ATHANOR XXIV

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF ART HISTORY

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FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
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SCHOOL OF VISUAL ARTS, THEATRE & DANCE

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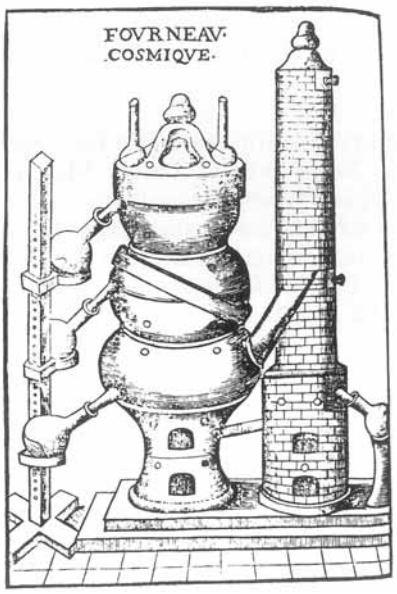

Cosmic oven or *Athanor* from Annibal Barlet,
Le Vray Cours de Physique,
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The Annual Art History Graduate Symposium for the 2005-2006 academic year will be held February 9-10; symposium paper sessions cover a wide variety of topics. Students from universities nation-wide make presentations which frequently become published essays in ATHANOR. The format of the symposium includes a keynote address by major scholars. Since 1993 keynote speakers have been: Fred Licht, Boston University and the Peggy Guggenheim Collection, Venice (1993); Gerald Ackerman, Pomona College (1994); Marcel Roethlisberger, University of Geneva (1995); Robert Farris Thompson, Yale University (1996); Oleg Grabar, Institute for Advanced Study (1997); Phyllis Bober, Bryn Mawr College (1998); Carol Duncan, Ramapo College (1999); Bogomila Welsh-Ovcharov, University of Toronto at Mississauga (2000); Neil Stratford, ret. Keeper of Mediaeval Antiquities, British Museum (2001); Debra Pincus, Professor Emerita, University of British Columbia (2002); Jonathan Brown, Institute of Fine Arts, NYU (2003); David Summers, University of Virginia (2004); Thomas B.F. Cummins, Harvard University (2005). For details of date and for precis submission, please contact Professor Paula Gerson, Chairman, Department of Art History, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306-1150.

The essays contained in ATHANOR are articles by graduate students on topics of art history and humanities. As such, ATHANOR exists as a critical forum for the exchange of ideas and for contrast and comparison of theories and research and is disseminated for non-profit, educational purposes; annotated allusions, quotations, and visual materials are employed solely to that end.

Athanor and the Museum Press

In 1980 Professor François Bucher (University of Bern, *Medieval Art*) asked Allys Palladino-Craig (formerly of the variorum editions of *The Collected Works of Stephen Crane*, 10 vols., Fredson Bowers, Editor, University of Virginia Press) to take on the responsibility of general editor and publisher of the first volume of *Athanor* (1981). Professor Bucher served as faculty advisor until his retirement. During that time, Palladino-Craig won several grants for the publication, and in 1994 established the Museum Press of the Florida State University Museum of Fine Arts with Julienne T. Mason as principal editorial assistant and graphic designer. From 1998-2002, Patricia Rose served as faculty advisor to this annual journal, which is a project of the Museum Press.

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Wicked Wives: The Animate Vulva, Social Satire, and Fear of a Female Pilgrim

Jennifer Naumann

The Vulva Pilgrim, a mold-poured, tin-lead alloy image of an anthropomorphized vulva, is one manifestation of late medieval festival badges representing animate human genitalia (Figures 1-4). Found in the Netherlands, England and France, in the same provenance as pilgrim badges, these graphic images have long been hidden within larger collections of their sacred contemporaries. As pilgrimage in Western Europe increased during the last half of the twelfth century, inexpensive souvenirs in the form of mold-poured pilgrim badges appeared in many of the large western pilgrimage centers.[1] The badges, worn pinned or sewn to one's cloak or hat, became very public images able to communicate to diverse audiences the pilgrimages undertaken by the individual wearing the objects. In the late fourteenth century, the form of the pilgrim's badge was adapted for secular use as ephemeral souvenirs of festivals such as May Day, and in the case of the sexual badges, Carnival.[2] Unfortunately, due to the relatively humble nature of the badges and their graphic sexuality, only of late have they garnered any serious art historical discussion.

Much of modern scholarship on the sexual badges evaluates them primarily on talismanic qualities as apotropaic images.[3] Viewing these badges exclusively in this manner obscures their rich potential and ignores the cultural forces that governed their representation and reception. The current paper departs from this limiting view of the sexual badges, exploring how the Vulva Pilgrims exploit satirical images of women on pilgrimage and comment on the fears and uneasiness produced by the dynamic social change occurring at the close of the medieval era. In addition, this paper proposes that the Vulva Pilgrim provides a visual example of the "world upside-down" in a graphic manner that is only possible in the context of late medieval Carnival.

The appearance of the Vulva Pilgrim badges in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries corresponds to a state of social flux in northern Europe. In the years between 1347 and 1352, nearly 25 million people died of the bubonic plague, reducing Europe's population by one-third. The massive loss of life heavily affected European economy, including the fi-

This paper developed from a course on medieval pilgrimage under the direction of Dr. Paula Gerson. I would like to thank Dr. Gerson and Dr. Jay Bloom for their invaluable advice, encouragement and inspiration during the formation of this paper. I would additionally like to thank Florida State University and Plymouth State University for providing me with forums in which to present these ideas.

1 Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (London: The Stationery Office, 1998) 3.

2 For a detailed discussion of festival badges, please see Spencer.

3 For a full discussion of contemporary scholarship on sexual badges, please see: J..B. Bedaux, "Profane en sacrale amuletten," *Heilig en Profaan: Laatmiddeleeuwse insignes in cultuurhistorisch perspectief,* eds. A.M. Koldeweij and A. Willemsen (Amsterdam: Van Soeren & Co., 1995) 26-35., H.J.E. van Beuningen and A.M. Koldeweij, *Heilig en Profaan: 1000 Laatmiddeleeuwse Insignes uit de collectie H.J.E. van Beuningen* (Cothen: Stichting Middeleeuwse Religieuze en Profan Insignes, 1993); H.J.E. van Beuningen and A.M. Koldeweij, *Helig en Profaan 2: 1200 Laatmiddeleeuwse Insignes uit openbare en particuliere collectives* (Cothen: Stichting Middeleeuwse Religieuze en Profan Insignes, 2001); Katja Boertjes, "Late Medieval Badges and other Pilgrims' Souvenirs excavated in Amsterdam," *Art and Symbolism in Medieval Europe: Papers of the "Medieval Europe Brugge 1997" Conference, Volume 5,* eds. Guy De Boe and Frans Verhaeghe (Zellig: Instituut voor het archeologis, 1997); Denis Bruna, *Enseignes de Pèlerinage et Enseignes Profanes* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1996) 139-143; Denis Bruna, "Les enseignes du 'Musée de Cluny'," *Art and Symbolism in Medieval Europe: Papers of the "Medieval Europe Brugge 1997" Conference, Volume 5,* eds. Guy De Boe and Frans Verhaeghe (Zellig: Instituut voor het archeologis, 1997) 131-134; Malcolm Jones, "The Secular Badges," *Heilig en Profaan: 1000 Laatmiddeleeuwse Insignes uit de collectie H.J.E. van Beuningen,* eds. H.J.E. van Beuningen and A.M. Koldeweij (Cothen: Stichting Middeleeuwse Religieuze en Profan Insignes, 1993) 99-109; Malcolm Jones, "The Late-Medieval Dutch Pilgrim Badges," *Carnivalesque,* eds. Timothy Hyman and Roger Malbert (London: Beacon Press, 2000) 98-101; Malcolm Jones, "The Sexual and the Secular Badges," *Heilig en profaan 2: 1200 laatmiddeleeuwse insignes uit openbare en particuliere collectives* (Cothen: Stichting Middeleeuwse Religieuze en Profan Insignes, 2001) 196-206; Dory Kicken, "Stand van Onderzoek," *Heilig en profaan 2: 1200 laatmiddeleeuwse insignes uit openbare en particuliere collectives* (Cothen: Stichting Middeleeuwse Religieuze en Profan Insignes, 2001) 7-72; A.M. Koldeweij, "A Barefaced 'Roman de la Rose' (Paris, B.N., ms. Fr. 25526) and some late medieval mass-produced badges of a sexual nature," *Flanders in a European Perspective; manuscript illumination around 1400 in Flanders and abroad; proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995) 499-516; A.M. Koldeweij, "Sacred and Profane: Medieval Mass-Produced Badges," *Art and Symbolism in Medieval Europe: Papers of the "Medieval Europe Brugge 1997" Conference, Volume 5,* eds. Guy De Boe and Frans Verhaeghe (Zellig: Instituut voor het archeologis, 1997) 135-137; Ruth Mellinkoff, *Averting Demons: the Protective Power of Medieval Visual Motifs and Themes*, Volumes 1 & 2 (Los Angeles: Ruth Melinkoff Publications, 2004); Michael Mitchiner, *Medieval Pilgrim & Secular Badges* (London: Hawkins Publications, 1986); Jaap van Os, "Seks in de 13de-eeuwse fabliaux: literaire voorlopers van de erotische insignes?" *Heilig en Profaan: Laatmiddeleeuwse insignes in cultuurhistorisch perspectief,* eds. A.M. Koldeweij and A. Willemsen (Amsterdam: Van Soeren & Co., 1995) 36-43.

nancial institutions supported by pilgrimage.[4] In addition to the human and financial loss associated with the plague, the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries witnessed the growth of personal devotional movements. These appeared in both monastic reform and the development of lay organizations such as the Brotherhood of the Common Life. The individual character of personal devotional movements threatened medieval ecclesiastic hierarchy. It was during the post-plague era that satirical depictions of women increased in both textual and visual representation.[5] It is the argument of this paper that during this time, the Vulva Pilgrim badges become indicators of what Marjorie Garber describes as "category crisis." In this definition, "category crisis" indicates a disruption in the community that permits the crossing of social divisions, such as male and female, which are usually distinct. The Vulva Pilgrim becomes a location for displacement of fears surrounding northern Europe's widespread cultural and economic change.[6]

Proof of this thesis will first require an exploration of the way in which satirical images of women who stepped outside of the bounds of ideal social order appeared in a late medieval pilgrimage context. The Vulva Pilgrim, through an investigation of elements of her attire, will be shown to visually represent late medieval ideas of the sexualized female pilgrim. The second portion of this paper looks at how the Vulva Pilgrim becomes the location for displacement of apprehension surrounding the widespread cultural and economic change in late medieval northern Europe through her appropriation of elements of male gender. The Vulva Pilgrim's state of undress, as well as her possession of a penis in the form of phallic objects serves to obfuscate her gender. Last, the graphic nature of the Vulva Pilgrim will be located in the context of late medieval Carnival.

Within the general category of sexual badges are numerous examples of the vulva as pilgrim, dating from between 1375-1425.[7] The badges, as previously mentioned, are made of lead-tin alloy, and include a pin on the reverse for fastening to clothing. Intact examples of the Vulva Pilgrim all share similar characteristics. The body of the pilgrim figure is composed of a detailed model of female external genitalia that is anthropomorphized by the inclusion of legs and arms. Present in all the examples are engorged labia surrounded by pubic hair. The distinctive shape of the Vulva Pilgrim echoes the form of the wound of Christ, an iconographic element also present in manuscript illustrations of the late medieval period. Both the Vulva Pilgrim and the wound of Christ reference female external genitalia, but the sexual and secular nature of the vulva badges appear to deny any Christological reference.[8]

The Vulva Pilgrims additionally possess the signifying garments of pilgrimage: the pilgrim's hat and staff. Some of the figures also carry rosary beads and wear pattens, a type of clog worn in Flanders over the top of indoor slippers to protect them from the filth of the street. The representation of the pilgrim's staff is a metaphor for a phallus in late medieval literature.[9] This connection is explicit in the example of the Vulva Pilgrim whose staff is topped by a penis and testicles. Another Vulva Pilgrim wears what appears to be a pilgrim's badge, a further signifying element of pilgrim status. The badge, worn on her left shoulder, is a representation of a phallus (Figure 2).

Wicked Wives: The Vulva Pilgrim as a Matrona in the "World Upside-Down"

Although the vulva badges possess forms of male genitalia, they refer to female sexuality and pilgrimage. One form of the "world upside-down" that directly relates to the representation of the Vulva Pilgrim is the Power of Women topos.[10] This visual and literary theme exploits notions of the violation of traditional male hierarchy by the satirical placement of women in positions of domination over men. A visual example of the Power of Women topos can be found in images depicting themes such as *Phyllis Riding Aristotle*, where the legendary teacher of Alexander submits to being whipped and ridden under the influence of Phyllis's sexual wiles. Images such as *Phyllis Riding Aristotle* show the potential for men, even great men, to fall prey to the domination of women who step outside the bounds of normal social behavior. Sexually explicit examples of late medieval badges, such as the Vulva Pilgrim, are both amusing and shocking. When viewed within

4 Susan Morrison, *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England: Private Piety and Public Performance* (London: Routledge, 2000) 53.

5 It is interesting to note that the frequency of women as pilgrims on the road to Santiago de Compostela decreases dramatically around 1400 according to a record kept between 1360 and 1460. Diana Webb, "Women Pilgrims and the Middle Ages," *History Today* 48.7 (1998): 24. This may provide evidence that the stigma against female pilgrims in this post-plague period actually restricted their movements.

6 Morrison 106.

7 Sexual badges discussed in this paper all date *c*. 1375-1475 unless otherwise indicated.

8 For more information regarding discussion of the sexual interpretation of the wound of Christ see: David Areford, "The Passion Measured: A Late-Medieval Diagram of the Body of Christ," *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Culture* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998) 211-238; Carolyn Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1992); Flora Lewis, "The Wound in Christ's Side and the Instruments of the Passion: Gendered Experience and Response," *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1997) 204-229; Karma Lochrie, "Mystical Acts, Queer Tendencies," *Constructing Medieval Sexuality* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1997) 180-200.

9 This can be found in the *Roman de la Rose* and is discussed by Jones (2002) 199.

10 Susan L. Smith, *The Power of Women: A Topos in Medieval Art and Literature* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1995).

the discourse of female violation of social norms, these images beg the question of how satirical images of women on pilgrimage functioned in the contemporary context.

Answers to this question appear in investigation of medieval literature regarding women on pilgrimage. The female pilgrim, to borrow terms from Edith and Victor Turner, was "betwixt and between" her normal social role of a private and sequestered life.[11] As Susan Morrison first discusses, the medieval female pilgrim opens her identity and intentions to public judgment.[12] A distinct polarity existed in common conceptions of the female pilgrim. The first valence of the female pilgrim is the saintly pilgrim found in hagiography, who conforms to contemporary religious and political ideology. The second is the sexualized pilgrim who becomes the embodiment of social disorder.[13] The two guises of female pilgrims correspond to the two primary types of women on pilgrimage, nuns and *matronae* (married women and widows).[14] The *matrona* becomes the sexualized pilgrim whose identity is at odds with the sacred space of pilgrimage, and the mirror for uneasiness and apprehension in late medieval society through her transgression of norms of sexual and gender behavior.[15]

Late medieval literature presents a satirical image of married women in a pilgrimage context as sexual rather than spiritual beings. The anonymous thirteenth-century text titled *Against Marriage*, speaks out satirically in opposition to wedded union. One of the warnings to a prospective groom is as follows:

> The wicked wife seeks to leave to ride
> To pilgrims' abbeys far and wide;
> The brothels offer more delights
> Than visiting the holy sites.[16]

Even Christine de Pizan, who spoke out against the misogyny present in popular literature, echoes the potential vice present for women pilgrims. Although she advocates the use of pilgrimage for women seeking virtue, she warns women against misguided pilgrimage in the following quotation from her *Treasure of the City of Ladies*:

> Neither should (a townswoman or woman of rank) use pilgrimages as an excuse to get away from the town in order to go somewhere to play about or kick up her heels in some merry company. This is merely sin and wickedness in whoever does it, for it is offensive to God and a sad shame. "Pilgrimages" like that are not worthy of the name.[17]

Although the reference to female sexuality is explicit in the Vulva Pilgrim, elements of her attire, specifically her shoes and her rosary beads, signify both her marital status and her location in the public sphere. The Vulva Pilgrim participates in the discourse surrounding female pilgrims by visually representing the married female pilgrim. The pattens worn by the figure were intended only to be used outdoors, and removed while inside. The association of pattens as signifiers of a public identity in the context of Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Double Portrait* (Figure 5) indicates the public life of Giovanni Arnolfini. This is in opposition to the private life of the home that is defined by the slippers of his wife, Giovanna.[18] In the case of the Vulva Pilgrim, the inclusion of the pattens assures the public identity of the animate vulva. The direct reference to the public female pilgrim indicated by her pattens allows for a closer reading of the Vulva Pilgrim in the context of contemporary fears regarding the polluting potential of the public woman in the sacred space of pilgrimage.

The inclusion of rosary beads in the hands of some of the Vulva Pilgrim's furthers the understanding of the identity of the female pilgrim represented. Rosary beads are most commonly associated with devotional practice. They also served as betrothal gifts from a man to his intended bride in the late medieval period.[19] This explanation of the marital symbolism associated with rosary beads also appears in discussion of the *Arnolfini Double Portrait*. In Van Eyck's painting, the amber colored rosary beads may be interpreted as a betrothal gift based evidence of medieval courtship rituals.[20] Possession of rosary beads by the Vulva Pilgrim indicates the pilgrim represented is a married woman. The Vulva Pilgrim is a *matrona* and therefore the sexual female pilgrim. She relates to the contemporary topos present in the various satirizations of marriage and the theme of the "wicked wife" previously mentioned.

Gender Ambiguity and the Vulva Pilgrim

The identity of the Vulva Pilgrim badges as married and

11 Victor Turner and Edith L.B. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia UP, 1978) 2.

12 Morrison 7.

13 Morrison 7.

14 Webb 21.

15 Morrison 7.

16 Morrison 112.

17 Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies or The Book of the Three Virtues*, trans. Sarah Lawson (London: Penguin Books, 1985) 152.

18 Margaret D. Carroll, "'In the Name of God and Profit:' Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait," *Representations*, 44 (1993): 96-132. The pattens in the *Arnolfini Double Portrait* have been variously interpreted by Erwin Panofsky, Jan Baptist Bedaux, Craig Harbison and others as referencing marriage. Bedaux in particular explores the gifting of pattens in fifteenth century wedding rituals (Jan Baptist Bedaux, "The Reality of Symbols: the question of disguised symbolism in Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait," *Simiolus*, 16.1 [1986]: 5-28, 12). This association with pattens and marriage might further indicate the identity of the Vulva Pilgrim, as many descriptions of sexualized female pilgrims are included in satirical literature regarding the follies of marriage. Craig Harbison, "Sexuality and Social Standing in Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Double Portrait," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43.2 (1990): 284.

19 Harbison 284.

20 Harbison 284.

sexualized pilgrims is not the only evidence that they are visual participants in late medieval satirical representations of the "world upside-down." The gender ambiguity present in the Vulva Pilgrims links the badges with critical discourse surrounding changes in late medieval society. Insincere pilgrimage on the part of women was one of the contemporary fears present in the medieval world. False pilgrims, male and female, often appear disguised in pilgrims' dress.[21] In the same way that her staff and hat verify the Vulva Pilgrim's identity as a pilgrim, the visual signifiers of pilgrimage status allowed for the recognition of those on spiritual journey. The potential for social boundary transgression indicated through the disguised pilgrim increases when the camouflaged pilgrim is a cross-dressed woman. Women cross-dressed, appearing as men in order to facilitate their pilgrimage by removing gender specific hazards such as rape; however, this violation of gender norms caused by female cross-dressing is interpretable as a marker of "category crisis."[22]

Although the Vulva Pilgrim is not explicitly shown as cross-dressed, elements of her representation alter her gender to masculine. Brigitte Buettner's examination of costume in the French courts of the fourteenth century demonstrates the way bodies were sexualized by exploration of how gender was mapped by the design of clothing.[23] Male bodies are defined through a shortening of dress and tight tailoring of clothing. This exposes the lower body, creating what Buettner calls a "phallic extension."[24] Women's costumes emphasized the upper portion of the body, defining female sexuality by a lowering of the neckline.[25] Women's visible legs, emphasizing the lower body, signal an appropriation of male sexuality.[26] When viewed in context with late medieval gender mapping of the body through dress, the Vulva Pilgrim, represented primarily by lower external sexual organs and distinctive legs, is gendered masculine through her almost complete undressing.

The gender ambiguity of the Vulva Pilgrim appears more explicitly in one surviving badge depicting an animate vulva wearing a pilgrim's badge in the shape of a phallus (Figure 2). The phallus badge relates to the numerous examples of the Animate Phallus that survive from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The inclusion of the phallus badge appears to further indicate the boundary crossing potential of the female pilgrim through its association with images recalling the Power of Women topos. The Animate Phallus wears a bell around its neck, perhaps in reference to the domesticated use of belled hunting birds, or Aesop's fable "Belling the Cat."[27] Either instance is understandable as an attempt to tame a predatory animal. Representations of the female form of the vulva in possession of the tamed penis participate in the satirical placement of women in position of dominance over men. This relationship between the Power of Women topos to the Animate Phallus is explicitly demonstrated in an example of a surviving badge depicting a woman riding a phallus, relating directly to the popular representation of *Phyllis Riding Aristotle* (Figure 6).

The element of the Vulva Pilgrim, present in all surviving examples, that most directly addresses the cross-gendering of the female pilgrim is the pilgrim's staff. As previously noted, the pilgrim's staff was contemporarily associated with a penis in late medieval literature. In the instance of the Vulva Pilgrim, the penis becomes a tool designed for the use and support of the vulva.[28] Additionally, the Vulva pilgrim can be seen as in possession of a penis of her own, further gendering herself masculine.

The gender ambiguity of the animate vulva is even more explicit in a surviving badge depicting the Vulva on Stilts (Figure 7). In this example, the animate vulva, who wears a tripartite crown composed of penises, is not only in possession of an object associated with a phallus, she is anatomically equipped with a penis and testicles.

Sexual Badges and Late Medieval Carnival

The Vulva Pilgrim badges speak directly to social concerns embodied by the sexualized female pilgrim in a graphic and direct manner that is only possible during the late medieval Carnival. According to Mikhail Bakhtin, the activities of Carnival revolve around a ridicule of officialdom, an inversion of the traditional hierarchy, a violation of moral decorum, and a celebration of bodily excess.[29] In this environment of the "world upside-down," it would become socially acceptable to wear insignia that contain graphic sexual content. The late medieval world produced ephemera in the form of badges made of cheap, base metals, and analysis of the medieval Carnival as a place where traditional hierarchic distinctions and prohibitions of everyday life are temporarily suspended make it possible for the very rich and the very poor to participate in the purchase of erotic badges produced in inexpensive materials.

A collective social awareness of sensuality becomes one of the primary markers of the carnival crowd. This creates an atmosphere in which social commentary utilizing graphic de-

21 Harbison 110.

22 Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 1992) 9-11.

23 Brigitte Buettner, "Dressing and Undressing Bodies in Late Medieval Images," *Kunstlerischer Austausch* 2 (1992): 283-392.

24 Buettner 385.

25 Buettner 385.

26 Buettner 387.

27 Thanks to Dr. Paula Gerson for her suggestion of Aesop's fable.

28 Thanks to Dr. Jay Bloom for his assistance in pointing out the potential use/design feature of the penis as a tool of the vulva.

29 Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1968).

pictions of sexuality is possible.[30] According to Bakhtin, the "grotesque" frees human consciousness and allows for new potentialities.[31] However, the graphic and satirical representations of the Vulva Pilgrim seem to deny the capability for change. In the case of the Vulva Pilgrim, the topos of the Power of Women provides the boundary-transgressing medium for social commentary rather than exploration of social change. The appearance of sexually explicit images of female genitalia in the guise of pilgrims reveals contemporary concerns expressed through the figure of the sexualized female pilgrim presented in a Carnival environment.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Vulva Pilgrim badges, when understood as part of the discourse regarding the bifurcated nature of female pilgrims, do not seem to be warding off evil as apotropaic or talismanic images. When located as ephemeral elements of Carnival, the ability of the female pilgrim to transgress social boundaries can be represented in a sexually explicit manner. Representations of female sexual domination are able to provide graphic images of the capability for female sexuality to disrupt male hierarchy. The presence of gender ambiguity, pared down to external genitalia, in a medium that was accessible to all members of society provides evidence that the threat to societal norms, perceived in sexualized female pilgrims, extended well beyond literature and permeated late medieval social awareness. The Vulva Pilgrim is the sexualized female pilgrim and the visual location for displacement of fears surrounding the widespread cultural and economic change in the fourteenth century. In addition to allowing a location for explicit imagery, placing the Vulva Pilgrim and other examples of sexual insignia in the Carnival context situates the badges so that the didactic message of the "world upside-down" is fully comprehensible.

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30 Bakhtin 255.

31 Bakhtin 49.

Figure 1. *Vulva figure dressed as pilgrim with staff crowned with phallus and rosary, c.*1375-1425, lead-tin alloy. Collection Van Beuningen, Cothen.

Figure 2. *Vulva figure dressed as pilgrim with pilgrim's staff, c.* 1375-1425, lead-tin alloy. Collection Van Beuningen, Cothen.

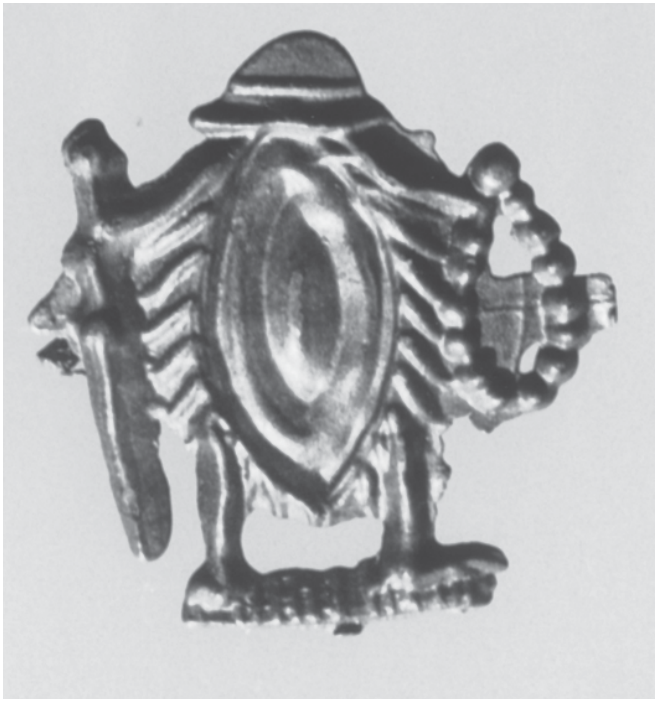

Figure 3. *Vulva figure dressed as pilgrim with pilgrim's staff and rosary, c.* 1375-1425, lead-tin alloy. Collection Van Beuningen, Cothen.

Figure 4. *Vulva figure dressed as pilgrim with pilgrim's hat and staff, c.* 1375-1425, lead-tin alloy. Collection Van Beuningen, Cothen.

Figure 5. Jan van Eyck, *The Arnolfini Double Portrait*, 1434, oil on oak, 82.2 x 60 cm. National Gallery, London.

Figure 6. *Woman riding Phallus, c.* 1375-1425, lead-tin alloy. Musée National du Moyen Age, Paris.

Figure 7. *Vulva figure with phallus walking on stilts wearing a phallic crown, c.* 1375-1425, lead-tin alloy. Collection Van Beuningen, Cothen.

Portrait of the Artist as Michelangelo: Maarten van Heemskerck's *Self-Portrait with the Colosseum*

Michael P. Kemling

Maarten van Heemskerk's (1498-1574) *Self-Portrait with the Colosseum* (Figure 1) now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, is a historical and metaphorical physical commemoration of the artist's Roman experience.[1] The shoulder-length portrait shows Heemskerck alongside a depiction of Rome's most famous antique monument, the Colosseum. Between the portrait and Roman building is a *cartellino* at the bottom center of the painting, which records the sitter's name and his age of fifty-five in the year the painting was made, 1553.[2] Although the painting records Heemskerck's Roman sojourn from 1532 to 1537, by the time it was executed he had been back in the Netherlands for almost twenty years. Karl van Mander's 1604 biography of the artist describes a number of self-portraits that Heemskerck did "in oil, at various ages, very distinguished, subtle and well painted."[3] Although none of these portraits survive, the sense that the Cambridge painting is one of a series, each representing a different age or event, has shaped our modern perception of the work and its significance. Heemskerck's self-portrait is more than *memento vita* recalling the artist's trip to Rome; it is a contemplative image, evoking not only the artist's visit to Rome, but also his personal development and artistic heritage.

Shortly after Heemkserck entered the guild of St. Luke in Haarlem in 1532, he traveled to Rome in order to study classical antiquities and the work of the Italian masters, a tradition that had been established by Northern artists of the previous generation.[4] In Van Mander's record of his activities in Rome, Heemskerck is described as walking around the city making sketches of the ancient ruins and the works of Michelangelo.[5] Both aspects of Heemskerck's studies in Rome shaped not only the artist's style, but in the case of the Cambridge portrait, his artistic identity in the context of Michelangelo's example.

At first glance Heemskerck's self-portrait seems to belong to a portrait tradition found both in Italy and the North, which places the sitter in front of an architectural background. In the case of a portrait by Luca Signorelli, the unknown sitter appears before a triumphal arch and a building that recalls the Pantheon.[6] Scholars presume that the sitter's interest in humanist pursuits led to the decision to place him in front of this idealized, classical Roman vista. A background of clearly

1 The two sources that examine Heemskerck's life and work are Rainald Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck. Die Gemälde*, (Berlin, 1980); and Jefferson Cabell Harrison, *The Paintings of Maerten van Heemskerck: A Catalogue Raisonné*, Diss. U of Virginia, 1987. For the literature on the Cambridge portrait see Leon Preibisz, *Martin van Heemskerck. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Romanismus in der niederländischen Malerei des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1911) 49, no.12; Robert F. Chirico, "A Note on Heemskerck's 'Self-Portrait with the Colosseum,'" *Marsyas* 18 (1976): 21; Grosshans (1980) 207-208, no. 79; Robert F. Chirico, "Maerten van Heemskerck and Creative Genius," *Marsyas* 21 (1981-1982): 7-11; Harrison (1987) Volume II, 730-742; Josua Bruyn, "Oude en nieuwe elementen in de 16de-eeuwse voorstellingswereld," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 35 (1987): 138-163; Ilja M. Veldman, "Maarten van Heemskerck en Italië," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 44 (1993): 125-142; and *Fiamminghi a Roma, 1508-1608: Artistes des Pays-bas et de la Principaute de Liege a Roma a la Renaissance* (Bruxelles: Société des expositions du Palais des beaux-arts de Bruxelles; Gand: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1995) 220-221, Catalogue 113.

2 The cartellino reads "Martijn Van he[e]msker / Ao Aetatis sua LV / 1553." On the importance of inscriptions in self-portraits see Philippe Lejeune, "Looking at a Self-Portrait," in Paul John Eakin, ed., *On Autobiography, Theory and History of Literature* 52 (1989): 110.

3 The passage that describes these self-portraits falls at the end of the biography, which are, therefore, to be distinguished from a different set of self-portraits that are discussed in the context of the larger paintings described at towards the beginning of Van Mander's text. Karl Van Mander, The *Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, 1616-1618 Edition (Doornspijk, Netherlands: Hessel Miedema and Davaco Publishers, 1994) Volume I, 246.

4 For Heemskerck's trip to Rome see Bengt Cnattingius, Maerten van Heemskerck's 'St. Lawrence Altar-piece' in Linköping Cathedral, *Antikvariskt arkiv* 52 (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1973) 44-62; and Ilja M. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*, translated by Michael Hoyle (Maarsen: Gary Schwartz, 1977) 9-18. For the tradition of Northern artists traveling to Rome see Elisja Schulte van Kessel, "Les Institutions flamandes et ½eerlandias à Rome durante la Renaissance," *Fiamminghi a Roma, 1508-1608: Artistes des Pays-bas et de la Principaute de Liege a Roma a la Renaissance*, (Bruxelles: Société des expositions du Palais des beaux-arts de Bruxelles; Gand: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1995) 54-60.

5 Van Mander 241. Jefferson C. Harrison discusses Heemskerck's *Brazen Serpent* (1549), and his reliance upon Michelangelo's use of the Laocoön and His Sons. Jefferson C. Harrison, "'The Brazen Serpent' by Maarten van Heemskerck: Aspects of its Style and Meaning," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 49 (1990): 16-29.

6 The portrait is dated between 1489 and 1491 and is located in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin. For a discussion of the painting and its bibliography see Tom Henry and Laurence Kantor, *Luca Signorelli: The Complete Paintings* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002) 114, 174.

identifiable buildings is used for the portrait of Giovanni Rucellai (1403-1481) attributed to Francesco Salviati and dated to 1540.[7] Rucellai is seated in front of the Palazzo Rucellai, the Loggia dei Rucellai, the façade of Santa Maria Novella, and the chapel of the Holy Sepulcher in San Pancrazio, all works commissioned by Rucellai himself. But, by the time the painting was commissioned, Rucellai had been dead for almost sixty years. In this retrospective portrait, the architecture serves to identify the sitter and his history. Heemskerck's inclusion of the Colosseum in his self-portrait identifies a central event in his life—his trip to Rome—and since it was made twenty years after he had left Rome and settled in Haarlem, it also depends upon recollection.

A similar biographical identification of sitter and site can be seen in Albrecht Dürer's *Self-Portrait* from 1498.[8] The artist depicts himself dressed in high fashion within an enclosed space with a window that opens onto an expansive Alpine vista.[9] The portrait type chosen by Dürer—a sitter in front of a landscape seen through a window—was common enough; it is the implication of the artist's travel recorded by the landscape and the costume that distinguishes Dürer's representation. The view of the Alps and the self-presentation as a *gentilhuomo* suggest a connection with Dürer's earlier trip to Italy.[10] Here, as with the Rucellai portrait, a particular historical moment is implied. This, too, is true of Heemskerck's self-portrait.

An even closer precedent for Heemskerck's commemoration of his foreign travel is his own teacher Jan van Scorel's *The Knightly Brotherhood of the Holy Land in Haarlem*, dated between 1527 and 1530.[11] The panel is one of five group portraits executed by Scorel, each of which records a pilgrimage made to the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[12] The artist included his self-portrait to document both his membership in the Jerusalem brotherhood and his personal journey to the sacred site of Christ's crucifixion and burial.

In the Haarlem painting, a figure on the far left holds a small panel on which is a drawing of the medieval tomb of Christ. This image within an image serves as a visual representation of the destination for each member's pilgrimage. Heemskerck used a similar idea of a painting within a painting, employing a *trompe l'oeil* device in order to distinguish the two different images. The inscribed *cartellino* is fictively attached to the painting by dots of red wax, one of which is visible because the upper left corner of the paper has fallen away from the canvas. As has been noted by previous scholars, since Heemskerck's own image overlaps the *cartellino*, he has depicted himself standing in front of a separate painting of the Colosseum onto which he had attached the *cartellino*.[13]

Heemskerck's single self-portrait thus implies the presence of two paintings, an image of the Colosseum, and, in front of it, an image of the artist. Both parts are given equal weight, dividing the composition into two halves. In the painting of the Colosseum there is a smaller portrait of the artist. In the lower right a figure is seated on a block of stone, probably an ancient fragment. He faces the Colosseum and is in the act of sketching on a large piece of paper. This small figure is dressed in a dark overcoat, bright red stockings, and a large hat. His attire can be traced to the late 1530s because of its similarity to the February 20, 1535, entry from the *Fashion Book of Matthäus Schwarz*.[14] This small self-portrait shows the artist at work in Rome, making sketches of antique monuments as described in Van Mander's biography.[15] In the larger self-portrait, however, Heemskerck wears a dark overcoat with

7 The commission of the painting is problematic, for a discussion see, Alessandro Cecchi, *The Renaissance From Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: The Representation of Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994) 453, no. 39.

8 For specific discussions of the self-portrait see Fedja Anzelewsky, *Dürer: His Art and Life*, translated by Heide Grieve (New York: Alpine Fine Arts Collection, 1981) 89, figure 76; Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1993) 37-39.

9 Portraits of a sitter depicted within an interior and in front of a window opening onto a landscape are commonly found prior to Dürer's *Self-Portrait* (1498). See Lorne Campbell, Renaissance Portraits, *European Portrait Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1990) 115-8. Campbell also discusses the interior setting with or without a window opening onto a landscape in both Northern and Italian portraits in the fifteenth century. He distinguishes these from the more common portrait type where the entire backdrop is a landscape. (Campbell 120-4) Whereas Dürer's self-portrait relates to the first type, Heemskerck's is formally closer to the latter.

10 Dürer's first trip to Italy is generally dated between 1494 and 1495. For a discussion of the Italian elements of the self-portrait see Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, Fourth Edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1955) 42.

11 The painting is located in the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem. For a discussion of the painting, see Alois Riegl, *The Group Portrait of Holland*, originally published "*Das holländische Gruppenporträt" Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des aller höchsten Kaiserhauses* 23 (1902): 71-278, translated by Evelyn Kain and David Britt (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1999) 84-85. Joanna Woodall, "Painted Immortality: Portraits of Jerusalem Pilgrims by Antonis Mor and Jan van Scorel," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 31 (1989): 149-163.

12 In order to become a member of the Jerusalem brotherhood, one had to make this journey. Scorel, who was a member of both the Haarlem and Utrecht chapters, had made his own pilgrimage in 1520. Woodall (1989) 151.

13 Chirico (1976) 21; Harrison (1987) 734-735.

14 Schwarz, a bookkeeper in Augsburg, had periodically recorded the history of his evolving fashion starting in 1520 and continued up until his death in 1564. In addition to the one mentioned in the text, a few of the entries are reproduced in Christian von Heusinger, "A Unique Fashion Book of the Sixteenth Century," *Apollo* 123 (1986): 165, plate VI. For a discussion of the fashion book, see Gabriele Mentges, "Fashion, Time and the Consumption of a Renaissance Man in Germany: The Costume Book of Matthäus Schwarz of Augsburg, 1496-1564," *Gender and History* 14 (2002): 382-402.

15 The identification of the second self-portrait was made by Chirico (1981-1982) 7.

a ruffled white collar, attire that is closer in style to fashions imported from Spain and popular around the middle of the century.[16] Later in date, this self-portrait was made in 1553, as the *cartellino* records, when Heemskerck was fifty-five. The Cambridge painting, thus, records two separate moments—Heemskerck's trip to Rome in the 1530s and his later recollection of that experience.

Both these self-images are intimately bound up with another "portrait"—that of the Colosseum. One of the most famous structures in the city of Rome, painters, humanist scholars, and poets were all drawn to it. Beginning with Martial's statement from his *Epigrams* of 80 CE, that the Colosseum had surpassed all of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, its importance was regularly acknowledged.[17] In the eighth century the Venerable Bede emphasized its universal Christian significance: "While stands the Colosseum, Rome shall stand. When falls the Colosseum, Rome shall fall. And when Rome falls—the world."[18] This idea of the Colosseum as the center of Rome, and of the world, was embedded in medieval and Renaissance maps of the city. In the map found in the 1447 edition of Fazio degli Uberti's *Dicta mundi*, the Colosseum appears in the upper center next to an allegorical figure of seated Roma.[19] Over a century later, in Pirro Ligorio's *Map of Modern Rome*, 1553, the Colosseum is again placed almost precisely in the center, a visual analog of its metaphorical role as symbol of the city.[20]

The Colosseum was, in fact, one of the most studied ancient monuments in the Renaissance. By the middle of the fifteenth century artists like Francesco di Giorgio included detailed entries and reconstructions of it in their sketchbooks.[21] Other artists made measured drawings and detailed studies of the building. The southern perspective used by Heemskerck in his painting is identical to analytical studies made by both Francesco di Giorgio and Antonio da Sangallo.[22] Heemskerck himself made numerous sketches of the ancient monument, either as the principal subject or in the background. There are two surviving drawings that served as the model for the Cambridge painting, one of which is a view from the Arch of Constantine.[23] In both the drawings and the painting Heemskerck emphasizes the remains of two passageways which had been exposed when part of the exterior wall fell. Heemskerck included three figures in the painting that occupy these spaces; two are in animated conversation above, while a solitary figure below is lost in thought. Made explicit by their inclusion is the intellectual contemplation of the Colosseum—as historic artifact and modern ruin—required by the painter, the sitter, and the viewer.

A woodcut print known as "Mr. Perspective," which was published between 1499 and 1500 and accompanied an anonymous poem, "Le Antiquarie prospettichi depictore," includes a representation of a nude artist in front of the Colosseum.[24] The four-page poem is a guide through the antiquities of Rome. The author dedicates the poem to Leonardo da Vinci, while referring to himself as "Prospettico melanese depictore." The problematic text has been associated with the painter and architect Donato Bramante, who had just arrived in Rome from Milan. It has even been suggested that the figure is a portrait of the architect himself.[25] Whether or not he can be identified as Bramante or as an allegorical representation of the Architect, the Master of Perspective's skill and knowledge are reinforced by the inclusion of the Colosseum. A similar implication must surely lie behind the use of the same ancient building in Heemskerck's self-portrait.

The 1569 frontispiece for the series of engraved images, entitled the *Clades*, or *Disasters of the Jewish People* is yet another self-portrait; once again Heemskerck placed his image in the context of Roman antiquity.[26] This time a fictive marble portrait bust of the artist is set on the base of what

16 Harrison (1987) 735-36.

17 Martial, *Epigrams, de Spectaculis* I. For the significance of the Colosseum from the time of its erection in 72-79 CE to the nineteenth century see Michela di Macco, *Il Colosseo: funzione, simbolica, storica, urbana* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1971).

18 Charles Till Davis, *Dante and the Idea of Rome* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1957) 3.

19 The Dicta mundi, or Dittamondo, was written by Uberti between 1346 and 1367. For a discussion of the 1447 map of Rome see Amato Pietro Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, three volumes (Rome, 1962) I, 129-130; II, plate 153.

20 Ligorio executed a map of ancient Rome with the Colosseum in the middle. For a discussion of all of his Roman maps see David R. Coffin, *Pirro Ligorio: The Renaissance Artist, Architect, and Antiquarian* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 2004) 16-19; and Howard Burns, "Pirro Ligorio's Reconstruction of Ancient Rome: the 'Antiquae Urbis Imago' of 1561," in Robert W. Gaston, ed., *Pirro Ligorio: Artist and Antiquarian* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1988) 19-92.

21 For the study of ancient architectural monuments during the Renaissance, see Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Reflections on the Early Architectural Drawings," in Henry A. Millon and Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, eds., *The Renaissance From Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: The Representation of Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994) 101-12; for a discussion of di Giorgio's drawing see 106.

22 For a discussion of Sangallo's drawing of the Colosseum see Millon and Magnano Lampugnani 107-108.

23 Both drawings are reproduced in Christian Hülsen and Hermann Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck* (Soest, Holland: Davaco, 1975): Folio I, 72, plate 70r; Folio II, 76, plate 56v. Elena Filippi reproduces the view of the Colosseum that includes the Arch of Constantine in *Maarten van Heemskerck: Inventio Urbis* (Milan: Berenice, 1990) plate 57.

24 For a discussion see Ingrid D. Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998) 105-107.

25 Doris D. Fienga identifies the image as a self-portrait by Bramante. For her argument see "Bramante autore delle 'Antiquarie Prospettiche Romane': Poemetto dedicato a Leonardo da Vinci," in *Studi Bramanteschi* (Milan, Urbino, and Rome: De Luca Editore, 1970) 417-426.

26 The print was engraved by Phillips Galle in 1569 for a second edition of a series entitled, *Inventiones Heemskerkianae ex utroque testamento*. For a

must be an honorific column. In both the book print and the Cambridge painting, he has a long face, forked beard, square forehead, short hair and slightly receding hairline. One of these two images was used for the Hendrick Hondius's 1610 portrait of the artist engraved for the second edition of the *Pictorum effigies*.[27] Engraved just five years before his death, the frontispiece is probably Heemskerck's last self-portrait. The Cambridge painting is the only other autonomous self-portrait to survive, although other self-portraits, some identified by Van Mander, are included within larger narrative paintings. For example, the inside of the shutters for the Draper's altar in the Haarlem Cathedral (1546), is described by Van Mander as "…two lavish pictures with many details and well painted had various portraits of some ordinary people appearing as well as his [Heemskersk's] own."[28] Van Mander's ambiguity has led modern scholars to identify the figure resting on the ancient sarcophagus at the painting's center as Heemskerck.[29] The author cites *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (1532) as another painting in which Heemskerck includes his self-portrait.[30] Van Mander identifies the ivy-wreathed figure who stands behind the artist-saint (and whom he calls a sort of poet), as a portrait of Heemskerck himself. Oddly, rather than follow the tradition of the artist depicting himself in the guise of St. Luke, Heemskerck here chose a secondary, poetic character.[31]

In a much later painting of the same subject (Figure 2), Heekskerck has isolated St. Luke, the Virgin, and the Christ Child within an architectural setting.[32] Heemskerck does not depict himself as St. Luke. The saint is in the act of painting the Virgin in the foreground, with an expansive Italianate courtyard in the background. The courtyard is identifiable as the Casa Sassi; Heemskerck had made a drawing of this same courtyard filled with antiquities when he was in Rome.[33] This drawing served as the model for the painting, but with the addition of a figure in the act of sculpting a marble statue, who is placed in the middle ground, surrounded by ancient statues. The pose of the sculptor is based on a woodcut print from the title page for the *Triompho di Fortuna*, published in 1526.[34] In the print, the sculptor is identified as "Micheal, Fiorentino," while the sculptor in Heemskerck's drawing does not have a similar label, but does wear a turban, an accessory that was included in a portrait of Michelangelo executed by Giuliano Bugiardini in the early 1520s.[35] The sculptor in the Rennes painting is thus a conflation of two known portraits of Michelangelo, suggesting that Heemskerck wanted the viewer to be able to easily identify the figure as the Italian master. Instead of his own self-portrait as St. Luke, Heemskerck chose to include a portrait of the most admired artist in all of Europe. Here Michelangelo sculpting in the courtyard serves as a surrogate for Heemskerck painting the Virgin. Implicitly Heemskerck not only associates himself with Michelangelo the individual, but also with Michelangelo's activity as an artist.

Heemskerck's preoccupation with the Italian artist was noted by Van Mander, who says that "he never slept away his time nor neglected it with boozing [while in Rome], but instead he copied many things, as much after the antique as after the works of Michelangelo…"[36] The notion that Heemskerck's interest in the antique was at least equal to his

brief discussion see Thomas Kerrich, *A Catalogue of the prints which have been engraved after Martin Heemskerck*, (Cambridge, 1829) 2; and Veldman, who discusses the possibility of a second self-portrait in the background, Veldman (1977) 149. A reproduction of the print is included in *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, part I (Roosendaal, Netherlands: Koninklijke Van Poll, 1994) 204, plate 237.

27 For a discussion of the print and a reproduction see Veldman (1977) 111, plate 67.

28 Van Mander 242. For a discussion of the altarpiece and the inclusion of the artist's self-portrait see Harrison (1987) II, 611-632. Reproduced in Erik Zevenhuizen, *Maerten van Heemskerck, 1498-1574: 'Constigh vermaert schilder'* (Heemskerck and Amsterdam: Histrosche Kring Heemeskerck and De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1998) 41, plate 32.

29 Grosshans identifies the figure resting on the sarcophagus as the artist, (1980) 171-176.

30 Van Mander 238-241. The painting is presently located in the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem. For a discussion of the painting and its commission see Harrison (1987) 250-262, which includes an extensive bibliography; Elena Filippi, "San Luca dipinge la Vergine (1532): lo specchio della 'maniera' in Maarten van Heemskerck," *Il Veltro* 35 (1991): 267-283; for the painting's context in Heemskerck's oeuvre see J. H. Bloemsma, "De Italiaanse kermis van een Hollandse boerenzoon: Leven en werk van Maerten van Heemskerck," in Erik Zevenhuizen 17-60.

31 For a summary of the tradition of artists' portraits used in depictions of St. Luke painting the Virgin see Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1987) 23-4. The bibliography that discusses the tradition includes Carl Hentze, *Lukas der Muttergrottesmaler* (Louvain, 1948). For a discussion of individual works see Colin T. Eisler, "Histoire d'un tableau: Le Saint Luc de van der Weyden," l'Oeil (1963): 4-13; Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting, VIII: Jan Gossart and B. van Orley* (Leiden, 1972): no. 24; Zygmunt Waïbi½ski, *L'Accademia Medicea del Disegno a Firenze nel Cinquecento* (Florence, 1987) 111-154; Zygmunt Waïbi½ski, "St. Luke of Bavaria by Engelhard de Pee," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989): 240-245.

32 This version of "St. Luke Painting the Virgin" is located in Rennes and generally dated to 1553. For a discussion of the painting see Veldman 113-121, who follows earlier scholarship in dating the painting to 1553; Grosshans discusses the painting at length and dates it to 1550 based on style; Harrison 692-698.

33 Chirico 10. The drawing was also used for an engraved print. For a discussion see Hülsen and Egger Volume I, 42-45.

34 Chirico 10. For a discussion of the print and the publication see Geraldine A. Johnson, "Michelangelo, Fortunetelling, and the Formation of Artistic Canons in Fanti's Triompho di Fortuna," in *Coming About…: A Festschrift for John Shearman* (Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums, 2001) 199-206.

35 The portrait is currently located in the Casa Buonarroti. For a discussion of the painting see Ernst Steinmann, *Die Portraitdarstellungen des Michelangelo* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt and Bierman, 1913) 16-20, especially 19-20.

36 Van Mander 241.

interest in Michelangelo neatly reverses the expectations that artists went to Rome to study classical antiquity. Evidence of Heemskerck's fascination with all aspects of Michelangelo's artistic production can be seen in his well-known drawing of Michelangelo's *Bacchus* in the garden of Jacopo Galli.[37]

Even after he left Rome, Heemskerck kept track of Michelangelo's artistic production. When the paintings dating to after Heemskerck's return to Haarlem in 1537 are considered as a whole, it becomes evident that the artist must have known almost every famous work created by Michelangelo, even if only in the form of prints.[38] In addition to the works by Michelangelo, Heemskerck was even familiar with portraits of the Italian master that were made during his lifetime.[39] Vasari mentions that there were two painted portraits of Michelangelo executed from life.[40] More renowned than Bugiardini's portrait of Michelangelo wearing a turban is a second, unfinished depiction that was begun by Jacopino del Conte sometime around 1540 (Figure 3).[41] The portrait served as a model for numerous copies that were sent throughout Italy, and presumably across the Alps.[42]

Heemskerck was perhaps even familiar with Ascanio Condivi's physical description of Michelangelo, published in the biography of the artist in 1553,

> His temples project somewhat beyond his ears and his ears beyond his cheeks and the latter beyond his face...his lips are thin, but the lower one is slightly thicker so that seen in profile it projects a little…the eyebrows are scanty, the eyes might be called rather small, horn colored but changeable, with little flecks of yellow and blue…the hair is black and likewise the beard, [which] is forked, between four and five fingers long, and not very thick.[43]

Michelangelo's striking facial features, as described by Condivi, are the same features that are reproduced in Heemskerck Cambridge painting. Given that the publication of Condivi's text and the painting were in the same year, it is hard to suggest that Heemskerck knew the book prior to the painting's execution. It is just as likely that Heemskerck knew what Michelangelo looked like from his own time in Rome.

The similarities between Heemskerck's self-portrait and Michelangelo's literary and painted portraits are too great to be mere coincidence. In fact, it is the suggestion of this paper that the Cambridge self-portrait is Heemskerck's interpretation of himself in the guise of Michelangelo. Heemskerck's sharply forked beard, prominently featured just left of the painting's center, recalls that worn by Michelangelo. Indeed, Heemserck's facial features, pose, and dress closely follows del Conte's portrait. These parallels immediately reveal the intent of artistic self-fashioning: because of his experiences in Rome, Heemskerck sees himself and wants others to see him as the Northern equivalent of Michelangelo. The depiction of the Colosseum in front of which Heemskerck has depicted himself as an artist sketching, suggests Heemskerck's analytical attitude to the past, both the past embodied in Rome's ancient monuments and his own past when he was studying in the Eternal City. His contemporary self-portrait as Michelangelo allows him to contemplate his past along with his present and, implicitly**,** his future. Made fifteen years after his departure from Rome, the painting deliberately records what to him were the most salient aspects of the experience—his study and his ability to work in the style of the antique and of the artist who superseded it, Michelangelo. The painting firmly connects Heemskerck with one of the most important artists in history, and thus like Scorel's pilgrimage portrait, it assures Heemskerck's artistic longevity.

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37 Filippi gives a brief discussion of the drawing and bibliography, 100. There is evidence to suggest that Heemskerck made sketches after more works by Michelangelo, which can be seen in a series of prints from 1551 after Michelangelo's *Ignudi*. Heemskerck's original drawing, however, are now lost. The prints are reproduced in *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, part II (Roosendaal, Netherlands: Koninklijke Van Poll, 1994) 229-233, plates 553-572.

38 For the prints after the works by Michelangelo that were available in the North see Bert W. Meijer, "'Fiamminghi a Roma': On the Years after 1550," *Bollenttino d'arte* 100 (1997): 117-119; and Jef Schaeps, "Michelangelo aan de Rijn: Reprodcutiegrafiek naar Michelangelo in het Leidse Prentenkabinet," *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek: Beelden in veelvoud, De vermenigvuldiging van het beeld in prentkunst en fotographid* 12 (2002): 65-107.

39 It is certain the Heemskerck was familiar with Leone Leoni's medal portrait of Michelangelo. For a discussion of Heemskerck's familarity with it and use of the portrait in prints see Eliana Carrara, "Michelangelo, Leone Leoni ed stampa di Maarten van Heemskerck," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: Studi in onore del Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz per il suo centenario (1897-1997)* (Pisa: Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, 1996) 219-225.

40 The passage is not included in the 1550 edition of Vasari's *Vite*. Only in Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, translated by Gaston du C. de Vere (New York and Toronto: Alfred A Knopf, 1996) Volume II, 727.

41 Steinmann 21-40, especially 23-26.

42 One such copy was executed by Marcello Venusti and is located in the Casa Buonarroti. For a further discussion of these copies see Steinmann 26-40.

43 Ascanio Condivi, *The Life of Michelangelo*, translated by Alice Sedgwick Whol, edited by Hellmut Wohl (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 2000) 108.

Figure 1. Maarten van Heemskerck, *Self-Portrait in Front of Colosseum*, 1553, oil on panel, 42.2 x 54 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Figure 2. Maarten van Heemskerck, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, *c*. 1553, oil on panel, 158 x 144 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, France. Photo Credit: Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY.

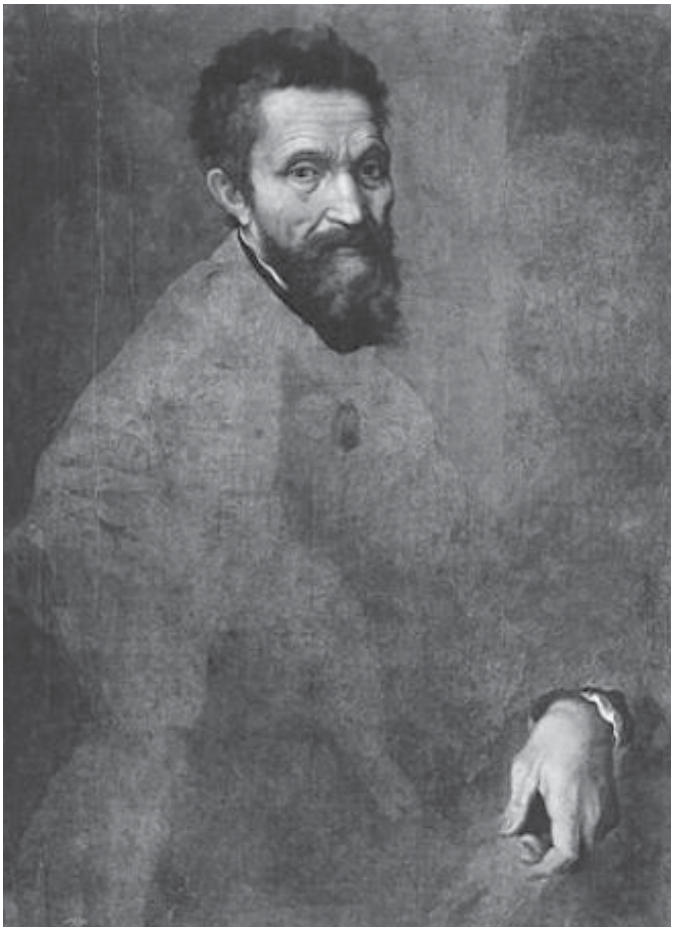

Figure 3. Jacopino del Conte, *Portrait of Michelangelo*, *c*. 1540, oil on panel, 88.3 x 64.1 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Guaman Poma's Illustrated *Khipus*: Signs of Literacy, Emblems of Colonial Semiosis

Lauren Grace Kilroy

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's chronicle of the Andean world, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (First New Chronicle and Good Government), completed *c.*1615, is arguably the most famous colonial manuscript to survive in the Americas. Its significance rests on the fact that it is the only indigenous manuscript documenting the Andes' pre-colonial and colonial past, and thus it aids in reconstructing Andean history. Written in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara, the manuscript consists of 1189 pages with 398 full-page line ink drawings.[1] While much research focuses on Guaman Poma's manuscript, in particular the spatial organization of the images and the representation of indigenous peoples, few studies have critically examined one of its most significant themes—namely, the author's purposeful comparison between Andean and Spanish forms of literacy, a topic to which he returns repeatedly in both the manuscript's text and its images. This essay examines Guaman Poma's juxtaposition and comparison of these two different systems of literacy through close examination of text and imagery, demonstrating how the author-artist valorized native Andean culture, in the process ennobling himself and his ancestors.

Central to this investigation is an image from the end of the chronicle labeled *Pregunta su Majestad, responde el autor* (His Majesty asks, the author responds), which represents a kneeling man presenting a book to a king (Figure 1). At first glance, it appears to mimic offering pages in European manuscripts of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance.[2] The identity of the two figures, however, is significant for our comprehension of a significant message that runs throughout the illustrations: the kneeling man is not from the Old World, but is the author and illustrator of the book, Guaman Poma, a native Peruvian who claimed matrilineal descent from the Inka and patrilineal descent from the pre-Inka Yarovilca dynasty. He presents his text to King Philip III (reign 1598-1621), the leader of the Spanish Empire that controlled the region after the conquest in 1534. Guaman Poma wrote his chronicle for two reasons: one, to provide an account of Andean history that valorized the pre-conquest history of the region; and two, to promote a treatise of good government that would hopefully end Andean suffering wrought at the hands of the Spaniards.[3] Despite the use of a European decorative formula for this page, elements within the book subtly assert native traditions. For example, instead of being dressed exclusively in European clothing, the author wears a flowered tunic, a point to which this discussion will return. The embedding of such elements within the manuscript suggests the complex interplay between the overall artistic formulas of the conqueror, particularly formulas derived from missionary books, and design elements or iconographic details derived from the native culture. Such artistic negotiations are common in works of art created in colonial cultures, a phenomenon that has been theorized by a number of scholars.[4] This paper examines several native elements found in the manuscript in order to investigate how the colonized could assert identity even within a book made for presentation: these elements include the representation of the *khipu*, a knotted accounting device, and the depiction of *khipukamayoqs*, native scribes.

The *khipu*, a series of threads with carefully placed, tied and colored knots, played an important administrative and documentary role in the Inka empire prior to the Spanish conquest.[5] It recorded information for the Sapa Inka and recalled myths and narratives about the genealogical histories of rul-

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1 The *Nueva corónica* [1615] is in the Royal Library of Denmark, Copenhagen (Gl. Kgl. S. 2234, 4°). The manuscript was completed on high quality European paper. Its outer dimensions measure 14.5 x 20.5 cm, while the written and pictorial text measures 12.8 x 18 cm. Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma and His Illustrated Chronicle from Colonial Peru: From a Century of Scholarship to a New Era of Reading* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2001) 15, 19.

2 For example, see the frontispiece of *Le triomphe de neux preux* in Maarten van de Guchte, "Invention and Assimilation: European Engravings as Models for the Drawing of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Guaman Poma de Ayala: the Colonial Art of an Andean Author*, ed. Rolena Adorno et al. (New York, NY: Americas Society, 1992) 94, fig. 62.

3 Adorno, *Guaman Poma and His Illustrated.*..15-16.

4 For example, Jeffrey Quilter and Gary Urton, eds., *Narrative Threads: Accounting and Recounting in Andean Khipu*, 1st ed. (Austin: U of Texas P, 2002); Rolena Adorno, ed., *From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of the Early Colonial Period* (Syracuse, NY: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, 1982); Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 2nd ed. (Austin, TX: U of Texas P, 2000); Tom Cummins, "Representation in the Sixteenth Century and the Colonial Image of the Inca," *Writing without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes*, ed. Elizabeth Hill and Walter D. Mignolo Boone (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1994).

5 For a good introduction to the *khipu* see Marcia Ascher, *Code of the Quipu: A Study in Media, Mathematics, and Culture* (Ann Arbor, MI: U of Michigan P, 1981).

ers and their queens, coronations, battles, and astrology.[6] Following the Spanish conquest, the utilization of the *khipu* was not immediately discouraged. After the 1560s, however, the *khipu* came under attack by the Spanish. The Third Lima Council of 1583/84 condemned them as idolatrous objects and ordered their destruction. Many sixteenth-century Spanish chroniclers comment on the *khipu* in their texts and seem to acknowledge its ability to record some sort of information.[7]

The fact that the Inka had no writing system that corresponded to European notions of text did not go unnoticed, however. Many chroniclers relegated Andeans to a culturally inferior position due to their lack of alphabetic writing.[8] For example, Spanish chronicler Augustín de Zárate condemned the Peruvians as less literate than the Mexicans or the Chinese because they had never possessed pictures or hieroglyphs as had the latter cultures. He noted that "in Peru there are no letters to conserve the memory of the past nor pictures that serve in place of books like in New Spain; instead there are knotted cords of many colors."[9] Similarly, the Spaniard José de Acosta placed the Andeans in an inferior position relative to the Chinese or Mexicans for they had "no method of writing, not letters nor characters, ciphers or figures, as the Indians of Mexico and China had."[10] In the minds of the Spaniards, information recorded by the *khipu* was not equivalent to writing. As a result, it was thought that Andeans occupied an inferior position relative to other colonized peoples.

Guaman Poma, on the contrary, accorded the *khipu* a status equal to writing. He asserted his esteem of *khipus* by openly stating that he found them more trustworthy and objective than other written records.[11] In fact, of the ten known colonial image of *khipus*, seven can be found in Guaman Poma's *New Chronicle*, testifying to his emphasis on their narrative function and capability. He claimed that he used no "written facts but only those obtained by way of the [*khipus*], narratives from memory given me by old Indians…to assure myself of the truth of the events I narrarated."[12] Guaman Poma praised the *khipukamayoqs*, stating: "They noted in declarations what happened in each town of this kingdom…these scribes the judges and mayors brought to the provinces in order to testify by the *khipu*…What difference would it make to me if it were in letters? With the cords they governed the whole kingdom."[13]

The representation of the *khipu* and its juxtaposition to European forms of recording became a vehicle for Guaman Poma to prove the *khipu*'s worthiness. He did this by contrasting a European sign—either manifested in writing or as a visual icon—to an Andean one by creating a form of visual bilingualism.[14] Each object is readily understandable to its specific audience as a sign for something—the book and *carta* (letter) to Europeans, the *khipu* to Andeans.

In the colonial situation in which Guaman Poma was immersed, many, if not most, Andeans would have been able to recognize a book, which had been brought by the Spaniards to "educate" them. Thus, the book and the word "carta" had the potential to convey a specific meaning to Andeans, as well as to Europeans. By comparison, to most Europeans the *khipu* connoted an inferior method of accounting that once belonged to the Inka.

No other Inka objects, such as the *kero*, were identified with placards marked by a European word in Guaman Poma's illustrations. This is likely due to the fact that a *kero* paral-

6 Rebecca Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999) 184; Gary Urton, *Inca Myths* (London: British Museum Press, 1999) 25.

7 Chroniclers did not see them as forms of representation. This may explain why *khipus* escaped the early post-conquest iconoclasm that occurred in New Spain to the north (Cummins, "Representation…" 192). *Khipukamayoqs* were even called upon to present evidence in court and there is no indication that they were forced to do so using European forms, as Mexican *tlacuilos* (scribes) were required to do. Cummins, "Representation..." 194-95.

A manuscript known as the *Relación de los Khipukamayoqs* (1608/1542) was written in Spain, assembled on behalf of a man named Melchior Carols Inka, who apparently claimed to be the heir to the Inka throne. To legitimize his claims, he added into his manuscript "mythic materials concerning the foundation of the Inka that derived from an inquest undertaken in Cusco, in 1542 before the Licenciado Vaca de Casto. The informants at that inquest were four elderly *quipucamayoqs* who had served the Inka as historians before the time of the conquest." Urton, *Inka Myths* 30.

8 Walter D. Mignolo, "The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Colonization and the Discontinuity of the Classical Tradition," *Renaissance Quarterly* 45.4 (Winter 1992): 323; Walter D. Mignolo, "Signs and Their Transmission: The Question of the Book in the New World," *Writing without Words*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter D. Mignolo (Durham and London: Duke UP, 1994) 221.

9 Cummins, "Representation..." 192; *"…que en al Peru no ay letras que conservar la memoria de los hechos pasados ni aun en las pinturas que sirven en lugar de libros en la Nueva España, sino unas ciertas cuerdas de diversos colores añudadas…"* Agustin de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú*, Colección clásicos peruanos Colección Clásicos peruanos (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú), 1. ed. ed. (Lima [Peru]: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1995) 23.

10 José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias, en que se tratan de las cosas notables del cielo, elementos, metales, plantas y animales dellas y los ritos y ceremonias, leyes y gobierno de los Indios*, ed. Edmundo O'Gorman, 2. ed., rev. ed. (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1962) 290-91. Despite placing them in an inferior position relative to other conquered peoples, Acosta did recognize the *khipus'* ability to "signify many things" and document more than numerical data.

11 Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980) 8.

12 Quoted in Richard N. Luxton, "The Inca Quipus and Guaman Poma de Ayala's 'First New Chronicle and Good Government'," *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* 5.4 (1979): 332.

13 "…éstos asenttauan lo que pasuau en los dichos cada pueblo deste rreyno… [*sic*] Y auía escribamos nombrados; estos dichos escribamos lo lleuaua los jueses y alcaldes a las pronuincias para que dé fe y aciente por quipo …¿qué me hiciera ci fuera en letra? Con los cordeles gouernaua todo el rreyno. Éste fue el buen monteroso que escribía cin mentira y con cohecho ninguna. Era cristianícimos." Guaman Poma de Ayala 331.

14 For a description of "visual bilingualism" see Cecelia F. Klein, "Editor's Statement: Depictions of the Dispossessed," *Art Journal* 29.4 (1990): 109. She describes it as a means of resistance used to turn the dominant culture's language against itself. Here Guaman Poma utilizes both images and texts to resist the Spanish.

leled a European drinking glass, and thus needed no further explanation. The *khipu*, on the other hand, had no European equivalent and therefore needed to be compared to something that a European audience would recognize. Nevertheless, the *khipu* did not act as an empty signifier of the past to Andeans; rather, it operated within an alternative semiotic system that developed during the colonial period.

Khipus had a place in Guaman Poma's discourse to improve the status of Andean "writing" and culture. They continued to function as records of history and memory and helped to forge colonial Andean identities. In effect, Guaman Poma sought to undermine Spanish notions of European intelligence by promoting Andean scribes, himself included, as superior literati and thinkers who were able to move easily between sign systems and languages.

The examination of several pages in Guaman Poma's works will demonstrate how his system functioned. A nuanced reading of the signifying value of the *khipu* arises from the examination of the *khipu* images in Guaman Poma's *First New Chronicle* and the Mercedarian, mestizo Fray Martín de Murúa's *Historia del origin y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Peru…*(History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inka Kings of Peru…), completed in 1590.[15] It is significant that Guaman Poma drew some of the illustrations for Murúa's manuscript, including the two *khipu*-images contained within it.[16] In Guaman Poma's image of a *regidor* (governor) a book and a *khipu* appear side by side, associating the measure of literacy of the colonizer with that of the colonized (Figure 2). One might venture to label the result mimicry—acting subversively by appropriating the colonizers' language to use against them—as Homi Bhabha has theorized.[17] Guaman Poma wrote his chronicle in Spanish, but he used Andean history recorded on the *khipu* by *khipukamayoqs* as his evidence.

Guaman Poma's image *Qu[i]nto Calle, Saiapaiac* (Fifth Way, Messenger) presents a similar construction. In it, a youth carries a rolled *khipu* and a placard labeled "carta" (Figure 3). By including the word "carta," Guaman Poma signaled to the Spanish king that the *khipu* was equivalent to a European letter, imparting to the *khipu* some of *carta*'s meaning, a strategy that created a layered understanding of Spanish and Andean notions of literacy. Another earlier image, drawn by Guaman Poma in Murúa's manuscript, displays a similar composition. The image shows two men, one standing and one kneeling, most likely Sapa Inka Topa Yupanqui and a *khipukamayoq*.[18] The words "carta y quipo del inga" (letter and *khipu* of the Inka) are glossed above the *khipu* reader. The word *carta*'s relation to the *khipu* is thus both visual and textual.

In addition to using the *khipu* as a signifier of Andean culture, Guaman Poma tried to reconcile the *khipukamayoq*'s social position by inserting into images of native scribes specific signifiers of Andean identity, thus establishing a direct relationship between European and Andean scribes (Figures 4, 5). *Khipukamayoqs* commonly transformed into native scribes in the colonial period, a social position similar to the one they occupied in pre-colonial times.[19] *Escribano* (Scribe) became their new social role and social identity. Both positions required the ability to record information, to "write," and to remember. Guaman Poma visually and textually asserted the similarities of these two social positions in *The First New Chronicle.* First, he displays each scribe holding his tool(s) of communication, the *khipu* and the pen and paper, respectively. Second, the scribe wears the same flowers in his hat that the *khipukamayoqs* once wore in their hair, thereby retaining ties to the latter's pre-colonial occupation and social role. Third, glossed next to the native scribe is the word "quilcamayoq," referring both to his position as a scribe and his actions, which are signified by the word *quilca.*

In Quechua there was no linguistic or semantic differentiation between the words painting, drawing and writing, all of which were denoted by the word *quilca*. In parts of his text, Guaman Poma refers to both *khipukamayoqs* and native scribes trained in alphabetic writing as *quilkamayoqs*, implying that he believed both possessed the knowledge and skills to write

15 Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Peru…* [1590], private Galvin collection, Dublin. It measures 32 x 21 x 2 cm and contains 145 folios with 113 watercolor illustrations. Murúa (d. 1616) was a mestizo Mercedarian friar.

16 Guaman Poma and Murúa had a working relationship, despite the fact that Guaman Poma despised Murúa. He thought him a horse thief and wife stealer and felt that Murúa had inaccurately relayed the history of the Inkas in his *Historia general del Pirú* (1613). See Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Austin, TX: U of Texas P, 1986) 55. Although Guaman Poma claimed that Murúa had inaccurately documented the history of the Inkas, it has been proposed that Guaman Poma's "narrative conceptualization of his history of the Inkas" follows the outline of Murúa's 1590 manuscript. Adorno, *Guaman Poma and His Illustrated…* 25; Tom Cummins, "The Uncomfortable Image: Pictures and Words in the Nueva corónica i buen gobierno," *Guaman Poma de Ayala: the Colonial Art of an Andean Author* (New York, NY: Americas Society, 1992). As a result of this collaboration Guaman Poma gained access to Murúa's library, which included a wide assortment of historical and ecclesiastical books and documents published in Spanish. Guaman Poma would later use many of these for his own chronicle. See Gary Urton, *The Social Life of Numbers: A Quechua Ontology of Numbers and Philosophy of Arithmetic* (Austin, TX: U of Texas P, 1997) 202. The images' compositional and stylistic techniques reflect Guaman Poma's distinct style of drawing, specifically in the men's faces. One also notices Guaman Poma's distinct graphic style in his characteristic wavering pen lines; the horizontal lines detailing the ground; the expressive hand gestures; the lack of detailed modeling or musculature; and the figures' flat appearance akin to Guaman Poma's other images.

17 See Homi K Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994).

18 It relates in composition and iconography to Guaman Poma's same image in *Nueva corónica.*

19 Mignolo "Signs and Their Transmission..." 237.

text and draw imagery.[20] Thus, with one simple word, Guaman Poma drew associations between the action of the scribe and the *khipukamayoq*.

In the depiction labeled *Depocitos del Inga, collca* (Granaries of the Inka) Guaman Poma exhibits a *khipukamayoq* kneeling before Topa Inka Yupanqui, the tenth Inka ruler (Figure 6). The sapa Inka stands to the left, gesturing with his right hand towards the *khipu* held by the *khipukamayoq*.[21] This page can be compared to the image *His Majesty Asks, the Author Responds*. Both images depict the recorder of information holding his accounting tools, a book and a *khipu* respectively, and kneeling before a ruler who gestures in his direction. It is the position of this paper that Guaman Poma intentionally analogized the composition of the two images. In both, he sought to equate pre-conquest methods of recording facts and history with post-conquest European ones to solidify his own position as the speaker for the Andeans and to prove that Andeans possessed intelligence equal to or above that of Europeans.

In order to garner the respect he thought he deserved, Guaman Poma not only constructed Andeans in a positive manner, but also elevated the status of his ancestors. In his chronicle, he depicted them as high-ranking *khipukamayoqs*. In *Granaries of the Inka* (Figure 6), Guaman Poma showed Topa Inka Yupanqui with a *khipukamayoq* named "Administrador suyoyoc apo Poma Chaua" (Second Person to the Sapa Inka, Chava Poma, or Guaman Chava, administrator of one of the four Inka administrative zones). Guaman Poma claimed that this *khipukamayoq* was his grandfather. The illustration titled *El doze* [*sic*] *capitan Capac Apo Guaman Chava* is another image displaying his grandfather wearing a unique *unku* (tunic) with the Kantuta flower on it, which was Guaman Poma's familial costume (Figure 7).[22] During the colonial period the Kantuta flower was referred to as the flower of the Inka, and today it is the national flower of Peru.

The image entitled *Administrador de provincias, suyoyoc Guaia Poma* (Administrator of the provinces, Carua Poma) displays a single administrator holding two *khipus*, one rolled, the other unfurled and dangling (Figure 4). Guaman Poma names this administrador "apo, señor", or "Second Person" Carua Poma, the son of *capac apo* Chava Poma. This man is, in fact, his uncle.[23] He wears the distinctive Kantuta decorated *unku* associated with Guaman Poma's family. Guaman Poma's father, Guaman Malqui, was, like his father and brother, a viceroy and second person to the Sapa Inka.[24] He, too, is seen wearing the same *unku* as his family members (Figure 8). All three men wear the same unique *unku* and the same flowers in their hair. Guaman Poma dons the same *unku* in various illustrations, as seen in *His Majesty Asks, the Author Responds*, thereby linking himself to these important functionaries.

Guaman Poma related himself to *khipukamayoqs* in other ways as well. He claimed in his text that at fifty years of age he had left his house and lands and set off to collect information throughout the empire in order to complete his chronicle; such a statement compares his responsibilities to those of the *khipukamayoqs*, who traveled around the Inka empire to document and preserve history.[25] Furthermore, Guaman Poma referred to himself as *auqui* (prince), or "the Second Person of the King [of Spain]," paralleling his description of the senior *khipukamayoqs* under the Inka, including his ancestors, as the "Second Persons" of the Inka.[26] As the "Second Person" he occupied the rank just below that of the Inka ruler himself. Evidently, Guaman Poma felt he was second to the King of Spain, and by occupying this position could act as an intermediary in the plea to restore order to Peru.[27]

The complex meaning of the image of Guaman Poma kneeling before King Philip III becomes clear when one relates it to images displaying *khipukamayoqs*. First, Guaman Poma used a similar composition and style in *His Majesty*

20 Guaman Poma uses the word *quilca* or a variant of it on many pages of his chronicle, including 193, 383, 361, 828, 1160. Guaman Poma states that these men also called themselves *quilca camayoc* (*encargardo de la iconografía*) or *quilla uata quipoc* (caretaker of iconography). Guaman Poma de Ayala 331[61]. These Spanish translations of the Quechua were done by Murra and Adorno.

21 The khipukamayoq's *khipu* has equidistant cords, punctuated inconsistently with knots, yet it offers no indication of its end cord, material, colors, or types of knots. Despite Conklin's claim that Guaman Poma "provides no images of the khipu actually being read or constructed," this image does represent the specific *khipu* reader orally transmitting the information recorded on the strings, his mouth agape as his hands move over the knots. Nevertheless, it is still impossible to "read" the *khipu*. William J. Conklin, "A Khipu Information String Theory," *Narrative Threads: Accounting and Recounting in Andean Khipu*, ed. Jeffrey Quilter and Gary Urton, 1st ed. (Austin: U of Texas P, 2002) 57.

22 Henry Wássen translates the Quechua word "apo" as "Señor grande, juez superior." See Henry Wássen, "El antiguo abaco peruano según el manuscrito de Guaman Poma," *Quipu y yupana: colección de escritos*, ed. Hugo Pereyns and Carol Mackey, et al. (Lima: Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología, 1990) 205.

23 Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica*... 321[51].

24 Guaman Poma relates how his father was loyal to the Sapa Inka as his "Second Person" and after the Spanish conquered Peru he then honors the kings of Spain, Philip II and III. Guaman Poma de Ayala 1030.

25 Luxton 319.

26 Juan M. Ossio Acuña, "Myth and History: The Seventeenth-Century Chronicle of Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Text and Context*, ed. Ravindra K. Jain (Philadelphia: ISHI, 1977) 80-81; Guaman Poma 1936, quoted in Luxton, "The Inca Quipus and Guaman Poma de Ayala's 'First New Chronicle and Good Government'" 324. Guaman Poma also pointed out that because of his lineage he was eligible to be considered as a senior *khipukamayoq*. See Guaman Poma 1936, 960, quoted in Luxton 324. It is significant that he used Inka criteria to legitimate his self-appointed position as a *khipukamayoq* rather than European criteria.

27 Ossio Acuña 81.

Asks, the Author Reponds and in images exhibiting *khipus*, drawing parallels between the Sapa Inka and King Philip III, Guaman Poma and the *khipukamayoq*, the book and the *khipu*. Second, both King Philip III and Topa Inka Yupanqui appear on the left side of the composition, holding scepter-like objects in their hands. In case these formal characteristics went unnoticed, Guaman Poma established direct visual and textual connections between the *khipu* and the book as well as the *khipu* and the letter. Finally, while presenting himself dressed in a Spanish-style hat and pants, Guaman Poma wears the same flowered *unku* as his ancestors who were *khipukamayoqs*.

Guaman Poma also pleaded his case using biblical imagery—imagery that Philip III was sure to understand. It is possible that the image *His Majesty Asks, the Author Responds* was meant to resonate with Old Testament images of David, the poet and singer of the Psalms, who played the harp and sang before King Saul, the king of Israel. These biblical depictions, common in Europe, represented David calming Saul by his harp playing, which restored balance between the body and the soul, putting the cosmos in order.[28] That Guaman Poma was familiar with illustrations of David playing the harp is clear because he includes one near the beginning of his manuscript in which David kneels on the floor playing before God (Figure 9). The similarities between David and the *khipukamayoq* are notable. David, like a *khipukamayoq*, was the "second person" to Saul. Furthermore, *khipukamayoqs* finger their knotted cords in a manner very similar to the way in which David plays his instrument. Finally, both *His Majesty Asks, the Author Responds* and the illustration of David depict basic compositional similarities: both Guaman Poma and David kneel before a higher power, communicate orally and aurally, and have placed a hat or crown to their left. From these analogous elements, it is possible to surmise that not only did Guaman Poma view himself as the official recorder and raconteur of the Spanish monarch, but he cast his role in Biblical terms as the "true" record keeper of the Andes. Such an analogy would have been familiar to a Catholic monarch such as Philip III. Thus, by drawing parallels between himself, the *khipukamayoqs*, scribes, and David, Guaman Poma became the "Second Person to the Inka," and by extension the "Second Person" to King Philip III. Such a position would have verified his family history and text, and boosted the status of *khipus* and *khipukamayoqs*. Guaman Poma's image of himself kneeling before King Philip III displays how he has taken the place of his ancestors as the true keeper of knowledge and history and as the person trying to restore balance to Andean society.

The incorporation of these indigenous tools within the manuscript's pages demonstrates the artistic negotiation between the proud Andean past and the conquering Spanish present. However, one cannot understand their complex semiotic function without viewing them in conjunction with other depictions in Poma's manuscript, related colonial manuscripts, and the wider Andean visual culture. The image *His Majesty Asks, the Author Responds* was added to his final draft some years later by Guaman Poma, no doubt to build up his contentions for the King of Spain.[29] Nevertheless, despite his great efforts, Guaman Poma's complex visual and textual arguments failed to reach their intended audience—the chronicle never reached the hands of King Philip III, but resurfaced in the next century in Denmark where it has remained to this day in the collection of the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

University of California, Los Angeles

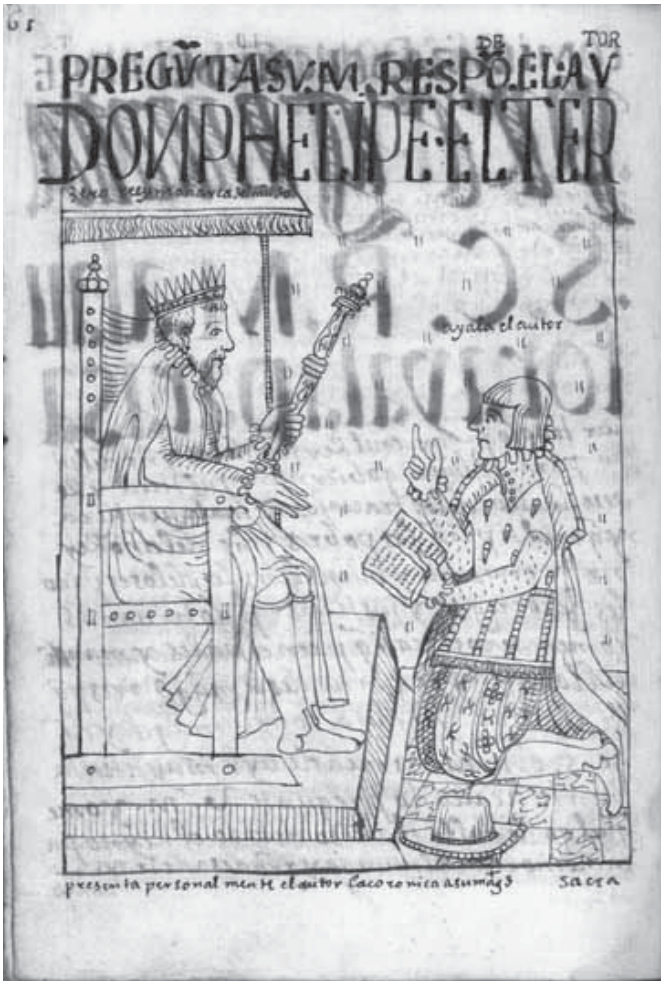

Figure 1. *Pregunta su Majestad, responde el autor*. Guaman Poma, 1615. Pen and ink. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Denmark.

[28] Martin van Schaik, "The Harp Bag in the Middle Ages: An Iconographical Survey," *Aspects of the Historical Harp*, ed. Martin van Schaik (1992) 5.

[29] See Adorno, *Guaman Poma and His Illustrated Chronicle from Colonial Peru*.

Figure 2. *Regidores, tenga libro quipo*. Guaman Poma, 1615. Pen and ink. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Denmark.

Figure 3. *Qu[i]nto calle, saiapaiac*. Guaman Poma, 1615. Pen and ink. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Denmark.

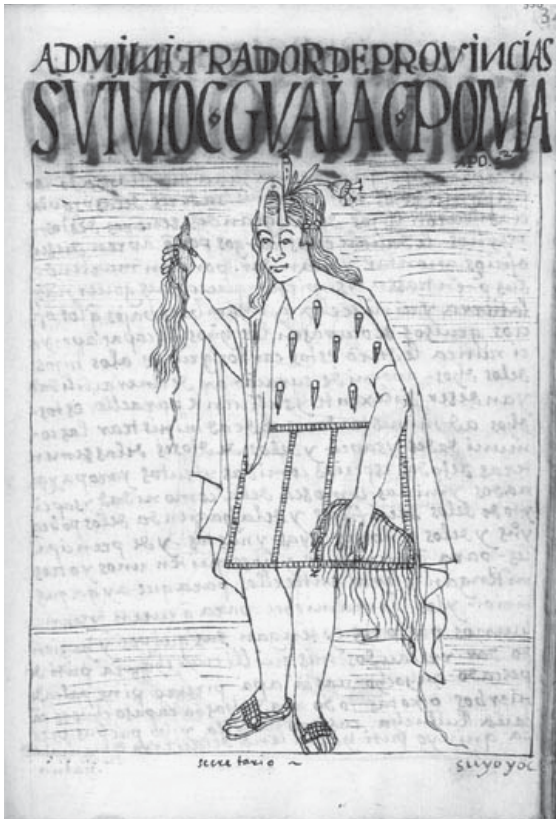

Figure 4. *Administrador de provincias, suiuoc Guaia Poma*. Guaman Poma, 1615. Pen and ink. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Denmark.

Figure 5. *Escrivano de cabildo de su majestad*. Guaman Poma, 1615. Pen and ink. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Denmark.

Figure 6. *Depocitos del Inga, collca.* Guaman Poma, 1615. Pen and ink. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Denmark.

Figure 7. *El doce capitan Capac Apo Guaman Chava*. Guaman Poma, 1615. Pen and ink. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Denmark.

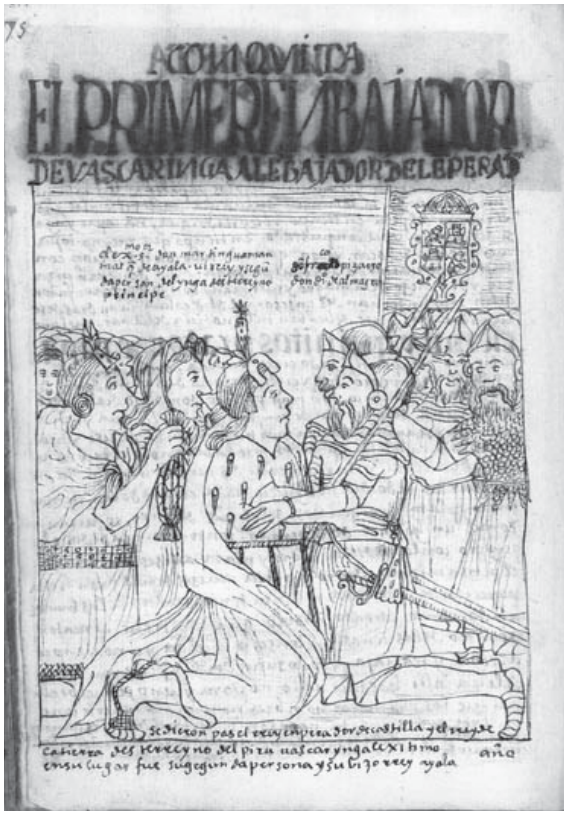

Figure 8.*Conquista el primer embajador de Vascar Inga….* Guaman Poma, 1615. Pen and ink. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Denmark.

Figure 9. *Quarta edad del mundo, desde Rei David*. Guaman Poma, 1615. Pen and ink. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Denmark.

Visualizing and Textualizing Algeria: Description and Prescription as a Strategy for Redefinition

Stassa B. Edwards

In 1875 travel writer Isabella Arundell Burton wrote in a prefatory note to her book *The Inner Life of Syria*: "I wish to convey an idea of the life that an English woman can make for herself in the East."[1] Arundell Burton was one of the many British women who sought travel abroad during the nineteenth century and this passage divulges the opportunities that travel abroad opened to British women. The idea that Burton tacitly conveys is that women could not make a living or a life "for themselves" in Britain. Unmitigated travel, which stemmed from the very act of colonization, provided women with the authority to both create and escape their own particular environment. Such is the case with British landscape painter and egalitarian feminist Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon (1827-1892).[2]

Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon made her life in the French colony of Algeria and provided visual representations of the world she envisioned. Throughout her lifetime Bodichon exhibited more than 150 pictures of Algeria. Her Oriental paintings account for more than half of the work she publicly exhibited. While most of Bodichon's Algerian works were landscape paintings, her private sketches and few figural works reveal the imagined social space of a feminist Algeria. An examination of these works amount to the visualization of a feminist "utopia" in which women were free to work, own land, and paint without the impediments of social constraints.

This, of course, refutes the notion that white women were merely "figures of colonial alterity" or "complicit" in the act of imperialism.[3] Indeed, when we deny their cultural agency, we deny the important institutional role they played in what Edward Said has termed "the dominate discourse of empire."[4] This paper, therefore, will investigate the manner in which Bodichon actively employed an imperialist voice as a means of obtaining political and social equality. The dynamics of imperialism provided Bodichon with a series of positional and artistic superiorities in which she and her feminist counterparts were given the authority to judge and represent that which the traditional codes of femininity denied her. Essentially, Bodichon's Algerian subjects reveal the function of Algeria itself, a sort of "brave new world" in which the British militant could realize her desires of visual and political equality. In doing so, Bodichon supplants imperial relations with the English notion of the separate spheres that defined women's political and artistic mobility.[5]

Recent feminist theory has called attention to the ways in which visual images can construct an imagined social space, an arena whose map opens certain roads of individual action. The acts of visualization and representation can be processes of negotiation and in themselves strategies for redefinition.[6] In the case of Bodichon's works "redefinition" is set within a referential binary—simultaneously representing both Algeria and Britain. Bodichon's visual space of the colonial encounter is that of imagined space, one in which Western women are inscribed upon Algeria as images of female autonomy. If, for painters like Eugène Delacroix, Algeria signified the "prostituted space"[7] of the harem, for Bodichon Algeria promised to fulfill feminist desires for unconstrained freedom of movement. As a liminal space, Algeria became the proving ground for the English militant's attempts at equality with English-

This paper developed out of a course under the direction of Dr. Adam Jolles. I would like to thank him for his advice, encouragement, and enthusiasm with the development of this project. I would also like to thank Dr. Robert Neuman for his helpful comments and suggestions.

1 Quoted in Billie Melman, ed. *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1996) 409.

2 Little scholarship exists regarding Bodichon's artistic output. The two biographies of Bodichon focus primarily upon her political actions. Pam Hirsch, *Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon* (London: Pimlico Press, 1999); and Sheila Herstein, *A Mid-Victorian Feminist, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1985).

3 Christopher Lane, "Redressing the Empire: Anthony Trollope and British Gender Anxiety," *Imperial Desire: Dissident Sexualities and Colonial Literature*, Eds Philip Holden & Richard Ruppel (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2003) 64. For further discussion in this vein see also Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900* (New York & London: Routledge, 2000) 77.

4 Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1993) 12.

5 Recent feminist theory has rejected the notion of separate spheres as being strict and impermeable. Here, however, the term is invoked within its sociohistoric usage; Bodichon herself seemed keenly aware of Victorian construction of gendered space. In her tract *Women and Work*, Bodichon's argument reaches its conclusion by claiming that "God only knows what is the sphere of any human being."

6 See for example Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference* (New York & London: Routledge, 1988).

7 Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, "Orients and Colonies: Delacroix's Algerian Harem," *The Cambridge Companion to Delacroix*, Ed. Beth S. Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000) 81.

men, their superiority over colonized men, and their ability to be a part of the project of empire conceived of as a heterosexual and masculinist project.

Images of unconstrained movement filled Bodichon's letters sent back to friends and sympathizers in England. In a sketch from 1857, Bessie Rayner Parkes, author and fellow Suffragette, explores Algeria freely and independently, apparently with no accompaniment except that of the artist herself (Figure 1). In the imagined space of Algeria, Parkes is unencumbered by the crinoline and corsets worn by women in Britain. Rather, she wears the shorter skirts and Balmoral boots which reflect Bodichon's rhetoric in her published tract *Women and Work*, in which Bodichon advocated the necessity of sensible clothing for women who wanted to be actively involved in learning and working. The colonial landscape of Algeria provided Bodichon with the authority and autonomy to create a visual language essential to the imaging of the feminist body.

Images like that of Parkes were visual components to Bodichon's letters home. Gayatri Spivak has noted that Western texts often "take for granted that the 'European' is the human norm and offer us descriptions and/or prescriptions."[8] Spivak's concepts of "description" and "prescription" perform in conjunction with "redefinition," enacting binaries between an imperialistic context and also within a context of locational politics. Clearly intended as visual "descriptions" they are equivalent to the text of the letters and need to be situated within the gendered perspective of representation and visualization. This sketch of Parkes is a consciously-constructed space providing Bodichon and other feminist/militants the vocal superiority that eluded them within the European political discourse and which could be appropriated by proxy within the visual domain of the Orient.

If white women transgressing the barriers of social space were central to Bodichon's Algeria, the colonized women of Algeria are largely absent. The canonical harem women of Delacroix's Algeria are replaced with images of colonized men. In a letter of 1856 to the novelist George Eliot, Bodichon inserted a self-portrait into the image, representing herself sketching Arab men as well as the landscape (Figure 2). Images like those included in Bodichon's letter would later become finished products; her images of colonized men were featured in a number of popular publications. *Arab Draught Players* accompanied Bessie Rayner Parkes' article in the March 1858 edition of the *Illustrated Times* (Figure 3).[9] Bodichon's self-portrait contravenes the Victorian model of a "lady artist" which was situated in the interplay between representation, spectatorship and signification. Thus, if vision itself is a strategy for redefinition, in this case it seeks to undermine the "targets appropriate for the feminine gaze."[10]

If mid-nineteenth-century women artists were expected to set pictorial transcripts within personal experience, clearly, then, their points of departure were domestic life and household scenes that distinctively designated the province of middle-class women. It was these spectators, positioned in the "feminine," who were expected to bring high-cultural representations of domesticity to visualize their own experience—an experience that was socially constructed and historically formed for British women. Bodichon's self-portrait is not only a question of the production of an image of an individual artist but also the mobilization and renegotiation of the category of woman artist.

Emily Mary Osborn's *Nameless and Friendless* (1857) reflects the visual field that codified woman as painted rather than painter (Figure 4). Like Bodichon's self-portrait, Osborn's image is characterized by a variety of looks and glances that epitomize the socially-coded differences of gender and race. Osborn's artist looks down as the men in the shop look up from the picture of a ballerina, extending their gazes to the artist herself. Osborn's artist must avert her gaze.

Clearly, Bodichon inverts the gaze to the extent that the gaze is dependent upon the notion of inequality, making it possible for the act of imperialism itself to provide Bodichon with the foundation for the visual troping of the colonized *Other*. Bodichon's self-portrait discredits British constructs of the "lady artist" and also the sexualized manifestation of the male gaze upon white women. If Osborn's image is, as Linda Nochlin notes, founded on a pictorial discourse of vulnerability or powerlessness, then Bodichon's image is visually dialectic.[11] The situation that Bodichon presents—a female artist free to chose from and paint a multiplicity of subjects—is as exotic as the other Algerian sights depicted in the letter.

Bodichon's figural sketches vacillate between the artistic categories of portraiture and self-portraiture in order to enact political representation. Bodichon's images function as a description of Algeria, while at the same time alluding to pictorial descriptions of female artists in Britain. Allusion operates within Spivak's contention of "prescription," enacting a discourse with images such as Osborn's *Nameless and Friendless*. While Osborn's painting represents the plight of powerlessness, Bodichon's self-portrait is an alternative or visual prescription in which the colonized space of Algeria provides structural empowerment. Within the context of British politics, fellow feminists who received Bodichon's letters would have recognized her images as an imagined space—one that only marginally existed within Britain's social strata. Representation and vision became strategies for redefining women's artistic and political positions in England.

8 Gayatri Spivak, *A Critique of Post-Colonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1999) 312.

9 The *Illustrated Times* was a monthly newspaper that commissioned works from a number of artists illustrating contemporary events. Most notably, the *Illustrated Times* employed Constantine Guys to provide illustrations of the Crimean War.

10 Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* (New York & London: Routledge, 1993) 202.

11 Linda Nochlin, *Women, Art and Power and Other Essays* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1988) 16.

Bodichon's sketches often served as studies for her completed paintings and the same artistic and political concerns evident in them must also be apparent in finished projects. Thus, in order to establish the relationship, I would like to discuss Bodichon's painting *Sisters Working Our Fields* (1858-9) in conjunction with *Women and Work* (Figure 5). Drawing upon characteristic landscape techniques of the picturesque—diminutive figures surrounded by the vast terrain of Algeria—the title of the work directs the viewer's focus to the occupation of the women who inhabit the foreground of the canvas. The title of the painting indicates Bodichon's primary interest; the landscape serves merely as a backdrop to the figural representation.

Bodichon's approach to the Algerian landscape is a stark contrast to the manner in which her male counterparts envisioned the Orient. In Jean-Leon Gérôme's "picturesque" views of the Orient one of the defining features is their "dependence for its very existence on the presence that is always an absence: the Western colonial or touristic presence."[12] If, for painters like Gérôme, the gaze of the white man "brings the Orient into being," then for Bodichon the Orient is "brought into being" by white women's working interaction with it. Bodichon employs the "picturesque" as a stylistic strategy to insert figures of working women into the Algerian landscape. Two sisters of the Order of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul are portrayed working upon land owned by Bodichon herself. Her invocation of labor reflects the rhetoric she employed in *Women and Work*. Advocating the necessity of work for all women, *Women and Work* draws upon the examples of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul and Madame Luce, a teacher, both of whom set their missions within Algeria. Algerian women are largely absent from Bodichon's artistic production yet they feature prominently in her textual output. She describes their existence under "social tyranny" resulting in their "utter debased ignorance."[13] In the text, Algerian women serve, obliquely, as literary foils—providing Bodichon with a set of positional superiorities that allow her to judge the plight of Algerian women and thus enable her to judge, and represent the social conditions of British women. Drawing upon a well-established imperial voice, *Women and Work* is a discourse built on the difference between white women and their colonized counterparts. The tract "describes," like Bodichon's paintings, the situation of Algerian and British women, but also performs within the model of "prescription." If, according to Bodichon, Algerian women must learn "somewhat of the civilization of the conquering race," then it is the duty of white women to provide schools and education. Thus, the Algerian landscape provides women with Bodichon's demands of "work—not drudgery—but work."[14]

The function of Bodichon's Algeria is a backdrop—both visually and textually—a consciously constructed space in which women are saved from "idleness" by work. Furthermore, Algeria serves as a mirror in which Britain itself is reflected. "Women's mission to women" is in itself a function of England's social mission and a fundamental element of cultural representation of England to the English. Bodichon writes, "Women are God's children equally with men. In Britain this is admitted; because it is a Christian country; in Mahommedan countries this is denied. We admit it as a principle, but we do not admit all that can be deduced from it."[15]

Bodichon's comparison relocates women's inequality from "Mahommedan" countries to their "Christian" counterparts, partaking in a discourse of locational politics. Bodichon's contrast of empire to colony allows Bodichon to control and share the masculinity of empire that is essential to the construct of English nationhood. If white women's duty within Algeria is essentially "women's mission to women" then both the British notions of femininity and Algeria's treatment of women are simultaneously remedied. Indeed, literary theorists have maintained that possession or control can be achieved via the act of writing—furnishing verbal agency to both the author/artist and to the reader/viewer.[16] Thus Bodichon's strategic employment of "women's mission to women" is used to enact a political discourse in order to possess or create a broader political constituency sympathetic to the movement that she has assigned to white women. Bodichon's representation of the Sisters of Charity serves a similar purpose.

Bodichon's feminist invocation of the Sisters as exemplars of the virtues of work for women is further explicated when compared to the French painter Henrietta Browne's *Sisters of Charity* (Figure 6). Browne's *Sisters of Charity* (1859) depicts a nun from the same order with a small child resting upon her lap. Such a display of "maternal solicitude"[17] was reflective of the suitability of middle-class women to the higher points of mothering, and her painting sets pictorial transcripts within the scope of domesticity. Conversely, Bodichon's *Sisters Working Our Fields* is used to convey the tenets of egalitarian feminism as evidenced in *Women and Work.* However,

12 Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989) 36.

13 Barbara Bodichon, "Women and Work," *Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon and the Langham Place Group*, Ed. Candida Lacey (New York & London: Routledge, 1987) 89.

14 Bodichon 91.

15 Bodichon 92.

16 See for example Heather Glenn, "Shirley and Villette," *The Cambridge Companion to the Brontës*, Ed. Heather Glenn (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002) and Hélèn Cixoux, "Sorties," *The Newly Born Woman*, trans. Betsy Wing (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1986). Similar usages of the Orient persist in contemporary women's literature as well; perhaps most notably Charlotte Brontë's 1853 novel *Villette* which is suffused with Orientalist references and metaphors.

17 For discussion of this work as well as other French women working in the Orient see Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation* (New York & London: Routledge, 1996) 95.

Bodichon's painting breaks with domesticized modes of representation and, like her sketches, movement is again assigned solely to western women.

For those interested in what George Eliot called "the woman question," the Orient offered a multiplicity of beneficial metaphors. It was in the representation and exploitation of difference that white women like Bodichon could question the social spheres that created and propagated the stereotypes ascribed to the feminine. Bodichon's visualization and textualization of Algeria destabilizes the characteristic homogeneity and omnipotence that Edward Said has ascribed to the Orientalist gaze. This is not to say that women involved in the project of empire can be regarded as more pure, truthful and non-imperialist than men—nor more susceptible to fantasy. Instead, we might identify them as cultural agents whose construction of Algeria is inherently gendered because of the restraints of representation placed upon them.

There is no homogeneity of women's involvement in the project of empire, but rather an existence of competing and alternative discourses. The work of Barbara Bodichon reveals a specific trope utilized for an individual purpose and different from that of Henrietta Browne. The strategic deployment of this trope provided Bodichon—and her audience—with a series of positional superiorities utilized to renegotiate existing standards of "feminine" representation.

Florida State University

Figure 1. Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, *Bessie Rayner Parkes, c*. 1850s, pencil on paper. Reproduced by permission of the Mistresses and Fellows of Girton College.

Figure 2. [*right*] Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, *Letter to Marian Evans (George Eliot)*, 1852, ink on paper. The George Eliot and George Henry Lewes Collection, The Beineck Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Figure 3. [*below*] Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, *Arab Draught Players*, c. 1857. Reproduced by permission of the Mistresses and Fellows of Girton College.

Figure 4. Emily Mary Osborn, *Nameless and Friendless*, 1855, oil on canvas, 825 x 1042mm. Private Collection. Image courtesy of The Courtauld Photographic Survey.

Figure 5. Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, *Sisters Working Our Fields*, *c*. 1859-60, watercolor and body color on paper, 250 x 460 mm. Private Collection. Reproduced by permission of John Crabbe.

Figure 6. Henrietta Browne, *Sisters of Charity*, 1859, oil on canvas, 101.6 x 78.7 cm. ©1992 Sotheby's Inc.

Dancing in the Street: George Luks's *Spielers*

Ellery Foutch

George Luks's *The Spielers* of 1905 is often seen as a canonical work of American art, embodying the ideals of the Ashcan School with its broad, thick brushstrokes, its dark, rich tonalities, and its success in capturing a moment in the life of its energetic, unidealized subjects (Figure 1). To scholars today, *The Spielers* seems to be an uncontroversial turn-of-the century genre scene, "a pair of little slum girls dancing gleefully on a sidewalk, presumably to the music of an unseen barrel organ"[1] or "a[n]…optimistic view of harmony among children and…a celebration of American opportunity."[2] To these critics, the work either elicits nostalgia for childhood pleasures or suggests a sanitized view of slum life.

However, closer examination of *The Spielers* yields sometimes contradictory and often disturbing elements. The two girls grasp one another tightly, looking out at the viewers with unabashed grins. Their clothes are somewhat ragged, and the setting is shadowy and indeterminate; perhaps they dance outside, on the street, with the dark suggestion of a doorframe behind them and a shadow lurking in the window. The shorter child rests her head on the blond girl's chest, which seems to be a developing bosom.

The painting raises several questions: how old are these girls, after all? Their cheeks are brightly flushed; is this from excitement and the exertion of the dance, or from drinking alcohol? Might they be wearing rouge and makeup? Is the dance for the girls' own enjoyment or do they perform for our pleasure? There is also the troubling question of the title itself. It has traditionally been interpreted as stemming from the German *spielen*, "to play," which suggests an aura of childish innocence. Yet the literature of Luks's time indicates that the term "spieler" was the female equivalent of the "tough," suggesting a meaning far closer to our contemporary slang of "player," a flirtatious and often promiscuous character. An investigation of contemporary reform literature, films, comic strips, and Luks's interests and lifestyle reveals complexities of this painting that have been lost to today's viewers.

To grasp the rebellious nature of this work, it is important to understand Luks's personality and background. As young men, the artist and his brother Will toured the vaudeville circuit dressed in wild plaids and blackface as the comedy team "Buzzey and Anstock."[3] Luks continued to embrace the popular image of the pugilistic and rebellious "Bowery Boy" throughout his days. In his costume and character, he assumed the role of the "tough," picking fights, involving himself in tumultuous relationships with women, and ultimately dying in a barroom brawl at the age of sixty-seven.[4]

Luks began his artistic career as a newspaper illustrator in Philadelphia where he learned the quick style of sketching that captured important details to accompany the paper's stories; there he also met the group of artists and friends who would later constitute the New York Ashcan group headed by the visionary Robert Henri. Luks's work, like that of most Ashcan artists, focused on the immigrant population of New York's Lower East Side. He represented his subjects in thick, fast, and broad strokes of paint, with an unidealizing, unflinching gaze; he painted a range of subjects, from frolicking children with unkempt hair to older residents of the Bowery down on their luck. As Luks told his students, "Surround yourself with life; fight and revel, and learn the significance of toil. There is beauty in a hovel or a grog shop. A child of the slums will make a better painting than a drawing-room lady gone over by a beauty shop."[5]

When *The Spielers* was first exhibited at the Society of American Artists in 1905, Luks's combination of bravura technique and down-to-earth subject matter was surprising. The hanging committee of the exhibition chose to display the work in a high, remote corner in the council room with sculpture and animal paintings. The exhibition was dominated by por-

I am grateful to Nancy Mowll Mathews for her guidance throughout this project, and to Marc Simpson, Mark Haxthausen, Michael Leja, and Margaret Werth for their comments on this paper in various drafts. Selections from this essay have previously been published in my essay "Tough Girls," in *Moving Pictures: American Art and Early Film, 1880-1910*, edited by Nancy Mowll Mathews (Manchester, VT: Hudson Hills Press / Williams College Museum of Art, 2005).

1 Ormonde de Kay, "Luks," *American Heritage* 39.1 (1988): 56.

2 Gwendolyn Owens in Susan Faxon et al, *Addison Gallery of American Art, 65 Years: A Selective Catalogue* (Andover, MA.: Addison Gallery of American Art, 1996) 423.

3 Bennard B. Perlman, *The Immortal Eight* (New York: Exposition Press, 1962) 76-77; for a photograph of Luks and his brother in costume, see Stanley L. Cuba et al, *George Luks: An American Artist* (Wilkes-Barre, PA.: Sordoni Art Gallery, 1987).

4 Luks's carefully crafted rebellious persona is captured in Everett Shinn's "George Luks," *Journal of the Archives of American Art* 6.2 (Apr. 1966): 1-12.

5 "Bohemian Life a Joke, Says Artist," *Evening Public Ledger* [Philadelphia] 27 Feb. 1925.

traits, picturesque landscapes, and a few allegorical figures and genre scenes.[6] Most of these portraits were of identified, middle-to-upper class sitters. Compared to other work shown, Luks's painting was daring in content and in form; his choice of young immigrant girls, a blonde German and redheaded Irish child,[7] dancing with abandon was cause for raised eyebrows, as was his quick, sketchy painting technique. John White Alexander was President of the Society the year *The Spielers* was submitted, and his careful rendering of detail and idealization of subjects was held as the paragon of what American painting should be. Luks's *Spielers* flagrantly violated these norms, perhaps explaining the painting's remote hanging. Critic Charles Fitzgerald exclaimed, "[Luks] has been treated so scurvily this year that it is impossible to judge him fairly. But the 'Spielers' is one of his most felicitous discoveries, and would insure his advancement in general estimation if it were hung on the line and in the light of the day instead of being imprisoned in the Society's council room."[8] Fitzgerald hoped that "in two or three years, bravado will perhaps incite its jury to hang Mr. Luks's work where one may see it."[9]

Luks made his own views on painting clear; he frequently gave spirited newspaper interviews, public lectures, and presentations to art classes in which he lambasted the traditions of the Academy and extolled the values of his own work. In a newspaper interview of 1905, the year of *The Spielers*, he lashed out at those who criticized him for a lack of finish in his paintings:

> The more I work the more I study what can be omitted to the advantage of the picture… To the devil with a lot of truck that is useless in telling what I want to say! Why should I weary people with what they know already? Haven't they imagination enough to supply the commonest things—things that merely carry their minds from the point I wish to make?[10]

Luks ridiculed artists who concerned themselves with displaying their finesse at representing illusionistic detail: "'Gérôme …Bouguereau…they've had their fame already, and every year fades 'em more. Industrious, painstaking, laboring at little unimportant details, until all the chumps exclaim: 'My Gawd, how that artist makes art!' But what do they tell us about the people among whom they lived?"[11] To Luks, people, especially those of the Lower East Side, were the focus.

By painting these two girls dancing, Luks was developing this focus and featuring one of the major social issues of his day, that of the dance craze and the concerns it raised among urban reformers. As one such reformer exclaimed, "Dancing has become a national obsession, amounting almost to a mania, both as to amount and kind…. [D]ancing in imitation of the less graceful of the lower animals…is incessant in the dance hall, on the playground, on the stage, and in the street."[12] Dancing was becoming a widespread and popular pastime, and new urban dance halls with their ready supply of alcohol and easy mingling of the sexes without traditional chaperoning provided potential sites for the exhibition of sexual vice, violence, and lawlessness.

This aura of violence and sexuality is clearly seen in the 1902 American Mutoscope and Biograph film *A Tough Dance* (Figure 2). In this film, two dancers grab one another as tightly as do Luks's girls; they spin around recklessly and energetically. The couple is also clearly indicated as lower-class; the woman wears a skirt of modified rags, while her partner's jacket is torn. The posture of the dancers—leaning in towards one another with heads touching, their hips drawn back and apart—is strongly reminiscent of the pose of Luks's *Spielers*.

At the turn of the century, the terms "tough dancing" and "spieling" were used interchangeably. This dance originated in houses of prostitution, and, as historian Kathy Peiss explains, "tough dancing not only permitted physical contact, it celebrated it. Indeed, the essence of the tough dance was its suggestion of sexual intercourse."[13] The film ends with the two dancers literally rolling around on the floor, flaunting the suggestion of sex.

This dance craze and the social reform movement that accompanied it are explained by a variety of social factors. With the extensive efforts of both reformers and workers in lobbying for shorter hours and better working conditions, laborers successfully obtained greater leisure time. Young working women, especially, found both freedom and alienation living in the city away from their families; liberated by their new earning potential and alone in unfamiliar places, they were

6 For reviews of the exhibition, see Charles de Kay, "Old Masters and Portraits of To-day: Educational Influence of the Former," *New York Times* 26 Mar. 1905: X6; "Portraits and Figures at Art Exhibition," *New York Times* 26 Mar. 1905: 7; Charles Fitzgerald, "Certain Painters at the Society," *New York Evening Sun*, 1 Apr. 1905; "Paintings at the Society," *New York Times* 11 Apr. 1905; "Artists' Society May Lose Identity," *New York Times*, 23 Apr. 1905: 9.

7 The dancers were identified as "a red headed Irish girl clutching a blonde girl, unmistakably a German blonde" in "The Fabulous East Side," *The Sun*, 8 May 1910: 16; they were also identified as ethnic types by James Huneker in "George Luks, Versatile Painter of Humanity," *New York Times* 6 Feb. 1916: SM 13.

8 Fitzgerald,"Certain Painters at the Society."

9 Fitzgerald, n.pag.

10 Charles de Kay, "George Benjamin Luks, Arch Impressionist," *New York Times* 4 June 1905.

11 Charles de Kay, n.pag.

12 Joseph Lee, "Rhythm and Recreation," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction* (Fort Wayne, IN: Fort Wayne Printing Company, 1912) 132.

13 Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1986) 102. For further descriptions of the dance, see Peiss, 100-104; see also Linda J. Tomko, *Dancing Class: Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Divides in American Dance, 1890-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1999).

soon exploring the entertainments and vices offered by the city.[14] These women most frequently flocked to dance halls where they eagerly participated in dances like the Tough Dance. As I. L. Nascher maintained in his book, *The Wretches of Povertyville,* "the dance may be a waltz, polka, schottische, or gallop, the time of the music depending upon the mood of the piano player. All is called 'spieling.'…it is at these affairs that the tough dances so grossly caricatured on the vaudeville stage can be seen."[15]

Reformers bemoaned spieling as a path to moral ruin. Hutchins Hapgood, writing in his 1910 *Types from City Streets,* observed the fate of many working class women attending the dance halls:

> Some of them dance every night, and are so confirmed in it that they are technically known as '*spielers*' [author's emphasis]. Many a girl, a nice girl, too, loves the art so much that she will dance with any man she meets, whatever his character or appearance. …[M]any of these girls get involved with undesirable men, simply through their uncontrollable passion for the waltz. When carried to an excess, it is as bad as drink or gambling.[16]

Another reformer noted, "vulgar dancing exists everywhere, and the '*spiel*' [author's emphasis], a form of dancing requiring much twirling and twisting…particularly [causes] sexual excitement [through] the easy familiarity in the dance practiced by nearly all the men in the way they handle the girls."[17]

Dance instructors also bemoaned the certain moral ruin and lack of grace that accompanied these new styles of dance. Manuals provided written instructions and illustrations in an attempt to instruct young people in proper dance. In captions accompanying illustrations that closely resemble the posture of Luks's girls and that of the couple from *A Tough Dance*, Alan Dodworth admonished, "The lady's head too close, the extended arms and bad attitude of hand very objectionable."[18] Edward Scott classified this posture as "Low Class Style."[19] In the chapter "Refinement and Vulgarity" in his *Dancing as an Art and Pastime*, he chided dancers for utilizing "such movements, for instance, as jigging around with both arms extended and hands clasped by the opposite dancer, turning backwards…twisting partners round by the waist like so many whirligigs,"[20] a description that closely resembles the dance of both Luks's *Spielers* and the performers of *A Tough Dance*, movements that had both specific class connotations and sexual overtones.

Luks's work thus carries a host of provocative associations, yet he did incorporate sufficient ambiguity in the painting to allow for more benign interpretations: the age of the girls is indeterminate, and its history reveals that it was exhibited under more innocuous titles. As early as 1907, Luks and his dealer in correspondence referred to *The Spielers* with the title "Dancing Girls," and the work was also exhibited with the narrative title "East Side Children Dancing to Hand-Organ Music."[21] Of course, these titles could have been attempts to veil the more disturbing aspects of the work, masking it as an innocent genre scene. Nevertheless, the joy with which these children dance contrasts sharply with the ways in which children of the Lower East Side were usually depicted in Luks's day, as in Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives*, well known for describing slum children as pitiful creatures living in squalor.

At this time, an active reform and child welfare movement coexisted with a fascination with the life of the Bowery and the inhabitants of the Lower East Side who were often at the center of current interest and debate. The problems of the area—its high crime rate, density of saloons and opium dens, and impoverished immigrant community—were constant topics in genres as disparate as reform literature, popular films, novels, and comic strips. Such depictions often focused on the life of the streets in immigrant neighborhoods where the massive influx of immigrants to New York had created communities with extremely crowded conditions; reformers most frequently depicted the inhabitants as people to be pitied and to be, as quickly as possible, Americanized.[22]

Luks's approach was in stark contrast to reformist depictions. Prior to painting *The Spielers*, Luks had worked on a popular comic strip series entitled "The Yellow Kid" that portrayed and caricatured the life of these crowded streets. Originally created by Richard Felton Outcault for the *New York World* in 1895, "The Yellow Kid" featured the antics of Mickey

14 Peiss; see also Nancy Mowll Mathews, *Art of Leisure: Maurice Prendergast in the Williams College Museum of Art* (Williamstown, MA.: Storey Communications, Inc. and Williams College, 1999); Gary Cross, *Social History of Leisure Since 1600* (State College, PA.: Venture Publishing, 1990) 57-163; David Nasaw, *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (New York: BasicBooks, 1993); Lewis A. Erenberg, *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890-1930* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1981).

15 I.L. Nascher, *The Wretches of Povertyville: A Sociological Study of the Bowery* (Chicago: Joseph J. Lanzit, 1909) 51, 53.

16 Hutchins Hapgood, *Types from City Streets*, 1910 (New York: Garrett Press, Inc., 1970), 135.

17 Julia Schoenfeld, in Verne M. Bovie, "The Public Dance Halls of the Lower East Side," *Report* [University Settlement Society of New York] (1901) 33, quoted in Peiss 101.

18 Alan Dodworth, *Dancing and its Relation to Education and Social Life* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1888).

19 Edward Scott, *Dancing as an Art and Pastime* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1892) plate xxvii.

20 Scott 130.

21 Owens, in *Addison Gallery of American Art, 65 Years*, 424 n. 2.

22 See Joseph Lee, "Play and Congestion," *Charities and the Commons: Weekly Journal of Philanthropy and Social Advance* 20 (4 Apr. 1908) 43-48; Thomas Jesse Jones, *Sociology of a New York City Block* (New York: Columbia UP, 1904).

Dugan and his fellow inhabitants of "Hogan's Alley," a fictional Irish immigrant neighborhood drawn from the tenement experience.[23] The "Yellow Kid" and his friends wrought havoc on the neighborhood since their daily adventures revolved around the confusion they created in the streets. Although examples like these often caricatured the tenement dwellers, they also spoke to the imagination and independence of children who often danced in imitation of the popular steps. An October 1896 cartoon featured Liz and Mickey "spieling" or "tough dancing" (Figure 3); Liz's feet fly off the ground, suggesting the enthusiastic Tough Dance or Bowery Waltz. It is not difficult to imagine Mickey singing a popular tune of the day to his girlfriend Liz with whom he dances:

> My Pearl is a Bowery Girl
> She's all the world to me.
> She's in it with any the girls 'round the town,
> And a corking good looker, see?
> At Walhalla Hall she kills them all
> As waltzing together we twirl.
> She sets them all crazy, a *spieler*, a daisy,
> My Pearl's a Bowery girl.[24]

The energetic and brash children Luks depicted in his comic strip can also be found in the paintings of the Ashcan School which celebrated children of the city and the street culture they created. One such example is William Glackens's *Far From the Fresh Air Farm*, which communicates the energy and chaos of the streets (Figure 4).[25] As reformer Joseph Lee related,

> The streets are at present the principal playground for city children…. Children dig in the gutter, hold meetings and play games on the steps and on the slides beside them, and play jump rope and tops, marbles and hop scotch on the sidewalks and smoother streets. And the hurdy-gurdy man is the modern Orpheus, to whom the children dance, while the wilder creatures, such as hack men, truck drivers and pedestrians, acquiesce.[26]

In his illustration, Glackens has inventively clustered various aspects of city life, including two children dancing in the background to the music of an organ grinder in an image reminiscent of *The Spielers*. The scene of children dancing to the tunes of an organ grinder was a common refrain during the period,[27] and it brought its own host of associations and reformist issues. Reformers often criticized the presence of organ grinders as a source of indecency. However, one writer for *The Illustrated American* of 1896 expressed her relief that a measure to prohibit street children from dancing to their music had not passed. As the author mused, "I confess I often watch them with pleasure, but never without wondering why they should be considered 'indecent' and 'objectionable' in their dancing."[28]

Apparently some spectators did, indeed, find young girls' dancing "indecent" or "objectionable," underlining the controversy within Luks's painting. Hutchins Hapgood ominously observed, "it is a familiar thing to see little girls on the East Side dancing rhythmically on the street, to the music of some hand-organ…. When those little girls grow older and become shop-girls they often continue to indulge their passion for the waltz…" becoming the hopelessly addicted "spielers" he described earlier.[29]

Thus, only a few years separated innocent child's play from what was perceived as vice, dancing in nightclubs. Although Luks's girls may be innocent children dancing to the music of an organ grinder, their future fate might well involve the risqué side of dance that threatened to undermine their virtue as much of Bowery life did. Indeed, these girls look brashly at the viewer as they perform their dance, perhaps hoping to receive spare change for their impromptu performance. By depicting young girls engaging in a physical and sexually suggestive act with the hope of remuneration from onlookers, Luks foreshadows one possible fate of the girls, either that of prostitute or of a "spieler" who would trade dances

23 A thorough history of the Yellow Kid and several illustrations can be found in *R. F. Outcault's The Yellow Kid: A Centennial Celebration of the Kid Who Started the Comics*, ed. Bill Blackbeard (Northampton, MA: Kitchen Sink Press, 1995). See also Bruce Weber, *Ashcan Kids: Children in the Art of Henri, Luks, Glackens, Bellows & Sloan* (New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, Inc., 1998) 13; Mark David Winchester, "Cartoon Theatricals from 1896-1927: Gus Hill's Cartoon Shows for the American Road Theatre," diss., Ohio State University, 1995, 69.

24 Author's emphasis. Steve Brodie's version of "My Pearl," quoted in Luc Sante, *Low Life: Lures and Snares of Old New York* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1991) 125.

25 The fictionalization of Bowery tours and issues of voyeurism are well illustrated in the 1908 Edison film "The Deceived Slumming Party." Autobiographical accounts by those who grew up in the Bowery also recount these events; see Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Bowery Days* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1936) 428; Charles Stelzle, *A Son of the Bowery: The Life Story of an East Side American* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926) 13, 24.

26 Lee 43.

27 Many historical and literary descriptions of street life of the period include the figure of the organ grinder and dancing children (e.g. Rose Cohen, *Out of the Shadow: Russian Jewish Girlhood on the Lower East Side* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1995] 71-2). They are also depicted in works by photojournalists of the period and the paintings of Jerome Myers, one of Luks's contemporaries (e.g. *The Tambourine*, 1905, now at The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.).

28 J.H.N., "As Seen Through Women's Eyes," *Illustrated American*, 18 Jan. 1896, quoted in Grace M. Mayer, *Once Upon a City* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958) 82.

29 Hapgood 135.

30 Peiss, 108-114, discusses "the culture of treating, trading sexual favors of varying degrees for male attention, gifts, and a good time" (110).

31 Shinn 2.

and sexual favors for drinks.[30] As Luks's friend and fellow artist Everett Shinn noted, "Luks would be less respectful to the little speilers' [*sic*] older sisters. There would be no illusions once he caught up to them. Only literal transcriptions of their haunts and single purpose."[31] Perhaps Luks did, after all, suggest the fate of his dancers' older sisters in *The Spielers.*

The Spielers, then, is far more than an endearing, sentimental genre painting. It is a rebellious work, deliberately transgressing middle class mores and exalting these dancing girls and reveling in the ambiguity that accompanies them. By defiantly celebrating his *Spielers*, Luks distinguished himself from photojournalists and reformers who focused upon the bleak despair of urban poverty. Instead, Luks painted his subjects as capturing the vitality of the city and its youth, furthering his own reputation as a defiant Bowery Boy.

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Figure 1. George Luks (American, 1867-1933), *The Spielers*, 1905, oil on canvas, 36 1/16 x 26 1/4 in. (91.6 x 66.7 cm). Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., gift of an anonymous donor, 1931.9. All Rights Reserved.

Figure 2. American Mutoscope & Biograph Company, *A Tough Dance*, 1902, 42 feet. Producer: n/a; camera: Robert K. Bonine. The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Paper Print Collection, neg. no. 1907.

Figure 3. Richard Felton Outcault (1863-1928), "The Amateur Dime Museum in Hogan's Alley," 1896. Illustration in New York *Journal* (October 4, 1896). Courtesy the www.deniskitchen.com archives.

Figure 4. William Glackens (American, 1870-1938), *Far from the Fresh Air Farm: The Crowded City Street, with its Dangers and Temptations, Is a Pitiful Makeshift Playground for Children*, 1911, crayon heightened with watercolor on paper, 24 1/2 x 16 1/2 in. Museum of Art, Inc., Fort Lauderdale, Florida. Ira Glackens Bequest.

Detail of Figure 4.

The Memorial to Peter: A Social Investigation within the Politics of German Memory and the Great War

Karen Shelby

The years immediately following Germany's defeat in World War I were a tumultuous period in German history. As Germany moved further from the nationalistic ideologies of the Wilhelmine Empire, it entered into a schizophrenic period of cultural, political and economic disarray. The sanctions of the Treaty of Versailles had a devastating economic and demoralizing effect on those who survived the war. Thus, the Weimar government attempted to recreate a new, more nationalistic, and more heroic history of Germany's involvement in the war, a history which greatly contrasted with the memories of those who had lived through the event. This fracturing of national history and lived experience prohibited the timely creation of a state-sponsored memorial practice.

An issue of primary importance was of how to remember and commemorate The Great War within a national as well as individual context. The act of memory does not necessarily imply a positive recollection of past events, and it is at this crossroads that Germany found itself in the early years of the 1920s as the ten-year anniversary of war mobilization approached. During this period, Germany was so profoundly divided among several different political groups that there could be no consensus on a national mythology, on any national symbols, nor on the construction of a national memorial.[1] It is the task here to investigate a history of the establishment of a commemorative practice in Germany and the place of the physical memorial within that context. This paper will begin by looking at the formation of memorials and German military cemeteries in Belgian territory. It will conclude with an examination of *The Parents*, a memorial created by Kathe Kollwitz for her son Peter who was killed on October 22, 1914, mere weeks after the start of the war. The lengthy time that Germany took to establish a national memorial is paralleled by Kollwitz's eighteen-year struggle to create a personal, and ultimately universal, memorial to her son. As an artist working within and affected by this specific historical framework, Kollwitz's post-war artwork reflects both public anti-war ideology and her own paralyzing grief. It is in Kathe Kollwitz's work that an intersection between private and public memory and memorialization can be found.

This paper was developed under the direction of Dr. Rose-Carol Washton Long. I thank Dr. Long for enthusiasm for the topic and her guidance during its development.

1 Dora Apel, "Cultural Battlegrounds: Visual Imagery and the 10th Anniversary of World War I in Weimar Germany," Diss. CUNY Universityand Graduate Center, 1995, 10.

The Treaty of Versailles imposed harsh economic reparations, but also explicitly assigned responsibility for the war to Germany. Thus, the deaths of thousands of men remained virtually unacknowledged on a nationalistic level. How could these deaths be commemorated when they were so intricately connected to a humiliating loss? And since bodies of the dead remained in enemy territory, ordinary citizens were denied access to them. It was a costly enterprise for individuals to travel to the hastily erected burial plots in Belgium. Thus, the care and upkeep of German military cemeteries became the responsibility of the countries in which they lay, and little care and consideration would be given to aggressors buried in foreign soil.

In 1925, the Belgium and German governments reached an agreement by which the Official German Burial Service in Belgium cooperated with the French Service de Pensions and the Commonwealth War Graves Commission to exhume and rebury the thousands of German war dead that lay all along the former Western Front. Four main German military 'collecting' cemeteries were created: Langemarcke, Roggevelde (in the town of Vladslo), Hoogledede and Menin.[2] In June of 1926, an organization was founded to begin the task formally of erecting memorials within these cemeteries. Due to the negative reception of German graves that lay along the Front, the team agreed to create gardens and modest memorials that blended in with the natural features of the landscape in contrast to the familiar white monumental, classical structures that dominated the French and Commonwealth cemeteries.

The German cemeteries have a vastly different appearance from those of the French and the British. Since Belgium was reluctant to give too much land to Germany, the German dead were denied individual graves: twenty bodies are buried together under one stone. German cemeteries were also only permitted to list the name of the dead soldier, not his age or rank. The Treaty of Versailles also denied Germany the use of white stone. Black slabs mark soldiers' graves (Figure 1). Both Vladslo and Langemarck also employ modestly sized figurative sculpture as commemoration in lieu of the architectural structures of the Commonwealth. At Langemarck, referred to

2 Of those buried in these cemeteries 126,168 are known and 90,000 are unknown. In 1954, the *Volksbund* and the Official German Burial Service eliminated the Hoogledede cemetery; the dead were divided among Langemarcke, Menin and Vladslo cemeteries.

as the "student cemetery," a bronze statue of four mourning men stands to the rear of the cemetery. At the Vladslo cemetery, the Kollwitz memorial stands today.

Because the concept of nationalism was so very important to a great number of Germans, an initial fervor of war instigated a large number of enlistments. The bourgeois as well as the proletariat lauded the heroic sacrifice to be made by the young men of Germany. However, by 1915 the anti-war movement had begun and the unified national spirit of 1914 disintegrated during the years of 1919-1924.

Ten years after war mobilization, President Friedrich Ebert declared August 3, 1924, a day of remembrance and commemoration in an attempt to incorporate the idea of mass death into a national mythology.[3] In defining the purpose it was stated that the ceremony was to "enhance national unity in the hope that the entire population, every section of which sacrificed in the World War, will take part in the service, without consideration of political or economic antagonism."[4]

The ten-year anniversary of war mobilization was also commemorated in various German cities by a series of anti-war newspaper articles, lithographic portfolios and photographic albums; a commemorative art exhibition was held in Leipzig. The art displayed in this exhibition contrasted drastically with the art of the political right, which offered concepts of heroism and honor in order to counteract the growing feelings of disillusionment and discontent felt among the German people.[5] As outlined by Eric Hobsbawm in *Nations and Nationalism*, a number of German historians rejected the idea that World War I was a result of German aggression. These historians posited Germany's role as that of helping Germans to strengthen the national identity forged by unification.[6] The commemorative art forms that emerged from this ideology evoked nineteenth-century German art and included references to the German Renaissance, in which the idea of heroism and sacrifice were nobly portrayed in a Christian context. Included in the Leipzig exhibition, on the other hand, was Kathe Kollwitz's *War* portfolio as well as Otto Dix's *War* series and works by Max Klinger, Conrad Felixmuller, George Grosz, and Ernst Barlach. Many of the contributors, like Dix and Grosz, submitted images of the war itself in which the horrific reality of trench warfare was graphically exposed. Kollwitz depicted the pain and sorrow of those on the home front, gathering knowledge from a collected as well as personal memory of the war years.[7]

Kollwitz's *War* portfolio was begun in 1920 and she spent the next three years reworking a series of seven prints: *The Sacrifice, The Volunteers, The Parents, Widow I, Widow II, The Mothers* and *The People*. This format of the graphic cycle had played an important role in German art since the late nineteenth century, and Kollwitz had utilized the format before in *A Weaver's Rebellion* (1897) and *A Peasant's War (*1907). The *War* portfolio must be viewed against this history along with the other portfolios produced during the war by Willy Jaeckel, Frans Masereel, Ludwig Meidner, and Max Pechstein, as well as those made after the war by Otto Dix and Willibald Krain.[8]

The *War* portfolio is both a study of the idea of sacrifice, and a personal method by which Kollwitz attempted to come to terms with her son Peter's participation in the war and the life that the surviving soldiers endured while at the Front. [9] It is evidence of Kollwitz's changing attitude towards the war. In the prepatory drawings for the first in the series, *The Sacrifice*, Kollwitz altered the figure of the woman from that of one weakened by grief to one strengthened by her rage.[10] In the final woodcut, the mother holds her child up as if an offering, but both have closed eyes, blind to the mother's decision and the child's fate.[11] In the second print, *The Volunteers*, a group of young men follow the figure of death banging a drum and leading them towards the war. In the initial drawings, the central figure had the facial features of Peter Kollwitz. As Kollwitz progressed in her studies of the scene, these reminiscences disappeared and the young man became a representative of the universal youth marching towards war.[12] The stages of her work on *The Volunteers* underscore her preoccupation with attempting to understand Peter's wish to volunteer and her own complicity in this and demonstrates a move from a personal to a universal reaction to the war.[13]

The Parents, the third print in the series, is a powerful woodcut, which Kollwitz later reworked into the granite memorial for the German military cemetery in Vladslo, Belgium. In the *War* series a couple clasps one another in grief over the loss of their child. The woman kneels into her husband, who grasps his wife with one hand and his head with the other.

Although prints four and five depict the same subject, images of widows, *Widow I* and *Widow II,* vary in execution. *Widow I* clasps an absent figure and *Widow II* presents the viewer with a dead mother and a dead child, which reflects the mother's "inability to resist or protect."[14] In contrast, *The*

3 Apel 4.

4 Apel 4.

5 Apel 6.

6 E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalities since 1790: Program, Myth and Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993) 140.

7 Hobsbawm 140.

8 Elizabeth Prelinger, *Kathe Kollwitz* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992) 56.

9 Prelinger 57.

10 Raymond Dobard, "Subject Matter in the Work of Kathe Kollwitz: An Investigation of Death Motifs in Relation to Traditional Iconographical Patterns," diss. John Hopkins University, 1975, 64.

11 Apel 34.

12 Dobard 66.

13 Dobard 67.

14 Apel 35.

Mothers, print six, presents a strong oppositional and resistant stance to the advent of war. Elizabeth Prelinger asserts in her recent scholarship on Kollwitz that much of Kollwitz's post-war work reflects her dilemma between sacrifice and protection.[15] The *War* portfolio is a clear account of this impasse. In her thesis, Prelinger futhers Raymond Dobson's early reading of the inherent Christian iconic references in much of Kollwitz's work.[16] The image of the Madonna of Mercy would have been a familiar one to Kollwitz and her peers. The Christian notion of the Madonna with voluminous skirts covering the weak and innocent is echoed in the Kollwitz print. Kollwitz's women also create a physical barrier between the other on the outside and the children on the inside. The fearful expressions of the mothers oppose the inquisitive face of the small child who peers from beneath the barriers of the mothers' arms. Kollwitz later transformed this print into a bronze sculpture (*Tower of Mothers*, 1937-38) in which the children appear fearful and the mothers assume an unyeilding posture. With a wide-legged stance and a flinging back of the arms in a strong gesture of defiance, these women counter the first print of the *War* series, *The Sacrifice.*

The last print of the series, *The People,* features a single mother with a wide-eyed child enveloped in her clothing and partially obscured by her large hand. Behind her is a crowd of fretful, angry, passionate people. The people express an unresolved agony in contradiction to the staid acceptance (or quiet defiance) of the mother. It was Kollwitz's continual struggle to reconcile her encouragement of Peter's enlistment, against the wishes of his father who thought he should resist until forced conscription, with her later guilt over this action. She tried throughout her life to find a balance between her own guilt and later anti-war stance with Peter's own wishes and patriotic desires.

Kollwitz submitted several of the prints from the *War Portfolio* to The Kunstlerhilfe *War* portfolio (1924), which offered a moral challenge to the militarist ideology and the nationalist mythology of heroism and honor. The hero and the cult of the fallen soldier became the centerpiece of the nationalists after the war and thus became a highly contested notion and a defining theme of the anti-war art. Grosz, Dix, Otto Nagel, Rudolf Schlicter, Heinrich Zille and Willibald Krain submitted prints for publication. Krain's images of the mother martyrs crucified for their passive, silent endurance of their sacrifice compliments Kollwitz's ideas on the complicated role of mothers during the war. The prints by Dix, Nagel, Schlicter and Krain contradict the romantic heroic notion of the soldier perpetuated by a nationalistic government with a soldier's lived experience in the war. The discrepancy in this collective memory between official national history of the hero and the individual and private lives of the returned soldier and his family is also evident in the work of Kollwitz through her process for the memorial in Belgium.

In the prepatory drawings for the *War* portfolio, it is clear that Kollwitz moves from the personal to the universal. However, in the image of the *Parents*, the basis for the memorial, this method is more complicated. The solitary image of the *Parents* began in December of 1914, one month after Kollwitz received the news of Peter's death. She wrote in her journal that:

> The monument would have Peter's form, lying stretched out, the father at the head, the mother at the feet. It would be to commemorate the sacrifice of all the young volunteers.[17]

These sketches and mock-ups recall the Christian idea of sacrifice as exemplified in the *Lamentation*.[18] Kollwitz had utilized this image prior in her etching *The Downtrodden* from 1900 and employed it in the *Memorial to Karl Liebkneckt* of 1919. (She also kept a print of Bellini's *Lamentation* in Peter's room).[19] Kollwitz wished for the memorial to be created through community donations and be placed on the heights of the Schildhorn, looking out over the Havel. This implies that Kollwitz was aware of the impact her own personal memory would have upon the collective memory of a community in which many households lost 18-year-old students. On the 9th of December she further discussed the notion of noble sacrifice:

> On your memorial I want to have your figure on top, above the parents. You will lie outstretched, holding out your hands in answer to the call for sacrifice: "Here I am."[20]

Kollwitz actively questioned the purpose of war and the very act of sacrifice that fueled it. On August 27, 1914 soon after Peter departed for the Front, she noted in her diary that a local paper, the *Tag*, printed an article on the joy of sacrifice and she questioned:

> Where do all the women who have watched so carefully over the lives of their beloved ones get the heroism to send them to face the cannon?[21]

Kollwitz initially accepted violence as a necessary means for Revolution, an ideology made visible in both her series *The Weavers' Rebellion* and *The Peasants' Revolt*. After the death of Peter, this violence is noticeably absent from her work.

Sometime between 1919 and 1924, a period in which there is little work on the memorial, Kollwtiz was able to let the

15 Kathe Kollwitz Museum, *Kathe Kollwitz: Schmerz und Schuld* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1995) 69.

16 See Dobard.

17 Kollwitz 63.

18 Diary entry December 3, 1914. Angel Moorjani, *The Aesthetics of Loss and Lessness* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992) 114.

19 Moorjani 113.

20 Kollwitz 63.

21 Kollwitz 62.

physical Peter go. That element of the mourning process is evident in the final versions of the memorial. Kollwitz detached the body of Peter, which was held by his parents in 1915. He became a body upon which they gazed down. In 1924, the body of Peter disappeared entirely.

It is clear from Kollwitz's sketches for the *War* portfolio, that she utilized the same image of *The Parents* for the finalized memorial. Her notebooks also included other sketches of parents in grief, physically connected in their grief as well as isolated. In reference to her diary entries, the notebooks reflect the trials that she and Karl underwent in the death of their son in their personal as well as shared grief process. In the published *War* portfolio, the parents clutch each other, support one another: they are unable to stand/survive alone. She separated them for the memorial. The figures retain the similar postures from the *Parents* of the *War* portfolio, but reflect a permanent isolation as they grieve, and it is through this space between them that those who grieve must also walk. Kollwitz removed the sacrificial body and left the inherently empty space.

Through her sketches for this portfolio, Kollwitz was able to find an acceptable image for the commemoration of her dead son as well as for the dead sons of Germany. The memorial, is perhaps, the final sheet in the portfolio itself. After the guardedness of *The People*, which is the final image of the portfolio, comes acceptance and, ultimately, individualized grief. In the summer of 1917 Kollwitz expressed in her diary the idea to place these memorial figures at cemetery where Peter is buried. She first proposed a bronze relief, but by November of the same year altered her idea to that of a sculpture in the round. By January 1924, her sketchbooks placed the figures at the entrance gate to the cemetery through which visitors must pass. In Kollwitz's words "blocklike figures, Egyptian in size," and simplicity and monumentality became the final concept for the memorial (Figures 2, 3 and 4).

Until the sketches of 1928, the parents had unspecific features. They were to reflect all mothers and all fathers in the mourning of a generation of dead German youth. However, in April of 1928, Kollwitz changed the face of the woman from that of her model to her own features and subsequently modeled the face of the father as that of Karl Kollwitz.

In 1931, Kollwitz spoke of the sculptures as for Peter, that she was bringing them to him and it is clear that she had returned to a personal identification with her images. In contrast, Germany began to accept the works on a national level and donated two blocks of Belgian granite for her to carve the figures. The cemetery at Vladslo agreed to construct the pedestal for the sculptures and to lay the foundation, and the German national railway provided free transportation for the memorial.

On July 23, 1932, Kollwitz and her husband traveled to Vladslo for the installation of the memorial. Kollwitz's memorial compliments the notion of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the artifice that symbolizes the body that represents all bodies. Her figures represent the universal parents, the parents that represent all parents. The parents kneel, asking forgiveness: forgiveness for the break of faith with their son in his nationalistic spirit and forgiveness for failing to provide protection against an ideology that cut his life short. In a sense, the memorial suggests a family reunion, a forecast of what Kollwitz's religious beliefs promised her: a reunion with her son after her own death.

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Figure 1. Roggevelde Cemetery, 1914-1932, Vladslo, Belgium. Photograph by Jay Pingree.

Figure 2. Kathe Kollwitz, *The Parents*, 1914-1932, height 151 centimeters. Roggevelde Cemetery, Vladslo, Belgium. Photograph by Jay Pingree.

Figure 3. Kathe Kollwitz, *The Parents,* 1914-1932, height 151 centimeters. Roggevelde Cemetery, Valdslo, Belgium. Photograph by Jay Pingree.

Figure 4. Kathe Kollwitz, *The Parents,* 1914-1932, height 151 centimeters. Roggevelde Cemetery, Vladslo, Belgium. Photograph by Jay Pingree.

The Coloring of Jazz: Race and Record Cover Design in American Jazz, 1950 to 1970

Carissa Kowalski Dougherty

The thread of race runs throughout the business, culture, and aesthetics of jazz. Just as jazz has been called a typically American music, it shares the typically American problem of racial tensions that accompany its more positive aspects of freedom and diversity. This is not to say that all interactions between black and white jazz figures were negative; if anything, jazz helped foster relationships between groups that might not have collaborated, otherwise. However, the fact remains that the time period in question—from 1950 to 1970—was a difficult and critical juncture for race relations in the United States.[1]

Although jazz-inspired artwork has been explored by several authors, the more commercial aspect of jazz visual art—album cover design—is a largely unexplored topic. This medium became an essential aspect of jazz culture with the invention of the LP in the early 1950s. For the next twenty-plus years—until the proliferation of cassette tapes and other alternative media—album covers provided a visual identity for both the music and the musician.

For the most part, race was not a subject for album cover illustration; abstract designs and neutral photography lent an air of racial ambiguity for much of the 1950s and '60s. In the late 1960s and '70s, however, the Civil Rights and Black Power movements stimulated changes in both the sound and image of jazz. Some record labels upheld the status quo; the message of the music did not always correspond to the covers, particularly when the tone of the music was one of black rebellion. But a few labels began to draw on black culture for their album cover designs, emphasizing African motifs, African-American hairstyles, and other symbols of black pride.

I will argue that this more visible "blackness" of jazz and jazz musicians probably had more to do with the increasing commodification of black culture than an increase in African-American participation in the field. Very few black graphic designers were involved with album cover design—even in musical genres that have been traditionally linked to black culture and roots. The motivation and means of expression for African-American artists and musicians developed parallel to each other, but came together infrequently in album cover design. Although black artists and musicians shared a common tension between the expression of their racial identity and the desire to be appreciated as skilled individuals, they rarely collaborated in the commercial art world. An album cover like the one for Jelly Roll Morton's *Back o' Town Blues* (Figure 1), which used a painting by African-American artist Jacob Lawrence, is the exception rather than the rule. This disparity can be accounted for in the power structure of the jazz industry as well as the relationship between black artists and the world of commercial art.

Jazz Album Covers as Art

Album covers, in the format we know them today, were an innovation in both the music and art worlds—they were a new form of packaging for a new form of media.[2] Prior to the introduction of the 78 rpm record, records were packaged alone in plain gray or tan paper sleeves or as "albums" of sleeves bound together in a rectangular package.[3] While some of the earlier records did incorporate visual elements into their packaging, as can be seen in examples of "tombstone" labels from the 1920s, it was not until the introduction of self-service record retailing that the attractiveness and appearance of the outer sleeves had any real impact. Around 1945, music stores shifted from having their products located behind the counter with their thin spines outward to an arrangement where customers were allowed to browse through racks of colorful record jackets.[4]

Album design was important for the marketing of jazz music because it typically lacked lyrics; one had to "read" the

I would like to thank Dr. Victor Margolin for his constructive comments on an earlier (and much longer) iteration of this paper. His interest in and enthusiasm for design history has encouraged me to examine subjects beyond the traditional art historical canon.

1 For a more comprehensive study of the relationship between jazz and American social life, please see Burton Peretti, *Jazz in American Culture* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1997) and Geoffrey Ward, *Jazz: A History of America's Music* (New York: Alfred E. Knopf, 2000). These volumes, particularly the former, address issues of race and social change in the context of the development of jazz as a musical genre.

2 Robert G. O'Meally, "Jazz Albums as Art: Some Reflections," *International Review of African-American Art,* 14, no. 3 (1997): 39.

3 Coleman Andrews, "Pioneers," in *Graphis Record Covers: The Evolution of Graphics Reflected in Record Packaging,* ed. W. Herdeg (New York: Hastings House, 1974).

4 O'Meally 40. Another important factor in the boom in record production was the end of wartime rationing of shellac and vinyl—both materials necessary for the manufacture of records. Additional changes in recording technology, including the introduction of "long play" discs in 1949 that allowed studios to record 18 to 25 minutes of music per side, further stimulated the growth of the jazz recording industry.

cover in order to gain some insight about the mood, tone, and style of the music inside. Record covers as commercial art, though, had few distinct precedents. They may be likened to product packaging design in their need for catching the consumer's eye and conveying a sense of their contents, but record covers were conceived as more durable and useful than a throw-away cereal box. Book covers had a similar form, but were displayed spines out, mandating different graphic priorities.[5] Album covers' unique function and status as a new medium made this time period a significant era in the development of album covers as an art form.

Images of jazz were not altogether unfamiliar to the jazz-consuming public. By the time the familiar 12-inch-square album packaging made its debut in the 1950s, a jazz aesthetic had already begun its development in the hearts and minds of Americans. Posters and concert bills were the first form of jazz graphics. In Europe, the "exotic" aspects of jazz were played up in racially insensitive images like those found in Paul Colin's posters for Josephine Baker in Paris during the 1920s.[6] Musicians' so-called "black" features were emphasized in an attempt to lure white patrons into the nightclubs offering this somewhat subversive art form. In the United States, jazz imagery began in the same vein but changed over time; in fact, by the 1950s, the musicians' race was often downplayed in order to appeal to a wider audience.[7]

The overall trend in jazz record cover aesthetics paralleled stylistic development in the fields of fine art and graphic design. Modern, abstract styles were especially well-suited to illustrate the spontaneity, call-and-response rhythms, and dynamic energy of jazz—avant garde sounds were paired with avant garde imagery.[8] Many covers during this period explicitly reference movements like cubism, surrealism, abstract expressionism, and pop art. The work of Jackson Pollock and Roy Lichtenstein, among others, was frequently recalled in jazz album covers of the 1950s and '60s. With the rising popularity of rock and roll music, more jazz album covers began copying the psychedelic art and re-invention of art nouveau graphics found in rock posters during the 1960s. Album covers like the one for *Lightnin' Joe Hopkins* from 1973–74, designed by Pushpin Studio founder Milton Glaser, might easily have blended in with covers from The Who or The Family Band.

While a few key personalities emerged in the field—including Alex Steinweiss, David Stone Martin, and Reid Miles—the majority of record cover designers were doomed to obscurity.[9] Many album covers are not attributed, fewer still are recognized as works of art in their own right. By one researcher's estimate, over half of the album covers produced between 1948 and 1960 will never be attributed.[10] The industry was not prepared for the new design opportunity presented to them by the introduction of LP jackets; the artists were often making it up as they went along, drawing from experiences in other commercial art pursuits, and rarely specializing in the field.[11]

It is unclear how much interaction took place between the musicians and the artists who designed their album covers. Even the "masters" of jazz album design did not consistently consult with the musicians whose work they were visually representing.[12] Although there are a few key instances of jazz musicians commissioning their own covers (Thelonius Monk, for example), and creating their own covers (like Gil Mellé), for the most part there existed a gulf between the two most creative endeavors of jazz record production.[13] The management of the record label and the art director (if one existed) determined how musicians were presented to the public on the covers of their albums.

Race and Record Cover Design

The impact of African-American instrumental artistry in jazz is rarely questioned, but the influence of black visual artists—graphic designers, art directors, and photographers—is a murky and largely undocumented topic. During the postwar period, African-American artists and musicians were confronting the same issues in their respective fields: how to retain their identity as black Americans while being recognized as skilled artists regardless of race; how to convey their own personal experiences; how to overcome discrimination; how to succeed in their field, and how to express pride in their Afri-

5 Andrews 24.

6 Ward 156.

7 Roger Dean and David Howells, *The Ultimate Album Cover Album* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1987) 15.

8 Dean and Howells 16.

9 Eric Kohler, *In the Groove: Vintage Record Graphics, 1940–1960* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1999) and Jennifer McKnight-Trontz and Alex Steinweiss, *For the Record: The Life and Work of Alex Steinweiss* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2000) provide quite good condensed histories of some of the pioneers of album cover design. Several other books, including Dean and Howells' *Ultimate Album Cover Album*, volumes 1 and 2; Manek Daver's *Jazz Album Covers: The Rare and the Beautiful* (Tokyo: Graphic-Sha, 1994) and *Jazz Graphics* (Tokyo: Graphic-Sha: 1991); Graham Marsh and Glyn Callingham's *California Cool: West Coast Jazz of the 50s and 60s* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1992), *New York Hot: East Coast Jazz of the 50s and 60s* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1993), *Blue Note: The Album Cover Art* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1991), and *Blue Note 2* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1997); and Strom Thorgeson and Roger Dean's *Album Cover Album* (Surrey, UK: Dragon's World, 1977), provide varied and comprehensive collections of album cover art from this period, but add little in the way of scholarship (art historical, musical, or otherwise). These collections do, however, give the researcher the opportunity to view the work of several designers in a wider context.

10 Daver *Jazz Album Covers* 12.

11 Richard Cook, *Biography of Blue Note Records* (London: Secker & Warburg) 49.

12 Dean and Howells.

13 O'Meally.

can heritage—all without the aid of words.[14] These two groups also mingled in the same clubs, read the same books, and listened to the same music.[15] The actual connection between the two worlds, however, seems tenuous, at best: "Given the long and close association between jazz musicians and African American artists, the paucity of the visual artists' work on the album covers of jazz LP records is remarkable."[16]

Although jazz has been heralded as a distinctly African-American musical form, the art used on jazz album covers does not necessarily take on a distinctly African-American aesthetic. But what is an *African-American aesthetic*? This terminology is reductive, to say the least. Richard Powell suggests that while there is perhaps no boundary that defines African-American art, there may be what he calls a "Blues Aesthetic." To put it quite simply, he says, "Some Afro-Americans are interested in Afro-American culture, and some Afro-Americans are not."[17] In fact, practitioners of the Blues Aesthetic need not be black—they need only have an abiding interest in African-American culture and an affinity for the blues (or in this case, jazz). Working within a Blues Aesthetic allows artists to communicate the realities of being a minority in American culture and to resist cultural commodification—as well as characterization as either "black" or "white."

It is interesting to note, then, how few jazz album covers use original artwork that conveys any sense of the jazz community, even when the artist is black. Considering many African-American artists' interest in social realism and folk art forms in the 1940s and beyond, the lack of cover art presented in these genres is rather surprising. One explanation comes from Jon Panish, who postulates that African Americans and whites view jazz in different ways.[18] According to Panish, whites tend to decontextualize the musician and place him in an heroic position as an innovator and an individual, one man against the odds. Blacks, he argues, pay more attention to contexts and connections among community members, audience members, and family members.[19] Therefore, art inspired by jazz might not prominently feature a musician on a stage, but rather the feel of the music or the artist's recollection of a neighborhood street—a perfect example of the Blues Aesthetic.

Because the predominantly white art directors and record executives made the final decisions in album cover design, cover art depicted their own conception of jazz and jazz musicians. While a Blues Aesthetic does not necessarily preclude the participation of whites, most likely the individuals in the upper management of the major record labels tended toward Panish's "white" perspective of jazz musicians as creative individuals rather than members of a vibrant community. These disparate views of jazz may help explain the predominance of "brooding-musician" photographs on jazz album covers. Photographic covers in muted, neutral tones showing musicians looking away from the camera in serious contemplation were quite common for the Blue Note label—particularly in the work of photographer Francis Wolff.[20] The same images, even something as "objective" as a photograph, may tell different stories to black and white viewers.

Another factor that contributed to the absence of African-American album cover designers is the lack of a tradition in corporate design among the black artist community. According to Floyd Coleman, African-American art students were usually more focused on expressing themselves in the fine arts media.[21] The black absence in the academy and museums was felt strongly; many artists were concerned with filling this void with images of African-American life and representations of alternative artistic traditions. As a result, many of the creations of African-American artists—whether commercially oriented or not—were consumed within the black community or labeled as "outsider art." A combination of minimal outside opportunities, outright discrimination, and a tendency toward self-isolation meant that few African-American artists were recognized as excellent artists in their own right.[22]

According to Richard Powell, African-American artists found a kind of relief and freedom in the world of abstract art.[23] In the abstract expressionist mode especially, painters were able to express their moods, frustrations, and individuality—beyond racial boundaries. The connection between abstract expressionism and jazz was made among bohemian artists and writers who frequented the same Harlem cafés and went to the same Greenwich Village parties. In fact, Jackson Pollock was said to have listened to Charlie Parker and "Dizzy" Gillespie as he created his action paintings.[24] Record compa-

14 Sharon F. Patton, *African-American Art* (New York: Oxford UP, 1998) 183–185.

15 Jon Panish, *The Color of Jazz: Race and Representation in Postwar American Culture* (Jackson, MI: UP of Mississippi, 1997).

16 O'Meally 40.

17 Richard J. Powell, "The Blues Aesthetic: Black Culture and Modernism," in *The Blues Aesthetic: Black Culture and Modernism*, ed. R. J. Powell (Washington, DC: Washington Projects for the Arts, 1989) 21.

18 Panish xix.

19 Panish 80–81.

20 The photography of Francis Wolff, as used on jazz album covers, is covered comprehensively in Marsh and Callingham's *Blue Note* and *Blue Note 2*. A brief description of his career can also be found in Richard Cook, *The Biography of Blue Note Records* (London: Secker & Warburg, 2001).

21 Floyd Coleman, "Black Colleges and the Development of an African-American Visual Arts Tradition," *International Review of African-American Art*, 11.3 (1996): 31–38.

22 Sylvia Harris, "What is It? Searching for a Black Aesthetic in American Graphic Design," *International Review of African-American Art*, 11.3 (1996): 38–42.

23 Patton, *African-American Art*; Richard J. Powell, *Black Art: A Cultural History*, 2nd ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002).

24 O'Meally 41.

nies also linked the movements and often used abstract art to illustrate album covers, drawing from diverse modernist traditions to illustrate the new forms of bebop and progressive jazz. At least one musician agreed with this assessment. Ornette Coleman, a jazz saxophonist, was also a painter whose work sometimes appeared on his own album covers (Figure 2). His work is characterized by splashes of bright color and broad brush strokes that mirror his exuberant playing style.

Some artists, however, believed that abstraction was one form of "selling out" and becoming part of the mainstream art world without acknowledging their heritage as African Americans. As a result, several of these artists turned to figural painting or various forms of protest art, calling more attention to issues of race and ethnicity than their abstract counterparts. Because of their position outside the economic and political power structure of the highly segregated recording industry, work from such artists was rarely developed as commercial art.

As noted earlier, jazz album cover designers were rarely acknowledged for their work, and many outstanding designs in the field are still attributed to "unknown" artists. It is not surprising, then, to find few African-American designers recognized for their work in the field. If African-American designers were involved in album cover design, chances are it would be difficult to distinguish their work from that of white designers. Georg Olden, a graphic designer for CBS during the 1950s, tried to downplay his identity as a black man in order to succeed in a cutthroat corporate environment.[25] In the racially-charged atmosphere of the 1960s especially, the difficulties of overcoming prejudice in the business world outweighed artists' concerns of being recognized as pioneers in their communities. According to Sylvia Harris, "Most of these intrepid souls were so concerned with surviving within a hostile profession that their work expresses little that is uniquely African-American."[26]

A few African-American artists did create names for themselves in the field of album cover design, including the painter/illustrator known as Richard "Prophet" Jennings. Two of his covers, dating from 1960, reference the art of Salvador Dali: Eric Dolphy's *Out There* (Figure 3) and *Outward Bound*. The dreamlike qualities, visual distortions, and strange juxtapositions of Jennings' landscapes reflect Dolphy's particular brand of free jazz. Surrealism may also have appealed to Jennings for other reasons; Richard Powell notes that several African-American artists, including Gertrude Abercrombie and Hughie Lee-Smith, were drawn into a quasi-surrealist style because it allowed them to express their alienation from society.[27]

Charles Stewart is a West Coast success story; his photographs appear on dozens of jazz album covers, several of which have earned him critical acclaim.[28] Stewart's cover for Lee Morgan's *Expoobident* is compelling in its use of African-American slang ("expoobident" meaning "extraordinary or phenomenal") as well as the fact that the musician, photographer, and record company were all African-American (Figure 4). Many of his photographs also include elements of irreverence and humor. For example, *The Dynamic Duo* features two men linking arms and "chowing down" on messy sandwiches.

Beginning in the late 1950s, some jazz musicians embraced the Civil Rights movement wholeheartedly and adapted their music to reflect their goals of racial equality and freedom. The "hard bop" style developed by musicians like Charles Mingus and Max Roach had a connection to the rise of militant African-American identity and an increasing call for separation from the white norm—both socially and musically.[29] Occasionally we can see this attitude reflected in the album cover illustrations. For example, the cover of Max Roach's *Freedom Now Suite* pushes the then-controversial issue of integration to the forefront with a photo of a lunch-counter sit-in. The bold constructivist style of typography reasserts the rebellion and urgency of the album's title, *We Insist!* and makes the cover appear almost as a newspaper front page, screaming the message of equality.[30]

Thelonious Monk's *Underground* cover tends toward the chaotic, politically charged iconography found in the rock album covers like the Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (Figure 5). This image is also significant in its positioning of Monk, an African-American man, as a revolutionary freedom-fighter. Although ostensibly the enemies depicted in the photo are the Nazis in Vichy France, one might imagine that the scenario could also represent the ongoing African-American resistance movement and fight for civil rights.

The musician's political beliefs, however, did not always make it onto their album covers. One 1959 album by Charles Mingus, *Mingus Ah Um*, contains the song "Fables of Faubus" that refers to and criticizes the segregationist governor of Arkansas (Figure 6).[31] The purely abstract cover, while perhaps conveying a sense of Mingus's powerful and somewhat chaotic style of playing, does not reflect his musical message of rebellion against the racist policies of the South. It is unclear whether disregarding the strong political statement of the

25 Lasky, "The Search for Georg Olden," *Print*, March/April (1994): 21-28, 126-129.

26 Harris 40.

27 Powell, "Blues Aesthetic;" Powell, *Black Art.*

28 O'Meally, "Jazz Albums as Art," 44.

29 Charlie Gerard, *Jazz in Black and White: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Jazz Community* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998), 130–135.

30 While it is difficult and perhaps irrelevant to examine any racial correspondences to type, a brief study of jazz album covers from the period in question does reveal a few differences by region and specific style of jazz. The use of typography on jazz album covers would be an interesting topic for another essay, particularly examining the way type is used as a design element to reinforce the content and composition of the graphics and images.

31 Gerard.

musician was a conscious decision by the record label; however, this example demonstrates again the gap between the music and the marketing of jazz.

A renewed interest in African themes was also visible in jazz record album covers during this period. For example, a 1963 cover by Woody Woodward for Curtis May's *Katanga!* bears a photograph of an African mask that corresponds to the album title's reference to a province in the Republic of Congo (Figure 7). Other more abstract images invoke the modernist proclivity for "primitive" and African figures, as seen in the 1962 cover for *Herbie Mann at the Village Gate*.

In 1970, paintings by Abdul Mati Klarwein provided Miles Davis with two highly symbolic and somewhat controversial album covers that used African imagery in fantastic settings. These albums mark the beginning of Davis's foray into jazz fusion and his willingness to both compete with and emulate the strategies of commercial rock albums.[32] The complex symbolism of these covers, like the cover for Santana's *Abraxis* (also illustrated by Klarwein), is more typical of rock-and-roll album covers. Their use of African motifs, however, make them worth noting as a new way of presenting jazz graphics. Interestingly enough, Klarwein is white—born in Germany and raised in Palestine. He was, however, exposed to a variety of world cultures throughout his life, and later converted to Islam, where he may have found an affinity with some of the ideas of the Black Power movement.[33]

Both covers use black and white figures that are inverted, opposed, and/or balanced on the back cover of the album. On the *Live/Evil* cover, a pregnant African-American woman wearing an African headdress is kissed by the swooping waters of the sea, while on the reverse what appears to be a gluttonous white frog wearing a ammunition belt and sporting a blond bouffant squats menacingly over a gaping orifice (Figure 8). The former likely represents the "live" portion of the title, with its reference to the life-giving powers of women and the renewing cycles of the sun and moon. The latter might symbolize the "evil" of European society, the warlike and greedy nature of those who carefully guard the material world. *Bitches' Brew* is similarly rife with potential interpretations of the oppositions presented on the back and front of the album. Black and white faces stare out from the spine of the album, and flow into a pair of intertwined hands. Inverting the colors, the sweat on the black face becomes what looks like splattered blood on the white face. The figures on both sides are depicted in tribal African costume.

Elements as basic as a hairstyle can also signify black pride. Covers like Forlenza Venosa Associates' *Total Eclipse* are important visual reminders of the cultural differences between blacks and whites (Figure 9). The incorporation of the "Afro" in album cover design more than likely started with the Vince Cullers agency in the 1960s. This black-run advertising agency, working for Kent cigarettes, developed a campaign to appeal to black consumers with images of hip, young African-Americans—many of them sporting Afros. While this commodification of black culture was not new to jazz—having been long predated by the "Race Records" phenomenon of the 1920s—it does mark a shift in approach whereby cultural differences become an asset rather than a weakness.[34]

Toward the end of the 1960s, more album covers featured images of African-American females—on male recording artists' products. These images were sometimes overtly sexual, other times more innocuous. During this time the image of the strong black woman—a "soul sister"—was also prevalent among representation of African-Americans on jazz album covers (Figure 10). In this cover from 1968, the central figure is a woman with an Afro, wearing ethnically inspired jewelry. Although this woman is meant as an object of desire, her posture indicates pride and independence. This trend might be seen in a negative or a positive light; on one hand, the presence of African-American figures reduces the previous tendency toward invisibility, but on the other hand, images like these strengthen the propensity toward objectification of the female body. Another round of research would be needed to further illuminate the role of gender and representation as it relates to the hypermasculine jazz culture.

Conclusion

Race and jazz are inextricably linked in American history and potently visible in the images displayed on jazz records. Because jazz album cover design was and still is an obscure profession, it remains unclear to what extent African-American designers were involved in the field. The evidence from analyses of jazz culture, the recording industry, and graphic design in general, however, indicates that any substantial participation is unlikely.

Today, jazz recordings make up less than ten percent of industry sales, but other genres, including rap, hip-hop, and reggae, have become highly successful venues for the proliferation of minority and urban culture. Changes in recording technology have also led to an increase in small, independent record labels specializing in little-known musicians and styles. This shift in focus, from the large corporate label to "indie" production, has the potential to allow individual musicians a greater opportunity to express themselves. However, the commodification of African-American culture is still rampant as advertisers and corporations appropriate imagery and exploit it to sell products. The use of "gangsta" clothing, music, and slang in advertisements and music videos, for example,

32 Ward 445–446.

33 "Zeitdokumente, Seite 2," www.matiklarwein.com, downloaded June 12, 2003.

34 Cultural commodification in relationship to jazz worked in the reverse as well; early white jazz bands were often purposefully represented with racially ambiguous images to appeal to the consumers—both white and black—many of whom felt that only black musicians had a feel for the rhythms of jazz music.

appeals to a certain segment of whites (and blacks) who want to experience something of the glamour and danger of a far-removed lifestyle.

The nature of album sales has also changed in the last two decades. Customers no longer browse racks of albums but frequently buy their music online, basing their decisions not on the covers of the CDs, but the song clips they download onto their computers. While some authors have heralded the CD as an "irremediable set back" in the realm of music graphic design, the change in format may not be a completely negative phenomenon.[35] These new media, while not offering as large or as visible a format as the old LPs, do offer opportunities for interactive design and computer animation as a part of the listening experience. Technology has changed such that anyone with a computer and a printer can produce a CD; the democratization of the digital age might indeed be a blessing to groups of people who haven't traditionally had access. Whether in jazz, punk, or rockabilly, the real emphasis should be on grassroots participation and the importance of control over the means of representation of one's self, one's culture, and one's identity.

University of Illinois at Chicago

35 Daver, *Jazz Album Covers*; Daver, *Jazz Graphics*.

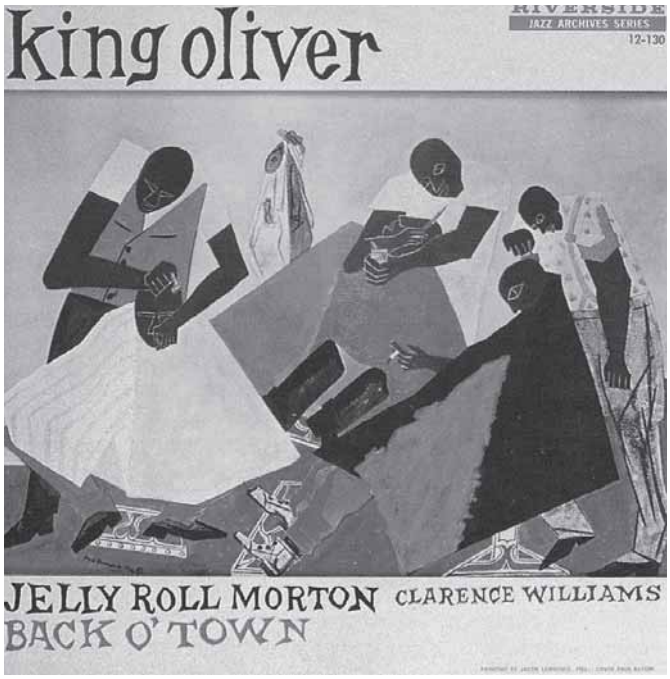

Figure 1. *Back o' Town* album cover, 1946, designer unknown, reproducing *The Barbershop* by Jacob Lawrence, Riverside/Fantasy Records (RLP 12-130). Cover courtesy of Concord Music, Inc.

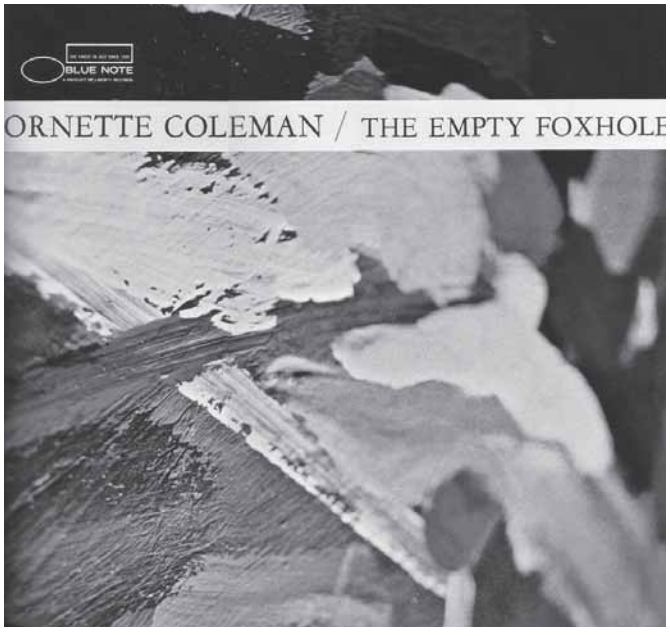

Figure 2. *The Empty Foxhole* album cover, 1966, Bob Fuentes, designer, Ornette Coleman, painter; Blue Note Records (BLP 4246). Cover courtesy of Blue Note Records.

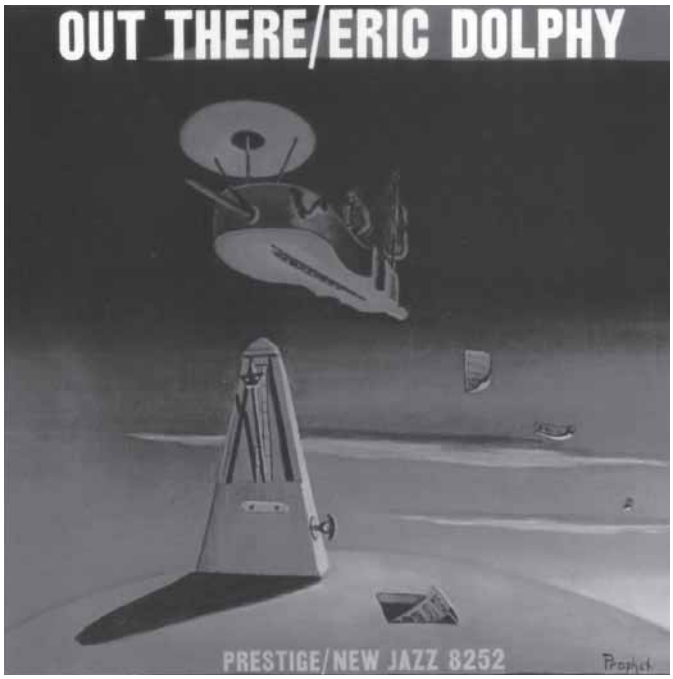

Figure 3. *Out There* album cover, 1960, Richard "Prophet" Jennings, designer; Prestige/New Jazz (NJLP 8252). Cover courtesy of Concord Music, Inc.

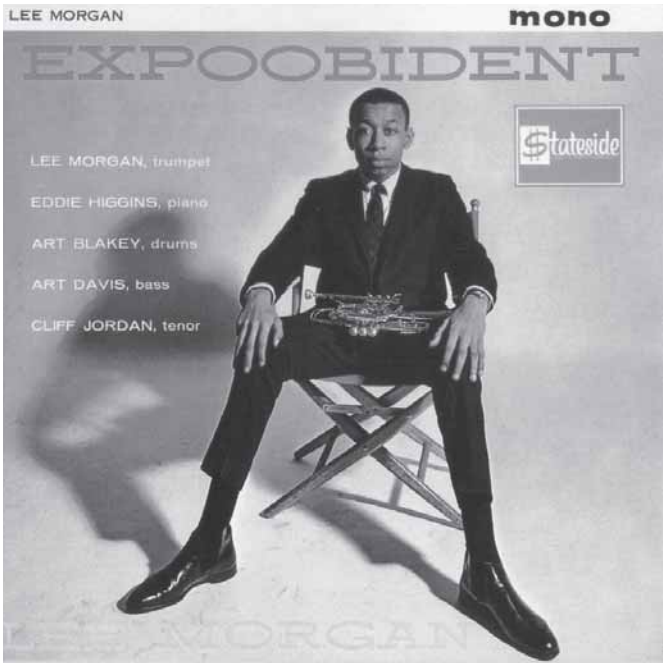

Figure 4. *Expoobident* album cover, 1961, Charles Stewart, photographer; Vee Jay Records (VJS 3015). Cover courtesy of Vee-Jay Ltd. Partnership.

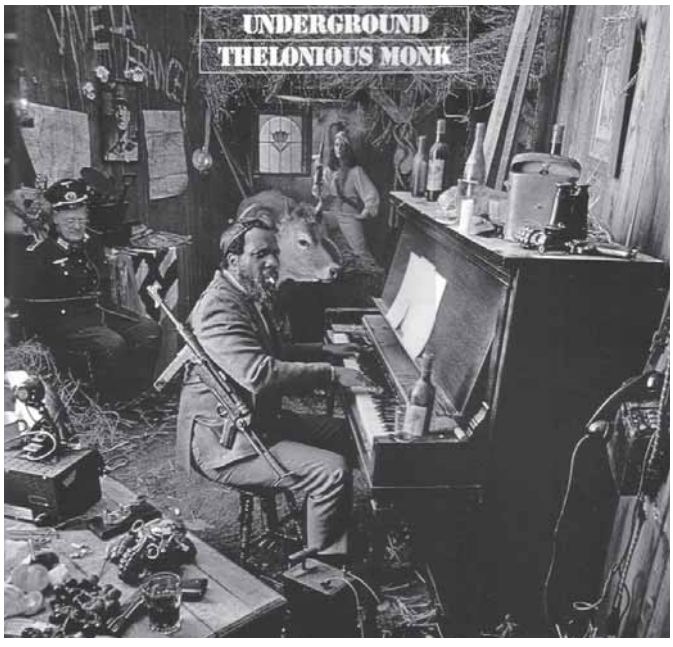

Figure 5. *Underground* album cover, 1968, John Berg/Dick Mantel, designers, Horn/Griner, photographer; Columbia Records (CS 9632). Cover courtesy of Columbia Records.

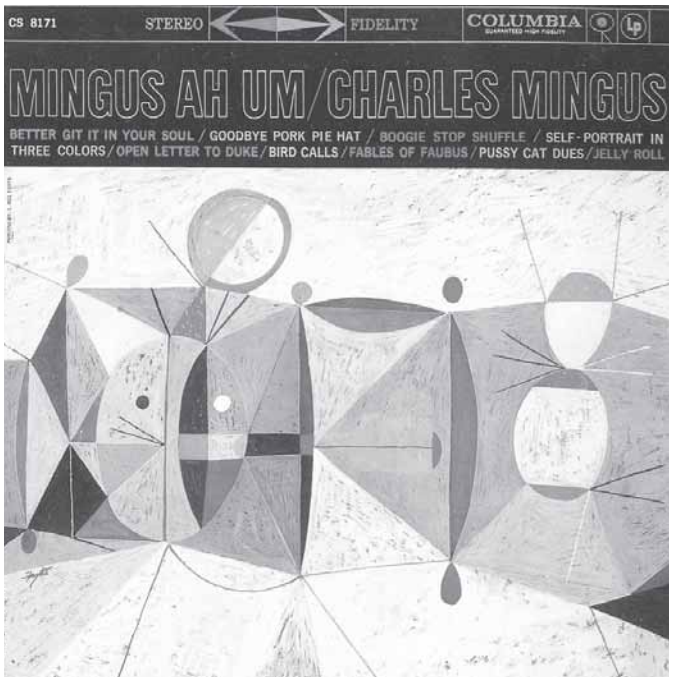

Figure 6. *Mingus Ah Um* album cover, 1959, Don Schlitten, designer; Columbia Records (CS 8171). Cover courtesy of Columbia Records.

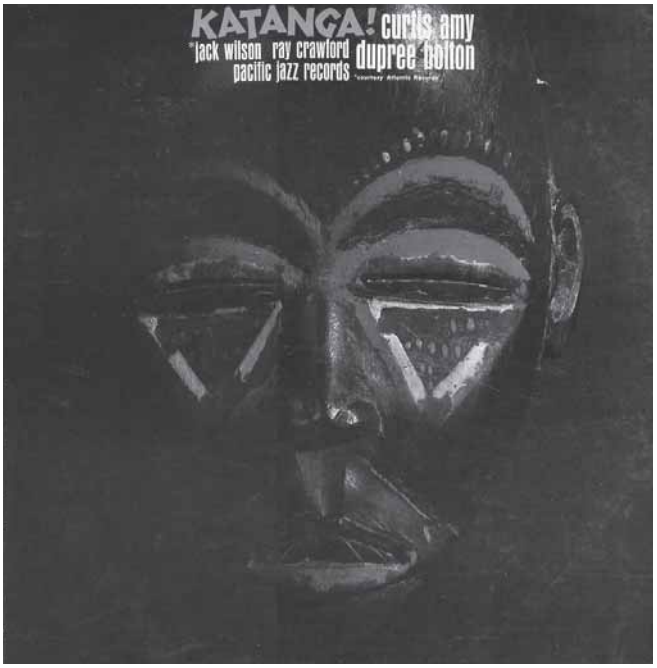

Figure 7. *Katanga!* album cover, 1963, Woody Woodward, designer/photographer; Pacific Jazz. Cover courtesy of Blue Note Records.

Figure 8. *Live/Evil* album cover, 1970, John Berg, designer, Abdul Mati Klarwein, illustrator: Columbia Records (PG 30954). Cover courtesy of Columbia Records.

Figure 9. *Total Eclipse* album cover, 1967, Forlenza Venosa Associates, designer, Fred Seligo, photographer; Blue Note Records (BST 84291). Cover courtesy of Blue Note Records.

Figure 10. *Love Call* album cover, 1968, Havona, designer, Francis Wolff, photographer; Blue Note Records (CDP 7843562). Cover courtesy of Blue Note Record.

Satire in subREAL and the Prevalent Monolithic Western View in the *Beyond Belief* and *After the Wall* Exhibitions

Izabel Anca Galliera

Before 1989, metaphors like "The Berlin Wall" and "The Iron Curtain" were used to embody the notion of border between the Communist utopian state and the Western capitalist world. During the nineteen-nineties, the old metaphors were replaced by another set of differential words. Adjectives like "backward" and "primitive" when applied to the Balkans, suggested a region riddled with nationalist and ethnic conflicts that stood in contrast to the progressive and sophisticated West.[1] Within the North American and Western European scene, representing and understanding the cultures of the former Socialist nations proved to be problematic mainly because intellectuals and critics continued to emphasize difference and had little interest in generating a true dialogue between equals.

Throughout the nineties, the focus of several eminent scholars of post-totalitarian scholarship[2] was the persistence of Post-Cold War polar oppositions between identities of Western and Eastern European cultures. For instance, Slavoy Zizek[3], Maria Todorova[4] and Larry Wolff[5] were concerned with the continuous presence of a Western 'Balkanist' discourse, which projected a savage and backward image of Eastern European peoples. In addition to these academic studies, articles published in popular art magazines[6] and narratives of return[7] also evoked binary contrasts between the "normality" of the West and the "traumatized" Post-Communist Eastern Europe.

In the visual arts, Western ideas about art from Eastern Europe have been shaped primarily by two major exhibitions: *Beyond Belief: Contemporary Art from East Central Europe* (organized at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago in 1995) and *After the Wall: Art and Culture in Post-Communist Europe* (organized at the Moderna Musee, Stockholm Sweden in 1999). Rooted within the North American cultural representations of the concept of Eastern Europe as a uniform cultural region, both of these exhibitions treated art primarily as a reflection of political and social events, as if the artists and their work would have had no significance without the designation of their national origin.

Focusing on two major works created during the nineteen-nineties by the Romanian collective subREAL, composed of Calin Dan (b. 1955) and Josif Kiraly (b. 1954), the thesis presented here is an alternative to the literal-minded and politically-biased view typified in the two exhibitions. The argument is that subREAL does not merely transmit information

This paper developed from my Master's thesis titled *Negotiating Artistic Identity Through Satire: subREAL, 1989-1999*. I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Bradley Nickels, for his valuable instructions, patience and encouragement during the developing of this paper as well as Dr. Elisabeth Fraser, Wally Wilson, my thesis committee and the art history faculty at the University of South Florida for all their help. I would like to thank my husband Joe for all his great support. I would also like to thank The Department of Art History at Florida State University for inviting me to present my paper at the 23rd Annual Graduate Student Symposium.

1 North America and Western Europe.

2 An emerging interdisciplinary field of scholarship focuses on the encounters between the newly discovered Eastern Europe and the West, especially North America, after 1989. See Andaluna Codruta Borcila, "New Voices Conference at the University of Wyoming - Encounters with Post-Communist Sites: Trajectories of Inquiry (Notes of a Resident Alien)," *American Studies* 44 (2003): 188.

3 Zizek specifically addresses the role of the Balkanist fantasy in Western perception of the events in former Yugoslavia, "as a place where nothing is forgotten and nothing is ever learned, where the old traumas are replayed again and again." See Slavoy Zizek, *The Metastases of Enjoyment: Six Essays on Woman and Causality* (London: Verso, 1994) 212.

4 Todorova sets forth the differences between Balkanism and the Orientalism of Edward Said. She successfully argues that Balkanism is not a subspecies or a variation of Said's Orientalism. Todorova cites concrete examples to support her claim: the geographical concreteness of the Balkans; a lack of exotic and sexually feminine images typical of the Orient (harem, etc.); and the "image of a bridge or crossroads" rather than a distant place in time and space (as the Orient is perceived). While Orientalism, according to Todorova, "is a discourse about an imputed opposition, Balkanism is about an imputed ambiguity." See her introduction "Balkanism and Orientalism: Are They Different Categories" in Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford UP, 1997) 3-21.

5 Wolff shows the eighteenth-century origin and the persistence of the Western view of representing Eastern Europe as a "no man's land," a place both uncivilized and backward. Wolff argues that the invention of Eastern Europe as a geographically and culturally remote and barbaric location during the Enlightenment was necessary for the creation of the West as the civilized and "refined land." See his introduction to Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: the Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1994) 2-16.

6 Examples include: "After the Revolution: Art in Eastern Europe," *ArtNews* 89, no. 5 (1990): 175-75 and "Eastern Europe: Euphoria Eclipsed," *ArtNews* (1991): 90-101.

7 The literary genre of the journal of return helped maintain the American interest in the newly discovered cultures of the formerly Communist countries. The genre was developed once young émigrés returned to their places of origin after living most of their lives in the United States as American citizens. Examples include: Andrei Codrescu, *The Hole in the Flag, A Romanian Exile's Story of Return and Revolution* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1991) and Eva Hoffman, *Exit Into History, A Journey through the New Eastern Europe* (New York: Penguin Books, 1993).

and facts from remote lands, but rather explores satire as a way to engage the world around them. An important satirical tactic employed by the artists is to juxtapose elements from 'East' and 'West.' Furthermore, operating within a specific satirical tradition, subREAL negotiated a path between their artistic identity and the Western perception of that identity.

For a better understanding of subREAL's works it is appropriate to discuss first the exhibiting structure and curatorial approach followed in the two exhibitions. *Beyond Belief: Contemporary Art from East Central Europe* represents the first and last major exhibition of Eastern and Central European art in the United States.[8] The exhibition was guest curated by the American Laura Hoptman. Basing observations on the exhibition catalogue, the traveling show focused on local cultural themes and the works were selected so that they would represent most appropriately their country of provenience. It featured thirteen artists from six countries: Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. subREAL and two other artists, Dan Perjovschi and Ioana Batrinu represented Romania.[9]

Despite being grouped on a country-by-country basis, the artists were seen as belonging to a compact mass, referred to as a "region" and under one paradigm, artistically. Suggestive in this sense is the title of the exhibition *Beyond Belief*, which refers to the regions' Post-Communist "disbelief in the viability of doctrine, ideological structures and belief systems after the establishment and subsequent dismantling of Communism." Furthermore, as observed in the language used in the essays published in the catalogue, all six countries were referred to as a region that is "to the West mysterious and rarely characterized." This region "has been for many decades a blank screen onto which anything can be projected. The exhibition *Beyond Belief* begins to fill that screen."[10]

Another major exhibition of arts from Eastern Europe is *After the Wall: Art and Culture in Post-Communist Europe* which despite a different exhibiting structure, was in its overall curatorial approach very much similar to *Beyond Belief*. *After the Wall* was first staged in 1999 at Stockholm's Moderna Museet, and organized by independent curator Serbian-born Bojana Pejic.[11] The exhibition was comprised of one hundred forty-four artists from twenty-two former Communist European countries. In contrast to *Beyond Belief*, *After the Wall* was grouped around four major themes: social sculpture, reinventing the past, questioning subjectivity and issues of gender, and each topic interpreted and related to the Communist past.[12] Furthermore, the exhibition's title *After the Wall, Art and Culture from Post-Communist Europe*, grouped all the different cultures under a unified geopolitical umbrella seen as one region and presented as a bloc. Additionally, the majority of essays in the exhibition catalogue provided limited discussions of the art *per se* and only explored cultural and political issues characteristic of the entire Eastern European region.

Thus, the overall curatorial approach in both exhibitions can be seen as misleading, grouping individual nations under one monolithic political umbrella, Post-Communist Eastern Europe, by viewing the exhibited art as passive reflections of political and social events. As the independent curator, writer and associate professor at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, Rachel Weiss pointed out in regards to *Beyond Belief*, all the represented countries were considered to be "beyond belief" systems due to the collapse of the Soviet bloc, which had kept them unified under one ideology. However, this notion, or rather assumption (i.e. all these countries were one and the same) is too great a generalization. Even under the Communist rule, differences among nations were visible due to their diverse histories.[13] These differences were even more pronounced by the end of the nineties when the geopolitical borders of the early and mid-nineties had vanished and a redefinition of the region had taken place, largely due to the European Union's expansion eastward.[14]

One way to challenge the dominant views exemplified by the two exhibitions is to explore satire in subREAL's works. Satire has not been fully acknowledged (or perhaps not at all).

8 The exhibition opened in September 1995 at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago. It then traveled to Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio, the Institute of Contemporary Art, Philadelphia, and Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska, before closing in the spring of 1997. Judith Stein, "Out of the East," *Art in America* (April 1998): 50-5.

9 Margaret Welsh, ed., *Beyond Belief: Contemporary Art from East Central Europe* exh.cat. (Chicago: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1995).

10 Quoted in the Foreword by Kevin Consey to Margaret Welsh, ed., *Beyond Belief: Contemporary Art from East Central Europe* exh.cat. (Chicago: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1995) vi.

11 Pejic worked in cooperation with David Elliot, director, and Iris Westermann, curator, at the Moderna Museet. David Elliot points out that Pejic was chosen so that she would be able to provide an unbiased representation of the Eastern European nations, especially due to her experience living both "in" and "outside" Eastern Europe. See Introduction by David Elliott to Bojana Pejic and David Elliott, ed., *After the Wall: Art and Culture in Post-Communist Europe* exh. cat. (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1999) 11.

12 For example, the theme of art as a "social sculpture" is referred strictly to an Eastern and Central European context and is related to issues such as economics, poverty, religion, nationalism and alienation. History, or the theme of reinventing the past, is evidently understood in the context of both the Pre- and Post-Cold War periods when "the opening of Secret Police and other archives all across the region has been a hot subject." The third theme, related to personal and artistic subjectivity, as well as the fourth theme, related to gender issues in art, are both understood in relationship with the artists' Communist past. The artists and their art are seen as a mirroring the local political situation. Elliott Introduction 11.

13 Despite more than forty years of shared Communist rule, these countries' internal realities are more dissimilar than similar. Throughout history, each of these nations has seen and gone through diverse political structures. Some were part of powerful empires benefiting from the centralized ruling structure while other nations suffered extensively beneath it. See Rachel Weiss, "The March of Paradigm," *New Art Examiner* 23 (1995): 22-5.

14 For example, in March 1999 Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic were integrated into the European Union, which meant a certain level of social, political and economic development more in line with Western European countries, while on the other end of the spectrum, countries such as Romania and Bulgaria continued to struggle to dissolve the remnants of a

This deliberate mode of expression is revealed by analyzing two of the artists' installations.[15] The first, *News from Dracula* (Figure 1), was created in 1995 and was part of ten separate installations in a series called *Draculand* begun in 1993. In these works the artists explored satire as social critique and juxtaposed the iconography of two different worlds, exploring and mocking the Western stereotypical perception of Romania's national identity as the dark land of the "legendary Dracula."[16] Dracula functioned as a two-fold signifier. On one hand the installations drew on the local Romanian context of the mid-nineties using the "Dracula" iconography to signify the political and cultural stagnation and the continuous influence of Communist remnants. At the same time the connotation of Dracula was understood within the larger context of the Western cultural representation of the Balkans and Eastern Europe. Zizek, Tororova and Wolff point out that the Balkanist fantasy is invoked by the West when representing Eastern Europe and that the Dracula symbol is integral to the fantasy. Thus, Dracula became a signifier of the idea of Eastern Europe, in particular Romania seen as a mythical, far-away place.

SubREAL's installations are better understood when approached in correlation to the Romanian socio-political context of the early to mid-nineteen nineties. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 6, 1989, countries like Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovenia went through major restructuring, eliminating old Communist structures as fast as possible. Romania, on the other hand, followed a much slower transitional process (from a totalitarian regime towards democracy) in which the society continued to function along Communist lines and structures. Up until 1996, key economic positions were still occupied by former Communist party members and as a result the economy suffered tremendously.[17] The number-one goal of the Post-Communist elite was to stop the implementation of a free market economy, and having succeeded in maintaining an electoral base, they were able to transfer private property to their political clientele. Within the arts, during the early nineteen-nineties, there were artists who preferred to follow traditional and conservative tendencies, such as the religious neo-orthodox or neo-Byzantine art trend, seen as a stylistic regression employing an outdated religious iconography.[18] On the other hand, many other artists, opened to Western influences, were commenting on the latest political developments including disguised Communism, the heroes of December 1989, and other contemporary issues. By making use of new technologies and attempting synchronization with international artistic trends, these artists went against the conservative attitude of the New Orthodoxy.[19] SubREAL's works were part of the anti-conservative movement.

SubREAL's *News from Dracula* was a video installation with the TV monitor placed within a gymnast's pommel horse (alluding to the Romanian Olympic champion Nadia Comaneci, a stereotypical Western symbol of the country) and covered with a woolen bed cover. The Romanian word for pommel horse is "capra" and is a verbal pun in Romanian referring to both the gymnastic device and a particular domesticated animal (sheep). The pommel horse was surrounded, as if in a protective shield, with a hundred wooden stakes (two hundred centimeters high) in wooden stands, mounted aggressively forward, at an angle of forty-five degrees. The monitor showed a thirty minute color videotape with sound. The video was looped with three minute clips of sounds and images of dioramas from the National Museum of Military History in Bucharest. The four dioramas on the museum walls featured crucial historical battles: two against the Ottoman Empire, one episode from WWI and one from WWII. The frozen full-

strong network of Communist structures. See Review Article by Charles King, "Post-Postcommunism: Transition, Comparison, and the End of 'Eastern Europe,'" *World Politics* 53 (2000): 151-152.

15 In the global framework of humor, satire is a complex manifestation and accomplishes many things: relieves embarrassment, signals aggression, displays courage in adversity, serves as a coping mechanism, functions as an instrument of social influence, and lastly redesigns categories and concepts of serious discourse. See Paul Simpson, *On the Discourse of Satire: Towards a Stylistic Model of Satirical Humor* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2003) 2.

16 Historically Prince Dracula (1431-1476) was a typical Renaissance despot possessing cruel and morbid impulses. His infamous tortures and atrocities were directed against the Saxon communities living within Transylvania. These Saxons communities, besides being the main producers of weaponry in the region, were also tightly connected with the German printing house in Nuremberg and thus had a monopoly over the circulation of printed material. As a form of attack and revenge against the cruel actions geared towards them by Prince Dracula, these Saxon Transylvanian communities composed and circulated frightening and evil stories about the prince, which over time gained him the fantastical reputation of being a vampire. The modern Dracula emerged from Bram Stoker's novel, and films by Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau and others. See subREAL, *subREAL's Files* (Berlin: Künstlerhaus Bethanien, 1996) 39-40.

17 "It's hard to believe," as the Romanian political analyst Alina Mungiu-Pippidi expresses, "that overnight the communist party successors disappeared completely only by changing their names. This is especially hard to believe when we remember that 31% (4 million people) of all Romanian adult citizens were party members, three times the number in Poland and Hungary. This raises a significant question mark regarding the issue of communist heritage. It is most improbable that these former communist party members left their positions in the universities, academies or in any other institution." Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, *Politica dupa Communism* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2002) 34. [Author's translation.]

18 The exhibition *Focalia* organized in 1990 in Bucharest and curated by Alexandra Titu and Sorin Dumitrescu, initiated a retrospective of the New Orthodox religious tendency. See Ileana Pintilie, "Romania—Exhibition Practice in the '90s," in Irina Cios, ed., *Experiment in Romanian art since the 1960's* (Bucharest: Soros Center for Contemporary Art, 1997) 114. The art included in this type of exhibition was heavily inspired by religious orthodox iconography.

19 Exhibitions that illustrate artists promoting Western tendencies include: *The State with No Title* (Timisoara, 1991), *The Earth* (Timisoara, 1992), *The Eastern Europe Zone* (Timisoara, 1993) all curated by Ileana Pintilie. In addition there is a series of exhibitions organized by Calin Dan: *Mozart's Sex* (Bucharest, 1991), *Ex Oriente Lux* (Bucharest, 1993), *01010101…Exhibition* (Bucharest, 1994). See Magda Cirneci, "The 80s in Romanian Art," in Cios, 62.

sized figures, properly dressed and heroically posed, were made dynamic using sophisticated lighting techniques and sound tracks which combined memorable songs, speeches, and poems recited by famous actors. Through the aesthetics of historical documentaries, subREAL brought forth images of Romania's recent, atrocity-riddled Communist past. Yet the recent past became distant and remote by its association with historical events from Romanian national history, such as the two battles against the Ottoman Empire fought more than three hundred years ago. The representation of the recent past in association with remote historical events was the artists' mode of distancing themselves by placing their memories of the Ceausescu dictatorship within the historical context. These historical images were spliced with images of current TV news, reflecting the constant and rapid changes within the Romanian context under Western influence.[20]

In *News from Dracula*, exhibited in the *Beyond Belief* exhibition, the artists had in mind the Western audience. Significant is the fact that their works had English titles; they were not translations from Romanian. As an art medium, they employed the visual language of the video-installation, popular on the international art scene during the mid-nineties. At the same time, the artists preserved the specificity of their national identity by appropriating universally recognized Dracula imagery and mocking the stereotype of their national identity.

SubREAL's year long residency from 1995-1996, at Kunstlerhaus Bethanien, Berlin, Germany initiated a new phase in their work: the *Art History Archive* series.[21] It was based on five hundred and twenty-six and a half kilograms of photographic material (black-and-white photos and slides) from the photo archive of the Romanian art journal *Arta*, the only art publication (1953-1989) that appeared during the Communist regime in Romania.[22] How did subREAL satirically engage the photo archive, a significant repository of the Communist past? The variety of installations and performances that composed the series revealed a multi-layered understanding and engagement of the artists with the archival material.

In *Serving Art*, 1999 (Figure 2), exhibited in the *After the Wall* exhibition, subREAL chose to reproduce two thousand black-and-white negatives showing only the lateral, insignificant details. Examples of this marginal activity were the assistants who, while helping with the process of photographing the art works by holding dark backdrops, were also captured in the photograph even though they were not meant to be seen. These negatives were meant to provide reproductive material for printing (in the *Arta* magazine) and relied completely on the final cropping in order to eliminate insignificant, peripheral data in order to concentrate on the art reproduction. What saved those images from being just flat reproductions of uninteresting art works was precisely the fact that they all framed the subject in a wrong manner:

> By this process, art becomes just a centered element, dominated by an aura of events, objects, and people all speaking about the flux of history perceived as a flux of data. What subREAL does is to print these forgotten negatives, but they are printing only the messy details.[23]

The photographs were visually powerful because of their large size, number and mode of presentation, recalling large billboards ads that one might find along highways or in subways. By reproducing only the peripheral aspects of the negatives, subREAL removed these workers from their original context (seen only as anonymous helpers in a Communist regime) and placed them in a new context that allowed them visibility and personal characteristics. Each individual was visually reproduced in one single billboard panel. subREAL's reproduction of the anonymous workers was a satirical behind-the-scene look at how the Communist regime used "workers" to create propaganda images in *Arta* magazine.

Similarly to *News from Dracula*, in *Serving Art*, subREAL juxtaposed the iconography of two worlds which became the satirized target seen almost as the two sides of the same coin. In the first instance, the target was the Socialist ideology mocked by subREAL by focusing on the insignificant workers and thus giving them individuality. In the second instance, the Western world became the satirical target as the huge billboards created a uniform mass of images. In this representation, the figures lost their individuality in the multitude of panels and once again merged into a uniform mass, a capitalist uniformity recalling the impersonal uniformity of the communist regime.

The curatorial approach of *After the Wall* followed an exhibition structure based on four themes, with subREAL's work fitting under the history theme, specifically linked to the Communist past. Bringing forth an archive of fifty years of history was appealing for the Western audience in that it gave the illusion of insight into a world that has been kept locked within itself for almost half a century. The artists were fully aware of the Western expectation for a political art mirroring Communist and Post-Communist conditions, an awareness that was

20 *subREAL's Files* 87.

21 The residency was founded by Philip Morris Foundation. See *subREAL's Files.*

22 The state controlled art magazine was published by the Visual Artist Union (in Romanian *Uniunea Artistilor Plastici, UAP*), according to a well known Soviet pattern of institutionalized culture imported in all the countries of the Eastern bloc during the early nineteen-fifties. The *Arta* publication featured pompous propaganda art, heroic statues of heavy industry workers or posters stating "Victorie Socialismului" (Socialist Victory). Heavily surveyed by the authorities, the artists had to succumb to the party officials' demands. The members of subREAL briefly worked for the magazine with Calin Dan as editor and Iosif Kiraly as photographer. The magazine collapsed after the political shifts in 1989, and the archive, accumulated since 1953, remained a "floating depository" of photographs. *subREAL's Files* 87.

23 subREAL, "Serving Art," *subREAL, http://www.plueschow.de/fellows/subreal/ frame_serving_03.html*. 14 Oct 2004.

not fully acknowledged by the curators. However, subREAL did not passively deliver works for a Western audience, but rather entered a complex process of negotiation between their own identity and Western demand. For example, in *Serving Art*, the artists reproduced the Communist archive by focusing only on the side details, as if satirically alluding to their own conditions as artists. SubREAL, just like the anonymous workers, were ironically elevated from anonymity and individualized in the billboard-like panels. Satire was vital in their works because it allowed the negotiation to happen.

Satire was employed by the artists as a way to cross rigid stereotypical categorizations and national boundaries. Furthermore, subREAL took for granted Western expectations and delivered works loaded with visual iconography easily recognized and understood by American and Western European audiences, a superior example being *News from Dracula*, especially since the Dracula legend has been immortalized in the West in Bram Stoker's novel and many film versions.

SubREAL's awareness of a specific Western demand, and their subsequent negotiation, was not specific only to Romanian or Post-Communist Eastern European artists: on the contrary, it included artists from peripheral communities in general. For example, Latin American, African American and Middle or Far Eastern artists, for reasons of artistic visibility and economic survival, were determined to question and find common ground between their own identity as artists and the specific Western demand for an "exotic" or political art. In speaking of Black or non-European artists and the Western desire for an exotic "other," Jean Fisher said:

> The exoticized artist is marketed not as a thinking subject and individual innovator in his or her own right, but as a bearer of prescribed and homogenized cultural signs and meanings. To be locked into the frame of ethnicity is also to be locked out of a rigorous philosophical and historical debate that risks crippling the work's intellectual development and excluding it from the global circuit of ideas where it rightfully belongs.[24]

Similarly, the *Beyond Belief* and *After the Wall* exhibitions presented the artists and their art as "bearers of prescribed and homogenized cultural signs." By means of their satire, subREAL's challenge to future exhibition curators is to abandon clichéd notions of Post-Cold War Eastern Europe and to focus more on initiating comparative studies as well as to address specific artistic themes and techniques shared by artists of varied nationalities and geopolitical locations.

University of South Florida

[24] Jean Fisher, "The Syncretic Turn, Cross-Cultural Practices in the Age of Multiculturalism," in Zoya Kocur and Simon Leung, ed., *Theory in Contemporary Art since 1985* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005) 235.

Figure 1. SubREAL, *News from Dracula*, 1995, installation view with gymnastic horse, wood stands and stakes, TV monitor, deck, VHS video loop. © *Beyond Belief: Contemporary Art from East Central Europe*, (Chicago: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1995).

Figure 2. SubREAL, *Serving Art*, 1998, installation with black and white photographs, © Akademie Schloss Solitude, Stuttgart. Photographer: Franziska Heyder.

Puppetry of the Penis: A Deconstruction of the Phallus as Weapon

Claire L. Kovacs

Puppetry of the Penis: the Ancient Art of Genital Origami (Figure 1) was conceived in 1996 by Simon Morley, of Melbourne, Australia, as the title of an art calendar that showcased twelve of Morley's penis "installations." Years before, Morley's youngest brother had demonstrated a contortion ("the hamburger") and as a result of natural sibling rivalry, this evolved into a repertoire of similar tricks. Word soon spread regarding Morley's unique talent, and he decided that live performance would be the best outlet for his form of art. The natural choice for his stage partner was fellow Melbourne resident, David "Friendy" Friend, who had also created quite a following with genital acrobatics of his own devising. In Friend's coy explanation, he began his career in the bath and developed his skills further when he discovered beer in college. The two men joined forces to script a blend of body-based comedy exuberantly revealed in *Puppetry of the Penis*.

Morley and Friend, dressed only in sneakers and outrageous capes, made their debut in 1998 at the Melbourne International Comedy Festival. The debut was a huge hit which then kicked off an eight-month tour of Australia, the trials of which are recorded in their documentary *Tackle Happy*. In 2000, they performed at the Edinburgh International Fringe Festival where they delighted and shocked audiences in another sell-out run. After their initial rush of popularity, they had a five-month run in London's West End, toured Canada, the United States, Spain, and Iceland, spawned five supporting companies and to date have grossed over fifty million dollars.

Psychologists might well ask why such a risqué subject is so popular. How have these "dick tricks" performed in bathtubs, locker rooms and fits of drunken debauchery turned into an international sensation? Simon Morley begins the nightly routine with the quip, "Ladies, this is probably your first opportunity where you can have a good fifty-minute stare at a penis—in a non-erect fashion, of course, have a good belly laugh at it and not hurt anybody's feelings."[1] And the ladies are laughing—the men as well. *Puppetry* Producer David Foster realized the potential in the outrageous performance when the woman sitting next to him was literally overcome with laughter.

This paper developed out of a course taught by Dr. John Ciofalo at Case Western Reserve University. I would also like to wholeheartedly thank Dr. Edward Olszewski for support, encouragement, and guidance on this and other scholarly endeavors.

[1] Simon Morley and David Friend, *Puppetry of the Penis: the Ancient Art of Genital Origami, Live at the Forum* (Video: WIN Media, 2003).

Poking fun at the phallus is exactly what this show is all about: the phallus is something that is normally reserved for very few uses—urination, masturbation, and procreation. Visual images of a phallic nature often allude to power, dominance and violence. The *Puppetry* show challenges preconceived notions of the penis and its function as an object of sexuality and symbol of power. In his review in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, theatre critic Joe Adcock states,

> the strictures of genteel decorum are violated. And so are the dogmas of smut. According to puritan dirty-mindedness, the naked body in general and exposed genitals in particular have to be one thing and one thing only—and that thing is sexual. Neither decorum nor dirty mindedness apply to *The Puppetry of the Penis*.[2]

The intermingling of body-function and humor did not find its beginnings in the performances of Morley and Friend; modern performers have been combining these two concepts for some time. One sees examples of this in the comedic sketches of the Burlesque theaters of the nineteenth century and in the acts of such performers as Joseph Pujol, "Le Pétomane" and his shows at the Moulin Rouge in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Blessed or cursed, depending on point of view, Pujol possessed an innate ability to intake of large amounts of air or liquid into his anus. At first horrified, he soon began to exploit the performance potential in a routine that consisted of a series of impressions of occupational farts (e.g. those of a bricklayer or nun) followed by impressions of everyday sounds (calico being torn, the sound of a cannon, thunder). He would then briefly leave stage and return with rubber hosing emerging from his body like a tail. With the aid of this tube he would smoke a cigarette and play a flute. To conclude the performance, he would remove the tube and blow out the footlights. His entire act was performed in full clothing, but he also gave special performances, to men only, in which he wore a pair of boxers with a hole cut in the seat.[3]

[2] Joe Adcock, "Puppetry of the Penis Draws the Gals," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* 9 August 2003.

[3] For more information on Le Petomane see Jean Nohain and François Caradec, *Le Petomane 1857-1945* (Sherbourne Press, 1968) and Ricky Jay *Learned Pigs and Fireproof Women* (New York: Villard Books, 1986). In a related example, Honeysuckle Divine made her career by means of her

A contemporary example of the amalgamation of sexuality and humor can be seen in Annie Sprinkle's 1991 performance *Bosom Ballet* (Figure 2). In this performance, Sprinkle "stretches, pinches, squeezes, twists, rocks, rolls, and jiggles" her breasts to music, usually the "Blue Danube Waltz," under a pink spotlight, while dressed in opera-length black gloves and a tutu.[4] Sprinkle, like Morey and Friend, infuses her act with humor which creates distance between the traditional inherent sexuality of women's breasts and her own breasts as props that she manipulates during her performance.

In ancient Greece, the practice of infibulation, or tying up the foreskin of the penis, is mentioned in late lexiconographic sources in definitions of *kynodesmai* ("dog leashes"). A reference in Phyrnichos (85; A 13) indicates that *kynodesmai* are "the things with which the Athenians tied up their private parts when they stripped, because they called the penis a dog." The practice of infibulation involved stretching the foreskin over the head of the penis and tying it using string or in some cases rolling the penis and securing it; such practices were invoked during athletic activities. The use of *kynodesmai* seems then to have been a personal choice and may have had a sexual or performance-related component.

Athenian Old Comedy costume props included the phallus as one signifier of a character's status as a buffoon; it was an element of vulgar humor. Certain comic characters would wear a prosthetic phallus (Figure 3),[5] which created a situation in which the body part became a focal point for humor, the philosophy which Morley and Friend adopted for *Puppetry of the Penis*. While the contexts have changed, the process by which *Puppetry* exploits the penis for the sake of humor remains constant.

Modern audiences are drawn to the practitioners of such body art, as exemplified in the work of Morley and Friend. Perhaps the attraction lies in challenging the social norms. The anus, penis and vagina have very specific functions relegated to the strictly private sphere. When inhibitions are brought out of the closet and into the social realm through the agency of humor, audiences seem to respond positively.

In his essay in *Sex and Humor: Selections from the Kinsey Institute*, John Bancroft discusses a neurological study that through imaging has linked humorous stimuli and sexual arousal to the same areas of the brain. Both humor and sexual arousal were used as positive controls for a "rewarding experience" in the study, and in both cases, some of the same areas of the brain were activated.[6] While it is obvious that both humor and sex create positive responses in a person's mood, what is of interest is the connection between sex and humor.

Bancroft tries to formulate the connections from the scientific perspective as a medical doctor and the director of the Kinsey Institute; he utilizes the observations of Gershon Legman, who, in *Rationale of the Dirty Joke: an Analysis of Sexual Humor*, set out to define the symbiotic relationship between sex and humor. Legman outlined two basic tenets of sexual humor as the "disparagement theory" and the "anxiety-reduction theory." The disparagement theory enumerated genres of sexual humor, particularly those in which the punch line of a joke revolves around the sexual performance or competence of a certain group of individuals (races, sexual orientations, genders, etc.). Legman's "anxiety-reduction" theory proceeds from the premise that "many, if not most of us are scared by or uncomfortable about sex and use humor as a way of reducing those anxious feelings."[7]

Bancroft, in his observations of sex and humor, refers to the "absurdity of human genitalia" and the phallus in particular when he writes: "set against all our sophisticated criteria of male beauty and beautiful male power, the male genitalia are in ridiculous contrast."[8] Bancroft thus addresses the dichotomy of meaning with regard to the mythic attributes of the phallus as opposed to reaction to its actual appearance. While the phallus has always been the consummate symbol for male power and sexual potency—from religious iconography (the lingam of Shiva) to fetish or talisman—its depiction is often the brunt of many jokes.

Turning to the question of how *Puppetry of the Penis* deconstructs the phallus as symbolic of sexual weaponry, one may note that the addition of humor totally alters the viewer's perception of the sex object. The performance of Morley and Friend addresses women in the audience by encouraging a good "belly laugh" at the expense of the male body and the penis in particular. The male component of the audience is

genitalia. Starring in a number of pornographic films as well as live shows, Miss Divine performed the feats of blowing out candles, shooting lotion, playing the trumpet, and shooting ping-pong balls from her vagina.

4 Sprinkle has also performed many variations on the *Bosom Ballet*, including a *Bosom Tap Dance*, in which she glued taps all over her breasts and fingertips, the *Bosom Ballet Folklorico*, performed to Peruvian music, the *Bosom Polka*, and the *Bosom Samba*, performed with a live samba band in a football stadium during half-time. See Annie Sprinkle, *Post-Porn Modernist: My 25 Years as a Multi-Media Whore* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1998) 102-103.

5 A passage from Aristophanes' *Clouds* (537ff) speaks of the refusal to lower the tone of the comedy by introducing actors wearing the phallus. T.B.L. Webster argues that Aristophanes is claiming that his actors appear with their phalli tied up. The hanging phallus, as illustrated in Figure 5, was the symbol of a sexually dissipated life. Both positions are illustrated on an oenochoe in Saint Petersburg, Russia (*PV* Ph 6). See C.W. Dearden, *The Stage of Aristophanes* (London: The Athlone Press, 1976) 111-113. T.B.L. Webster, "The Costume of the Actors in Aristophanic Comedy," *The Classical Quarterly, New Series* 5 (1955): 94-95 and W. Beare. "The Costume of the Actors in Aristophanic Comedy," *The Classical Quarterly, New Series* 4 (1954): 64-75.

6 For more information on the study see J. Redouté, S. Stoleru, M.-C. Grégorire, et al. "Brain Processing of Visual Sexual Stimuli in Human Males," *Human Brain Mapping* 11/3 (Nov. 2000): 162-77.

7 Summarized from John Bancroft, "Sex and Humor: a Personal View," *Sex and Humor: Selections from the Kinsey Institute* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2002) 9.

8 Bancroft 10.

targeted for a laugh at themselves and their own anatomical explorations. Both Legman's theory of anxiety-reduction and Bancroft's ideas on the absurdity of the phallus can be usefully deployed in understanding the phenomenon of *Puppetry*'s success. Legman's theories on the anxiety-provoking potential of sexual manifestations stem from the understanding of the phallus as a power object within society and as the epitome of masculinity. In ancient Rome, young boys were given *bulla*, or a locket which contained a small phallus; called a *fascinum*, the amulet was a symbol of the impending step into manhood and stood for the virility that would soon mark these boys as men. Also in Rome, a man with a Priapic,[9] or large, penis was thought to possess extraordinary strength, and there are some accounts of soldiers' promotions being based upon their perceived attributes. The possession of a large phallus was a sign of supposed virility and strength; Roman soldiers might carry phallic amulets or possess armor or weapons with phallic designs. The phallic nature of weapons—from swords, to guns, to nuclear missiles—is an intrinsic iconography aligned with concepts of masculinity. War historian Robin Morgan has argued that men receive "an orgasmic thrill in violent domination…maleness itself becomes the weapon of destruction."[10]

Thus, the associations between masculinity, virility, and strength have been linked to the phallus in many cultures. Even in our closest relatives, the primates, there are similar codes of masculinity revealed through dominance hierarchies; for example, male stump-tailed macaques use symbolic forms of sodomy to establish dominance.[11] In our species this link between masculinity and the phallus has its basis in the hormone testosterone. The visual metaphor for testosterone is once again the phallus, and it is this hormone that is often linked, at least on some level, with traits that can be considered male: violence, dominance and aggression. David Friedman, in *A Mind of its Own: a Cultural History of the Penis*, states, "We cannot say testosterone creates violence in men. What we can say, though, and without any fear of contradiction, is that testosterone creates the organ that many men refer to as their manhood…."[12]

In modern military societies, aggression is considered an extremely valuable commodity, and recruits are taught that they need to display aggressive behavior consistently. Lack of aggression is correlated with femininity, inadequacy, and ultimately, death.[13] Traits of masculinity are inevitably linked with military prowess and the masculine ideal: if it is identified as a representation of any single subset of the masculine population, the phallus summarizes military aggressiveness. Military historian, Joshua Goldstein observes, "Men's participation in combat depends on feminizing the enemy and enacting rape, at times both literally and symbolically, thereby using gender to symbolize domination."[14] The effeminization of the adversary is a commonality of war—throughout the ages and throughout the continents. In examples of ancient warfare, an entire population might be effeminized by the execution of the male inhabitants, the raping of the women and the subsequent enslavement of the women and children and such was the fate of the Melians in Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War. As recently as 1995, the carnage that was visited upon the people of Srebenica in Bosnia when Serb forces conquered the town stands as a barbarous reminder of earlier practices.

Another act of war against the virility and masculinity of a conquered enemy is the castration of victims: symbolically, the degradation of the victims combines with the victor's desire to assume the virility of their enemies and the same may be true of the taking of trophies which may either transfer the power of the victim to the victor or be part of a conqueror's rituals to appease gods of war. Ancient Egyptian friezes depict large piles of penises as part of the pharaoh's plunder,[15] chiefdoms in the Inca empire displayed the dismembered penises on the roads as a warning to enemies,[16] and the Amalekites cut off the circumcised penises of the Israelites and threw them into the air to Yahweh, crying, "This is what you like, so take what you have chosen!"[17] During the Viet Nam conflict, President Johnson boasted, "I didn't just screw Ho Chi Minh. I cut off his pecker!"[18] and the news media have recently published disturbing photographs from the Abu Gharaib scandal. The Kinsey Report underscores the lesson: "During warfare in probably every part of the world, such mutilation has been considered the supreme subjugation which the conqueror could bestow upon the conquered."[19]

Examples cited above describe the phallus as a weapon at the extremes of violence, but such concepts can also be applied to the gendered roles of sex and sexual violence. In tra-

9 Priapus, a Roman god of animal and vegetable fertility, while small in stature, possessed an extremely large penis. It was traditionally depicted, in proportion to his height, as half the size of his body.

10 Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001) 350.

11 Goldstein 359.

12 David M. Friedman, *A Mind of its Own: a Cultural History of the Penis* (New York: Free Press, 2001) 248.

13 John Hockey, "No More Heroes: Masculinity in the Military" in Paul R. Higate, ed. *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003) 17.

14 Goldstein 356.

15 Alfred C. Kinsey, et al, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1998) 739.

16 Goldstein 358.

17 Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995) 18.

18 Goldstein 358.

19 Kinsey 739.

ditional sexual relationships the male takes the dominant role and the phallus may be regarded symbolically, if benignly. In other contexts, the role of the phallus as a weapon also transfers to the idea of the aggressor in sexually violent acts.

Morley and Friend's genital manipulations undercut any sexual or power connotations. Theirs is a game-like approach and many critics have likened their antics to those of children. If Morley and Friend's shenanigans take on a type of ribald naiveté, then in so doing, they have desexualized the phallus and deconstructed its symbolic role as a weapon. The phallus in the context of *The Puppetry of the Penis* has lost its erotic, and therefore symbolic, undertones becoming instead a source of amusement.

Morley and Friend encourage audience members to replicate their tricks in the privacy of their own homes, the comfort of their bathtubs or in the company of good friends. At one point in the performance, they lead the audience in an introductory course in the art of penis installation (Figures 4-5).[20] They take the mystery out of an aggressive symbol, the emergence of which is normally reserved for the bedroom or for propagandistic allusions to power. The *Puppetry* stage show allows both men and women to share in a liberating comic and non-intimidating experience. Bancroft's theory of the absurdity of the phallus underlies *Puppetry* as viewers and puppeteers set aside any hostile or even sexual impact of the situation. Morley and Friend remove all connotations of the aggressive symbol of the phallus from the anatomy of the male penis, deconstructing the object and separating it from its traditional symbolic meaning.

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[20] Morley and Friend have also published a book entitled *Puppetry of the Penis* which teaches readers how to replicate twenty-six of the "installations."

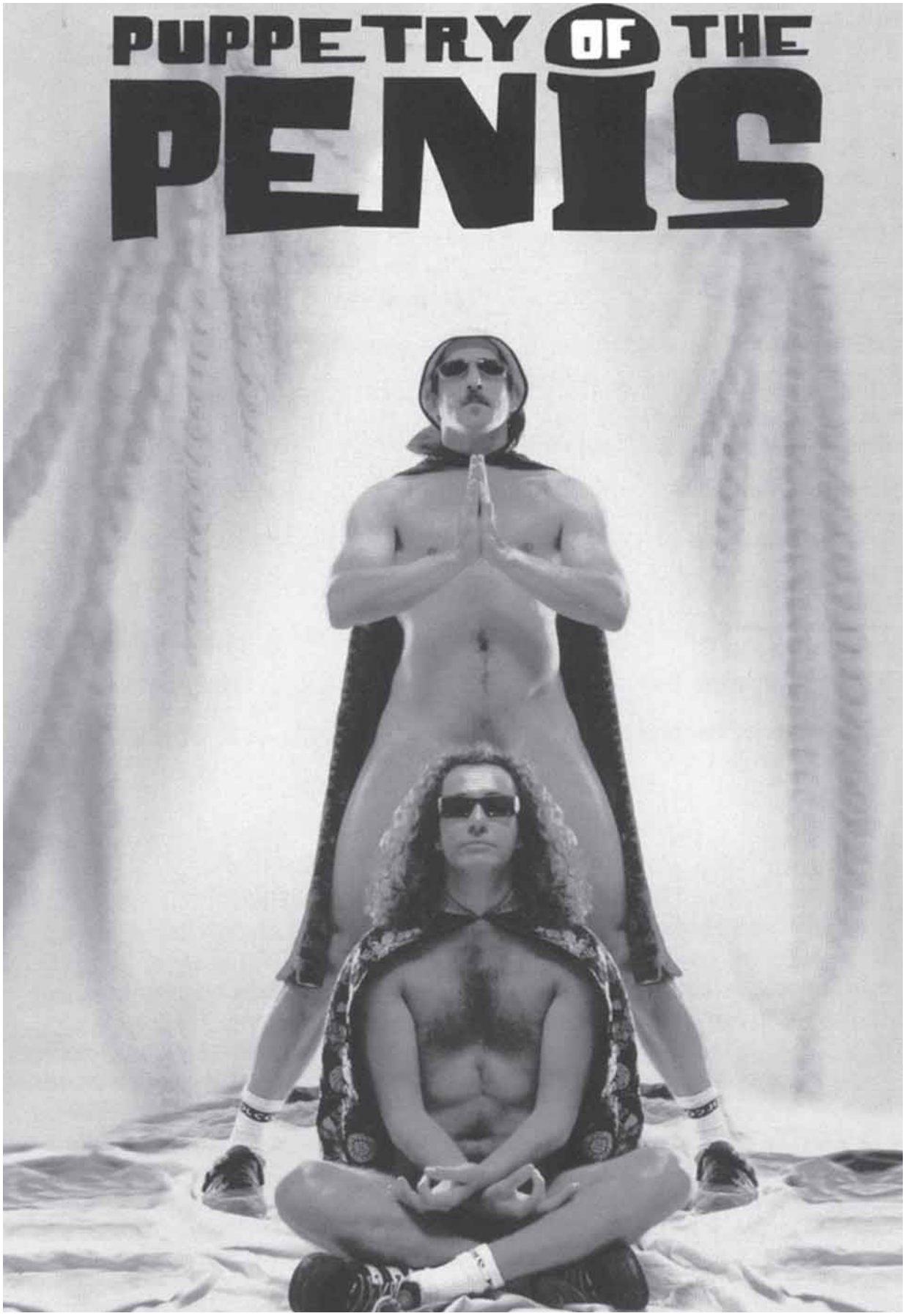

Figure 1. Simon Morley and David 'Friendy' Friend, *Puppetry of the Penis*, 2003, publicity photo. Photo courtesy of Simon Morley and David Friend.

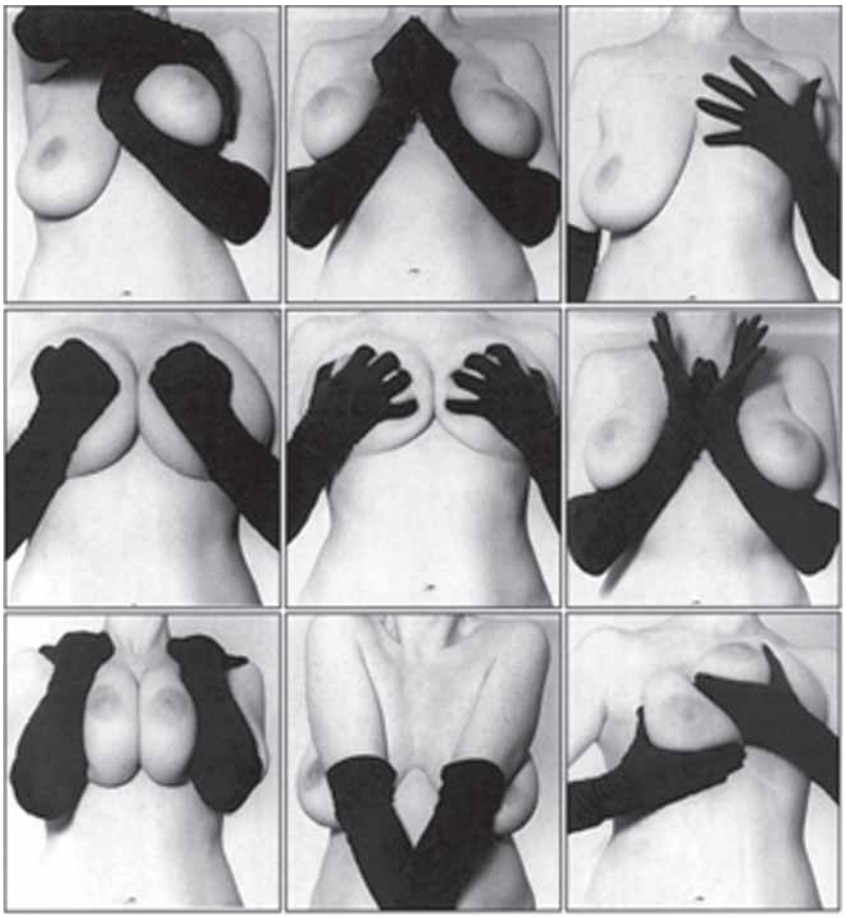

Figure 2. Annie Sprinkle, *Bosom Ballet*, 1991. Photo courtesy of Annie Sprinkle.

Figure 3. Red-Figure Bell Krater, attributed to the McDaniel Painter, *c*. 380-370 BC. GR 1849.6-20.13 (Vase F 151) © The Trustees of the British Museum.

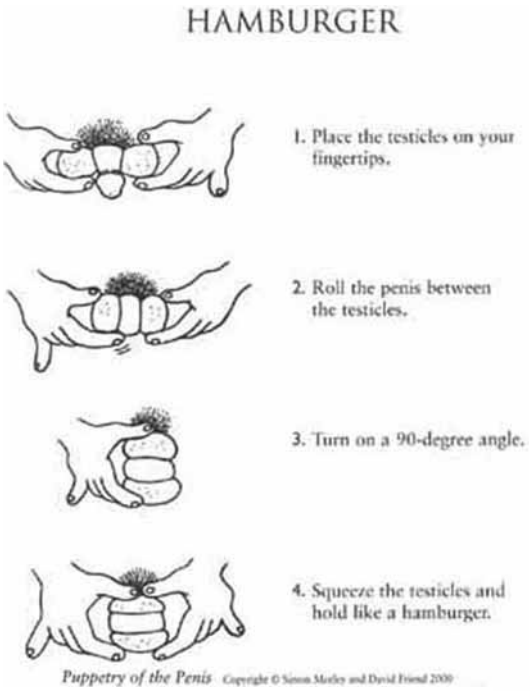

Figure 4. Simon Morley and David Friend, 'Hamburger' Installation Lesson from *Puppetry of the Penis*, Instructional Book, 2000. Photo courtesy of Simon Morley and David Friend.

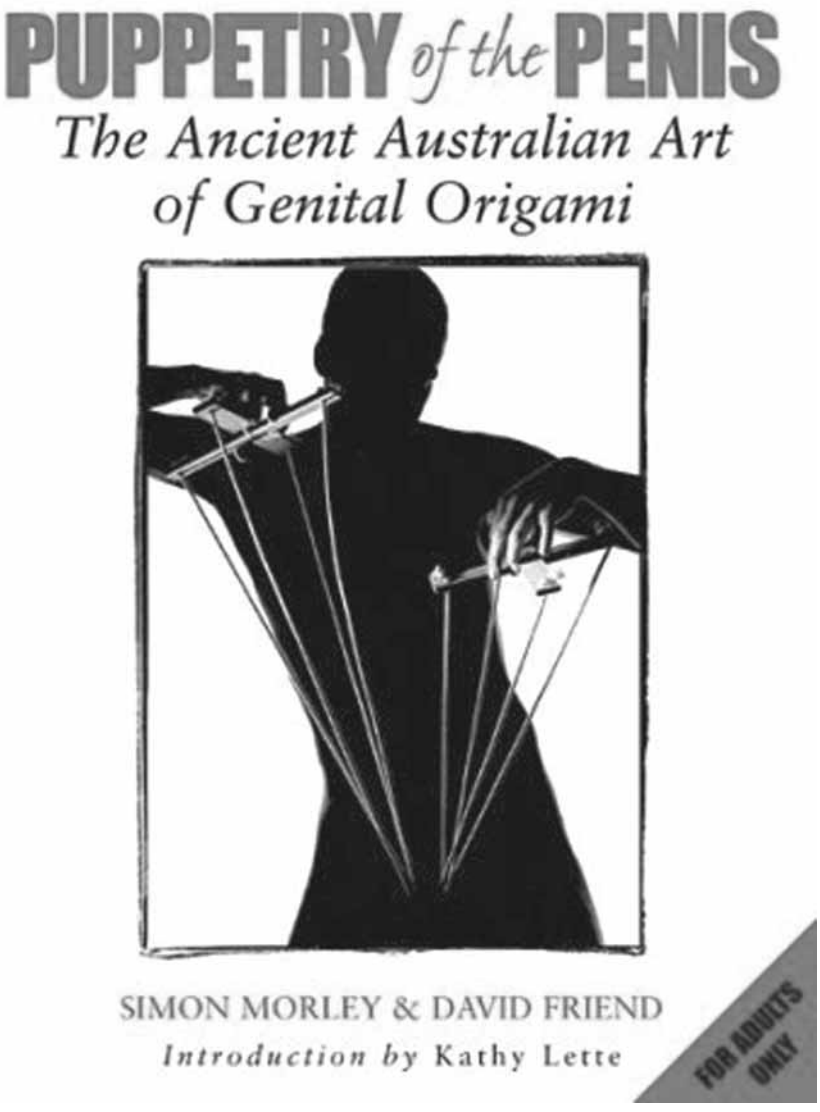

Figure 5. Simon Morley and David Friend, Cover Art fo
Puppetry of the Penis: The Ancient Art of Genital Origami
an instructional booklet for their installations, 2001. Photo
courtesy of Simon Morley and David Friend.

Between the Graphic and Tectonic: Architecture, Mapping and Topography in Rimer Cardillo's Works

Viktoria Villanyi

Walking along the Excelsior Concourse of the State University of New York at New Paltz, during the Summer of 2004, visitors could witness the installation of a prodigious mix of architecture and printmaking, designed by contemporary artist Rimer Cardillo (Figure 1). Entitled *Environment and Culture: From the Amazon to the Hudson River Valley*, Cardillo's mural was permanently installed on the façade of the Humanities Building. The assortment of silkscreen plants, animals, and archeological objects that occupy the mural's matte porcelain surface seem to have been mapped to the walls from the printed pages of a lexicon or a travel journal (Figure 2). The images are also detached from their original context by the white geometric fields that are superimposed over the pastel background, and a geometric grid that is formed by the pattern of the tile-work (Figure 3).

This paper will discuss the roles of architecture and printmaking in the formation of meaning in Cardillo's mural, suggesting that the two media in Cardillo's work play a conceptual as well as aesthetic role. Employing architecture and the print as tropes of political, economic and cultural dominance, Cardillo uses his installation as a double discourse that functions both as a critique of colonial classificatory methods, and as a commentary on globalization.

The mural's seven motifs have been described by art critics as images of Latin American culture, primarily because of the context in which they appeared in Cardillo's earlier works.[1] There has been only a cursory mention of how the composition of the mural and the architectural structure of the building alters the function and the meaning of these images.[2]

The first part of this paper discusses how Cardillo appropriates the images' original meaning through reproductive printmaking. The second part will explain how Cardillo layers meaning through the integration of the mural's design in its architectural environment, the university campus. The third section compares Cardillo's use of printmaking and architecture to the universal constructivist method of Joaquín Torres-García, a muralist and formative figure in the cultural politics of modern Uruguay.[3] This paper suggests that in contrast to Torres-Garcia, who *replaced* the old Colonial definitions of South American culture, with his *alternative* aesthetic terminology, Cardillo rejects the definition of identity and representative practice overall. Going beyond Torres' new pan-Latin American visual register, Cardillo's works locate and describe—rather than define—cultural identity, and create a discourse on transnational experience.

Born in 1944 in Montevideo and living in the United States since 1980, Cardillo has exhibited and taught art in several European and Latin-American countries.[4] In the 1970s, he studied printmaking at the art academy of Montevideo, and in Berlin and Leipzig in the German Democratic Republic. Cardillo started to combine printmaking with spatial concepts in installation art during a period of political tension and turmoil in Uruguay. In 1980 he left for New York, together with a group of fellow artists and intellectuals.[5] The New Paltz mural is Cardillo's first large-scale public commission. It condenses thematic groups, iconography and architectural concepts that the artist developed over decades.[6]

As the title of the mural, *Environment and Culture: From the Amazon to the Hudson River Valley* suggests, Cardillo's aim is to create a visual dialogue between the geographic and cultural landscapes of the Americas. Although the title refers to the Amazon River, among the mural's vegetation and wildlife, only the giant turtle originates from Brazil. Even though the tree (of the species *el paraiso*) and the cardinals originate from Uruguay, they have no visual identifiers, and they can be taken for local species pertaining to the Hudson River valley. As Cardillo explains, the archeological photographs and the burial mound[7] originate from the Uruguayan site of *La Quebrada de los Cuervos*, and the image of the Aztec goddess, Tlazolteotl is associated primarily with Mexico.[8]

1 Karl Willers, *Impressions and Other Images of Memory* (New Paltz: Samuel Dorsky Museum, 2004) 25-29 and Marysol Nieves, ed. *Araucaria*, (New York: The Bronx Museum of the Arts, 1998) 9-21.

2 See Willers' museum guide to *Impressions and Other Images of Memory*, 2004.

3 The relation between Cardillo's art and Joaquín Torres Garcia's constructivism is briefly noted by Ángel Kalenberg in *Cupi degli Ucelli: XLIX* Biennale di Venezia (Germany: Cantz, 2001) 16.

4 Willers 53-55.

5 Luis Camnitzer, critic and artist (New York), Cristina Peri Rossi, writer (Barcelona, Spain) et al.

6 Author's interview with Cardillo, Gardiner, June, 2004.

7 For an extended description of the burial mound (*cupi*) in South American indigenous ritual, see Nieves 19-21.

8 Author's interview with Cardillo, Gardiner, December, 2004.

Cardillo's goal in bringing these motifs together is to create an imaginary landscape where the two rivers serve as parts of a conceptual framework rather than as accurate geographic parameters.

When designing the mural, Cardillo incorporated the architectural structures of the courtyard, corner and staircase as symbolic sites of passage and change, creating a zone of extension and transition between the campus and the mural (Figure 4). The mural is located just above a steep staircase whose zigzags are mirrored in the wall's bold stepped pyramid patterns. Moreover, Cardillo folds the plane of the mural over the corner of the Humanities Building. Cardillo's notion of the corner as a space of transition is eminent in his earlier silkscreen installation at the Bronx Museum of the Arts where multiples of a silkscreen photo of Tlazolteotl were affixed to the atrium's corner. The composition within the mural's picture plane is dominated by diagonals. The figures are scattered and lack a single compositional center. In addition, the geometric grid operates as a screen that creates a liminal zone between the viewer and the silkscreen images, at the same time enticing and barring the viewer's direct observation. The mural's circular courtyard is designed by Cardillo. It consists of two semicircles and two adjacent centers. The two centers and the semicircles extend the mural's allegory of migration and change.

In his theory on liminality, anthropologist Victor Turner connects asymmetric structures of fragmented and decentralized compositions to the cultural rites of transformation.[9] As Turner explains

> the passage from one social [or cultural] status to another is often accompanied by a parallel passage in space, a geographical movement from one place to another. This may take the form of a mere opening of doors, or the literal crossing of a threshold that separates two distinct areas, one associated with the subject's pre-ritual or preliminal status, and the other with his post-ritual and post-liminal status.[10]

It is only through an *absence of center* and presence of a *plural* or *fragmentary* structure, that the transition between the initial and post-liminal state can take place.[11] Cardillo's spatial constructions elicit a liminal sensory experience in the viewer.

Cardillo's compositional design was influenced by the artistic practice of Joaquín Torres-García (1874-1949), his Uruguayan predecessor.[12] Cardillo's mural, particularly his use of abstraction and geometric design was influenced by the universal constructivist method that Torres-García applied in his *Cosmic Monument* (1938) a public sculpture installed in the Parque Rodó of Montevideo (Figure 5). The *Cosmic Monument* is a granite wall, engraved with pre-Hispanic glyphs, geometric forms, and a diverse array of figures. Although it is an exemplary piece of constructivist art and partially European in its concept, the free-standing block of stone itself conserves the form of the pre-Hispanic stele, just like the glyphic engravings and the relief carvings that evoke ancient pre-Hispanic art. In the *Cosmic Monument,* asymmetric grids fragment the planes of the wall's miniature cosmos. Rising from the grids, three dimensional granite ladders lead up the edges of the monument's wall. The ladders serve as a threshold between the actual and imaginary universe. The fountain that is installed at the center, and the three geometric objects—a cube, a globe and a pyramid—that extend from the edge also mediate between real and virtual space. Climbing up these ladders, reaching for the well or touching the geometric objects, the viewer can physically penetrate the wall's surface and inhabit its imaginary land, crossing the borders between present and past, the actual location of the park and the imaginary location of the ancient cosmos.

An artist of European and South-American heritage and of international artistic training, Torres-García combined both European and pre-Hispanic aesthetic registers in his art. Torres-García's interest in abstraction began during his early association with *De Stijl*, a European art movement led by Theo Van Doesburg and Piet Mondrian. *De Stijl* strived for a universal abstract aesthetic that would detach itself from natural forms and integrate the visual arts with architecture, but to Torres-García, geometric abstraction was also inherently linked to pre-Hispanic culture, particularly to pre-Hispanic architecture and cosmology. In response to the European movement, Torres-Garcia and his disciples founded *Escuela del Sur,* the *School of the South,* appropriating *De Stijl's* primarily aesthetic agenda into a new cultural context.

Escuela del Sur moved beyond the specific concerns of the avant-garde movement, striving for autonomy and a detachment from the cultural center of Western Europe. Torres-García's synthetic iconography, which included a mixture of pre-Hispanic glyphs, as well as Christian, Classical Greek, or universal stylized motifs, represented a cultural extension of the Colonial period: a presence of a mixture of European and indigenous heritage due to the contemporaneous inflow of European immigrants to the coasts of Uruguay.[13]

Referring to Colonial history, as well as to the arbitrary definitions and terms that Colonial culture imposed on the continent, Torres-García inverted the map of South America and employed this map as his art school's logo. The map served as a commentary on the arbitrariness of geopolitical

9 Victor Turner, *Process, Performance, Pilgrimage.* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1979) 17.

10 Turner 17.

11 Turner 17.

12 Author's interview with Cardillo, Gardiner, June, 2004.

13 Jorge Castillo et al,. *Joaquín Torres-Garcia and Theo van Doesburg: The Antagonistic Link* (Amsterdam: The Institute of Contemporary Art Amsterdam, 1991) 136.

terms, and represented the group's combined effort to replace European definitions with their own terms.[14]

In using abstraction and liminal compositional structures, Cardillo moves beyond Torres-García's goals to reconnect the history of the past with the present day. Cardillo uses photographic images and the techniques of reproductive printmaking to create a cognitive distance from his sources, the documentary images of the South American land and its archeological past. Once mediated by photography and printmaking, the meaning of the images is further layered and relocated through Cardillo's choice of their architectural settings.

Cardillo pulls images into his mural's wall from his own print series of guide maps and travel journals. These woodcuts are based on Cardillo's sketchbook recordings and written notations during his visit to *El Pantanal*, a strip of untouched wetlands along the Southern Amazon regions of South America, and his visits to cattle ranches (*estancias*) in Uruguay.[15] The *paraiso* tree and the cardinals are reproduced from these woodcuts (Figure 6). Cardillo's woodcuts can be located in the tradition of nineteenth-century travelers' and cartographers' reports, in their loose description of topography, the recording of natural vegetation and the presence of human settlement.[16] He imitates early travelers' maps by pressing the images on large plywood sheets that conserve the texture, rings and natural patterns of the wood.[17] However, Cardillo deconstructs the documentary function of the images already in the woodcuts, even before projecting them on the mural's walls, by abstracting and layering the images through compositional arrangement and toning. In *En la estancia* the fragmented, bubble-like figural silhouettes in the foreground bounce off, and the silhouettes in the background disintegrate behind a prism-like screen of overlapping tones. The translucent screen bars the viewer's direct access to the distant farmyard, with its *paraiso* tree, a house, a fence and several animals scattered in front.[18] Cardillo renders the everyday snapshot as distant and intangible as a mirage. The weightless figures of the animals remain elusive and specter-like. In *Porto Esperança* Cardillo takes written notes of the site name (*Ponte Barão, Río Bianco*) and the actual daytime (10 pm), then cuts the image of a bridge into a thick, undulating body of text, illegible to the extent it loses its documentary function and becomes a rhythmically flowing river (Figure 6).

In the New Paltz mural Cardillo detaches the images from their original context by the white abstract field and the geometric grids. It is not only the documentary images that are copied onto the geometric field, but also the visual register of the campus landscape which reproduces the building materials and the design of the surrounding architecture. The pastel tiles of the mural and pastel bricks in the mural's courtyard accord with the design of the building and the yard in front. The hand-sketched tree on the mural's corner parallels the real tree standing close by. Through a play between real and virtual space, Cardillo blurs the clear boundary between the campus and the mural, laying out a zone of transition before the viewer. As Walter Benjamin explains, the technique of reproduction "permits the [object] to meet the beholder in his own particular situation."[19] By appropriating the original meaning of the object, reproduction "substitutes a plurality of copies for a unique existence."[20]

The cultural and political role of the print, maps, and surveys is fleshed out in a chapter of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, a classic study in the sociology of culture and anthropology on the formation of national identity. In this work, Anderson describes the Western European imperial expansion of the 1870s as characterized by large-scale construction projects, and a fever for scientific surveys, travel reports, and census-taking.[21] As Anderson explains, these measures were applied to describe, define and classify native people, their language, and their history, to better implement control by the political administration of Western European nation states.[22] The most immediate purpose of construction projects and surveys was to rewrite the history of the native people of the colonies in order to demonstrate their declining economic and cultural trajectory.[23] This "new history" positioned Western Europe as a harbinger of economic and industrial progress and a legitimate guide of underdeveloped countries. Anderson's chapter is a case-study on Colonialism that takes Southeast Asia as its focus; looking through his model, however, one can easily recognize the imposition of "new histories" through architecture and the press in Colonial Latin America or for that matter, modern Uruguay, the regional contexts in which Cardillo's works are generated.

Among a large inventory of motifs and changing signs, Cardillo's inverted architectural and topographic planes—just like Torres-García's inverted maps—have become a consistent way to articulate his position in the cultural politics of art. Cardillo observes, and discovers the landscapes of his homeland by living in North America and traveling between continents. He deconstructs and critiques fixed national and cultural icons, and the notion of continuity in history to re-

14 Castillo et al 139, 179.

15 Author's interview with Cardillo, Gardiner, July, 2004.

16 The colonial map's theme has been previously discussed in context of pilgrimage and memory by Lucy Lippard. See Nieves 29-33.

17 Interview July, 2004.

18 Interview December, 2004.

19 Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976) 221.

20 Benjamin 221.

21 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities.* (New York: Verso, 1991) 163-65.

22 Anderson 163-165.

23 Anderson 184.

combine their fragmentary forms into configurations that reflect a more complex and perhaps more accurate reality. To Torres-García's generation, art would always sustain a representative function. Although the origins and influence of *Escuela del Sur* expanded far beyond the borders of Uruguay, the School meant to represent Latin American cultures and developed political constructs of its own. The liminal architectural structures, concepts, and the grids in Cardillo's mural pay homage to Torres García's vast artistic legacy and his critique of Eurocentric terminology. Yet Cardillo moves away from representative practices and beyond the confines of culturally-specific aesthetics. In his innovative combination of reproductive technique and spatial design in his New Paltz mural, Cardillo aims to re-enact transnational experience, to describe and juxtapose changing meanings of "environment" and "culture."

Williams College

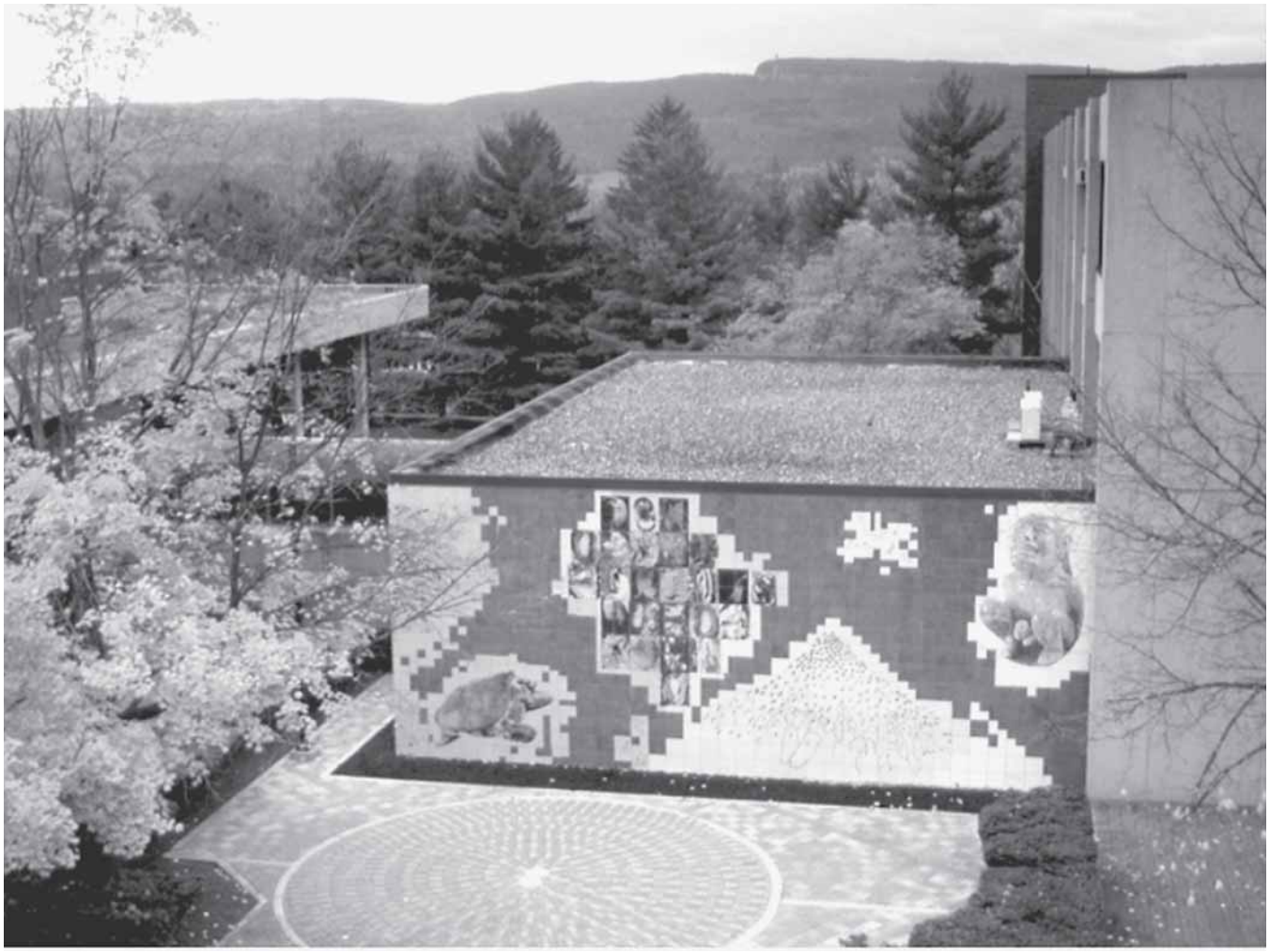

Figure 1. Rimer Cardillo (Uruguay, 1944-), *Environment and Culture: From the Amazon to the Hudson River Valley*, August, 2004. Silkscreen on porcelain mosaic, 17 x 54 ft (5.18 x 16.45 m). Permanently installed on the Humanities Building, SUNY campus, New Paltz, New York. Photo courtesy of Rimer Cardillo, 2005.

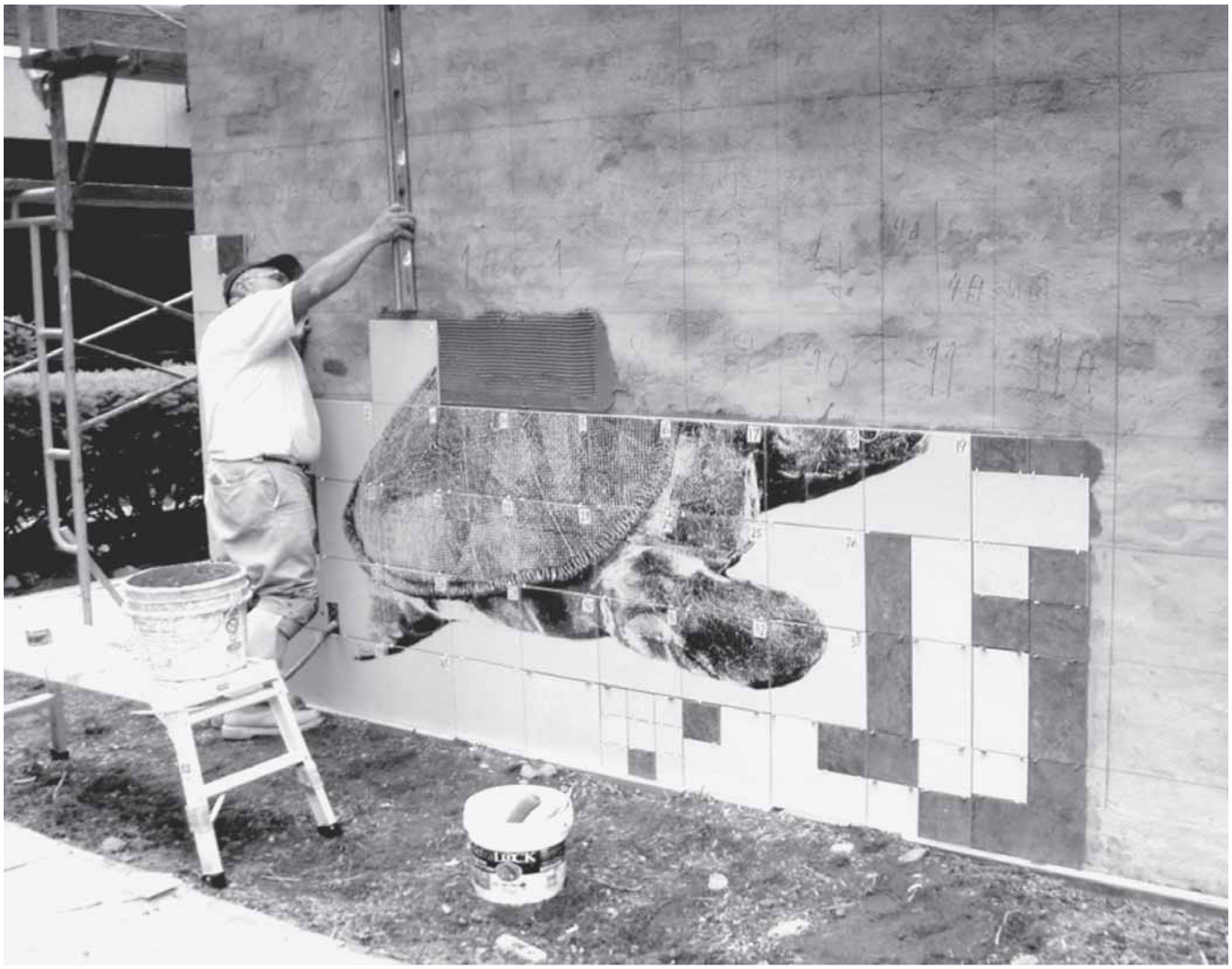

Figure 2. Rimer Cardillo, *Environment and Culture: From the Amazon to the Hudson River Valley*, during installation. Photo courtesy of Rimer Cardillo, 2005.

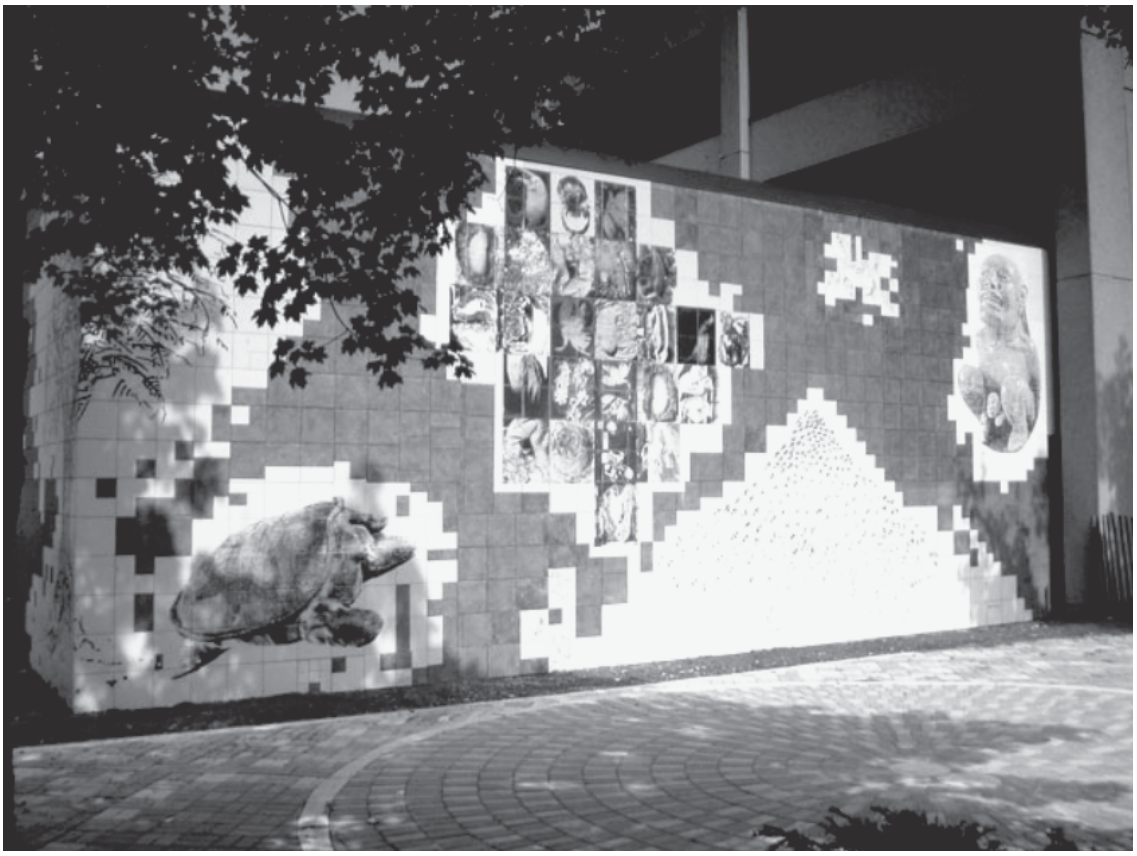

Figure 3. Rimer Cardillo, *Environment and Culture: From the Amazon to the Hudson River Valley*, front view. Photo courtesy of Viktoria Villanyi, 2005.

Figure 4. Rimer Cardillo, *Environment and Culture: From the Amazon to the Hudson River Valley*, joint shots of liminal architectural spaces. Photo courtesy of Rimer Cardillo, 2004.

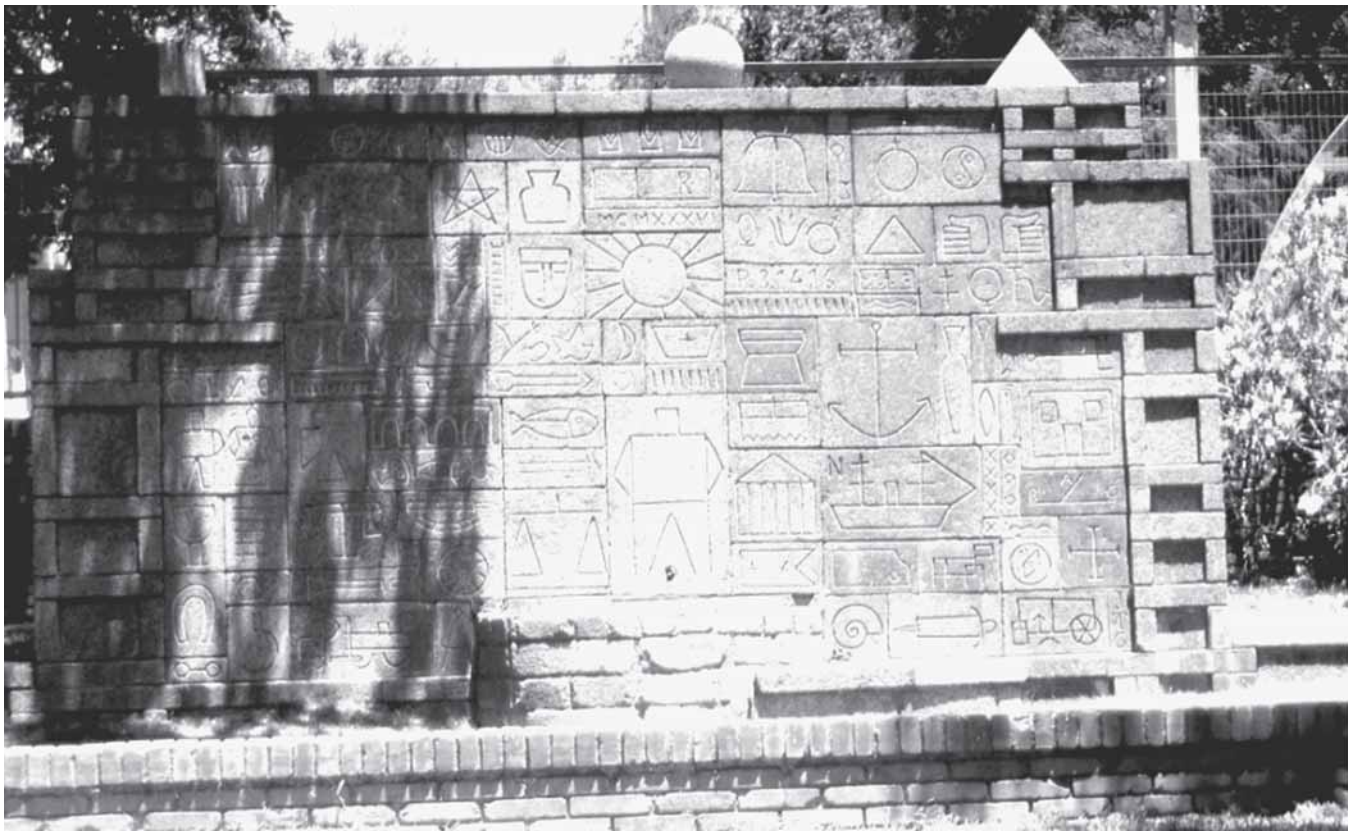

Figure 5. Joaquín Torres-García, *Cosmic Monument*, 1938. Engraved pink granite, 118 x 259 4/5 x 23 3/5 in (300 x 660 x 60 cm). Permanently installed in Parque Rodó, Montevideo. Photo courtesy of Rimer Cardillo, 2005.

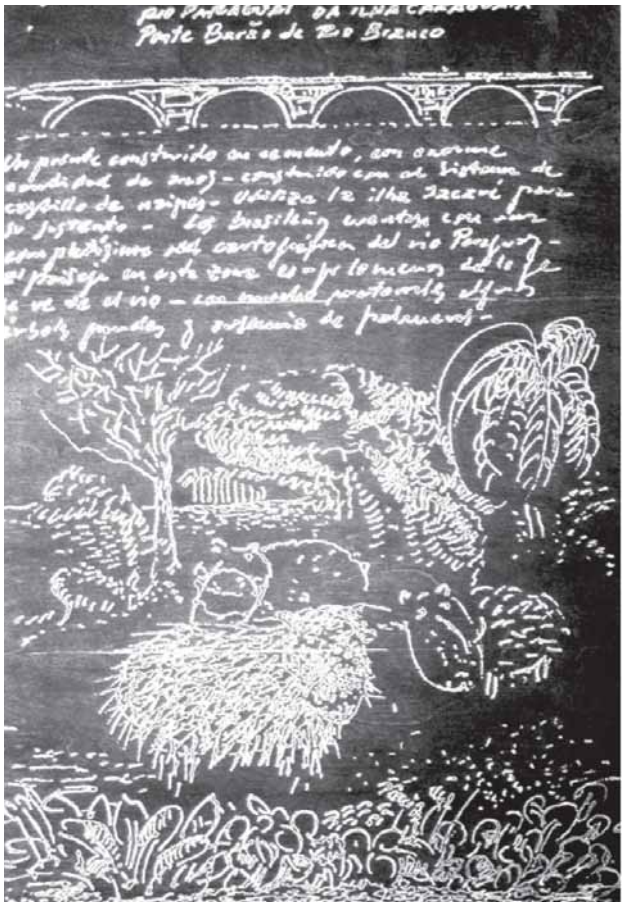

Figure 6. Rimer Cardillo, *Porto Esperança* (*El Pantanal*), 1998. Woodcut on plywood sheet. Sheet 42 5/16 x 31 inches (107 x 80 cm). Photo courtesy of Viktoria Villanyi, 2004.