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## LISA REIHANA AND CINEMANIA: ASSERTING AGENCY AND AUTHENTICITY OF THE FIRST PEOPLES

Marcia Langton

THE DESCENDANTS OF the colonised peoples of Oceania, living in many locales across the Australian continent and the islands of the Pacific Ocean, have contributed a vast artistic, performative and musical heritage to the world. In the 21st century, new media are used to great effect by artists such as Lisa Reihana, whose survey exhibition *Cinemania* was curated by Michael Dagostino at Campbelltown Arts Centre during Sydney Festival in January 2018. It was exhibited alongside Aunty Glenda Chalker's representation of Dharawal culture and Aboriginal artists in an exhibition of objects and artworks titled *Action and Consequence*, and accompanied by several performances of the historical songs of Aboriginal Australia by the singers of the Mission Songs Project.<sup>1</sup> In drawing together Māori and Aboriginal cultural expression to represent our shared history of Oceania and the colonial impact, the curators and artists have provided a singularly resonant tribute to our first peoples.

It was fitting that Sydney Festival should host these artists of the First Nations and significant that Campbelltown Arts Centre should host a Dharawal exhibition on Dharawal country. This country was invaded early in the history of the British arrival by the troops of the second governor of the Colony of New South Wales, established in 1788 under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip. In 1809, the new Governor Lachlan Macquarie arrived in Sydney. He had served in the American War of Independence, Egypt and India.

Determined to make his mark, Macquarie commissioned new buildings and named them – as well as towns, rivers, and mountains – after himself and his wife, Elizabeth. He established the Native Institution, which gave form to his plan to educate Aboriginal children in the ways of Europeans. He documented his precise intentions: 'Procure twelve Aboriginal boys and six girls between four and six years of age for the Native Institution at Parramatta. Select and secure only fine, healthy and good looking children.'<sup>2</sup> The Native Institution opened on 18 January 1815. Not long after, some boys had escaped and others had died. Only two months after opening, Macquarie reports that by 'unaccountable caprice' six children have been taken away by their parents.<sup>3</sup>

During the years 1814 to 1816 a drought threatened the wheat crops planted by settlers who had moved into the region and endangered the future of the

colony. The grazing lands for the colony's precious herds of sheep and cattle were also drying out. A government outpost had been established in the midst of the most fertile area 90 kilometres to the south of Sydney Town where the relationships with the local Dharawal people had been fostered since two bulls and four cows had wandered into their estate in 1788. The settlers had named the area after the herd which grew from these wandering cattle, 'Cowpastures', and the Dharawal become known as the Cowpastures tribe. Pushed out of their own territory by drought, and seeking food and water, the Gandangara people came into Dharawal territory where they also sought revenge for the murder of two Gandangara families' women and children by white settlers. Governor Macquarie reported this latest outbreak of violence to the Colonial Office:

*My Lord, I am much concerned to be under the necessity of reporting that the native blacks of this country have lately broken out in open hostility against British settlers residing near Cowpastures and have committed the most daring acts of violence. No less than five white men have been killed. I have uniformly made it my study to do everything in my power to conciliate the native tribes by showing them on all occasions much kindness.*

*Indeed, I had entertained hopes of being able to civilise a great proportion of them by the establishment of the native institution and settling some few grown up men and women on lands in Sydney. But I begin to entertain a fear that I shall find this a more arduous task than I at first imagined. In the meantime it will be absolutely necessary to inflict severe punishments on the mountain tribes. Many of the settlers have entirely abandoned their farms in consequence of the latest outrages. However painful, this measure has now become absolutely necessary.<sup>4</sup>*

The settler retribution brought death to the Dharawal people, regardless of their role. Some of the Dharawal people had sought shelter with a local farmer, Charles Throsby, who on 5 April 1816 wrote from Glenfield Farm to Acting Provost Marshal William Charles Wentworth about his fear for his innocent friends, Bitugally, Duel, Yettooming. He reported barbarities committed on Yettooming's wife and two children:

*The people not content at shooting at them in the most treacherous manner in the dark, actually cut the woman's arm off and stripped the scalp of her head over her eyes, and on going up to them and finding one of the children only wounded one of the fellows deliberately beat*

*the infant's brains out with the butt end of his musket, the whole of the bodies then left in that state by the (brave) party unburied! as an example for the savages to view the following morning, therefore under these circumstances I hope I may be pardoned asserting that I do not wonder at the savages then seeking revenge in retaliation. I am well aware that the fears and aversions of the ignorant part of white people will lead them to accuse the whole, indiscriminately, therefore it is to be hoped, steps will as much possible be taken to prevent any friendly natives being injured, least the lives of some of our stockmen or others in remote unprotected situations may fall a sacrifice in retaliation.<sup>5</sup>*

Governor Macquarie, like the vigilante farmers, could not distinguish between the Dharawal and the Gandangara, and his orders were swift and brutal:<sup>6</sup>

*[T]hey are to surrender to you as Prisoners of War. If they refuse to do so, make the least show of resistance . . . you will fire upon them and compel them to surrender . . . Such Natives as happen to be killed, if grown up men, are to be hanged up on trees in conspicuous situations, to strike the survivors with the greatest Terror. Any women or children to be killed are to be buried where they fell.<sup>6</sup>*

Local Darug and Dharawal guides were appointed to find these 'hostile tribes'. But the guides led the soldiers astray for a month, before escaping. Finally, Captain James Wallis, who led one of two detachments, heard that a group was camped at a farm in Appin. When the troops arrived, the camp was deserted. In his disingenuous account to Macquarie, written on 17 April 1816, he sought to justify the troops' actions:

*A few of my men . . . heard a child cry. I formed line ranks . . . and pushed up through a thick brush towards the precipitous banks of a deep rocky creek. The dogs gave the alarm and the natives fled over the cliffs. A smart firing now ensued. It was moonlight. The grey dawn of the moon appearing so dark as to be able to discover their figures bounding from rock to rock. I regret to say some had been shot and others met their fate while rushing in despair over the precipice. 'Twas a melancholy but necessary duty I was employed on. Fourteen dead bodies were counted in different directions. I regretted the death of the old native Balyin and the unfortunate women and children from the rocky place they fell in.<sup>7</sup>*

The Dharawal, with the permission of Mrs Macarthur, one of the richest women in the colony, moved *en masse* to her farm at Camden – the last

safe haven in their own homeland. Then, the rain fell for two solid weeks, breaking the long drought and flooding the rivers. Crops, homes and stock were destroyed and any evidence of the massacre was washed away in the floods. Macquarie declared an end to the 'hostilities'. However, his declaration was a ruse; he also banned the carrying of spears and declared that groups of more than six Aboriginal people near farms or towns be treated as enemies and shot. The alternative for the traditional owners was to accept his offer of a grant of land and to live like a white settler. The Governor 'invites the Natives to relinquish their wandering idle and predatory lives and to become useful members of the community where they will find protection and encouragement'.<sup>8</sup> None of these colonial outrages have been forgotten by present-day Dharawal people, who commemorate the Appin massacre with a large ceremony.

In this historical context, Aunty Glenda's display of a rare Dharawal stone tool and other objects was poignant. As evidence of a culture that was destroyed in the frontier fury of killing and dispossession led by Governor Macquarie, these objects remind us of the destruction of our societies and cultural patrimony in the name of racial superiority. They remind us also of our obligation to speak back to that history as survivors. Another survivor of an Australian genocide, Greg Lehman, a Palawa (Tasmanian) historian and artist has turned to art historian Bernard Smith, whose work *European Vision in the South Pacific, 1768–1850*,<sup>9</sup> he contends, 'succeeded in mapping the formation of ideas of primitivism and absence that Tasmanian Aborigines in the 1970s commenced to challenge'.<sup>10</sup> Smith offers opportunities, Lehman suggests, to 'better realise the visual rhetoric within which our culture has been framed, and beyond which can be critically challenged'.<sup>11</sup> The colonial and postcolonial visual representation of our societies has shaped the views that today would continue to inhibit our cultural lives if we remain passive to their power. This 'hard primitivism' of early colonial representations and their 'stubborn persistence' in Australia continue to threaten our cultural selves. Lehman observes that:

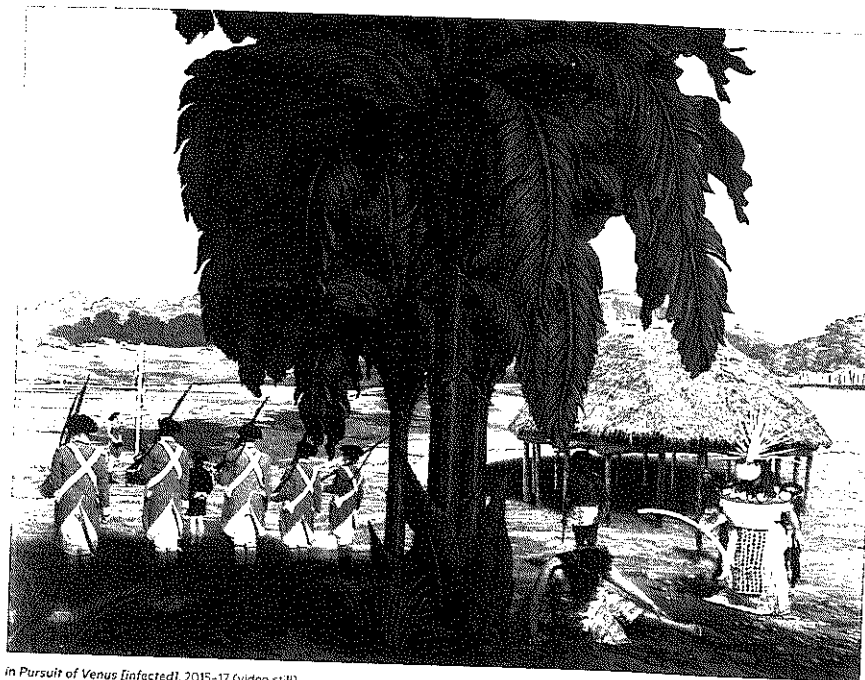
*renewal of critical interest in Smith's work is overdue; not only to revisit his account of the complex of cultural relativism that Europeans brought to the Pacific, but to realise how influential the mostly naïve readings of this have been on the subjectivity of cultural relations in Australia over past decades.<sup>12</sup>*

Dealing with the legacy of the primitivist imagery of our first peoples in Oceania and responding to it in pursuit of cultural survival has occupied many

artists. Lisa Reihana is an example, working with photographic imagery and video, as well as other media, she often stages a range of characters, dramas and narratives to enable a visualisation of cultural heritage and dignified memorialisation of ancestors. Māori iwi, or tribes, fared better during the colonial period than the first peoples of Australia, and it is evident in Reihana's work in which she relies on historical and pictorial records. *in Pursuit of Venus [infected]*, 2015–17 and *Native Portraits n.19897*, 1998 are remarkable works: the first has catapulted Reihana to international fame as a fine artist; the other launched her career in Aotearoa New Zealand when it was possible that she might remain a regional artist confined in her expression to a specific cultural domain. The other works selected for the *Cinemania* survey demonstrate beyond doubt that Reihana wields potent force in capturing an Oceania aesthetic using digital media and drawing our attention to her vision of the world from her vantage point in Aotearoa.

*in Pursuit of Venus [infected]*

In the cinematic artwork, *in Pursuit of Venus [infected]*, Reihana captures the idea of the 'ethnographic moment' to speak back to the imperial, colonial and postcolonial representation of the first peoples of Aotearoa and Oceania. This animated ultra-high-definition film was developed over a period of 10 years with her partner, James Pinker, and a team of other collaborators. Like earlier versions, the latest version of *in Pursuit of Venus [infected]* shown at Campbelltown Arts Centre portrays many characters, some imagined and some drawn from the historical record, such as 'the privileged and inquisitive botanist Joseph Banks shown terrorising villagers with a Tahitian Chief Mourner; and Tupaiā – the Machiavellian Tahitian who was a gifted navigator, politician and artist, and Captain Cook's invaluable companion'.<sup>43</sup> Reihana's interest in Tupaiā as an intriguing character in the colonial drama is extended in the work *Tai Whetuki – House of Death Redux*, 2015–16, discussed below. None of her characters is one-dimensional: she brings them to life in a series of 'micro histories' and 'counter memories'. The work depicts historical and imagined vignettes from the records of Captain James Cook's pursuit of the Transit of Venus across Oceania. It was exhibited at the 2017 Venice Biennale at the Arsenale, where Reihana was the artist representing Aotearoa. Presented again at Campbelltown Arts Centre, its significance for the place of Indigenous peoples in the mythscape of the Australian nation and our future became evident. Māori scholar Paul Tapsell studied Joseph Banks's collection from Cook's 1768–71



*in Pursuit of Venus [infected]*, 2015–17 (video still)

voyage across the Pacific and details of "Tupaea's tangible and intangible contributions to the HMS *Endeavour* voyage and the important cultural bridge he provided between Cook and Maori".<sup>14</sup> Tupaiā, writes Tapsell, provided 'tangible (Pacific mapping, artwork and taonga [treasures]) and intangible (navigation, diplomatic, translation and negotiation services)'.<sup>15</sup> There can be little doubt, as Tapsell notes, that Cook would not have survived his encounters with Māori without Tupaiā's interventions.

*In Pursuit of Venus [infected]* evokes sensibilities shared by Aboriginal and Māori people about our shared fate as colonial subjects following the voyage of Captain Cook along the east coast of what is now Australia, and across the Pacific Ocean to places including Aotearoa and Hawai'i. Its vignettes featuring people of Oceanic cultures portrayed in realistic and historically correct detail, recall the tangible and intangible aspects of worlds destroyed or changed under the colonial impact and their representation by colonisers in ways that served the purposes of the first British explorers.

Reihana captures the idea of imperial encounter and Cook as harbinger of the imperial reach into Oceania, as well as the impact of precolonial Oceania on the European imagination. As a native of the great Oceanic archipelago, her observations of those times, two and a half centuries ago, are perturbing; with the historian's grasp of detail and Māori regard for cultural practice and ritual, combined with cinematic skills, the result is a transformation of the idealisation of Oceania in the European imagination into a memorialisation for the peoples and cultures whose fates changed with each meeting. In each encounter, the religious and ceremonial lives of each people are performed by characters representing lives and worlds at the edge of the imperial divide: one day before and their worlds were complete and sovereign; the next the subject of the British imperial reach that would change them forever.

Reihana uses the French scenic wallpaper *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique*, 1804–05, also known as 'Captain Cook's voyages' and commissioned by a French entrepreneur Joseph Dufour, as the basis of her animated digital vignettes of historical and imagined encounters of the people of Australia, Aotearoa and the Pacific in their first encounters with Cook, his crew and scientists. The wallpaper, and, importantly Reihana's rendition of it, remind us of the idea of 'the noble savage', which, as Lehman points out, continues to strip us, the survivors, of our cultural selves and affiliation to our heritage: "This now centuries-old world of philosophies and ideologies, whether romantic and benign or otherwise, about race and empire, imagery and depiction of our

peoples as "Other," "primitive" and above all, "inferior," designated the survivors as somehow inauthentic.<sup>16</sup> Worse, as Lehman further notes, 'the idea of the noble savage has become re-enlivened; folding back on an almost sinister echo from Britain's earliest encounter with Australian Aboriginal people'.<sup>17</sup> Smith emphasised how through a simple assertion in William Dampier's *New Voyage Around the World*, published in 1697, an idea was planted that:

*the Inhabitants of this Country are the miserablest People in the World . . . setting aside their Humane Shape, they differ but little from Brutes.*<sup>18</sup>

This is a famous and highly cited quote, derogatory and harmful in its power, a matter that 'Smith describes throughout his body of work how this idea persistently reappeared in the journals of James Cook, Joseph Banks, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, Nicholas Baudin and almost every other significant European navigator to visit . . .'<sup>19</sup>

It was the notes in Cook's journals and the images made by his artist John Webber that gave full life to the false legal doctrine of *terra nullius*, which was used to dispossess the first peoples of Australia. The doctrine of *terra nullius* casts a long shadow and is a key to reading *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]*. When we read the full orders of the British Admiralty to Captain Cook, the import of this fatal legal doctrine and the European ideas about 'the primitive' are revealed. On 30 July 1768, Cook received secret instructions for his impending journey that was then, and remains, publicly celebrated as a scientific expedition to observe the Transit of Venus in Oceania. The secret instructions made it clear that his first priority was to claim possession of the continent of New Holland, now known as Australia. The deliberation of this plan to expropriate the homeland of other peoples is chilling in its detail and forethought. The document forms part of the historical context of *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]*:

*Whereas there is reason to imagine that a Continent or Land of great extent, may be found to the Southward of the Tract lately made by Captn Wallis in His Majesty's Ship the Dolphin (of which you will herewith receive a Copy) or of the Tract of any former Navigators in Pursuit of the like kind, You are therefore in Pursuance of His Majesty's Pleasure hereby requir'd and directed to put to Sea with the Bark you Command so soon as the Observation of the Transit of the Planet Venus shall be finished and observe the following Instructions. You are to proceed to the Southward in order to make discovery of the Continent abovementioned until you arrive in the Latitude of 40°,*

unless you sooner fall in with it. But not having discover'd it or any Evident sign of it in that Run you are to proceed in search of it to the Westward between the Latitude beforementioned and the Latitude of 35° until you discover it, or fall in with the Eastern side of the Land discover'd by Tasmán and now called New Zeland. If you discover the Continent above-mentioned either in your Run to the Southward or to the Westward as above directed, You are to employ yourself diligently in exploring as great an Extent of the Coast as you can . . . You are likewise to observe the Genius, Temper, Disposition and Number of the Natives, if there be any and endeavour by all proper means to cultivate a Friendship and Alliance with them, making them presents of such Trifles as they may Value inviting them to Traffick, and Shewing them every kind of Civility and Regard; taking Care however not to suffer yourself to be surpris'd by them, but to be always upon your guard against any Accidents. You are also with the Consent of the Natives to take Possession of Convenient Situations in the Country in the Name of the King of Great Britain . . .<sup>20</sup>

The extreme secrecy of his mission was pressed on him in the final paragraph of the instructions:

*You are to send by all proper Conveyance to the Secretary of the Royal Society Copys of the Observations you shall have made of the Transit of Venus; and you are at the same time to send to our Secretary for our information accounts of your Proceedings, and Copys of the Surveys and discoverings you shall have made and upon your Arrival in England you are immediately to repair to this Office in order to lay before us a full account of your Proceedings in the whole Course of your Voyage; taking care before you leave the Vessel to demand from the Officers and Petty Officers the Log Books and Journals they may have Kept, and to seal them up for our inspection and enjoying them, and the whole Crew, not to divulge where they have been until they have Permission so to do.<sup>21</sup>*

These instructions presaged a profound break with the world of Oceanic peoples romanticised in the *Les Sauvages De La Mer Pacifique* wallpaper and ideas associated with it. The fate of the first peoples is now well known, although the historical causes of our condition are little understood by the settlers who came to our worlds.



*in Pursuit of Venus [infected], 2015–17 (video still)*

*Native Portraits n.19897*

By transforming images of colonial surveillance of first peoples, the work reinstates a sense of agency and authenticity of Māori and other Oceanic characters Reihana deploys in her cinematic and photographic *mise-en-scène*. This sense of cultural agency is evident in the video work, *Native Portraits n.19897*, first shown at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in 1998, for which she researched historical photographs. This work from earlier in Reihana's career captures her erudition and facility with a toolbox of artistic and intellectual manoeuvres to re-represent Māori culture as alive and present. Reihana's notes for *Cinemania* tell us about the characters and the meanings in these video portraits and dramas:

*Native Portraits n.19897 takes its inspiration from the 19th century craze of 'cartes de visite' photography and the postcard industry, in which Māori were a popular subject. Native Portraits n.19897 comprises numerous video portraits and several short dramas staged in 19th-century photographic studios. The dramas examine the postcard and photographic genres of the time, including the 'Māori belle' and the 'noble warrior', and are based on portraiture photographs of Ngā Pūhi Chieftainess Pare Ngahako, the famous Rotorua guide, Guide Rangī and Kai Tahu Paramount Chief Te Matenga Taiaroa. Set just minutes before the portrait is taken, the dramas subtly reveal ways photography has impacted on Māori life and the politics of 'image taking', which are as relevant today as in the 19th century.*<sup>22</sup>

*Tai Whetuki – House of Death Redux*

*Tai Whetuki – House of Death Redux* is a video artwork about death and mourning in Māori and other Oceanic traditions. The *Cinemania* room guide notes support my own interpretation of the meditative power of 'communal mourning' in allowing the expression of grief while making a pathway 'for the transition of the spirit'. The notes observe that '*Tai Whetuki* was filmed at Karekare, a massacre site with its own dark history and strong cultural resonance, located near Auckland on the West Coast of *Aotearoa*.' The sacred narrative of death in this case is a particular one: 'A Māori warrior looks for a place to die; Hinenuitepō guides his spirit across the watery space of the underworld.'<sup>23</sup> Reihana explains the power of the spiritual forces expressed in these ceremonies that guide our communities when death takes someone from

us. The soundscape is redolent with the spiritual power of such rituals, and the details of the sounds have great meaning in her tradition: 'The scraping of bones recreates the Māori hauhanga ceremony. Māori tikanga (custom) is powerfully evoked and the body is intimately connected to landscape.' Reihana tells us in the exhibition notes that 'Hinenuitepō is a very powerful female figure in our creation stories; she is the goddess of death'. This 'feminine quality', she writes, 'births us' and 'also guides us at death'.<sup>24</sup>

Her cultural, philosophical and aesthetic values bring to life the native idea of the powerful female force in the human and non-human world. This goes beyond Western ideas about 'the feminine' or 'feminism'. Whereas these speak to the essentialist and oppressed condition of women, in Reihana's fabulous cultural domains, women are consubstantiated with landscapes, sacred powers that enliven these places and the natural world, and the ancestors remembered in her artworks.

*PELT*

The concern with accurately and precisely reproducing the material culture of ancestors is evident in *PELT*, 2009, for which Reihana designed the costumes. Her use of light and dark is a familiar theme, and in this work it reveals an 'other' space from which emerges a 'female protagonist, naked and de-erotised' in a frosted landscape. The landscape images achieved by digitally manipulating photographs she took in Aotearoa's Volcanic Plateau produce an other-worldly effect, intensified by the use of the delicate fern used in remembrance of lost relatives at Māori funerals. Her female characters are mystical heroines 'from alternative worlds' who have 'undergone a reverse anthropomorphism', to become 'nonhuman creatures', such as animals and birds, who 'are present as vestiges rather than as sentient beings'.<sup>25</sup>

Conclusion

There was so much in the *Cinemania* exhibition that to consider it all fully here is not possible. My approach has been to draw on my background in critical Indigenous thinking, history and visual anthropology, and writing about the art of first peoples over several decades.

There is no easy way to write about the agency and authenticity that Reihana brings to her photo-media narratives. She has made us aware of the era before the voyage of Captain James Cook across Oceania, the era after this portentous voyage, and the eternal time that our Oceanic cultures revere. The

impact of her work is a welcome corrective to the heavy weight of European history to ngā toi Māori (Māori arts) and other peoples of Oceania. Her concern is with actual ancestors who lived during the transition from the precolonial to the postcolonial eras. Her fastidious attention to their histories and circumstances renders them as complex and rich in tragedy, spectacle and beauty. She also concerns herself with existential human dramas played out by ancestral people of great power, emerging from the eternal struggle between light and dark, and adorned in beautiful attire made from materials taken from the animal, bird and plant world, guiding mere humans through a spiritual legacy.

Much has been written about this grand re-imagining of the first contact encounters of the peoples of Oceania with Cook and his crew and scientists, but little about the interpretation of this moment in history for the peoples of Oceania with whom Cook and his entourage came into contact. Reihana's work addresses this historical problem with a grand cinematic response. Her ability to digitally capture characters and narratives has been referred to by Rachel O'Reilly in reference to Reihana's *Digital Marae*, 2001, an installation of photographic works not shown in this exhibition, but equally relevant, as a 'comparative literacy' that expands 'narrowly cultured ways of thinking about place . . . through the languages of new media'. Further, she observes, Reihana's use of 'virtual tools' enables her to 'deepen sensory contact with the local, with myth and with lived history; to mobilise conceptual concerns in other media; and to distribute self-determined and place-interested expression beyond the sites of their original or immediate meaning.'<sup>25</sup>

Reihana armed herself with detailed historical knowledge and her Māori cultural traditions to conceptualise the peoples of Oceania as agents in history. This sense of agency was evident not only in *Cinemania* but also the Dharawal works exhibited in *Action and Consequence* at Campbelltown Arts Centre. A simple stone axe that was once wielded by a Dharawal man, before the frontier killings and destruction of an entire world, has the power and agency of two centuries of history and remembering. ◊

9. Bernard Smith, *European Vision in the South Pacific, 1763-1830*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1920.

10. Grev Lehman, 'European Vision in the South Pacific, 1763-1830' in Rex Butler and Sheridan Palmer (eds.), *Antipodean Perspective: Selected Writings of Bernard Smith*, Monash University Publishing, Melbourne, 2008, pp 83-97, p 97.

11. *Ibid.*, p 97.

12. *Ibid.*, p 83.

13. Information about the artwork, in *Pursuit of Venus Infected*, <https://bit.ly/3zq1bfl> accessed 18 Sep 2018.

14. Paul Tapsell, 'Footprints in the Sand: Banks's Maori Collection, Cook's First Voyage 1769-71' in Howard Morphy and Michele Hetherington (eds.), *Discovering Cook's Collections*, National Museum of Australia, Canberra, 2009, pp 92-111, p 93. Tapsell writes the following about the spelling of Tupai's name: 'Tupai is how Māori remember and record Tupai or Tupai'a, the latter being the spelling as maintained in the Raiatean language.'

15. *Ibid.*, p 109.

16. Lehman, p 89.

17. *Ibid.*, p 89.

18. Cited in William Lawrence Eisher, *The Furthest Shores: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, p 169.

19. Lehman, p 89.

20. 'Secret Instructions for Lieutenant James Cook Appointed to Command His Majesty's Bark the Endeavour 30 July 1769', held at the National Library of Australia, NLA MS 2; also available at: <https://bit.ly/2z5DhSP>.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Lisa Reihana, *Cinemania* room guide.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*; see also, Rhana Devenport, 'Lisa Reihana's FELT and other Utopian Fables', *Contemporary Visual Art + Culture BROADSHEET*, vol 41 no 1, 2012, 54-57.

26. Rachel O'Reilly, 'Compasses, Meetings and Maps: Three Recent Media Works', *Leonardo*, vol 39, no 4, 2006: 335-39, 339.

1. See <http://missioncongraproject.com>, accessed 11 Sep 2018.

2. Rachel Perkins and Marcia Langton (eds), *First Australians*, The Miegunyah Press, Melbourne, 2008, p 31.

3. *Ibid.*, p 25.

4. *Ibid.*, pp 29-30.

5. *Ibid.*, p 30.

6. *Ibid.*, p 31.

7. *Ibid.*, p 31.

8. *Ibid.*, p 31.

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