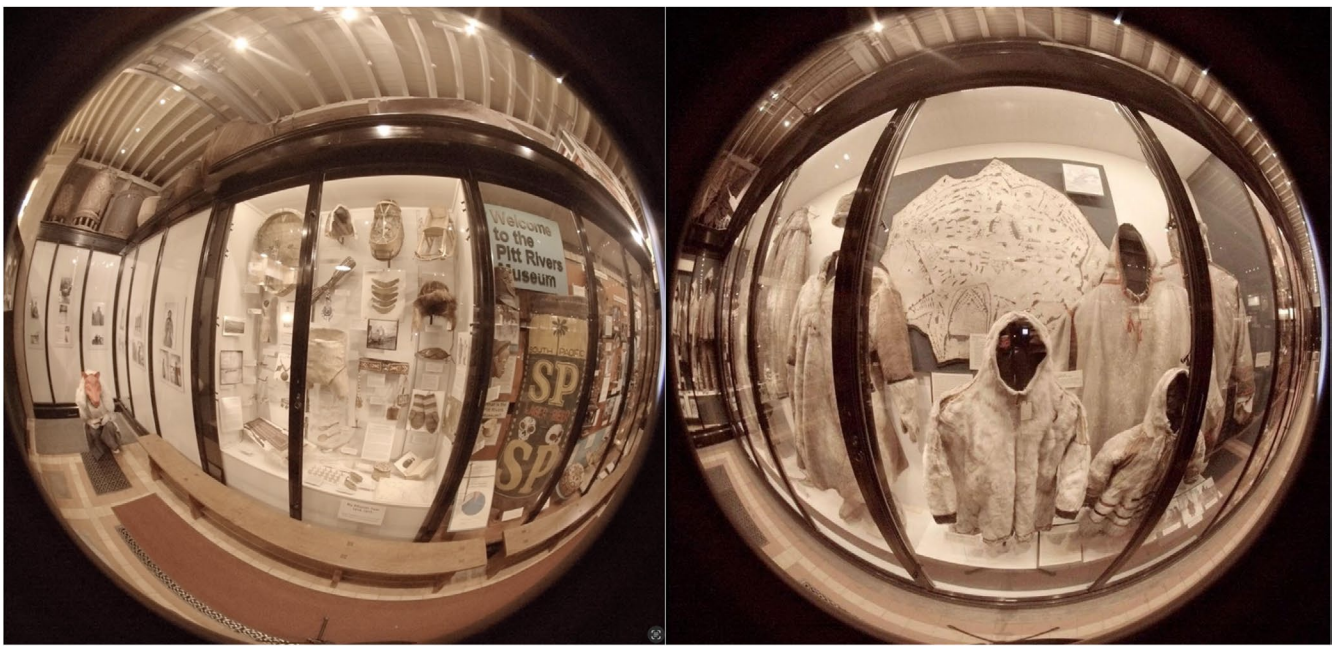

FIGURE 6 | First VR footage from the PRM. Left: A crouches by the old 2014 display "My Siberian Year,"; Right: She positions the camera in front of the Siberian clothing display, so that it can be seen inside the sakui (parka) hood. The effect in the VR headset is that of slowly approaching the parka, where one would normally see one's reflection, and seeing the blinking light of the camera instead, playfully bursting the fiction of immersion by letting the viewer see the media instead of themselves.

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/muan.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

FIGURE 7 | Two examples of Evenki children's depictions of "English culture" created from a collage of English magazines like Tatler and Country Living, supplied by the author. These collages later served as the basis for two 3-m sculptures that A created for an exhibition "Granny's Bones" from the inside of which you could watch two different VR films—one from the perspective of the researchers visiting Baĭkit, the second from the perspective of the children seeing the researchers visit them. The installation "Granny's Bones" toured Oxford and then visited the Moscow Biennale, Personal Places//Archival Spaces exhibition, in 2020.

FIGURE 8 | Left: Evenki youth filming and directing the "search for Czaplicka's bones" over the river Baĭkitik, 2019. Right: Evenki youth at the Baĭkit central school looking at artifacts taken from their area and held in the Oxford museum, in VR, 2019.

wanted them to have a chance to respond to the portrayal of Evenki culture in and by the Pitt Rivers Museum. Sharing the Oxford VR footage with the children (a medley of PRM displays of Siberian ethnography, Oxford streets, colleges, libraries, and Czaplicka's grave), we encouraged them to shoot their own 360 films in response (see Figures 8 and 9). We asked them: "if you could share something with museum visitors, what would you want to share and how would you want to portray it?"

From the beginning, we noticed a curious and unexpected interaction with the VR technology, especially prominent among young people and elders. When told that we would share the footage they created and selected in the museum, many of our collaborators began to treat the 360 camera as a live-streaming device, peering into it to see their interlocutors on the other side of the fisheye lens. We grew used to questions like "can they hear me now?" or jokes like "they can hear your dirty mouth going off! Stop your cussin!" We're in polite company' (ironically). This treatment of a future VR audience as an active presence in the present was not a result of naivete about the technology.[12] Rather, it didn't matter to our collaborators whether the intimacy of conversations reached audiences at a slight temporal disjunct. It was almost as if the *present moment* was present *now*, but also in the *now* in which the seeing would take place. Both of these moments coincided in a present moment that was mutually accessible, reflecting a helical understanding of temporality. The

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/man.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

FIGURE 9 | Wearing the Irgichit'kan mask, Nikita (age 10), checks that his audiences are watching him by peering into the 360 camera, Baĭkit, April 2019.

FIGURE 10 | Left: Front cam view—The interior of the Rostok, Baĭkit school museum, with displayed photos, reindeer saddle, embroidered robe, and mini chum. Right: Back cam view—Children peering in at the camera/the viewer.

instinct to include and welcome guests suspended a temporal divide—the Pitt Rivers audiences were seen as present despite the footage only being downloaded, edited, transferred into headsets, and installed in the museum much later.

We also worked at Baĭkit school's museum of indigenous culture, Rostok, where we shared PRM footage with its director and with visiting school groups. We discussed differences in curatorial choices between the two museums,[13] and the school group then experimented with the VR technology. The school group in the Rostok museum composed an interesting 360° shot, using the dual camera capabilities to facilitate a pivoting of perspective for the viewer. In the shot, the camera is positioned in the display case, with the front lens facing the Evenki material culture on display. Through the back lens, the class of children is pointing and laughing, noses pressed to the glass, at an invisible object, who doesn't notice that the children are there, unless they turn around (see Figure 10).

This shot emphasizes the experience of the camera-as-audience-member with which the children interacted in the present, but which visitors experienced in the future. It also forcefully articulates that an integral part of "experiencing Evenki culture" in the museum is the experience of being put on display, being scrutinized, and put behind glass (Gleizer and Belsey 2024: 69). When museum visitors now experience this segment during VR sessions at the PRM, they first see something very similar to what they are used to seeing: a wall of artifacts from an absent Other for them to examine. It takes the initiative of the viewer to turn around and see that it is them themselves on display.

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/muan.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

The unnerving experience of being observed by people from a past that feels, at that moment, like the present, mirrors the common Evenki experience of being observed by people from the future, who look at them as if they belong in a bygone past. It is an uncomfortable experience both spatially and temporally, and thus grants a pivoting of perspective as a viewer is jolted unexpectedly into the realization that they have been viewed all along, and that the experience of looking has always been two-directional.

5.2 | Filming in Oxford

After our March–April expedition, we returned to Oxford where we shared the footage with PRM staff and filmed some of the Evenki collections inside the PRM. Objects were filmed with the camera mounted on a helmet worn by assistant curator, Nicholas Crowe, as he opened the 2014 "My Siberian Year" and other display cases and handled objects (see Figure 11). We also asked him to film the handling of two charged "objects": a small wooden raven (Oli) and a larger wooden fish (Ongon) figurine that had been displayed in the "My Siberian Year" and "Treatment of the Dead" cases. Not objects, but spirit-helpers, these beings had been removed by Czaplicka from the burial of the Evenki shaman Nakte near Lake Chirinda. The handling of the spirit helpers was a cause for concern for most of our Evenki colleagues, who identified experiencing it, even through VR, as a danger, and worried about PRM staff who had come into contact with them. When we returned to Evenkia in July, we added the new footage of the curator's hands handling the Evenki collections to the previous footage from Oxford and Baĭkit, continuing the back and forth sharing pattern that had begun to form a conversation but with a temporal delay.

Returning to Baĭkit, we visited Anna Kuzenko, the director of the Baĭkit ethnographic museum. Watching the footage of Nicholas Crowe examining the PRM collections, she mimicked the motions of the curator's hands in the video, reaching to open cases which stood closed thousands of kilometers away. We asked her if she would like to film the Baĭkit collections in 360° and were surprised when she insisted that we should film the Ket *Allel*.[14] *Allel* are household gods, not meant to be shown outside of their direct family units, which local Ket people still frequently feed with candies or alcohol within the Baĭkit museum. When we expressed concern about making the *Allel* visible to PRM visitors, since they are meant to remain private, she said she knew just how to do it: we would place the camera and the *Allel* in a closed chum with no light source and film in the dark. We asked, what would be the point of filming if you could not see anything. She replied "but they would see you. They would be able to see."

This episode underscores another role reversal facilitated via the VR technology: a viewer who had been permitted, for many years, to observe the deity would now be rendered blind and become observable by it. However, the motivation of this shot was not vengeful. It was done to satisfy the little god's curiosity and desire to see those interested visitors without being seen himself. Finally, the use of the camera/VR headset in this way points to the curious suspension of the interceding time between filming and viewing. The *Allel* in the chum would not "see" a museum visitor but a 360 camera on a tripod. The visitors would be able to "visit" the *Allel's* chum at some later point in time. However, in this setup, the *Allel* could see (through the camera) the visitors of the future. The camera then, (not unlike the digitized versions of the wax-cylinder music recordings discussed earlier) became a device that not only transported experiences long-distance but that transmuted them through time, such that the "viewing" always took place instantaneously for the *Allel* but at a temporal disjunct for the visitor. It was not that the viewing was "happening live" on a timeline that stretched from past to future—the entire notion of time was warped, or coiled, making this a continuous and ever-changing interaction with the *Allel*, difficult to locate on any timeline.

5.3 | Tura and Chirinda Expedition

Our next stop was Tura, the regional center of Evenkia, where we collaborated with the Evenki regional museum (kraevedcheskii muzei). We consulted with museum staff, archivists, local politicians, and Evenki community members and also held a public gathering at the museum, in which visitors could look through the PRM Evenki collections in the VR headset. One of our Evenki partners, Gulnara Kimovna Lapuko, museum educator at the Evenki Museum of Local History, asked to experience the VR outside. Like Kuzenko, she too started to reach for the objects visible within the headset. Within the desolate yard of the museum, her figure, grasping at absent objects with bare hands, struck a jarring contrast with that of the PRM curator holding Evenki spirits in gloved hands, surrounded by the vast array of artifacts from all over the world. We filmed Gulnara Kimovna watching the VR of Evenki belongings in the PRM and montaged the two shots (Oxford and Tura) together, so that they can now be seen side by side during VR sessions at the PRM. Positioned like this, the VR gives an eerie realization that what Gulnara Kimovna is handling is the absence of an object (see Figure 12). Here, instead of erasing distance (as the "empathy machine" view would have it) VR makes the distance painfully tangible.

Further north in Chirinda, a small settlement of about 200 people by Lake Chirinda, where, in February 1915, Czaplicka observed a munyak (a gathering of families) 1915, we sought to locate sites she had visited and seek guidance regarding objects from that location (particularly the shaman spirit helpers). We visited the old church-turned-cultural center in the Soviet era and then abandoned, in which Czaplicka had taken a photograph of Evenki men. With help from a local hunter, we attempted to locate the burial site of Nakte, whose spirit helpers we had filmed (see also Vider 2017: 301 and Gleizer and Belsey 2024). We filmed in these different locations with the 360 camera, layering a present portrayal over century-old images from the expedition. We also filmed people using and telling stories about modern renditions of Evenki objects displayed in the PRM (in some cases these objects—a reindeer pack-saddle in Chirinda, a Эмке [Ehmkeh] baby cradle in Sulomay, were as old as those held by the museum). The objects exist statically in the collections but are alive in the 360 film, full of personal anecdote, practical application, and memory.

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/muan.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

FIGURE 11 | Nicholas Crowe handling the Raven figure (Oli, PRM 1915.50.129) while wearing the helmet-mounted 360 camera (top image) on display and later watching the VR footage from Baïkit in the museum's long gallery (bottom image).

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/man.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

FIGURE 12 | Top: Gulnara Kimovna Lapuko reaching for the Evenki objects in the PRM, while seeing them in VR. Below: What she is seeing—PRM curator handling Evenki objects acquired by Maria Czaplicka in 1915, in the "My Siberian Year" display. Upon our return to Oxford, we played the VR of Gulnara Kimovna reaching for the objects to Nicholas Crowe and the other PRM staff involved in the WiOW project in the VR headset, so that they could experience standing in front of her.

For 6 days, our base in Chirinda was the new culture center where we set up a pop-up station to share materials from the PRM. People would come to experience the VR, view photographs of objects in the collections and photographs from Czaplicka's expedition, as well as browse booklets from the PRM. Over 6 days around 22 people (of whom half were children) experienced the VR. Conversations stemming from photo-elicitation with Czaplicka's expedition and object photographs usually focused on the past, with the decline of reindeer herding and Evenki language, family and regional histories, and traditions being the focus. Objects as experienced through VR were comparatively more linked to the "now" of Oxford and the PRM as the site that displays Evenki material culture today, the latter always emerging as a point of pride.

The viewing of the VR thus became, not just a personal experience for the particular viewer, but an event for the others in the room. There were always people walking in and out of the cultural center where they would joke, laugh, tease the person wearing the headset and comment when the viewer lost balance or even dropped the headset. Some would laugh at the elderly ladies "talking to robots" and tell off children who were making a show of crawling around with the headset on. One local commented that having the technology at

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/man.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

the cultural centre was like having a disco. The presence of the headsets produced intergenerational mixing, general interest in the PRM (some locals took interest in the Blackfoot and Tahiti shirts, commenting on them from their cultural perspective) and a joyous, experimental ambiance. The interactions through the VR were also more embodied, requiring the viewers to tune into the views from the headset but at the same time check in to their bodily presence in the club. This bodily interaction carried through to post-viewing commentary with several adults demonstrating the use of the "havarilla" (wooden bow drill) with their hands.

Many of the kids asked to see the VR over and over again but had a strong preference for the films shot by the children from the Baĭkit residential school, over the more static and unfamiliar shots from Oxford. At the time, we attributed this to familiarity and the fact that the footage shot by kids was wobblier and more action-packed than the footage shot by adults. However, a conversation with Galina Veretnova, our long-term collaborator and Evenki culture bearer, changed our perspective. We asked Galina what she remembered from her first encounter with the PRM Evenki collections through the VR headset, and how that first impression compared to experiencing the collections firsthand in Oxford, when she participated in an artist residency there 3 years later. Galina's answer surprised us, but also gave a crucial insight into how the VR facilitated a shift in the perception of temporalities that bind and Other Evenki people in the western/settler's eye:

> To be honest, what I remember very clearly was the adventure where you guys were in Baĭkit ... My impression was that this was our familiar [world], but *seen again* [Вновь увиденное/vnov' uvidennoye]... At that time no one in the village had those kinds of glasses. It was strange and very intriguing. Do you know what they sometimes say about us? That the Evenki see a plane and shout that it's a metal bird?! So, when I saw the reality that surrounds us, our reality, in those glasses, I saw it differently: the presence of all we know, but in this new technological format of the 'metal bird' ... I saw myself and everything so familiar, but in the future.
>
> (Galina Veretnova, interviewed by Gleizer in 2024).

Galina is describing the experience of "seeing again" very familiar elements of her own day-to-day life through VR (see Figure 13). The technology as a mechanism of sharing those quotidian scenes alters the way in which she perceives them, so they are "seen again." In their reseeing, the school kids in the snow seem to be the subjects of a dynamic future, not of a static, unchanging past. She draws the analogy of the offensive Russian joke, which positions the Evenki as a savage, ignorant of modern technology. In the VR headset, she relates suddenly seeing that we [the Evenki] "are the metal bird"—the technology of the future, flying high overhead, rejecting a serially immobilized past. Galina attributes her strongest first impression of VR to a visualization of herself, but "seen again" into a future temporality. This convergence of ancestral tradition, recent past, and futurity coexist in a present that they all return to, a recurring moment in a helical timeline. Returning to it, we can see how far we have come, through multiple iterations, and glimpse a journey yet to come. The artifacts, which she saw in the headset, the scenes of Oxford and the grand museum, were forgotten in light of this strong personal experience.

6 | Conclusions

The 360° footage we shot at the PRM provided a creative way of transporting and sharing the Siberian collections that could be explored, contested, and augmented by source communities in Evenkia, destabilizing dominant temporalities. Moreover,

FIGURE 13 | Left: Galina's first VR experience in the Tura Evenki Lore Museum, long before we knew we would work together or that these VR experiments would eventually lead to the Evenki Reconciliation Ceremony staged in the Pitt Rivers in 2022. Right: Galina watching this footage of herself in the PRM 3 years later (see also Figure 4). Copyright Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/muan.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

collaborating with Evenki people in the production of 360° material in the field opened the museum to the possibility of alternative temporalities. The fluctuation back and forth between the field and the museum, the reseeing of footage made by different people looking at each other from different perspectives, generated a facsimile of the helical temporality of the Evenki—we would return to the same scenes over and over again, but see them with new eyes. This two-directional "conversation" between the footage shot by and with the Evenki in Siberia and the footage shot by us at the museum was occurring with a temporal delay, but the interaction was real, reciprocal, ever-in-the-present. This sense of presence differed greatly from the "present tense" ethnographic writing contested by Fabian. The sense of present generated by this use of VR and 360 film technology created a sense of intimacy that relies on presence—seeing each other, and seeing oneself being seen.

The switching of the dynamic between observer and observed subverts the stasis of ethnographic display methods. As in the case of the *Allel* observing the VR viewer from the pitch-dark, a sense of cyclical temporality challenged the past-to-future linear conception of time that is dominant in museum displays, and which is inextricable from modernist ideas of progress. And, as shown in the commentary by Galina Veretnova, VR technology can serve to unmoor Indigenous lifeworlds from a frozen past and into alternative futures. By breaking down dominant modes of temporality, immersive technology offers a way to transform the museum into a place of dynamic encounter as opposed to a place for passive voyeurism, thus shaping the museum into an active contact zone. This performativity of culture, experienced directly, challenges the notion of culture as an existing, static, observable state, and with it, the denial of coevalness that is characteristic of ethnographic discourse.

The use of immersive technologies in the WiOW project both in the museum and in the field affords an intersubjective platform that transcends temporal and geographic barriers. The back-and-forth of footage aided in building relationships between the museum and our interlocutors, which in turn enabled the redisplay of Siberian material at the Pitt Rivers Museum, which integrates 360 and flat-screen footage, sound recordings, and handling sessions of newly acquired beadwork (see Gleizer and Belsey 2024). These changes are transforming the display of Siberian material culture away from the logic of alienation and objectification toward one of participatory engagement. In present times, when immediate collaboration with Siberian communities inside Russia is challenging, opening up spaces with immersive technologies that can adhere to non-extractive logics that restore agency to communities of origin becomes even more pressing.

Acknowledgments

We thank all our friends and colleagues in Siberia who continue to work to preserve Indigenous cultures. To our Evenki collaborators: thank you for teaching us the incalculable importance of certain acts of repetition, for reminding us that we must never stick to itineraries, and for showing us new ways to see and see again. To Anna Olegovna Kuzenko and Gul'nara Kimovna Lapuko, curators of Evenki collections in Evenkia, fire protectors, thank you for your relentless work. Nelia Evgenievna Petrovna, director of the Baïkit residential school, and Altinay Ivanovna Pankagir, head of Tura cultural administration, thank you for your hospitality, for welcoming and hosting our expedition, and for your openness to our spontaneous creative projects and ill-thought-through excursions to the taiga. We would not have made it very far without your help and support. We are indebted to the financial support of many institutions listed above for making this work possible. Insights and support from the Pitt Rivers Museum staff, especially Faye Belsey, Nicholas Crowe, Katherine Clough, and Laura van Broekhoven has been our compass and parachute. Finally, we are incredibly grateful to our colleagues, our comrades, Galina Pavlovna Veretnova and Alexander Nikolaevich Varlamov whose wisdom and dedication to Evenki culture have inspired us (and so many others). It is to you especially that we dedicate our gratitude and our determination to keep learning and returning.

Disclosure

Most of the images used in the article are by the authors. Where persons are identified or identifiable, they have granted permission for the images to be used in this publication.

Ethics Statement

Research Ethics Approval for "Wandering in Other Worlds, Talking with the Spirits" project and specifically fieldwork in Siberia was sought from and granted by the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography, University of Oxford to Dr. Jaanika Vider (Ref. No. SAME_C1A_19_043).

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

Endnotes

[1] For example, of over 600 Siberian objects in the Asian ethnographic collection of the British Museum, none appear to be on permanent display, however many objects were shown as part of the Arctic culture and climate exhibition between 2020 and 2021. The National Museum of Scotland, the Horniman, Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology all have Siberian objects but virtually none are on display. An exception is the Scott Polar Institute's museum which has a small permanent exhibit of Siberian material culture.

[2] *The Wandering in Other Worlds, Talking with the Spirits* project initiated by artist Anya Gleizer in 2018, began as her personal, non-research initiative to reconnect the collections at the museum with contemporary Evenki communities, then expanded into a research collaboration with researchers Jaanika Vider and Pablo Fernandez Velasco in 2019. The three authors retraced the route of the original Czaplicka expedition and worked with community groups in Evenkia to shoot contemporary footage of locations she visited and objects she collected from an Evenki perspective. The project then expanded further into an active collaboration between Evenki culture knowledge-holders and the Pitt Rivers Museum (with Anya Gleizer facilitating translation), culminating in an Evenki visit to the museum in 2022 and a reconciliation ceremony as well as a full re-display of Evenki material guided and curated by an Evenki elder. This visit also included healing ceremonies with several objects, beading workshops, and public performance as well as a dedicated Late Night event. The project is on-going, exploring the legacy of the Evenki collection there. More can be read here: https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/wandering-in-other-worlds#listing_3602541_0.

[3] See p. 62 of the Pitt Rivers Museum Conservation Plan 2012—https://estates.admin.ox.ac.uk/files/pittriversmuseumcompressedpdf.

[4] In 2018, the museum director Laura van Broekhoven admitted that the museum had 'still not found a compelling way of translating that [decolonial] thinking and teaching into the permanent displays and galleries' (van Broekhoven 2018, 73) with visitors positively associating the museum with tropes such as "treasure trove", "Indiana Jones" and "Aladdin's cave."

[5] For a more detailed history of the expedition see Vider (2017, 2021).

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/muan.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

[6] Significantly, this reconnection work also enabled to introduce contemporary Evenki and Orochen voices to the custodian of the photographs, the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge, during the "River Stars Reindeer" exhibition in 2015.

[7] Further reference to Evenki conceptions of annual reindeer migration and temporality can be seen in Ekaterina Krivoshapkina and Svetlana Prokopieva's linguistic analysis of the Evenki and Even of Yakutia (Krivoshapkina and Prokopieva 2019). Safonova and Sántha (2011) also argue that even when there are regional differences in Evenki groups and dialects, there are "basic common patterns in the way their mobility is organized" (Safonova and Sántha 2011, 72). Finally, Davydov (2017) notes that Evenki in Zabaikalye and Buryatia relate to place in their migrations via "points of constant return" (Davydov 2017, 14)—while regionally distinct all these Evenki accounts point to a temporality predicated on migratory movement and serial return to the same places, which are reanimated and made new through repetitive revisiting. The helical timeline illustrates this concept across the groups.

[8] Further examples include ethnographic films by the VR studio Félix and Paul of nomadic communities from Kenya, Mongolia, and Malaysia (Bryant 2016), and studies of human-marine relations in the Makassar Strait in Indonesia (Pauwelussen 2017), of gold-mining town in northern Ghana (Westmoreland 2020), of running clubs in England (Pretlove et al. 2020), of laboratory training in Singapore (Ardisara and Fung 2018), and of natural dyeing craft practices across the UK (Pagett 2023).

[9] For further discussion of the term, see Nilsson et al. (2016).

[10] The team consisted of Anya Gleizer, an artist and geography researcher, Jaanika Vider, a museum anthropologist and Pablo Fernandez Velasco, a cognitive scientist. Anya Gleizer and Pablo Fernandez Velasco worked in all fieldwork locations during two separate trips while Jaanika Vider joined for research in Tura and Chirinda.

[11] We did not gain Russian government permissions to venture north of Turukhansk, now a closed military/industrial zone.

[12] The Evenki children, all digital-natives (unlike the authors who are all very much digital immigrants!) had a much more intuitive grasp of the VR technology than we did. We are therefore confident that their approach to the VR (as if the film's future viewers were present and able to see them through the camera) was not a result of a misunderstanding of the technology—it was culturally informed by conceptions of a fluid, much less rigid time. This led to the sense of intimacy and immediacy, which visitors described in their surveys after they experienced the Evenki VR (the results of the Evenki VR visitor surveys are subject of a forthcoming paper by A).

[13] The Baĭkit museums tended to focus on modern (Soviet era) local Evenki heroes—war heroes, famous poets, dog-sleigh champions, etc., and displayed material culture on the floor and on the walls without display cases. Ethnographic material was divided by cultural group and interspersed with contemporary "reactions." In the school museum, this included children's drawings and poems inspired by old Evenki heroes or stories. In the Baĭkit museum, locals would bring candies and cups of vodka for the gods on little display shelves.

[14] Kuzenko was probably responding to seeing a similar figure identified as Ostyak-Samoyed (Selkup) Parge (PRM 1915.50.138) that was on display in "My Siberian Year" exhibition.

References

Ardisara, A., and F. M. Fung. 2018. "Integrating 360° Videos in an Undergraduate Chemistry Laboratory Course." *Journal of Chemical Education* 95, no. 10: 1881–1884. https://doi.org/10.1021/acs.jchemed.8b00143.

Arendttorp, E. M. N., H. Winschiers-Theophilus, K. Rodil, et al. 2023. "Grab It, While You Can: A VR Gesture Evaluation of a Co-Designed Traditional Narrative by Indigenous People." In *In Proceedings of the 2023 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, 1–13. ACM. https://doi.org/10.1145/3544548.3580894.

Bevan, C., and D. Green. 2018. "A Mediography of Virtual Reality Non-Fiction: Insights and Future Directions." In *Proceedings of the 2018 ACM International Conference on Interactive Experiences for TV and Online Video*, 161–166. ACM. https://doi.org/10.1145/3210825.3213557.

Birth, K. 2008. "The Creation of Coevalness and the Danger of Homochronism." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14, no. 1: 3–20. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9655.2007.00475.x.

Bollmer, G. 2017. "Empathy Machines." *Media International Australia* 165, no. 1: 63–76. https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X17726794.

Bryant, H. 2016. "A Review of Virtual Reality Ethnographic Film, or: How We've Always Been Creating Virtual Reality." The Geek Anthropologist, 29.

Bubandt, N., and R. Willerslev. 2015. "The Dark Side of Empathy: Mimesis, Deception, and the Magic of Alterity." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 57, no. 1: 5–34.

Bunzl, M. 2014. "Foreword/Syntheses of a Critical Anthropology." In *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object by Johannes Fabian*, 7–32. Columbia University Press.

Chouliaraki, L. 2011. ""Improper Distance": Towards a Critical Account of Solidarity as Irony." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 14, no. 4: 363–381. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877911403247.

Collins, D., and J. Urry. 1997. "A Flame Too Intense for Mortal Body to Support." *Anthropology Today* 13, no. 6: 18–20.

Cruz, E. G., S. Sumartojo, and S. Pink. 2017. *Refiguring Techniques in Digital Visual Research*. Springer.

Davydov, V. N. 2017. "Temporality of Movements in the North: Pragmatic Use of Infrastructure and Reflexive Mobility of Evenkis and Dolgans." *Sibirica* 16, no. 3: 14–34.

Dawson, P. C., C. Porter, D. Gadbois, D. Keith, C. Hughes, and L. Suluk. 2018. ""Some Account of an Extraordinary Traveller": Using Virtual Tours to Access Remote Heritage Sites of Inuit Cultural Knowledge." *Études Inuit Studies* 42, no. 1: 243–268.

Dudding, J. 2019. "Chasing Shadows: Sharing Photographs From Former Northwest Manchuria." In *Life Histories of Etnos Theory in Russia and Beyond*, 293–348. Open Book Publishers.

Dudley, S. 2011. "Introduction: Museums and Things." In *The Thing About Museums*, 1–11. Routledge.

Edwards, E. 2001. *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*. Routledge.

Fabian, J. 2014. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. Columbia University Press.

Gleizer, A. 2020. "Wandering in Other Worlds, Talking With the Spirits: Choreographing a Performative Anthropology." *Revista De Estudios Globales Y Arte Contemporáneo* 7, no. 1: 35–54.

Gleizer, A., and F. Belsey. 2024. "'Research and Trinkets': An Indigenous Evenki Intervention Into Narrative Construction at the Pitt Rivers Museum." *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 37: 52–74.

Gómez Cruz, E. 2017. "Immersive Reflexivity: Using 360° Cameras in Ethnographic Fieldwork." In *Refiguring Techniques in Digital Visual Research*, edited by E. Gómez Cruz, S. Sumartojo, and S. Pink, 25–38. Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-61222-5_3.

Gray, P. A. 2016. "Memory, Body, and the Online Researcher: Following Russian Street Demonstrations via Social Media." *American Ethnologist* 43, no. 3: 500–510. https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12342.

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/muan.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

Gregory, S. 2016. "Immersive Witnessing: From Empathy and Outrage to Action." WITNESS Blog. 2 August 2016. https://blog.witness.org/2016/08/immersive-witnessing-from-empathy-and-outrage-to-action/.

Harris, C. 2013. "Digital Dilemmas: The Ethnographic Museum as Distributive Institution." *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford Online* 5, no. 2: 125–140.

Henley, P. 2000. "Ethnographic Film: Technology, Practice and Anthropological Theory." *Visual Anthropology* 13, no. 2: 207–226.

Ivanov, P. 2017. "Rethinking Coevalness: Entangled History and the Objects of Ethnological Museums." In *Art/Histories in Transcultural Dynamics*, 47–69. Brill Fink. https://doi.org/10.30965/9783846759394_005.

Kelly, P., and C. C. Russell. 2023. "Northern Arapaho Language Revitalization With Virtual Reality." *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 10, no. 1: 60–77.

Kostakos, P., P. Alavesa, J. Oppenlaender, and S. Hosio. 2019. "VR Ethnography: A Pilot Study on the Use of Virtual Reality "Go-Along" Interviews in Google Street View." In *Proceedings of the 18th International Conference on Mobile and Ubiquitous Multimedia*, 1–5. ACM. https://doi.org/10.1145/3365610.3368422.

Kreuger, B., and T. Zaman. 2023. "Exploring Indigenous Knowledge Through Virtual Reality: A Co-Design Approach With the Penan Community of Long Lamai." In *Human-Computer Interaction – INTERACT 2023*, edited by J. A. Nocera, M. K. Lárusdóttir, H. Petrie, A. Piccinno, and M. Winckler, vol. 14144, 439–448. Springer Nature Switzerland. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-42286-7_24.

Krivoshapkina, E., and S. Prokopieva. 2019. "Categories of Space and Time of the Concept "Reindeer Breeding"(In Even and Evenki)." In *International Conference on Man-Power-Law-Governance: Interdisciplinary Approaches (MPLG-IA 2019)*, 12–17. Atlantis Press.

Krmpotich, C., and L. L. Peers. 2013. *This Is Our Life: Haida Material Heritage and Changing Museum Practice*. UBC Press.

Kubica, G. 2015. *Maria Czaplicka. Plec, Szamanizm, Rasa: Biografia Antropologiczna*. University of of Nebraska Press.

La Rue, H. 1996. "Maria Antoinette Czaplicka." In *Collectors: Collecting for the Pitt Rivers Museum*, edited by A. Petch. Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Leavy, B., T. G. Wyeld, and J. Hills. 2007. "Digital Songlines: Digitising the Arts, Culture and Heritage Landscape of Aboriginal Australia." In *New Heritage*, 310–319. Routledge.

Lubar, S. 2013. "Timelines in Exhibitions." *Curator: The Museum Journal* 56, no. 2: 169–188. https://doi.org/10.1111/cura.12018.

Lum, J., and J. Schlossberg. 2014. "The Virtual Atoll Task: A Spatial Language Elicitation Tool." In The 45th Australian Linguistic Society Conference Proceedings–2014. Edited by Harvey, Mark. https://nova.newcastle.edu.au/vital/access/services/Download/uon:21580/ATTACHMENT02#page=82.

Mead, M. 1975. "Visual Anthropology in a Discipline of Words." In *Principles of Visual Anthropology*, edited by P. Hockings, 3–10. De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783112415405-003.

Mendonca, K., and A. Ray. 2017. "Immersive Perspectives: Virtual Reality and Ethnographic Research." *Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference Proceedings* 2017, no. 1: 499. https://doi.org/10.1111/1559-8918.2017.01187.

Messeri, L. 2021. "Realities of Illusion: Tracing an Anthropology of the Unreal From Torres Strait to Virtual Reality." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 27, no. 2: 340–359. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9655.13495.

2022. "Ethnography Of/And Virtual Reality." In *The Routledge Companion to Media Anthropology*, 570–580. Routledge.

Milk, C. 2015. "How Virtual Reality Can Create the Ultimate Empathy Machine." TED Talk. 22.

Murray, J. H. 1998. *Hamlet on the Holodeck – The Future of Narrative in Cyberspace*. MIT Press.

Nakamura, L. 2020. "Feeling Good About Feeling Bad: Virtuous Virtual Reality and the Automation of Racial Empathy." *Journal of Visual Culture* 19, no. 1: 47–64. https://doi.org/10.1177/1470412920906259.

Nash, K. 2018. "Virtual Reality Witness: Exploring the Ethics of Mediated Presence." *Studies in Documentary Film* 12, no. 2: 119–131. https://doi.org/10.1080/17503280.2017.1340796.

Nilsson, N. C., R. Nordahl, and S. Serafin. 2016. "Immersion Revisited: A Review of Existing Definitions of Immersion and Their Relation to Different Theories of Presence." *Human Technology* 12, no. 2: 108–134.

Oyogir, N. K. 2006. "Chtob Ne Gas Kostër...: Evenkiĭskie Narodnye Skazki, Zagadki, Primety, Nastavleniia. Stikhi – Guluvun Degdededėn...: Ēvėdyl Tegėdyl Nimnakar, Ulgūrĭl, Tagivkal, Samėlkil, Gunmuvkel. — Krasnoiarsk: Sibirskie Promysly, 2006."

Paay, J., J. Kjeldskov, M. B. Skov, and K. O'Hara. 2013. "F-Formations in Cooking Together: A Digital Ethnography Using YouTube." In *Human-Computer Interaction – INTERACT 2013*, edited by P. Kotzé, G. Marsden, G. Lindgaard, J. Wesson, and M. Winckler, vol. 8120, 37–54. Springer Berlin Heidelberg.

Pagett, B. 2023. "Using a 360 Camera to Record Natural Dyeing Craft Practice." *FormAkademisk* 16, no. 4: 5412.

Pauwelussen, A. P. 2017. "Amphibious Anthropology: Engaging With Maritime Worlds in Indonesia." PhD Thesis, Wageningen University and Research. https://search.proquest.com/openview/60e0e9b9a17a4ecc5f443ef816764841/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=2026366&diss=y&casa_token=wqcAsRVeOqcAAAAA:ln1qku7-eh7fLOMwJMNlUd89aqFh8sy6XSm4rT3-j4GufdKdKdt0KWcD52bBqxIubECzfVuFMRdz.

Peers, L. 2003. "Strands Which Refuse to be Braided: Hair Samples From Beatrice Blackwood's Ojibwe Collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum." *Journal of Material Culture* 8, no. 1: 75–96. https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183503008001763.

2009. "What Are the Shirts in the Pitt Rivers Museum Made of?" In *Pitts Rivers Museum*. University of Oxford.

Peers, L., and A. K. Brown. 2016. *Visiting With the Ancestors: Blackfoot Shirts in Museum Spaces*. Athabasca University Press.

Pretlove, L. J., A. M. Cox, L. Sbaffi, and F. Hopfgartner. 2020. "Using a 360° Camera as a Mobile Data Collection Method Towards Understanding Information Types and Use in Running." *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 57, no. 1: e390. https://doi.org/10.1002/pra2.390.

Ringel, F. 2016. "Beyond Temporality: Notes on the Anthropology of Time From a Shrinking Fieldsite." *Anthropological Theory* 16, no. 4: 390–412. https://doi.org/10.1177/1463499616659971.

Safonova, T., and I. Sántha. 2011. "Mapping Evenki Land: The Study of Mobility Patterns in Eastern Siberia." *Folklore* 49: 71–96.

Savlepova, T. V. 2023. "Time Perception in the Evenk and Russian Languages." *Severo-Vostochnyĭ Gumanitarnyĭ Vestnik / North-Eastern Journal of Humanities* 3, no. 44: 92–100.

Sora-Domenjó, C. 2022. "Disrupting the "Empathy Machine": The Power and Perils of Virtual Reality in Addressing Social Issues." *Frontiers in Psychology* 13: 814565.

Strain, E. 2003. *Public Places, Private Journeys: Ethnography, Entertainment, and the Tourist Gaze*. Rutgers University Press.

Thoring, K. C., R. M. Mueller, and P. Badke-Schaub. 2015. "Ethnographic Design Research With Wearable Cameras." In *Proceedings of the 33rd Annual ACM Conference Extended Abstracts on Human Factors in*

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/muan.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

Computing Systems, 2049–2054. ACM. https://doi.org/10.1145/2702613.2732717.

Throop, C. J., and D. Zahavi. 2020. "Dark and Bright Empathy: Phenomenological and Anthropological Reflections." *Current Anthropology* 61, no. 3: 283–303. https://doi.org/10.1086/708844.

Tojo, N., T. Oto, and S. Niida. 2021. "How Ethnographic Practices Are Reconfigured With 360-Degree Cameras." In *CHIRA: International Conference on Human Interaction and Emerging Technologies*, 115–122. Scite Press.

Tuhiwai Smith, L. 2021. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

van Broekhoven, L. 2018. "Calibrating Relevance at the Pitt Rivers Museum." History, Heritage and Ideology: Challenges Facing Universities From the Commemoration of Their Benefactors.

Vider, J. 2017. "Marginal Anthropology? Rethinking Maria Czaplicka and the Development of British Anthropology From a Material History Perspective." PhD Thesis, University of Oxford. https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:1e8a95a0-b3a8-4886-9e28-7a5fb4d111e3.

Vider, J. 2021. "Lady Scientist, Technological Treasures and the Making of a Discipline: Re-Assembling the Histories of the Czaplicka Collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum." *Journal of the History of Collections* 33, no. 1: 111–127.

Walklate, J. A. 2022. *Time and the Museum: Literature, Phenomenology, and the Production of Radical Temporality*. Routledge.

Wallis, K., and M. Ross. 2021. "Fourth VR: Indigenous Virtual Reality Practice." *Convergence: The International Journal of Research Into New Media Technologies* 27, no. 2: 313–329. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856520943083.

Weinberger, E. 1994. "The Camera People." In *Visualizing Theory: Selected Essays From V.A.R., 1990–1994*. Routledge.

Westmoreland, M. R. 2020. "360° Video." In *The Routledge International Handbook of Ethnographic Film and Video*, 256–266. Routledge.

Witcomb, A. 2003. *Re-Imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum*. Routledge.

15481379, 2026, 1, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/man.70020 by NICE, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, Wiley Online Library on [13/01/2026]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License