OPTICAL CORRECTNESS

HISTORY OF ART STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION
2019 ANNUAL CONFERENCE JOURNAL

history of art
students'
association

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We wish to acknowledge the land on which the University of Toronto operates. For thousands of years it has been the traditional land of the Wendat, Seneca, Anishnaabeg, Haudenosaunee, Métis, and Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation. Today, this meeting place is still home to many Indigenous people from across Turtle Island. We are grateful to have the opportunity to work side by side on this land.

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Art History Department
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The History of Art Students' Association 2018–2019 is thrilled to present *Optical Correctness*, a volume comprising the papers presented at the 2019 History of Art Undergraduate Conference.

This year's conference sought to address the wide-reaching concept of the 'problematic' in art, art history, and visual culture. Taking into consideration a variety of factors, such as subject matter, medium, technique, context, viewership, identity, and the fraught practice of display, our eight contributors shared research dedicated to exploring the ways in which art has functioned as a locus of the contested and the controversial through the years.

These papers explore such varied themes as gender, colonialism, Indigeneity, diaspora, the body, science, collecting and repatriation, and the didactic potential of the museum setting; nevertheless, all of the contributors clearly demonstrate the interconnectedness of these issues, exploring various geometries between them. Most broadly, perhaps, we could say that this corpus of papers illuminates one central theme: the idea that con-

ceptions of identity are inextricable from their visual significations. The title approaches just such a notion; in the art world, 'optics' are not simply a matter of keeping up appearances. Instead, they're the very fundament of what we study.

It has been our delight and privilege to organise this conference and journal—not to mention the rest of our year's events—with the unending, invaluable guidance of Dr. Christy Anderson. The administration and faculty in the Art History Department at the University of Toronto have, additionally, been hugely supportive. None of this could have been possible without the financial contributions of various departments and organisations; in this regard, we express our sincere gratitude to the Art History Department, the Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations, the Department of Visual Studies at the University of Toronto Mississauga, and the Arts and Science Students' Union.

Finally, thank you for your interest in undergraduate research. We hope that this collection of papers challenges you to consider and complicate the visual in new ways.

Sincerely,
History of Art Students' Association
2018-2019

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The Architecture of Ethnic Enclaves: Hide & Seek with Case Studies of Ottawa's Chinatown and Little Italy

WHAT ARE ETHNIC ENCLAVES?

Multicultural cities are products of histories of global immigration. The cultural neighbourhoods created by groups of immigrants from distinct countries are referred to as ethnic enclaves. Examples of ethnic enclaves include Chinatowns, Jewish quarters, Greektowns, etc.

According to the *Oxford Dictionary of Human Geography*, an ethnic enclave is "a neighbourhood or larger territory whose population is largely ethnically distinguished from the surrounding area and its inhabitants."[1] The *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* suggests that the definition of ethnicity is debated but mostly agreed to pertain to "social classification that categorizes different groups of people by particular cultural characteristics... including a shared homeland, language, or dialect; religious faith or faiths, traditions, values and symbols, literature, folklore and music, food preferences, social and political ties that transcend kinship, neighborhood and community boundaries, and/or migratory status."[2]

Ethnic enclaves have not been a largely explored topic in architectural history in the past and are, therefore, sometimes generalized under a single umbrella term in this paper. However, it is important to clarify that the enclaves in question can be further categorized in many ways. Every ethnic enclave is a unique product of the cultures, countries, and laws present.

In general, ethnic enclaves display their cultural characteristics in the built environment through both planned and organic

elements. Organic elements appear in ethnic enclaves regardless of carefully planned strategies.

Although inaccurate today, especially in multicultural cities, an ethnic enclave may sometimes express itself by the demographics of people who are seen in the area. This distinction is further accentuated if people are seen wearing traditional garments or colours.

When visuals fail to convey the message, it is important to implement the other senses to experience architecture. Languages, dialects, or intonations bring to life the foreign origins of the ethnic enclave. The distinct aromas one can smell when walking by certain stores or inside spaces may induce specific memories, lead to a new understanding of a place in the world or create landmarks.

The organic growth of ethnic enclaves can be witnessed by spread of ethnic businesses outside of the 'borders' which are drawn by the government to confine the enclave. The organic elements of an ethnic enclave retain heritage, commemorative value, cultures and overall spirit of the 'mother' country as well as the ethnic enclave in its true sense.

Conversely, planned elements include zoning bylaws, street signs, plaques, commemorative displays and commissioned murals and artwork such as grand gateways and sculptures. These elements allow the enclave to celebrate its heritage, flourish local businesses and express itself clearly with issued funding. However, often these elements are used to present a slightly more extravagant and less truthful version of the enclave to attract consumers and tourists.

The topic of inauthenticity is one that emerges consistently in discourse on ethnic enclaves. The conflict of identity and representation and the suppression of values and cultural depth through planning strategies may render an ethnic enclave inauthentic or artificial. Cultural tourism can lead to 'Disneyfication' of ethnic enclaves, a term rooted in understanding the architecture of the fantastical physical worlds created in Disneyland theme parks. Popular podcast series *99% Invisible* features an episode dedicated to decoding the built environments of Chinatowns.[3] They explain that Chinatowns were a product of racial discrimination, built for segregation and therefore, were rundown with high crime rates. In 1906, a large earthquake and subse-

quent fires destroyed much of San Francisco's Chinatown and a local businessman hired American architects to rebuild it. The architects had never been to China, worked from images of early imperial China, and projected the American imagination of China, resulting in the 'Disneyfied' Chinatown we know today. This model was continued as it was observed to diminish the bad reputation Chinatowns faced and instead attracted tourists with its new 'safe yet exotic' demeanor.

Loukaitou-Sideris and Soureli's article, "Cultural Tourism as an Economic Development Strategy for Ethnic Neighbourhoods," further illuminates this phenomenon by explaining, "the theming of landscapes with reinvented signifiers of the ethnic culture – a pagoda rooftop in Chinatown or a painted adobe storefront in Little Havana – [is done] to fabricate an easily comprehensible experience."[4] Tourism, with the aid of social media, can manipulate and dampen the cultural integrity of an ethnic enclave, capturing only what is necessary to sell an 'exotic enough' experience.

However, tourism also has the potential to accentuate the beauty of a place, promote local businesses and attract visitors, and in turn, provide economic stability for the preservation of ethnic enclaves. Loukaitou-Sideris and Soureli's article examines the potential benefits of cultural tourism for four lesser-known ethnic enclaves in Los Angeles.[5] The article describes the roles and strategies of multiple cultural tourism organizations in the United States and their impact in the vitality of ethnic enclaves. The organizations were also surveyed about their goals, interests and achievements. All of the surveyed respondents "stressed that economic development is a major goal of their programs," but Loukaitou-Sideris and Soureli find that the programs have not contributed to job creation significantly, with the exception of the Boston Main Streets project.[6] They conclude however, writing that "there is no doubt that these programs increase the visibility of the targeted neighborhoods," through means of social media, local blogging, print, and cultural activities such as walking tours.[7]

Joan C. Henderson writes in her article concerning heritage tourism in Singapore's Little India, "people are increasingly likely to recognise and reject the fake and contrived so that intervention and thematization must be handled with great care. While tourism is

often condemned as a destroyer of heritage, it has the ability to act as a protector and can be a champion of the local represented by urban ethnic quarters, in a global world."[8] Ethnic enclaves deserve to have their untold stories expressed. Tourism cannot continue to project inauthenticity as was encouraged in the early 1900s, and must instead align with projects promoting the heritage of ethnic enclaves.

ETHNIC ENCLAVES IN CANADA

Canada is a constitutional monarchy as well as a parliamentary democracy. However, before the creation of a country, the land was home to several groups of indigenous peoples with distinct, vibrant cultures. After Canada was declared a unified nation, the population of the country was grown by immigrants from various parts of Europe. Although the citizens of this country developed a unique Canadian identity over the years, Canada is proven since its inception to be multicultural.

John Zucchi's extensive research on ethnic enclaves in Canada has helped propel the conversation. In his 2007 publication for the federal government titled "A History of Ethnic Enclaves in Canada," he writes, "With economic and social mobility, immigrants tend to leave enclaves and integrate with broader society, and within a couple of generations we have full assimilation," and asks, "Does an enclave necessarily have to be visible?"[9] In Canada, like other countries with mixed population and high rates of immigration, ethnic enclaves are difficult to identify and distinguish. Ethnic enclaves are often found layered and evolving. Zucchi explains, "The old Italian neighbourhood around Mile End in Montreal… has few Italian residents and it also has two nearby Lebanese Orthodox Churches and a number of Arab shops. Yet the overwhelming presence of Italian cafés, grocery stores and restaurants, travel agencies, and other services, not to mention a national parish, has permanently attached the name Little Italy to the area."[10]

OTTAWA'S ETHNIC ENCLAVES: CHINATOWN

Ottawa's Chinatown initially was located on Albert Street, much closer to downtown. It comprised of three laundromats, a restaurant, "Wing On" grocery store and boarding houses which were known as *fong-*

hau.[11] Before World War II, Ottawa's Chinese population just reached 300, so modest that no associations were formed.[12] However, by the 2000s, Ottawa became Canada's fifth largest Chinese settlement.[13]

Refugees from South-East Asia, their businesses and settlements and the booming of Chinese firms on Somerset Street in the 1970s contributed to the present built environment. While some Chinatowns, like Vancouver's, commemorate the city's Chinese immigration history and Chinese heritage, others are not necessarily just Chinese. This is the case for Ottawa's Chinatown, which is really an 'Asiatown,' home to not only Chinese communities but also Vietnamese, Korean, Indian, Middle Eastern and more. As explained by Henderson, in ethnic enclaves "Certain groups and qualities may be showcased while others are overlooked completely or allocated less prominence."[14] While Ottawa's Chinese community deserves recognition, other Asian communities feel neglected and unheard.

Walking through Ottawa's Chinatown, a sense of wonder is inflicted on the visitor, and the tension between organic and planned expression is clear to see. The entrance into the 'realm' of Chinatown is often signified by a gate. The large, ornamented gate is located at the intersection of Somerset Street and Bronson Street, suggesting that Chinatown begins on the west of Bronson Street. This is not necessarily the case as Chinatown spreads over these boundaries, across to the east of Bronson, which is a primarily residential area and displays older styles of architecture. Although Ottawa's Chinatown is diverse in cultures and smaller than its counterparts in several other cities in Canada, it has the most impressive gate because it is in the capital city. This ornate gate, known as the Royal Arch, was erected in 2010 after being built in Beijing and features nine elaborate gold leaf roofs, traditional symbolism and a range of bright colours.[15]

One may notice the extravagance of murals and street art here, unlike other parts of the city. Bright colours, pandas, elephants and bamboo paint the street. The sidewalks are ornamented as well, engraved stones that represent the twelve lunar zodiac signs. Even the benches, planters and trash cans are included in the art programming of the street, depicting Chinese characters and Asian scenery. The lamp posts which line Somerset Street West are bright red, resembling

a chinoiserie-esque, pagoda-like gas lantern that invokes a sense of the historical past. "Silk Road Flower Rain" is the title for the artwork which is attached to some lamp posts, featuring long winding cords and coloured glass. According to the City of Ottawa, the glass represents natural elements in abstracted forms, "bamboo for longevity, chrysanthemum for good health, and pomegranate to ward off evil spirits. The deliberate choice of eight sculptures per series is auspicious as it represents luck and fortune in Chinese numerology."[16]

Although street signs are presented with Chinese characters and in the traditional red and gold, storefronts display not only Chinese but Thai, Vietnamese, Korean, Japanese and Arabic, among other languages. Glass shop windows in storefronts and restaurants seemingly allow the visitor to peek into different worlds.

Although branded and marketed as Chinatown, other cultures and their heritage permeate through the structured definitions and make themselves known to the visitor through the varieties of businesses, restaurants and the diversity presented through festivals.

OTTAWA'S ETHNIC ENCLAVES: LITTLE ITALY

Italian immigrants first arrived in Ottawa in the early 1900s.[17] A small parish church on Murray Street was the first place of gathering. After a fire left it devastated, and as numbers of interested attendees grew, the new, bigger St. Anthony of Padua was built on the corner of Booth Street and Gladstone Avenue. This church along with the St. Anthony school next to it became the heart of the Italian-Ottawan community.

Presently, Ottawa's Preston Street is known as Little Italy. The street is known for its restaurants which are mostly Italian, but also comprise of other varieties. Preston Street is a mixed-use zone and also home to large firms and companies, a community centre, comedy clubs, theatres, residential units and schools. Due to the constant adapting and changing nature of the neighbourhood, it is difficult to find businesses today that have existed since the birth of Ottawa's Little Italy.

Little Italy marks itself clearly with three large, red glowing signs on Preston Street. Although simple and in no way similar to the Chinatown gate, the Little Italy arches are an indication of the neigh-

bourhood, striking at day and glowing at night.

The major streets in the neighbourhood were given Italian names which establish their Italian heritage. Preston Street is also called Corso Italia and Gladstone Avenue is Via Marconi. Italian flags are also found on street signs and intersections, further indicating the street's cultural identity.

Colourful, eye-catching sculptures based on the heritage of Little Italy line the street. These fifteen sculptures titled "Postcards from the Piazzas" were created by C. J. Fleury and feature the stories and proverbs cherished by residents of the community and other famous Italians. They "express fragments of cultural history, geography and architecture, reflecting the eclecticism of today's Italian-Canadians in Ottawa."[18]

The mural commissioned in the underpass following the second Little Italy sign is one of the best acknowledgements to the Italian-Canadian heritage of Ottawa. The mural celebrates Italian-Ottawan families, businesses and social clubs which keep the community thriving and proud. With bright colours and beautiful artistry, the mural is a striking display. Unfortunately, its location under the highway allows for little light and guarantees that most visitors are drivers who do not get the time to read or examine all the carefully mosaiced information about the community.

The tension between organic and planned elements in Ottawa's Little Italy is evident through its marketing. Little Italy is comprehended by most as just Preston Street, even though major parts of Italian history lies on nearby roads such as Booth Street, Rochester Street and especially Gladstone Avenue.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Ethnic enclaves have had many roles historically and have always been visual affirmations of significant cultures in a foreign country. In the past, ethnic enclaves may have had a defensive function, as immigrants were unfamiliar with the languages spoken, cultural behavior or mannerisms of the new land. Ethnic enclaves may have also had racist origins, having been forced upon immigrants as a means of keeping them separate from the rest of society. Today, ethnic enclaves are

places which build community, foster pride and advocate for cultural learning.

Many ethnic enclaves are historic but still thriving, and some are still being formed today such as Little Maghreb in Montreal's Mile End neighbourhood.[19] It is vital for these enclaves to balance their commercialization and cultural heritage to ensure authenticity instead of thematization.

Community involvement is the most significant indicator of truth in an ethnic enclave, as communities create, nurture and showcase the spirit of place through festivals and in local hubs, such as cafes, places of faith, etc. Languages displayed on storefronts and heard around the neighbourhood are indicators of the character of the enclave.

With increased cultures entering into Canada and other countries around the world, more ethnic enclaves will form to represent them. Ethnic enclaves have the power of creating awareness and normalizing and uniting immigrant cultures to the ones that are already well-established.

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EVANGELINE MANN
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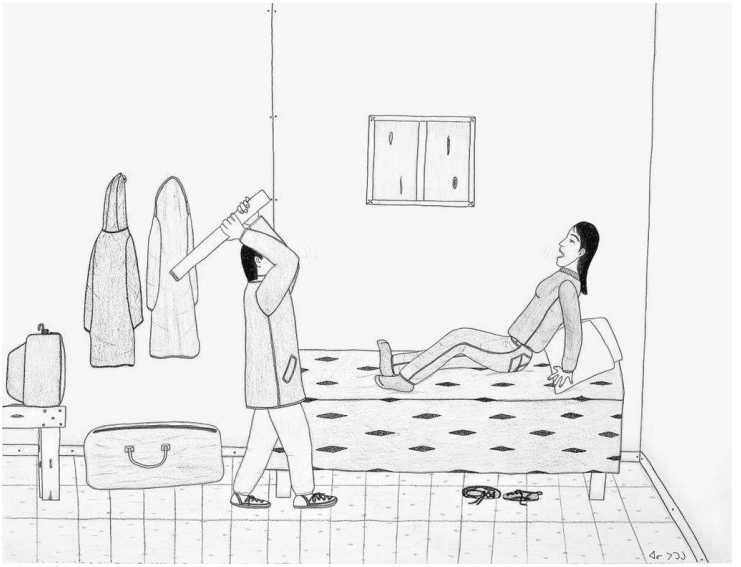
An Artistic Exploration of Space with Nancy Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq and Annie Pootoogook

Nancy Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq's *Untitled (Igloo scene with green monsters)* (c.1974) and Annie Pootoogook's *Man Abusing His Partner* (2002) are two artworks that exemplify these female Inuit artists' explorations of the link between interior and exterior spaces, human relationships and the rapid transformation of Inuit communities during the twentieth century. Both Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq and Pootoogook are part of families that are known for artistic innovation within Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake) and Kinngait (Cape Dorset), as Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq's mother was the distinguished Inuit artist Jessie Oonark,[1] and Pootoogook's mother, Napachie Pootoogook, and grandmother, Pitseolak Ashoona, were both renowned artists from Kinngait.[2] *Untitled (Igloo scene with green monsters)* and *Man Abusing His Partner* both illustrate aspects of each artist's worldview, depict formal qualities and highlight considerations of human relationships within specific interior spaces, which simultaneously relate Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq and Pootoogook to their female ancestors and represent their individual artistic practices.[3] Each artist's link to the senior female artists in her family suggests how many Inuit artists learn artistic skills and practices through their relationships with other artists within their families and communities, and therefore highlights the how these artists' distinctive worldviews, which are suggested through their artworks, are connected to their ancestors.[4]

The aesthetic elements in *Untitled (Igloo scene with green monsters)* highlight Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq's unique worldview and

Nancy Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq, *Untitled (Igloo scene with green monsters)*, c. 1974, graphite and coloured pencil on paper, 56.2 x 76.1cm, Art Gallery of Guelph.

her worldview's connection to her mother, which emphasizes the importance of Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq's personal experiences as well as her mother's artistic approaches. A worldview can be broadly defined as a system of beliefs and values that determines how an individual or community perceives spirituality, human behaviour and the cosmos to approach life as well as a surrounding environment.[5] The piece features an Inuit family with a mother, father and child inside an igloo.[6] Three other figures with light green bodies and human heads are depicted outside the igloo's borders.[7] Two of these figures have faces on the backs of their heads, while one has a claw on its tail and the other bites a part of his body near its leg.[8] These elements contribute to the piece's suggestion of the artist's worldview, or specifically her belief in the importance of depicting scenes that present Inuit traditions and the daily experiences of semi-nomadic Inuit families combined with mythological elements from her grandmother's stories.[9] Yet, Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq's worldview is also suggested by this piece's presentation



Nancy Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq, *Untitled (Igloo scene with green monsters)*, c. 1974, graphite and coloured pencil on paper, 56.2 x 76.1cm, Art Gallery of Guelph.

of her own imaginative elements, as she described *Untitled (Igloo scene with green monsters)* by noting: "This drawing is just from my mind. I sometimes draw these from my own mind because I get frightened very easily."[10] Her comment about how this drawing reflects her own imagination and the depiction of an igloo suggests her artistic prioritization of depicting the traditions and daily life that her ancestors would have experienced, as well as incorporating her own personal perspective into this visual narrative. This drawing's depiction of Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq's worldview further connects her to her mother's artistic practice within Qamani'tuaq.

Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq's worldview, which is suggested through the aesthetic elements of *Untitled (Igloo scene with green monsters),* additionally links her to the artwork and worldview of her mother, Jessie Oonark.[11] Oonark was a widow and arrived in Qamani'tuaq with her children in 1958 after experiencing starvation.[12] She

quickly immersed herself in the arts within her community to support her family, and is known for her depictions of Inuit traditions, experiences and spiritual figures such as shamans, tattoos on Inuit women, the drum dance and recreational activities.[13] Yet Oonark additionally includes her own personal imaginative elements in her artworks, as she said of her *Untitled (fish/woman)* (1978): "I just drew this from my own mind and just decorated it with a rabbit and a face," and also described her *Untitled (fish women)* (1975) by saying: "…I just added those fish images onto those ladies there. I just drew this from my mind."[14] Therefore, Oonark's artworks suggest the combination of elements from Inuit stories and cultural experiences as well as personal imaginative elements, which is also reflected in her daughter's *Untitled (Igloo scene with green monsters)*.[15] Pootoogook's piece similarly reflects her worldview's connection to her personal experiences as well as her mother's and grandmother's artistic practices.[16]

Pootoogook's worldview, or her belief in the documentation of spirituality, human relationships and the daily experiences within her community to present the challenges that Inuit communities face within the ever-changing North is suggested through her artwork, and particularly *Man Abusing His Partner*.[17] Pootoogook was born in 1969 in Kinngait and said, "I share with my grandmother the desire to capture life around me…Drawing is a means of expressing my emotions—particularly around difficult times in my life."[18] In *Man Abusing His Partner*, Pootoogook represents a male figure holding a wooden plank over his female partner. The female figure's mouth is open and her body on the bed is depicted as frozen in terror. This drawing captures the split second before violence. Pootoogook has additionally drawn a detailed interior space around the figure with a bed, coats hanging on the wall, television on a small table, window and a tiled floor. The level of detail Pootoogook utilized to create the interior domestic space of her drawing suggests her worldview's focus upon depicting every aspect of the dwellings within Kinngait.[19] The detailed, Western-style interior space and depiction of impending intimate partner violence suggests Pootoogook's belief in honestly presenting the challenges of living in the North, and may lead Western audiences to question their perceptions of Inuit art.[20] Pootoogook experienced inti-

mate partner violence,[21] and her representation of it within this drawing suggests her worldview's emphasis upon documenting time as a single moment rather than a continuous narrative, as well as depicting her personal experiences residing in Kinngait during the early 2000s.[22] However, this drawing and its suggestion of Pootoogook's worldview is additionally linked to how the artistic practices of Pootoogook's female ancestors highlight their own worldviews and emphasis upon representing their experiences as Inuit artists in a changing environment.[23]

Pootoogook's worldview is additionally linked to the artistic practices of her mother and grandmother.[24] For instance, Pootoogook's mother, Napachie Pootoogook, is known for creating compositions to document her contemporary experiences in the North during the mid to late twentieth century.[25] Napachie Pootoogook's earlier artworks often featured specific moments of daily life, such as depictions of a camp area, or an accordion.[26] Her later artworks frequently depicted darker themes that reflected her own personal experiences; *Man Beating Wife*, *Suicide* and *Forced to Marry* from 1997 to 1998 all depict scenes that feature violence or traumatic experiences.[27] Pitseolak Ashoona, Napachie Pootoogook's mother and Annie Pootoogook's grandmother, is additionally noted for representing memories and past experiences.[28] She is known for her colourful representations of birds, animals, humans as well as hunting, camping, and other activities.[29] Therefore, these two renowned female Inuit artists from Kinngait are known for their depictions of their community, as well as their own distinct experiences or memories.[30] The content of and themes depicted within their artworks, as well as Pootoogook's reflection of a similar interest in the documentation of her daily experiences and her community, suggests she has been impacted by her creative female ancestors.[31] It also suggests the origins of her worldview; Pootoogook's artistic emphasis on recording daily life links her to her mother and grandmother, yet she presents the Kinngait she knows during the early 2000s to highlight her personal, immediate experiences.[32] However, the formal elements of *Untitled (Igloo scene with green monsters)* as well as *Man Abusing His Partner* continue to highlight each piece's reflection of the artists' creative careers and their connections to female ancestors.

The formal artistic characteristics of *Untitled (Igloo scene with green monsters),* such as the medium, composition and utilization of perspective, highlight the impact of Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq's personal creative choices as well as her connection to other artists in Qamani'tuaq. Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq's utilization of graphite and coloured pencils to create this drawing highlights her employment of the new media that was brought to the north during the 1960s but also her connection to other Inuit artists working in her community, as they generally preferred to utilize graphite or coloured pencils to create their compositions.[33] The employment of various colours for different figures enables the viewer to witness distinctions between each being, and Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq's definition of their position within interior or exterior space. The monsters' large, green bodies contrast with the pale grey, black and light yellow hues utilized for the figures within the igloo, and emphasizes the distinction between the exterior and interior as well as the non-human nature of the monsters. Lines clearly delineate figures' bodies, and emphasize them upon the white background, while the slender lines that define the igloo's boundary help Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq display the closeness of the threat that the monsters pose.[34]

Untitled (Igloo scene with green monsters) also features the inclusion of differing spatial perspectives, as the igloo is depicted from above[35] but several green monsters are drawn in profile. This incorporation of various spatial perspectives within a single piece is common in the distinctive compositions of Inuit artists who first began to participate in formal art-making programs in their communities, and Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq's incorporation of these elements may be an acknowledgement to Inuit artists from a previous generation, such as her mother, who also experimented with the formal compositional elements.[36] For instance, in one of Oonark's drawings, the viewer sees a fish if the piece is oriented horizontally, but a female figure if the composition is vertical.[37] This formal experimentation suggests transfiguration and connection, which are aspects in her daughter's drawing that are demonstrated through the human family's spatial proximity to the nearby monsters, as well as the depiction of human faces and heads on the monsters.[38] These formal compositional elements, and particularly

the combination of various spatial perspectives and figural positions within a single artwork highlight the drawing's reflection of Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq's personal creative choices, as well as her connection to the formal elements of her mother's artwork.

Pootoogook's *Man Abusing His Partner*'s formal characteristics relate to the artist's experiences and familial artistic practices. This drawing was created with ink and pencil crayons, which reflects Inuit artists' increased access to new artistic media transferred to Kinngait during the 1960s.[39] *Man Abusing His Partner*'s primarily muted palette is reminiscent of the subdued colours of Napachie Pootoogook's artworks from the mid-1990s to the early 2000s, which were perceived to demonstrate the emotional and social challenges associated with many Inuit communities' experiences during that time.[40] However, the pink sweater of a female figure in *Man Abusing His Partner* emphasizes the female figure's central location in the composition and her fear of the male figure who is about to hit her with the wooden plank. It is a single bright colour in the composition that emphasizes the figure against the white background and pale colours of the room. It also draws attention to how the figure's pose and body language around her torso express her terror, as her back is rigid and her arms are positioned behind her as if she is moving away from her attacker. Pitseolak Ashoona, is also known for embracing boldly coloured felt markers during the 1960s, and therefore creating colourful artworks.[41] The colours utilized to create *Man Abusing His Partner* are reflective of the colour selections of Pootoogook's mother and grandmother, which further links her to her female ancestors' artistic practices.

Man Abusing His Partner's composition is additionally linked to Pootoogook's experience living within the North during the early 2000s.[42] The bedroom's items, such as a television, small table, bed and coats hanging on the wall suggest how the relocation of Inuit families to permanent houses during the 1950s and 1960s has impacted the interior dwellings of Inuit communities.[43] The left half of the composition also appears to display more visual weight than the right half, as it features the abusive male figure and his wooden plank, two coats, a television, and a table. This imbalance portrays the heavy violent force of the male figure. The repetition of the pattern on the bedsheets may

also present the concept that intimate partner violence can occur in a seemingly comfortable setting. The female figure is formally emphasized through her pink sweater that is surrounded by muted colours, her visible, terrified facial expression, and her horizontal orientation upon the bed, which contrasts with the vertical orientation of elements on the left side of the composition, such as the male figure, coats and television on the table. This emphasis upon the female figure suggests Pootoogook's own experience with physical abuse, and therefore highlights how she utilizes formal characteristics to present the challenges of living in her community.[44]

Finally, Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq's *Untitled (Igloo scene with green monsters)* and Pootoogook's *Man Abusing His Partner* both feature interior domestic spaces, which reflects these artists' personal emphasis on interior spaces to convey meaning. Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq presents an igloo's interior with a family and Inuit-specific items, such as an ulu knife and hunting knives.[45] Many Inuit families resided in igloos before they were pushed to live in concentrated communities and relocated to constructed homes during the mid twentieth century.[46] Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq's depiction of an igloo, associated with the semi-nomadic experiences of Inuit families, suggests that her presentation of this interior space within Inuit-specific items connects her drawing to the preservation of Inuit cultural practices and the experiences of her ancestors.[47] Pootoogook's depiction of an interior domestic space also highlights its importance and meaning for her.

Man Abusing His Partner represents the interior space of an early 2000s home in Kinngait with corresponding, Western items. The detailed depiction of this interior, domestic space challenges romanticized perceptions of northern Inuit communities, and highlights the contemporary experiences of male and female Inuit figures within their dwelling space.[48] Pootoogook's illustration of impending physical abuse within this Western-style interior space additionally suggests the impact that colonialism has had on Inuit communities, and highlights how the social issue of physical intimate partner violence affects Inuit women.[49] During the mid 1970s and in the continuing decades after resettlement, many Inuit women began to participate in educational opportunities, gain employment and some became the main in-

come-earners in their families and communities.[50] The prevalence of hunting and trapping within Inuit communities also lessened during this time.[51] This meant that many Inuit men frequently experienced low self-esteem as they lost their traditional source of income, which was particularly dangerous for women as patriarchal, European values were introduced into Inuit communities, and gender-role reversal became common as some Inuit women assumed the main income-earner position.[52] Intimate partner violence in Inuit communities is also connected to a complex series of factors linked to colonization and colonialism, such as alcohol and drug abuse, lack of housing and multi-generational trauma associated with residential schools.[53] It is also important to highlight that these factors and circumstances may not apply to all Inuit communities within Nunavut or northern regions, but that noting them highlights the lasting impacts of colonialism on Inuit families.[54] *Man Abusing His Partner* is a powerful piece that represents the artist's personal experiences and suggests how colonialism has specifically impacted many Inuit women in northern communities through a dwelling space.[55]

Untitled (Igloo scene with green monsters) and *Man Abusing His Partner* are two artworks that enable the viewer to consider the challenges that Inuit communities have faced and continue to experience.[56] Each drawing illustrates its artist's worldview and creative consideration of common themes, such as male-female relationships and interior spaces. These features of *Untitled (Igloo scene with green monsters)* and *Man Abusing His Partner* reveal elements of each artist's personal experiences as well as connections to their families with notable female Inuit artists in Qamani'tuaq and Kinngait.[57] Nancy Pukingrnak Aupaluktuq and Annie Pootoogook are two extraordinary Inuit artists whose drawings exemplify their ties to their artistic female ancestors,[58] as well as their own unique artistic practices.

ENDNOTES

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51 Moffit et al., "Intimate partner violence in the Canadian territorial north," 3.
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Building A Better Museum: Provenance Research at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

This paper concerns the impact of including provenance information in the visitor experience at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Massachusetts. The MFA has recently developed a program of proactive provenance research aimed at uncovering the ownership histories of all new acquisitions and sections of its permanent collection. Considering the museum's previous reputation for denying the presence of looted and stolen works in its collection, their reformed commitment to provenance research is a welcome change.[1] Since 2010, the museum's research has resulted in the closure of a 22 year-long ownership dispute with Turkey,[2] the voluntary restitution of eight antiquities to Nigeria,[3] and resolution of at least four World War II-era provenance concerns.[4] The museum's recent efforts to uncover and resolve the ownership histories of its collection reflects a commendable degree of diligence that all museums should emulate. The museum's provenance research is made publicly available through their online collections database and the *Art with a Past* tour. By making the museum's research accessible in the gallery and online, the museum promotes a deeper public dialogue concerning the ethical issues and professional obligations that surround the practice of collecting.

Victoria Reed was named the USA's first full-time curator of provenance in 2010. Since expanding their curatorial team in this regard, the MFA has emerged as a national leader in provenance research. In a collaborative effort with her colleagues, Reed has been arduously investigating the ownership history of the museum's exten-

sive collection to promote a more comprehensive understanding of the MFA's history. Provenance information is made accessible to visitors through the online collection's database and in the gallery as a part of the museum's innovative series *Art with a Past: Provenance Research at the MFA.*[5] This self-guided tour is available in the gallery and online and showcases the ownership history of fifty-seven objects collected between 1870 and 2006.[6] Victoria Reed initiated this project in 2008 to engage visitors in the museum's ongoing provenance research project, providing them with valuable data that illustrates the diverse routes by which objects from around the world were deposited into the MFA in Boston.[7] The series features a diverse group of objects dating from antiquity to modernity, including paintings, architectural features, sculptures, furniture, ceramics, musical instruments, silver pieces, gems, and ritual objects, which are exhibited alongside traditional supplemental text and a provenance label. The supplemental text typically addresses the artwork's formal characteristics, function, and iconography, whereas the provenance label details its ownership history. An object's provenance relates the known conditions of its individual life. By providing that information in the gallery, these labels encourage visitors to recognize each work as a distinct piece of history, promoting a more meaningful and educational experience with the museum's collection.

Among the most recent acquisitions featured in the *Art with a Past* series is a Roman Imperial fountain basin that entered the MFA's collection in 2002 (2002.21). In antiquity, this marble fountain would have decorated the home of an affluent Roman family in the Eastern empire. The fountain has two tiered basins for water and three sculptural niches along its backside. Today, only the central niche retains its original sculpture, depicting the river god Nilus reclining against a now-headless sphinx.[8] The basin's provenance begins in 1725, when the antiquarian scholar Bernard de Montfaucon included it in his work *Antiquity Explained and Represented in Images.* The fourth Earl of Darnley is the only former owner of the basin explicitly named in the gallery label, which states the Darnley family kept the basin in Kent, England, from the early nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century. The label then details that the basin "passed through several other English collections until the MFA purchased it

at auction in 2001."[9] A more comprehensive account of the fountain basin's provenance is available in the museum's online *Art with a Past* tour. Here, the visitor learns that the Darnley family acquired the basin at Christie's London after its previous owner, Welbore Ellis, first Baron of Mendip, died. The basin was in the Darnley family's collection until at least 1954 and was subsequently sold at Spink & Son in London. Following the auction, the basin may have briefly entered the Binney collection in Kent. The basin's final owner before the MFA was an unnamed private collector in Surrey, who acquired the object in the 1960s. This extensive account of the basin's ownership history details two centuries of scholastic and aristocratic interest in the fountain basin and proves that it left its country of origin long before legal measures were designed to regulate the antiquity trade. Therefore, the MFA was able to confidently acquire this piece at Christie's London in 2001. In this regard, the *Art with a Past* series has been used to demonstrate the museum's present commitment to diligent provenance research and accountable acquisitions.

In addition to showcasing objects with documented ownership histories, the series also confronts objects with more problematic stories. These labels tell the ownership histories of stolen objects that reached the museum as a result of unauthorized excavation and Nazi looting. By prominently displaying this information in the gallery, the museum offers novel recognition of how it has historically been complicit in looting by transforming its past transgressions into teachable moments of critical thought and reflection. These unique labels offer new opportunities for transparent and progressive education in the gallery. Two of the objects featured in the *Art with a Past* series thought to be looted from archaeological sites are a calyx krater said to be from the Etruscan settlement at Vulci (97.368) and a fragmentary sculpture of an Indian fertility goddess looted from the western gate of the Great Stupa (29.999). The unauthorized removal of these objects from their spiritual and archaeological contexts signifies an irreparable loss of historical data and cultural value.[10] However, by conducting this research, the museum has endeavored to recontextualize these objects within their past lives and functions. Although the museum will never be able to restore the archaeological data that originally accompanied

these works, they have endeavored to uncover as much information as possible in an attempt to advocate for their historical value. The MFA acquired the krater from the Boston-based collector Edward Perry Warren in 1897 and its archaeological findspot, or provenience, was established with the help of Warren's personal notes.[11] The fragmentary sculpture of the fertility goddess was gifted to the museum by Denman Waldo Ross in 1929 and its provenience was verified using Alexander Cunningham's 1854 work *Buddhist Monuments of Central India*.[12] By uncovering this information, the museum has hinted at the legacy of cultural heritage destruction in ancient art collecting and offered a more transparent approach for exhibiting these objects.

It is imperative to recognize that these pieces were collected prior to the UNESCO 1970 Convention, which serves as the most pertinent cut-off date for the acquisition of unprovenanced antiquities. If a museum wants to acquire an object that left its modern country of origin after the UNESCO convention, they must provide a clear provenance proving the object's legal origin. Meanwhile, antiquities that were collected before the convention are generally considered safe from such rigorous research standards. Therefore, the antiquities featured in this series cannot be held to the same standards as ancient art acquisitions today. Although publishing these provenances does not excuse the museum's historical lack of diligence, it does reflect the museum's growing sense of institutional responsibility. By publicly taking ownership over its past mistakes, the MFA has communicated its intention to prevent the acquisition of unprovenanced antiquities in the future. By highlighting the ethical issues that surround the acquisition of looted works, the museum has developed a more productive educational environment. These labels encourage visitors to address the paramount importance of cultural heritage protection today and to ponder the licit quality of other pieces on display.

The following section concerns the museum's inquiry into the ownership history of Eglon van der Neer's *Portrait of a Man and Woman in an Interior* (41.935). Made between 1665 and1667, the work depicts a Dutch "burgomaster and his wife" seated before the fireplace of an opulent living room.[13] The museum first learned that this work came from a dismantled Jewish collection in 1943 but only

recently began investigating the painting's provenance. Their first effort to address the issue came in 1998, when the painting was included in a list of potentially Nazi-looted objects that was published on the museum's website[14] in accordance with the Washington Principles, a set of guidelines established in December 1998 to promote the identification, research, and restitution of artworks that were looted or stolen during World War II.[15] However, the museum's first comprehensive inquiry into the work's provenance only began in 2004, after Fred Westfeld contacted the museum concerning the painting's removal from his late-uncle Walter Westfeld's collection.[16] The museum's research determined that Westfeld purchased the painting from Robert Lebel between 1934 and 1936 and that the painting left Westfeld's collection after his gallery in present-day Wuppertal was forcibly closed by the Nazi party in May 1936. Although the museum has been unable to establish the exact route by which the painting left Westfeld's collection, it nevertheless turned up at E. and A. Silberman Galleries, in New York, by 1941. The MFA subsequently purchased the painting from Silberman Galleries and formally accessioned it on December 11th, 1941.[17] Despite the museum's inability to establish precisely how the painting left Europe, the MFA conceded that its removal from Westfeld's collection was inseparable from the persecution Westfeld experienced as a Jewish art dealer under the National Socialist party.[18] Considering the above circumstances, the museum reached a financial settlement with the Westfeld estate in 2011, effectively repurchasing their title to the object.[19] The museum's recent efforts to uncover and publicize this painting's provenance reflects a commendable departure from the decades of denial that followed its initial purchase in 1941. Today, the painting is exhibited alongside an *Art with a Past* label that seeks to address the suspect circumstances under which the painting left Europe. Reed, the curator of provenance, stated that she hopes the label will promote visitor awareness of Nazi looting and help preserve the memory of Walter Westfeld.[20]

The *Art with a Past* series features four other works that were displaced during World War II, including a French sculpture of the *Virgin and Child* (59.701), Jan Fyt's *Still Life in an Architectural Setting* (50.2728), the *Diana and Stag Automaton* (2004.568), and Oskar

Kokoschka's *Self-Portrait as a Warrior* (60.958).[21] Unlike the Westfeld painting, the museum acquired each of these works directly from their war-time owners or their heirs. However, the provenances of these works are nevertheless exhibited to expand the visitor's understanding of the dispossession and destruction of cultural assets during World War II. Whereas Walter Westfeld's painting left his possession after his gallery was closed, the Jan Fyt painting was seized from its original owners, the Rothschild family, to be included in the collection of the never-built Führermuseum.[22] The *Virgin and Child* was also acquired to be deposited into a German museum but its original owner, Marthe Ida Mezzara Dufet, was compensated for the sale.[23] The *Automaton* was likely looted from the Osterstein Castle after it was bombed in 1945, and it was subsequently held in a private collection until it was restituted to its original owners, the princes of Reuss.[24] Meanwhile, Kokoschka's *Self-Portrait* was brought to the United States by its original owner, Helene Scheu-Riesz, to avoid its disposal as "degenerate art."[25] The diverse routes by which these objects changed hands during World War II illustrate the different threats cultural objects faced throughout the conflict. By bringing these stories together in the *Art with a Past* tour, the museum offers its visitors a glimpse into the different modes of artistic displacement and destruction that characterized the war years. The accessibility of the MFA's provenance research is of immeasurable value to students, scholars, and casual visitors concerned with the displacement and destruction of cultural heritage. The visibility of provenance information in the *Art with a Past* tour promotes a deeper public understanding of the ethical issues museum professionals face amidst their purpose of collecting and exhibiting art and archaeological material. Furthermore, by uncovering and addressing its past mistakes, the museum is ensuring its ability to implement sustainable and responsible policies moving forward.[26]

Although the *Art with a Past* series is not a cure-all for museum ethics, it is a model that other museums should emulate and build upon. As more museums "develop independent programs of provenance research" and digitize their findings, the connections between different collections and collectors will become more legible, and other provenance "enigmas" will be solved.[27] The J. Paul Getty Museum and

the Walters Art Museum have both digitized considerable amounts of provenance information on their collections but have yet to translate that information into tours, labels, and other didactic material. The Toledo Museum of Art, the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, and the Worcester Museum of Art are also working to expand their provenance research programs. As this paper has argued, these museums should strive to share the valuable data they gather on their collections with daily visitors in clear and accessible ways. As more museums encourage their visitors to think critically about the history of collecting, more people will be exposed to the scholastic discipline concerned with provenance research and cultural heritage protection. By promoting proactive and transparent provenance research, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has taken a meaningful step towards understanding and combating the illicit trade in art and archaeological material and has provided a good example for other institutions grappling with problematic pasts.

ENDNOTES

1 For a brief and effective overview on the role of museums in the illicit trade of cultural property, refer to Colin Renfrew's talk "The Issue of Unprovenanced Antiquities," https://www.webofstories.com/play/colin.renfrew/61.

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Manifestations of Colonialism in Art History: The Racist Work of Leo Frobenius

When the 'Scramble for Africa' and European colonial efforts discovered incredible African artifacts and cultural practices, European art historians immediately sought to integrate African art into previously established European standards. Of these art historians, Leo Viktor Frobenius stands out as a most influential historian who ventured to Africa and detailed African arts with explanations and diagrams. His examination of African art reinforced the Eurocentric assumptions of African art as primitive and inferior to European art. Europeans worked to rewrite African art as European in origin in order to contend with racial theories of the nineteenth century, which claimed white racial superiority over all other races. Historians argue that the work of Frobenius to prove the existence of an African Atlantis furthered the integration of non-European art into European narratives. The racist way which art history was written by nineteenth-century European colonizers has lasting effects on the museum industry; art from Africa continues to be displayed with a European perspective which ultimately continues the racist European gaze on African cultural practices.

Peter Wade's text *Race: An Introduction* unravels the impact of the European gaze on colonies, specifically the British gaze in Africa. The desire for new raw materials, globalization and new markets drove Europeans into Africa and the 'Scramble for Africa' from 1870 to 1900 opened up vast territory to European imperial control.[1] This marked an important point in history where white Europeans infiltrated territory that was not theirs and controlled the people who they saw as non-white.[2] Africans were foreign to European colonizers and were thus viewed as savages, heathens, and religiously defec-

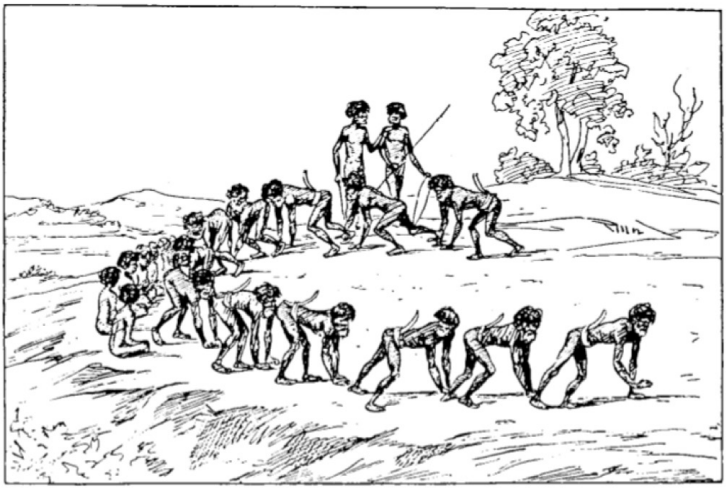

Fig. 34.

Fig. 1. Frobenius, Leo, *Fig. 34.* from *The Childhood of Man: a popular account of the lives, customs, and thoughts of the primitive races.* (London: Seeley, 1909), 44.

tive.[3] Wade notes "the English tended to classify and describe Africans in a way which, by opposition, defined themselves in a positive light."[4] This degrading classification infiltrated the way history and art history was written by Europeans; this discourse by historians is inherently racist.

German art historian Leo Frobenius's text, *The Childhood of Man: A Popular Account of the Lives, Customs, and Thoughts of the Primitive Races* (1909) details the characteristics of exotic African art under the European gaze. He evaluates their symbolism, construction, materials and cultural pertinence in an attempt to gain insight into African artistry and culture. The first sentence of this text is: "The European observer finds two distinct classes of aborigines, the primitive wild tribes, and the civilized peoples who have come into contact with Europeans."[5] After racial categorization, Frobenius dives into biological disparities and the impact these facets have on artistic creation: "Every tribe has been constituted in its own particular way, has acquired such a special form of culture that we must stand amazed at the infinite fullness of independent social phenomena."[6] These two quotes lend valuable insight into the overarching viewpoint and narrative that Frobenius discusses throughout *The Childhood of Man*. Although he regards African crafts with high esteem,

his dissection of African culture comes from his perspective that Africans were savages. In calling Africans "primitive peoples," he automatically assumes that the positive opposite of this barbarism is his own European elitism. This is best exemplified in the chapter "Tattooing" where Frobenius details the unfortunate story of a French trader in 1895.[7] In this story, the trader became a member of a tribe in order to gain immense riches, however in order to join the tribe he must receive tribal tattoos. The description of this event degrades the artistry and rich culture of the tribe:

> "To put it briefly, the white brother of the tribe was first of all manipulated on the temples, a black mixture rubbed in, and his head scored with all possible red lines. Meanwhile the outside crowd held high feast, dancing, eating good things, drinking palm wine- all at his expense."[8]

Because African arts and culture was not what the French trader was accustomed to, the craft was explained as being barbaric and was cheapened below that of the European standard. He even includes sketches of these tattoos (see Fig. 2) and explains the various tattoos of each region and district.[9] These observations further the narration that he finds these tattoos hysterical and absurd. Frobenius discusses the barbarity of African piercings in the chapter "Tests of Manhood" when he recounts how bodily deformations were practiced. He explains it as "ill-regulated and extravagant" and then compares European piercings with African piercings. "We still laugh at times at the dainty little ear-lobes pierced for the insertion of a pretty little ring. But we look with horror at the sight of an ear-hole which is distended down to the shoulders- to the shoulders!"[10] By calling these piercings "violent embellishments" and expressing horror at the customs of "energetic peoples," he automatically gives European piercings higher regard than African piercings.[11] Frobenius' examination of the cultural and artistic practices in Africa in *Childhood of Man* belittled Africa's rich artistry below that of the European standard. This text has not only had an incredible impact on the minds of 19th century art historians, but also stands as a prime example of the deconstruction of African art under the European academic gaze.

Historians have criticized the work of Frobenius and have analyzed

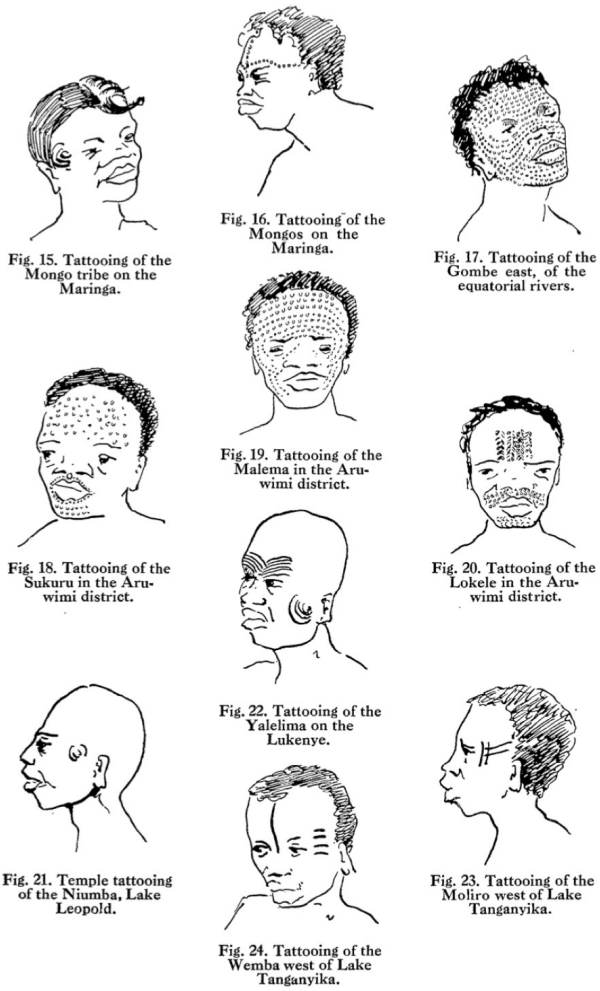

Fig. 2. Frobenius, Leo. *Figs. 15 - 24* from *The Childhood of Man: a popular account of the lives, customs, and thoughts of the primitive races* (London: Seeley, 1958), 32.

the effects of his work on creating a Eurocentric narrative that tends to dominate the field of art history. Historians tend to describe the work of Frobenius as most important to conceiving the 'Kulturkreis'; the concept that there is a centre of origin to culture that diffuses across the world.[12] This diffusionist

ideology believes that cultural similarities are due to cultural influence rather than a universal human nature. Frobenius used Kulturkreis to prove his theory on African Atlantis. This theory states that African art, specifically sculptures, is so beautiful and balanced that there must have been a white civilization in Africa prior to colonization because African artists couldn't have possibly known how to make such beautiful sculptures; he describes this as the 'white residue' that survived in Africa at this time. Historian Roger Atwood explains how Frobenius came across a lifelike bronze sculpture of a head in Yoruba, Ife which entranced him into confirming his Atlantic African theory; "In the Head of Olokun he saw 'a symmetry, a vitality, a delicacy of form directly reminiscent of ancient Greece and a proof that, once upon a time, a race, far superior in strain to the Negro, had been settled here."[13] Due to the perfection of the sculpted heads, Frobenius strove to prove that the mythical city of Atlantis survived off the coast of Africa.[14] Suzanne Marchand, author of the text "Leo Frobenius and the Revolt against the West," explores Frobenius' search for the origin of this African art.[15] She describes his master narrative as a "co-dominance of an ur-historical West African Atlantis and its trading partners in the Mediterranean, the Etruscans, and… [the] Phoenicians."[16] These historians note the lasting effects of declaring African art as originating from the 'perfected' Greek standard rather than from its own cultural identity. By crediting Europe as the origin for all art, as seen in the African Atlantis theory, African art is only praised a result of being integrated into a European historical narrative.

The European gaze on African art is still prevalent in museums today with various exhibitions displaying pieces from Africa in a colonial light. To be dubbed 'art,' a piece of work must be considered both unique and beautiful; this is especially controversial when, for instance, a piece of African cutlery is deemed 'art' in European museums while such cutlery is simply 'cutlery' in its place of origin. The British Museum is a good example of an institution that houses African 'art' and represents it as a collection. The website of the British Museum has a web page for "Africa (Room 25)" which states that "the diverse cultural life of Africa has been expressed through everyday objects and unique works of art since ancient times."[17] Of course, it is also important to note that the British Museum houses 200,000 African artifacts; this is immediately reflective of the historic exoticism and colonial possession of Africa that should be expressly indicated when African exhibits are put on

display.[18] The bronze head sculptures that Frobenius fell in love with in Ife are currently displayed in the British Museum but it is important to question the locations and presentations of these sculptures. The Head of Olokun has since drifted into legend due to the colonial struggle to integrate African art into European museum collections. Because of a struggle to retrieve African art and bring it to Europe, art either gets lost or it loses its meaning. Viewers, curators and collectors should ask themselves about the origins of these works and the colonial history and racist narratives tied to them before integrating them into their collections and exhibitions.

A question that should be kept in mind when entering a museum exhibition of African art is: who decides what is art? David Hume's essay "Of the Standard of Taste," written in 1757, attempts to tackle this question through profound analysis of the ties between moral reasoning and the uniformity of taste.[19] Hume notes that appreciation for great art is universal, yet those who are highly trained and educated have a higher capacity to separate the 'good' from the 'bad.'[20] Ultimately, it becomes up to the artistic analyst to recognize formal aspects of artistic technique and to dub their formal elements as something of interest or beauty. Art historian Joe Kincheloe raises valuable questions regarding taste curation. He asks: "When does an artifact become art?" "Should art be judged on a scale of quality? Whose scale?" "What is included in the notion of aesthetic?"[21] Kincheloe also raises the point that "art critics like all other 'knowledgeable producers' must always judge art in relation to something else in the world—in relation to an aesthetic theory, an art canon, a political system of meaning, a social theory, etc."[22] The perception and shaped view of art is thus placed in context to how it makes sense within the world's boundaries and how it relates to and affirms the boundaries of sociopolitical and educational domains. Frobenius' gaze as a European colonizer helped perpetuate the complex aesthetics of affirming the so-called "story of art" as it "progresses" through time.[23] His affirmation of hierarchies perpetuated racialized thinking that saw non-Western art as a view of the past; a product that "civilization passed by" in a "land that time forgot." African art, no matter how beautiful or profound, would always be stuck in the primitive mode under the European gaze.[24] Grappling with the aesthetics of African art, Frobenius consciously integrated it into the aesthetics of European art through his African Atlantis theory. His scale of judgment was one entirely based on affirming Western principles leading up to the colonial conquest of African art.

To answer the question "What is included in the notion of aesthetic?" the definition of "aesthetic" should be contextualized as a concept born from European academies that attempted to define taste and standardize it into a Western model of judgment. Thus, I pose the question once more: Who decides what is art? In the judgment of African artifacts it was the Western scale from which all non-Western creation was judged.

Overall, Leo Frobenius was an influential art historian who left a significant impact on the early art historical dissection of African art. His text *The Childhood of Man* serves as a testament to the impact of the European gaze on non-European art; the detailing and degrading of various arts and cultural practices were incredibly important to the early art historical documentation of the time. As historians have noted, his theory of African Atlantis has incredible racial complexities that are embodied through a racist Eurocentric art historical lense. The lasting impact of Frobenius' work can be seen through the established racism in museum exhibitions of African art from the 19th century to the present day. The art world begs the question of gaze: particularly, how does power play into the judgment of material as art or artifact, especially under colonial context?[25] To begin to tackle this question requires recognition that aesthetics are manifested from the political agendas of institutions promoting artistic knowledge. Recognizing this connection as one that pertains to the political shaping of consciousness allows for the acknowledgement that non-Western art has been judged on a Western scale, by Western art critics, since as early as Leo Viktor Frobenius.

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3 Wade, *Race: an Introduction*, 70.
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5 Leo Frobenius, *The Childhood of Man* (London: Seeley, 1958), 21.
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7 Frobenius, *The Childhood of Man*, 30.
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10 Frobenius, *The Childhood of Man*, 39.
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16 Marchand, "Leo Frobenius and the Revolt against the West," 161.
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Mas(q)ulinity: Constructing Gender Ideals in the Stage Architecture of Inigo Jones (1610-1611)

In 1594 the Scottish theologian Andrew Melville composed his Latin poem *Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia* to celebrate the royal birth of King James's first son, Henry Frederick. For Melville, and for many across the British Isles, Henry's birth promised the union of England and Scotland by 'one sceptre,' which Melville's poem celebrates. Yet Melville also communicates tremendous martial ambitions for the Prince; the theologian foresees Henry leading a holy war against Spain and papal Rome, "Until with Iberian pride everywhere subdued, / Glorious by triumph over slippery Geryon, / You press under your foot the triple crown of the papacy." [1] These aggressive words prophesize a glorious future for the infant prince: under his gallant leadership, an empire, at once British and Protestant, will defeat Catholicism. In effect, Melville constructs a chivalric image for Prince Henry, imbued with antique elements—Henry would, for instance, defeat Geryon, a "three-headed monster from the underworld associated with the west and, specifically, Spain." [2] Throughout Henry's life, artists produced images and texts that associated him with martial qualities and a nostalgic antique past. In so doing, these works conveyed deeper messages about masculinity and its relationship to leadership.

This essay offers an examination of these sources to investigate how chivalric elements and classical imagery were used in art and architectural projects to articulate gendered ideals that equated Henry's martial prowess with model masculinity. A renewed interest in classical forms and antique conceptions of male kingship provided artists with

visual exempla that informed their depictions of Henry. King James's political pacifism and contested virility provided the conditions for the construction of Henry's hypermasculine image in portraiture. The English architect Inigo Jones responded to these representational precedents in his two masque designs for Prince Henry (the masque being a form of dramatic courtly entertainment that was popular in the seventeenth century). In both masques, *Prince Henry's Barriers* and *Oberon, The Fairy Prince*, Jones used ancient and medieval architectural forms to articulate a virile image for the Prince. As with Melville's *Principis*, Jones's stage designs combined classical and chivalric imagery to construct meaning;[3] his physical sets articulated immaterial ideas about masculinity and kingship. Jones used machinery and contrasting stage designs to communicate polarizing dichotomies of 'order versus disorder' and 'masculinity versus femininity.' Ancient architectural forms provided novel ways of conveying themes of medieval chivalry, heightening the nostalgia of the medieval aesthetic by way of deploying it inflected by the revered antique past. Such a conceit aptly framed and revealed Henry's militant and hypermasculine image.

PRINCE HENRY AND 'QUEEN' JAMES

King James's contested capabilities as a male ruler offered the image against which Henry sought to fashion his own identity by contrast. King James VI of Scotland and I of England was often the subject of slanderous texts and rumours, which circulated the British Isles and the continent, attacking his masculinity and questioning his sexual preferences. Among these libels was the notorious Latin epigram that surfaced upon James's accession to the throne in England: *Rex fuit Elizabeth, nunc est regina Jacobus*, meaning "Elizabeth was King, now James is Queen."[4] King James was acutely aware of the contempt with which many of his contemporaries saw him. Prior to his marriage to Anne of Denmark in 1589, James wrote a letter in which he expressed how his failure to marry and provide an heir earlier rendered him "as no man, and the want of succession bred disdain…as if I were a barren stock."[5] The debate over James's masculinity was fortified by rumours of his preference for male bedfellows over female, overall casting the king in a precarious light.

It is understandable, then, that hopes for a virile male successor fell on Prince Henry immediately upon his birth. Scholars have noted Henry's inclination to express oppositional characteristics to those of his father; his "fervently militaristic" ambitions and interests, for instance, stood in stark contrast to James's "pacifist foreign policy."[6] Contemporaries linked James's pacifism with effeminacy, asserting that the opposite values of "manliness and militarism" needed to be installed at court.[7] To those concerned with James's perceived lack of virility, Prince Henry offered a glimmer of hope. Henry was, in the eyes of many, the ideal male monarch: a prince with martial ambitions, positively teeming with masculine vigor.

As a teenager, Henry carefully constructed his court and image in antithesis to those of his father. A contemporary wrote that "concerning his apparell, he loued to goe handsome and well cloathed: yet without any manner of superfluity or excesse."[8] Strong has argued that the Prince used his material appearance as a "statement against the follies of his father's court," whereby Henry rejected the feminine excess and decadence of James's tastes in favour of a restrained masculinity.[9] Beyond the sartorial culture of his court, Henry also strove to create a very different atmosphere among his courtiers than James did with his circle. James's court was "notoriously disorganized, so Henry insisted on a greater degree of order and propriety in his own."[10] While James favoured classical learning, Henry preferred martial sport and exercise. Henry studied for two hours per day "and employ[ed] the rest of his time in tossing the pike, or leaping, or shooting the bow, or throwing the bar, or vaulting, or some other exercise of that kind; and he [was] never idle."[11] Henry's passion for and dedication to physical and, importantly, martial exercise expressed virility and strength. Henry symbolized the ideal man, future monarch and, in many ways, the antithesis to his father. Henry chose restraint over indulgence, order over chaos, and militarism over pacifism; in essence, Henry embodied a warrior prince with all the virtues that James seemed to lack.

MARTIAL PORTRAITURE

This hypermasculine and militant image of Prince Henry was consolidated in art, architecture, and spectacle. Prior to Inigo

Fig. 1. Robert Peake the Elder, *Henry, Prince of Wales and Sir John Harrington* (1603). Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art (n.d.).

Fig. 2. Robert Peake the Elder, *Prince Henry* (c.1605–8). Source: Wikimedia Commons (17 May 2012).

Jones's masque designs, and the official creation of Henry as Prince of Wales in 1610, portraiture communicated messages about Henry's ardent militarism, chivalrous spirit, and, by extension, robust masculinity. These portraits offered visual promises for Henry's glorious future. In Robert Peake the Elder's 1603 portrait *Henry, Prince of Wales and Sir John Harrington* (Fig. 1), Henry is "depicted as a prince of action, caught in movement rather than in stasis"—he stands, legs spread apart, sheathing his sword above a slaughtered deer that lays at his feet.[12] At but the young age of nine, Henry exudes energy and martial promise. The hunting scene in this portrait promotes "Henry as the embodiment of military hope for the future;"[13] the recreational hunting ground symbolically and literally constitutes the precursor to the battlegrounds of great warfare. Peake's choice to paint Henry into an exterior landscape rather than an interior space communicates not only the Prince's love for sport but also his virile strength and vigor; such characteristics are, of course, best displayed through exterior hunting scenes.

Quickly, the visual rhetoric gained in complexity; another portrait by Peake, *Prince Henry*, completed around 1605–8 (Fig. 2), again illustrates Henry's martial qualities but also links him to the heroes of classical antiquity and the ancient English chivalric code. As before, Henry is rendered in action: a dynamic landscape with rolling hills and moving waterways frames his combative position; he lunges forward, his hand gripping his sword, and sternly addresses the viewer. Peake is referencing Hendrik Goltzius's print *Titus Manlius Torquatus* from his 1586 series *The Roman Heroes* (Fig. 3).[14] Peake effectively recreates this episode, depicting Henry in an identical position to that of Titus. The renewed interest in antiquity at this time in England offered a novel way for Henry to be aligned with idealistic masculinity: through reference to the ancient Roman Republic. Despite his early

Fig. 3. Hendrik Goltzius, *Titus Manlius Toquatus* (1586). Source: Free Library of Philadelphia (2018).

age, the portrait "shows Henry's readiness to match himself to figures of supreme authority drawn from both mythology and history."[15] The 'epic past' of the classical reference is augmented by a chivalric visual code, expressed by the shield at Henry's feet. The shield, which bears the Prince's motto *Ich Dein* ("I Serve"), alludes to the medieval English chivalric tradition of displaying one's shield "bearing [their] *impresa*" in a portrait.[16] In these ways, Henry's image was linked to the revered pasts of antiquity and chivalry, but—more importantly—to the strong masculine aspects of these periods. The warrior persona that Peake created for Henry in his portraits evoked the martial qualities and masculine virtues to which Henry was first connected in Andrew Melville's *Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia*. These portraits are the earliest examples of an artist's visual production of Henry's militant and manly image.

THE MASQUES

Inigo Jones expanded on these earlier textual and visual representations of Henry's militant persona. In his masque designs, Jones also aligned Henry with antique and chivalric masculine ideals. As Peake had done in portraiture and Melville had done through poetry, Jones created allegorical works that articulated the militant characteristics and martial prowess of Henry following his official creation as Prince of Wales. Accompanied by the dramatic prose of Ben Jonson, the masques *Prince Henry's Barriers* and *Oberon, The Fairy Prince* were performed at Whitehall Palace on 6 January 1610 and 1 January 1611 respectively. The masques included song, dance, and dialogue. Each masque had two set changes. The first scenes conveyed a neglected, disorderly world that required heroic—and masculine—restoration. The second scenes articulated triumph and prosperity, emerging as the results of Henry's martial interventions. Jones used the visual contrasts between scenes, achieved through mechanical set changes, and classical architectural forms to communicate ideas about Henry's power and authority. The sets, and their moving mechanisms, articulated Henry's unique ability to restore ancient order. In essence, the physical transitions between and stark visual contrasts of these sets articulated gendered ideals about what constituted a great ruler.

Fig. 4. Inigo Jones, *The Fallen House of Chivalry* (1610) design for *Prince Henry's Barriers*, Burlington-Devonshire Collection. Source: Gordon Higgott, "Inigo Jones in Provence," *Architectural History* 26 (1983).

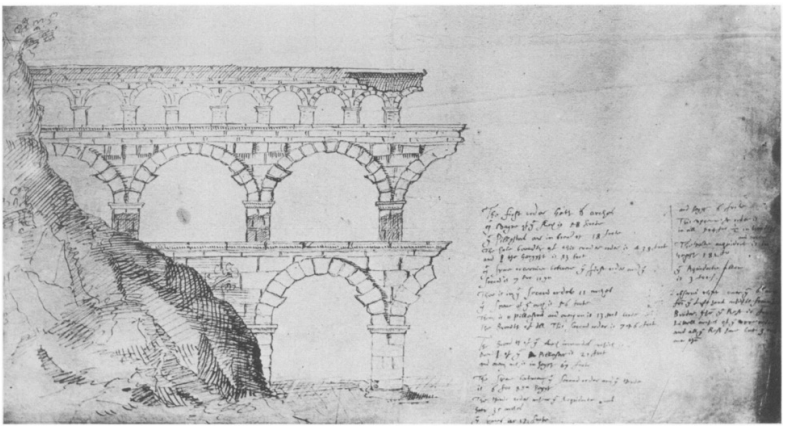

Fig. 5. Inigo Jones, *Drawing of the Pont du Gard near Nimes, with inscription* (1609), British Architectural Library. Source: Gordon Higgott, "Inigo Jones in Provence," *Architectural History* 26 (1983).

For the first scene of *Barriers*, Jones created *The Fallen House of Chivalry* (Fig. 4). The landscape in this drawing depicts a "jumble of Roman ruins, including the pyramid of Cestus, the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina and the arch of Titus."[17] The foreground is occupied by decaying Roman aqueducts, defining the space as classical. Jones

had studied these antique systems, evident in his drawing of the *Pont du Gard* from his visit to Provence in 1609 (Fig. 5). His decision to include ancient forms achieves the same effect that Robert Peake had produced in his portraits of Henry: here, the Prince is visually linked to the classical world not by a reference to Titus Manlius but by his presence among Roman architectural ruins. The broken aqueducts, overgrown landscape, and deteriorating classical monuments illustrate a disorderly scene of a lost antique world. The Lady of the Lake character laments the loss of antiquity, calling for a chivalric hero to resurrect the architecture of a glorious past:

> More truth of architecture there was blazed
> Than lived in all the ignorant Goths have razed.
> There porticos were built, and seats for knights
> That watched for all adventures, days and nights;
> The niches filled with statues to invite
> Young valours forth by their old forms to fight,
> With arcs triumphal for their actions done, (52–60).[18]

Only the gallant Meliadus, played by Prince Henry, can restore this lost world. The heir apparent is thereby cast "as the epitome of knightly virtues, the new Arthurian-British hero."[19] Alongside Jonson's text, Jones used antique imagery and building elements to display a long-lost authoritative past that could only be retrieved by the Prince's might. Contemporary accounts noted that Henry proceeded to fight "fifty-six defendants" in a staged tournament that took place both on and off the masque set.[20] Ultimately, Henry's character prevailed, and he restored the fallen house of chivalry to its former ancient glory.

The architectural elements of the second set visualized and framed Henry's victory. Following the staged brawl, Jones's first set was transformed into *St. George's Portico* (Fig. 6) by the *machina versatilis*, a "two-sided setting that revolved on a pivot."[21] The cluttered and deteriorating classical forms from *The Fallen House of Chivalry* transitioned into soaring vertical structures in the foreground that framed St. George's Portico in the background. In effect, Henry's victorious battle replaced chaos with order, which included intact classical monuments,

such as Trajan's column to the right, a triumphal arch to the left, "and a tomb copied from the Medici tombs of Michelangelo."[22] These elements communicated orderliness, advocating for Henry's authority. Jones used linear perspective to convey this in his drawing (Fig. 6). Jones created "a sense of depth and recession," whereby converging lines draw the viewer's eye from the foreground to the interior of St. George's Portico—the very place that represents the concept of chivalry, as St. George was the patron saint of the Order of the Garter, of which Henry was a member.[23] Jones used antique architectural elements and monuments to reveal ideas relating to Henry's potential and male warrior authority. The set changes articulated a dichotomy between chaos and control. Henry's successful and expeditious renewal of antique order symbolized and strove to forecast his abilities as a future sovereign.

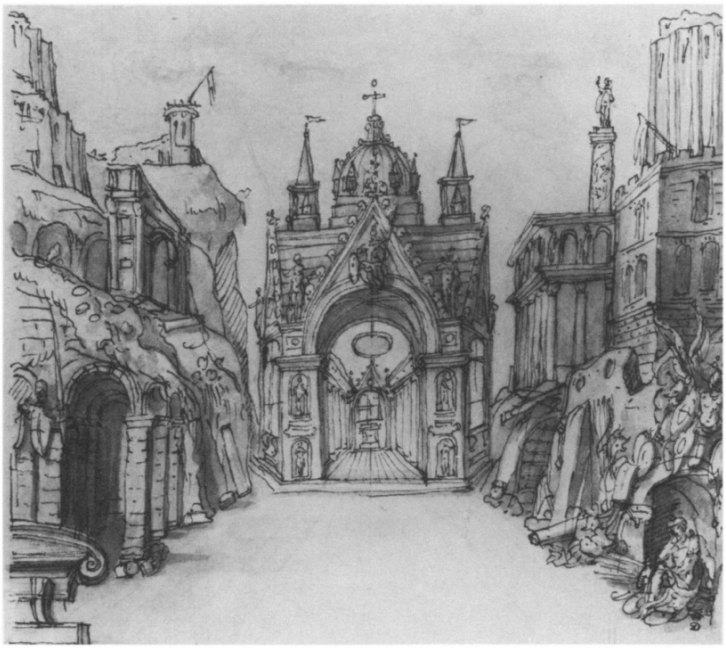

Fig. 6. Inigo Jones, *St. George's Portico* (1610) design for *Prince Henry's Barriers*, Burlington-Devonshire Collection. Source: Gordon Higgott, "Inigo Jones in Provence," *Architectural History* 26 (1983).

Fig. 7. Inigo Jones, *Costume Design for Prince Henry's Barrier: Helmet* (1610), The Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees. Source: Catherine MacLeod, The Lost Prince: *The Life and Death of Henry Stuart* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2012).

Fig. 8. Antonio Tempesta, *Caligula* from The Twelve Caesars series (1596). Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art (2018).

Importantly, Jones also used costume design to establish Henry as an authoritative classical figure. In his drawing *Design for Prince Henry's Barriers: Helmet* (Fig. 7), Jones sketched an elaborate headpiece for Henry that referenced ancient emperors. The drawing, which includes Henry rendered in profile, echoes "Roman coins, medals and gems" as well as Antonio Tempesta's print of *Caligula* from his series *The Twelve Caesars* (Fig. 8).[24] Jones was clearly looking to ancient forms and styles, seeking to generate a comprehensive simulation of classical idioms that would suggest that Henry were not simply *playing* a classical figure—he *was* one. Notably, the series of obelisks that sit "on the upper part of an elephant's head" along the helmet's visor resemble the obelisks in the set designs.[25] Jones created a conscious visual dialogue between the set's landscape and Henry's helmet to suggest an inherent link between the classical world and Henry's personage. In effect, Henry embodied a nostalgic warrior figure whose apparel and

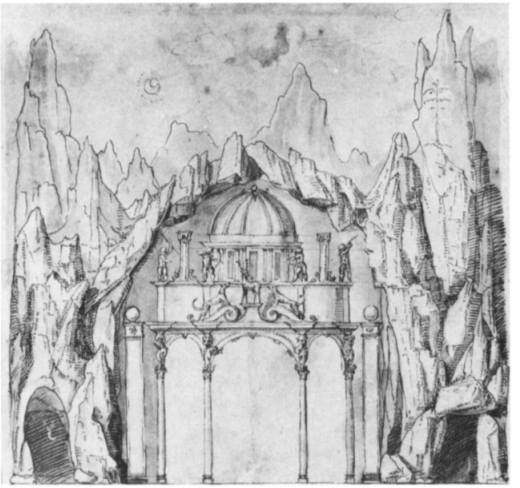

Fig. 6. Inigo Jones, *St. George's Portico* (1610) design for *Prince Henry's Barriers*, Burlington-Devonshire Collection. Source: Gordon Higgott, "Inigo Jones in Provence," *Architectural History* 26 (1983).

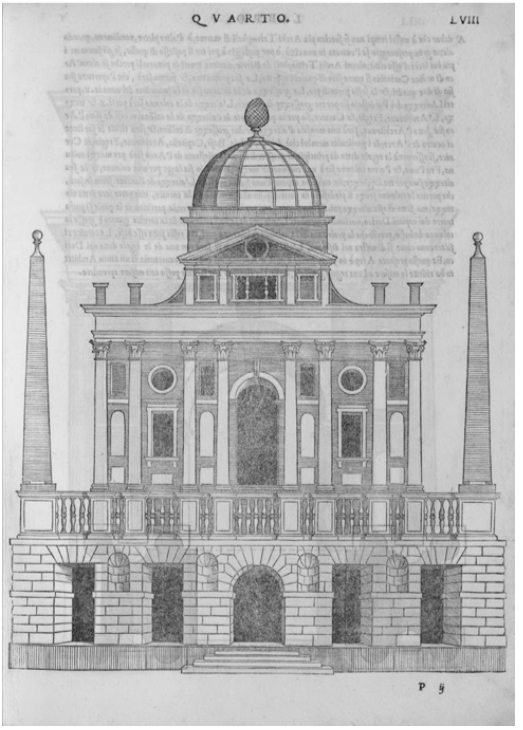

Fig. 10. Sebastiano Serlio, *Design for a Church* in *Architettura* Libro IV (1537). Source: Giovanni Mazzaferro, Litteratura Artistica (2015).

skills suggested his abilities to, in Melville's words, slay and declare "triumph over slippery Geryon."[26]

Jones's set transitions for *Oberon, The Fairy Prince* achieved the same allegorical effect as did those for *Barriers*, whereby two contrasting landscapes revealed Prince Henry's martial virtues. Jones designed the sets and costumes for the occasion of Prince Henry's Christmas masque. The first scene, *Palace within a Cavern* (Fig. 9), displays a classical structure trapped by rude rocks. Scholars have noted that the "pavilion as a whole is probably a free interpretation of a Serlian design for a church with Corinthian columns" (Figure 10).[27] Yet the enclosure and delicate features (thin vertical and curving elements and ornate decoration, including *putti* with a stag and baying hounds that recall the iconography of the Roman goddess Diana, the huntress) suggest a

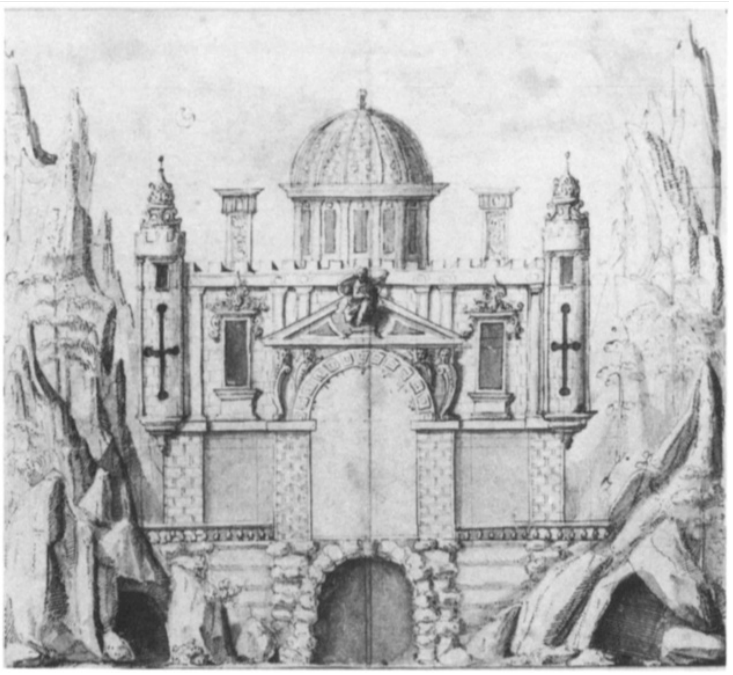

Fig. 11. Inigo Jones, *Oberon's Palace* for *Oberon, The Fairy Prince* (1611), Chatsworth Devonshire Collection. Source: John Peacock, "Inigo Jones's Stage Architecture and Its Sources," *Art Bulletin* 64:2 (1982).

feminine space.[28] Notably, the palace is flanked by columns crowned with balls that "recur in Jones's design for Lady Cotton's tomb" from a masque for Queen Anne.[29] The Corinthian columns, which appear time and again in the Queen's masques,[30] similarly suggest a female setting. In his architectural treatise of 1563—a text with which Jones would have been familiar—English architect John Shute genders each order, characterizing the Corinthian as the "most maidenly."[31] These features, and the symbolic cave-like enclosure of rocks, give the structure a delicate, interiorized feel; the setting is tender, appearing domestic in nature. Importantly, Henry's character in this masque (Oberon) did not step foot onto this set; rather, his appearance in the space occurred only in the second scene, during which the set's architectural elements were heavier and 'more masculine.' In accordance with the chivalric themes, the architecture in the first set may have visualized a female archetype for its contemporary viewers. The delicate scenery trapped by coarse rocks created a visual impetus for Oberon to liberate the feminine enclosure—an architectural symbol for the mythical maiden trapped in the proverbial tower.

This concept was clarified by the transition to the second set, which constituted an architectural antithesis to the first. *Palace within a Cavern* transformed into *Oberon's Palace* (Figure 11) by way of Jones's mechanical stage invention, the *scena ductilis*, which consisted of "a series of flats set in grooves in the stage, which could be swiftly and quietly drawn aside to reveal the setting behind."[32] In contrast to the first set, Jones's drawing of *Oberon's Palace* displays a structure soaring above the jagged landscape. The crude enclosure of the first scene was replaced by a refined and enlightened palace, "part Neo-gothic and part-classical," that framed and revealed "the Prince himself."[33] Here, Jones replaced Corinthian columns with more masculine Doric pilasters—the "emblematic representation of the heroic Hercules."[34] The thin vertical elements of the previous set were contrasted by the thick and heavy forms of *Oberon's Palace*; these appeared unencumbered by the landscape, lunging into the air. The architectural structure in this scene demonstrated Henry's chivalric persona in the masque: fortified walls were cut with arrow slits and dentils and flanked by towers and a central gate. The structure conveyed power and strength: the palace

was just as strong as its surrounding rocky landscape.

This transition from the feminine *Palace within a Cavern* to the masculine *Oberon's Palace* articulated a dichotomy that augmented Henry's heroic persona. The second set stood as a synthesis of antique heroism and Christian chivalry, communicated most saliently by the medieval cruciform arrow slits. This space—and, crucially, *only* this space—revealed Henry "in a chariot, which to a loud triumphant music began to move forward, drawn by two white bears, and on either side guarded by three sylvans, with one going in front."[35] Masculine architectural forms in the latter set contrasted with the feminine elements of the preceding set to frame Henry's heroic entrance. As with *Barriers*, polarizing landscapes, communicated through dramatic set changes, revealed messages about Prince Henry's virility and martial persona.

CONCLUSION

From the moment of his birth, Prince Henry was confronted with the public's enormous ambitions for his rule. His father, King James VI & I, had sustained salacious accusations that called his monarchical abilities and leadership into question, centering on the issue of gendered conventions; James's pacifist policies were equated with effeminacy. These rumours and political complications suggested a vacuum that demanded an idealized male ruler. Arguably, Henry's image was shaped expressly to diminish the public's anxious doubts regarding the masculinity of their ruler. Henry's passion for chivalric sport and martial exercise was offered as the precursor to Henry's reception as a virile leader, the 'right kind' of monarch. Texts, paintings, and spectacles consolidated this conventional image of power, promising a glorious militant future for the Protestant British Isles. As one contemporary recorded, the people regarded Henry as the "most hopefull Prince," delighting in him "not as you are, but as you may be."[36] In his youth, and prior to his promising accession to the throne, Henry embodied an optimistic future for the Protestant subjects of Britain.

Inigo Jones participated in the construction of Henry's auspicious image. Jones's 1610 and 1611 masque designs for *Prince Henry's*

Barriers and *Oberon, The Fairy Prince* articulated messages about Henry's masculinity and successful future. The sets, coupled with Ben Jonson's texts and Jones's costumes, conveyed allegorical meanings. Jones used contrasting architectural elements to illustrate dichotomous landscapes, one teeming with disorder, chaos, or undesirable circumstances, and another steeped in glory, order, and prosperity. Antique architectural forms and chivalric building traditions stimulated nostalgia and conveyed a utopic world lost in time. Ultimately, the scenic transitions in both masques constructed the same meaning: only the heroic Prince Henry, epitomizing robust masculine qualities of warfare and leadership, could restore the world to the former glory of a revered ancient past.

ENDNOTES

1 Andrew Melville, "Principis Scoti-Brittanorum Natalia," in *George Buchanan: The Political Poetry*, edited by Paul J. McGinnis and Arthur H. Williamson (Edinburgh: Lothian Print, 1995), 278.
2 McGinnis and Williamson, *The Political Poetry*, 328n5.
3 For the purposes of this essay, 'chivalry' refers to the concept of a virtuous and gallant knight, connected with the medieval literature of King Arthur.
4 Charles Louise Klose, *Memoirs of Prince Charles Stuart:(count of Albany) commonly called the Young Pretender; with notices of the rebellion in 1745* (London: H. Colburn, 1846), 14.
5 G.P.V. Akrigg, ed., *Letters of James VI & I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 98.
6 Michael B. Young, *King James and the History of Homosexuality*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Fonthill Media Limited, 2016), 102.
7 Young, *King James,* 92.
8 W.H., *The true picture and relation of Prince Henry his noble and vertuous disposition* (Leyden: William Christian, 1634), 9, *Early English Books Online*, University of Toronto Libraries.
9 Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 12.
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12 Catherine MacLeod, *The Lost Prince: The Life and Death of Henry Stuart* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2012), 37.
13 MacLeod, *The Lost Prince*, 37.
14 MacLeod, *The Lost Prince*, 142.
15 Gail Capitol Weigl, "'And when slow Time hath made you fit for warre': The Equestrian Portrait of Prince Henry," in *Prince Henry Revived: Image and Exemplarity in Early Modern England*, ed. Timothy Wilks (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2007), 148.
16 Weigl, "The Equestrian Portrait," 36.
17 Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1973), 163.
18 Ben Jonson, *The Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers* in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 160.
19 John Harris, Stephen Orgel, and Roy Strong, *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1973), 47.
20 Harris, Orgel, and Strong, *The King's Arcadia*, 48.
21 Harris, Orgel, and Strong, *The King's Arcadia*, 45.
22 Harris, Orgel, and Strong, *The King's Arcadia,* 45.
23 MacLeod, *The Lost Prince*, 106
24 MacLeod, *The Lost Prince*, 108.
25 MacLeod, *The Lost Prince*, 108.
26 Melville, "Principis," 278.
27 Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 212.
28 John Peacock, "Inigo Jones's Stage Architecture and Its Sources," *Art Bulletin* 64, no. 2 (1982): 201.
29 Peacock, "Inigo Jones," 201.
30 Refer to: Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 131–155 and 191–201.
31 Vaughan Hart, "From Virgin to Courtesan in Early English Vitruvian Books," in *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, edited by Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 300.
32 Harris, Orgel, and Strong, *The King's Arcadia*, 45.
33 Harris, Orgel, and Strong, *The King's Arcadia*, 51.
34 Hart, "From Virgin to Courtesan," 300.
35 Ben Jonson, *Oberon, The Fairy Prince* in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 208.
36 Samuel Daniel, *Certaine small poems lately printed* (London: 1605), A4, *Early English Books Online*, University of Toronto Libraries.

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Hassan Hajjaj's *Kesh Angels*: Hybridity as a Post-Colonial Response to Gendered Orientalism

Hassan Hajjaj's photomontage is unapologetically provocative. The self-taught artist's series *Kesh Angels*, that is, Marrakech's Hells Angels, features Moroccan women biker gangs sporting brightly coloured clothing, riding their motorcycles, and staring directly into the camera with a look that theorist bell hooks might characterize as the "oppositional gaze."[1] In almost every image in his series, the women's bodies are fully covered with only their eyes visible to the viewer. In his piece *Nikee Rider* (Fig.1) the women wear seemingly traditional North African djellabas, traditional floor length dresses, with one non-conventional difference: they are branded with the iconic Nike swoosh.

I argue that Hajjaj's *Kesh Angels* series successfully subverts neo-colonial presumptions about the status of women in contemporary North Africa in three important ways: first, his chosen medium, photomontage, embodies the stubborn hybridity of post-imperial contexts, such as that of Morocco, a former French and Spanish protectorate. Second, Hajjaj negotiates presumptions of the gendered and racialized body with the presentation of women in a non-Orientalising manner. Thirdly, his strategic use of prominent logos identifies consumerism instead of Orientalism as the villain of modernity. My argument will demonstrate that his series, *Kesh Angels*, encapsulates a twenty-first-century phenomena: the neo-liberalization of corporeality.

Hajjaj's chosen medium, photomontage, enables him to present his socio-political criticisms poignantly. Photomontage is a term that was coined by Berlin Dadaists in 1918 and popularized by

Fig. 1. Hassan Hajjaj, *Nikee Rider*, Hassan Hajjaj / Taymour Grahne Gallery, NY.

artists like George Grosz, John Heartfield, and Raoul Haussman. It is a technique whereby an image is produced by combining images from multiple other photographic sources. Through the process of cutting, gluing, rearranging, and overlapping two or more photographs, artists produce a new image. Historically, source material was taken from

mass-produced print products such as newspapers or magazines.[2] The incorporation of popular culture and products into artistic productions is a hallmark of many modern art movements such as Surrealism and Pop Art.

The Dada movement of the early twentieth century is marked by a socio-political context of disaster. Dada emerged and spread in an atmosphere of devastating war and civil restrictions, when life in Germany was unstable and uncertain. The ideas of German writer and psychoanalyst Richard Huelsenbeck informed the Dada movement's attacks on the status quo.[3] Many of the Dadaists were dismayed at the corrupt social and political systems of post-War Germany and took up art, namely photomontage, as their medium for stinging commentary. Although the technique of photomontage was not new to the time period, it "gained currency" in this anti-art movement.[4] The art historian Dawn Ades writes on the matter:

> By breaking up images and using odd juxtaposition of fragmented photographs and other material - the stuff of today's and yesterday's news - they created a bold new art of agitation. The idea of photomontage was as revolutionary as its content: it emphasized the links between politics and the technological age to expose the disorder of bougeois society.[5]

In particular, photomontage as a medium was an antagonistic response to oil painting, which dominated the history of Western art for centuries. Oil paint, the preferred medium of artists from the Renaissance onwards, was understood as exclusive, private, and elitist. The newly popularized medium of photomontage, however, was accessible to broader audiences and artists; it belonged to the new world of mass communication and technological domination.[6]

In the catalogue of a 1931 Berlin photomontage exhibit, the Dadaist Gustav Klutsis argues that photomontage is a new kind of "art of agitation," further identifying the links between the art form and revolutionary politics.[7] Its accessibility supported its message. The strong graphic images and catchy slogans employed in the art form

reduced a need for explanatory text and convoluted symbolism. The accessibility, for both viewer and creator, and its origin as a weapon of political resistance, marks photomontage as a useful medium when representing bold political ideas.

Photomontage was not only used to criticize domestic politics, but also instrumental in dismantling colonial foreign policies and imaginations in contemporary Germany. Dadaist Hannah Höch's 1922 photomontages titled *From an ethnographic museum* are a manifestation of those possibilities.[8] Through a series of seven images, Höch "commented sharply" on the Weimar Republic's deep influence and infusion of colonial representation in the media, art and culture at large. Her work does something unusual and thus shocking for her time. She, along with her fellow Dadaists, rejected the Primivtism and Orientalism that informed the art of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Famous modern artists like Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso incorporated into their creative expressions what they considered to be Primitive art as a way to flee the mounting social, political and cultural pressures of modernity and industrialization. Denise Toussaint explains: "The artists admired non-Western, 'uncivilised' artists' supposed freedom from modern life and academia, and reinterpreted the well-known image of the primitive, wild man into stylised fantasies of a positive antitype in the modern world."[9] This reduction of the imagined monolithic 'Other' and its use to define the 'Self,' herein being modern Europe, is at the essence of what Edward Said called Orientalism.[10] Essentially, these artists relied on colonial conceptions of racial hierarchy and western notions of civilization to mark ethnic difference and superiority in their art.

In Höch's series *From an ethnographic museum*, she encourages a modification of the European perspective on the 'Other,' namely African nations and cultures. This paradigm shift, she suggests, can and perhaps should take place in the museum, as it is the same cultural, public institution that was used to lionize the pillaging of African countries. The medium of photomontage directly lends itself to what she is trying to accomplish. Take for instance an image in the series, *Bäuerliches Brautpaar (Peasant Couple)*, where she:

> ...reproduces the drastic condemnation and public denunciation of interracial couples. Höch uses the most basic of common racial stereotypes – black skin, white skin, blonde hair – and alienates them by creating absurd combinations, false proportions and flagrant errors. She shows the main coordinates of race as constructs of simplification, and copies their effect of stigmatization and exclusion.[11]

What makes her work particularly poignant is its proximity to conventional German colonial imageries and popular imaginations. Knowledge of that background is crucial for an analysis of her work. She comments on the emphasis on skin colours, which are common markers of 'Other' and a method by which exclusionary lines of citizenship are drawn.

Höch uses harsh dichotomies and distortion of corporeality in order to criticize colour hierarchies and treat them equally.[12] Compare *Bäuerliches Brautpaar (Peasant Couple)* to Henri Matisse's seminal work *Dance* of 1909, where he treats non-Western bodies in a romanticized, almost dream-like manner. Matisse does not represent the bodies with mass or gravitas. The bodies are flat, occupying virtually no space. With this comparison, I argue that Höch's methods might have been seemingly superficial in comparison to to those of her modernist counterparts, but she used them to successfully confront the viewer with anti-colonial representations of racialized and gendered bodies. With her allusions to popular culture, use of print media, and tapping into the public consciousness of colonial imagery, she was able to critique the German history of colonialism and its stubborn presence in the Weimar Republic.[13]

If photography is understood as the tool of colonial objectification, one that operates particularly harshly on the sexualized bodies of racialized women, then photomontage is a medium that pushes the viewer to reflect on the constructions of those meanings.[14] The invention of photography in the mid-nineteenth century coincided with colonial exploits of imperial Britain and France, which facilitated extensive ethnographic documentation of

the people and cultures of colonized lands.

I argued that Höch re-contextualizes colonial and ethnographic images by isolating them, which shows that photographs are just as fabricated as any other form of art. Almost a century later, Hassan Hajjaj, a self-taught Moroccan-British artist, used photomontage to illustrate the stunning colours of his birth country juxtaposed with a criticism of latent neo-colonial assumptions. Born in Larache, Morocco, and raised in the United Kingdom, the contemporary artist works and lives between London and Marrakech. His series *Kesh Angels* is an exploration at the crux of femininity, colonialism, neoliberalism, and the male gaze. He uses photomontage brilliantly to demonstrate the shared sense of conflict between old and new, colonialism and post-colonialism, and in that way, he employs it similarly to Dadaist, Höch.

In an interview, Hajjaj said his artwork allows him to show movement, migration, and the phenomena of meeting new people.[15] Through a close reading of some of his series *Kesh Angels*, I argue that he uses photomontage to demonstrate the hybridity of post colonialism, to criticize gendered Orientalism, and to vilify consumer capitalism.

His series articulates the hybridity of the region and the constant reminder of an occupied past. Hybridity's meaning is widely debated; in essence, hybridity is associated with the "effects of multiple cultural attachments on identity or the process of cultural mixture."[16] Cultural hybridity is often a response to the notion that there can never be a return to pre-contact. Colonized nations and cultures cannot return to a moment in time before they were colonized. Therefore, many thinkers and artists "thematized the processes of juxtaposition, collage, montage, bricolage and displacement." [17] More specifically, postcolonial thinkers have used it as a perspective for representing the new critical and cultural practices that have emerged in diasporic life.[18]

The principles of hybridity reject essentialized and eroticized representations of foreign cultures. As cultural theorist Nikos Papastergiadis argues, artists "were no longer defined in terms of an exotic alternative or as a belated supplement whose incorporation could serve to both expand and reaffirm the parameters of the mainstream."[19]

Fig. 2. Hassan Hajjaj, *Kesh Angels*, Hassan Hajjaj / Taymour Grahne Gallery, NY

Photomontage is, therefore, useful in expressing hybridity. Photomontage does not ignore the past and the present; instead, it incorporates them and then confronts the viewer with the newly-formed fusion. Hajjaj's employment of photomontage is a presentation of hybridity as a possible solution to the problematic history of geopolitical tensions and their accompanying representations.

Like Höch's photomontage, Hajjaj demonstrates the way systems of oppression like racism and sexism, operate on gendered and racialized bodies. The women in his images are not hyper-sexualized in a typical way that displays women's corporeality. Instead these women's bodies are fully covered but they stand in provocative ways. They adopt what I would call "power stances" and what Hajjaj said is "inspired by marital art moves."[20] I find the image *Kesh Angels* (Fig.2), taken from a theatrical wide-angle, extremely potent. The five women gather in the middle of the photo, directly staring into Hajjaj's lens with no hesitation. Hajjaj shoots the women as they look downwards at the viewer, which further glorifies them. Hajjaj postures these wom-

en in a theatrical, aggrandizing way that centralizes their agencies.

Compare Hajjaj's representation of feminine presence to that of an imagined subdued Other, as in Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's *La Grande Odalisque*. In the latter, the sitter's body is depicted as seen by the male colonizer. The female body is so distorted that it does not seem anatomically possible. Her body is splayed, ready for consumption, with eyes that say come hither. Her body does not seem to occupy any real space; in fact, it is represented with much of the same flatness as Matisse's bodies in *Dance*.

However, the women in the image, *Kesh Angels*, encounter Hajjaj's camera in a starkly different way to their historical counterparts. The theorist bell hooks, in her seminal text *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, presents the idea of the "oppositional gaze."[21] She describes it in this poignant way: "that all attempts to repress our/black peoples' right to gaze had produced in us an overwhelming longing to look, a rebellious desire, an oppositional gaze. By courageously looking, we defiantly declared: 'Not only will I stare. I want my look to change reality.'"[22] hooks argues, in line with Foucauldian notions of power and resistance, that even in the worst instances of domination, the oppressed find a way to exhibit their agency. That agency, argues hooks, is found in the "courageous look" back at the source of oppression.

bell hooks discusses Black feminist film theories and rejects Black women's subjugation to male, white spectatorship. She discusses her work in the context of cinema but I think her ideas are transferable to Hajjaj's photographic work. She formulates her ideas on the basis of gender and race, understanding how they operate in the contemporary American context. Her ideas are rooted in the historic and ongoing systemic oppression of Black communities in America. Her response is highlighting Black women's resistance to suppressive power. I argue that Hajjaj's work, responding to a history of racial and colonial oppression, functions in a similar way when it features strong women, directly staring back at their viewers. He highlights the women's resistance to the historic colonial male gaze and in doing so, subverts the neo-colonial assumptions about women's presence in North Africa and the Middle East.

In his image *Nikee Rider*, I am particularly fascinated with the cloth that covers the women's faces. Unlike the conventional simple, black cloth used for this purpose, Hajjaj makes a subtle but important commentary with the addition of a Nike swoosh. The women cover their faces—notably, their mouths—with a logo. These women stand quite literally behind the veil of consumerism. In her book *The Production of the Muslim Woman*, author Lamia Ben Youssef Zayzafoon argues that Muslim women, veiled or not, have historically been silenced and made into an object, or, worse, the object of someone else's speech.[23] Specifically, veiling in its many iterations has a history of being co-opted to further political and ideological agendas.[24] Art historian Valerie Anne Pocock argues that issues of cultural identity, gender, and production of otherness converge in the image of the veil and make it an important sign for artists of Muslim origins.[25] While Euro-American pundits, thinkers, and artists proclaim that the veil represents male superiority and the oppression of Muslim women under Islam, Hajjaj implicates capitalism as the culprit.

Hajjaj mixes his representation of women with his critique of consumerism. Orientalist artists often painted exotic women among exotic products. In Hajjaj's work, those collections are objects that mark the realities of the twenty-first century: globalization, neo-liberalism, and the social disasters with it, like unfair labour practices. In *Nikee Rider*, women wear djellabas, traditional Moroccan floor length dresses, but they are clearly identical, mass-produced, and synthetic objects; they no longer remain authentic or traditional. Hajjaj's work is jarring because he creates visual dissonances between the background, the Arabic letters on the blocks, and the brand recognition. At first glance these details seem irreconcilable, but upon further inquiry, the viewer notices Hajjaj's critique of a brand-obsessed world, wherein consumerism is embedded within and on top of the body, so that even markers of tradition and modesty are distorted into fashion statements.

Women in Orientalist paintings were frequently adorned with extravagant textures and objects, stolen and appropriated from distant, colonized countries. Ingres's *La Grande Odalisque* features an accessible feminine form along with textures, colours, and objects

meant to represent the distant colonized Orient. The model holds a duster made of peacock feathers. A shisha pipe sits at her feet; she is adorned with the objects that mark her difference and her exoticism. Being among these objects, she is a de facto commodity herself, understood to be an imported good. In this way, Ingres's work can be understood as a representation of the marketplace of colonialism. Hajjaj demonstrates how that economy of colonialism was replaced by one of consumerism and globalization, and how, in similar ways, these systems unfold yet again on racialized and gendered bodies.

Hajjaj's work not only stands as a response to colonialism, but manages to redirect the dialogue to one about commodification, unfair labour practices, and capitalism and how these forces intersect on racialized and gendered bodies. Instead of the quintessential subdued North African female subject of the French Orientalists like Ingres, whose bodies are available for visual and physical consumption, Hajjaj criminalizes the gnawing gaze of consumerism and the commodification of the body. Through the employment of seemingly unrelated symbols, his clever series taps into the revolutionary art form of photomontage to provoke and agitate.

ENDNOTES

1 The artist explains the title of his series in an interview: "Hassan Hajjaj's Best Photograph: Kesh Angels, Girl Biker Gang of Morocco." Interview by Dale Berning Sawa. *The Guardian*, May 23, 2018. The term "oppositional gaze" comes from theorist bell hooks, chapter 7: "The Oppositional Gaze: Black Female Spectators," in *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. New York: Routledge.

2 David Ethans, "Photomontage," 2003, *Grove Art Online.* Accessed 20 Jan. 2019.

3 Dawn Ades, *Photomontage*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 13.

4 Ibid.

5 Ades, *Photomontage* 13, emphasis my own.
6 Ibid., 14.
7 Ibid., 15 and Margarita Tupitsyn, *Gustav Klutsis and Valentina Kulagina: Photography and Montage after Constructivism*. New York: International Center of Photography, 2003.
8 Denise Toussaint, "Dismantling Colonial Representation: The Photomontages of Hannah Höch," *De Arte* 51, no. 1 (2016): 25-41. *From an ethnographic museum* was finished in 1931.
9 Toussaint, "Dismantling Colonial Representation," 26
10 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Edward W. Said*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2003).
11 Toussaint, "Dismantling Colonial Representation," 26
12 Ibid., 30.
13 Toussaint, "Dismantling Colonial Representation," 32.
14 For an overview of photography in colonized North Africa, refer to: Mary B. Vogl, *Picturing the Maghreb Literature, Photography, (Re)Presentation* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).
15 Hajjaj, Hassan. Hassan Hajjaj- Magic of Colours. Other. *New African*, 2017.
16 Nikos Papastergiadis, "Hybridity and Ambivalence: Places and Flows in Contemporary Art and Culture." *Theory, Culture & Society* 22, no. 4 (2005): 39–64.
17 Papastergiadis, "Hybridity and Ambivalence," 41.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
20 Dale Berning Sawa, "Hassan Hajjaj's Best Photograph: Kesh Angels, Girl Biker Gang of Morocco," *The Guardian*, May 23, 2018.
21 Hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, 115.
22 Ibid., 116.
23 Lamia Ben Youssef Zayzafoon, *The Production of the Muslim Woman: Negotiating Text, History, and Ideology* (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2005), 82. Here I am leaning on the scholarship of Valerie Anne Pocock (now Behiery) in making this argument. Find this argument in: Valerie Behiery, "Alternative Narratives of the Veil in Contemporary Art." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 32, no. 1 (2012): 130–46.
24 There are many historical instances where this occurs, both contemporary and historical. One of the most known campaigns is one in Algeria in 1962 where French forces held unveiling campaigns for Muslim women. Another more recent example is Laura Bush's radio address justifying American military presence in Afghanistan to "save the women." Many of these examples are clearly stated in Lila Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2015).
25 Author makes this argument in her thesis which is synthesized here: Valerie Behiery, "The Veiled Muslim Woman as Subject in Contemporary Art: The Role of Location, Autobiography, and the Documentary Image," *Implicit Religion* 16, no. 4 (2014).

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Jana Sterbak's *Flesh Dress*: Transgressive Art in Canada

Jana Sterbak's *Vanitas: Flesh Dress for an Albino Anorectic* (1987–) fits into the broader spectrum of postmodern art, questioning notions of what art really is and what it means. The work shocked many, sparking complaints and outrage from critics as well as passionate defense from those who saw artistic merit and important cultural and feminist meaning in its intent. It will be argued that this piece sparked intense controversy due to its fundamentally transgressive statement, engaging Canadians in complex questions of censorship, feminism and elitism in the role of galleries, while both inspiring other artists and directly changing the exhibition practices of Canadian museums in the display of controversial subjects.

Born in Czechoslovakia in 1955, artist Jana Sterbak moved to Canada in 1968 at the age of thirteen, following her birth country's failed uprising against Soviet rule. Her formative years were heavily influenced by what she referred to as a "colonized identity," the product of Soviet rule over her country of birth.[1] Sterbak felt that the 'cultural mosaic' of Canada also displayed an internalized colonized identity.[2] The benign economic climate of Canada, according to Sterbak, influenced her to further develop her practice. Due to her diasporic and at times conflicting educational upbringing, between socialist and capitalist systems, Sterbak has stated her preference for avoiding association with 'isms,' including feminism. As she described in an interview, "I prefer open-ended situations and I'm not out to be didactic—that's not the role of the artist."[3]

First displayed in 1987 at the Galerie Rene Blouin in Montreal, *Vanitas: Flesh Dress for an Albino Anorectic* was a dress sewn from

Jana Sterbak, *Vanitas: Flesh Dress For An Albino Anorectic*, 1987. Colour photograph 10 2/5 × 7 9/10 in 26.5 × 20 cm Source: Artsy Jana Sterbak Artworks.

sixty pounds of raw flank steak.[4] Although displayed on a mannequin, a photographic version shown alongside depicted the dress worn by a seated female model. The dress was referred to by many simply as the "flesh dress" or "meat dress," and the unavoidable decay of its 'fabric' required Sterbak to recreate the dress for each exhibition. Taking after traditional couture, Sterbak exercised the utmost in attention to detail, including suture-like stitches and a scoop neckline meant to accentuate the model's pale and delicate chest, which contrasted notably with and emphasised the rough texture and striated pattern of the meat. Unlike traditional works of art, Sterbak's dress engaged not only the sense of sight but also the sense of smell; through scent, this invasive piece actually entered the viewer's body. The work was, indeed, very much about the senses; as noted by Marni Jackson in 1989 for *Canadian Art*, "The 'live' dress is quite a shocker, conjuring up a flash of what that cold, clammy, fat-marbled stuff must feel like on the skin."[5]

The 1987 Montreal exhibition attracted little attention.[6] When the work moved to the National Gallery of Canada (Ottawa) in 1991, however, as part of a large Sterbak exhibition, *Vanitas* was met with outrage. City Alderman Mark Maloney began the debate when he publicly declared that he was "absolutely disgusted and ashamed" with the dress, and highlighted possible health concerns due to its organic material. In an attempt to publicize his disgust, Maloney ordered a health inspection to ensure that the work did not violate Ontario health codes. Upon investigation, it was officially declared that dress did not pose any health threats to the general public.[7] Conservative Member of Parliament Felix Holtmann, head of the Communications and Culture Committee, was likewise angered, stating that the dress was "an extravagant waste of food," given that the gallery spent $250 on steak for the dress. Holtmann even threatened to pull funding from the National Gallery, with his attacks supported by Ottawa food banks.[8]

Public attention soon spread, as US media outlets picked up on the issue. A *Chicago Tribune* article in April 1991 reported, "Two hundred people mailed food scraps to Canada's most popular fine arts museum last week to protest the new show."[9] In a 1992 art review published by the *LA Times* during a San Diego exhibition, author Leah Ollman challenged the artistic merits of the dress, stating, "Its sensationalism prevents even the potent issues it raises from fully evolving and occupying the mind with any kind of strategic stealth."[10] In other words, for Ollman, the shock value diminished any potential broader meaning. Ollman went on to describe the Sterbak exhibition as "disappointing" and marked by "superficial theatrics."[11]

While subject to public and media attack, it is the critical interpretations and medium that make *Vanitas* stand out as a transgressive work, reinforced by the reaction of Canadian museums. In a 1991 analysis entitled "The Flesh Dress: A Defence," Sarah Milroy emphasized the significance of the title. The term 'vanitas' relates to a common motif employed in traditional still life painting, depicting the dilapidation of organic matter. This style of painting, meant to display a patron's wealth, intellect, and interests, also intended to instill in the viewer a thoughtful reminder of the ephemerality of life. For Milroy,

the dichotomy between material and title clearly communicated the artist's purpose.[12]

Milroy furthered her defense of the dress by taking her analysis to the heart of the feminist interpretation. She stated: "The flesh dress is female, and it is made of meat. In conjoining these two signs, Sterbak commits a major gender infraction, naming the equation between meat and women—both objects for male consumption—that patriarchal society would prefer to leave unspoken (and therefore more pervasive)."[13] Interestingly, while Sterbak has stated her preference to avoid 'isms,' the evident link between women and meat and the underlying sexual connotations are evident. Milroy affords the work due credit in its capacity to pose important visual commentary; through Milroy's reading, we become aware that the *Flesh Dress*'s shock value can serve to underscore viewers' awareness of the conventional inappropriateness of those societal connections that it so overtly draws.

The impact of the work is also marked by the critical attention it received in subsequent years, indeed particularly in relation to feminism. The materiality of the piece was obviously highly suggestive of the corporeal and, in the apparent gender of its model and the gendered associations of its style of clothing, the female body. In a 1998 article in *Feminist Studies*, the art historian Jennifer McLerran considered a feminist analysis of the flesh dress; she stated, first, that "*Vanitas* has been interpreted as a metaphor for the aging human body, a memento mori, reminding us of our own inevitable death and decay."[14] McLerran continued, however, by noting that the feminine form adds to the meaning and interpretation. The dress, which has been displayed on both a female model and mannequin, lends itself to exemplifying "the ways in which feminine subjectivity is constructed."[15] As noted by McLerran, the "ongoing aging process that takes place throughout the exhibition can be interpreted as an analogy between the female body and meat: the commodification of the female body, the devaluation of women as they age… and the self-destructive impulse displayed by the anorectic."[16] Again, *Vanitas* is shown to mobilise an analysis of the long-held conception of the female body as a commodity; more colloquially but undeniably saliently, the female body is understood as a 'piece of meat.'

In her 2004 book on gender and aesthetics, Carolyn Korsmeyer picks up the thread of arguments addressing Sterbak, her use of meat as a medium, and feminism. Korsmeyer tied the dress into a broader discussion of, as she puts it, "what is art – art is what?" concluding that "Sterbak's work is not itself anti-art, but it partakes of the spirit of anti-art in its choice of medium."[17] As noted by Korsmeyer, "What feminist artists do share is a sense of the historical social subordination of women and awareness of how art practices have perpetuated that subordination."[18] As much as Sterbak may resist identification as a feminist artist, her work clearly falls into a realm of art that addresses the historical devaluation of women and, in challenging the specifics of that subordination, subverts the patriarchy. Sterbak took a revered symbol of femininity and altered it in order to achieve a reversal of aesthetic value.[19]

The impact of Sterbak's work transcends academia; references to *Flesh Dress* extended into the aesthetics of popular culture, which led, then, to a discussion of the work on social and popular media. In 2010, American singer Lady Gaga wore a dress made entirely of raw meat to the MTV Video Music Awards. The uncanny likeness to Sterbak's work revived public attention to the original. In the fall of 2017, a Peruvian museum unveiled a wax figure of Lady Gaga in the "meat dress," and the sculpture was widely disparaged on social media.[20] In an interview with *Blouin Artinfo*, Sterbak discussed her thoughts on Gaga's outfit, stating that she believes that "any contemporary artist that has made a significant contribution will find his or her ideas used by other people, and that's something we have to accept."[21] Sterbak evidently did not see fit to be particularly affected by Gaga's imitation; the gesture, she suggested, could be considered a "form of flattery." Significantly, Gaga denied that Sterbak's work was a precedent to her own attire, stating instead that her dress was influenced by her stylist's sartorial choices in the 1970s. Nevertheless, critics and the public automatically linked the 2010 ensemble to Sterbak's work, and the inspiration does, indeed, appear evident.[22]

The jarring impact and critical analysis, both positive and negative, mark *Vanitas* as a significant contribution to contemporary art and feminist dialogue. Whether it was a lack of anticipation or

naiveté by the National Gallery in 1991, it is clear that the gallery was unprepared for displaying such content to public audiences. Shortly after, the exhibition moved to the Nickle Art Museum at the University of Calgary, where the piece directly affected exhibition practices in response to controversy. In a 2015 article, Ann Davis, director of the museum, reflected on how the Nickle gallery prepared for the event, from addressing skeptical comments to adjusting the exhibit to promote open discourse. Davis noted that she had to make a case to a skeptical and concerned University as to why the dress should be displayed, stating that "*Vanitas* was a profound and powerful piece, that a university was exactly the right place to debate the meaning of art… and that it was imperative to see the specific contested work in the context of the full exhibition and not judge it before a careful viewing."[23] Over a six-month period of preparation, careful and pre-emptive steps were taken to minimize public controversy; indeed, Davis noted that they were "somewhat desperate" to avoid what happened in Ottawa.[24] To address the issue of the medium perceived as a "waste" of meat, the gallery provided a food box in the exhibit for donations to a local food bank. In addition, comment cards were made available in the exhibit as an outlet for criticism and a speaker's stand was put in place "where anyone could openly state a point of view."[25] A three-part lecture series was also organized and the opening day involved what Davis called a "fascinating" crowded tour by National Gallery curator Diana Nemiroff. In her article, Davis commented that the result was a "great success" and that this was recognized by a number of awards, including the Canadian Council for Advancement of Education Gold Award in 1993.[26]

Clearly, the Nickle Art Museum was proud of its educational efforts and ability to blunt the controversy by adjusting their normal practices. These cautionary steps demonstrate the role of museums in altering and influencing the public perception of art. That being said, these preventative measures, which may have been viewed as progressive by some, appear to have shifted the focus from the work itself to the controversy surrounding it. Although the role of a public gallery is to facilitate educational programming, the stress placed on avoiding controversy minimized the shock impact of the work and may have

distracted from its meaning.

One can debate whether 'reducing controversy' should be the central focus of a museum. In this case, galleries saw themselves as the experts, rejecting the views of the "populist" politicians in Ottawa who condemned the piece. Scott Watson's assessment of the censorship fundamental to the debate identified an element of class conflict; in the context of a period of funding cuts to social services, museums were seen as an educated elite inappropriately spending money.[27] Regardless of one's views on the handling of the meat dress by the National Gallery or the Nickle Gallery, Sterbak's piece played an active role in encouraging galleries to re-think their curatorial methods in order to engage and educate the public while also managing and re-shaping public opinion.

In a 2012 interview, Sterbak provided her own views surrounding the controversy, stating that the piece "is more about the body aging, and its perishability."[28] In response to a question about the dress as a feminist work, Sterbak stated that the "reality of death is the same for both genders." Although the piece was not overtly feminist in the mind of the artist, she believes that the work is open to interpretation, noting, "People are to experience as they wish, they can add to it."

Postmodernism in art has allowed for a new arena of exposure and respect for a diverse range of artists. The emergence of feminist art in the popular sphere has manifested in subverting and standing against traditional, and by virtue patriarchal, structures. Although this may not have been Sterbak's intent, the controversy surrounding the piece alongside the numerous interpretations of the work make clear how the public received the work. Jana Sterbak's *Flesh Dress* also sparked a visceral reaction due to the organic material used and highlighted a division between the role and expertise of museums and the opinion of many in the general public. The piece equally influenced museum practices and operations in Canada, adjusting pre-existing methods to better educate and disseminate information. For these reasons, *Vanitas: Flesh Dress for an Albino Anorectic* occupies an important space in contemporary Canadian art history as a transgressive work.

ENDNOTES

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Anatomy of Misogyny: William Hunter's Female Cadavers

William Hunter (1718-1783) is best known for his work in obstetrics and as the Physician Extraordinary to Queen Charlotte, wife of King George III; by comparison his role in the world of art is less well known. Hunter himself was not an artist but was an avid art collector—the first Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy, he was a colleague and correspondent of Sir Joshua Reynolds. He was even depicted in a 1770-2 painting by Johann Zoffany lecturing to a crowd which included Reynolds, Benjamin West, and other preeminent artists, writers, and thinkers of the time (Fig. 1). Throughout the age of Enlightenment in Britain there was a great deal of crossover between the worlds of art and science. We see this reflected in paintings of the time period by artists such as Joseph Wright of Derby, who depicted scientific scenes with the weight and detail of contemporary genre paintings. On the other end of the spectrum, Hunter himself wrote on how important art—more specifically, engraving—was to the dissemination of scientific knowledge. His magnum opus, *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus, Exhibited in Figures* (1774), is a testament to this relationship between art and science: it is illustrated with vividly-detailed and, in some cases, life-size engravings, all created through the careful study of real cadavers. *The Anatomy* revolutionized the study of female anatomy and, as a piece of art, it is astounding. It also, however, represents a dark part of both art and medical history. In pursuit of his aesthetic and scientific goals, Hunter—or, more directly, the illustrators he hired and instructed—presented the headless, limbless bodies of around twenty women as objects for the medical (male) gaze. Furthermore, it is believed that Hunter resorted to unethical means in order to acquire fresh and useable cadavers (unethical even in

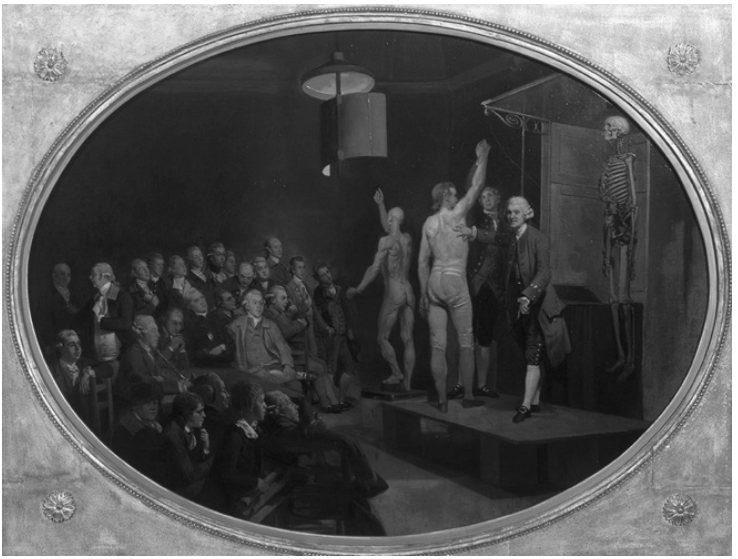

Fig. 1. Johann Zoffany, *William Hunter lecturing*. 1770–2, Oil on canvas, 77.5 x 103.5 cm (estimate). Image: Royal College of Physicians of London.

his own time). The images of Hunter's cadavers, and the methods used to acquire and study them, can therefore provide us with a study in misogyny as much as in female anatomy.

In the preface of the *Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus*, Hunter espouses the value of such texts for educating future anatomists and curious readers/viewers alike. Specifically, Hunter focuses on the importance of artwork for reaching his scientific aims: "The art of engraving," he says, "supplies us, upon many occasions, with what has been the great desideratum of the lovers of science, an universal language." He credits engraving with increasing knowledge and communication, going so far as to call it the "distinguishing characteristic of the most enlightened age of the world."[1] It was Hunter's goal to create a text which would lay out the intricacies of the anatomy of the pregnant female, a subject that had been somewhat addressed before but never been studied or depicted in much detail.[2] It is because of these hyper-detailed illustrations that Hunter's book became *the* source from which a generation of obstetricians learned about female anatomy; this

is why Hunter is, to this day, considered one of the founding fathers of the field. The artwork in the *Anatomy* is essential to its function as a guide, and everything about its aesthetic was a carefully considered choice. To critique Hunter's book, therefore, it is essential to understand it not just as a text but as a kind of art object, specifically as an example of the art of the diagram.

As previously mentioned, the Enlightenment saw great improvement across the board in British art, and the art of the scientific diagram was no exception. Up to the 18th century, Britain was not known for its artistic skill. In 1764, Count Francesco Algarotti, the Italian popularizer of Newton, remarked that, despite Britain leading the way in science, "Painting [had] only recently engaged the attention of the English**."**[3] Considering that the 18th century was a period of innovation in scientific and technical illustration in encyclopedias and atlases, individual prints and massive tomes, the purpose of diagram during this period was not simply to convey a mimetic representation of natural phenomena as they appeared, but to show the reader/viewer how to study them. Because of this, most diagrams were not just illustrations studied directly from nature. They were archetypal images, aggregated from the most typical characteristics of multiple studied specimens.[4] The goal of these studied yet abstracted images, as the historians Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison argue, was to "standardize the observing subjects and observed objects."[5] These were typical images for the typical—white, male, educated— readers/viewers, presenting reality filtered through the values and the interests of the time.

Interestingly, Hunter and his *Anatomy* are considered outliers in the world of 18th century diagram. Daston and Galison comment on Hunter's comparative naturalism, crucially noting that it "was largely aesthetics" that determined the choice to represent his cadavers as close as possible to how they were seen.[6] Our contemporary understanding of objectivity might lead us to associate the intricately detailed, viscerally realistic images in the *Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus* with scientific empiricism and the age of what Daston and Galison call mechanical objectivity. To Hunter, however, naturalism was more so an aesthetic value than a scientific one. In the preface to his *Anatomy*, Hunter states that his goal in the diagrams he commissioned

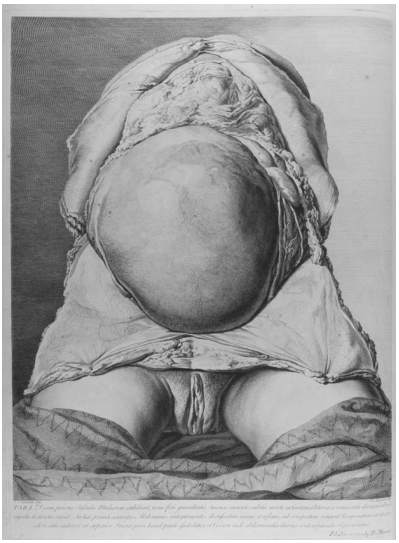

Fig. 2. Table 1 of William Hunter, *Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus, Exhibited in Figures.* (Birmingham: John Baskerville, 1774). Image courtesy of the US National Library of Medicine.

Fig. 3. Odoardo Fialetti in *Casserio's theatrum anatomicum, De formato foetu...*1631, Copperplate engraving. Image courtesy of the US National Library of Medicine.

was to depict a "simple portrait, in which the object is represented exactly as it was seen."[7] This was not because of some desire for greater scientific objectivity, but because of the "the elegance and harmony of the natural object."[8] In his role as professor of anatomy at the Royal Academy—which role entailed teaching anatomy to artists—Hunter espoused the aesthetic value of naturalism, the infinite possibilities nature afforded to the observant artist all on its own with no need for abstraction. He advised his students in one lecture that "to make solid proficiency in the study of any Art, it is observed that it is of infinite service to be grounded in its Elements, its scientific and demonstrable principles."[9]

It would also be a mistake to equate Hunter's naturalism with realism. Like other, more archetypal diagrams of the day, the illustrations in *Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus* are stylized, composed, and framed to be more legible to the typical viewer. The cadavers,

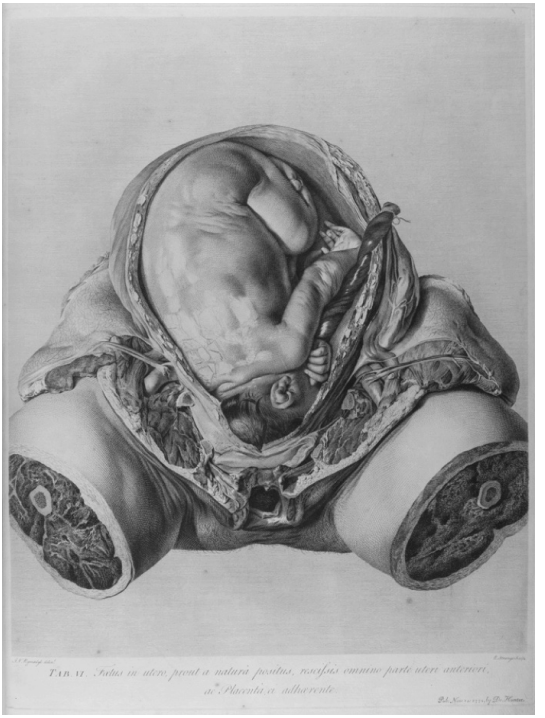

Fig. 4. Table 6 of William Hunter, *Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus, Exhibited in Figures*. (Birmingham: John Baskerville, 1774). Image courtesy of the US National Library of Medicine.

headless and limbless to give a better view of the vital reproductive organs, float in abstract space, defined by crisp outlines (Fig. 2). These are not cadavers depicted, as Hunter claims, "exactly as they were seen," but abstracted, general forms.[10] Daston and Galison state: "Like the photographs of the nineteenth century, Hunter's figures carry the stamp of the real only to eyes that have been taught the conventions." These conventions included "a none-too-subtle violence wrought upon the female cadaver."[11] Revolutionary and controversial as Hunter's *Anatomy* was, it is still undeniably 'typical' in its viewpoint and espoused values. It is thus paramount that we view its depictions of female cadavers not as objective but as the result of a number of aesthetic choices inflected by the misogynistic views of the time.

One thing which does set Hunter's book apart from earlier and even contemporary anatomical atlases, especially those dealing with pregnant women, is its gruesome, undeniable insistence on the

'deadness' of the subject. As the art historian Camila Røstvik writes, earlier depictions of the anatomy of pregnant women were limited, partially because of the moral connotations of using pregnant cadavers, and where such illustrations do exist, they usually depict the women alive and moving (Fig. 3).[12] Hunter had no such qualms; as Røstvik says darkly, he "wanted them dead and dissected."[13] While the engravings Hunter commissioned might have taken some artistic liberties when depicting the twenty cadavers in order to better serve their educational purpose, one thing that was not abstracted was the gore. Foregrounded in many of the plates are the grisly stumps of legs, layers of fat and muscle and bone which do nothing to advance our understanding of female reproductive anatomy, but which reinforce graphically that this is not a living woman, but a dead and disassembled cadaver (Fig. 4). Even Hunter's critics allowed that the gore served at least some scientific purpose and that it furthered the medical usefulness of the text, but the choice to depict in careful, naturalistic detail even the body parts which have nothing to do with the subject matter suggests that at least some of the shocking details were added for aesthetic effect rather than academic utility.

Hunter's taste for gory naturalism was upsetting to some even in his own time but what was more controversial still was the origin of the cadavers he used for his engravings. Around twenty women, most between the seventh and ninth month of pregnancy, were dissected and studied for the *Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus*.[14] Hunter, like many anatomists of his time, had a steady supply of bodies from executions, but the volume of cadavers being delivered to Hunter, especially of pregnant female cadavers, aroused some suspicion even at the time. Grave robbing, though illegal, was common practice among physicians in the 18th century, and it was common knowledge that William Hunter was no exception. One cartoon from 1773 depicted Hunter and an accomplice caught in the act of stealing the corpse of a young woman, the caption reads "The Anatomist Overtaken by the Watch… Carrying off Miss W—ts in a Hamper" (Fig. 5). The ethics of graverobbing to advance medical science are questionable, yet we owe much of the progress in the study of anatomy throughout history to the practice.

Fig. 5. William Austin, *The Anatomist Overtaken by the Watch... Carrying off Miss W--ts in a Hamper*. Color etching, 1 print : 27 x 40 cm. Image courtesy of US National Library of Medicine: Digital Collections.

At the same time, a 2010 study by Don C. Shelton in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* argues that, even with grave robbing, it would have been nearly impossible for Hunter to acquire as many pregnant cadavers as he did. According to Shelton, graverobbing for anatomical purposes was done mostly by random exhumations except on the rare occasion an anatomist was already aware of a funeral and therefore knew who had died and where they were buried.[15] Death rates for women in childbed (from the time of birth to several days after) was only about 1.4%, and the rate of deaths before birth of otherwise healthy pregnant women was even lower.[16] The chance of an anatomist—or one of his accomplices, known as "resurrectionists"—happening upon the corpse of a pregnant woman was, indeed, quite dramatically low; Hunter himself is quoted as saying that "the opportunities for dissecting the human pregnant uterus at leisure, very rarely occur. Indeed, to most anatomists, if they happen at all, it has been but once or twice in their whole lives."[17] Even if Hunter

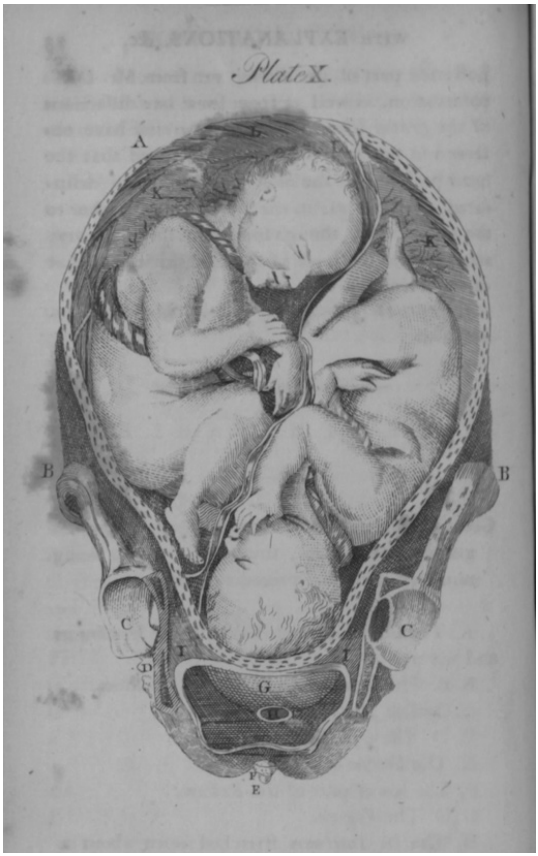

Fig. 6. Plate X of William Smellie, *A Set of Anatomical Tables with Explanations, and an Abridgement, of the Practice of Midwifery*. (London 1754). Image courtesy of the US National Library of Medicine.

and his accomplices were incredibly lucky, there is simply no way they could have acquired enough cadavers, and in good enough condition, for Hunter's purposes. The painstaking naturalism the anatomist demanded of his artists could only be achieved by direct study from fresh pregnant cadavers. So where did these cadavers come from? It is almost certain that Hunter, along with his fellow male midwife William Smellie, solicited the murder of many of the women who appear in the *Anatomy*.[18] Camilla Røstvik estimates the number of women murdered to be around a dozen of the twenty who appear in the illustrations.[19]

Hunter and Smellie would not be the only anatomists to use murder to procure subjects. Only a few decades after Hunter pub-

lished his *Anatomy,* William Burke and William Hare would make careers out of selling the bodies of those they murdered to anatomists looking for subjects. Shelton quotes an account by Joseph Adams of something which appeared in Hunter's notes: one Dr. MacKenzie, an assistant to Smellie, was caught dissecting a woman pregnant with twins. The question of where MacKenzie had gotten the cadaver supposedly led to a separation between Smellie and MacKenzie, "for the leading steps to such a discovery could not be kept a secret."[20] The "leading steps" here almost certainly refers to the murder of the woman then on the dissection table. Despite the discovery of the ill-gotten corpse supposedly leading to a split between Smellie and MacKenzie, a plate depicting the dissection of a woman pregnant with twins appears in Smellie's own anatomical atlas, *A Sett of Anatomical Tables* (Fig.6), and MacKenzie apparently went on to teach midwifery in the Borough of Southwark.[21] While some of the murderers who supplied the corpses of their victims to anatomists were caught and prosecuted (Burke and Hare were hanged for the crime in 1829), next to none of the anatomists commissioning these murders seem to have faced punishment outside the court of public opinion.

One could argue that Hunter and Smellie were innocent and ignorant, and that the murders were the covert work of assistants like MacKenzie. Such an ignorance, however, could have been deliberate at best: Hunter clearly admitted that he knew how rare it was to come across a pregnant cadaver. Even if the anatomist did not personally commission the murders, and even if he did not ask after the origins of his cadavers, it is beyond any reasonable doubt that Hunter at the very least suspected the nature of the situation (to the extent that any ignorance he might have had as to his cadavers' origins must have been by him forcibly maintained). It is perhaps most likely that he viewed the process as a worthwhile and, indeed, necessary sacrifice. The women who were murdered were likely of a lower class (e.g., poor women, sex workers, those relocated to London from the country); by virtue of their sex and socioeconomic status, they were seen to have minimal value to the society in Hunter's time. What, then, were a dozen invisible lives when compared to a text that would revolutionize the practice of midwifery for generations to come?

William Hunter was not the first nor the last medical professional to use his status and scientific goals to justify violence against those in positions of less power. Because the Enlightenment saw not only an almost blind moralization of science and its male practitioners, however, but also massive wealth inequalities and the 18th century British disregard for the less fortunate, the era was singularly apt for Hunter's activities. The joint pursuits of 'good science' and 'good art' were justification enough for the murders of women considered dispensable by their society. The dismembered, dehumanized way these women's bodies are presented to the reader/viewer is another testament to how little they meant while alive. It was that violence, physical and artistic, that made *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus* one of the most impactful and important anatomical texts of all time, and one of the most technically impressive pieces of medical art. That said, even to a viewer ignorant of the sordid history of the images, the black and white engravings of dismembered female bodies, peeled open and suspended at intimate angles on the page, speak to a tradition of acceptable violence on the female form.

ENDNOTES

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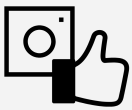

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