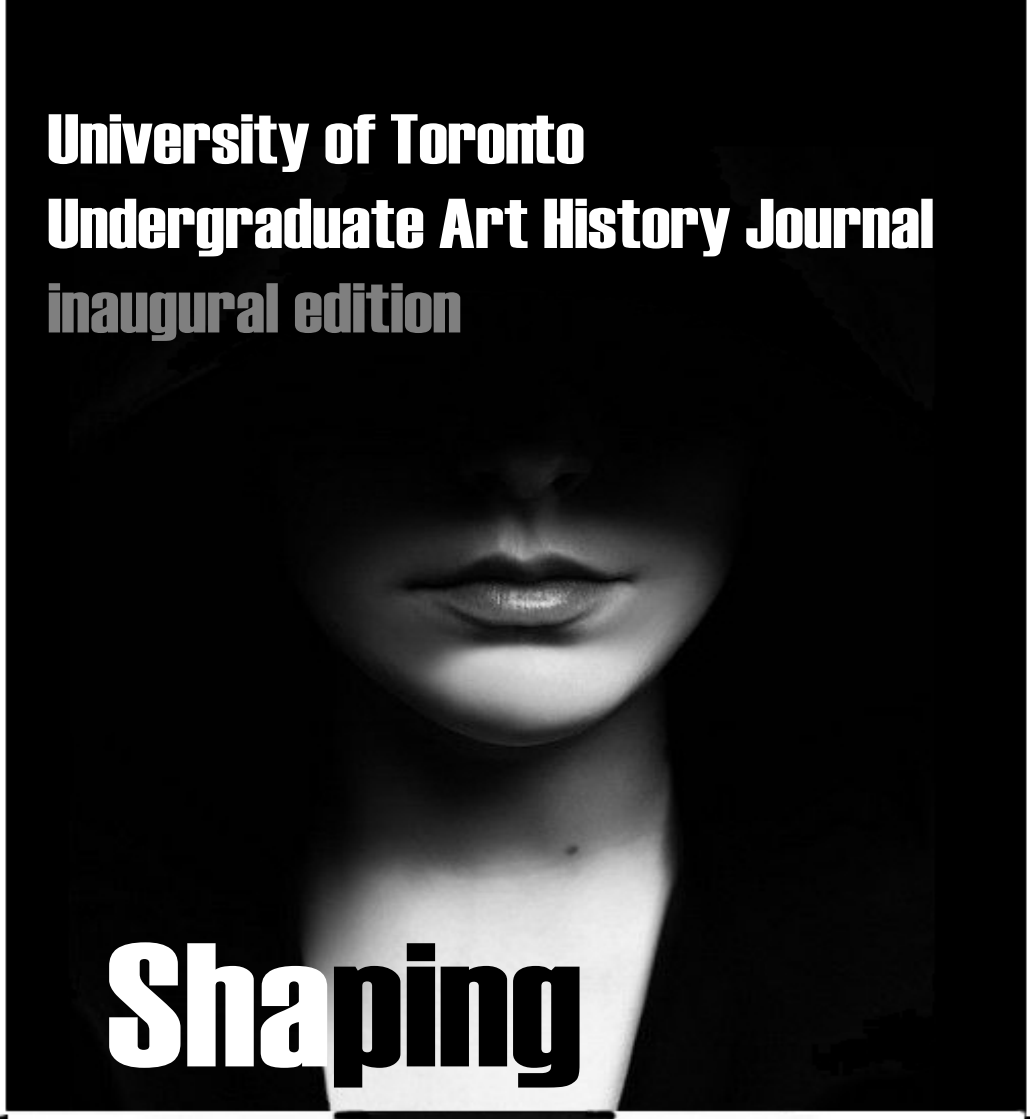
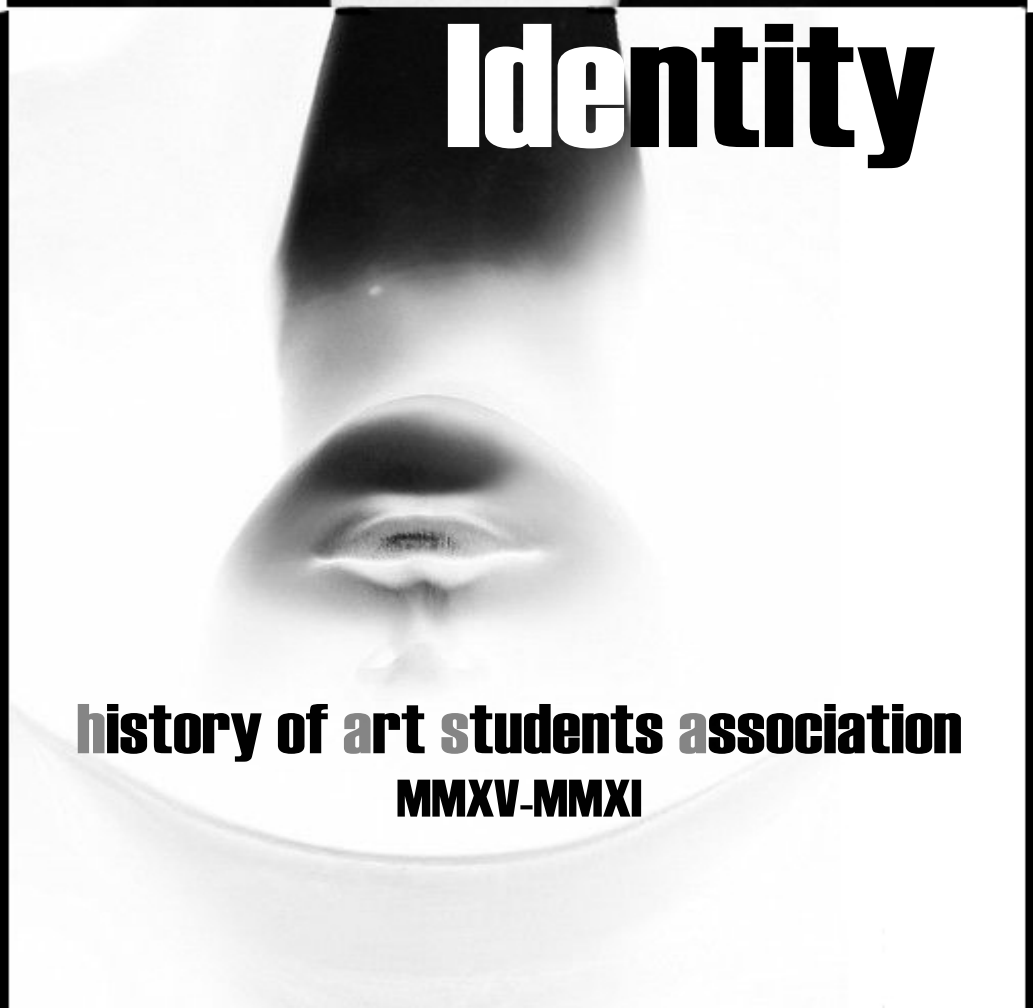
University of Toronto
Undergraduate Art History Journal
inaugural edition



Shaping Identity



history of art students association
MMXV-MMXI

-Table of Contents-

Acknowledgements

This History of Art Students' Association at the University of Toronto is pleased to present its inaugural undergraduate Art Histroy journal. This collection of papers was collected from students accross Canada and the United States during the 2015-2016 academic year, who are engaging with ideas of identity and how it is shaped and expressed. This theme aligns closely with the ethos of the University of Toronto and the city of Toronto itself. The University of Toronto supports and enriches a breath of perspectives and critical thought from its diverse body of students and faculty. Similarly, the City of Toronto, being the one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world and the fourth largest municipality in North America, is home to a crossection of identities that are constantly contributing to how they are defined and understood. This journal showcases the innovative and thoughtful scholarship of budding art historians and how they consider identity accross continents, time periods and perspectives.

In publishing this journal thanks must be given to the administration and faculty of the Unviersity of Toronto's Department fo Art. In particular HASA would like to thank Dr. SeungJung Kim and Dr. Christy Anderson for their guidance and support. We would also like to thank the Arts and Sciences Students' Union for thier financial support.

- March 2017

The History of Art Students' Association

2015-2016

(Salena Barry, Paja Bobosikova, Ana Djapa,

Charlene Lo, Syena Moltaji, Theresa Wang)

FOREWORD

Dr. SeungJung Kim

-University of Toronto-

Starting your first day at college is probably one of the most invigorating, exciting, and frightening experiences in one's educational lifetime. Every day that was spent at school may feel like but a preparation for this very moment. This is where many will make monumental decisions about career paths by choosing a major. Lifetime friends are often made at universities that will define a large part of your social dynamic for a large part of your adulthood. This is an arena where one learns to define oneself, not only as one comes of age legally, but also in relation to the global landscape. International access, both through the diverse student body as well as opportunities to go abroad, complicates and elaborates the formation of one's personal, social, and professional identity.

For this reason, among many others, there could not have been a more apposite subject to tie together the manifold issues that spark the interest of undergraduate contributors for the inaugural issue of the UofT's History of Art Student Association's (HASA) Journal. This year's theme, *Shaping Identity*, is as much about self-definition on a personal, social, political level as it is about collective dynamics through the lens of history, under the common vehicle of visual arts. All ten contributors, from the University of Toronto, other Canadian institutions (McGill, Concordia, Queens), as well as from the United States (Yale, Amherst), weave a tantalizing cross-section of the myriad of ways in which identity can be formed and informed through the visual medium. Collectively, they showcase an exceptionally high quality of undergraduate scholarship and original contributions to the field, while individually they boast a kaleidoscope of regional, period and methodological interests, reflecting the very diversity of the social environment upon which this institution sits, and toward which many North American institutions of higher education strive.

In many ways the notion of "identity"—as it was first explicitly systematized in scholarship by the psychologist Erik Erikson as an individual trait, then expanded to an understanding of group or even that of a nation by the social psychologist Henri Tajfel—has now come back full circle. In fact, many a treatment of issues surrounding identity cannot exist on one or the other end of this spectrum: of complete individuality or complete collectivity. In some sense, the very notion of identity by definition requires a multivalent understanding of the interaction between the self and the collective, in as much as one cannot be defined without the other. The few titles compiled here that deal with individual artists – be it Takeshi Murakami, contemporary indigenous artists in Canada, or Francis Williams, a certain 18th century Jamaican literati – all deal with the notion of self as defined by, or against the established tradition, in a dynamic flux of changing notions of identity. What does it means to be of a certain ethnical heritage, a member of a particular social stratum, or belong within the boundaries of a certain geopolitical space-time? Or, in many cases, what does it mean to embody a certain hybrid of more than one of these elements, and therefore create a new category of being?

Charlene Lo's article on Takeshi Murakami exemplifies the idea that individual identity as an artist can be sometimes extrapolated and understood in terms of the collective. Murakami's "Construct of Japan" seen through the dovetailing of popular and traditional visual culture, grafted doubly onto the pictorial flattening of his canvases—the terminology "superflat" that was coined to explain this phenomena, has a sort of naïve ring to it—is the exemplum of an individual artist and his products standing in for the collective spirit and tradition. The irony that entails Murakami's own identity as hybrid—early childhood exposure to western ideas, Brooklyn-based workshop, and a product of catering to the West—is perhaps no accident. That the West sees Murakami as a very "Japanese" artist is perhaps a testimony to the dynamic nature of such identities.

Pablo Morales' spotlight treatment of the individual work of art, *The Portrait of Francis Williams*, and Hope Christerson's thoughtful discussion on the effect of the new photographic medium on the collective identity of African Americans after emancipation, both further the dynamic tension between the individual and the collective identities prompted by visual representations. The idea of autonomous self-representation versus collective (mis)representation of race reinforces the complexity with which racial identity becomes a socially-constructed concept through the visual medium, against the backdrop of a watershed moment in the historical narrative.

Emma June Huebner and Caroline Bucksbaum both tackle the issue of First Nations identities through very different set of historical lenses and artistic genres, these articles also ask similar questions of individual versus collective identities, self-expressions versus impositions, and the schism between internal identity and its reception. Huebner's analysis of early 20th century imagery of aboriginal people and their native environment, used by the Canadian Pacific Railway as a marketing device, unravels the irony of the double standard in the colonizing narrative. While space was becoming progressively compartmentalized and the aboriginal population physically tucked away behind "reserves," their imagery, however, exoticised and eroticized, were being used visibly as a commercial marketing strategy to "brand a new frontier nation". Bucksbaum's analysis of three contemporary indigenous artists, through the lens of individual artists' works, raises larger questions regarding collective characteristics of indigenous art that challenge monolithic values of the western tradition.

If we see the practice of distorting, romanticizing, or sanitizing visual representations of the native population in order to market geography to Eurocentric viewers; the reverse is also true, according to Daniel Saenz, when it comes to manipulating orthodox beliefs in order to impose heteronormative values in the colonies. In a well-argued paper, Saenz proposes that the rise of the cult of Joseph in New Spain is precisely one of those deliberate ploys, to impose heteronormative sexuality as a model for masculinity against the idolatrizing, sodomized and feminized native colonial subjects. The re-invention of Joseph from a harmless old guardian of the virgin to a young, virile, powerful agent of masculine ideal gives much credence to the notion that his image served as an emblem of Christian orthodoxy that was the colonizing narrative in New Spain. Vaibhavi Shinde's discussion about the Amiens Cathedral, on the other hand, highlights the involvement of the civic body and the collective ethos of its self-expression, particularly in the form of architectural innovations, through which certain civic ideals, rivalry, religious and political power were conveyed. Images of local saints were absorbed into the canon and assimilated, rather than imposed onto the people as a statement of power.

Long before Takeshi Murakami played with pictorial styles that grew out of tensions between the eastern and western artistic traditions, the 18th century Qing Court in China had already been a fertile arena, on which cross-cultural influences—especially with European emissaries bringing with them illusionistic pictorial techniques of the western tradition—were able to develop into hybridized artistic styles. Vanessa Yuan explores *Emperor Qianlong's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Six*, a "documentary" scroll painted by Xu Yang to commemorate the emperor's visit to Suzhou in 1751. While continuing the tradition of his predecessor Emperor Kangxi, Qianlong's oeuvres showcase a hybridized style influenced by European painters. Yuan effectively argues for the facility with which such hybrid foreign and traditional aesthetics can rise from preexisting tensions between Han Chinese and Manchu values, as well as Qianlong's political need for a visual justification of his own power.

The conscious employment of different cultural identities in the visual language, be it pictorial techniques (illusionism: Yuan), artistic movement (Pop Art: Lo), or subject matter (aboriginal people: Huebner), is this time seen in the form of an eroticized object—namely the Japanese Kimono, and the French "black ribbon" around the neck. Madelein Leisk follows the thread of the Kimono as a sexualized object as it appears in 19th century European paintings, while Annie Robinson ponders the meaning of the black neck ribbon, ubiquitous but specific to 19th century France. These two papers naturally deal with the gendered gaze and its relationship to such markers of eroticization, as well as deal with the discourse on the body that bears these markers. As much as the notion of otherness, which often bring with it either rejection or eroticization that are essentially flipsides of the same coin, relates to the definition of one's own identity, we may indeed be able speak of these exotic semiotic markers as an index to the collective identity of the society that produced it.

Through the careful selection of such papers by the HASA Journal Committee, for and by undergraduate students at University of Toronto and beyond, it is my belief that the inaugural edition of this journal will set renewed standards for undergraduate scholarship. The need for a better understanding of identity, both individual and collective, comes to us with much urgency in the current socio-cultural and political climate, and I commend both HASA and all the contributors for their excellent work.

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The Portrait of Francis Williams

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Abstract

British Colonial lands in the 18th century enforced a legal code that separated the private rights of citizens from African slaves, referred to as "Negro Evidence" this law prevented the voice of many with a black identity from giving testimony in the court of law. Francis Williams was born in Jamaica around 1700 to a family that sat at the intersection of race and class after changes in the Jamaican legal code officially shifted the identity of the Williams family outside the racial category of "negro" toward a category of citizenship considered racially "white"[1].The complex identity of Francis Williams was used as evidence in contemporary conversations concerning the legality of the slave trade and the very humanity of those considered to be racially non-white. The existence of this portrait preserves an image of Francis Williams as a scholar, a visual motif commonly found in the western canon. When a parallel is made with the struggle for many writers with black identity to gain recognition as authors during the 18th century, the portrait becomes visual evidence of a black identity self-fashioned in response to an oppressive system of imperial power and likewise presents one example of how historical racism has affected the gaze of scholars in the discipline of art history

Introduction

How can art from past eras challenge and address identity in contemporary art history? In the following essay one art object from a past moment of western colonialism will serve as evidence to discuss the construct of race and identity in visual culture. Contemporary art is flooded with artists who use the lessons of minimalism to investigate issues of identity by removing the human body from the image thereby forcing the viewer to become self-aware of their interpretations. In using daringly simple forms many modern and contemporary works simultaneously deny the existence of a human hand in creation, yet require proper identification of their creator to be regarded as worthy objects in the eyes of the capital market. In all forms of culture, but especially in painting, knowledge of monetary value allows a viewer to avert their gaze from depicted realities. Another, more sinister and quite overused excuse, is the separation created by time. The fabric of history allows many viewers to declare their vision hazy when asked to search for visual truth(s), believing their place in a "post-colonial" society separates their life experience from past individuals. This prevents the realization that mechanisms of oppression do not disappear from human behavior and are routinely exercised by capitalist societies in their pursuit of colonial empires. Oppression of black identity was intellectually broken in the 20th century with publications like Frantz Fanon's Black Skin/White Masks, which sought to de-stabilize the belief in a singular white modernity.[2] In the last forty years this awareness in historiography has seen an integration of critical race theory into art historical scholarship concerning the British colonial empire that requires a re-examination of black visual culture.[3]

Painted images are by nature subject to the same rules as written history whereby use of the human hand creates space for doubt when approximating an artist's original intent. Despite this, evidence of real lived experience is often displayed quite

proudly in material imagery that exists from the past. This is an important aspect of colonial portraiture as a genre that seeks to capture an idealized identity of the sitter through the hand of the artist. My purpose in this paper is to discuss the life and portrait of Francis Williams alongside 18th century beliefs concerning black authorship to prove the battle to be respected as a written author can likewise be found in the world of the visual arts and doubly used to combat current systems of racial oppression that blind historians in their ability to read visual evidence.

The life and portrait of Francis Williams provide a rich source of discussion regarding the role of travel and migration in constructing identity of slave descendants within the larger British Empire. To this I seek to expand the assimilation/renunciation identity complex often applied to displaced individuals by using dialogic evidence in order to restore a sense of agency and originality to this portrait. More presciently the issues surrounding the identity of the Francis Williams portrait touch on many contemporary historical issues questioning the impact of racial disparities in the legal system. The use of law in determining identity is necessary for stratification within a unified political structure, however when unequal legal identities collide, the result can be a volatile environment where the favored identity is used to re-ify the dominant political narrative of power over the subjugated group, this reflects an interaction between law and targeted constituents where law is only purposed to restrain and punish. The creation of visual culture under this environment creates forms of psychological aggression that inevitably force engagement from those believed to lie unseen at the fringe, but in what form and to what degree did Francis Williams experience these forces? As colored racial identity was distorted in the history of western visual culture so it was subjugated under law in colonial territories for some time.

Oppression of Black Identity

Unequal treatment under law of conquered people of the Americas, and those forcibly removed from native lands for reasons of war and enslavement is justified for believed moral and
human inferiority. This belief propelled subjugation of many colonized people for the commercial purpose of profit at the beginning of the early modern period.[5] The manifestation of these beliefs can be found in the creation and use of negro evidence in many colonial law codes, which restricted the ability of negro individuals to testify against those considered to be white. This was part of the larger body of oppressive laws used in colonies to restrict the will of enslaved individuals to move and assemble, which resulted in laws that placed black identity within a legally subordinate class.

The concept of a subordinate class has led historian Carlo Ginzburg to identify a problem in historiography of ignoring those individuals or groups that are believed to belong to subordinate culture. Undoubtedly, this is due in part to the widespread persistence of an aristocratic conception of culture. Too often, original ideas or beliefs have been considered by definition to be a product of the upper classes, and their diffusion among the subordinate classes a mechanical fact of little or no interest. At best, what is noted is the ‘decay’ and the ‘distortion’ experienced by those ideas or beliefs in the course of their transmission.[6]

Recognition of original ideas is critical for the creation of identity; to be written off as a copy is to be denied outright. In addition, the separation of culture between high and low implies a loss in sophistication. In the realm of art, this can cause a superficial reading of a work to dominate when it is declared to be of an unso phisticated formal hand. This belief can easily create the perception that a work of art is low quality leveling a direct negative judgment on the perceived skill of the creator thereby denying their ability be viewed as authors of original work. If we are to properly interpret this portrait of Francis Williams, we must do so with fresh eyes that collapse the western notions of high and low to avoid the binary of savagery/sophistication that is a remnant of hegemonic imperial discourse.

Francis Williams and Black Authorship

In New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century Manhattan Jill Lepore uses the denial of "black authorship" [7] justify her claim that New York prosecutors unjustly focused on Irish immigrant John Hughson, making him the necessary author of the 'slave conspiracy", the first of three uncovered conspiracies that took place in the winter of 1741.[8] Conversations held in the New York around this time place the identity of Francis Williams, 'the first recorded black writer in the British Empire,"[9] against the range of Enlightenment opinions surrounding the perceived lack of, 'intellectual and artistic potential of blacks."[10]

Francis Williams lived a racial identity that was in paradox between his legal status and physical appearance. Born in Jamaica at the turn of the 18th century his father, a freed slave named John Williams, set precedent by challenging the use of negro evidence in 1708 with a bill presented to the Assembly of Jamaica that prevented the restrictions of negro evidence from applying to him. The bill stated that,

> John Williams, a free negro, setting forth that he was set free for his fidelity and good service, and had by his industry gained some small interest in the world, and, although a Christian and naturalized, yet both himself and what he hath are liable to utter ruin, on the evidence of slaves that may witness against him on any occasion, and praying leave to bring in a bill to enable him to be tried by a jury, as a white man.[11]

Within the span of a month the bill became law, but without the last statement, "as a white man".
Eight years later John Williams was able to extend this right to his wife and three sons.[12] The Williams family would become the exception. Such a distinction would place the identity of Francis as the subject of various conversations the following decades in legal arguments in courts abroad.[13] Of particular example is the opinion expressed by philosopher David Hume, 'In Jamaica indeed they talk of one negroe as a man of parts and learning; but 'tis likely he is admired for very slender accomplishments, like a parrot, who speaks a few words plainly."[14]

John Williams was able to amass a significant fortune through exports he maintained with his sugar plantation. This shift

in socio-economic status allowed the Williams family to change their legal status, in contrast to the slaves the Williams family owned. John Williams likely provided the support for his son to go study in England for a time, where Francis would have had ample opportunity to experience, if not the regions of Western Europe, at least the capitol of the British empire.[15] His education in classics and mathematics followed him to Spanish Town after his return from England, where he would set up a school to teach, "reading, writing, Latin, and the elements of the mathematics".[16]

When Francis died in 1762 he is reported to have had less than 5% left of his original inheritance in property value, slaves, and other goods, from this it seems that Francis decided to devote his life to the pursuits of a scholar rather than to those of a businessman. As told by Lepore, "In Jamaica, [Francis] Williams's capacity for reason, which turned on his ability to speak and write, to be the author of his own life," was the subject of much conversation throughout the British empire.[17] The focus of Lepore's argument is on the perceived abilities of negro individuals to be authors in a time when literacy was used as -a kind of dividing line between 'savagery' and 'civilization'".[18] To prove one had a civilized identity required adopting a form of written communication that was practiced by members of the upper class—namely poetry for Francis Williams. But what about the visual world, how can works of art be considered evidence in the struggle for black authorship equal to those of the written word?

The Portrait

The Portrait of Francis Williams (Figure 1) is visual evidence of a deliberately self- fashioned identity that goes against racist colonial beliefs by portraying Francis Williams involved in the leisurely pursuit of various activities associated with the visual trope "the Scholar.[19] Paintings that originated in lands colonized by European states in the 17-20th centuries were for a long time brushed off as crude replicas of European originals, as mechanical fact of little or no interest. Images of black individuals produced during the early modern period likewise reflect a distant engagement in scholarship.

One notable example is brought to attention by Adam Eaker, -At the beginning of [Julius S.] Held's conclusive attribution to Rubens of one of the most famous head studies, that of a black man viewed in four positions [Figure 2] the scholar wrote,

> " 'Naive beholders apparently had no difficulty recognizing immediately the truth— ethnically and artistically—of this study from life. There is something compelling about the psychological variety of expression depicted in what clearly was the same individual (one wonders what he may have been in life), ranging from a seemingly cheerful smile, to a state of serene calm, and, in the most striking of the views, a tense pathos reminding us movingly of the traditional roles assigned to the members of his race.'"[20]

Held manages to push aside the identity of the model by removing it from his direct line of questioning thereby, removing his gaze. Held is denying his most precious right to see while at the same time keeping his status as a scholar, the ultimate -objective

connoisseur".[21] By reducing the status of the model to a subordinate position it is implied that the role of the model in creating the work of art is unimportant. The inherent power dynamic between master and model is ignored in art history because it is routinely focused solely on the artist, the author. We see here that like the written word, the production of images can likewise be thought of as a medium that too often relies on the identification of the author before attempting to see the identity of the subject.

Other Scholars

Figure 1 was not created in isolation and holds many visual references to European portraits of learned male figures in similar environments. Francis Williams stands casting a shadow over a checkered floor in his library. His body is in a full-frontal position actively engaging the viewer as though he's teaching a lesson with his left hand resting on a diagram in a book and his right pointing behind him to the large six-row bookcase. In addition: a chair, circular table, two globes, compass, draftsman's case, two quills, a three-chamber silver ink container, and a curtain reveal the scene at hand.

The open window is a motif present in many previous portraits, like Portrait of a Cardinal in his Study (Figure 3) by Renaissance artist Lorenzo Costa. The importance of representing landscape through an open window enhances the illusionistic space of the canvas and provides the option to depict natural light. Landscapes, as seen through the frame of a window imply a direct association between the actions taking place inside the room and the location they are supposedly grounded in. Whoever commissioned this painting would also have been fully aware of Francis William's presence in Spanish Town, as it is this townscape that can be seen out beyond the open window. The book is an ever-present motif in portraits, with Newton's Philosophy open on the table and Cowley Poems, Paradise Lost, and Locke visible on the shelf behind.[22] The use of two globes however, a terrestrial and astronomical, is something more particular. Present in An Astronomer (Figure 4) by Ferdinand Bol two globes stand side-by-side in a dimly lit study, painted in front of a curtain. This scholar sits in a pose with his right hand touching his chin as he stares up towards the ceiling implying that while his physical body inhabits the terrestrial, his mind is concerned with higher investigations. It became popular in the16th century to pair guidebooks of the sort that discussed mathematical geography and astronomy with created globes[23]—the sort kept in Williams's schoolhouse? In Portrait of a Scholar (Figure 5) Thomas de Keyser displays a dimly lit room with a black and white checkered floor organized in a similar form as seen in Figure 1. The scholar is shown sitting with his feet placed perpendicularly, slowly turning the pages of a book, in front of a desk layered with a likely imported woven carpet. His shadow is cast in a direction as being lit from the front, regarding the gaze of the artist and owner equally. He bears a black cap like the previous scholar and even like the cardinal's red cap. With only the faces and hands of each scholar visible it is the focus of their posture that signals a physical state of rest. Only Francis Williams is standing, in an active pose using his hands like we see in the cardinal's study, both figures are busy at work in the process of communicating knowledge.

These paintings of scholars all present carefully arranged material elements to create representations of individual

identities. Dressed in luxurious cloth these scholars all have the social capital to pursue activities that test the mind each in their own idealized study. By visually representing these figures in acts that involve reading, thinking, and writing the artist upholds the visual representation of these scholars as authors. If they are commissioned portraits then, through the agency of the artist, these scholars become not just authors in the written sense, but authors of their own image. The set of drawing instruments and case (Figure 1.1) is an interesting addition and might allude to Williams's abilities as a draftsman—might it have been Williams himself who took to designing and painting his own self-portrait? The case, known as an etui, is likely metal (brass, silver) with a black leather covering, became popular throughout the course of the 17th century. This portrait is likely one of the earliest visual representations of this object in the colonial empire.

Portrait as Caricature

Vincent Caretta posited the idea that this portrait is a caricature.[24] This has made other scholars hesitant to attribute the creation of this portrait to the hand or to the request of Francis Williams himself due to the unequal proportions of the body or more generally a perceived 'lack of skill".[25] With a focus on the formal characteristics of William's body it is important to remember an artist of European descent would likely have had an advantage in practicing naturalistic portraiture. For this reason, some scholars keenly attribute the creation of this painting to a regional artist based in Jamaica.

It is not impossible that this portrait was commissioned without Francis Williams's knowledge as a rude visual joke on his perceived civilized abilities, however I fully negate this interpretation given that the types of western caricature depicting black individuals circulating in the West Indies during the 18th century relied almost exclusively on plays with physiognomy to force an association between black individuals and animal forms.[26]The idea that this painting is a reflection of the racist spirit of the imagined-commissioner, a spirit so strong it led them to insist on a painting—not a print—loses credibility when confronted by the unexceptional nature of the material environment in the portrait. There were many concise and established ways to reduce the humanity of individuals through the art of caricature beginning well before the 18th century, by comparison this painting would be a painfully weak example. In addition, the placid environment surrounding Francis is echoed in the handling of his body, without offensive distortion of detailed facial features that determine this as a proper portrait and not generic depiction. Interestingly, this portrait type featuring a standing scholar is reflected in a later image produced by British artist John Kay of the man who is famous for publishing his ideas on capitalism and a close friend of Hume, Adam Smith (figure 6).

To consider this painting a crude visual joke or a primitive work would ignore the time and the labor of the artist in designing the illusion of perspectival space, including such details as Francis's blue velvet coat, the gold threads on the spines of the books, the objects displayed on the table, and even the tree-ring markings on the pieces of wooden furniture.[27] The attention to natural detail stands as evidence to correct beliefs that the painting was executed in a "sloppy" manner. This ignorance of artistic process is often used to erase the labor of a creator all together, thereby removing the identity of an author in favor of a silent unknown.

There is one peculiar detail that has received little attention, the ill-fitted tights. Why would a sitter choose to be represented in clothing that does not fit? The message has generally been interpreted as a joke and a sure sign that the figure of Francis is in costume, wearing an attempt at sophistication rather than the real thing. The wedding portrait of Marten Soolmans by Rembrandt recently acquired in a joint purchase between the Louvre and the Rijksmuseum (figure 7) displays a similar detail of loose stockings. In combination with the rosettes on the shoes these stockings reflect a popular trend in 18th century western European fashion. Does the Francis Williams portrait represent a trend he noticed abroad, emulated in examples like the Rembrandt portrait? Here a viewer should be careful not to associate modern interpretations of dress regarding a loose-fitting silhouette, which has lead the popular idea that the stockings are a sign of Francis's poor state of wealth. It is more likely that Francis did not see loose-fitted stockings as a negative reflection of self and even relished thin legs as a sign of a life led outside manual labor.

If this painting was meant to be a humorous caricature however, the foundation of the visual joke would have rested on the reality of Francis William's paradoxed identity. The split between his stereotyped race and his legal status caused many heads to pause in the 18th century and consider such contemporary questions like; what it meant to be human, civilized, or non- white. The pressure that led John Williams's efforts to secure the safety of his family from legal violence is reflected in the life Francis Williams chose to embody, reflected in his portrait.

Conclusion

The normative category implied by visual representation as 'the scholar' can be considered a response to wide-spread beliefs in the 18th century that denied non-white individuals from being considered authors, especially of their own image. However, to consider the creation of this painting an act of transgression on the part of Francis Williams would be repeating a tired academic trope that is used to mute subaltern narrative as well, that all forms of cultural expression are always a form of resistance. This portrait does not represent a form of visual resistance; it represents the negotiation and assertion of identity in the face of imperial power.[28]

The figure of Francis Williams retains and embodies the idea of a scholar in his portrait in a formal arrangement that shows original planning and craft. He was very likely aware of such examples that circulated in the early modern period through the medium of prints or might have encountered full portraits while abroad. It cannot be said definitively if Francis Williams commissioned this painting or painted it himself. Even though it is not possible to determine exact truth to the question of artistic intent, truth can be approached if one gazes at the visual evidence, which presents one fundamental image of Francis William's real multi-valenced identity. This portrait is a visual statement that contests the denial of black authorship by presenting the figure of a black individual as master of his life and alludes to the possibility that he was the artist, but surely the owner.

Fig.1 *Portrait of Francis Williams, the Scholar of Jamaica,* Artist unknown. ca. 1745. Victoria and Albert Museum Gift of Viscount Bearsted M.C. and Spink and Son Ltd. through the National Art Collections Fund, 1928.

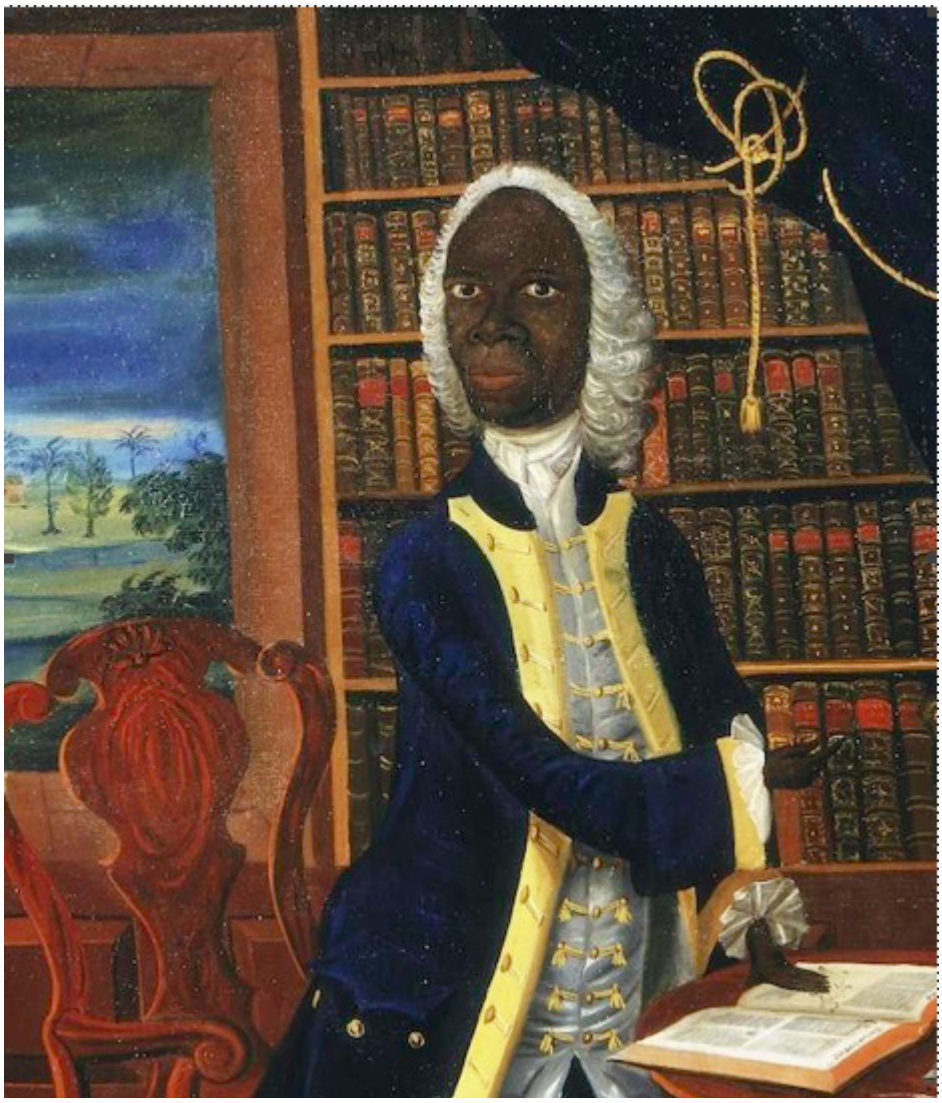

Fig.1.1(Detail) of *Portrait of Francis William*

Fig 1.2 (Detail) of *Portrait of Francis William*

Fig. 2 Workshop of Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), *Four Studies of a Male Head*, 1617-1620. Oil on panel, 25.4 x 67.9cm J. Paul Getty Museum

Fig. 3 Attributed to Lorenzo Costa (1460 - 1535), *Portrait of a Cardinal in his Study*, ca 1519. oil and tempera on panel, H.32-1/4 x W.30 in. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, purchased by The John R. Van Derlip and the William Hood Dunwoody Funds.

Fig. 4 Ferdinand Bol, (1616 - 1680), *An Astronomer*, 1652. Oil on canvas, 127 x 135 cm. The National Gallery, London

Presented by Miss E.A. Bennett, 1862

Fig.5 Keyser, Thomas de, *Portrait of a scholar,* 1631. oil on panel, 82.5 x 61 cm. Image and original data provided the Mauritshuis, The Hagu.

Fig. 6. John Kay. *The Author of The Wealth of nations*, Adam Smith, 1790. Etching, Library of Congress, no image

Fig. 7. Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669), Portrait of Marten Soolmans, 1634. Oil on canvas, 210 x 135 cm. Acquired by the Dutch State for the Rijksmuseum

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Endnotes

1 For ease of the reader the racial concepts of negro and white will from here on be used without quotations

2 See Preface in The Image of the Black in Western Art.

3 See Kobena Mercer‘s “Erase and Rewind: When Does Art History in the Black Diaspora Actually Begin?” pg 2. As well as Michele Wallace’s seminal article-Modernism, Postmodernism and the Problem of the Visual in Afro- American Culture

4 Mercer, p 18

5 Hrabovsky, p 66

6 *The Cheese & the Worms*, p xxii

7 *Lepore, p 124. From here on the words will be without quotations for easier reading.*

8 For further reading on the 1741 conspiracy see Richard E. Bond‘s “Shaping a conspiracy: Black testimony in the 1741 New York Plot” in *Early American Studies* no. 1 (2007): 63-94., Thomas J. Davis‘s “Conspiracy and Credibility: Look Who’s Talking, About What: Law Talk and Loose Talk” in *The William and Mary Quarterly* 59 (1). Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture (2002) 167–74., and Brendan McConville‘s “Of Slavery and Sources” in *Reviews in American History* (2006) 281-290.

9 Painting is the subject of a V&A web object story, ‘Francis Williams - A Portrait of an Early Black Writer’.

10 Lepore, pg 124-128. Chapter *Paper*.

11 Carretta, p 221.

12 Macdermot, p 149.

13 Carretta, p 214-15.

14 See footnote 10 in Part 1, Essay 21 ‘Of National Characters” by David Hume, ed. F. Miller

15 Carretta, p 220. There is a record of “Francis Williams, youngest son of John W., of Jamaica, merchant,”checking into the Lincoln‘s Inn in London on August 8, 1721.

16 Carretta, p 216.

17 Lepore, 125.

18 Lepore, 298, ft 36.

19 The tropes of the scholar as well as the man-of-letters were prominent subjects in European painting during the 18th century. Notable comparisons in the art of portraiture can also be found on the subject of Philosophers

20 Julius S. Held, —The Four Studies of a Negro in Brussels and Malibu in Rubens and His Circle: Studies by Julius S. Held, p 149.

21 Eaker, 186.

22 Carretta, p 213.

23 F. Wawrik. “Globe.” *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online.* Oxford University Press. .<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T032860>.

24 Caretta, p 225. Subsequently repeated in the object description on the V&A website.

25 From Painting is the subject of a V&A web object story, ‘Francis Williams - A Portrait of an Early Black Writer’,

26 See Kay Dian Kriz‘s “The Physiognomy and Pathology of Black Humor”.

27 The painting has a terminus post quem of 1730 due to the style of furniture, which might have been produced in the British ¨New England¨ colonies.

28 For further reading on the formation of a British identity in the 18th century see Kathleen Wilson’s *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire, and Gender in the Eighteenth Century.*

Aboriginal Canada, Visible to the Tourist

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Abstract

In the early 20th century the Canadian Pacific Railway used depictions of Aboriginal people as way to market the railway and Canada. At the same time, Aboriginal people were displaced and relocated into reserves and residential schools. The double standard is hard to ignore. On the one hand First Nations people were contained, assimilated and hidden from the outside, while on the other their culture was used as a way to promote Canada and brand a nation.

In the early 20th century various advertisements in the popular press started to appear in order to promote Canada to the world. Many of these were characterized by a style that featured flat surfaces and pastel colors, and, more important, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) logo appeared prominently. Whereas most of the ads promoted national parks and nature resorts by using images of mountains and bodies of water, a few of them depicted aboriginal people, which is striking if one considers the history of Canada's past relations with First Nations. These CPR ads appeared not very long after the Indian Act was passed in 1876, at the same time that Indigenous people were displaced and relocated onto reserves and children placed into residential schools. The double standard is hard to ignore. On the one hand First Nations people were contained, assimilated and hidden from the outside, while on the other their culture was used as a way to promote Canada and brand a nation.

The concept of a holiday or a vacation is a relatively recent phenomenon. It originally sparked people's interest in the middle of the nineteenth century because holidays were presented as a way to escape the city and everyday work for a short period of time in order to experience fresh air, regain health and recuperate. It could also mean an experience untouched by civilisation.[1] In this context, and with British Columbia's addition the Confederation, the Canadian government agreed to construct a transcontinental railway.[2] The construction of the railway was difficult because of Canada's economic situation. Nevertheless, the Conservative government's general manager William Cornelius Van Horne proposed a philosophy of "capitalizing the scenery" which developed Canada's coast-to-coast tourism around the world and helped finance the colossal project.[3]

To promote Canada's landscape as tourist destination, the CPR used massive advertising campaigns that targeted not only Canadians but Europeans as well. Banff and the Rockies were the primary showcase of a "Canadian wilderness." The park offered numerous recreational activities such as luxurious accommodations, hot springs, and cultural festivals. These different activities were featured on tourist posters. Yet, some tourists must have been drawn to the area for different reasons. Several posters that were created depicted aboriginal people wearing their traditional regalia. As a way of reaching an even larger tourist audience, Parks Canada marketed

the “natural” environment as associated with Canada’s first inhabitants who were untarnished by civilisation.[4] The historian and cultural anthropologist Courtney Mason has argued that western tourists associated the pre-colonized “indian” image to the “natural,” and they were thus exoticised in order to market the environmentally pure state of the Rockies.[5] This type of depiction of Aboriginal people can be seen in the 1930 CPR poster that features the Spring Hotel in Banff, as well as golfing and a group of three Aboriginal people looking over these recreational activities from a hill top (see image 1 in appendix).

Although Mason problematizes the use of images of pre-colonized aboriginal people by the CPR and Parks Canada, she concludes that ultimately the depictions were acceptable because tourism provided extra financial income and cultural opportunities to Aboriginal people during difficult economic times. The government and Parks Canada brought forward similar advantages when trying to create a national park in northern Canada. They argued that the Inuit could supply visitors with tour guides and fishing trips. Nevertheless, according to Leslie Bella, the Inuit were still “officially opposed” to the park but ultimately were pressured to agree as long as the park employed local people.[6] One would think, however, that even though there was a financial crisis in the early 20th century, Aboriginal people should still have had more control over their cultural representation.

A particularly large number of posters were created to promote the Banff Indian Day festival that was sponsored by the CPR. The Indian Day was a huge source of income for the railway company and became a massive event that helped market Banff as “natural.”[7] One of the posters created for this occasion depicts an “indian” wearing an elaborate headdress (see image 2). This image focuses on the exotic depiction of a serene looking wise “indian” who, like a veritable icon, is not interacting or sharing a gaze with the viewer. Another poster from the event includes a row of large tipis surrounded by Aboriginal people, including children dressed in colourful costumes (see image 3). Among the crowd depicted, people dressed in Western attire can also be seen, as well as husky dogs and horses. The poster presents an agglomeration of all the Aboriginal stereotypes imaginable. The park employed large numbers of Aboriginal people to entertain visitors with their pre-colonial costumes and help them experience Canada’s wilderness. Yet, Courtney Masson explains that although a large number of Aboriginal people were required for the festival to put on shows for tourists, after it was over they were forced to quickly return to the “marginalized spaces of their reserve.”[8] This suggests that aboriginal Canada was only visible to the tourist. Around the same period of time that these controversial Indian Day posters appeared, the government of Canada was moving aboriginal children into residential schools to assimilate them. Authorities brought attention to the “successful” cases.

The Department of Indian Affairs, a branch of the Canadian Government, clearly used representations of Aboriginal people for completely different purposes than the Department of Railways and Canals. From 1870 through to 1986, children were forcedly removed from their families because they were considered “sunk in ignorance and superstitious blindness, a well of darkness from which they were in need of emancipation.”[9] “Enlightened” Canadians would have to help them become civilized.[10] They were forced to abandon their traditional clothing and wear western clothing. Successful cases of assimilation were advertised and documented using before and after pictures. One of the most striking photographs of this type portrays a young boy named Thomas Moore (see image 4). In the first

image, Thomas is seen with long braids wearing his traditional regalia and jewellery. This picture is placed next to another one of him supposedly taken a few years later after attending a residential school in which he has short hair and is wearing a military top and western pants. There is not only a difference in the outfits, but in the pose he is taking. In his "after" picture he shown in a *contraposto* position which is typically a pose that westerners took in photographs. These before and after images were then published in the Department of Indian Affair's *Annual Report.*[11]

Other similar types of images were massively publicized by the department of Indian Affairs. Especially popular were ones that represented Aboriginal children in front of their school in European attire. A particular image of this type depicts seven children who appear to be between the ages of six and nine dressed in western attire and are holding up cut out letters of the word "goodbye" (see image 5). The girls are wearing white dresses and have matching bows in their hair while the boys are wearing suits and top hats. This picture is particularly odd because the children are not wearing what regular Canadian children would have necessarily worn on a daily basis. Children between the ages of six and nine would certainly not have worn top hats. This suggests that the department of Aboriginal affairs was trying to promote a particular image of Aboriginal youth: they could grow to be civilized adults. The photographs provide visual testimony of the government of Canada's assimilation policy as well as John A. Macdonald's admiration for the American policy of an "aggressive civilisation."[12] The government believed there was no use trying to assimilate adults but if "indians" were young enough they could be "civilized."

Contrasting the images of the department of Indian Affairs with the CPR posters, disproves and delegitimizes government policies because it was using selective representations and exploiting them for its own benefit. The CPR was spreading images of aboriginal people for lucrative reasons making them hyper-visible to the tourist, while the department of Indian affairs was demonstrating how they could make the "indian" invisible and even unrecognisable.

The CPR also wanted to extend tourism to the north of Canada and promoted trips to Alaska and the Yukon. Unsurprisingly, very controversial posters were created for this purpose as well. One particular poster features a young stereotypical Inuit woman seductively gazing at the viewer (see image 6). Her facial traits are clearly exaggerated: large plump cheeks, creased eyes and flattened nose. Behind her one can observe a totem pole, a seal and a large body of water with a cruise ship. The Inuit girl's "inviting" gaze as well as the ship in the image suggests that Northern Canada is a place where the tourist is welcomed. The Inuit girl portrayed inviting the visitor to come experience her daily life is problematic because, according to Leslie Bella, they were opposed to their land becoming a National Park for tourists.[13] Realizing the desire of Americans to come visit Alaska, tours via Canada became another part of the CPR advertisement campaign.[14] Another poster that was part of this campaign depicts an Inuit family all working on a different traditional task (see image 7). Among them, a young child is gazing at the viewer and behind him totem poles, glaciers and a cruise ship can be seen. There seems to be a recurring theme in the objects associated with the North that must have influenced the way people viewed and constructed their beliefs about the place.

It is particularly interesting to note the difference between the way the Canadian government treated northern communities compared to the rest of Canada's communities. Until 1900 there were only two residential schools in northern Canada and the goals of these schools were to "assimilate, civilize and Christianize."[15] The fact that it was a less pressing matter in northern communities suggests that de federal government was not concerned with large numbers of non-aboriginal settlers going to the north. Perhaps because these communities were not "visible" to regular Canadian citizens because of the remoteness of where they lived, there was no need to spend large sums of money on assimilation because they were not regularly seen. This assumption would thus support the claim that the Department of Aboriginal Affairs took seriously the visibility or invisibility of aboriginal communities, which then once again points to a double standard in the depiction of aboriginal people used by the government of Canada.

Jennifer Adese notes in her dissertation on constructing the Aboriginal and the Canadian national brand that certain tourists such as English traveler Edward Roper were disappointed when they did not see any "authentic Indians."[16] During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the CPR realized this and not only created the numerous posters previously discussed but also conducted train tours where tourist could view the "wild indian" from "the safety and convenience of a railcar."[17] As times progressed however, the "authentic" indian slowly became "modernized" and the Canadian tourism industry experienced a decline. Depictions of Indians and symbols associated with "Indian-ness" stopped being used as a marketing strategy by the CPR.[18] The rise of airlines and the decline in the use of the railway also contributed to the decline in production of CPR advertisement posters. Nevertheless, the abandonment of this type of symbols by railways companies did not stop the first airline companies in the mid-twentieth century from using similar types images to advertise Canada. Trans-Canada Airways (the ancestor of Air Canada) used totem poles in their advertisements. Among mountains, buildings, and a Mounty character sticking out of duffle bag, the totem pole is by far the largest symbol and seems over-scaled compared to the others items depicted (see image 8). Even after Trans-Canada Airways morphed into Air Canada, the current national airline, the company continued to use images of Aboriginal people in their advertisements. In a late 1950s advertisement, Air Canada chose to depict a beautiful playful Aboriginal girl wearing a beaded indigenous patterned headband (see image 9). The image exoticises her and also makes her seem desirable. These numerous depictions of Aboriginal people in older advertisements as well the ones in more recent exemplars suggests that colonialism and tourism are linked because they both "strategically functioned to produce geopolitical myths about destinations."[19]

In conclusion, Canada's public transportation companies such as the CPR used problematic depictions of aboriginal people in their marketing campaigns that would not be tolerated today. It is surprising that such images were being used in the early twentieth century because at the same time that these images were massively distributed, the government was suggesting different methods to assimilate Indigenous people and westernize them. The government even publicly advertised to what extent they could make the "Indian" invisible in numerous reports. These contrasting images and their use therefore delegitimize government policies and reveal that it was using selective representations of Aboriginal people, through the CPR, and exploiting them for its own benefits.

Figures

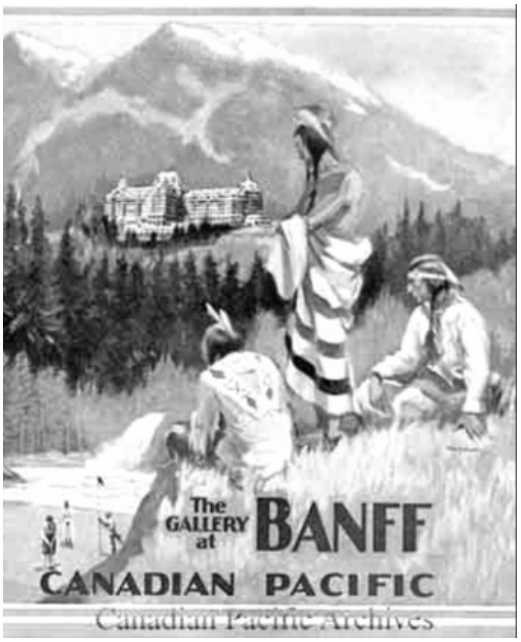

Figure 1: Indian Days tourism poster (1920).[20]

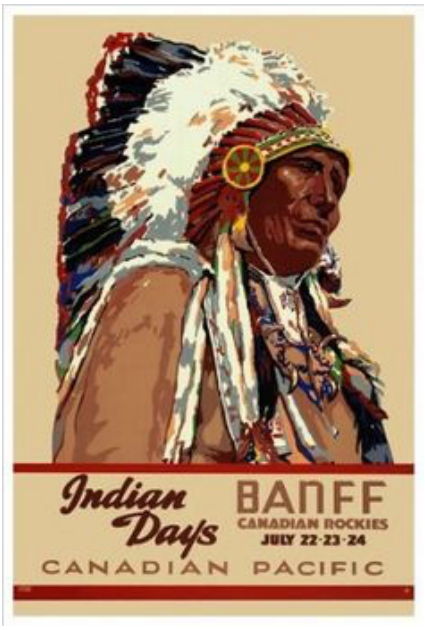

Figure 2: CPR tourism poster, (1930).[21]

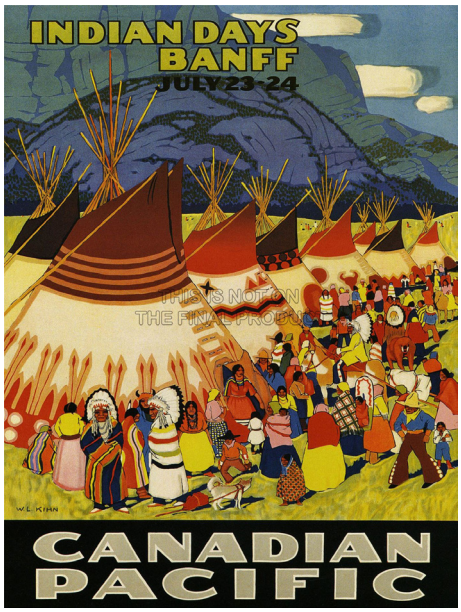

Figure 3: Indian Day tourism Poster (1920s)[22]

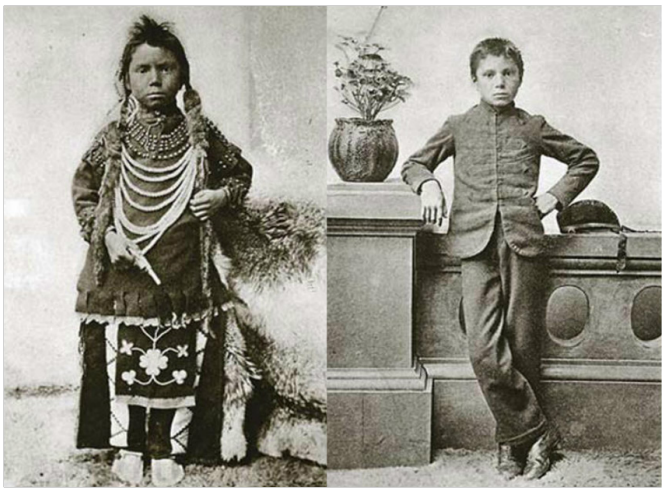

Figure 4: Thomas Moore (1897)[23]

Figure 5: Indian children holding letters that spell “Goodbye” at Fort Simpson Indian Residential School (1922)[24]

Figure 6: Alaska and Yukon travel poster, (n.d.).[25]

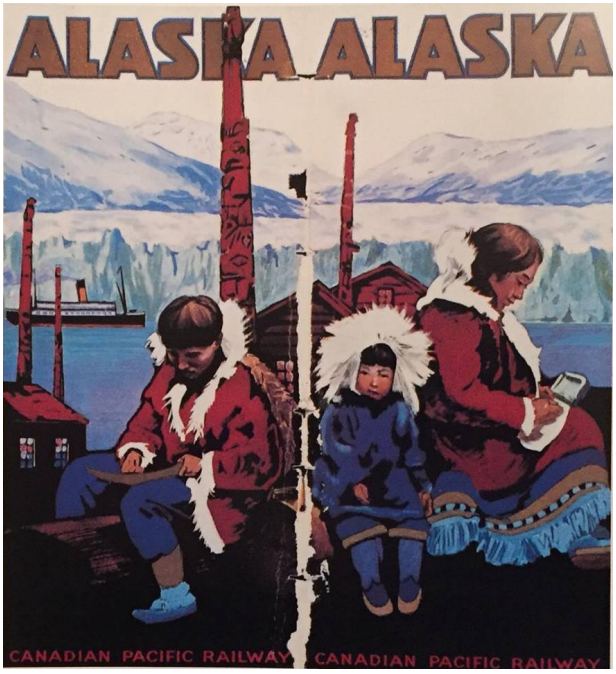

Figure 7: Tours to Alaska via Canada (n.d)[26]

Figure 8: Trans-Canada Air Lines poster (1950)[27]

Figure 8: Air Canada Western Canada Advertisement (1980)[28]

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2 E.J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1983), 7.

3 Idem.,7.

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5 Idem., 233.

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28 Unknown source

Contemporary Indigenous Artists Challenge the Western Expression of Art

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Abstract
In looking at works by a selection of contemporary Indigenous artists from across Canada, a common element that stands out is their creative engagement with native and non-native audiences. The three artists discussed are Peter Morin, from the Tahltan Nation in British Columbia,[1] Ursula Johnson from Halifax who uses elements of Mi'kmaw culture,[2] and Leah Decter from Treaty 1 territory in Winnipeg.[3] Each work sets Indigenous practices and ways of thinking against mainstream Western culture and commodification. While pointing out the wrongs of colonization and continued mistreatment of Indigenous people and extraction of their land and resources, the artists allow for both native and non-native people to equally be a part of the step forward. The way such a diversity of viewers are politically drawn in and actively engaged, as part of the production of these works of art, differs from western conceptions of art in strong and creative ways. These works share a common element of interacting with diverse audiences, using art to promote a dialogue between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada.

In looking at works by a selection of contemporary Indigenous artists from across Canada, a commonality is their playful interweaving of elements from traditional Native culture with those of mainstream Western culture. The work of three artists—Peter Morin, from the Tahltan Nation in British Columbia,[4] Ursula Johnson from Halifax who draws from Mi'kmaw culture,[5] and Leah Decter from Treaty 1 territory in Winnipeg[6]—explore long-term effects of colonization, First Nations land rights, Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations, and the phenomena of commodification. The works discussed break from the western idea that there is a singular understanding of art, history, and culture. These artists question the setting in which art can be expressed, challenging western notions of art, which is often set in a museum, composed by curators, and distinctly separates artist as authority and viewer as absorber of knowledge.

Description of Pieces

In Peter Morin's performance piece, Team Diversity Bannock and the World's Largest Bannock Attempt (BC, 2005), Morin and a culturally diverse group of volunteers baked fifty feet of bannock and distributed it to Indigenous and non-Indigenous viewers.[7] [8] The performance took place in the outdoors in Grandview Park, Vancouver, during an annual community festival[9]. The style of the performance was similar to the operating of a festival food stand, serving the hungry local community. Following this performance, Morin partnered with the Liard Valley Literary Society to create a "fundraising book" [10] called, "Bannockology: A Community Collaboration of Stories, Art, Essays, Recipes and Poems about Bannock" (2009; hereafter,"Bannockology").[11] This book records the intention behind Team Diversity Bannock and the World's Largest Bannock Attempt, and expands on the work's audience engagement component. It includes community members' personal recipes and stories about bannock, which reflect on the relationship between this native food and Indigenous land and culture.[12] [13]

In another work, Peter Morin's Museum (BC, 2011), Morin created his own interpretation of a museum that allowed viewers to participate in creating its atmosphere. Morin encouraged comfortable, free moving about the museum as if it were peoples' homes.[14] The exhibit was set based on Tahltan knowledge and Indigenous understandings of land and space, contrasting typical western display cases and framed pictures with atypical installation and performance elements, such as a kitchen table with chairs and a teapot full of tea for viewers to pour and drink while attending.[15]

In Ursula Johnson's performance piece Hot Looking (Halifax, 2013), a hired powwow dancer spent six hours dancing in a store display case to the song "Looking Hot" by No Doubt.[16] The case was decorated simply, with a black curtain backdrop and two colored lights spotlighting the Indigenous man. The dancer himself wore traditional garments. Following Johnson's instructions, he interrupted periods of dancing with moments of dramatic posing, and friendly gesturing, encouraging viewers to come closer to watch him.[17] He also took occasional selfies of himself, and gave blank looks out to the audience, as if watching them instead of the reverse.[18]

Johnson's 2014 solo exhibit, Mi'kwite'tmn (Do You Remember) (Halifax, 2014), curated by Robin Metcalfe,[19] involved the creation of three distinct interactive spaces in which Johnson performed the act of weaving baskets, or set up installations of traditional, as well as, less traditional, basket forms.[20] One space was called "The Archive Room," and contained a line of evenly spaced metal shelves displaying basket forms, each with retail labels containing barcodes. In the middle of the room, there was a table with a computer and barcode scanning device. The individual baskets on display were not functional, but twenty-first century "o'pltek" forms, as Johnson calls them, meaning "it is not right." [21] [22] These forms were made based on viewers' drawings of what they thought traditional baskets looked like, then named by another set of participants, and finally woven by Johnson.[23] Within the space, viewers could put on white gloves and take baskets from the shelves to the table, scanning the barcode to have the computer reveal details about the basket.[24]

Artist, Leah Decter, and curator, Jaimie Isaac's piece (official denial) trade value in progress (Winnipeg, 2010-ongoing) is a text and textile collaborative work that people from across Canada are encouraged to contribute to.[25] [26] [27] Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants respond to Stephen Harper's speech, in which Harper denied colonization.[28] [29] People contribute by writing their reaction in a collective response book, and then choosing an already written response of someone else's to sew into a quilt composed of Hudson Bay Point blankets.[30]

Traditional and Western Culture Juxtaposed

The five pieces mix traditional native objects and domestic activities with elements of mainstream Western culture, yielding creative, engaging woks that raise awareness of past and present colonial-Indigenous issues. The works incorporate distorted models of western institutions and the well-intentioned mocking of commodification and mass production. The artists spread the word within their local communities prior to exhibiting—in Morin's case, he sent out a mass email to community members prior to Team Diversity Bannock and the World's Largest Bannock Attempt to allow some viewers to attend the performance with an existing awareness of the issues he

planned to raise.[31]

Johnson and Morin's works commodify traditional baskets and bannock, respectively, in playful ways, illustrating the past erasure of Indigenous culture. In "The Archive Room," once a person scans a basket, only minimal details are revealed about that basket by the database, lacking a full history and details, for instance, how they are made.[32] Johnson describes the database as providing "speculated" details, about the history and functions of the baskets.[33] [34] This suggests that the dominant producers of knowledge today may create databases or education systems that lack knowledge about Indigenous culture, not minding the omission of many details.

In Morin's Team Diversity Bannock and the World's Largest Bannock Attempt, Morin cooked a large amount of bannock and distributed it freely to viewers, mocking a commodification of this traditional food.[35] [36] Since the traditional recipe was altered to produce such a large quantity, his work also plays on the idea of mass-production.[37] Curator Lisa Myers, herself of Indigenous background, discusses how Morin and other contemporary Indigenous artists have used native food in their art to evoke feelings of connection with Indigenous land and culture, while making a statement about the harm of settler interference with this connection.[38] Morin drew a large audience to his work from his incorporation of the powerful, warm element of food, using it as a hook to simultaneously draw attention to resource extraction in the Indigenous territory of the Tahltan people in Telegraph Creek, BC.[39]

Promoting a Dialogue Through Interactive Performance

The works of Morin, Johnson, and Decter go beyond raising awareness to consciously promoting a dialogue between Indigenous and non-indigenous people in Canada. For example, Decter and Isaac's (official denial) trade value in progress, is based on the inclusion of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal voices, as people from across Canada contribute to the work. The work is set up so that the audience can engage dialogically with others—each person writes a response to Harper's denial, yet picks someone else's response to sew into the quilt.[40] [41] This allows reflective thinking on the issues raised, while also encouraging people to engage with others' thoughts and reflections. Isaac writes that the act of siting and sewing is a 'remedial' way of entering into a discourse that can bring recognition to Indigenous people and their culture.

Johnson's Mi'kwite'tmn (Do You Remember) exhibit similarly sets up a dialogue between those who view her work by having one set of people draw their own interpretation of a traditional native basket, and another set give names to these drawn baskets, then bringing these two pieces together in her own weaving of o'pltek baskets. As well, Morin allows for the voice of many, mostly Indigenous, people to be heard through opening up contributions to his book "Bannockology."

Breaking Associations Between "Ready-Made" and 'Artefact'

Johnson and Morin incorporate the concept of "ready-made" into their works.[42] [43] The term—which usually refers to objects, yet here refers to skills—has been used to describe art made by Indigenous artists, both consciously as art and non-consciously as artefact.[44] [45] Johnson uses the ready-made skills of a hired powwow dancer, and Morin of his partner, GaChing Kong, who had more knowledge in

baking than he did. These new ways of blending 'ready-made' into contemporary art challenges past notions of Indigenous art as artefact and as "supplementary" to western understandings of the past rather than actively shaping new thought in the present.[46] [47]

Though slightly outdated (as it was written in 1988), Townsend-Gault's article ponders where to draw the line between 'art' and 'artefact,' especially in art and works by Indigenous people. She compares early native Kawkiutl food vessels that have been put in museums in their "ready-made" [48] form with the conceptual work of Duchamp, specifically his piece involving a snow shovel put on display in its essentially ready-made form [my emphasis]. By choosing such early, albeit aesthetically crafted, pieces by Indigenous people in comparison with contemporary work of a non-Indigenous artist, Townsend-Gault unfortunately continues to put Indigenous peoples' work, creativity, and culture in the past, in contrast to the recognized present-ness of western artist, Duchamp.

Johnson's "The Archive Room" makes a comment on this past-ing (to adopt a concept of Todd's) of Indigenous people and culture in the purposefully minimal detail of the database, which places distance between the seemingly obsolete basket form and the present viewer. Todd's writing on the 'present' and 'active' nature of Indigenous stories argues for a returning of Indigenous people to the present, where they live and face issues currently, rather than a past, 'mythic,' irrelevant depiction of native people, as they have been portrayed in much of western history and art.[49] Skinner, Townsend-Gault, and Whitelaw agree (with Todd) that it is important for Canadians to recognize art by Indigenous artists as stemming from separate, non-western histories, with non-western ways of viewing the world.

Distancing From the Museum Setting

Whitelaw looks at the ways museums and galleries have included works by First Nations artists, and the way their choices affect the story Canadians receive of contemporary art and[/versus] Indigenous contemporary art. She notes the approaches of the National Gallery's "Art of This Land" exhibit (2003), the Art Gallery of Ontario's (AGO) display of Canadian art (2008), and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts' (MMFA) new pavilion collection (which opened in 2011). The National Gallery placed settler art chronologically from pre-contact to the 1970's, weaving Indigenous and Métis objects throughout, only including a few contemporary Indigenous art works. This mostly continues to put Indigenous art in the past, or in relation to the settler narrative and 'contact.' [50] The AGO combined early Indigenous objects with early settler paintings, and elsewhere combined contemporary works of First Nations artists with those of "settler artists." [51] This better recognizes Indigenous contemporary artists and appreciates their contribution to the present.[52]

The MMFA mixed these two styles, displaying objects from both settler and Indigenous societies together, and incorporating contemporary Indigenous art pieces within the exhibit—particularly, provocative and rather shocking pieces that public viewers might not expect, such as works by Kent Monkman.[53] Whitelaw points out, however, that this inclusion was only featured in one part of the very large gallery—the "Founding Identities" exhibit.[54] The fact that the "Towards Modernism" exhibit lacked Indigenous artists' works once again associates First Nations with the 'founding' of Canada, but not with 'modern' Canadian life.[55]

Whitelaw, Morin, and Todd note the privileged setting of museums, arguing that, though anyone can tell a story or express thoughts through art, it is the privilege of curators to choose what stories can reach larger audiences through the museum setting. Morin notes having felt lost when he visited museums as a child, since there were no representations of Indigenous art or history.[56] As an adult, he eloquently captures his realization of the strength and knowledge of the Tahltan people, despite the privileging of the western art world which has shadowed it in a line of his poem: "Each family has a curator of Tahltan history." [57] This portrays a 'curator' as a person of great knowledge, able to tell generations of history and culture, yet identifies the wise curator figure with a Tahltan identity, not a western one. Morin reclaims the ability to set a structure for his art in his own created 'museum' that breaks from the western institutionalized version, and instead gives viewers the freedom to laugh, cry, run, and enjoy provided food and tea while in the museum, even encouraging them to bring pieces of their own to contribute.[58]

Blurring Boundaries Between Artist and Audience

Morin, Johnson, and Decter break from western understandings of art by blurring the boundary between artist and audience and challenging the idea that the former holds authority while the latter observes without reaction. Peter Morin's Museum includes a document called "Peter Morin's Museum Manifesto," outlining 27 terms of his 'museum' experience, one of which is: "The objects watch us as much as we watch them." [59] This blurring of artist/performer and audience/viewer is also a part of Ursuala Johnson's Hot Looking, as the powwow dancer simultaneously performs for viewers, and watches them behave.[60] Positioning the audience as viewer and performer simultaneously invokes thought about positionality of each category.[61] The "informal" nature of Decter and Isaac's quilt also demonstrates a different type of art framework that allows the audience, as well as artist and curator, Decter and Isaac, to contribute knowledge and learn from one another.[62]

While illuminating the terrible and ongoing mistreatment and erasure of Indigenous people, culture, and art by western colonization, the above keep a playful and experimental tone in their works, mixing native and western elements and mixing Indigenous and non-Indigenous voices. Drawing a diversity of viewers to actively engage with the art, and even create parts of the final works, challenges western notions of positionality that separates the authority of the [western] artist from the viewer. As illustrated by the works and theories above, contemporary Indigenous artists as well as native and non-native scholars are making positive steps that emphasize the importance of expanding art into multiple possibilities. Indigenous people's perspectives are rooted in the present, and are active, "dynamic," and "confronting." [63] The contemporary works discussed indeed assert a present position in art, encouraging a cross-cultural dialogue in strong and creative ways and are relevant to all Canadians.

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Race and Visual Culture: How Photography Helped Re-Shape African American Identity after Emancipation

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Abstract
Inspired by the idea that visual culture and race are mutually constitutive, this paper investigates the various ways African Americans were visualized in popular culture around the time of emancipation. In doing so, it deconstructs how black identity was represented, misrepresented and re-presented on an international scale at an extremely crucial time in its historical development. It discusses the ideological work done by James Hakewill's topographical landscapes and Louis Agassiz's "scientific" daguerrotypes in misrepresenting African American identity through the Eurocentric gaze of the global white supremacy, concluding with the photographic counter archive created by W. E. B. Dubois' Georgia Negro albums, which represents black identity through autonomous self-representation.

In the time leading up to emancipation, opportunities for slave self-representation were scarce, and the few moments of successful, self-determining expressions of African American diasporic identity were ultimately overshadowed by a dominant white viewpoint. Nevertheless, there were some exceptional cases that are certainly worth mentioning. For example, in early nineteenth century New Orleans, "hundreds and even thousands of slaves" would gather regularly at a parade ground called Congo Square on the outskirts of the city to dance and play music. In the square, enslaved Africans in diaspora were able to autonomously represent their diverse cultural traditions, even practicing their own hybridized religions like Voodoo. This spectacular reclaiming of African American natal identity represented a fierce resistance to the customary forced Christianization of the slave's African paganism by the white planter.[1] In addition, the social activity and the development of a "crude economic system" at the square further resisted the slave's imposed status as "a social non-person" with "no socially recognized existence outside of his master."[2] In fact, the gatherings at Congo Square constitute one of the most prominent instances of slave resistance through self-representation and social activity in the United States. It was the only place where slaves gathered "in such large numbers and with such great intensity."[3]

However, like most other examples of slave self-representation, the only existing records of the extraordinary cultural activity at Congo Square come not from the participating slaves, but from the voyeuristic accounts of Euro-Americans. Enslaved people were legally not allowed to read[4] and were not given access to artistic education and materials. Thus, they were not able to express themselves through writing or visual imagery, and since sound-recording technologies had not yet been developed, these were the only devices through which one could create a lasting representation. This meant that the slaves in New Orleans were not able, or, rather, not allowed, to record their own resistant activity for a wider audience, therefore restricting their cultural impact to the physical limits of the square. As a result, the enslaved populations in New Orleans in the nineteenth century were barred from constructing a concrete resistance to the dominant Eurocentric misrepresentations they were being subjected to. Their ephemeral self-representations

could not compete with the dominant ideologies of African diasporic identity circulating at the time, which were entirely based on the oppressive visual and literary discourses of the white ruling class. Hence, the only records of the slaves' self-representational activity at Congo Square were narrated by "white observers" who "took the time to write intelligibly on what they saw,"[5] effectively stripping the slaves of their agency in self-representation. Nonetheless, in the latter half of the century, coinciding fortuitously with the emancipation of slavery in the United States in 1863, photography began to develop as a significantly more accessible and ultimately the most powerful means of resistant self-representation for the newly freed black population.

However, according to prominent African American scholar W.E.B Du Bois, newfound freedom in the United States also meant new, more complex issues of self-representation and self-consciousness for the black psyche. Planter society in the South was entirely based on the free labor of African slaves, so emancipation meant uprooting the livelihood of an entire social class of white slave owners, which would have made them quite resentful towards the newly freed black communities. Du Bois discusses this in terms of the 'Negro Problem,' the idea that the former slave was a burden to American society. Thus, Du Bois describes the self-conscious "double life" of the African American as having to live "as a Negro and as an American,"[6] two totally conflicting identities, with the "Negro" acting as the negation of the "American." The former slave could not claim either of these identities because, according to the white supremacist ideologies of post-emancipation America, it was impossible for a Negro to be a true American, and vice versa. Du Bois further develops this concept of the African American "double life" by explaining the resulting "double consciousness" it constructs in the mind of the former slave. According to Du Bois, "double consciousness" is " 'the sense of always *looking at one's self through the eyes of others*'."[7] It is characterized by the African American's inability to reconcile two competing representations of his or her identity, the first being his or her own self-representation, and the second being the negating misrepresentation constantly imposed upon him or her by the white supremacist gaze. Du Bois describes "the Veil" as the site onto which this misrepresentation of blackness is projected, in conjunction with the "fantasies of an idealized whiteness." The Veil produces double consciousness, but can also inspire what Du Bois calls "second sight," which is the ability to see through the Veil and understand the myths of blackness and whiteness as socially constructed.[8]

What is interesting about Du Bois's analysis of post-emancipation African American identity is its functioning as a "*visual* paradigm," a problem of competing *images* of black identity.[9] He is describing the major dilemma of the black community at the turn of the century as a problem of specifically *visual* representations. This is because one of the primary means by which the white ruling class, in both the United States and in Europe, had misrepresented blackness in the construction of their own whiteness was through visual imagery, something African Americans had not had access to prior to emancipation. Oppressive notions of "African-ness" and "blackness" were used to legitimize the enslavement of African peoples and were produced through the ideological work done by artists like James Hakewill. Hakewill was a white male architect from Britain who was sent to Jamaica in the early nineteenth century to create topographical landscapes of its plantations, presumably to commemorate the wealth of the planters. In his twenty-one images of Jamaica, Hakewill refuses to depict the slaves doing their most arduous and ubiquitous work, which was working in the sugar fields. Instead, as in his image entitled *Holland Estate, St. Thomas in the East* (Fig. 1), he shows the slaves doing more leisurely

work, such as tending cows. This denies the strenuousness of the slave's everyday experience, which was promoted by abolitionists. It also indigenized the African Diaspora in the Caribbean by making them look "natural" and "at ease" in the Jamaican landscape, thus denying the incredible horrors of the slave ship in the Middle Passage. In addition, as can be seen in the monotonous dark brown of the slaves' skin and their lack of distinctive facial features, Hakewill refuses to acknowledge the existence of mixed race slaves, which denies the occurrence of miscegenation, or sex between races, a result of the institutionalization of rape in transatlantic slavery. [10] Thus, Hakewill's images aided in the natal alienation of the enslaved blacks, which contributed to the white supremacy's image of them as a socially dead person.[11] His images also deny the black population's traumatic experiences with arduous work and sexual abuse, which helped construct their own self-image as a product of their experiences. Since most Europeans in the nineteenth century had not traveled to the Americas, work like Hakewill's would have been one of the only visual representations of the enslaved African Diaspora that was accessible to them. Thus, the production of a collective, international knowledge of black identity would have been based in Hakewill's misrepresentations.

Not long after Hakewill completed his landscapes of Jamaica, the first photographical process, Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre's daguerreotype, was "announced to the general public."[12] However, it did not become widely accessible until the 1880s, a little less than twenty years after emancipation. Indeed, in order to resist these oppressive misrepresentations, the black community needed to reclaim their identity through autonomous self-representation—and photography provided the perfect opportunity to do so. Since "racial classification" and the production of "blackness" in the nineteenth century relied on visual imagery, it is clear that "race and visual culture" are "mutually constitutive,"[13] meaning that, while visual culture helps to construct race, it can also be used to deconstruct racist ideologies. According to John Tagg, a "double technical revolution" in the 1880s and 1890s flooded "the market with cheap and disposable photo-mechanical reproductions," thus "giving untrained masses the means to picture themselves." [14] Former slaves in the United States may have been denied access to a classical training in the visual arts, but photography was more readily available and did not require any intensive training. Since photography finally gave African Americans the opportunity to represent themselves visually, they were able to "participate fully in the production of images"[15] and set up a counter narrative that challenged the preexisting racist visual narrative on an equivalent level. One of the most compelling of these photographical counter narratives was the Georgia Negro Exhibit, organized by W.E.B. Du Bois and exhibited internationally at the 1900 Paris Exposition. Portraits, "generally paired on a page," offering "two views of the individual, one frontal, the other in varying degrees of profile" constituted the majority of the Georgia Negro albums.[16] The portraits offered a very different view of the black identity, one that represented the newly developed "well-to-do urban population"[17] of African Americans living in Georgia. More importantly, the prints were both produced and organized by members of the African American Community.[18] Thus, the images can be viewed as true self-representations, uncorrupted by the presence of a Eurocentric gaze. One of the images in the archive, titled *The Summit Avenue Ensemble* (Fig. 2), depicts the sons of Thomas E. Askew (the photographer of most of the images in the Georgia Negro Exhibit) posing in nice suits and holding their instruments as a musical ensemble. With images like these, Du Bois intended to inspire a "second sight" in the viewer by organizing a photographical archive that denaturalized white supremacist images and their domination over the field of visual culture.

Unfortunately, white supremacists had already begun to use photography before emancipation, in the mid-nineteenth century, to create an even stronger misrepresentative ideology of white and black identity. Louis Agassiz, who was, at the time, "the most famous scientist in America," used the earlier daguerreotype to support racist Southern theories of polygenesis, understood as "the theory of multiple, separate creations for each race as distinct species."[19] Agassiz's celebrity gives his photographic archive a great deal of power over the universal power structures that united the white supremacy across nations. In 1850, Agassiz visited the plantations in Columbia, South Carolina and chose a selection of African slaves to be photographed by Joseph T. Zealy, which he then compiled into an archive of fifteen daguerreotypes, split up into two series. The first series used a physiognomic approach, showing the slaves standing fully nude, from a front, side, and rear view, while the second series used a phrenological approach, and showed only the slaves' "heads and naked torsos." [20] Agassiz's archive represents a harnessing of the indexical properties of photography to reinforce power relations in society. According to John Tagg, photographical archives were used to create "a new representation of society" that would accommodate a shift in power relations. While Tagg refers mainly to the use of photography by the police force in the late nineteenth century, his theories can easily be applied to Agassiz's "scientific" racism. Tagg describes Foucault's theory of the disciplinary method as a "body made object; divided and studied; enclosed in… the file-index; made docile and forced to yield up to its truth."[21] Indeed, this is exactly what Agassiz was doing to the black bodies of the enslaved peoples he had photographed. Since his subjects were slaves, they were already viewed as objects owned by their masters, and yet Agassiz still "divided and studied" them, using them to support his theories of racial inferiority and forcing them to yield to those theories as "scientific" truth. Allan Sekula calls this the "shadow archive," which he defines as "that ultimate, imaginary ranking and organizing of information" in which every photograph takes part.[22] This imaginary ranking of information can be seen in Agassiz's archive as the Eurocentric gaze that defines its own idealistic whiteness by comparing itself to the black body in the photograph.

However, Agassiz's archive clearly employed visual modes that white supremacists had been using for centuries to further objectify and oppress African slaves; and they aimed to reinforce ideologies that were beginning to lose their relevance. For example, the two images of an enslaved woman named Drana (Fig. 3), one front view and one profile, exhibit a hypersexualized, but also violent representation of her body. In the photograph, Drana's shirt is pulled all the way down to her waist, revealing her scarred breasts. As a slave, Drana would not have been able to refuse an order to expose herself in this sexualized way, so this must be viewed as an instrumental move on behalf of the photographer to reinforce "primitive narratives which positioned black women as racial and sexual others"[23] as well as the necessity and normalcy of the whip "as a conscious device to impress upon" the slave that they were a slave.[24] Tagg proposes that a new system of power relations was being put in place in the nineteenth century "to protect a wealth–in the form of the means of production–which was no longer in the hands of those who owned it."[25] However, in the context of transatlantic slavery, a new system of power relations relying on the indexicality of photography to reinforce rapidly fading ideologies was ultimately unsuccessful in protecting the wealth of the white ruling class. Indeed, thirteen years after Agassiz's attempt to employ photography for the white supremacist agenda, slavery was emancipated in the United States; and photography was reclaimed by the black Diaspora

as their most powerful means of self-representation.

In fact, Du Bois's Georgia Negro albums re-appropriated the phrenological approach seen in Agassiz's daguerreotypes to create a photographical counter archive. Through this counter archive, the black community mobilized the very means of its oppression in a defiant act of opposition and self-proclamation. This inversion of formerly oppressive visual modes as a means of empowerment and self-representation exemplify an important resistance to the frantic and futile attempt by white supremacists to reconstruct racist ideologies in the years leading up to emancipation. The fact that Du Bois's counter archive was exhibited at the Paris Exposition means that it had a cross-cultural impact on the supposedly "universal" constructions of "whiteness" and "blackness" in the nineteenth century, helping to alleviate the "double consciousness" of black diasporic communities internationally.

Figures

Fig. 1 James Hakewill, Holland Estate, St. Thomas in the East (1825), Engraving, A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica

Fig. 2 Thomas E. Askew, The Summit Avenue Ensemble (1900), Daniel Murray Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 3 Daguerreotype by Joseph T. Zealy, for Louis Agassiz, Drana, front view (1850), daguerreotype, 11.9cm x 9.7cm x 2.1cm, Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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2 *Orlando Patterson, "The Constituent Elements of Slavery," Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World: A Student Reader, eds. Verene A. Shepherd and Hilary Beckles (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2000), 34.*

3 *Donaldson, "Window on Slave Culture," 63.*

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15 *bell hooks, "In Our Glory: Photography and Black Life," Picturing us: African American Identity in Photography, ed. Deborah Willis (New York: New Press, 1994), 46.*

16 *Smith, "Introduction," 4.*

17 *Smith, "Introduction," 6.*

18 *Smith, "Introduction," 4.*

19 *Brian Wallis, "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz's Slave Daguerreotypes," American Art, vol. 9, no. 2 (Summer 1995), 42.*

20 *Wallis, "Black Bodies, White Science," 45-46.*

21 *Tagg, "A Means of Surveillance," 78.*

22 *Wallis, "Black Bodies, White Science," 47.*

23 *Charmaine Nelson, "Venus Africaine: Race, Beauty and African-ness" Black Victorians: Black People in British Art 1800-1900 , ed. Jan Marsh (Aldershot, Hampshire and Burlington, VT: Lund Humphries, 2005), 49.*

24 *Patterson, "The Constituent Elements of Slavery," 33.*

25 *Tagg, "A Means of Surveillance," 73-74.*

Exotic as Erotic: The mis-identification of Japanese culture through the Sexualization of the Japanese Kimono in Nineteenth Century European Art

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Abstract
The late nineteenth century represented a unique period for art production as artists searched for a solution to the restrictive style of the royal art academies and new ways to represent contemporary society. With the increasing connectedness of the world during this time, due to trade, came a renewed interest in the world outside of Europe with world fairs and international exhibitions. This international intrigue was manifested in Europe through an obsession with material objects from exotic cultures. Japanese objects were of particular interest as Japan had recently been opened to the West for the first time since the sixteenth century. Exotic material culture provided the unique and contemporary approach to art that European artists were searching for. One of the most popular and visually represented aspects of exotic material culture during the nineteenth century were Japanese kimonos which artists used as an erotic symbol. My research will examine the social and cultural factors that led to the eroticization, and often fetishization, of an entire culture through the misrepresentation of a single culturally significant object. These factors include a colonialist interest in the exotic, the eroticization of Japanese prints featuring kimonos, associations between kimonos and Geishas, and the use of kimonos in Europe as a boudoir garment. This prolific eroticization of the kimono in nineteenth-century European art is just one of many cases of the appropriation of foreign cultures through culturally specific objects. An issue that still prevails today.

The late nineteenth century represented a unique period for art production as artists were searching for new ways to represent contemporary society and a solution to the restrictive art of the royal academies.[1] With the increasing connectedness of the world during this time, due to trade, came a renewed interest in the world outside of Europe. World Fairs and international exhibitions presented intriguing foreign worlds to Europeans. This international intrigue and the identity of these foreign worlds was manifested in Europe with an obsession with material objects from exotic cultures, particularly Japanese objects as Japan had recently been opened to trade with the West for the first time since the sixteenth century.[2] Exotic material culture provided artists with the unique and contemporary approach to art that they were searching for. One of the most popular and visually represented aspects of exotic material culture at this time were Japanese kimonos. European artists adopted the kimono as an erotic symbol. This eroticization of a Japanese garment in turn created the eroticization, and often fetishization, of an entire culture whose identity was synonymous with the garment. A visual analysis of the use of Japanese kimonos in paintings like Claude Monet's *Madame Monet en Costume Japonais* (fig. 1), 1876, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, establishes the use of this culturally specific garment as an erotic prop that shaped the identity of Japanese culture as part of the erotic exotic. What is less conspicuous is why kimonos were chosen to represent sexual imagery. This eroticization of the kimono began with the exposure of Japanese Ukiy-o prints in the West. Artists were drawn to these prints for their aesthetic value and this appreciation developed into an eroticization of the object due to a colonialist interest in the exotic, their erotic associations of kimonos in Japanese prints, associations between kimonos and Geishas, and the use of kimonos in Europe as a domestic garment for the bedroom.

Japanese prints and objects were popularized in Europe during the mid-nineteenth century due to the opening of Japan to European trade.[3] Europeans considered Japanese culture highly developed, like their own, and many artists found inspiration in their artistic practices, particularly prints.[4] Prints provided a portable medium to disseminate Japanese art and culture in Europe. They were affordable and could be found in many European artists's studios during the nineteenth century.[5] Artists were particularly drawn to the flat perspective, bold colours and elegant figures of Japanese prints.[6] Japanese art and culture offered a sophisticated alternative to the stale European art that conformed to academic standards established by the European Royal Academies.

Ukiyo-e prints was a popular genre of Japanese art that was incredibly influential to the impressionist painters of the nineteenth century. Ukiyo-e, translated as "pictures of the floating world", were woodblock prints that depicted scenes focused on aesthetic appeal with beautiful women, kabuki actors, scenes from history and folktales, landscapes, and erotica.[7] These prints were popular throughout Japan between the seventeenth and nineteenth century and with developing French-Japanese relations during the nineteenth century, these prints also became popular in the West, especially in France which had established new trade agreements with Japan.[8] Impressionists were attracted to these prints for their aesthetic value and themes. The bright colours of Ukiy-o prints attracted artists like Monet, who was interested in a bolder, fresher aesthetic expression.[9] These bold colours are evident in his later works, including, *Study of a Figure Outdoors: Woman with a Parasol, facing left* (fig. 2), 1886, Musée d'Orsay Paris. The flat perspective of these prints suited advertisements, attracting artists like Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec who employed the flat perspective in his promotional posters including the iconic *Moulin Rouge: La Goulue* (fig. 3), 1891.[10] The themes of Ukiyo-e prints were also appealing to the impressionists who saw in them similar scenes of leisure and everyday life that they themselves favoured. This popular interest in Japanese art and culture, often referred to as Japonisme, was manifested in the prolific motif of a lady in a kimono that was often intended to portray an erotic theme.[11] This eroticization was due in part to an ingrained colonialist view of foreign cultures as exotic and erotic.

Kimonos were viewed as erotic objects due to a colonialist eroticization of foreign cultures. Throughout history Europe has maintained a difficult relationship with foreign cultures that were often viewed as exotic. The label of exotic has maintained erotic connotations throughout colonial history due to the understanding of colonized cultures as primitive, savage, or indecent – this was a way to justify European interference and colonization in these foreign lands.[12] The view of foreign cultures as exotic also implied their opposition to developed Western culture which was often manifested in sexuality. Depicting exotic cultures as more openly sexual was a titillating and a way to represent their opposition to the West, who valued propriety through restrained dress and restrained sexuality.[13] An earlier example of this view of foreign cultures as exotic and erotic was Orientalism. Orientalism played a prominent role in art with the popularity of depictions of oriental bathhouses and brothels.[14] Although Japan's well-established culture and society was recognized in the West during the nineteenth century, connotations of exotic and erotic were inescapable due to what Westerners perceived as a cultural connection to China and the Orient.

Paintings depicting vaguely Asian motifs, like Gustave Léonard de Jonghe's *The Japanese Fan* (fig. 4), ca. 1865, The Cummer Museum of Art & Gardens Jacksonville, represent the lack of distinction in Europe between Japanese and Chinese culture. De Jongh's lady stands before a Japanese screen and wears a dress with a waist wrap similar to the obis of Japanese kimonos. However, the pattern of her costume closely resembles those found on Chinese inspired porcelain. De Jongh was a Belgian artist and would have likely seen similar motifs on kraak porcelain, Chinese porcelain made specifically for export to Europe.[15] Kraak porcelain was particularly popular in the northern and southern Netherlands (Holland and Flanders) during the seventeenth century and can be seen in numerous still-life paintings of this period like Jan de Heem`s *Still Life with Fruit and Butterflies* (fig. 5), 1625, National Gallery, Ottawa.[16] The presence of these different cultures in a painting titled *The Japanese Fan* represents an ignorance of the cultural significance of objects like kimonos and a colonialist approach to foreign cultures. English artist James McNeil Whistler also presents a similar ignorant view in *La Princesse du Pays de La Porcelaine* (fig. 6), 1863–1865, Freer Gallery of Art Washington. In this work he depicts the female figure at the centre of the composition in a yukata – similar to a kimono, but less formal with lighter fabric and simpler decoration. However, the vase behind the figure and the carpet that she stands on were likely imports from China and part of an earlier interest in Chinoiserie, French for "Chinese things", during the seventeenth and eighteenth century.[17] This lack of concern for the correct cultural attribution of these material objects is evidence of an aesthetic rather than anthropological approach to the depiction of Japanese culture, representing an interest in depicting an exotic motif, regardless of cultural implications.

In addition to the use of Kimonos for their exotic intrigue, rather than their cultural importance. Some artists expanded upon the use of kimonos for their exotic implications through the insertion of random objects that a contemporary view may have understood as exotic. Consider Hans Makart's *The Japanese Woman* (fig. 7), 1875. Makart depicts the sitter in a kimono that has been left open to expose her breasts and adds to the exoticism of the scene by placing a fan of feathers behind the lady's head, and depicting her with heavily ornamented earrings and a Japanese inspired hairpiece reminiscent of the head ware depicted in Ukiy-o prints. While it is not clear whether Makart based this work on real studies of foreign objects or people, he is clearly trying to recreate a vague exotic scene with the ornamentation of the figure. Makart's painting is also eroticized through the unnecessary nudity of the figure. While this nudity of an exotic figure was chosen for its appeal to European audiences, it was also inspired by Japanese prints.

The European eroticization of the kimono was also likely inspired in part by the erotic scenes and nudity in the Japanese Ukiy-o prints that European artists had access to during the nineteenth century. For many European artists who were only exposed to Japanese culture through these prints, the kimono was associated with erotica and nudity. A popular motif in Ukiy-o prints that influenced European artists was a woman dressing or bathing.[18] These private scenes were intended to represent intimate, sensual and delicate moments of reflection, for example, *Spring Dawn (Haru no ake bono)* from *Companion of Beautiful Women (Bijin awase)* (fig. 8), ca 1825-30, The Cleveland Museum of Art.[19] This scene of a woman bathing with her kimono wrapped around her waist is just one example of the prolific motif that likely inspired Edgar Degas's voyeuristic scenes of women bathing.[20] However European scenes of similar motifs, like Degas', *Leaving the bath* (fig. 9), ca 1890, The Cleveland Museum of Art, have been further eroticized through the

voyeuristic placement of the viewer. The greater emphasis on sexuality in the European work is reflective of the European interest in erotica that informed their erotic scenes with kimonos. Another example of the popular motif of women dressing is the ukiyo-e print *In The Bathroom*, from the series *Comparison of Feminine Charms (Irokurabe Empu no Sugata)* (fig. 10) late 1770s.[21] The sensuality of the lady's daily routine is enhanced by the Japanese robe hanging loosely from her shoulders with an alluring opening revealing her white skin beneath. While these prints allude to sex through coy nudity, some European artists may have even been exposed to Japanese erotic prints. These prints were graphic and occasionally censored by the Japanese government.[22] Prints like *Kitagawa Utamaro* (fig. 11), 1753–1806, The Met, New York City, created an association between Japanese culture, represented by the richly decorated kimono adorning the female figure, and eroticism. This association between kimonos and erotica based on what the West understood as their cultural origins was exacerbated by the garment's association with Geishas, who once represented high class courtesans.

The Geisha, a successful English opera staged by George Edwardes in 1895, brought Geishas into mainstream European society.[23] Although Geishas were entertainers, their roots lay in courtesan work, which Edwardes opera focused on. In *The Geisha* Molly Seamore, an innocent English girl, visits Japan and accidently dons the kimono of a Geisha. She is mistaken for a geisha and sold to a Japanese aristocrat until she is rescued by a real Geisha named Mimosa San.[24] In this story we see the sexualization of the main figure, an innocent European girl, based solely on the garment she wears, a kimono. The posters for the opera (fig. 12) promoted the erotic aspects of the story by presenting a Geisha dressed in a kimono, staring coyly at the viewer from behind a fan with her bare leg extending from beneath the kimono. In this image, like in the opera, the kimono becomes a prop to promote the sexuality of the Geisha. This pose is also very reminiscent of Monet's *Madame Monet en Costum Japonais,* which will be discussed further. Popular culture, such as, *The Geisha*, promoted Asian culture to Europeans who began collecting objects intended to represent Japanese cultures with exotic motifs on pottery and Japanese inspired garments, including, the kimono as a domestic garment.[25]

The use of kimonos as a garment for the bedroom enhanced their image as an object alluding to sex. Throughout Europe, kimonos were popularized as domestic garments for the bedroom due to their comfort and the ease of putting the garment on (although it is important to note that many European women did not wear them properly according to Japanese tradition with an obo, this would significantly lengthen the process of dressing in a kimono).[26] The opening of stores like La Porte Chinois in 1862 made kimonos available to the European public. La Porte was located on the prominent Rue de Rivoli in Paris and was well known for its collection of Asian curiosities, including kimonos. Whistler was one among many nineteenth century artists who frequented the shop.[27] The 1894 opening of French fashion house Bambani was another source of Asian inspired clothing. Their *Manteau en Forme de Kimono* (coat shaped kimono) (fig. 13), ca. 1919, is an example of the popular kimono inspired robes worn by women in the home throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century.[28] Artists like James Tissot took this concept of the kimono as a domestic garment to the extreme. In Tissot's *La Japonaise au bain* (fig. 14)*,* 1864, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, the sitter uses the kimono as a leisure garment that has been left open to draw attention to her exposed breasts. The purposeful choice to leave the garment open and her confronting

gaze creates a hyper-sexualized image of the lady, enhanced by the use of the kimono as an erotic prop. While this is a more obvious sexualization of the kimono, some artists, like Claude Monet, only alluded to sex with the presence of the kimono.

Claude Monet's *Madame Monet en Costume Japonais* subtly encompasses the aforementioned factors that led to the sexualization of the kimono in nineteenth-century European art. In this painting, Monet's wife Camille is depicted in a richly decorated kimono. The kimono itself was actually intended for a male actor in a kabuki drama staged during the Universal Exposition of 1867.[29] Similar to Whistler's work, this reflects an ignorance of the cultural implications of the garment. The samurai figure on the robe was intended to represent an episode from *The Tale of Heiki*, common in Japanese Ukiy-o prints, but is reduced to a generic Japanese motif to enhance the exoticism.[30] This samurai also adds a sexual theme to the painting through his placement on the backside of Camille and his gesture as he unsheaths his sword. The unsheathing of a sword was often associated with sex as the sword was viewed as a phallic object representative of male power. Camille also uses the kimono as a domestic garment as she is clearly depicted in a domestic environment. At first glance this painting does not appear inappropriate or sexualized, but for a contemporary viewer the aforementioned sexual connotations would have been clear. Monet himself recognized this as he declined to show the painting publicly and later referred to it as "une saleté," a piece of filth.[31] *Madame Monet en Costume Japonais* does create an intriguing and aesthetically pleasing garment, but it does so through the sexualization of an object meant to represent a rich culture. Monet, like many nineteenth-century European artists, was profiting off of the mis-identification of an entire culture.

The beauty of Japanese inspired paintings by late nineteenth century European artists cannot be denied. However, it is important to recognize the appropriation of an important cultural object and the common use of exotic imagery to imply an erotic theme due to established colonialist views. Kimonos were also sexualized due to the limited Western awareness of Japanese art in which some prints depicted women engaging in sensual or sexual acts while wearing kimonos. Lastly, Japanese kimonos were further eroticized in Europe due to the appropriation of Japanese kimonos by European fashion houses who marketed them as bedroom garments. This prolific eroticization of the kimono in nineteenth-century European art is just one of many cases of the appropriation of foreign cultures through culturally specific objects and the lasting impact on the identity of an entire culture. An issue that still prevails today.

Fig. 1 Claude Monet, *Madame Monet en Costume Japonais*, 1876, Museum of Fine Arts Boston (wikiart.org)

Fig. 2 Monet, Study of a Figure Outdoors: Woman with a Parasol, facing left, 1886, Musée d'Orsay Paris (Wikimedia.org)

Fig. 3 Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Moulin Rouge: La Goulue,* 1891 (Wikimedia.org)

Fig. 4 Gustave Léonard de Jonghe, *The Japanese Fan*, ca. 1865, The Cummer Museum of Art & Gardens Jacksonville (Wikimedia.org)

Fig. 5 Jan de Heem, *Still Life with Fruit and Butterflies*, 1625, National Gallery, Ottawa (nationalgallery.org)

Fig. 6 James McNeil Whistler, *La Princesse du Pays de La Porcelaine* (fig. 6), 1863–1865, Freer Gallery of Art Washington (wikimedia.org)

Fig. 7 Hans Makart, *The Japanese Woman*, 1875 (Japonisme)

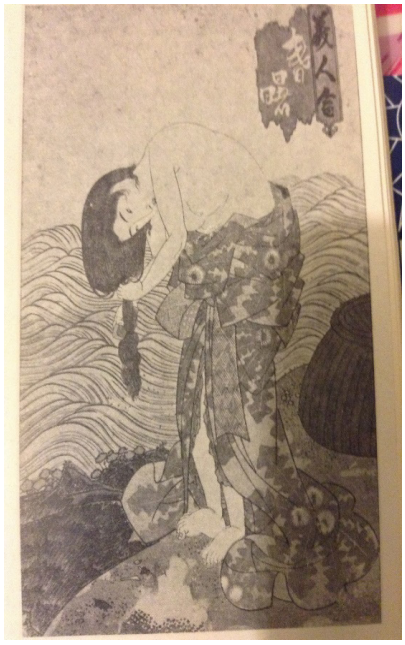

Fig. 8 *Spring Dawn (Haru no ake bono)* from *Companion of Beautiful Women (Bijin awase),* ca 1825-30, The Cleveland Museum of Art (Japanese Influence)

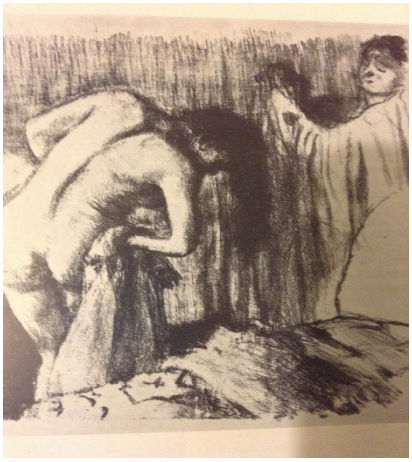

Fig. 9 Edgar Degas, *Leaving the bath*, ca 1890, The Cleveland Museum of Art (Japanese Influence)

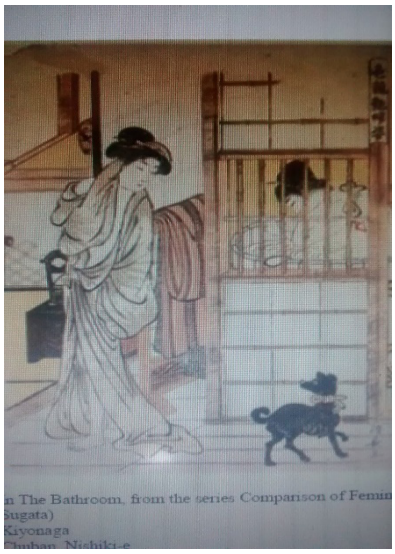

Fig. 10 ukiyo-e print, *In The Bathroom*, from the *series Comparison of Feminine Charms (Irokurabe Empu no Sugata)*, late 1770s (Floating Worlds)

Fig. 11 *Kitagawa Utamaro*, 1753–1806, The Met, New York City (metmuseum.org)

Fig. 12 The Geisha (Japonisme)

Fig. 13 Bambani, *Manteau en Forme de Kimono* (coat shaped kimono), ca. 1919 (La Japonisme)

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French Impressionism: The Trend of The Black Neck Ribbon

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Examine any French impressionist painting and it will become clear that French fashion of the 19th century was defined by fluffy, pooling bustles designed by Charles Frederick Worth, delicate bonnets adorned with flowery foliage and pastel parasols. The aesthetic women of all statuses aimed to exude were fuelled by a desire to appear distinctly feminine and ever elegant. Impressionist artists such as Edgar Degas and Édouard Manet perfectly captured the ladylike artifice that characterized the popular style of dress of their day. However, amidst the layers of frothy tulle and pale crinoline, these artists paid homage to another fashion trend sported by society women and entertainers alike: the black neck ribbon. Simple, sophisticated and impossibly chic this accessory was equal parts style and seduction. Although demure in nature, the dramatic contrast of the black ribbon against a woman's milky skin added a voyeuristic, sexual allure to paintings and perhaps held a greater meaning to French impressionist art, fashion and modernity. The following essay will explore the trend of the black neck ribbon as shown in *L'etoile* (1878) by Edgar Degas and *Olympia* (1863) by Édouard Manet and as well as providing commentary on how this symbol trended with Spanish, British and American impressionists and how it was interpreted differently by female artists such as Mary Cassatt and Berthe Morisot.

The simple black neck ribbon holds cultural significance in context with the glamorously fluffy fashion trends of the time. French fashion trends during the impressionist era were influenced by the innovation brought about by modernity. The Metropolitan Museum's 2013 exhibit Impressionism, Fashion & Modernity is an excellent curatorial example of how Avant-garde influencers "[embraced] *la mode* as the harbinger of *la modernité"*[1] at a time when the development of department stores, the commencement of prèt-à-porter fashion and the birth of fashion magazines were setting a new standard for style in Paris. France was the undisputed mecca of style, "Paris reigned as the fashion capitol of the world during the mid 1860s to the mid 1880s"[2] The influence of modernity and its relationship with culture, art and fashion did not go unnoticed by literary talents such as Charles Dickens who related the Haussmannization of Paris to fashion design. Dickens wrote in the All The Years Round journal he believed the new Parisian boulevards and apartments "[displayed] the coquetry of the street with their facades adorned with sculptural embroidery."[3] Modern day fashion studies of France in the age of modernity support Dickens' claim as the Parisian culture of the mid to late 18th century "reflected a population of women concerned exclusively with showy outward novelties"[4]

The black neck ribbon contrasted the fluffiness of French impressionist fashion with its minimalist sophistication. Today, simplicity

is the hallmark of 21st century French attire, a revolution largely led by the legendary Coco Chanel who said, “simplicity is the keynote of all true elegance.”[5] The prevailing beauty of the minimalist ribbon was a major symbol in impressionist artwork. The standard for French fashion that was set during the impressionist era is still alive today. The stereotype of the chic Parisienne, which was established in the 19th century, “played an important role in the shaping of femininity as integral to modernity”[6] Glamorous Parisiennes were “icons for impressionists who were particularly interested in utilizing fashion as a means of making and marketing their work.”[7] Impressionist artists (“many of whom, Claude Monet and August Renoir included, were married to women who were involved in the fashion industry”[8]) paid special attention to fashion in their work and clearly appreciated the dynamisms that existed between art and apparel with the black ribbon being a clear unifying symbol of the times throughout their work.

It seems Edgar Degas used the black ribbon necktie as a way to enhance movement and add texture to his work. In paintings such as *L’etoile* (Fig. 1) the long flowing ribbons mimic the ballerina’s extended arabesque and highlight her dainty physique. The ribbon guides the viewer’s eye while adding drama, signalling the performer is at the climax of her choreography. Despite the blurred quality carried by the majority of the background brushstrokes, the execution of the ribbons remains concise. The ribbon was a staple in almost all of Edgar Degas’ dance pieces. His gravitation towards representing fabric suggests he had a keen interest in women’s wear even going so far as to “accompany artists Mary Cassatt and Madame Emile Straus on visits to the dressmakers and millinery shops in the late 1880s and early 1890s”[9]

In paintings such as *Rehearsal On Stage* (1874), *Three Dancers In an Exercise Hall* (1880) and *Rehearsal of The Scene* (1872) he took evident care to achieve a light, airy quality to his dancer’s tulle skirts. Degas brought his love of material to life in his bronze sculpture *Little Dancer of Fourteen Years* (1881) “shocked contemporaries by the unprecedented realism”[10] The impressive authenticity of the piece was achieved through Degas’ attention to materialism. The dancer is embellished with a silk hair ribbon, a cream-coloured muslin bodice, a tulle and gauze tutu and fabric slippers.

Ribbon was a prominent design feature in Degas’ work. Functionally speaking, it could be assumed the black ribbon was part of the dancer’s required uniform, however even outside the dance studio “the choker was in style during this period,”[11] The importance of this motif to Degas’ works allows room for questioning. Did these ribbons signify a certain level of talent within the ballerinas of the Paris opera house? Were these ribbons precious accessories treasured by the dancers? Was the trend of wearing a black ribbon derived from dance or was it something that dancers adopted after having seen it elsewhere?

Édouard Manet’s painting *The Monet Family In The Garden at Argenteuil* (1874) proved the black ribbon was more than a mere performance anomaly. The black ribbon Manet painted around his female subject’s neck is the most eye-catching element of her pooling dove grey ensemble. Although the woman’s posture obscures viewers from seeing the length of the ribbon or the manner in which it is tied, it was clearly derived from the same fashion trend Degas took inspiration from. The casual nature of the scene suggested the black neck ribbon was not reserved for a certain sector of society nor was it considered too formal for a frolic in the grass. Like Degas, Manet

returned to the ribbon motif in a range of his works including *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (1882) in which he featured an ornate ribbon complete with a locket that had a "military air"[12] Similar to the subject in *Railway* (1873), the black neck ribbon does not ooze luxury but "echoes the style lines of fashionable apparel"[13] These representations support the hypothesis that the ribbon was a staple in prêt-à-porter women's wear.

Yet as innocent as this accessory seems there was an indisputable underlying sexual tone most evident in Manet's *Olympia* (1863). (Fig. 2) Reclining confidently on her chaise, Manet's fille de joie wears nothing but accessories (heeled mules, gold bracelet, drop earrings, a rosette in her hair and a thin black ribbon tied with a bow around her naked neck.) The nature of this scene oozes erotica with the accessories and home décor acting as commentary on the role of prostitutes as "consumers of beautiful objects as a part of their public identity"[14] It can be assumed that the ribbon was a gift from a patron as fashionably outfitted mistresses "symbolized the unification of exalted status of masculine powers"[15] and "panoply"[16] and prostitution were closely linked.

Olympia received harsh criticism for its crassness. Èmile Zola was confused by the alarming nature of the of the nakedness questioning Manet, "what does [the nudity] mean? You hardly know and nor do I."[17] It could be assumed Manet was aiming for irony by depicting a prostitute wearing a ribbon similar to the pure, innocent necktie worn by the subject in *Railway* (1873). He also could have been implying the prostitute admired the lustrous connotation of the thick, swirling ribbons adorning Degas's entertainers at the Paris Opera Ballet. Regardless, Manet's art reflected a "radically critical and disruptive type of curiosity rejecting the stereotypes of social classification"[18] It is impossible to signify whether or not the ribbon had any immediate symbolic value to Manet's work, but at the bare minimum the ribbon suggested the subject was presenting herself as a kind of gift to her upcoming visitor and her viewers to whom she calmly gazes at with the utmost pride and dignity.

The black ribbon was definitely popular with French impressionists, however it did not translate to the canvases of famous Spanish, British or American impressionists. In Spain, artists such as Jorge Aguilar-Agon, Laurence Barreau and Ignacio Pinazo Camarlench painted nudes and never drew attention to their subject's neckline. Joaquín Sorolla's billowy white dresses in *Women Walking On The Beach* (1909), *Under the awning, on the Beach at Zarauz* (1905) are the only links to the frothy fashions that dominated French impressionist art. Similar to French impressionists, Sorolla believed light was crucial to impressionism and is quoted saying "I hate darkness. Claude Monet once said that painting in general did not have light enough in it. I agree with him."[19] However, unlike Degas, Sorolla did not have a penchant for fabrics as his women's wear lacked definition and detail due to his belief that "effect [in art] is so transient, it must be rapidly painted."[20] Sorolla's brisk brushstrokes did not evoke the same appreciation for fashion his French contemporaries achieved in their work.

In Britain, frilly all-white attire, bonnets and parasols trended just as they did in France and Spain. Britain's fashion connotation was highly conservative "however, towards the end of the period, the less restrictive aesthetic style began to emerge"[21] which is clear in

works such as *Under the Willows* (1910) by Wilfred De Glehn. While there were no black ribbons to be seen on British canvases the art of the period exhibited parallels between clothing worn by women in Édouard Manet, Claude Monet and Auguste Renoir's works. British impressionism featured even more risqué nude portraits similar to *Olympia* such as *Psyche* (1933) and *Le Sommeil des Bacchantes* (1930) by Wilfred De Glehn exhibited how artists forwent the seductive lure of the black ribbon accessory. [22]

American impressionist artwork was clearly influenced by the French. The United States expanded political and economic power following the Civil War in 1865 resulting in the rise of American connoisseurship. American artists aimed to emulate French impressionist art "to appeal to prospective patrons,"[23] many artists "studied in Europe, especially Paris"[24] to achieve the Parisian aesthetic. Frank Weston Benson's *Summer* (1909) *and* Willam Merrit Chase's *An Afternoon Stroll* (1895) depicted the flounced fashions of the time while artists such as Frederick Carl Frieseke and Edmund Charles embraced the black neck ribbon. It is possible that Carl Frieseke and Charles took cues from their French impressionist counterparts. The narrow black neck ribbons in *The Hand Mirror* (1915) and *The Birdcage* (1911) by Frederick Carl Frieseke bare a striking resemblance to Manet's black ribbon in *Olympia* whereas the thicker ribbon in *Reverie Katherine Finn* (1913) by Edmund Charles looks as though Degas' dancers inspired it. Both Frederick Carl Frieseke and Edmund Charles' renditions of the black ribbon had a venereal vibe, as their subjects were either partially undressed or wore sheer fabrics leaving their décolletage exposed.

Male artists who painted female subjects wearing black neck ribbons seemed to have romance rooted in their artwork, but what about female impressionists who conveyed this notable accessory in their pieces? Women such as Mary Cassat and Berthe Morisot painted female subjects wearing black ribbons yet unlike in their male colleague's work the amorous nuance of the accessory was absent. Both Cassatt and Morisot painted black ribbon wearing women in domestic settings with phlegmatic expressions that cancelled even the slightest opportunity to assume themes of arousal. Mary Cassat's *Auguste Reading to Her Daughter* (1910) and Berthe Morisot's *The Cradle* (1872) are examples of how the artists refrained from a voyeuristic sexual tone, likely because as women they had no intention of exploiting their subjects. Mary Cassatt's *La Loge* (1882) showcases two young girls "likely in their debut"[25] sporting black neck ribbons. It was common for "patrons of the opera [to be] well aware that when attending a performance they were as likely to be as observed as were the performers on stage"[26] The use of the black ribbon reinforces how the neck ribbon was essential to French women aiming to exude the mystique of a chic Parisienne. Unlike Degas and Manet's richly sexual artistic undertone, Cassat's young girls appear "modest"[27] and their ensembles "projected the aura of innocence associated with the respectable feminine ideal."[28] Female impressionists who completed their canvases with couture in mind did not go unnoticed by fashion designers. Berthe Morisot's *The Artist's Sister At The Window* (1869) displays a pregnant woman wearing a back neck ribbon. Similar to Cassat's work the painting is anything but sensual, however the lack in sex appeal was not overlooked by the fashion industry. Edonmodel de Goncourt recorded in his journal "he had seen an unusual display at the House of Worth: a live mannequin in an interesting condition sitting alone"[29] suggesting designer Charles Worth was inspired by Moirsot's work. Chanel's Head Designer and Creative Director, Karl Lagerfeld, said "fashion is a constant dialogue"[30] this sentiment on the relationship between fashion, modernity, society and art as true today as it was centuries ago.

When comparing female and male impressionist paintings it is impossible to ignore the ardour associated with the ribbon in men's art that simply does not exist in the women's art. Sophisticated and poised, the impressionist artists who rendered their female subjects with gorgeous black ribbons tied at their necks were keenly aware of the beautiful aesthetic impact this motif had. Impressionist artists have made it clear the black ribbon was one of France's chief 19th century accessory trends. The aesthetic simplicity of the ribbon has prevailed to the extent where the chic *je ne sais quoi* of French women is credited to their impeccable ability to make minimalism elegant. While the ribbon trend may have only been prominent with French and American artists, it exuded grace in every way. The ribbon reflected the societal concepts of sexuality, gender and fashion of the time. There may have been a clear difference in the tonality of the depictions of the ribbon as painted by men and women, yet the weight this icon carried cannot be a denied. Was this a symbol of virtue and innocence or sexual token rich with lustrous innuendo? As the viewer, you be the judge.

Figures

Fig 1 Degas, Edgar. L'etoile. 1876. Oil on Canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Fig. 2: Edouard Manet, Olympia, 1863. Oil on Canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris

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Amiens Cathedral: A Quest for Political Power and Civic Identity

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The magnificent cathedrals of the middle ages were expressions of both the religious fervour of this time as well as indicators of the growing economic and political importance of the regions that built them. The proclamation of urban authority reached its peak during the 12th – 13th centuries, when numerous French cities and towns undertook the construction massive Gothic cathedrals.[1] The aim was not to construct radically different buildings, but rather to create impressive structures that looked familiar and yet distinguishable when compared to their predecessors. This was the time when verticality became truly overpowering and medieval cathedral builders engaged in a quest for height and light in order to reach for the heavens and in doing so, rival other cities.[2] Amiens Cathedral located in the city of Amiens within the Picardy region, is a highlight of this contest for political power. It is a manifestation of the collective ambition of its ecclesiastical rulers to surpass the cathedrals at Chartes, Lyon, Reims and other cities and the intent of making a political statement about the prominence of their own city. This essay reveals how Amiens Cathedral fulfils their aspirations by transcending the aforementioned cathedrals in terms of massiveness, structural clarity and stylistic unity by utilising refined versions of architectural elements featured in these cathedrals as well as by employing new architectural innovations.

Amiens Cathedral is the tallest gothic cathedral in France and is situated on a ridge overlooking River Somme, roughly 120 kilometers north of Paris.[3] The structure is dedicated to Virgin Mary and was built in the High Gothic style between 1220 and 1269.[4] Amiens Cathedral was built to replace the previous Romanesque church that was destroyed in a fire in 1218. The fire consumed everything except the treasury and its contents of saints' relics, including the extremely invaluable relic of John the Baptist's face.[5] The construction of the cathedral can be attributed to the coming together of the necessity of translating these relics as well as the opportunity provided by the economic boom experienced by the city of Amiens and the Picardy region in general.[6] Although Amiens had always been regionally important as administrative capital of the Picardy region, it was never considered a prominent city within the French Kingdom. Bishop Evrard de Fouilloy wanted to change this perception by affirming the significance of his city by commemorating the relics of John the Baptist and St. Firmin, their local saint, within a substantially superior cathedral than any of its predecessors.[7] Unlike most cathedrals, the city folk of Amiens were not forcefully taxed to raise revenue for the construction of this cathedral. Funds were generated by reducing the incomes of the clergymen, through significant donations made by wealthy bourgeois of the city and surrounding countryside and also from voluntary contributions made by pious members of the diocese.[8] The construction began under the direction of Parisian master mason Robert de Luzarches, and after his death was supervised by Thomas de Cormont, followed by his son Renaud. There were four bishops between Bishop Evrard de Fouilloy and Bishop Bernard d'Abbeville that witnessed the cathedral's humble beginnings and its glorious completion[9].

From the city and surrounding countryside, Amiens Cathedral is seen as a long boat-like structure that dominates the city skyline (Fig.1). It belongs in its general type to the same series as the cathedrals of Paris, Chartes and Reims, except that it is immensely extended in height (Fig.2). Amiens cathedral redefined the relationship between height and width by achieving a ratio of 3:1, a coefficient that never been attained or even aimed at before.[10] The walls of a narrow 14.6 meter wide nave reach a total height of 42.3 meters at the apex of the vault, making it approximately 5 meters taller than Bourges (1195 – 1230) or Reims (1211 – 1275).[11]Amiens cathedral has an exterior length of 145 meters, making it 7 meters longer than Reims Cathedral and 15 meters longer than Chartes Cathedral (1194 – 1220).[12] Furthermore, Stephen Murray pointed out that the height of the edifice is 144 Roman feet, which corresponds

to the height of heaven as described in the Book of Revelations.[13] This parallel between theology and architecture substantiates the massiveness of the cathedral, thus, enabling it to outshine its contemporaries physically as well as ideologically.

Despite its enlarged dimensions, Amiens Cathedral is less bulky than its predecessors, primarily through its increased use of glass and reduction in the quantity of stone used for construction. This idea can be seen articulated within the buttressing system, which over the course of the thirteenth century became more technically and aesthetically refined.[14] A section of the cathedral's nave reveals the outer uprights of the flying buttresses that rise from the ground and continue above the aisle roof with minimal articulation (Fig.3).[15] This reduction of wall surface provided more prominence to the windows - an aesthetic that was sought after by all cathedral builders in the middle ages. The earliest open work flyers are seen in the transept and choir (Fig.4).[16] Although this scheme was a result of change of plans rather than a premeditated decision intended to convey meaning, these flyers certainly enhance the cathedral's elegance due to their originality and complexity. During this period of stylistic updating by Renaud, the previously amiable relations between the town and the clergy were strained as Louis IX levied massive taxes against both groups to finance his crusade, leading to violent outbursts of anticlerical sentiment in and around Amiens.[17] The inclusion of these modified and more expensive forms during a period of destabilisation is a testament of the priority that ecclesiastical rulers had for rivalling other cities, over pleasing their own town folk and maintaining political stability.

The plan of Amiens Cathedral also illustrates the builders desire to surpass the massiveness of existing cathedrals (Fig.5) and is similar to other classical cathedrals at Chartes, Reims as well as Paris. It depicts the basillica body of the cathedral containing a three aisled nave with a twin towered west façade, a three aisled transept, five aisled choir and an ambulatory with radiating chapels. It also shows that the western façade is thin through and more practical than façades of earlier cathedrals that were huge blocks of masonry. The aisles and ambulatory allow pilgrims to pass in an orderly fashion around the semi cylindrical hemicycle, which encloses the main altar and the relic altar. The processional quality of the plan, its organisation around a relic and especially its spaciousness demonstrate the aspiration to receive the greatest number of pilgrims. Further, a high degree of precision is exhibited through the repetition of modules and a wide range of variation in the dimensions for the bays, particularly in the transept and choir.[18] The exactitude of cutting conveys a metallic quality of the edifice to the viewer, as if merely human hands did not make the structure. Attributing to the geometric proportions of the nave plan that are perceivable from the shapes of the high vaults, the most structurally coherent and, therefore, most visually perfect interior is observed at Amiens Cathedral.[19]

The construction of Amiens Cathedral's western façade coincided with a period of extraordinary lavishness in Gothic sculptural programs in northern France and, therefore, it is the most elaborate and stylistically unified façade of the middle ages (Fig.6). The sculptural decoration at Reims Cathedral was advanced to an extent that in comparison, the Amiens west façade strikes as ornate to the point of confusion (Fig.7).[20] Prominent sculptural details of this façade include fifty two super life size statues, three large trumeau figures, 118 quatrefoil relief and 234 voissoir units, which were further overwhelmed by Violet-le-Duc's enthusiastic additions in the nineteenth century.[21] The façade has a tripartite vertical organisation, which is horizontally divided into five distinct registers that express the interior proportions and dimensions on this exterior façade, another first at Amiens cathedral.[22] The general effect of the three cavernous portals capped by shallow pitched gables and divided by great flat-faced buttresses recalls the west façade of Laon (Fig.8), which had begun construction twenty years prior. The gallery of kings at Amiens Cathedral resembles the gallery at the royal cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris (Fig.9 and 10). This allusion illustrates the builders attempt to create a parallel between the city of Amiens and the capital city, which was the focus of economic, political and religious activities within the French realm.

The interior space of Amiens Cathedral combines structural rationality with the ethereal quality of light (Fig. 11). A visitor entering the cathedral through the west end is immediately made a part of a choir that radiates light owing to its glazed triforium, which is a Rayonnant style architectural innovation. Similar to Laon and Reims cathedrals, the Amiens cathedral nave elevation follows a conventional tripartite organisation comprised of an arcade, triforium and clerestory (Fig. 12). However, the novelty at Amiens Cathedral is that

the arcade measures half the total nave elevation, while the clerestory with stained glass windows accounts for almost a third of it. This tall arcade was achieved using *Tas-de-Charge*, which allowed builders to strengthen springers and build higher (Fig.13). Although this concept had only been tested at minor chapels before, but after being deployed at Amiens it was adopted in many important constructions like Cologne Cathedral, Westminster Abbey and others.[23] The immense height of the structure makes the *pilier cantonne* appear slender and creates an unprecedented spaciousness in the lower parts of the edifice.[24] Further, a comparison between the shafts at Amiens, Chartes and Reims reveals that the shafts at Amiens are exactly a one-third of the total body of the pier, while those at Chartes ~~is~~ and Reims are relatively smaller.[25] Thus, at Amiens these elements of articulation possess considerable bulk, providing balance between reassuring masses and frightening voids, attributing to its higher degree of spatial harmony. The fusion of triforium and clerestory to render a unified interior space is also a new feature.[26] The conservatism of not eliminating the triforium completely is likely related to patrons' expectations and the idea of surpassing cathedrals, while being noticeably similar to them. The sensation of greater spatial unity were meant to express to the visitor that Amiens had access to sophisticated craftsmen and superior building technologies than most other major cities and was therefore, more economically, culturally and politically significant.

One of the most conspicuous expressions of the zeal to outclass preceding cathedrals is visible in the innovative treatment of window tracery at Amiens Cathedral. The nave and transept surfaces portray the architects' ambition to enhance the already exceptional prominence of window tracery to illuminate the interior, which was in vogue as mentioned earlier. This was achieved through the advancement of the twin unit plate tracery windows of Chartes Cathedral.[27] In the clerestory of the nave, four-unit windows or lancets rendered in bar tracery were used to create a hierarchy of major and minor forms (Fig.14). The window tracery in the transept and choir clerestories illustrates the use of varying groups of lancets capped by trefoils, which is also a novel feature (Fig.15). Further, for the first time at Amiens Cathedral, these clerestories merge with their respective triforium rendered in plate tracery, to become one large surface. The predominance of glass with repeating forms of lancets and trefoils make the cathedral appear as a unified whole, whereas the variation in number of these forms and the techniques of tracery render it much more visually appealing than other cathedrals of its time.

The inclusion of the tombs of Bishop Evrard de Fouilloy and Bishop Geoffroy d'Eau within the central vessel of the church is another component of the scheme to gain priority over other cathedrals.[28] Although it was forbidden to bury inside the church, the canons of Amiens did just this to provide more sanctity to their cathedral. The designers' efforts to further draw attention to this cathedral are illustrated within the great labyrinth at Amiens (Fig.16). It is laid out in colored tiles on the nave pavement and is a 19th century reproduction of the original that was destroyed during the French revolution. Labyrinths were considered to be spiritual tools in the middle ages and, thus, different versions were produced at Amiens, Chartes, Reims and many other cathedrals. The Amiens Cathedral labyrinth is 240 meters in length and six times larger than the one at Chartes (Fig.17). Additionally, while the Chartes labyrinth is rather simple, the labyrinth at Amiens carries images of the three master masons and the founding bishop with an inscription. The addition of these details allude to the status of the Amiens architects and make the labyrinth more visually engaging than the one Chartes. Further, its massive size aligns with the recurring theme of outdoing previous cathedrals in every way possible.

In conclusion, the comparison with other cathedrals reveals how Amiens Cathedral while being stylistically similar to these, aspires to transcend them by negotiating between familiar as well as inventive architectural practices. The monumentality and architectural supremacy of the edifice emphasized that the city of Amiens had more economic power than the cities whose cathedrals it surpassed. Its elevated design, contrasting with the increased width of earlier cathedrals drew a lot of attention to Amiens during the 13th and 14th centuries and the city became famous due to its extraordinary cathedral. Amiens Cathedral represents the structural limits of Gothic experimentation with height and light and was surpassed only by the incomplete Beauvais Cathedral.[29] It perfected the gothic style of the Ile de France and set pattern for countless cathedrals all over Europe including the cathedrals at Beauvais, Troyes and Tours in the north of France and Clermont – Ferrand, Limoges, Narbonne, Rodez and Toulouse in the south to Cologne, Antwerp, and as far afield as Prague and Uppsala.[30] Amiens Cathedral is no longer just viewed as an important regional statement, but instead is acknowledged as one of the most celebrated gothic cathedrals in the world.

Fig.1 Ariel view of Amiens Cathedral

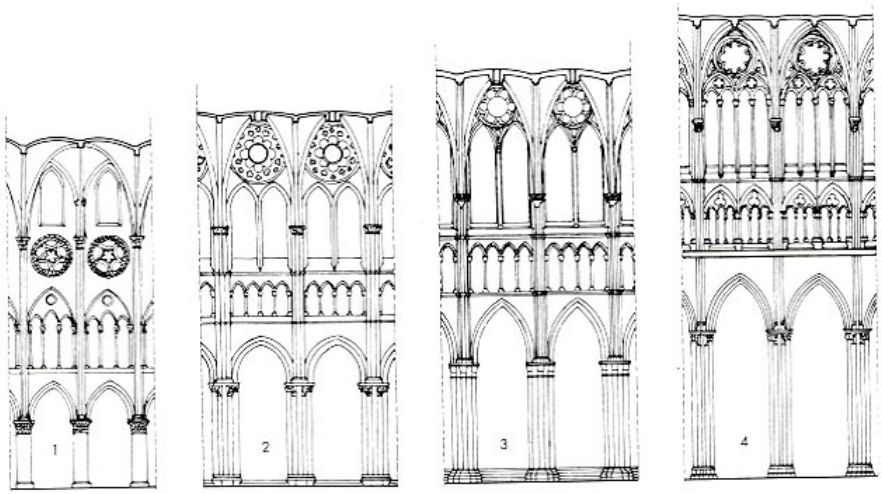

Fig.2 Gothic structures height comparison

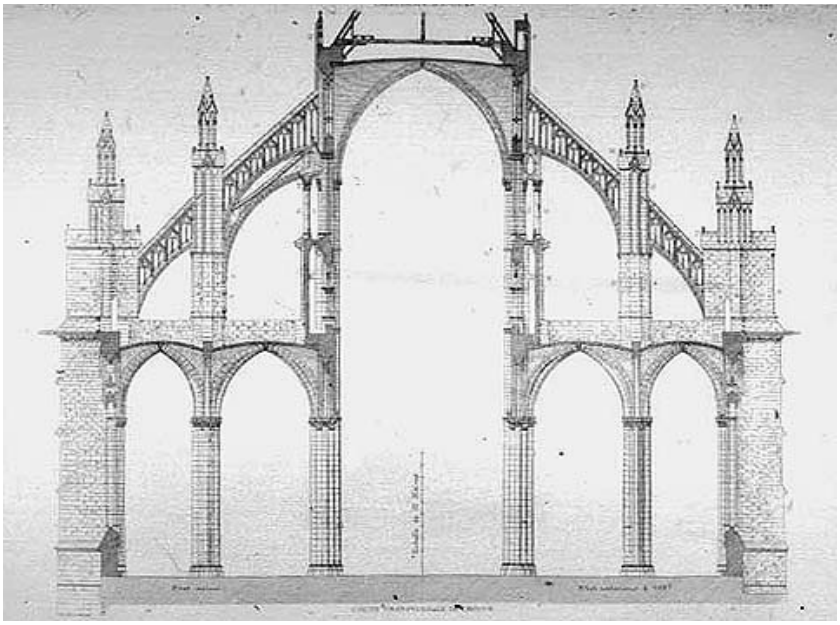

Fig.3 Cross Section of Amiens Cathedral

Fig.4 Open work Flyers in the west transept

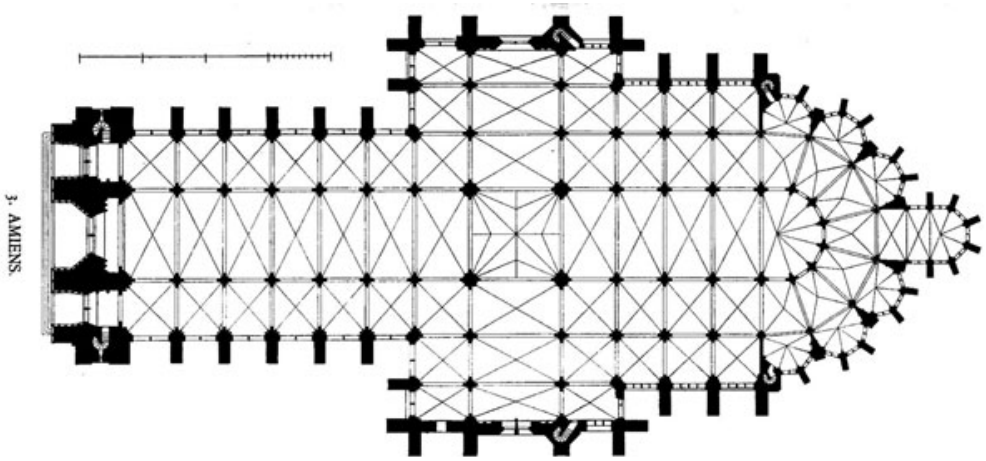

Fig.5 Plan of Amiens Cathedral

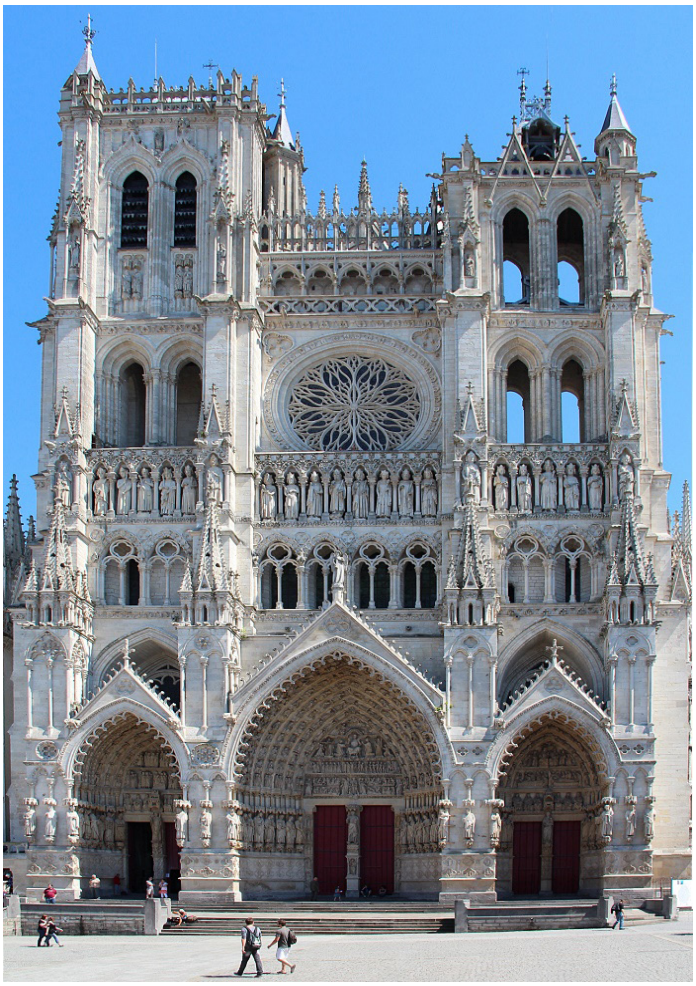

Fig.6 Western frontispiece of Amiens Cathedral

Fig.7 Reims Kathedrale

Fig.8 Laon Cathedral West façade

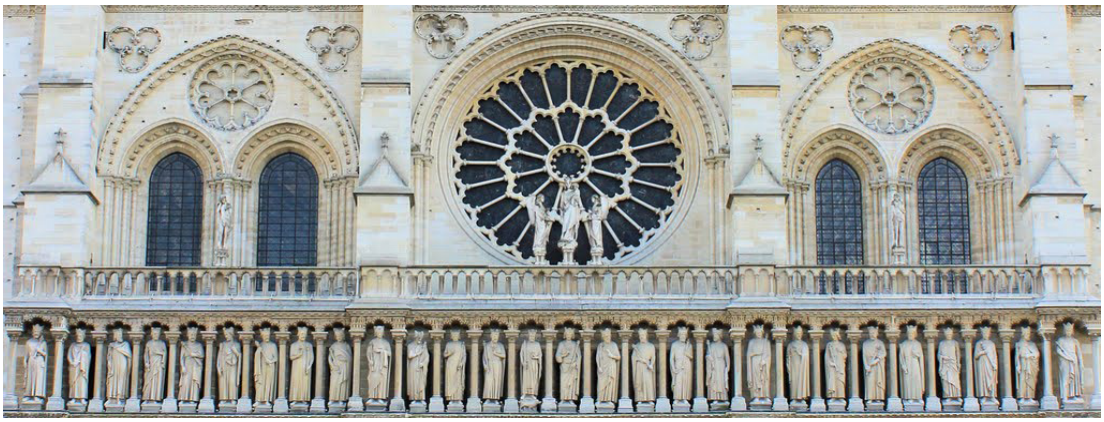

Fig.9 Gallery of kings at Notre dame de Paris

Fig.10 Gallery of kings at Notre dame d'Amiens

Fig.11 Nave of Amiens Cathedral, looking towards the East.

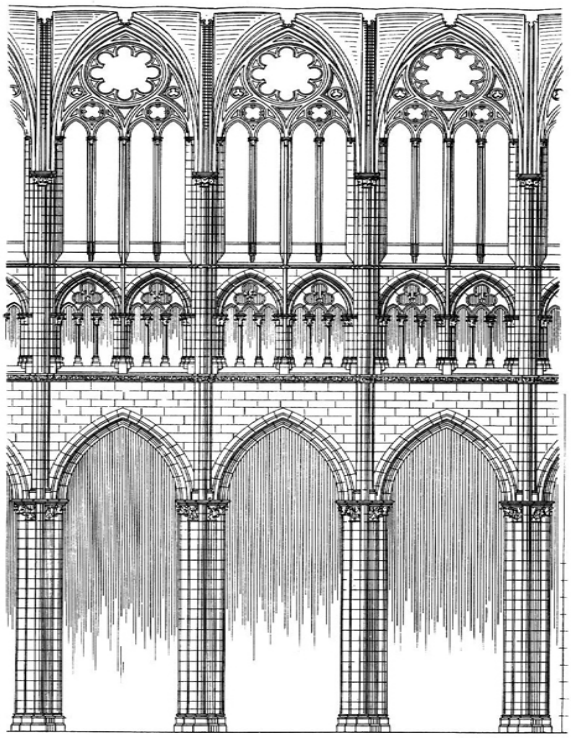

Fig.12 Elevation of the nave

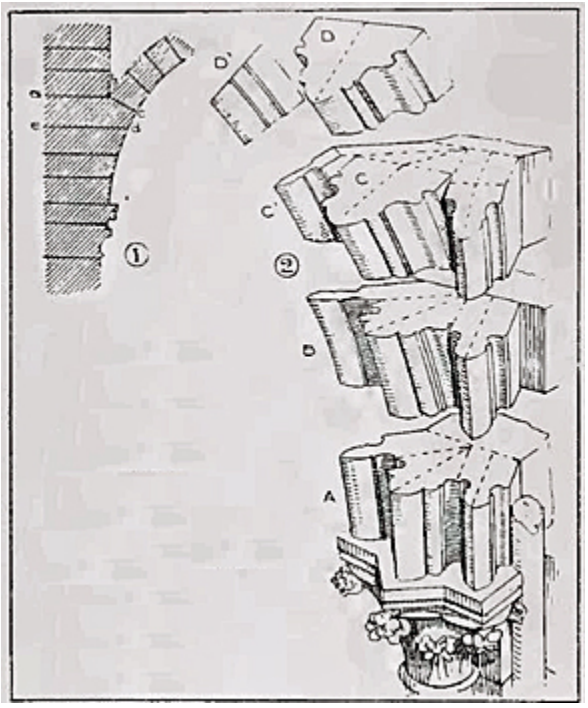

Fig.13 Tas-de-Charge

Fig.14 Nave Clerestory

Fig.15 North Transept Tracery

Fig.16 Labrinth in the nave pavement

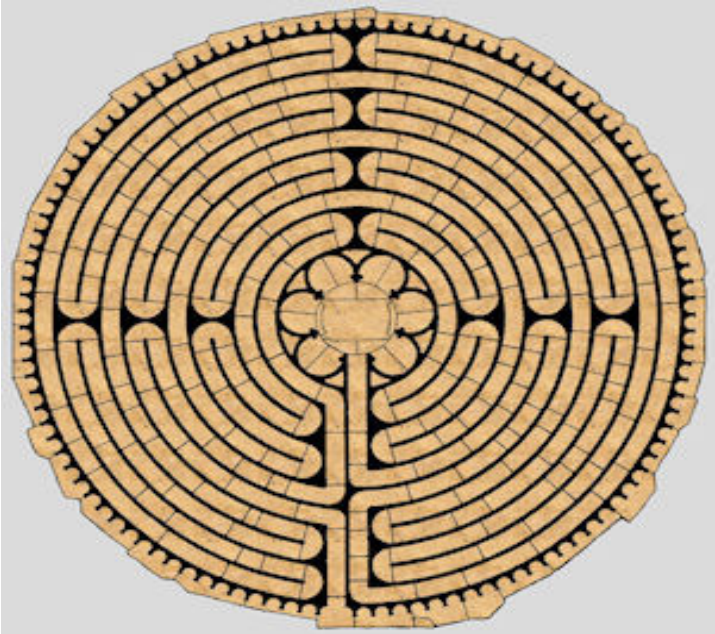

Fig.17 Chartes Cathedral Labyrinth

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The Art and Ideas of Murakami Takashi

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Introduction

Murakami Takashi[1] was born in 1962, at a time when Japan just finished amending its wounds from its tragic defeat in World War II. Murakami studied Japanese painting at the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music and was the first to receive a PhD in *nihonga* in1993.[2] In *The Meaning of the Nonsense of the Meaning* published in 1999, the artist addresses the country, "Japan," as a construct to demonstrate his intentions to work with the geographical location as a cultural paradigm rather than a nation.[3] He addresses the issue of sheer nothingness being created in the contemporary art world to represent the cultural representation of "Japan." He sought to eradicate *nihonga* style art to once again put Japan on the map in the art world and create the first avant-garde movement of Japanese art. In order to understand the intentions of Murakami, it is crucial to first understand the cultural history in 20th century Japan.

Westernization of Japan in the 19th Century

The Westernization of Japan was in effect after opening their ports to the international trading industry in the 19th century.[4] After the abandonment of the "closed country," an influx of commerce came into the country from the outside nations since 1853.[5] The once conservative Japanese were fascinated by Euromerican ideals and these foreign ideas begun to transfer through the nation.[6]After the Meiji Restoration from the Edo period (1600-1868), [7] the nation capital moved from Kyoto to Tokyo. Contrary to J. Dyer Ball's explanation that the Europeans and Chinese had saw each other's nation as backwards,[8] the Japanese had a different outlook on European ideals and became a constitutional monarchy that adopted European political, social, technological, and visual forms.[9] Europe and America became the brave new world for "Japan," urging them to progress and level with their Western counterparts, therefore demarcating that "Japan" must westernize in order to modernize itself.

The nation was at the heights of its military power, defeating China in the Sino-Japanese War, and Russia in the Russo-Japanese War in the late 19th centuries and early 20th century.[10] Japan was recognized as a successful nation that escaped European or American colonial domination and stood as a global power in its own right.[11] With its new found confidence under its apparent modernization and power, the nation viewed itself as the modern state of the Asia. They believed they must be the Rising Sun of the continent and spread its glory to its neighbouring nations, to help them progress and modernize as well. As a result of this arrogance,

Japan was at its demise following the end of World War II. They surrendered in August 1945 after the two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had destroyed both their nation and empire.[12]

Nihonga

During the Meiji Restoration, artists were encouraged to paint in the Japanese painting style, *nihonga,* to utilize the visual vernacular as a reformation tool and demonstrate the nation's modernization.[13] The idea of fine art was foreign to the Japanese prior to the European cultivation and until European visual codes were transferred to the east, the term for "fine art" was non-existent in the Japanese vernacular. Murakami analyzed the two distinctions of fine art in Japanese culture. *Geijutsu* defines all forms of art whereas *bijutsu* only refers to visual arts that branches off into the three subcategories: *nihonga* (Japanese painting), *seiyô* (Western painting), and sculpture, without any acknowledgment for music and poetry.[14] He defines the word "art" equivalent to a contemporary form of *geijutsu*, where all forms of art are recognized in this classification.[15]

As John Clark argues in *Modern Asian Art,* those who aim to reconstruct present traditions ultimately annihilate their predecessors, claiming power over those traditions from the past.[16] However, contrary to this statement, Japanese modernism, or in other words, *nihonga,* never sought to supersede old styles in order to generate a novelty for 20th century art.[17]Japanese artists instead adopted European visual techniques to represent the cultural values of the past.[18] By preserving and glorifying its traditional roots, Japan did not attempt to obliterate any past forms, thus defeating the entire purpose of modernization. Because urbanization was equivalent to westernization in Japan, is suffice to say that *nihonga* was not a modern art style but rather a response to Euromerican traditions at the time.[19]

Since the journey to discover the meaning of art was heavily explored in the 20th century by mimicking European styles, Japanese identity was at a loss while the traditions were becoming scarce.[20] There was a lack of defined global distinction for Japanese art, other than the landscape ink washes, which extended back to the 16th century during the Edo period of *bunjinga* painting.[21] As one digs deeper into the cultural history of Japan, it is important to remember that unlike fine art in Europe and the Americas, there is no distinction between fine art and commercial art in the Japanese visual vernacular.[22]

Postwar Japan

After the Second World War, a rise in public art exhibitions followed the economic growth in the 1960s.[23] While many patrons enjoyed collecting Western paintings by Japanese artists during the transference culture in the 20th century, this was falling out of favour once authentic European paintings were able to circulate the east as imported products.[24] Many collectors were able to travel overseas to Europe and experience the Western style painting themselves, rather than rely on the brush of the Japanese artist to paint traditional Japanese subjects using European visual techniques.[25] Murakami realized that it was during this period that the value of art was lost in Japan; the desire of a vision for the present and future was lost.[26]

Postwar culture in Japan was a result of the nation's cultural colonization under the Meiji Restoration.[27] European influ-

ence had tainted the art world in Japan, effectively illustrating Homi Bhabha's concept of cultural and political transplants from one geographical location to another.[28] This visual transference was seen in both Europe and Asia, but according to the art critic, Fujio Nanjo, it was hard for Japanese artists to create art in styles other than *nihonga* to avoid the risk of being branded as "Japonisme" and the "Oriental Other" in Europe.[29]

The art industry had inevitably collapsed with the burst of the bubble economy caused by the struggle to face the reality of a tarnished Japanese culture, or the lack thereof one.[30] Happy illustration art and celebrity art started surfacing as a decoy to shield away from the real postwar art which consisted of characters like Taro Okamoto who rejected the art market as an attempt to preserve the purity of his art from the tainted image of the Western-style artist in Japanese society.[31] Ultimately, this approach resulted with an overlap in the art and entertainment industry, as well as ignorance towards incessant appropriation and explicit sexuality.[32]

Murakami's Superflat

Murakami believed that the first step to avoid being classified as "Japonisme" is to recognize the characteristics of the typical "Oriental Other" and strive to surpass the stereotypical othering.[33] *Superflat* was executed in three phases and subsequently in three different exhibitions: *Superflat, Coloriage,* and *Little Boy.* The first phase of the three introduced Murakami's ideas behind the lack of depth and consciousness in contemporary culture.[34] It is the visual transference from European to Japanese culture that Murakami's artworks seek to progressively break through.[35] He embraces Japan for all its glories and woes and constantly tries to help the nation reach consolation with its past and find authentic Japanese culture before *nihonga*.[36] Murakami's *Superflat* began in 2000 but the idea was hatched in 1999 when the Tokyo Pop manifesto was published in the April 1999 issue of Kōkoku hihyō.[37] The manifesto sought to explain the postwar culture in Japan, but Murakami thought the article did not coherently illustrate the reality of the situation at the time, thus he created Superflat the following year.[38]

The term "Superflat" originated from two Los Angeles gallerists who advertised Murakami's paintings as super high quality, *super flat*, and super clean.[39] Murakami works in a style that effectively integrates computer generated graphics and traditional forms of art making into one. Through this process, the word "Superflat," not only translates into the dynamic integration of data into an image, but more importantly, the compression of the layers of entertainment and art that are infused into each other.[40] Murakami sought to illustrate a realistic and honest portrait of Japan with the innovation of Superflat. In his manifesto published with the exhibition catalogue, he declared that the style connects to the present and future by analyzing how the awareness of superflat has metamorphosed and therefore determining the current state of Japanese society.[41]

Japanese Subculture

The second phase of *Superflat* emphasized on the influence of European and American ideals in postwar Japan culture. Murakami indicates that there is no line drawn between mainstream culture and subculture in "Japan;" culture, is homogenized as is

fine art and commercial art.[42] Popular culture such as manga, anime, otaku, and J-pop are the main sources that have driven *Superflat*, and by displaying media that was introduced to society through the entertainment industry in the fine art institution, Murakami is ultimately conveying a real time portrait of autochthonous Japanese culture.

As Dana Friis-Hansen outlines in her article about Murakami's "Japan," there is a sense of adult responsibility of their child's innocence.[43] Mothers were responsible for raising their children before school placement exams, therefore it was very important to be aware of the information that was introduced to children at a young age as it may shape out the rest of their lives.[44] Growing up as a teenager, Murakami was admittedly influenced by the American culture because his dad worked at the US naval base, therefore allowing Murakami access to a wide array of information and goods.[45] Evidently, the information Murakami was exposed to during his childhood had inspired parts of his artwork such as Mr. DOB who embodies characteristics of an archetypal Japanese cartoon character with his big eyes and the well-known American cartoon figure, Mickey Mouse, with his big ears.[46] Furthermore, Mr. DOB was a product of Murakami's attempt at copying the American marketing strategy of creating a promotional character to attract followers.[47] His objective was to generate discourse about Japanese society to the general public using a visual language that was understood by everyone.[48] Mr. DOB was first introduced in 1993 and was not accepted by the general public; however, as variations of the character was made in a mass assortment of commercial merchandise, it became a widely accepted figure and was able to communicate with the general public.[49]

Anime, Manga, and *Otaku*

The third phase of *Superflat* encompasses the finality and conclusion to Murakami's search for the delineation of postwar Japan.[50] *Little Boy* makes reference to the devastation and trauma of nuclear destruction. By choosing the same disparaging name that was given to the atomic bomb for Hiroshima in 1945, Murakami parallels the obliteration of the authentic Japanese culture to that of the nuclear annihilation of a city.[51] Furthermore, since Murakami identified "Japan" as the subculture of the West, it would not be surprising that *Little Boy* was a metaphorical assimilation of how the Westernization of "Japan" had ultimately annihilated the construct of its originality.

Anime is French for animation used by the Japanese to describe any form of animation, whereas in English, the word is only used to describe Japanese film.[52] Murakami acknowledges that the beginning of *anime* was deeply influenced by Walt Disney and the Fleischer Brothers, however with its rapid innovation through popular media, the subculture has transformed into a form of its own right, and hence its own proper noun.[53] With Disney and the Fleischer Brothers as the predecessors of the globally known Japanese film, Murakami emphasizes on the fact that "Japan" has integrated to its subculture into other cultures on a global scale.

The development of *manga* was influenced by *shunga* in the Edo period. As Murakami's approach to harken back to the time before the Westernization of Japan to find true authenticity of Japanese culture,[54] it is suiting that *manga* was introduced into the fine art discourse. However, although this may be a possible choice, it was not the main reason the artist chose to curate the

medium. Murakami's intent was to speak about Japanese society in a language that was understood by all.[55] Since *manga* and *anime* had successfully circulated as popular media, he used the two visual products as vessels to provoke his audience to think about the current state of society.

Murakami and the rest of the subculture generation reached adulthood in the 1980s and received endless criticism based on their appearances, behaviours and values.[56] The subculture generation called each other *otaku* instead of their own names.[57] The pronoun literally means geek, but in "Japan" the label was meant for people with an obsessive interest towards *manga* and *anime.* The *otaku* culture is the subject of Murakami's discourse; they are the embodiment of the authentic Japanese culture in the postwar period. Members of the subculture generation were known to have gone to extremities of satisfying their sexual fantasies with *manga* and *anime.*[58] Instead of converging into the real physical world, these individuals were relying on fantasia to satisfy both physical and psychological needs.

Fantasy – Form and Function in "Japan"

Ever since the mass destruction of *Little Boy,* citizens of Japan never found closure and thus hid themselves within a distorted reality to avoid the veracity of the aftermath.[59] Murakami strives to illustrate that the individual fantastical worlds created by contemporary Japanese artists such as Yoshimoto Nara, Mr. (Masakatu Iwamoto), and himself, are nothing but an illusion of the temporal reality that makes no reference to existing history or politics.[60] The *otaku* generation was the last to know and feel the pathos associated with the past but chose to withdraw themselves from actuality, creating a bubble and cloud of naïveté over "Japan."[61] Within this cloud of escapism, a new form of reality and cultural construct was born.[62]

Popular culture in "Japan" had been inspired by American precedents, *anime* from Disney and manga from comic books. Murakami had reinvented the meaning of Westernization by claiming these products as not only a source for contemporary art, but also as an art form in its own right.[63] The flatness of both *manga* and *anime* harkens back to the traditional art forms of the Edo period, but the playfulness embedded in Murakami's work pushes for an unprecedented merge of American and Japanese art practices. The *Superflat* style embodies a harmonized weaving of both premodern and postmodern ideals of Japan and unlike *nihonga,* it generates a distinctive Japanese uniqueness that rejuvenates the culture of "Japan."[64]

Murakami

Murakami's Kaikai Kiki Co., Ltd. parallels Warhol's infamous Factory, acting as a cultural production and trading company of "Japan."[65] His studio assistants are divided into two work flows: computer graphics generation and painting. By merging the two mediums together, Murakami crafts a discourse between the ideas of traditional art and modern, technological art. The mass production of his artworks, albeit not from his own hands, suggests his ambivalence towards the capitalism in his society.[66] He is working along the ebb and flow of his temporal reality in order to survive as an artist. Murakami's title as the first to receive a doctoral degree in *ni-*

honga solidifies his status as an artist, certified to recreate the cultural strength in "Japan." Through his curated exhibitions, Murakami has led an army of artists to reconstruct the culture of "Japan" and inspired many to break through the traditional norms associated with art to imagine the endless possibilities in the art industry.[67]

His hyper-sexualized life sized female figure, "Hiropon," (fig. 1) was every *otaku*'s dream.[68] "Hiropon" is a slang for heroin in Japanese and by portraying her as the embodiment of
the *otaku*'s female counterpart, Murakami is making a playful metaphorical reference to the *otaku*'s addiction to hyper-sexuality.[69] In his exhibition, "Hiropon" and "My Lonesome Cowboy" (fig. 2) are both accompanied by "Milk and Cream," (fig. 3) a large three panel painting that resembles that of a traditional Japanese folding screen that would have been decorated with traditional landscape by convention.[70] Although the fluidity of the white splashes harken back to Katsushika Hokusai's great waves and Sansetsu Kano's plum trees, Murakami also indulges into Abstract Expressionism, which was a prominent style in postwar America.[71] Murakami's "Davy Jone's Tear" (fig. 4) and "Infinity" (fig. 5) goes further in experimenting with abstract art which is very rare from Japanese artists and clearly derived from American culture, confirming Murakami's proclivity towards American art forms.

As previously stated, Murakami's relationship with American ideologies had commenced since young adulthood. This constant search for the authenticity of his own culture has brought the artist to not only analyze the visual consciousness of "Japan," but also merge himself into the visual culture of "Japan." Murakami has not only integrated himself as an element of the visual expression of the construct, but also created a unique relationship between himself and "Japan" that carries no boundaries. With all of Murakami's exhibition catalogues for *Superflat* written in both Japanese and English, it sheds light to Murakami's intent to appeal to both Japan and American individuals. The duality of both of these vernaculars combined into a single entity not
only reflects the sole nature of Japanese culture, but also Murakami as a "Western" cultivated, Japanese-born individual.

Similar to how art and commerce has blurred their frontiers of cultural distinction, Murakami has gone along this trajectory and removed any impeding individualism that has prevented him from illustrating a direct and unbiased portrait of "Japan" and consequently, a self-portrait.[72] In many ways, one could even argue that Murakami is an *otaku* for Westernization. His obsessive attachment to adopting American principles to renew "Japan" has even led him to fuse himself and construct of "Japan" into one unit. This is the characteristic of
Japanese art that makes it drastically different from American art.[73] Where an artist such as Andy Warhol, is glorified as a celebrity for the art he produced in American culture, Murakami sees himself as the embodiment of "Japan."

Conclusion

Throughout Murakami's artistic projects, it is clear that the artist is trying to portray a sense of authenticity to his construct of "Japan." In order to portray the flatness spanning across the culture, he effectively embodied the *Superflat* culture. The merging layers of art and entertainment has ultimately blurred the distinction between any forms of high art versus low art. While some scholars may argue that Murakami's artworks lack meaning because of its impenitently mass produced nature, it would be offensively wrong

to say his artwork is only of aesthetic value. Dana Friis-Hansen had argued that Murakami found nonsense to generate a "new authenticity" to "Japan"[74] and while this statement is true to a certain degree, one must not forget that Murakami intended to depict the portrait of "Japan" in its true reality, and thus the creation of nonsense was necessary in order to discover the true significance behind nonsense.

In contemporary society, "Japan" is known for its *manga, anime,* and *otaku* culture on a global scale; "Japan" is identified with the popular media it has cultivated since the postwar era. In North America, popular Japanese culture is licensed and translated from Japanese to English on a daily basis by publishing giants such as Viz Media and Kodansha. *Anime* is being dubbed by big companies like Funimation, Aniplex of America, Crunchyroll, and even Disney. Gennifer Weisenfeld speaks of the fear of homogenization of culture across a global platform,[75] but had it not been for Murakami's cultural hybridity and boldness to integrate the entertainment industry into the fine arts, the culture of "Japan" would not be known internationally like it is today. The visual culture of "Japan" would have concluded at Hokusai's "The Great Wave at Kanagawa" (fig. 6) and the theological progression of authentic Japanese art would not have travelled this far if Murakami had not taken it upon himself to find the true "Japan." The distribution of the mass array of materials has built the cultural distinction it deserves today, and Murakami was one of the important figures who built "Japan" from the ashes left of the Second World War.

Figures

Fig. 1 *Hiropon* Murakami Takashi 1997
oil and acrylic on fiberglass

Fig. 2 *My Lonesome Cowboy,* Murakami Takashi 1998
oil and acrylic on fiberglass

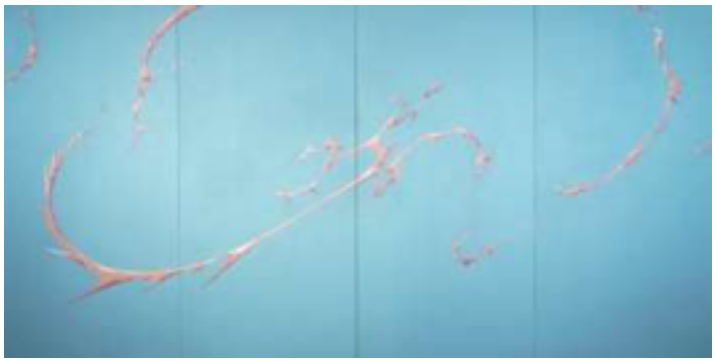

Fig. 3 *Milk and Cream* (fig 3.) Murakami Takashi 1998

Fig. 4 *Davy Jone's Tear (fig. 4)* Murakami Takashi 2008
acrylic and gold leaf on canvas

Fig. 5 *Infinity* Murakami Takashi 2008
acrylic, gold leaf and platinum leaf on

Fig. 6 *The Great Wave at Kanagawa (*fig. 6)
Katsushika Hokusai ca. 1831-33
polychrome ink and colour on paper

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Endnotes

1 The artist will be referred to as Murakami for the duration of this paper and he is not to be confused with the infamous Japanese writer, Murakami Haruki.

2 Dana Friis-Hansen, "The Meaning of Murakami's Nonsense: About 'Japan' Itself," in *Takashi Murakami: The Meaning of the Non sense of the Meaning*, (New York: Center for Curatorial Studies Museum, 1999), 38.

3 Ibid, 31.

4 John W. Dower, "Throwing Off Asia I," *MIT Visualizing Cultures,* 2008.

5 Ibid

6 Ibid; John Clark, *Modern Asian Art,* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 50

7 John W. Dower, "Throwing Off Asia I," *MIT Visualizing Cultures,* 2008. The Edo Period was also known as the Tokugawa period.

8 J. Dyer Ball, “Topsy-turvydom,” in *Things Chinese*, 668-671.

9 John W. Dower, “Throwing Off Asia I,” *MIT Visualizing Cultures,* 2008.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Justin Jesty, “Tokyo 1960: Days of Rage & Grief,” *MIT Visualizing Cultures,* 2012.

13 John Clark, *Modern Asian Art,* 71-90.

14 Takashi Murakami, *Superflat,* (Tokyo: MADRA Publishing Co., Ltd, 2000), 15.

15 Ibid, 15-17.

16 John Clark, *Modern Asian Art*, 71.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Midori Matsui, “Toward a Definition of Tokyo Pop: The Classical Transgressions of Takashi Murakami,” in *Takashi Murakami: The Meaning of the Nonsense of the Meaning* (New York: Center for Curatorial Studies Museum, 1999), 21.

20 Takashi Murakami, *Superflat,* 17.

21 John Clark, *Modern Asian Art,* 71.

22 Takashi Murakami, *Murakami: Ego,* (New York: Skira Rizzoli Publications Inc., 2012), 228; Amanda Cruz, “DOB in the land of OTAKU,” in *Takashi Murakami: The Meaning of the Nonsense of the Meaning* (New York: Center for Curatorial Studies Museum, 1999), 16.

23 Takashi Murakami, *Superflat,* 17.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Midori Matsui, “Toward a Definition of Tokyo Pop: The Classical Transgressions of Takashi Murakami,” 21.

28 Homi Bhabha, “The Other Question: The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse,” in *Visual Culture: The Reader*, ed. Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall, (London: Sage in association with the Open University, 1999), 371.

29 Dana Friis-Hansen, “The Meaning of Murakami’s Nonsense: About ‘Japan’ Itself,” in *Takashi Murakami: The Meaning of the Non sense of the Meaning* (New York: Center for Curatorial Studies Museum, 1999), 35; Gennifer Weisenfeld, “Reinscribing Tradition in a Transnational Art World,” *Transcultural Studies No. 1,* 2010.

30 Takashi Murakami, *Superflat,* 17.

31 Ibid, 19.

32 Ibid, 23.

33 Takashi Murakami, "Superflat Trilogy: Greetings, You Are Alive," in *Little Boy: The Arts of Japan's Exploding Subculture,* ed. Takashi Murakami (New York: Yale University Press, 2005), 156.

34 Gennifer Weisenfeld, "Reinscribing Tradition in a Transnational Art World," *Transcultural Studies No. 1,* 2010.

35 Midori Matsui, "Toward a Definition of Tokyo Pop: The Classical Transgressions of Takashi Murakami," 27

36 Ibid.

37 Takashi Murakami, "Superflat Trilogy: Greetings, You Are Alive," 152.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid, 153.

40 Takashi Murakami, *Superflat,* 25.

41 Takashi Murakami, "Superflat Trilogy: Greetings, You Are Alive," 154-155.

42 Ibid, 156.

43 Dana Friis-Hansen, "The Meaning of Murakami's Nonsense: About 'Japan' Itself," in *Takashi Murakami: The Meaning of the Non sense of the Meaning* (New York: Center for Curatorial Studies Museum, 1999), 32.

44 Ibid, 33.

45 Ibid, 32.

46 Ibid, 37.

47 Amanda Cruz, "DOB in the land of OTAKU," in *Takashi Murakami: The Meaning of the Nonsense of the Meaning* (New York: Center for Curatorial Studies Museum, 1999), 16.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid, 17. It was so popular that a counterfeit plush toy of Mr. DOB was found in south Asia.

50 Takashi Murakami, "Superflat Trilogy: Greetings, You Are Alive," 158.

51 Tom Eccles, "Murakami's Manhattan Project," in *Little Boy: The Arts of Japan's Exploding Subculture,* ed. Takashi Murakami (New York: Yale University Press, 2005), 264.

52 Amanda Cruz, "DOB in the land of OTAKU," 16.

53 Takashi Murakami, "Impotence Culture – Anime," in *My Reality: Contemporary Art and the Culture of Japanese Animation*, ed. Jeff Fleming and Susan L. Talbott (New York: Des Moines Art Center & Independent Curators International: 2001), 58.

54 Midori Matsui, “Toward a Definition of Tokyo Pop: The Classical Transgressions of Takashi Murakami,” 27.

55 Amanda Cruz, “DOB in the land of OTAKU,” 16.

56 Noi Sawaragi, “On the Battlefield of ‘Superflat’: Subculture and Art in Postwar Japan,” in *Little Boy: The Arts of Japan’s Exploding Subculture,* ed. Takashi Murakami (New York: Yale University Press, 2005), 188.

57 Ibid, 188-189.

58 Amanda Cruz, “DOB in the land of OTAKU,” 18.

59 Noi Sawaragi, “On the Battlefield of ‘Superflat’: Subculture and Art in Postwar Japan,” 205; Tom Eccles, “Murakami’s Manhattan Project,” 265.

60 Jeff Fleming, “My Reality, Your Reality,” in *My Reality: Contemporary Art and the Culture of Japanese Animation*, ed. Jeff Fleming and Susan L. Talbott (New York: Des Moines Art Center & Independent Curators International: 2001), 15-17.

61 Noi Sawaragi, “On the Battlefield of ‘Superflat’: Subculture and Art in Postwar Japan,” 205; Dana Friis-Hansen, “The Meaning of Murakami’s Nonsense: About ‘Japan’ Itself,” 34.

62 Jeff Fleming, “My Reality, Your Reality,” 15.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 Dana Friis-Hansen, “The Meaning of Murakami’s Nonsense: About ‘Japan’ Itself,” 37. Kaikai Kiki Co, Ltd succeeded Murakami’s Hi ropon factory in 2001, establishing the artist’s studio as the warehouse and production site of an actual trading company. His current company has its headquarters in Tokyo and a studio and office in New York.

66 Amanda Cruz, “DOB in the land of OTAKU,” 16.

67 Tom Eccles, “Murakami’s Manhattan Project,” 267.

68 Amanda Cruz, “DOB in the land of OTAKU,” 18.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.

72 Gary Carrion-Murayari, “Takashi Murakami: The 500 Arhats,” in *Murakami: Ego* (New York: Skira Rizzoli Publications Inc., 2012), 119.

73 Jeff Fleming, “My Reality, Your Reality,” 15.

74 Dana Friis-Hansen, “The Meaning of Murakami’s Nonsense: About ‘Japan’ Itself,” 41.

75 Gennifer Weisenfeld, “Reinscribing Tradition in a Transnational Art World,” *Transcultural Studies No. 1,* 2010.

Long Live the Qing: Emperor Qianlong's Idealized Representation of Qing Rule in Xu Yang's Southern Inspection Tour for Posterity

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Introduction

By year 1735, when Qianlong took the Qing throne, the empire had reached its peak. It had become the largest empire in Chinese history and one of the most powerful in the world, partly as a result of their predecessors', the Manchu rulers, strong martial values and focus on military conquest.[1] However, the Qing were not only determined military leaders. They were also vigorous patrons of the arts. To them, cultural projects were channels through which they could legitimize their rule and shape the cultural identity of the empire's diverse peoples. In addition to employing tradition Chinese artists, Qianlong brought to his court Jesuit painters, most notably Giuseppe Castiglione of Italy.[2] The collaboration between Chinese and Jesuit artists in the Qing court resulted in the fashioning of a new Sino-European aesthetic. While Chinese art is most often associated with painted flora and fauna, insects, horses, and other traditional subjects, Qianlong primarily commissioned works that documented his accomplishments, such as victories in war, imperial hunts, and tours. Moreover, these works were heavily influenced by the tastes of Qianlong, who dictated much of what these artists painted.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine such royal commissions, specifically those of Qianlong, and to discuss their intended cultural impact. I focus specifically on one of these works, *The Qianlong Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Six Entering Suzhou and the Grand Canal* by Xu Yang, which is currently in storage at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. I am interested in examining how the Chinese artist Xu Yang, who like many court painters had been influenced by the European painters, commemorated Qianlong through a mix of foreign and traditional techniques. I will draw comparisons to a similar set of scrolls commissioned by the Kangxi emperor after his Southern Inspection Tour – these works are much more traditionally "Chinese" in their execution – and works by other court painters contemporaneous to and preceding Xu.[3] In sum, I will be arguing that Qianlong commissioned artistic projects, which incorporated foreign and traditional aesthetics, traditional Chinese and Manchu values, to glorify himself and Qing rule as a whole. These artworks embodied the precise reputation of the Qing dynasty and of the emperor that he wished future royals to inherit and propagate.

Qianlong commissioned Xu Yang to paint *Southern Inspection Tour*, a set of twelve handscrolls, to record his 1751 tour of southern China. As its title indicates, Xu Yang's *The Qianlong Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Six: Entering Suzhou and*

the Grand Canal commemorates the Qianlong emperor's arrival in Suzhou as part of his tour. Before going into an analysis of Xu's painting as it pertains to my thesis, I would like to start with general description of the entirety of Scroll Six.

Introducing the viewer to the scroll at the right-most portion is a poem on Suzhou written by Qianlong. The inscription leads into the northern city outskirts where there are small houses and gazebos lining the Grand Canal. Traveling along the Canal is a large barge, bearing the emperor's mother. [4] Erected at its rear is a gold-colored flag; the flag includes the iconic dragon, which is indicative of royal status. Appropriately, city dwellers kneel on either side of the water, welcoming their royal guest, and many more await her arrival farther along the Canal. Moving towards the left, the scrolls transitions to urban life where there is business being conducted at the markets, children playing, residents enjoying tea in gazebos, theater-goers at a show, and other quotidian sights.

These scenes continue to the left until they shift to a more mountainous region of the city, where one finds Tiger Hill and the temples and pagoda at the peak of the hill. Beyond this region, urban life resumes, although this portion appears to be more heavily populated with a dense network of houses and stores. Also present here are groups of officials who are dressed according to their rank and standing still for the emperor's arrival.

Afterwards, the viewer arrives at Chang Gate, which is surrounded by more urban activity, and eventually, at Xu Gate, which marks Qianlong's entrance and the final portion of the scroll. Qianlong enters the gate on horseback, traveling from left to right. Upon his presence, more officials and Suzhou residents crowd the streets to welcome their glorified leader.
(accessed 14 Sep. 2014).

Sino-European encounters in the Qing court

Scroll Six, at almost sixty-six feet in length is the longest of the twelve handscrolls. Its large surface provided the artists the ability to offer a microscopic view of the bustling Suzhou. It records in great detail the daily life and activities of city residents, the outdoor scenery, and a variety of architecture as well. But perhaps what is most remarkable about this work is its aesthetic departure from its antecedents. A particularly good comparison can be found in a set of twelve scrolls produced only a generation earlier, by court artist Wang Hui and assistants, which documented the Kangxi emperor's second southern inspection tour in the year 1689. In this section, I compare the Chinese painting conventions that characterized the Kangxi set to the later Qianlong set, focusing on Scroll Six of the latter. While the Qianlong set acts as if it were merely recording the touring event, I will consider the intention underlying the scrolls. That is to say that they present history in a particular way and for a particular reason.

Observing the differences between the *Southern Inspection Tour* of Wang Hui and Xu Yang reveals a distinct change in taste with courtly circles. Because Xu Yang modeled his set after Wang Hui's, the difference between them is clearly identifiable. While each artist recorded in detail the monumental journey in twelve scrolls, style differed drastically and reflected appropriately not only the intention of the artist but also of the respective emperor, who often closely supervised imperial commissions.[5] These ensuing modes of representation tell us much about the manner in which each emperor preferred to be represented and commemorated.

Wang Hui (1632 -1717) was an orthodox landscape artist whose conservative style was popular in the late Ming and early Qing periods. Wang and his contemporaries followed a few simple rules set by the Northern Song artist Guo Xi that resonated in their landscape painting. Guo Xi described the necessary qualities of landscape painting:

> "The tone of the dimension in height is light and luminous. The tone of the dimension in depth is heavy and dark. But that of the horizontal dimension is sometimes light and sometimes dark. Height is bold and resolute. Depth is obtained layer by layer. The effect of distance is obtained by adding vaporous lines that are shaded off as they move further away."[6]

However, when confronted with the imperial commission to document Kangxi's southern inspection tour, Wang sought to implement these techniques from his monumental landscape painting while also formulating a new narrative style to commemorate the Kangxi emperor. To do so, he turned to past models that provided "appropriate traditional archetypes," thus aligning Kangxi's accomplishments with past rulers.[7]

In *Landscapes Clear and Radiant: The Art of Wang Hui (1632-1717)*, Chin-sung Chang compares Wang's commission to history paintings commissioned by the Song emperor Gaozong (1107 – 1187), who sought to improve his reputation through his patronage of the arts. Following the Song model, Wang divided the narrative of the southern inspection tour into episodes, each of which he depicted in a separate scroll.Like the narrative paintings of the Gaozong period, Wang's *Southern Inspection Tour* set embodies a sense of progression, through which each scroll shows either a scene of the monarch's arrival or departure. This manner of presenting imperial processions was in fact an artistic tradition dating back to the Han period (206 B.C. – 220 A.D.).[8]

Combining monumental landscape painting with history painting in each scene, Wang created large scrolls that not only documented each episode of Kangxi's journey, but also cataloged in detail "the full route, modes of travel, topography, rural and urban scenery, and the everyday activities of his subjects,"[9] much like an encyclopedia, where the importance of individual figures in the painting is relatively diminished. In each scroll, Kangxi's significance is marked simply by his presence amid the immense amount of detail. In a close examination of *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Eleven: Nanjing to Jinshan* (Fig. 1), for example, Kangxi is immediately recognizable as he is seated, dressed in imperial blue garb, and slightly larger than the rest of his retinue, but he is no more distinguished than the vast landscape of which he is a part.

Turning to Xu Yang's *Southern Inspection Tour*, we can draw similarities to Wang Hui's; like Wang, Xu also depicted each episode of the emperor's journey in a separate scroll, marking an arrival or departure in each and combining landscape with narrative. However, Xu's integration of European techniques in his scrolls commemorates the emperor and his journey in a manner

that differs considerably from the preceding set of scrolls after which it was modeled. In the Qianlong set, Xu utilized a form of illusionistic realism characteristic of European art to emphasize the success of the emperor, the individual. The Qianlong set was not simply an encyclopedic entry, a record of the event, but a visually convincing, mimetic depiction of the emperor touring. As this anecdote suggests, Qianlong demanded that artists used watercolor for most paintings, with the exception of portraiture, for which he preferred tempera over oil painting due to the latter's glossiness. Furthermore, portraits were required to be painted frontally with the subject looking at the spectator, and shadows were inadmissible because they were understood as smudges on the face of the emperor. Qianlong also demanded that paintings maintained likeness as best as possible, including facial imperfections that a European painter would be sure to conceal. Finally, Qianlong mandated that he be depicted as larger than life, so that hierarchies of scale were used to indicate hierarchies of status.[12]

Reasonably, the Europeans at court did not always comply with these requirements. However, these artists were often Jesuit missionaries and thus often were willing to compromise their painterly taste with the chance to stay in court and proselytize in the Qing territories. The French Jesuit and painter Jean-Denis Attiret (1702– 1768) conjures the life of a court painter serving Qianlong:

> To be on a chain from one sun to the next; barely to have Sundays and feast days on which to pray to God; to paint almost nothing in keeping with one's own taste and genius; to have to put up with a thousand other harassments which it would take too long to have to describe to you; all this would quickly make me return to Europe if I did not believe my brush useful for the good of religion and a means of making the Emperor favorable towards the missionaries who preach it. This is the sole attraction that keeps me here as well as all the other Europeans in the Emperor's service.[13]

While scholars often discuss the "western influence on Chinese painting," it is fair to say that the fusion of styles occurred because the emperor demanded it.[14]Likewise, Chinese court painters were asked to work in collaboration with their European colleagues, and while some Chinese artists were interested in European painting techniques such as linear perspective, they often considered their foreign colleague merely professional craftsmen rather than artists.15 And some European artists were displeased with Chinese painting as well. One traveler, Sir John Barrow, described Chinese artists as "miserable daubers, being unable to pencil out a correct outline of many objects, to give body to the same by the application of proper lights and shadows, and to lay on the nice shades of color, so as to resemble the tints of nature."16 Nevertheless, all court painters had to compromise their style of painting with the emperor's demands. In The Elegant Brush: Chinese Painting Under the Quianlong Emperor, 1735-1795, Ju-Hsi described the court painting academy to be a melting pot, just like the empire, where "the various styles of painting were mingled, amalgamated, and merged" and "if Chinese painters were being trained in the Western techniques of perspective and chiaroscuro, Western artists like Castiglione were likewise instructed in the Chinese methods."17

Xu Yang, a Suzhou native, was commissioned to paint *Southern Inspection Tour* after the emperor had returned from the tour; the inscriptions on the scrolls date from year 1752 to 1768. He was considered one of the most talented and versatile artists in the Qing court with the ability to paint narrative paintings of figures and landmarks in panoramic landscapes. It is argued that Xu Yang sought greater inspiration from the Song period artist Zhang Zeduan (1085-1145) in his realistic depiction of figures and

architecture (often attributed to Europeans) (see Figs. 2-3). Nevertheless Xu worked collaboratively and trained along with his European colleagues, as the preceding anecdotes from within the court strongly suggest.[18] For example, the detailed rendering of individual figures, such as seen in the separation of limbs under robes and facial expressions in Scroll 6, is not found in Zhang's *Along the River During the Qingming Festival* (Fig. 3), which is a scroll featuring residents in the Northern Song capital during the Qingming Festival. While attention to detail had long been a Chinese painting tradition, exemplified by Wang Hui's meticulous recording of specific figures and landmarks, artists were approaching painting differently. They began rendering details realistically and paying attention to certain details that were previously ignored. This change was likely a product of the collaboration and the exchange of styles in court.

Moreover, as mentioned, realism was Qianlong's preferred method of depiction and all works produced in the court are reflective of the emperor's instructions and intentions regardless of the specific source of stylistic influence.As a result of various influences, imperial and otherwise, one finds illusionistic realism in Scroll Six. First, to maintain a consistent scale, Xu had to forgo the large amount of space and distance that could have been painted by implementing inconsistent and multiple viewpoints, such as in Wang Hui's scrolls (Figs. 4-5) [19]. While the scrolls in both sets are comparable in size, Xu limited his depiction of each tour route in each scroll to one or two miles. By contrast, Wang Hui often covered over 120 miles in one scroll (Figs. 4-5). Moreover, while Wang Hui was able to present far-reaching landmarks from any perspective he wished, Xu was limited to what was appropriate to scale and fitting with linear perspective. [20] Considering scale and realism, the actions of the emperor, his individual act of touring in the presented, limited space, is much more accentuated in the Qianlong set than the magnitude of the tour itself. That is, the figures of the emperor and his retinue appear more three-dimensional and more individualized by comparison.[21] In Scroll Six, Qianlong enters Suzhou on horseback facing the viewer (Fig. 2). Here, the emperor and his subjects are more anatomically correct in comparison to the repetitive, cartoon-like figures of Wang Hui's scrolls (Fig. 1). A greater focus on the details of each individual figure render Xu's scroll visually convincing. For example, the fabric of the parasol above the emperor's head, which is a traditional mark of royalty, blows to the left as the wind hits it from the right, as it naturally would. Such details, introduced through engagements with European traditions, became a crucial part of a Sino-European aesthetic that distinguished Qianlong's scrolls from the Kangxi set.

To conclude, I would like to reiterate that Wang Hui's scrolls, when compared to Xu Yang's, focused significantly more on landscape, on the ground covered by the tour, and on the astonishing size of the Qing Empire at the time, depicting it as if it were a map.In fact, Kangxi long reign of sixty-one years was marked by warfare, chaos, and, notably, expansion to the northwest. A map of his new, vast empire would serve to honor Qing rule. From this perspective, Kangxi's interest in cartography and topography is not too surprising. Qianlong, on the other hand, inherited the empire at a time of stability and prosperity when he took the throne. He concentrated much more so on his individual success. In the following sections, I will continue to discuss in greater depth exactly how Scroll Six reflects this theme.

Architectural painting and its implications in Scroll Six

In Section I, I discussed the Sino-European aesthetic in Scroll Six that combines Western and traditional Chinese landscaping painting techniques, particularly the principle of illusionistic realism in the former. This, I proposed, was for the purpose of individualizing the Qianlong emperor and his accomplishments, given substantial instruction by the emperor himself. In this section I would like to focus specifically on architectural painting, which took a dramatic shift following the introduction of European linear perspective to Qing court painting. More specifically, I would look to examine how Xu Yang integrated linear perspective with his own mastery of architectural painting in order to suit the need of the *Southern Inspection Tour* project to emphasize the individualized commemoration of the Qianlong.

In *Drawing Boundaries: Architectural Images in Qing China*, Anita Chung discusses the lengthy history of architectural painting in Chinese art history and its symbolic importance. First, according to Chung, architecture as a subject differs from nature in that artists often painted nature as a means of expressing their emotions.Architecture, on the other hand, is material culture, a man-made construction. It is thus appreciated for its overall beauty and functionality, which includes careful calculations and design. More importantly, architecture is physical property often commissioned by wealthy patrons such as the emperor. It thus represented ownership and cultural participation and served as an "emblem of power, status, and identity."[22] Not surprisingly, during his reign, Qianlong commissioned many large-scale architectural paintings besides *Southern Inspection Tour* that recorded both civil and military achievements.[23] In Scroll Six, Qianlong is shown entering his domain, another city with an abundance of architecture in his vast empire – this architectural spectacle is a display of power.

While architectural paintings throughout Chinese art history serve as significant historical records of previously existing structures and general layouts of the cities in which they existed, they do not serve as accurate records of actual appearance.[24] That is to say that while artists were sure to include existing architecture in their paintings and maintain certain Chinese (arguably Confucian) architectural painting conventions, they were also free to reinterpret the relationship between individual architectural structures, the relationship between architecture and city dwellers, and the vision of the city as a whole, in order to instill the suitable symbolic significance.[25] In the case of Xu Yang's Scroll Six, the incorporation of foreign elements such as linear perspective and light and shade created the illusion of realistic and tactile structures and made the city of Suzhou appear three-dimensional and almost navigable to the viewer. However, at the same time, Xu also adhered to traditions set by earlier Chinese architectural painters. The resulting image is not an exact representation of the city of Suzhou, but rather a carefully organized composition aimed at legitimizing and honoring Qing rule over the expansive empire, and specifically that of the Qianlong emperor.

Xu Yang's talent lies in his ability to innovate while maintaining core traditions in architectural painting, situating Qianlong's

rule within Chinese history. As court painter, Xu had the opportunity of experiencing for himself imperial architecture and studying ancient paintings (often by imitation) in the imperial collection. At the same time, giving court painters access to the imperial collection was a way for the emperor to train his artists in traditional painting while also indoctrinating them with his particular preferences.The first of these traditions inherited from the Song and Yuan include faultless calculation and right proportion, which relate to the mathematical accuracy of architectural images. Architectural representations must imply a general sense of proportion that corresponds to the viewer's perception of the physical structure; they must not be "psychologically disturbing" but express stability.[26] Next, architectural painters preserved structural clarity, making clear the functionality and design of each depicted structure. Spatial organization was also a key consideration. Artists used multiple receding lines to create the sense of depth; these are most apparent when looking at connecting corridors or walkways between buildings. Combined with changing focal points, these receding lines enable the viewers to embark in every direction of the often expansive scene. A final architectural painting tradition relevant to this discussion is the harmonious relationship between the depiction of manmade architecture and natural landscapes. The shifting focal points in a traditional painting draw the viewer's attention to various parts of the work, creating a balance between looking at the clearly delineated architectural outlines and nature's infinite space. [27] Altogether, the conventions mentioned – faultless calculation, right proportion, structural clarity, spatial organization, and harmony with nature – were strongly associated with Confucian cultural values of morality and correctness, and upholding them in the Qing would enhance the emperor's reputation politically and socially. In Scroll Six, Xu was able to do just that while still introducing innovations to fulfill the requirements of Qianlong.

The introduction of linear perspective did not detract from earlier values of maintaining faultless calculation, proportion, and structural clarity; the manner in which Chinese artists incorporated European influences in their art still aligned with tradition. In fact, I would say that the illusion of three-dimensional architecture on a flat surface only served to heighten the sense of these three conventions. The difference is that Scroll Six reduces the audience's ability to enter the painting to a single viewpoint, inserting the viewer in the illusionistic space. However, the manner by which Xu employed linear perspective is unlike that of his European colleagues.A European painter in the Qing court would align the vertical axis of the picture plane to the line of symmetry so that receding lines would converge to a vanishing point at the center of the painting (Fig. 6). Instead Xu Yang created a diagonal axis and placed the vanishing point off to the beyond upper-left margin of the scene (Fig. 7). This allowed Xu to depict an aerial view of the scene, including architecture and natural landscape, and thus preserving likeness to past architectural paintings where spatial recession was represented by slanting lines according to a diagonal axis. While linear perspective is a principal factor in the spatial organization of the city, the city is also characterized by buildings and spaces that lead into others, including walls, gates, towers, and gardens. As Chung put it, "each continuum shows remarkable balance of solids and voids, verticality and horizontality in the placement of buildings and is organized individually by means of parallel, converging, or diverging lines."[28] Xu's balances architectural structures, voids, and alleyways to render the city and to create for a fluid scroll painting is arguably an extension of the

Confucian ideal of order. More importantly, the balanced composition of an intricate city could also symbolize Qianlong's ordered and centralized rule over the empire.[29]

Even so, because of Xu Yang's introduction of one-point linear perspective, the audience does not experience the same oscillation between nature and architecture that was made possible through the use of multiple focal points. One might suspect that architecture takes a dominant position in this case, trapping the viewer's gaze within the confines of the architectural representations. However, I argue that Xu Yang, known for his landscape painting mastery, attempted to strike a balance between architectural representations and landscape in his painting. The lower vantage point of Scroll Six reduces the amount of physical space that can be painted, maintaining scale, when compared to works by past painters such as Wang Hui. Since the main subject is Qianlong touring the city, the space is dominated by urban space. In order to compensate for nature and to draw the viewer's attention outside of the city, Xu paints a variety of greenery within the city of Suzhou, often painting these elements in the same hues as the natural landscape beyond city bounds (Figs. 4 and 7). That is to say that Xu restores the balance by instilling in his audience thoughts about nature.It is important to note that Xu was not commissioned to paint *Southern Inspection Tour* until Qianlong had already returned from his journey. While Xu included the key landmarks and the general scheme of each visited site through travel accounts and maps, he also took the liberty of constructing the rest of the scene. Xu Yang was a Suzhou native so it is quite likely that the city did in fact appear as depicted in Scroll Six with immense greenery inside and outside of the city. However, the same technique is repeated in the rest of *Southern Inspection Tour*, such as in *Scroll Two: Crossing the Grand Canal at Dezhou* where rooftops are painted similarly to the space outside of city gates and foliage spread out within the city (Fig. 8). In doing so, Xu recreated the relationship between the artificial and natural, and more importantly, the sense of harmony, which has been paramount to Chinese cultural history.

Historical and dynastic precedence of imperial touring

In the previous sections I have discussed the individualized commemoration of Qianlong in Xu Yang's *Southern Inspection Tour*, but I have not yet examined the very event for which he is being commemorated – the imperial tour of southern China. The goal of this present section is to recount the history of imperial touring, its symbolic significance, and its propagandistic function during Qianlong's reign.While Qianlong was likely following his grandfather Kangxi's example in embarking on the southern tour in year 1751, ancient annals reveal that imperial touring of the kingdom was a ritual institution established in the time of the benevolent sage- kings, a period preceding the first recorded ruling dynasty in China, the Xia dynasty (2070 – 1600 BC). These tours were symbolic of virtuous rule. However, as Michael Chang suggests in his *A Court on Horseback: Imperial Touring and the Construction of Qing Rule*, in the following years of bureaucratic and imperial rule, scholar-officials decided that such inspection tours were antithetical; there was no reason for the emperor to leave his post and inspect the provinces since he had bureaucrats responsible for each and every province.[30] By the sixteenth century, imperial touring had again been practiced by northern, non-Han regimes like Khitan Liao, the Jurchen Jin, and the Mongol Yuan dynasties.

When the Qing emperors came to rule, "in addition to being portrayed as a classically sanctioned practice of benevolent sage-kings, imperial touring was also construed as an ethnically inflected form of seasonal sojourning practiced by tribal overlords."[31]

Kangxi, and eventually Qianlong, saw opportunity in the double meaning of imperial touring, as Chang argued:

> In the eighteenth century, then, the ancient ritual institution of imperial touring bore the marks of earlier ideological confrontations – between civil and military, monarchy and bureaucracy, north and south, Chinese and "barbarian" – and this lack of consensus was part of the practice's appeal. The Kangxi and Qianlong emperors took full advantage of this inherent multi-valence. Both initiated revivals of imperial touring in order to strike a balance between accommodating the political culture of classically educated Han elites on one hand and maintaining a clear sense of ethno-dynastic (patrimonial) dominance on the other.[32]

In summary, Kangxi and Qianlong considered the act of touring itself a demonstration of benevolence that was associated both with classical Chinese rulership and with Manchu dominance in more recent years. By embarking on these tours, they validated themselves as culturally assimilated yet ethnically different – and ethnically dominant – emperors in southern China, home to the majority of Han Chinese scholar-officials and Ming loyalists; these regions contributed largely to the empire's commercial and agricultural wealth as well.[33] The emperors also had the opportunity to promote their own virtues as they interacted with local officials and as they proceeded through observant crowds.

Indeed, the Kangxi and Qianlong approached their tours differently in this regard. Before I discuss the nuances of each tour, I would like to point out an intrinsic characteristic of the imperial tour that exists in both: there is an inescapable connection between imperial touring and military display. This is due to the fact that touring require a mobile court, imperial bodyguards, and encampments that are reminiscent of battle and mobilization. Thus, regardless of the intent of the emperor, tours inevitably carried militaristic associations in the minds of viewers. What I would like to consider now is how each emperor planed his tour in order to take best advantage of this effect on the general populace. Kangxi was the first Qing emperor to revive the touring tradition. For this reason, I am proposing that it was also necessary that he represented foundational values, such as martial discipline and diligence, in these inaugural tours for the purpose of glorifying and propagandizing Qing rule. In addition to the imperial tour's intrinsic display of power, Kangxi's martial and territorial preoccupation is reflected in the individual events of his tour. After all, his reign was primarily characterized by military campaigns aimed at expanding borders.[34] For example, he often organized hunting parties while on the road and gifted province officials the rabbits as well as other kill from the hunt; these gifts served as small but meaningful reminders. Additionally, Kangxi conducted military reviews in the provinces. The militaristic spectacle symbolized Qing dominance and diligence. While Kangxi's 1684 southern tour is often portrayed first and foremost as inspections of hydraulic infrastructure for flood control, to Kangxi the tours were also a means of promoting such Qing values.[35]

Accordingly, the Kangxi set is more focused on the large amount of land covered on tour, the impressive magnitude of Qing territory. Yet what is missing in both the Kangxi set and the Qianlong set is evidence of lodgings. To the Han Chinese elites, the logistics of an imperial tour, specifically in regards to encampments, was reminiscent of tribal, non-Chinese conquest in Inner Asia.[36] As a matter of fact, neither Wang Hui nor Xu Yang included tents or other sorts of mobile stations in their respective

Southern Inspection Tour. In commemorating their rule for posterity in these scrolls, it seems that the emperors wanted to be represented right amount of martial prowess without such stringent associations to tribal warfare. When on tour in reality, they could not hide the entourage of traveling necessities.Although both emperors were involved in the military, Qianlong had inherited a relatively stable empire and cultural identity established by his ancestors. And while he also furthered Qing military values on his tour, such as by organizing hunts and conducting military reviews like his father, the tour was also an opportunity for him to shape his own reputation. Moving on to the Qianlong set, I argue that Qianlong's focus on his individual repute and the ensuing representations of him, such as in Scroll Six, are reflective of his philosophies on proper rule, which are drawn from his interpretation of earlier Manchu and Han Chinese models.

For one, Qianlong required high public visibility on his tours. In 1751, a year before he left for his tour, he began planning meticulously for his grand procession through the provinces and stressed the importance of the populace's gaze. "If the roads are wide and spacious and securing the route is not expected to cause undue congestion," he wrote, "then local officials are not to issue blanket prohibitions aimed at obstructing the sincere desire of ordinary subjects to draw near and gaze upon the emperor."[37] The unobstructed gaze of the general populace would be directed at their leader on horseback, which is the specific image Qianlong preferred.Throughout his reign, Qianlong spoke often about his distaste towards high- ranking Manchu officials who traveled in sedan chairs; this was a sign of laziness that could extend to the reputation of the entire Qing dynasty. To combat this problem, Qianlong mandated all high-ranking officials to ride on horseback instead:[38]

> Generals and provincial commanders are responsible for commanding officers and soldiers. If they enjoy their high position by living in ease and seeking comfort for themselves [that is, by riding in sedan chairs and carriages] then how will they be capable of leading the troop and instilling bravery by personal example? Commanders and vice commander of the metropolitan banner forces are all to ride on horseback, and Manchu vice directors [of the six boards] are forbidden to ride in sedan chairs.

That is to say that Qianlong, riding on horseback himself, intended to set a positive "personal example" of a diligent ruler, capable of leading the troop and capable of leading the country. To Qianlong, refining his own reputation was also a way to promote and legitimize Qing rule. Thus, he maintained this image in the commemorative works he commissioned.In Scroll Six, Qianlong enters Suzhou on horseback with his high-ranking officials following behind him. These equestrian portraits in *Southern Inspection Tour* were unlike previous paintings of horses and royal portraits in Chinese art history. For one, a well-known painter of horses and grooms was Zhao Mengfu (Fig. 9). The theme of horse and groom signified the selection of a junior scholar-official by a senior scholar- official based on the story of Po-lo, a respected judge and groom who was able to recognize talent in those seeking employment.[39] Thus, such paintings were symbolic of good rule effected by a refined leader and his talented bureaucrats. While this theme is not explicitly expressed in Scroll Six, depictions of horses represent traditional and positive meanings that I believe are present here nonetheless.

Finally, Qianlong and his officials are all dressed in the same plain-colored riding clothes – there is no such precedent in Chinese royal portraits. This type of representation, the ruler as a bold military leader on horseback, is more akin to European royal portraits, which Xu Yang is likely to have been exposed to when in court with his European colleagues. Perhaps he saw this fitting to the taste of the emperor, who considered himself a practical leader and an Inner Asian ruler, riding on tribute horses that were likely presented by Inner Asian tribes, as indicated by their markings (Fig. 2).[40] Altogether, Qianlong in Scroll Six embodies traditional Chinese and Manchu values that are conveyed by established metaphors and European influences. While Kangxi and Qianlong both worked towards legitimizing their rule by touring the provinces, Qianlong did so by prudently crafting his own reputation on tour and in paint.

Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to note that *The Southern Inspection Tour* scrolls of both Kangxi and Qianlong were never meant for public display, but rather for historical documentation and for viewing by select members of the court. Otherwise, the scrolls were kept in storage along with the rest of the imperial collection for the duration of its existence. Because these scrolls were records of individual accomplishments to be passed on in the Qing court, the manner in which tours were painted and the values communicated were pivotal to dynastic history and preservation. Qianlong followed and acknowledged the significance of Kangxi's example of in touring and in commissioning *The Southern Inspection Tour*, which were both largely projects to glorify Qing rule. These precedents will continue to perpetuate Qing values and tradition for the future of the dynasty. Considering the magnitude of the role of royal commissions, it is not a surprise that Qianlong would so vigilantly tend to the artistic practices within his court and that Xu Yang would so judiciously integrate the symbolism and foreign and traditional manners of representation that he saw fitting to the emperor's goal. While the evidence presented reveal that preserving institutional memory was a Qing priority, I am not discounting that these scrolls were also sources of viewing enjoyment for Qianlong, an emperor who greatly appreciated and participated in the arts. After all, *Southern Inspection Tour* was a record of his personal accomplishments and Manchu martial and ethnic prowess. The works encompass Qianlong's act of touring, the Qing domain, and a combination of ethnic and dynastic values that must have been gratifying for the emperor to admire and relive in his private collection. As a whole, *Southern Inspection Tour* is a personal and dynastic homage – it represents how Qianlong viewed himself, the past Qing, and the future Qing.

Fig. 1 Wang Hui (1632-1717) and assistants, The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Eleven: Nanjing to Jinshan (close-up detail from second half of scroll), handscroll, color on paper, Palace Museum, 67.8 x 2612 cm.

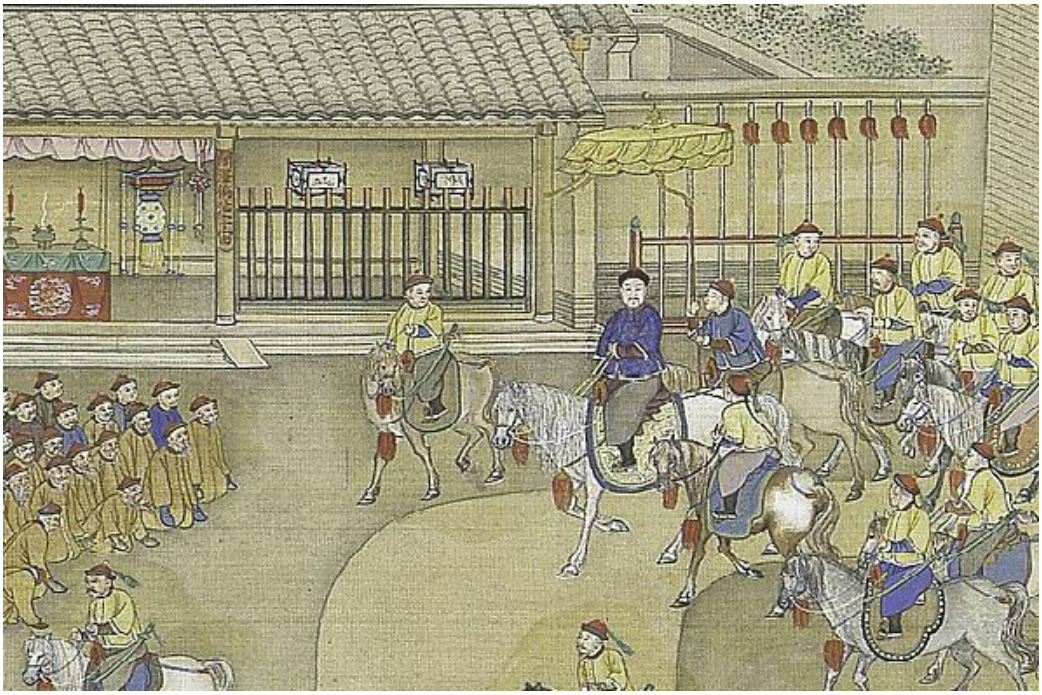

Fig. 2 Xu Yang (1712-1777) and assistants, The Qianlong Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Six: Entering Suzhou and the Grand Canal (close-up detail from first half of scroll), handscroll, color on paper, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 168.8 x 1994 cm.

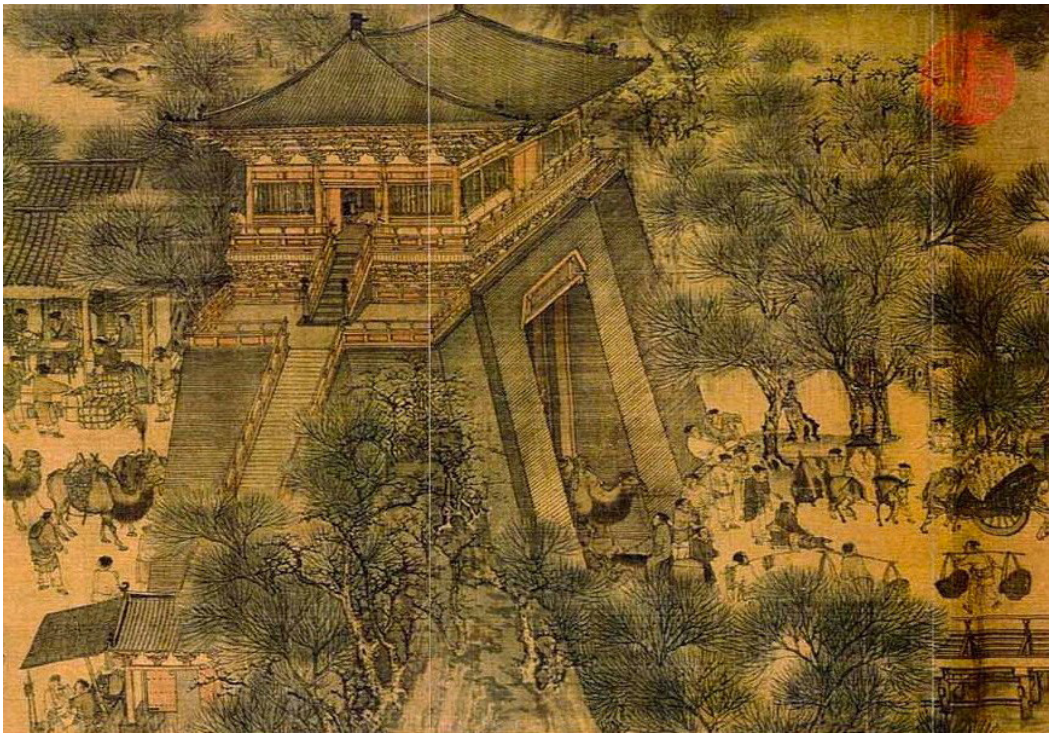

Fig. 3 Zhang Zeduan (1085-1145), Along the River During the Qingming Festival (close-up detail from second half of scroll), handscroll, color on paper, Palace Museum, 25.5 cm × 525 cm.

Fig. 4 Xu Yang (1712-1777) and assistants, The Qianlong Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Six: Entering Suzhou and the Grand Canal (close-up detail from first half of scroll), handscroll, color on paper, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 168.8 x 1994 cm.

Fig. 5 Wang Hui (1632-1717) and assistants, The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Three: Jinan to Mount Tai (close-up detail from second half of scroll), handscroll, color on paper, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 67.8 x 1393.8 cm.

Fig. 6 Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766) and assistants, Qianlong Viewing a Peacock Spreading its Tail, wall painting, color on paper, The Palace Museum, 340 x 537 cm.

Fig. 7 Xu Yang (1712-1777) and assistants, The Qianlong Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Six: Entering Suzhou and the Grand Canal (close-up detail from first half of scroll), handscroll, color on paper, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 168.8 x 1994 cm.

Fig. 8 Xu Yang (1712-1777) and assistants, The Qianlong Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Two: Crossing the Grand Canal at Dezhou (close-up detail from second half of scroll), handscroll, color on paper, The Mactaggart Art Collection, 72.6 x 2433.1 cm

Fig. 9 Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), Groom and Horse, handscroll, ink and color on paper, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 130.3 x 43.5 cm

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Endnotes

1 For more on the culture of war in the Qing, refer to the following in which author Joanna Waley-Cohen argues for the militarization of culture in Qing China. See Joanna Waley-Cohen, The Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military Under the Qing Dynasty (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006).

2 Giuseppe Castiglione was pivotal in creating the Sino-European aesthetic created in the Qing court. While his specific contributions are not discussed in this paper, they are more thoroughly discussed in the following. See Marco Musillo, “Reconciling Two Careers: The Jesuit Memoir of Giuseppe Castiglione Lay Brother and Qing Imperial Painter.” Eighteenth-Century Studies 42, no. 1 (Fall, 2008), 45-59.

3 For a more detailed analysis of the Kangxi set, refer to the dissertation of Maxwell K. Hearn, who is currently the curator of Chinese Painting & Calligraphy at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. See Maxwell K. Hearn, “The ‘Kangxi Southern Inspection Tour’: A Narra tive Program By Wang Hui. (Volumes I and II)” (New Jersey: Princeton University; ProQuest; UMI Dissertations Printing, 1990).

4 Hearn participated in the online project “Recording the Grandeur of the Qing: The Southern Inspection Tour Scrolls of the Kangxi and Qianlong Emperors,” which includes detailed descriptions of Scroll Six as well as a translation of this inscription.See Maxwell K. Hearn, “Recording the Imperial Southern Inspection Tours,” The Metropolitan Museum of Art, http://www.mcah.columbia.edu/nanxuntu/html/scrolls/index.html (accessed 14 Sep. 2014).

5 Chin-sung Chang, Landscapes Clear and Radiant: The Art of Wang Hui (1632-1717) (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2008), 180.

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7 Chang, Landscapes Clear and Radiant, 176.

8 Ibid.

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10 Beurdeley, Giuseppe Castiglione, 136.

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13 Ibid, 48.

14 Exhibitions also often stress the dynamics of influence. For example, the Macau Museum of Art and the Palace Museum exhibited "The Golden Exile: Pictorial Expressions of the School of Western Missionaries' Artworks of the Qing Dynasty Court," which presents paintings from this era of European painters in the Qing court. The exhibition catalogue includes numerous essays and current scholarship on the artists in court and the environment in which the worked:
The Golden Exile: Pictorial Expressions of the School of Western Missionaries' Artworks of the Qing Dynasty Court (Macau: Macau Museum of Art, 2002).

15 Beurdeley, Giuseppe Castiglione, 141.

16 Sir John Barrow, Travels in China: Containing Descriptions, Observations, and Comparisons, made and Collected in the Course of a Short Residence at the Imperial Palace of Yuen-Min-Yuen, and on a Subsequent Journey through the Country from Pekin to Canton (Philadelphia: W.F. M'Laughlin, 1805), 323.

17 Ju-hsi Chou, The Elegant Brush: Chinese Painting Under the Quianlong Emperor, 1735-1795 (Phoenix, Ariz.: Phoenix Art Museum, 1985), 3.

18 Chou, The Elegant Brush, 39.

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22 Anita Chung, Drawing Boundaries: Architectural Images in Qing China (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 1.

23 Yu Hui, The Golden Exile: Pictorial Expressions of the School of Western Missionaries' Artwork of the Qing Dynasty Court (Macau: Macau Museum of Art, 2002), 261.

24 Chung, Drawing Boundaries, 3.

25 Ibid, 94.

26 Ibid, 20.

27 Ibid, 21.

28 Chung, Drawing Boundaries, 94.

29 Ibid.

30 Michael Chang, A Court on Horseback: Imperial Touring and the Construction of Qing Rule, 1680-1785 (Cambridge: Harvard Univer sity Asia Center, 2007), 71.

In A Court on Horseback, Chang argues that the southern inspection tours of both Kangxi and Qianlong were for the purpose of promoting their ethno-dynastic rule. His research is also seminal in recounting the logistics of the tour, including the number of peo ple on each tour, resources needed, and other specific details.

31 Chang, A Court on Horseback, 71.

32 Ibid.

33 Michael G. Chang, "Envisioning the Spectacles of Emperor Qianlong's Tours of Southern China: an Exercise in Historical Imagina tion," in Visualizing Modern China: Image, History, and Memory, 1750–Present, ed. James A. Cook, Joshua Goldstein, Matthew D. Johnson and Sigrid Schmalzer, (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014), 25.

34 Chung, Drawing Boundaries, 94.

35 Chang, A Court on Horseback, 85.

36 Chang, "Envisioning the Spectacles," 25.

37 Ibid, 30.

38 Chang, "Envisioning the Spectacles," 32.

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40 Chang, "Envisioning the Spectacles," 32.

Shaping New Men for a Brave New World: Visual Examples of Deviant and Orthodox Masculinities in New Spain

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ABSTRACT

The following paper examines the use of Josephine imagery to entrench and maintain standards of sexual normativity and Christian orthodoxy in New Spain. It focuses on the portrayal of Indigenous men by Europeans in contrast with depictions of Christian masculinities —presented as the epitome of virtue and exemplified in my research by the figure and cult of Saint Joseph— to determine how the establishment of hegemonic masculinity was necessary for the establishment of Christian orthodoxy. Using a comparative and contextual approach, I examine on one hand the representation and feminization of Indigenous men in Bernadino de Sahagún's La Historia Universal de las Cosas de Nueva España (also known as the Florentine Codex) and, on the other hand, images of Saint Joseph, particularly Sebastián López de Arteaga's Betrothal (1645-1652). These images will exemplify how the sexual and religious lives of Indigenous men were colonized in an effort to Christianize Native populations

INTRODUCTION

There is a current trend in scholarship that attempts to understand the cultural construction of manhood and masculinities in a variety of fields and disciplines. The following paper takes up a small part in this debate by tracing the introduction of Catholic Spanish models of masculinity to the New World during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By looking at the figure of Saint Joseph as the locus of discourses surrounding masculinity and religiosity, it argues that the construction of a proper heteronormative masculinity was intrinsically related to the spread of Christian orthodoxy in the New World and was dependent on the condemnation and eradication of pre-contact notions of manhood and religious beliefs.

The paper is divided in five main sections. The first one considers the development of the cult of Saint Joseph in the European context and introduces some of the changes brought about by the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The second part contextualizes conceptions of gender and sexuality in the New World, and pays particular attention to the *Florentine Codex* and to the ways in which pre-contact deities and sexual practices were demonized in an effort to eradicate them. The third section of the paper considers the role of images in the Christianization and colonization of the New World. The fourth section explores the role of Saint Joseph in the New World, and the ways in which images of the saint, particularly of the Holy Matrimony, imposed hegemonic models of masculinity and family for men. The last section considers the colonization of the intimate through these images, and discusses the relationship between orthodoxy and heteronormativity.

THE CULT AND IMAGERY OF SAINT JOSEPH: A VERY SHORT INTRODUCTION

Before the seventeenth century, the figure of Saint Joseph had been a marginal one in Christian theological discourse. There is little information about St. Joseph in the New Testament where he is mentioned only eight times in meager details.[1] It will become clear in the course of this paper that these few details, which emphasized his role as Mary's husband and Jesus' earthly father, became particularly important and influential, but were overlooked for many centuries prior.[2] For early Christians and Patristic theologians, and until to the late Middle Ages, the figure of St. Joseph remained marginal as theological reflexion and debates focused on major doctrinal issues, such as the nature of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and so on.[3] Official Christian teachings and discourse paid little to no attention to the figure of St. Joseph, but perhaps other texts which stand at the margins of the canon can shed some light on how St. Joseph was understood by the faithful.

It appears that, whereas the institutionalized Church did not pay much attention to St. Joseph, he was not completely written out of Christian discourse. When Christians wrote about St. Joseph, they did so in what are now called apocryphal stories—narratives that are not included in the canonical body of texts that make up the Christian Scriptures. These stories, which influenced the depiction of Joseph in Medieval and early modern art, elaborated on Joseph's role in the canonical Gospels with some imaginative freedom.[4]

Perhaps one of the most popular, and even influential, apocryphal narratives about St. Joseph is the one found in the *Proto-Gospel of James*, a text that describes the conception, birth, childhood, and marriage of the Virgin Mary, and emphasizes her Immaculate Conception and Jesus' Virgin Birth. When it was time to find a husband for Mary, for she could no longer stay at the Temple for fears that her menstruation would defile this sacred space, an angel appeared to the chief priest, saying "Zacharias, Zacharias, go out and gather the widowers of the people, and have each of them bring a rod; she will become the wife of the one to whom the Lord God gives a sign."[5] After collecting everyone's rod and bringing them to the temple, Zacharias handed them back to the suitors with no miraculous sign in view, until "Joseph took the last rod, and behold! A dove came out of the rod and flew on to Joseph's head. The priest said to Joseph, 'you have been called to take the Lord's Virgin into your safe-keeping."[6] Joseph, at first, refuses to take Mary as his wife because he is "an old man" and "she is but a child."[7] Of relevance to early modern Josephine iconography are the staff and dove, which serve as sign of God's preferential option for Joseph, and his very advanced age, which has been estimated as ranging from eighty-five to ninety-one years old.[8] These elements are present in many depictions of the Holy Matrimony, and Giotto's *Marriage of the Virgin*, c. 1303 [fig. 1] is but one example.

During the Catholic Counter-Reformation, St. Joseph came to be seen in a different light. The Council of Trent, held between 1545 and 1563, rejected these apocryphal stories.[9] It is after this council that Joseph became an important figure, perhaps one of the most important ones, in the Counter-Reformation and Tridentine Catholicism.[10] Since the cult of relics and saints was one of the Catholic tenets attacked by the Protestant Reformation, the Council of Trent reaffirmed the importance of the cult of saints, which then

made it possible for Josephine devotion to emerge and spread in the European continent.[11] The Catholic writer and mystic Teresa de Ávila is perhaps one of the leading figures in the propagation of Joseph's cult, who claimed that the saint had cured her of a crippling illness when she was a child.[12] Teresa took Joseph as her Patron, and then dedicated the convents that she later establish to the saint, followed by the 1621 official establishment of St. Joseph as the patron of the Reformed or Discalced Carmelites.[13] The saint became an important figure not only to Teresa and the Discalced Carmelites, but also to Spanish theologians at large.

Hispanic theologians held Joseph at the top of the Catholic hierarchy of saints. For them, only his Son, Jesus, and his wife, Mary surpassed Joseph.[14] As discussed above, theologians did not have much material on St. Joseph to work with, as he had remained in the margins of official Christian doctrine for sixteen centuries. The scriptural silence surrounding Joseph, as well as the lack of theological and hagiographical texts, made it so that theologians, Hispanic or other, "were free to construct his figure as they wished, unrestricted by an established discourse."[15] The figure of Saint Joseph, due to inexistent authoritative texts on his life and cult, became a *tabula rasa* for theologians to shape according to their needs and wishes. Some theologians, for instance, argued that "as the head of the Holy Family, the saint had to have been young and robust in order to support, protect, and exercise authority over Mary and Jesus."[16] This description stands in sharp contrast with previous portrayals of Joseph, both in text and image, and came to have an important effect on Hispanic Josephine iconography.

Artists in Spain and the New World adopted a more positive conception of St. Joseph. As of the seventeenth century, Joseph was depicted as "a young, dignified personage" by Spanish and Mexican artists.[17] Spanish and Mexican images both depict the saint as an important member of the Holy Family, and not as the marginal old man that he was in pre-Conciliar art.[18] Due to the choices the artists and theologians made when faced with Joseph-as-*tabula-rasa*, the saint became an extraordinarily important figure in the Spanish Empire.[19] The new hagiography and iconography presented Joseph as a young, handsome, and virile protector of the Holy Family.[20] Before a discussion of the new manly Joseph in the art of New Spain, it is necessary to contextualize colonial relations in the New World.

A BUNCH OF "FAGGOTS" AND IDOL-WORSHIPPERS: EUROPEAN VIEWS ON NATIVES

The following section relies heavily on the work done by historian Pete Sigal and that of other historians of gender and sexuality in colonial Latin America. Sigal argues that, along with cannibalism and human sacrifice, sodomy was one of the most popular ways in which Spanish colonizers denigrated the indigenous populations during the conquest of the New World.[21] These representations validated the European view that indigenous populations lived in a state of abominable denigration and were easily tricked by the devil to commit the most disturbing and horrific acts.[22]

Sodomy, however, had less to do with desire and more to do with power and domination.[23] Sigal argues that "power is to be understood as a method of exercising domination over a person or persons. […] In a colonial society, power is manipulated and used by the colonizers in an attempt to gain hegemony […]."[24]Discourses on sodomy, therefore, have a power/dominance dimension,

whether literally (sodomizing someone as a means of asserting power) or figuratively (the construction of natives as sodomites created a colonial hierarchy). It is thus necessary to analyze such discourses to understand power relations in colonial Latin America and the role they played in the construction of a new Christian masculinity and sexual ethos.

Studies have demonstrated that there were cases of male sodomy in the colonial period.[25] These actions were referred to as the *pecado nefando*—unspeakable sin—a term used to speak about *sodomía* (sodomy), particularly anal penetration.[26] Male sodomy was understood by Spaniards within a heteronormative context, namely two men having sex "*como si fueran hombre y mujer* (as if they were man and woman)."[27] Historian Zeb Tortorici posits the idea that this model, which associates the penetrated with passivity and woman, and the penetrator with man and activity, was "imposed by the Spanish religious and cultural ways of viewing the world in order to classify and denigrate sexual relations between men."[28] Colonial discourse on sodomy, then, created a hierarchy wherein the penetrated was seen as passive and effeminate, and the penetrator as manly and active. This model is further exemplified in images and texts from the period.

The aforementioned colonial discourse on sodomy is made explicit in the *Florentine Codex.* Originally titled *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España (General History of the Things of New Spain)*, the *Florentine Codex* is an encyclopaedic work written in Nahuatl by na- tive converts and then translated and edited in Spanish by Bernadino de Sahagún, a Franciscan friar. [29] This lengthy document provides an examination of "the daily life, beliefs, institutions, nat- ural world, and history of the Nahuas, indigenous inhabitants of central Mexico in the sixteenth century, and their ancestors, the Mexicas."[30] More than a history of Nahua society, however, the *Florentine Codex* provides a series of instances where Sahagún, through the act of translation which is necessarily an act of interpretation, advanced a Catholic, Spanish agenda that was perhaps not present in the original Nahuatl text.

The *Florentine Codex* provides an interesting case study for the examination of colonial discourses on sodomy. In a chapter about Tezcatlipoca [fig. 2], one of the most important gods in the Nahua pantheon, we find the following sentence: "tu Tezcatlipoca eres un puto (you, Tezcatlipoca, are a faggot)."[31] Sigal notes that the Nahuatl version of this text does not denigrate Tezcatlipoca in this way. The Nahuatl text refers to a lesser god, Titlacauan, not Tezcatlipoca, as *cuiloni,* a "passive partner in the act of sodomy."[32] There is, therefore, a discrepancy between the Nahuatl original text and Sahagún's translation into Spanish.

In using the term *puto* (faggot) to describe Tezcatlipoca, Sahagún associates an important Nahua deity with femininity.[33] Sigal argues that "the *puto* in Spanish popular culture signi- fied the effeminate, the passive, the flamboyant man who flaunted his opposition to Spanish sexual and gender mores."[34] It was a term that came to describe behaviours that the Spanish considered inappropriate in the New World, sexually and otherwise.[35] Sahagún used *puto* to describe a god that, in the Nahua worldview, was understood as a paragon of masculinity.[36] His portrayal in the *Florentine Codex* [fig. 2] presents him in a masculine way—he carries a shield and is dressed as "a very powerful warrior."[37] We could assume that Sahagún appropriated and denigrated Nahuatl masculinity

by referring to Tezcatlipoca as a *puto*, but, as Sigal suggests, the reality is much more complex.[38]

As mentioned above, the figure described as *cuiloni* in the Nahuatl text is not Tezcatlipoca, but Titlacauan, a lesser god and one of Tezcatlipoca's many identities.[39] Sigal dis- cusses the iconography of Titlacauan [fig. 3] at length:

> In his picture in the *Florentine Codex,* Titlacauan is shown wearing only a loincloth, sandals, and an extensive knotted rope that appears to ensnare him. He carries a flower and he blows on what is intended to be a traditional Nahua flute. The flower signified his eroticism. The snare was connected with sexual transgressions and with the intestines, themselves associated with sodomy. The flute, intentionally phallic, signified both penance and communion with the gods.[40]

Calling Titlacauan a *cuiloni* was not in opposition with Nahua mythology as he was seen as a helper, not a warrior, and as one who tricks others in order to seduce them.[41] Sahagún's methodology consisted not transposing the names of the gods and then appropriating the term *puto* to stand in for *cuiloni.*[42] It is possible that Sahagún did this to denigrate the god, perhaps even destroy him, by calling him a *puto.*

Sigal argues that in the same way that Catholics attempted to reconceptualize indigenous religion as idolatry, Sahagún attempted to recontextualize existing homosexualities in pre- conquest Nahua society as sodomy and sin.[43] Sahagún, in his translation and interpretation, turned a Nahua myth into "a tool that could aid in the eradication of indigenous religion."[44] Sigal's reasoning is that if one of the most important gods in the Nahua universe could be turned into a *puto,* then the foundations for the indigenous religion could be shaken, and the worldview as a whole would be in trouble.[45]

It is necessary to briefly discuss other parts of the *Florentine Codex* to shed light on the characterization of pre-contact male homosexuality as sin and sodomy. Take, for example, the *xochihua*, who the Nahua used "to perform household chores, to clean temples, and to accom- pany warriors to war. When at war, the *xochihuas* provided the warriors with a variety of ser- vices, including sex. At other times, the *xochihuas*, some of whom were housed in temples, were available for sexual favours and other chores to priests and other members of the high nobility."[46] The *xochihua* took on many roles that, in the European mind, belonged in the realm of women, and also were known for dressing in female garments.

This is made clear in the illustration that accompanies the description of the *xochihua* in the *Florentine Codex* [left side of fig. 4]. This image shows two men, sitting with a flower be- tween them, one of them dressed as a man and the other, the *xochihua*, dressed as a woman. The flower in this case, as in other cases throughout the codex, signifies sexual desire.[47] The paragraph describing the *xochihua* is followed by a paragraphed describing the *cuiloni*, or *sométicо* [fig. 5]. This section describes the sodomite as being "passive, abominable, unmentionable, and detestable, someone others should make fun of […] he comports himself as a woman and is effeminate in his deportment and speech, *for all of this he deserved to be burned* (translation and italics mine)."[48] The message in the text and accompanying image [right side of fig. 4] appears to be that the sodomite ought to be killed by fire, or could

represent the idea of someone burning in hell. The problem with this interpretation is that there are no records of punishment against the *xochihua* or the *cuiloni* in pre-contact Nahua society, and they did not have a concept of hell like the Spaniards did.[49]

This image, then, appears to be a hybrid, a dualistic representation that shows, on the left, a *xochihua* in his traditional garments engaging in what appears to be an erotic conversation (defined by the flower and the speech scrolls), and on the right side, a person, presumably the *xochihua* or *cuiloni*, burning in a fire, which is reminiscent of European religious and juridical discourses.[50] The contrast between pre-contact and post-contact Nahua society seems to represent conceptions of the *xochihua* or *cuiloni* before and after the introduction of sodomy as a sin by Spanish colonizers. At the same time as images of the indigenous sodomite emerged as rhetorical tools to demonize native practices and enhance conversion to Christianity, other im- ages emerged to promote proper sexuality and gender norms.

COLONIZING THE RELIGIOUS LIVES OF THE NAHUA THROUGH IMAGES

Why focus on images? Why not rely solely on textual evidence? Scholar Thomas Worcester ar- gues that scholars "must place images at the heart of research. Paintings cannot be treated as peripheral, as marginal, as somehow less important than manuscripts and printed texts by those seeking to understand early modern Catholicism."[51] Although Worcester focuses his analysis on early modern Italian art, his statement has great validity for art across the globe in Tridentine Catholicism.

Of interest to this paper is the discussion on the pedagogical role that the council as- signed to images. According to the twenty-fifth session:

> by means of the histories of the mysteries of our Redemption, portrayed by paintings or other representations, the people is instructed, and confirmed in the habit of remembering, and continually revolving in mind the articles of the faith; […] may order their own lives and man- ners in imitation of the saints; and may be excited to adore and love God, and to cultivate piety.[52]

Images may serve as pedagogical tools to instruct the viewer on the articles and tenets of the Catholic faith, and may also serve as mnemonic devices to constantly reminds the viewer of what it means to be a Christian. They may, moreover, excite the viewer to fashion the lives in accordance to the saints they see in front of them, and to love and worship God. Images, then, proved to be a very efficient way of spreading and maintaining the faith and upholding certain behaviours.

Images played a crucial role in the colonization of the New World. Because of language barriers and the pressing need to Christianize native peoples, images were at the forefront of evangelizing and colonizing efforts.[53] Because aboriginal populations were considered to be illiterate but susceptible to the influence of images, these were used to impose and spread the Christian message by Christian friars, thus teaching things such as Christian dogmas, symbol- ism, and iconography.[54] On another level, images were used

to impose a new visual order and an invasion by what historian Serge Gruzinski calls the Western imaginaire.[55] This process "went far beyond the mere unveiling of a new iconographic repertoire (characterized by predominantly anthropomorphic imagery). It involved the inculcation of Western European meanings of person, god, body and nature, causality, space and time, history, and so on."[56] The introduction of Christian imagery for pedagogic and evangelizing purposes also imposed a new symbolic order, a different way of understanding and interacting one's surroundings, a new worldview. The introduction of images, then, served as part of a project to create a new man, thus breaking with the idolatrous past and integrating natives into colonial society and Catholicism.[57]

Images of Saint Joseph and the Creation of a Good, Catholic Man in a Brave New World

It has been my contention thus far that the cult of Saint Joseph gained popularity in the Spanish Empire during the sixteenth century, that Spanish colonizers used notions of sin and sodomy to colonize the intimate and spiritual lives of Nahua peoples, and that images played a crucial role in the spread of Christianity in the New World. What follows is a discussion of how images of St. Joseph were used to introduce and inform notions of sexual, gender, and religious normativity in the Americas, particularly in New Spain.

Scholar J. Jorge Klor de Alva has argued that the colonization and Christianization did not happen as smoothly as some scholarship on the subject would have us believe. According to Klor de Alva, the fragile state of complete conversion is evident when one takes into consid- eration the ease with which Native peoples abandoned active participation in Christian rituals, and the constant need for coercion to keep new converts practicing the faith.[58] It is thus necessary to recognize that the Christianization of the New World did not happen overnight, but that it was instead a difficult process with many obstacles to overcome, which required the use of effective, sometimes harsh, means.

Saint Joseph came to be understood as playing an important role in the conversion of indigenous peoples. A sermon delivered in New Spain recounts how "with the vassals of his Catholic Emperor, St. Joseph converted them so that through his Protection, they were baptized, leaving for our true God all the various, multitude of their false gods."[59] The conquest and christianization of the New World was attributed to Joseph, thus equating him with orthodoxy and orthopraxis. Many Spanish conquistadores and theologians, then, saw the figure of Saint Joseph as a powerful tool in the evangelization of natives and it comes as no surprise that the saint occupied an important place in the New World.

The patron saint and most excellent warrior of the New World could not, by any means, be the old, fragile man that he was in the European tradition. Many theologians and artists in the seventeenth century argued that Joseph was, at the time of his marriage to the Virgin, a "most handsome young man," and this is the way he appears in the art of the Spanish Empire.[60] A painting by Sebastián López de Arteaga titled *Betrothal,* 1645-1652 [fig. 6] is a good example of this new Josephine iconography. Here, the portrayal of Joseph corresponds to art theorist Fran- cisco Pacheco's idea that the saint should be painted as "a little more than thirty" years-old.[61] This was a logical deduction for theologians and artists. If Joseph was eighty years-old, as was maintained in Europe's artistic tradition,

then he would not be able to protect, support, or defend his family, and so he needed youth and physical strength to perform his duty.[62] This could per- haps also apply to colonization: Joseph needed youth and strength to conquer and Christianize the New World.

Images of the Holy Matrimony, such as López de Arteaga's *Betrothal*, were used to en- force Catholic marriage ideology. This painting contains many aspects that were common in de- pictions of the Holy Matrimony, such as the presence of the high priest, the ritual joining of hands, Joseph's flowering staff, the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove.[63] In accordance with the Council of Trent, which standardized the marriage ceremony in Catholicism, marriage was a sacrament whose sacred nature was represented by the presence of the Holy Ghost. As a sacrament, marriages were to be sanctioned by an ecclesiastic authority, hence the presence of the priest, and couples were required to seal the contract with a handclasp and declare their intention to marry in public, hence the presence of witnesses around the holy couple as the priest joins their hands.[64] The half-circle formed by Joseph, Mary, and the priest would be completed by the viewer, thus making the audience witnesses of the Holy Matrimony and providing a good example of how ceremonies ought to take place. These characteristics gave visual form to the Catholic marriage ideology established during the Council of Trent and, as I argue below, furthered the work of colonialism.[65]

Such images also served to advance the decrees of the Third Mexican Provincial Council, held in 1585, which outlined specific guidelines for Indian marriage.[66] These images remind- ed the viewers that marriage was compulsory, and that couples were not to "live together in the same abode before receiving a priest's blessing at the temple […] (translation mine)."[67] More- over, marriages ought to take place "in presence of a priest […] and two or three witnesses (translation mine)" thus making illegal and annulling clandestine marriages.[68] Furthermore, whereas divorce was forbidden, a person could divorce his or her spouse if and only if their spouse "does not want to embrace the Catholic faith (translation mine),"[69]69 thus encouraging Na- tives to marry someone of the faith. Images like López de Arteaga's *Betrothal,* then, emphasized the importance of marriage as endorsed by the Catholic Church which was, by definition, one that encouraged monogamy, discouraged cohabitation before marriage, and frowned upon divorce, unless one's spouse refused to accept the faith.

Paintings of the Holy Matrimony, and Catholic marriage ideology altogether, served to draw a clear divide between orthodoxy (described above) and heterodoxy (represented by the colonizers' understanding of indigenous practices). By imposing European marriage models through images of Saint Joseph, Spaniards attempted to eradicate practices such as polygamy, divorce, and to convince natives to embrace Christian practices.[70] Just like pre-contact deities were portrayed as sinful sodomites, pre-contact Indians were accused or being polygamous and of practicing divorce to characterize them as sexually voracious. [71] Accusation of sexual voracity was often linked to lawlessness and came to justify the need for European colonization. [72] As sexually voracious predators, sinners, and sodomites, the native populations would benefit from Christianization and civilization by European power.[73] These images, then, served as mnemonic devices, reminding native men that they ought to imitate Joseph and get married under the Catholic Church or else, much like the burning *cuiloni*, they would burn in the flames of their own lust.

Saint Joseph's role in the Betrothal provided a model of masculinity for indigenous men to follow. Due to the Scriptural silence surrounding Joseph, theologians deduced that "the Gospel's description of Joseph as Mary's husband encompassed all his glories, and that Joseph's holiness derived from his status as the husband of the Mother of God."[74] Depictions of Joseph celebrated him as the perfect husband.[75] The glory of a Catholic man, or a new convert, is to marry a woman and be the head of the family, thus reinforcing normative (European) views on the nuclear family. By discouraging adultery and encouraging faithful marriage, images of Saint Joseph provided models of masculinity and gender roles for men to follow.[76]

Another model of masculinity for men brought about by St. Joseph was chastity. Many theologians affirmed that Joseph was a virgin, and this was made an official teaching of the Church during the Council of Trent.[77] This had not been a surprise when Joseph was depicted as an old, fragile man. The new Joseph, however, in his youthful manliness, had sexual potency, but the fact that he remained chaste, according to tradition, made his virginity all the more impressive.[78] Joseph's chaste and virginal character was communicated in art through the white flowers on the staff, as is the case in López de Arteaga's *Betrothal*. Art theorists insisted that his staff be "full of flowers" which represented his virginity and his "more pure continence."[79] This association might come from a tradition of representing Mary's purity and virginity through white lilies. The message intended for the viewer was that, like Joseph, men ought to imitate his chastity and virginity, at least until marriage. Images of Saint Joseph and the Holy Matrimony promoted not only Christian marriage, but also heteronormativity and a Catholic sexual ethos of chastity and virginity, values that were perhaps not essential to pre-contact societies.

COLONIZING THE INTIMATE: ORTHODOXY AND NORMATIVE SEXUALITY

By looking at the attempts to eradicate certain sexual behaviours—such as sodomy, pre-marital sex, divorce, cohabitation before marriage—the Catholic Church in Latin America attempted to colonize the intimate lives of native populations.[80] By upholding monogamy, within a heteronormative framework, "as the only alternative, these images helped extend Church control over indigenous converts' lives. Christian marriage thus became a form of colonialism."[81] Pre-contact ways of relating to other humans, traditional family organizations, community structures, and social roles were destroyed in the Hispanization of the Americas.[82]

Would colonization and Christianization be effective without the establishment of hetero- normative monogamy? This is unlikely. Christian orthodoxy goes hand in hand with sexual normativity. Both Christianity and sexuality are "anchored in the same religious symbolic of dualism and monotheism."[83] The cultural mindset that arises from Christianity's emphasis on a single (orthodox) truth about salvation entails, according to scholar Jeremy Carrette, "an ideological oppression of a single (heteronormative) sexuality."[84] Christianity's desire for certainty and pow- er does not allow for diversity and multiplicity—the Christian worldview, emphasizing the existence of a single, orthodox truth, requires the existence of absolute truths for everything, including sexuality.

Monotheism, which is the system of thought that Catholics imposed on native populations, obliterated the existence or potential for multiple truths—multiple gods, multiple forms of relationship, multiple sexualities. The idea of theological orthodoxy and normative sexuality are "dominant discourses that silence difference and conceal the implicit relationship between theological utterances and bodily acts."[85] Thus, Spanish colonizers imposed normative sexuality and masculinity, while simultaneously imposing an orthodox religious belief. They might appear to be two different campaigns, but I would argue that they are intrinsically and necessarily related. Monotheism necessitates heteronormativity. Carrette writes that "to have one God is to have one sex, one leader, one choice. Monotheism anchors heterosexuality. To have more than one desire is to have more than one symbolic for divinity, more than one truth. To be polymorphously perverse is to be open to the polytheism of desire. It is to take self and desire out of the epistemology of monotheism to create a diversity of truths."[86] Colonization and Christianization, there- fore, need the establishment of a dominant heteronormative sexuality and masculinity in order to establish monotheism. To be a man who has sex with men, or to live together with someone before marriage, or to divorce your spouse, is to be open to the idea of diversity and multiplicity, of many possible truths, all of which is incompatible with monotheism and Christian orthodoxy. Saint Joseph, then, ensures that heteronormativity and orthodoxy remain in place

CONCLUSION

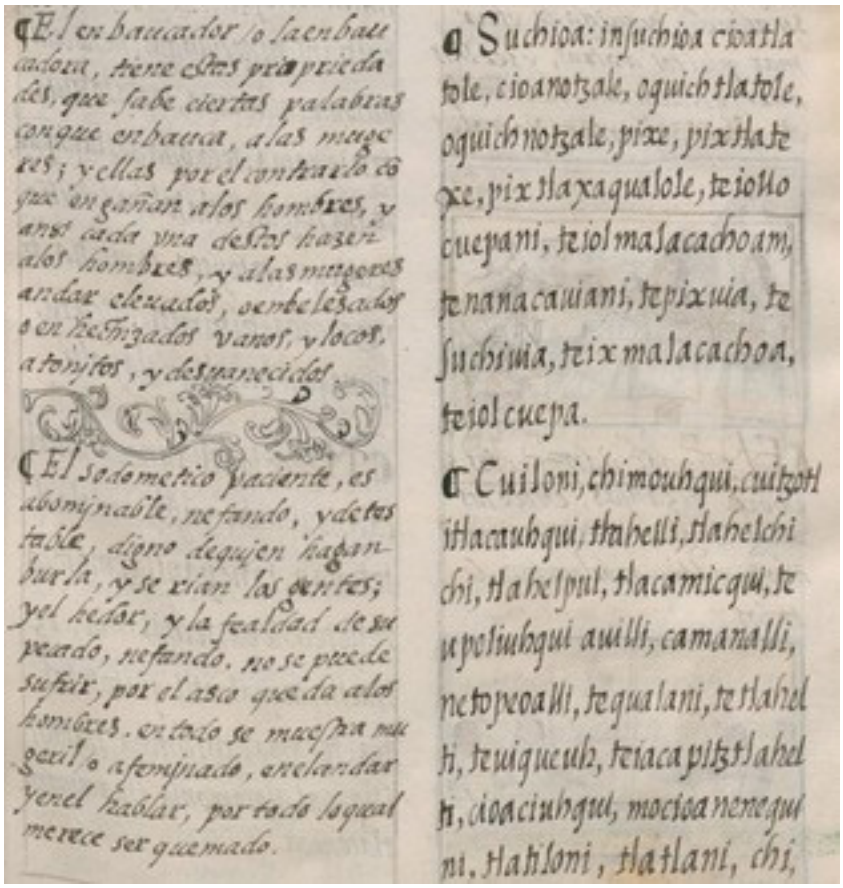
It has been the contention of this paper that the sexual and religious lives of indigenous men in the Americas were colonized, at least partly, through images of Saint Joseph and the eradication of pre-contact practices. In an attempt to Christianize the new continent and establish Chris- tian orthodoxy, colonial authorities had to eradicate the potential for multiple, diverse truths, and this included the potential for sexual diversity. A claim for a single truth about God necessitated a claim for a single hegemonic masculinity and a single sexual norm. In this way, the figure of Saint Joseph provided a model of proper religious faith, proper Christian practices, and proper sexual behaviour. This model, made visible in paintings of the Holy Matrimony, was incompatible with what Europeans perceived to be common indigenous practices such as polygamy, cohabi- tation before marriage, divorce, promiscuity, and sodomy, all of which were considered sinful and therefore were condemned. The rise of the cult of Saint Joseph, then, was not an innocent casualty. It was used as a tool for conversion to the Cristian faith and the European model of heteronormative masculinity.

Figure .1 Giotto, Marriage of the Virgin, Scrovegni Chapel (Arena Chapel), Padua, c. 1303.

Figure. 2 Tezcatlipoca, Florentine Codex, Book 1, illustrations before fol. 1.

Figure. 3: Titlacauan, Florentine Codex, Appendix to Book 1, folio 35.

Figure. 4 Left: Xochihua, Florentine Codex, Book 10, chapter 11, folio 26 Right: Burning Cuiloni, Florentine Codex, Book 10, chapter 11, folio 26.



¶El enbaucador / o faenbaucadora, tiene estas propriedades, que sabe ciertas palabras conque enbauca, a las mugeres; y ellas por el contrario con que engañan a los hombres, y assi cada una destos hazen a los hombres, y a las mugeres andar elevados, o embelesados o enhechizados vanos, y locos, atonitos, y desmanecidos.

¶El sodometico paciente, es abominable, nefando, y detestable, digno de que en hagan burla, y se rian las gentes; y el hedor, y la fealdad de su pecado, nefando, no se puede sufrir, por el asco que da a los hombres. en todo se muestra mugeril, o afeminado, en el andar y en el hablar, por todo lo qual merece ser quemado.

¶Suchioa: in suchioa cioatlatole, cioanotzale, oquichtlatole, oquichnotzale, pixe, pixtlatexe, pixtlaxaqualole, teiollocuepani, teiolmalacachoani, tenanacauiani, tepixuia, tesuchiuia, teixmalacachoa, teiolcuepa.

¶Cuiloni, chimouhqui, cuitzotl itlacauhqui, tlahelli, tlahelchichi, tlahelpul, tlacamicqui, tepoliuhqui auilli, camanalli, netopeoalli, tequalani, tetlahelti, teuiqueuh, teiacapitztlahelti, cioaciuhqui, mocioa nenequini. Hatiloni, tlatlani, chi,

Figure. 6 Sebastián López de Arteaga, Betrothal, 1645-1652. Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City

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26 Laura A. Lewis, “From Sodomy to Superstition: The Active Pathic and Bodily Transgressions in New Spain.” *Ethnohistory* 54:1 (Winter 2007): 129.

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