Musings

Providence College Journal of Art

2013

Musings

A Collection of Providence College Art History and Studio Art Theses

2012-2013

Art History Editor-in-Chief
Alexandra Fallone

Studio Art Editor-in-Chief
Julia Christ

Assistant Editors
Carolyn DeDeo
Michael Rose

Photo Editor
Dominic Channon

Special Thanks to
Dr. Deborah Johnson
Heather McPherson
Jasmin Blackmar
Department of Art and Art History

Sheahan Printing Corporation
One Front Street
Woonsocket, Rhode Island 02895

Contents

Art History

Carolyn DeDeo 3 — Yellow, Red, and Blue: A Symbolic and Linguistic Analysis of Gendered Colors in XIX Dynasty Egyptian Mortuary Art

Alexandra Fallone 17 — Christian Conversion: The Spiritual Transformation of Eastern Pagan Structures in Late Antiquity

Elisabeth Jeffcote 31 — Louis Sullivan: Influence and Innovation

Michael Rose 41 — Tranformations and Disappearances: The Presence of the Artist in the Work of Francesca Woodman

Studio Art

Dominic Channon 55 — Solitaire

Julia Christ 65 — Memory Tokens

Casey Cullen 75 — 60

Rory Dlugos 81 — Acclimation

Tess Wilson 89 — Hide and Seek

ART HISTORY

Yellow, Red, and Blue: A Symbolic and Linguistic Analysis of Gendered Colors in XIX Dynasty Egyptian Mortuary Art

Carolyn DeDeo

A study of artistic representations of people in funerary images concentrating on irregularities in skin color can be critical in supporting ancient Egyptian notions of personhood and gender. Egyptian artworks, governed by a canon that included skin color specifications, should be understood as cultural expressions that allow specific productions to communicate broader concepts. Therefore, I have selected two works of the XIX Dynasty Egyptian royalty's mortuary art from the Valley of the Queens to craft an argument for an androgynous (*i.e.* gender-fluid) conception of personhood that existed in ancient Egypt. The first image, a yellow monochrome image of the sky goddess, Nut, will be used to establish the symbolic nature of skin color and correct the assumption that gender was absolutely divisive in Egyptian society (Fig. 1). The analysis of the second image, a red-skinned portrait of Queen Nefertari, will utilize an understanding of color symbolism and explore the application of the masculine skin tone to a female (Fig. 2). Specifically, the discussion of Queen Nefertari will be revelatory in understanding the sexual regeneration of a person through the impregnation of the sky goddess, an important concept in Egyptian thanatopsis. A more nuanced understanding of gender's relation to personhood will be proposed and applied to a third image of a blue faience *shabti* sculpture to investigate further possibilities in disassociating gender and personhood (Fig. 3).

Fluid metaphysical concepts were prominent in the ancient Egyptian world. Life revolved around a cyclical understanding of the day with the rebirth of the Sun as well as of the year with the predictable flood patterns of the Nile River. Gods had multiple forms and could change easily from one form to another. The prevalence of ritualistic artwork proves that Egyptians accepted a premise of their own magical transformative powers. Perhaps the most fluid concept was that of the Osiris: in order to reach a state of eternal existence as an Osiris, a person had to undergo many complex transformations—visual depictions and literary works attest to this.

In a love poem from the *Papyrus Chester Beatty I*, this idea of fluidity from one form to another is described. Specifically, the color of skin tone is used symbolically:

Unique is my beloved, with no equal,
more perfect than all women.
Seeing her is like the star
that rises at the start of a fresh year,
perfectly dazzling, light of color.
Beautiful her eyes when looking;
sweet her lips when speaking:
not for her phrases in excess.
High of neck, light of breast,
true lapis-lazuli her hair.
Her arms become gold,
her fingers are like water-lilies.[1]

The physicality of the described woman is transitory ("Her arms become gold") and particular attention is paid to her color. Her attributive colors ("lapis-lazuli" and "gold") are crucial to her "unique" identity. This literary example of transformation can serve as a good introduction to the fluid concept of identity and gender in artistic skin color symbolism as it serves as a textual example of unnatural skin colors being applied symbolically.

That the colors are associations of identity correlates to the fact that color as identity is recognized quite easily in visual depictions—according to the ancient Egyptian color canon, red was used to delineate a man and yellow to demarcate a woman (Fig. 4). Green

1 Translation from James P. Allen, "Love Poem." Message to author. 13 November 2012. Email

or black was the skin color of the regenerated Osiris. While the disparity in skin color between males and females may seem "unnatural" in that it does not fit observations from nature, in artistic language it communicates identity and is therefore "natural" in the sense that it relates the *nature* of the person depicted. Canonical skin colors seem to be associated with group identity: thousands of images of yellow-skinned women, for example, are identified according to gender through their skin color.

If it seems fairly obvious *what* the regular skin colors imply, it is not equally obvious *why* they carry those implications: that Egyptian women are yellow neither explains what about yellow makes it appropriate for women nor what it is about women that makes them yellow. To further complicate the issue, irregularities occur in Egyptian skin portrayal. The three notable examples from the New Kingdom under discussion of purposeful deviations from the canon indicate that skin color was imbued with complex notions of gender and personhood.

These images must first be placed within a historical context. They were likely produced by the master craftsmen of Deir el-Medina, the XVIII-XX Dynasty village, in which the workers of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens lived. These workers, employed by Egyptian royalty, were presumably the most skilled in their craft—but they were "craftsmen" not "artists." This distinction is significant because it determines how to approach Egyptian "art" interpretively—these three images were not individual manifestations of personal values but culturally prescribed productions. The workers were from the middle class, and, while some aspects of Egyptian culture were fluid, the social structure was not; agricultural workers could not hope to become viziers, and funerary craftsmen probably had no ambitions outside of completing their tasks.[2] Because of the stratification of society, the concepts expressed by the Deir el-Medina craftsmen should not be viewed as a reflection of their own values but of the values of the Egyptian royalty.

The gender concepts of Egyptian royalty are particularly interesting to study in the XIX Dynasty as it followed the reign of King Hatshepsut (1508-1458 BCE, XVIII Dynasty) and itself witnessed at least one female king, Tawroset (r. 1191-1189 BCE).[3] The XIX Dynasty also followed the revisionist Amarna Period (1353-1336 BCE), so change and some artistic experimentation were not completely alien to Egyptian culture at this time. Amarna art is stylistically distinct from traditional Egyptian art, showing figures with elongated, willowy limbs and pot-bellied bodies supporting large, oval heads. Nonetheless, the aforementioned skin color deviations are not from the Amarna Period—they are in the same school as traditional, canonical ancient Egyptian art. Their irregularities or canonical deviations are important because they were purposeful—the artisans of Deir el-Medina were the most skilled in their craft and any such "accidents" seem highly unlikely.

Just as the following interpretations of gender and identity cannot be applied to all strata of the highly hierarchical ancient Egyptian society, so, too, modern understanding of color cannot be used. It is necessary to interpret skin color symbolism within the context of Egyptian artistic theory. Ancient Egyptian color theory is strange to a modern English-speaking audience—as John Baines writes in his article "Color Terminology and Color Classification: Ancient Egyptian Color Terminology and Polychromy": "Color is more easily painted than talked about."[4]

One approach to Egyptian color theory is Baines' application of the Berlin-Kay hypothesis, a linguistic approach. Berlin and Kay look at language as an approach to understanding color, plotting the identification of color words through seven stages of development with the final stage (of the most advanced societies) recognizing eleven basic color foci. These are what the English

2 Carolyn Graves-Brown, *Dancing for Hathor: Women in Ancient Egypt*. New York: Continuum, 2010. 8

3 The concept of "pharaoh" was masculine—the king was associated with both Horus and Osiris, male gods. When females assumed the role of pharaoh, they were assuming a masculine identity.

4 John Baines, "Color Terminology and Color Classification: Ancient Egyptian Color Terminology and Polychromy." *American Anthropologist*. 87.2 (1985): 289

language uses: black, white, red, orange, yellow, green, blue, purple, pink, brown, and gray. In ancient Egypt, the color foci were more general: red and yellow were characterized as the same color, classified as "warm color" with a focus in red, and blue and green were classified as "cool color" with a focus in green. Middle Egyptian, therefore, had four basic color words: black, white, "warm color," and "cool color." The initial color categories were white (*ḥḍ*), black (*km*), red (*dšr*), and green (*wȝḏ*). Later, blue and green were possibly differentiated in language; thus, Egyptian society moved from Stage III to Stage V while skipping Stage IV.[5]

For such a developmentally "unsophisticated" society, according to the Berlin and Kay theory on color vocabulary, the Egyptians displayed a remarkable skill in color application. While other color words may not have existed, this does not mean that Egyptians only painted with the colors that English recognizes as red, green, black, and white. Egyptians painted with the other colors (with the exception of purple, and in rare instances orange)—they simply referred to them with terms comprising a more general focus.[6] So while a modern observer would describe males as "red" and females as "yellow" in Egyptian art, an ancient Egyptian would look at the different skin colors and describe them both as "*dšr*" ("warm color").[7]

This approach to color understanding generates complicated societal conclusions in an artistic exploration of gendered skin color symbolism. In Middle Egyptian, *ỉnm* means "color," "skin," or "character," implying, linguistically, a symbolic nature of skin coloration.[8] A linguistic approach suggests that while ancient Egyptians did distinguish between genders, they did not consider women fundamentally different than men—both genders' *ỉnm* (color, skin, and character) was of *dšr*.[9] This theory thus translates Egyptian women's "yellow" skin tone as "paler *dšr*" or "a different shade of *dšr*." It distinguishes two categories of color identities (*dšr* and *wȝḏ*) instead of three (red, yellow, and green). These two linguistic color categories are characterized as the living (*dšr*) and the regenerated (*wȝḏ*). Through this nominal categorization, men and women are not differentiated; rather, women and men are like two sides of the same coin. It is therefore unsurprising that there were instances when only one color was used with no gender statement made. It was acceptable, and often the case, to show both men and women with red skin—if one color was to be used, it was red (Fig. 5). This leads to the question: why, then, were there also gendered shades of *dšr*?

The leading theory on why women were typically painted yellow and men were painted red hypothesizes that women were shown as yellow or a paler red because of gender spheres: "painted representations of Egyptian men and women typically show the women lighter-skinned than the men, a convention which suggests that women ideally spent more time indoors."[10] According to Carolyn Graves-Brown in her book *Dancing for Hathor*, this theory is generally accepted, almost for lack of a better one:

> However, there were times, such as during the Amarna Period, when the colour convention was less rigorously applied. Perhaps these were periods when women were more outwardly active, or when colour

5 The term for blue was *ḫsbḏ*, if it is to be understood as a color word independent of its meaning "lapis lazuli." (Baines, 284); in Stage III, languages include four color words: "black," "white," "red," and either "grue" (green/blue) or "yellow." In Stage IV, whichever term the language did not include, "yellow" or "grue" is added. In Stage V, "blue" and "green" are differentiated from "grue."

6 Baines discusses the lack of purple and orange paint: 287-288

7 A modern English equivalent would be the classification of an emerald and a granny smith apple—two objects of clearly different color characters—both as the same color, "green."

8 Baines, 284

9 This is comparable to modern gender theory (though not accepted everywhere), which argues that men and women are not fundamentally different, only biologically different—that gender is socially constructed. It contradicts a large body of accepted gender conceptions spanning many cultures, religions, and time periods. It differs from gender theory in Catholicism, for example, which notes a fundamental difference between men and women that makes women ineligible for priesthood.

10 Betty L. Schlossman and Hildreth J. York. "Women in Ancient Art." *Art Journal*. 35.4 (1976): 349

> symbolism was differently understood, but it is difficult to see a reason—other than the ideal indoor nature of women's work—for the general correlation of women with pale skin colour. Male figures might have been shown darker to draw attention to them; however, one might then expect kings to be shown darker than their subjects, which is not the case.[11]

This observational explanation for the justification of skin color differences oversimplifies gender divisions in Egyptian art and society and, even more importantly, may be incorrect.[12] There is ample evidence that gender distinction was not as black and white (or as red and yellow) as modern attitudes on ancient societies often assume. This theory implies a distinction of spheres, but the relegation of women and men to domestic spheres and public spheres, respectively, probably divides Egyptian society more clearly than was actually the case and contradicts a fluid gender existence. Women were not necessarily a "subjugated sex" shackled by their reproductive role and their inherent obligation to care for children. In fact, men were understood to have the active role in reproduction in ancient Egypt. Infertility was the fault of the man because conception was believed to take place within the man and not the woman; a woman received the child—she did not create it.[13] Women could inherit property, had access to the courts and could sue for divorce, and held occupational positions including king and vizier.[14] Examples of female leaders meant that women could and did exercise power outside the home. There are images of women outdoors as well, partaking in fowling rituals and demonstrating that women performed important tasks outdoors.[15] Furthermore, domestic excavations at Deir el-Medina indicate that in the New Kingdom from the XIV to XX Dynasties (1540-1070 BCE) the home was not *clearly* a female sphere and most likely did not gender space according to room types; women and men performed activities in cohabitation.[16]

However, the subcategorization of *dšr* cannot be ignored; in Egyptian society, there were gender distinctions. That women could inherit property does not mean that they inherited as much as men did.[17] Men more frequently sued for divorce, and the fact that adultery was considered offensive to the adulteress' husband and not the adulterer's wife suggests that men were the dominant partners in marriages.[18] That women were generally depicted in art smaller than their husbands serves as further evidence of gender hierarchy (Fig. 6).[19] The only known instances of women serving as judges are questionable, indicating that the legal system certainly was male-dominated and consequently male-biased.[20]

Similarly, because women could hold positions of power does not mean that they were as powerful as men, who held administrative positions *far* more often than women. There was

11 Graves-Brown, 45

12 The study of gender in ancient Egypt is a relatively new focus in Egyptology and, while research has been prolific in recent years, it is still an underdeveloped field with many unanswered questions. Graves-Brown's book and plenty of other scholars' work are full of admissions of the limitations of their findings.

13 Graves-Brown, 2

14 Graves-Brown, 33; Berenice II, Cleopatra I, and Lady Nebet, wife of Huy, all served as viziers (Graves-Brown, 84); Hatshepsut is the best-known Egyptian female king, but she is one of probably only six female rulers during a 3,000 year period. (Graves-Brown, 4)

15 Graves-Brown, 36

16 For a discussion on this subject, see: Aikaterini Koltisida, "Domestic Space and Gender Roles in Ancient Egyptian Village Households: A View from Amarna Workmen's Village and Deir el-Medina." *British School at Athens*. Vol. 15 (2007): 121-127

17 Graves-Brown, 41

18 Graves-Brown, 43; 42

19 This proportion difference was more than purely observational. True, women are generally shorter than men. However, it was not uncommon to depict wives as children compared to their male counterparts. Thus, the extreme differences in size are symbolic and not simply observational. Egyptian art consistently utilizes a canon of proportion according to importance. (Graves-Brown, 34)

20 Women retained their dowries after a divorce, but the property that the couple accumulated, regardless of fault, was divided so that the woman received a third —if innocent. (Graves-Brown, 41)

something perceived about masculinity in ancient Egyptian culture that made it more compatible with leadership, suggested superiority in a marital relationship, administered justice more effectively, and was conducive to material ownership. The point is that while these four significant examples were more often associated with males, they were not *necessarily* associated with males, and while women were often distinguished from males by their skin color, they were not *always* distinguished from males by their skin color. The only thing that seems to be exclusively male is the ability to confer life—but even that, as will be demonstrated, is not as "exclusive" as it initially appears.

These gender conclusions can be evidenced through analysis of instances of deviation from canonical skin coloration. First, it must be established through art—and not just through language—that skin color is symbolic. The symbolism of skin tone is apparent in the image of the yellow monochrome Nut from the Valley of the Queens in tomb 38 (Fig. 1). QV 38 housed the body of Satre, a royal woman from the XIX Dynasty. Her tomb is decorated with the monochrome style, in which figures and objects are painted the same color: yellow with a red outline.

The primary question supported by this image/style is: why use one color, when all the paints could be afforded and all the workers could be secured to contribute to a polychrome tomb scheme? Also, if one color was selected, why yellow? A pragmatic answer to the "why yellow" question is that yellow was the easiest color to produce because of the availability of the minerals from which it was made.[21] But while this explains the monochrome style elsewhere (in tombs of the less noble and less wealthy), it hardly explains its presence in the tombs of the most royal and most wealthy. Blue was the "most prestigious" color in Egypt according to Baines; though a blue monochrome Nut might be anticipated, Deir el-Medina artisans worked in yellow monochrome instead.[22] To explain this phenomenon, this paper takes a more nuanced approach to interpreting color.

If only one skin color was used, it was red. Thus, because the color yellow was neither financially impressive nor in keeping with Egyptian aesthetics, the *yellow* monochrome here is still unexplained. However, it is *gold*, not yellow, that is indicated by the yellow fill color and red outline of the Nut figure. It should thus be understood that Satre's tomb was not decorated in yellow monochrome—it was decorated in gold monochrome. Like the woman in the poem, the Nut figure in Satre's tomb *becomes* gold. Interpreted by the Egyptian artistic canon, QV 38's Nut was an image from a golden horde, a goddess that "glittered" on the tomb's walls—a powerful aesthetic statement. This makes a powerful symbolic statement. Gold carried significant symbolic connotations in ancient Egyptian culture, as it did in most cultures that had access to it.[23] Because gold does not tarnish, it has an eternal quality to it. Thus, Satre's "golden" images are eternally durable. Because gold has such evocative symbolism, each image is endowed with greater meaning with the application of "gold" paint. The color compliments the idea of the tomb as a place of passage to eternity, and its presence in a tomb makes the monochrome style more aptly described as "gold" monochrome.

The "gold" monochrome Nut, as the sky goddess, has even more complex symbolism. As Susan Tower Hollis points out in her article "Women of Ancient Egypt and the Sky Goddess Nut," while most cultures have a male sky-god and a female mother-earth, the ancient Egyptians had the opposite.[24] Hollis concludes that it cannot ultimately be determined whether the sky goddess was female and therefore the Sun (and stars) became associated with a rebirth cycle or if the rebirth cycle of the Sun necessitated a female goddess.[25] Either way, this causes another deviation from almost universal mythology: the ruler of time (the one who governs the

21 Baines, 286
22 Ibid
23 Manfred Lurker, *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt: An Illustrated Dictionary.* Trans. Barbara Cummins. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1980
24 Susan Hollis Towers, "Women of Ancient Egypt and the Sky Goddess Nut," *The Journal of American Folklore*, 100.398 (1987): 496-499
25 There is a linguistic element to this debate as well, as the word for sky, *pt*, is feminine and the word for land, *t3*, is masculine.

Figure 1: Deir el-Medina, *Monochrome Nut from QV 38*, Valley of the Queens, Egypt, XIX Dynasty (*ca*. 1292-1290 BCE)

Figure 2: detail *The 'Great Royal Wife' and 'Mistress of the Two Lands', Nefertari presents a libation to the goddesses Hathor, Serket, and Maat,* Valley of the Queens, Thebes, Egypt, XIX Dynasty (1295-1255 BCE)

Figure 3: *Shabti*, XIX Dynasty (1292-1190 BC), Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri

Figure 4: *Hathor in the guise of 'Mistress of the West,' and with the headdress-symbol of Imentet, embraces the king in the afterlife,* XVIII Dynasty (*ca*. 1319-1292), Tomb of Horemheb, Valley of the Kings, Western Thebes, Egypt

Figure 7: *The great god Amun-Re depicted in his normal form*, Temple of Sethos I, Abydos, Egypt, XIX Dynasty (*ca.* 1290-1279 BCE)

Figure 5: *The couple Sennedjem and Tyneferti and those whom comprise their direct attendants receiving each funerary veneration on behalf of the official*, Ancient Thebes, Egypt, Tomb of Sennedjem, XIX Dynasty (*ca*. 1268 BCE)

Figure 6: *Nebamun hunting in the marshes, fragment of a scene from the tomb-chapel of Nebamun*, Late XVIII Dynasty (*ca*. 1350 BC), British Museum, London

Figure 8: *Faience shabtis for Maat-ka-Re showing breasts just below the lappets of the wig*, XXI Dynasty (*ca*. 1069-945 BCE), Henry Wallis RWS collection

rising and setting of the Sun) in ancient Egypt was female.[26] The eternal *ỉnm* of this Nut image is a further emphasis on her control of time and her role in post-mortem rebirth.

This example does not prove that women and men were regarded as inherently equal or that gender was not absolutely and simply divisive in Egyptian society; rather, it supports the argument that color, in general, and skin color, specifically, carried highly significant symbolism. In Satre's tomb, eternity and the goal of rebirth are expressed through color in a way that excludes strictly gender-color classifications—conveying "eternal" was of greater symbolic importance in Satre's tomb than conveying "male or female." The nature of art took precedence over division of gender. Having established skin color symbolism in an ungendered context, it is now necessary to examine skin color symbolism in a gendered example.

Gender symbolism—not just gender differentiation—becomes apparent in the color analysis of the famous tomb of Nefertari in the Valley of the Queens, tomb 66 (Fig. 2). Nefertari was a prominent leader alongside her husband, Ramses the Great—a letter to the Hittite queen, Padukhepa, encouraging the signing of a peace treaty is evidence of her political involvement and clout.[27] In her tomb, instead of adhering to the men-red and women-yellow color specification, an irregularity occurs so contradictory to the canon that it is a violation of it: Nefertari is painted with the masculine red. She is the *only* female figure in this tomb's decorative system painted red, so the fact that women were not always painted yellow does not explain her particular coloration. Traditionally, when gender-distinct skin colors were used, they were applied to all figures of the work and not just some. In QV 66, *all* other women besides the owner are depicted with yellow skin.[28] Nefertari is boldly distinguished by her skin, but for what reason? Again, a symbolic interpretation is necessary because other explanations prove unsatisfactory. This time, a gender statement is being made, for the queen is singularly affiliated with the color of masculinity.

As was previously mentioned, the XIX Dynasty is an interesting period of Egyptian history to study for gender concepts, as it witnessed at least one female king and had evidence of individual identity.[29] Nefertari's tomb is also not unique in its coloration, so Nefertari's masculine skin color should not be applied to her personality or political involvement but, instead, to a trend in Egyptian royal thinking (*e.g.* the owner of QV 40 is distinguished in the same way, but she is an anonymous woman). Thus, the red queen uses a distinction of group identity—the masculine red—but applies it to herself in a way that makes it a marker of an altered identity. The anonymous queen of QV 40 and Nefertari do not belong in the same category as the other women in their tombs. They do not belong to a category of men, either.

Instead, Nefertari and the anonymous queen have placed themselves in a new category with women like Hatshepsut: androgynous women.[30] While Hatshepsut utilized gendered symbols such as a beard in her commissions to strengthen her pharaonic claim, Nefertari did not rule as pharaoh. This queen does not possess kingly attributes; she possesses manly ones. This suggests that kingship was not the only androgynous or gender-complex identification in Egyptian culture.

Personhood may have been androgynous as well. Dental analyses have concluded that parents fed girls as well as they did their brothers—a factor contributing to a theory that the life of a daughter was not valued less than the life of a son.[31] Daughters and

26 Hollis, 498-499

27 John K McDonald, *House of Eternity: The Tomb of Nefertari.* Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute and the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1996. 15-16

28 The description of the tomb comes from: Heather Lee McCarthy, "Rules of Decorum and Expressions of Gender Fluidity in Tawosret's Tomb." *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt: 'don your wig for a joyful hour',* Ed. Carolyn Graves-Brown. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2008. 83-113

29 Willeke Wendrich, "Identity and Personhood" *Egyptian Archaeology.* Ed. Willeke Wendrich. United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2008. 201

30 Any parallels to Hatshepsut were probably not executed consciously since her son destroyed many of Hatshepsut's images after her death in the previous dynasty.

31 Graves-Brown, 51

sons grew up to contribute to society in different ways, and it might be through task performance abilities that gender was understood instead of as a facet of personhood. For example, while women were not excluded from kingship, they did not regularly hold this position—something about their gender made them seem less eligible for the task but not incapable of performing it. Gender and performance ability seem to be linked in the same way that gender and color seem to be linked in that neither performance ability nor color is absolutely governed by sex. Perhaps the next logical step is to link color and task performance ability in Egyptian art, as Heather Lee McCarthy does in her article, "Rules of Decorum and Expressions of Gender Fluidity in Tawroset's Tomb."[32]

In a mortuary context, task performance ability relates to the deceased's ability to achieve regeneration. In ancient Egypt, the regeneration of a person was sexual: the sky goddess, Nut, was impregnated by the deceased and then gave birth to the regenerated Osiris. A sexual regeneration of this sort has obvious biological limitations for women, who would be unable to impregnate Nut. But if a woman were able to regender herself and become a man, she could achieve regeneration through an extra, transformative step.[33]

Nefertari is expressing that transformative process in her gender identification. She is the only woman in the tomb undergoing regeneration, and if regeneration and sexual abilities are related, than she is also the only woman in the tomb art who needs to display a complex gender identity. Her red coloration is expressive of her male virility in bringing about her sexual regeneration. Women in the Egyptian culture (unlike in other, later civilizations in general) were understood to have powerful sexualities.[34] Their sexual impulses may have fluidly transferred into male virility in their post-mortem existence. Reflective of her new sexual abilities, the queen is red; nevertheless, she still maintains her female identity (in her dress and form) despite her transformation. The fact that the red queen can maintain her femininity in life, become male, and then revert to a female implies that the identity of the queen is not grounded in her sex.[35] Like the woman in the poem, she can become stars, gold, or male or undergo some other substantive transformation and still maintain her personhood and identity.

These conclusions can be drawn from a symbolic and linguistic analysis of *dšr*: for ancient Egyptians, it was not essential to differentiate between genders; furthermore, gender as a societal construction is not indicative of the sexual capabilities that a dimorphic biological existence indicates.

However, the symbolic interpretation of skin color can easily be explained with more mundane suggestions: Satre and her fellow royals decided to be frugal in paint purchases (though not in anything else), or they just liked the color yellow; Nefertari and the anonymous red queen were hermaphrodites, cross-dressers, or just manly women. While Ockham's Razor is a handy tool of simplification in scientific and philosophical theory, its application to art and culture is usually degrading to the integrity of the work and the development of the society. That gender and its bearing on personhood were *more* complicated than is expressed in this paper is more likely than that gender and its bearing on personhood were *less* complicated in a society that had been developing for at least four thousand years. While contemporary prejudices tending to simplify the past cannot be imposed on ancient Egypt, neither can ideals: gender equality and egalitarian existence were no more realities in ancient Egyptian society than absolute gender spheres.

When linguistically and symbolically analyzed, the blue color of a small, male *shabti* sculpture also yields interesting results

32 McCarthy, 83-113

33 This point is proved by McCarthy in "Rules of Decorum and Expressions of Gender Fluidity in Tawosret's Tomb."

34 Graves-Brown, 49

35 This gender fluidity is not inconsistent with what is known about gender or identity constructions in ancient Egypt. Utilizing linguistics, names and nouns can be analyzed to shed further light on the issue: when a person became pharaoh, he or she adopted a new name and a new identity with his or her new role, while still maintaining the old name and identity. Likewise, a noun does not change meaning when gendered: the *nfrw* and the *nfrwt* are just as ideal, though the *nfrw* are male and the *nfrwt* are female.

(Fig. 3).[36] The *shabti* sculpture is made of faience, which, through the most common Egyptian process, takes a blue color. The material and/or color, presumably, had some importance in the *shabti's* purpose, as this sculpture serves as a forerunner to an important trend in later *shabti* production. *Shabtis* (in the New Kingdom) were small figures buried in tombs that could be animated by the deceased as servants. They were not representations of specific people but people in general (*e.g.* agricultural workers, handmaids, *etc.*).[37] Though the later artisan village of Deir el-Bahari was more prolific in *shabti* production, the XIX Dynasty blue faience *shabti* serves as a precursor to the later standardization of *shabti* sculptures in the Third Intermediate Period (1070-664 BCE). By the time of the Third Intermediate Period, 365 small *shabtis* became the burial norm—one for each day of the year. In the early XIX Dynasty, no more than ten *shabtis* were necessary, and visually, they ranged from polychrome to all shades of monochrome statuary.[38]

The conception behind the *shabti* evolved and changed throughout Egyptian history, as did *shabti* iconography. In the New Kingdom, *shabtis* were understood to be task-performers for the deceased that could be evoked with a Book of the Dead spell, often inscribed on their bodies. They generally had agricultural tools in their hands and baskets on their backs, identifying some as agricultural workers and others as agricultural-worker overseers. They could be either mummiform in shape or dressed in the clothes of daily life (as is Fig. 3).[39] Through their association with vegetation (as agricultural workers) and regeneration (as people animated when needed), it seems as if the natural skin color of *shabtis* should be green. The fact that blue becomes the standard color instead, like all irregularities in Egyptian artistic representation, raises questions.

As skin color in the previous examples was justifiably symbolic, it is securely within the realm of possibility that the color of this *shabti* and later *shabtis* was also symbolic. Certainly, there can be no observational explanations. The only other consistent application of the blue skin tone in ancient Egyptian art is to the god, Amun (Fig. 7). As green skin color is an attribute of the regenerating Osiris, perhaps blue skin tone relates to some quality of Amun.

One attribute of Amun seems to have a particular relation to the *shabti*: his connection with the wind. A feature of the *shabti* is its mode of animation by an incantation—the breath of life quite literally applied through the articulation of speech.[40] This association with Amun is probably not a direct connection but a shared attribute: just as Amun may have been painted blue because of his association with the wind, so, too, the *shabti* may have been painted blue because of its speech-reliant animation. It is a proposition suggested by the symbolic application of color in other instances based on plausibility but, unfortunately, unsupported by ancient or scholarly explanations. If this conjecture is entertained, it creates a peculiar category of *shabti* existence. As the ability to speak is shared by both sexes, a *shabti* is animated in a completely genderless manner. Thus, a biological differentiation between male and female *shabti* is superfluous. However, as Hans Schneider's classification system demonstrates, some *shabtis* did seem to associate with a certain sex: for the *shabtis* dressed in the clothes of daily life, affiliation with one sex was inevitable (Fig. 8).[41] Yet, because sex could have been superfluous to the *shabti's* creation, this affiliation also seems insignificant. The *shabti's* creation and lack of gendered skin tone

36 This statue can be found in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art or online, as part of the project "Echoes of Eternity" at this web address: http://echoesofeternity.umkcedu/index.htm

37 Glenn Janes. "Introduction." *Shabtis: A Private View: Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections*. Paris: Cybele, 2002. xv-xxiii

38 See the appendix to Janes' Shabtis: A Private View, 233-238

39 Janes, xvi-xvii

40 "O, this/these ushebti(s)/ if one counts, if one recons/ the Osiris [Name of Deceased]/ to do all the works which are wont to be done/ there in the God's land—/ now indeed obstacles are implanted therewith—/ as a man at his duties,/ 'here I am,' you shall say when/ you are counted off /at any time to serve there,/ to cultivate the fields, to irrigate the riparian lands,/ to transport by boat the sand of the east to the west/ and vise-versa;/ 'here I am,' you shall say." Janes, xix

41 Hans D. Schneider, *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes, with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*. Ledien: Rijksmuseum van Oudeden te Leiden, 1977

could be evidentiary support of an existence completely disassociated from gender.

Although a sexless existence is intriguing and possible, in a culture so gender-oriented (even if gender-fluid), another androgynous explanation is more likely. According to Robert Steven Bianchi in his essay "Symbols and Meanings," blue faience, *ṯḥnt*, is related to words referring to "luminosity" and "scintillation" and, accordingly, carried symbolic associations with the Sun. Specifically in the case of *shabtis*, Bianchi connects the shiny blue color with the resurrection of the deceased Osiris as the solar deity. The correlation of the blue color of the *shabti* to the Sun and to Osiris is appropriate to the *shabti's* purpose as agricultural worker for the deceased and to the relation of the colors blue and green. Similarly to *dšr*, *w3ḏ* could have encompassed both blue and green—differentiating the *shabti* from the Osiris by a shade of a color definitely associated with the deity also allows for a temporal gender association similar to the one of the red queen. In discussing other blue statuary in mortuary contexts, Bianchi asserts blue faience's ability to arouse both men and women: "Following his murder and dismemberment, Osiris had his sexual prowess restored by Isis, enabling him to father his posthumous heir, Horus; revivified, Osiris became lord of Westerners. The presence of such [blue concubine] figurines in tombs imparts Osirian qualities to the deceased—including women—who are identified with Osiris." [42] Likened to Isis' eroticism, the Sun's brilliance, and Osirian regeneration, blue faience's material/color is feminine and masculine. Thus, the skin color again takes on a sexual dimension, although it is not at all gender discriminative.

The color irregularities analyzed above suggest that interpretation of skin color can carry significant symbolic weight and can make complex arguments on gender and the possible androgynous nature of personhood. Furthermore, they may be applied to explore other forms of existence completely disassociated from gender. The evidence that color was highly symbolic and that a symbolic understanding of skin color did not need a basis in observable phenomenon is demonstrated in the "gold" monochrome Nut of QV 38. This style also suggests that there are *ỉnmw* more important than those of gender distinctions. When gender distinctions in skin coloration did occur, they did not necessarily differentiate the men and women fundamentally; instead, as the red Nefertari of QV 66 demonstrates, there was fluidity between genders that enabled sexual regeneration. Thus, gender was a temporary classification and the essence of personhood should be considered androgynous, as deduced from XIX Dynasty mortuary art and understood as one strain in royal understanding. Belief in the ability to transition between sexes indicates a remarkable gender sophistication. This belief may be supported by one interpretation of the symbolism of blue faience *shabti* sculptures. Though less likely, a different interpretation of blue faience's symbolism applied to other existing beings (*e.g.* blue *shabtis*) can suggest extraordinary modes of existence in which gender is completely arbitrary.

42 Robert Steven Bianchi, "Symbols and Meanings" *Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Faience.* Ed. Florence Dunn Friedman. Providence, Rhode Island School of Design: Thames and Hudson, 1998. 24-25

Bibliography

Allen, James P. "Love Poem." Message to author. 13 November 2012. Email

Arpag, Mekhitarian. *Egyptian Painting*. Trans. Stuart Gilbert. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1978

Baines, John. "Color Terminology and Color Classification: Ancient Egyptian Color Terminology and Polychromy." *American Anthropologist* 87.2 (1985): 282-297

Bianchi, Robert Steven. "Symbols and Meanings." *Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Faience*. Ed. Florence Dunn Freidman. Providence, Rhode Island School of Design: Thames and Hudson, 1998. 22-29

Davis, W.V, Ed. *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*. London: The British Museum, 2001

Gage, John. "Color in Western Art: An Issue?" *The Art Bulletin* 72.4 (1990): 518-541

Graves-Brown, Carolyn. *Dancing for Hathor: Women in Ancient Egypt*. New York: Continuum, 2010

Hollis, Susan Tower. "Women of Ancient Egypt and the Sky Goddess Nut." *The Journal of American Folklore* 100.398 (Oct.-Dec. 1987): 496-503

Hornung, Erik. *The Valley of the Kings: Horizon of Eternity*. Trans. David Warburton. New York: Timken, 1990

James, T.G.H. *Egyptian Painting and Drawing in the British Museum*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986

Janes, Glenn. *Shabtis: A Private View: Ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European private collections*. Paris: Cybele, 2002

Keller, Cathleen. "Royal Painters: Deir el-Medina in Dynasty XIX." *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: The Proceedings of the International Symposium of Ramesses the Great*. Eds. Edward Bleiberg and Rita Freed. Memphis: Memphis State University, 1991. 50-86

Koltisida, Aikaterini. "Domestic Space and Gender Roles in Ancient Egyptian Village Households: A View from Amarna Workmen's Village and Deir el-Medina." *British School at Athens*. Vol. 15 (2007): 121-127

LeBlanc, Christian. *Ta Set Neferou: Une Nécropole de Thebes-Ouest et son Histoire I*. Cairo: Nubar Printing House, 1989

Lorton, David. "The Theology of Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt." *Born in Heaven Made on Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East*. Ed. Michael Dick. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1999. 123-210

Lurker, Manfred. *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt: An Illustrated Dictionary*. Trans. Barbara Cummins. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1980

McCarthy, Heather Lee. "Rules of Decorum and Expressions of Gender Fluidity in Tawosret's Tomb." *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt: 'Don your wig for a joyful hour'*. Ed. Carolyn Graves-Brown. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2008. 83-114

McDonald, John K. *House of Eternity: The Tomb of Nefertari*. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute and the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1996

Milde, Henk. "Shabtis." *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Los Angeles: University of California Los Angeles. 2012

Miles, Elly-Ann. Shabti. 2000. Nelson Gallery Foundation. 27 September 2012 <http://echoesofeternity.umkc.edu/Shabti.htm>

Raven, Maarten J. "Egyptian Concepts on the Orientation of the Human Body." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 91 (2005): 37-53

Robins, Gay. "Dress, Undress, and the Representation of Fertility and Potency in New Kingdom Egyptian Art." *Sexuality in Ancient Art: Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy*. Ed. Natalie Boymel Kampen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996

Schäfer, Heinrich. *Principles of Egyptian Art*. Ed. John Baines. Trans. Emma Brunner-Traut. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1986

Schlossman, Betty L. and Hildreth J. York. "Women in Ancient Art." *Art Journal* 35.4 (1976): 345-351

Schneider, Hans D. *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes, with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*. Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudeden te Leiden, 1977

Wendrich, Willeke. "Identity and Personhood." *Egyptian Archaeology*. Ed. Willeke Wendrich. United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2008

Wilfong, T. G. "Gender in Ancient Egypt." *Egyptian Archaeology*. Ed. Willeke Wendrich. United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2008

Wilkinson, Richard H. *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2003

Christian Conversion: The Spiritual Transformation of Eastern Pagan Structures in Late Antiquity

Alexandra Fallone

The Roman Empire was transfigured on every level through its conversion to Christianity and movement away from traditional pagan[1] religion. This transformation necessarily included deciding how to treat the structures that formerly served as pagan temples and symbols of pagan dominance. While the common practice was either to destroy or to use these pagan buildings in a secular setting, a select few were chosen for conversion. Three structures in particular accurately exemplify the significance of these conversions: the Hall of the Muses at Ephesus (Fig. 1), converted in the fourth century; the Rotunda of Galerius in Thessaloniki (Fig. 2), converted in the fourth century; and the Parthenon in Athens (Fig. 3), converted in the sixth century. While all three buildings had to be altered in similar ways, they were salvaged and converted for different but equally meaningful reasons. In this paper, I will explore these three structures through the historical context of each respective city, the attitude of religion upheld by its citizens, and the physical changes made to each structure. This will demonstrate the significance of structural conversion in the Eastern Roman Empire and establish it as an act of extreme importance to the individual people and culture of each city.

These structures originally served three different functions and were converted to new use: the Hall of the Muses at Ephesus was originally a large marketplace that functioned as the financial center of the city for more than a century before it burned down; the Rotunda of Galerius was originally intended to act as a Mausoleum for the Emperor, Galerius, who served as a *caesar* emperor to Diocletian from 305 to 311 CE; and the Parthenon was originally a large temple for the people of Athens, which was very present in the lives of all of the individual citizens who took part in sacrifices and festivals for Athena at the Acropolis. Compared to the practices of forced abandonment, destruction, or secular use of pagan-built structures, conversion was much less common; therefore, it is important to investigate the psychological attitude of the Christians of the Eastern Roman Empire in order to discover why conversion, and the conversion of these structures in particular, was such a significant act.

Nearing the conclusion of the third century CE, the Roman Empire underwent a change that would permanently mark the end of an era. The emperor Diocletian, fearing that the Roman Empire had grown too large and become too vulnerable to be run by just one man, created the Tetrarchy of the Roman government. This Tetrarchy divided the Roman Empire between the East and West, never to be united again. Along with this important political change came important religious change. Christianity, while persecuted for much of the second, third, and part of the fourth centuries, continued to gain momentum as it made its way throughout the Empire and to the East.

In the Eastern Roman Empire, the full wrath of the Great Persecution against Christians in the early fourth century was in motion. Political conversion to Christianity was more turbulent in the East than in the West; therefore, structures that were converted seemingly possessed a more noteworthy religious, political, and/or social value. The Hall of the Muses, the Rotunda of Galerius, and the Parthenon were selected by the Christian community to be converted because they were particularly significant symbols of authority and prosperity within their own specific cities and were embedded in the visual and social environments of the citizens.

1 While today the word 'pagan' can be used to describe many things, for the sake of fluidity in this paper, I have used the word 'pagan' to describe the Greco-Roman polytheistic religion.

The state of the Christian community in the Late Roman Empire is characterized by the Great Persecution, which lasted from 303 to 311 CE. Within 100 years, Christians went from being imprisoned, tortured, fined, and killed for their religion to conquering the entirety of the Roman Empire as the dominant and only legal religion. Diocletian, who ruled from 284 to 305 CE, issued several edicts throughout the Empire against the Christians. While these edicts were not strictly enforced in the West, the Eastern emperors Diocletian and Galerius enforced them with a fury. Under the provisions of the edicts, churches were destroyed, scriptures were burnt, individual Christians lost their freedom and political influence, church leaders were imprisoned, clergy, along with the entire populace, were physically forced to make sacrifice, and all who refused these edicts were imprisoned or killed.[2] In the wake of these difficult times for the Christian community, an increase in power lead to an increase in uncertainty as to how to treat the people, laws, and structures that were intended to serve a pagan empire.[3]

By the third century CE, the pagan religions, and specifically, the cult of the Emperor, became more of a political tradition than an actual religious belief, described as "a vehicle for a genuine emotion of loyalty to the Empire."[4] As real religious devotion to the gods and emperors began to dwindle, four particular Roman emperors were extremely important to Christianity's rise to power: Constantine, Julian, Theodosius, and Justinian. Constantine, who ruled from 306 to 337 CE, was the first Roman emperor to legalize the practice of Christianity. Although he was not converted until on his deathbed, Constantine played an important role in the development of Christian Doctrine, hierarchy of clergy, and the Ecumenical Counsel of Nicaea from which the central creed of the Christian religion is derived. After Constantine, there was a brief pagan revival by the emperor Julian who ruled from 361 to 363 CE. His failed attempts to restore the former glory of the Greco-Roman pagan religion only further revealed that while society was not yet willing to accept Christianity fully, pagan religion was no longer the dominant belief system; furthermore, he attempted to revive the imperial cult claiming himself to be a god, though his influence was insignificant and his rule, short.[5] Julian's rule was important to the Christian community as an indicator of the weakness of pagan faith and practice throughout the Empire.

After the short-lived pagan revival of Julian, two Roman emperors, in particular, helped to solidify Christianity as the official and only legal religion of the Roman Empire: Theodosius, who ruled from 379 to 395 CE, and Justinian, who ruled from 527 to 565 CE. In 380 CE, Theodosius made Christianity the official religion of the Roman Empire and published the Theodosian Code,[6] which formally outlawed pagan religion. This code is particularly important in the discussion of conversion of structures because it officially states that all pagan temples, art, and writing must be destroyed.[7] The Theodosian Code makes clear that those pagan structures that were preserved must have had some sort of special significance not

2 Paul Keresztes, "From the Great Persecution to the Peace of Galerius." *Vigiliae Christianae* 37.4 (1983): 384

3 This concept of transformation can be compared to Joan Branham's discussion of 'sacred space' in her article "Mapping Sacrifice on Bodies and Spaces in Late-Antique Judaism and Early Christianity." In this article, Branham discusses in depth the concept of sacred space and its development within the landscape of religious communities. She states, "…mapping is relational; the mapping of one entity by means of another redefines and reformulates spaces as well as the participants acting within them." (Joan R. Branham, "Mapping Sacrifice on Bodies and Spaces in Late-Antique Judaism and Early Christianity." *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2012. 205). This concept is particularly important in discussing conversion of architecture because it emphasizes the importance of the people acting, living, and practicing religion within a structure.

4 Arnold H. Jones, "Paganism and Christianity, The Great Persecution." *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press in Association with the Medieval Academy of America, 1978. 305

5 Bart D. Ehrman, and Andrew S. Jacobs. "Christianity in the Imperial House." *Christianity in Late Antiquity: 300-450 CE*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. 50

6 The Theodosian Code was compiled as a complete record of the law in the Roman Empire, not solely concerning the laws surrounding Christianity. (John Matthews, "The Making of the Text." *The Theodosian Code*. Ithica, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993. 23)

7 Ehrman, 58

only to have been saved but also converted into Christian churches. While Theodosius focused on declaring Christianity the official religion of the Empire, Justinian concerned himself with making the Empire a prosperous Christian one. He poured money into Christian building projects and funded churches throughout the East and West, attempting to "restore Rome's venerable glory and give it additional luster as well, as a fully Christian state mirroring the splendors of heaven."[8] Both Theodosius and Justinian played a key role, as well, in the treatment of pagan structures.

Politically, the emperors were fundamental to Christianity's function and power in the Empire; the clergy controlled Christianity on a local level. One particular church historian, Eusebius, captured the essence of Christian attitudes toward structural conversion in his "Panegyric at Tyre" of 315 CE. Tyre, in present-day Lebanon, was an important city in the Eastern Roman Empire. Eusebius's panegyric was given at the consecration of a church that formerly served as a pagan temple.[9] Spiritually, the conversion process relied on three main components, "neutralization, purification, and exorcism of demons."[10] While structural changes were also made in order to accommodate Christian ceremony and congregation, the important part was the cleansing and removal of the evil spirits that Christians attributed to pagan gods. According to Eusebius, God gave permission to convert a structure: "God himself, who comprehends the universe, has granted the distinguished privilege of rebuilding and renewing it to Christ… and to his holy and divine spouse."[11] Eusebius refers to pagan gods as "delusions of their ancestors,"[12] and emphasizes the divine influence in the decision to convert a temple. In reference to God, Eusebius states:

> …he did not overlook this place, which had been covered with filth and rubbish, by the artifices of our enemies; but could not think of giving way to the wickedness of those who were the authors of it, though he was at liberty to go to another place, there being innumerable others in the city; and thus to find a diminution of his labor, and to be relieved from trouble.[13]

Eusebius implies that it requires more work to consecrate a structure that was a temple than to build an entirely new church that requires no special purification. It was not until the 16th century that the consecration of a new church building required anything other than the practice of the Eucharist;[14] however, this was not the case for buildings that existed previously as pagan structures. This analysis is extremely important in recognizing that motivation for converting a building could not have been strictly structural, since the real difficulty of conversion lies in the spiritual process.

The Hall of the Muses, the Rotunda of Galerius, and the Parthenon were all important pagan structures that were converted into Christian churches, whereas a much more common practice of dealing with pagan structures was destruction. Particularly if a temple was located at a desired or convenient location, it was commonly torn down in order to make room for a new and pure Christian church to be built. One notable example of this tendency towards destruction is evident in the establishment of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (Fig. 4).[15] In 325 CE, Constantine

8 Michael Maas, "Roman Questions, Byzantine Answers: Contours of the Age of Justinian." *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 5

9 Christine Smith, "Christian Rhetoric in Eusebius' Panegyric at Trye." *Vigilae Christianae* 43.3 (1989): 228

10 Johannes Hann, Stephen Emmel, and Ulrich Gotter. "From Temple to Church: Analysing a Late Antique Phenomenon of Transformation." *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity.* Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2008. 16

11 Eusebius of Caeserea, "The Panegyric at Tyre." *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, Pamphilus, Bishop of Caesarea*. Eds. Christian Frederic Crusé and Isaac Boyle. New York : Dayton & Saxton, 1842. 407

12 Eusebius, 410

13 Eusebius, 413

14 Béatrice Caseau, "Sacred Landscapes." *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999. 41

Figure 1: Recreation Model of Converted Hall of the Muses, Ephesus, 4th Century CE

Figure 2: The Rotunda of Galerius, Thessaloniki, 3rd Century CE
Photo Credit: Arthur Urbano, PhD

Figure 3: The Parthenon, Athens, 438 BCE

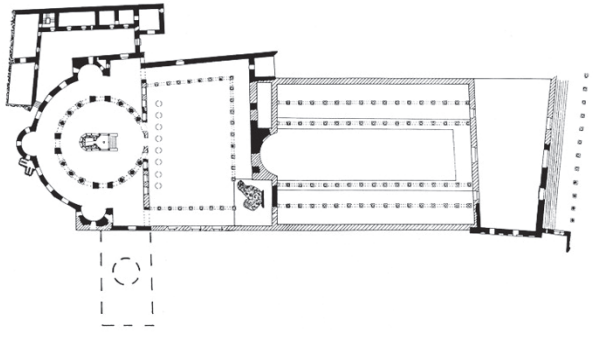


Figure 4: Plan of 4th Century Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, 4th Century CE

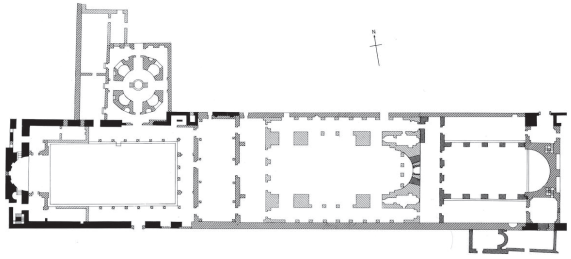


Figure 5: Plan of the 4th Century Hall of the Muses, Ephesus, 4th Century CE

Figure 6: Altar Remains, Hall of the Muses, Ephesus, 4th Century CE
Photo Credit: Arthur Urbano, PhD

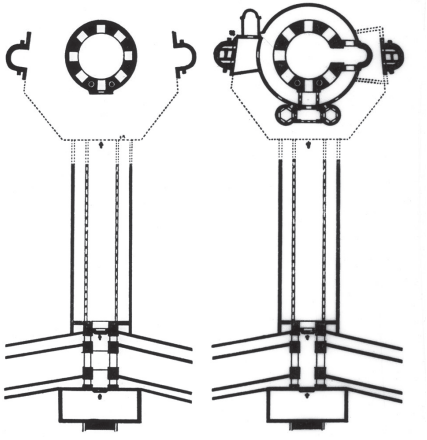


Figure 7: Plan of the Rotunda of Galerius, Thessaloniki, Left - 3rd Century CE, Right - Converted 4th Century CE

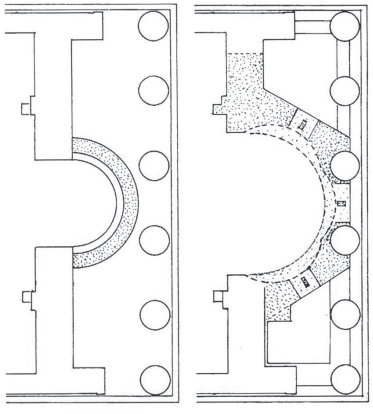


Figure 8: Plan of Construction of Parthenon Altar, Athens, 6th Century CE

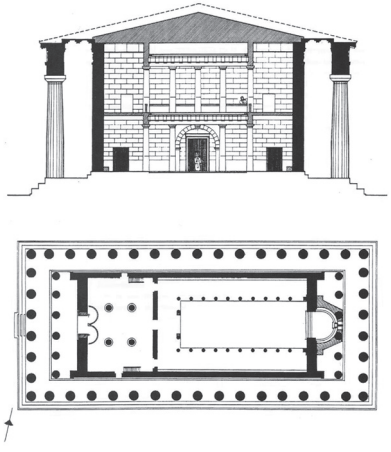


Figure 9: Plan of Converted Parthenon, Athens, 6th Century CE

held the Nicaean Council in order to further the development of church canon and doctrine. The myth surrounding the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre states that Constantine's mother, Helena, a devout Christian, went on a religious pilgrimage to Jerusalem. While there, she found a piece of the True Cross, the cross on which Jesus was crucified. Historically, however, it is documented that Macarius, a Bishop of Jerusalem, attended the Council of Nicaea and informed Constantine that based on tradition, he knew the site of the tomb of the Lord to be under a temple of Aphrodite within the city.[16] Constantine, after hearing the case, agreed to allocate funds to excavate the site and build a new church on it.

Even before the Theodosian Code mandated destruction of temples, Constantine "ordered that it [the Temple of Aphrodite] be demolished; the stone and wooden materials were removed, and the soil was excavated to great depth."[17] While it is tempting to attribute this removal to some sort of spiritual ritual, the soil was removed for logistical purposes.[18] Due to the fact that the tomb was covered, it remained untouched and undamaged throughout the anti-Christian years of the Eastern Roman Empire.[19] Rather than maintaining the Temple of Aphrodite and converting it to a church, excavating around the site, Constantine decided that destruction of the temple was necessary in order to truly preserve the sacred nature of the place.

While the Temple of Aphrodite was not deemed worthy for conversion, the Hall of the Muses was awarded a different fate. The Hall of the Muses at Ephesus predates both the Rotunda of Galerius and the Parthenon in conversion. Ephesus, in present-day Turkey, was an important city in the Eastern Roman Empire due to its geographical location. This city connected two major roads of the ancient Roman Empire, the Persian Royal Road and the *koine hodos*.[20] These roads connected the port cities of the Aegean to interior cities in Asia Minor and further east to important cities such as Alexandria in Egypt. The Hall of the Muses served as a marketplace for the people of Ephesus, but more importantly, it was located at the entrance to the city along these main roads. This marketplace would have served as a prominent attraction, bringing business and wealth into the city of Ephesus. Its location, plan, and size made it an appropriate candidate for conversion. While it once stood as a symbol of the city's prosperity and wealth, through its conversion, it proclaimed the important role of Christianity to the city and replaced the pagan identity of Ephesus.

The early Christian community often feared pagan gods as demons. While on the whole they were superstitious about pagan idols and spirits, the Christians in Ephesus became particularly concerned about the dangers of the pagan world. Even before the Theosodian Code, pagan idols and religion had virtually disappeared from the city.[21] Particularly, images of Artemis, the former patron goddess of the city, were "destroyed or buried on the main street, her name and image were defaced…"[22] Due to the fact that this harsh treatment of pagan images took place before it was legally mandated, it may be deduced that it was for fear of demons: "Belief that they were haunted by demons was common and usually caused crosses or inscriptions to be carved on them."[23] In a city as superstitious as Ephesus, a structure would need powerful significance in order to be preserved and converted. In this case, the prominent location of the Hall of the Muses, its massive size, and its prior

15 The Church of the Holy Sepulchre as it existed in the fourth century was destroyed by a fire in the eleventh century. (Charles Coüasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.* London: Oxford University Press, 1974. 37)
16 Coüasnon, 13
17 Hahn, 114
18 The site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was leveled a century before conversion in order to build a foundation for the expansion of city walls. (Coüasnon, 12)
19 Coüasnon, 12
20 Clive Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity: a Late Antique, Byzantine, and Turkish City.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979. 3
21 Foss, 32
22 Ibid
23 Foss, 35

function and life-giving role as a marketplace were compelling factors in its reemergence in a life-giving role as the house of God.

The foundation of the Hall of the Muses at Ephesus was approximately 853 feet by 98 feet. The structure had an apse at each end (Fig. 6), east and west, and was divided into three aisles by colonnades.[24] The church suffered two fires, one in the late second century CE prior to its conversion and one in the seventh century CE, destroying much of the physical church structure that was rebuilt. While it is tempting to claim that the Hall of the Muses converted in the fourth century is an entirely different structure because the original building was essentially destroyed in a fire, through its conversion, the Hall of the Muses (with the exception of the addition of a baptistery) maintained its original plan (Fig. 4). This structure was for all intents and purposes repaired rather than rebuilt. The floor plan was perfect for accommodating a large congregation, and the size was large enough to make a statement about the power of Christ in His people there. Rather than using another structure that was still intact out of convenience, the Christians of the fourth century in Ephesus, who had been persecuted and martyred in the third century,[25] recognized the Hall of the Muses as an important symbol of prosperity and life and chose to convert it.[26]

Unlike the Hall of the Muses that had to be almost entirely rebuilt, the Rotunda of Galerius in Thessaloniki required few structural changes (Fig. 2). Thessaloniki was a vital city to the Eastern Roman Empire. It is located on the Balkan Peninsula at the mouth of a large gulf, [27] and served as the capital of Macedonia.[28] This meant that in order to reach the Eastern Roman Empire by sea, Thessaloniki was one of the main port cities used. Additionally, Thessaloniki was the site of the palace complex of the emperor Galerius, on which the Rotunda of Galerius was built. It can be assumed that the figure of Galerius was the ironic driving force behind the conversion of this structure for two reasons: first, Galerius was the main catalyst behind the Great Persecution of Diocletian, and second, the structure is unfit for a true Christian congregation or church ceremony.

While Diocletian maintained his role as the *augustus* (head emperor) of the Eastern Roman Empire during the time of the persecution, according to early church historians it was, in fact, the *caesar* (junior emperor), Galerius, who called for the genocide of Christians in Thessaloniki. Diocletian, who issued the edict of persecution himself, had many ties to Christians, as many of his political advisors were Christian.[29] Additionally, the Early Christian historians, Lacantius and Eusebius, on whose writing much of what we know about the early church is based, continually emphasize that Galerius was the true mover of the persecution.[30] Therefore, converting a large structure that was originally intended to be a mausoleum and permanent symbol of an emperor who was unspeakably cruel to the Christians is clearly a complex idea. Returning to the only primary record of a conversion ceremony available, the "Panegyric at Tyre," Eusebius states: "Thinking that the church which had been most assailed by the enemy, she that had first labored in trials, and that had sustained the same persecutions with us and before us —this church, like a mother bereft of her children, should also enjoy with us the mercies and privileges of the all-gracious giver." [31] Here, Eusebius likens the suffering of the church from its adornment with pagan images to the literal persecution of the body of the church, its

24 Foss, 52

25 There are several records of martyrdoms occurring in Ephesus under Decius and Diocletian. (Foss, 36)

26 There are only two other structures recorded as converted at Ephesus. The Temple at Serapis and a large Roman monument were reused as churches. These structures were also in the heart of the city and were staples in the Ephesian cityscape. (Foss, 36)

27 William A McDonald, "Archaeology and S. Paul's Journey in Greek Lands." *The Biblical Archaeologist*. Vol. 3, No. 2 (1940): 22. The American Schools of Oriental Research

28 Laura Nasrallah, *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonike: Studies in Religion and Archaeology*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010. 467

29 Keresztes, 380

30 Ibid

31 Eusebius, 413

people. While the Christians of Thessaloniki conquered pagan rule, they symbolically conquered their persecutor through the conversion of the Rotunda of Galerius.

This notion is further emphasized by the fact that physically, the structure does not fit the paradigm of how an early Christian church should look. While the structure never actually served its function as a mausoleum[32] due to the dramatic political changes in the Empire, construction of the building began in the late third century CE.[33] With a simple circular plan, the building was topped by a dome with a height of about 98 feet, which had nine lunette windows at its base.[34] Through its conversion, the structure underwent several physical changes. The dome was rebuilt, walls were stripped and redecorated, an apse was added to the east, and the niches along the interior of the rotunda were deepened in order to create an ambulatory (Fig. 7).[35]

While the decoration on the dome today is extensively damaged, certain iconographic patterns can be discerned. First, it is important to note that the church was dedicated to Saint George, a martyr of the Christian church who had allegedly served as a Roman general. Coupled with this dedication to a martyr, the decoration of the dome suggests an iconographical plan of the triumph of Christianity. The dome is separated into three circular registers, which were originally decorated with 36 million tesserae.[36] Today, the inner and middle registers are largely damaged and nearly impossible to discern, but small sketches on the clay beneath where the tesserae would have been laid reveal the figure of Christ in the center, seemingly Christ at the *parousia.*[37] This Christ becomes important in understanding the outer ring of the mosaic, which is the best preserved.

The lowest register was originally 18 panels, although only seven remain, containing either two or three robed men in each panel standing in front of an elaborate two-storied architectural setting; moreover, these figures are labeled with a name, an occupation, and a month.[38] While not all of these figures can be identified, many of the names and occupations correspond to documented martyrs from the time of Galerius' rule.[39] The dedication of the church to Saint George and the panels of martyrs seem to be a direct commentary on Galerius for whom this structure was created and by whom it was originally commissioned. The Christ in the center suggests dominance and justice, as Christ is the true judge of all, who will come to separate right from wrong. This comparison between the judgment of Christ and the damnation of Galerius are political and religious statements and account for the decision to transform a structure that was seemingly unfit for a large Christian parish: it was

32 While some scholars such as Laura Nasrallah (Nasrallah, 480) maintain that this structure originally served as a temple to Jupiter based on the plan of the Pantheon, there are several reasons why I have chosen to present this structure as originally intended to be a mausoleum for Galerius. First of all, the Rotunda of Galerius did not have a temple façade like that of the Pantheon, while another rotunda on the palace complex site did. Additionally, the use of a centrally planned rotunda was much more common in the construction of mausoleums than temples that were generally basilica-like. Finally, the political and religious implications highlighted by the existing dome mosaics present a plan of triumph over persecution, with their emphasis on martyrs and the parousia, drawing from imagery of the book of Revelations that makes clear statements about the Christian attitude toward the Roman Empire.

33 Nasrallah, 474

34 Nasrallah, 472

35 Nasrallah, 482

36 Nasrallah, 484

37 In her book *From Rome to Early Christian Thessalonike; Studies in Religion and Archaeology,* Laura Nasrallah reveals what remains are found of the inner register of the dome mosaic. "A silver field, fragment of a gold nimbus, and a cross, which Christ carried in his left hand, a raised right hand—and the mosaicists' preparatory sketch on the bricks," (Nasrallah, 486). These elements combine to present a Christ that according to traditional iconography is a symbol of Christ's triumphant return in his second coming, or the *parousia.*

38 Nasrallah, 486

39 Ibid

polemically compelling.

While the conversion of the Parthenon took place two centuries after those of the Hall of the Muses and the Rotunda of Galerius, it underwent similar spiritual and structural changes. The Parthenon (Fig. 3) in Athens was completed in 438 BCE and was constructed as a temple to the patron goddess of the city, Athena Parthenos. Like many other parts of the Eastern Roman Empire, including Ephesus and Thessaloniki, Athens was resistant to a change in religion; however, Athens held onto this resistance more powerfully and longer than other cities. The Panathenaic Festival, which served as a symbol of the prosperity and importance of the pagan religion and devotion to Athena, was still celebrated until the early fifth century CE.[40] While Athenians tried desperately to cling to their pagan roots, Christianity had been celebrated in Athens since 53 CE when Saint Paul arrived to preach to the people of the city.[41] It was not until the cancellation of the Panathenaic Festival that Christianity began to take its place as a religious and political power.

This conversion of the Parthenon was not without limits. For the Hall of the Muses at Ephesus, the Virgin Mary was likened to and replaced Artemis in the conversion of the city. Similarly, the people of Athens went to great lengths to preserve their pagan gods in the likeness of Christian saints.[42] The sixth century brought this attitude of mutual acceptance to a screeching halt when law mandated the destruction of temples and the last philosophical bastion of learning, the Neoplatonic School, was closed under Justinian in 529 CE.[43] The Parthenon presented the early Christians of Athens with a dilemma. It stood as the symbol of Athenian prominence, pride, and devotion for nearly 1000 years and the Christian community recognized it as an important structure. Despite the fact that new cathedrals and Christian churches were being built with government money on a large scale throughout the city, the Parthenon stood in the way of creating a truly Christian landscape. Therefore, conversion of the Parthenon into a church seemed the only plausible way to promote Christianity and maintain an important part of Athenian history.

While the Parthenon has been largely restored today, it has undergone periods of ruin and restoration up until our own time. Thus, it is nearly impossible to see the physical evidence of what it looked like as a church. There is speculation regarding when destruction and reconstruction actually took place over time due to the site's turbulent history; it is unlikely, however, that the building had been restored to its original character at the time of conversion. While the Parthenon was no longer an active temple following the rule of Constantine, the Panathenaic Festival continued annually through the pagan revival of Julian. After a period of disuse, several large renovations were made to the Parthenon in order to make it appropriate for a Christian congregation. The conversion of the Parthenon is significant not only because of its history as the symbol of the city of Athens, but also because converting it required major structural changes. Justinian funded several building projects of new churches, and specifically, Athens had several large and new cathedrals at the time when the Parthenon was converted. This puts to rest the idea that the transformation of the Parthenon was nothing more than an excuse to take advantage of a pre-built structure.

The foundation and orientation of the Parthenon remained the same throughout the conversion of the site. An apse was placed at the east in order to house an altar (Fig. 8), and a baptistery was added in the northwest corner of the narthex.[44] Walls were set between the columns of the outer peristyle, and doors were added between the narthex and the naos.[45] Working around the columns, everything was changed to give the illusion of a floor plan similar

40 Alison Frantz, "From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens." Dumbarton Oaks Papers 19 (1965): 193
41 Jenifer Niels, *The Parthenon: From Antiquity to Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005: 294
42 Frantz, 188
43 Niels, 297
44 Niels, 304
45 Ibid

to that of a Christian basilica (Fig. 9). The reason for all of these changes was that Christian and pagan religious practices were extremely different. In a pagan religious ceremony, gatherings and sacrifice took place outside the temple. The interior did not need to accommodate a large congregation or movement of a congregation throughout the mass. Therefore, a clear space for worship had to be distinguished in a way that was not required of a pagan temple and those changes were implemented by the opening up of more doors and the addition of walls.

Additionally, the Parthenon was richly decorated with "overtly pagan themes [that] seem to have caused some uneasiness among the Christian viewers."[46] This required the removal and defacement of several parts of the sculptural plan including the metopes of the north and west façades, and the metope, pediment, and cornice of the east façade.[47] Spiritual transformation was not easy, either: "The process of transformation consisted of … three stages: deconsecrating by means of the removal of the cult statue and other pagan trappings; possibly an intermediate period when the building was used as a place of worship without any structural alteration; and finally, architectural remodeling."[48] The building could not simply become a church by placing a cross on the front. While the architecture had to accommodate a Christian congregation, the spiritual atmosphere had to be altered as well.

There were many political, social, and religious components in converting pagan structures of the late antique Eastern Roman Empire into churches. Rather than attributing these conversions to convenience and economic advantage, it is important to examine the few individual structures that were converted and ask the question, why. The Hall of the Muses at Ephesus, the Rotunda of Galerius, and the Parthenon were all built and converted at different times in different places. They were all intended to serve different purposes and varied greatly in structure and size. Due to the rarity of Christian conversion, it is hard to attribute conversion to one specific component that makes a structure worthy; therefore, the only true explanation is that a structure had to carry enormous, multivalent significance to the people of its community.

While the reasons for converting a structure varied greatly, their conversions were equally significant. The Hall of the Muses at Ephesus was not converted strictly for its structural purposes. This is evident in the fact that although it maintained the same plan, it had to be rebuilt entirely from the ground up. The Hall of the Muses was significant for what it stood for to the city of Ephesus. It was a symbol of prosperity, trade, and a source of existence for the people of a city that served mainly as a rest stop between the West and the rest of Asia Minor. The Rotunda of Galerius was meant to serve as a mausoleum to an emperor who persecuted the Christian community. By the time of his death, it became clear that Christianity had become powerful enough that his dream of eliminating it completely as a religion was impossible. While his mausoleum was not practical or large enough to be used for a congregation, the building itself had a special meaning through its conversion. It stood as a symbol for the religious and now political triumph of Christianity and a celebration of the death of their persecutor, Galerius. It was not converted for its structural amenities, but for its spiritual value. The Parthenon is the symbol of the Golden Age of Greece. To the Roman Empire, it remained a symbol of prominence of the city of Athens and a sign of loyalty to the gods and goddesses that the Romans and Greeks shared. In Athens, pagans and Christians existed side by side for much longer than other cities. When pagan practice was finally outlawed, and Athens was redefined as a Christian city, it was reasonable that its great architectural symbol needed to be converted along with it. While the Parthenon had fallen into disrepair, the Christian community resurrected it as a symbol of their prominence, bonding the cityscape of Athens to Christianity in a new way. While many structural changes were made, the integrity of the building remained intact and is apparent even today in its

46 Niels, 306
47 Ibid
48 Frantz, 201

restoration.

Each of these buildings was an extremely important symbol to the city in which it was built. The Temple of Aphrodite in Jerusalem, despite its important relic, was just another temple and, therefore, was destroyed and built over in the form of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Hall of the Muses, the Rotunda of Galerius, and the Parthenon were each a defining monument in the urban landscape of their respective cities and therefore could not be given up. Moreover, the conversion of pagan structures into churches was not simply a reassignment of spatial usage; it was a deeply significant act. More than an attempt to rewrite the inheritance of the Eastern Roman Empire, it was an attempt to inspire the people to acknowledge and embrace their history of struggle and triumph while maintaining their new identity as citizens of a Christian Empire.

Bibliography

Branham, Joan R. "Mapping Sacrifice on Bodies and Spaces in Late-Antique Judaism and Early Christianity." *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2012. 201-230

Caseau, Béatrice. "Sacred Landscapes." *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*. Harvard University Press, 1999. 21-59

Coüasnon, Charles. *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*. London: Oxford University Press, 1974

Ehrman, Bart D., and Andrew S. Jacobs. "Christianity in the Imperial House." *Christianity in Late Antiquity: 300–450 CE.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. 24-67

Eliade, Mircea. "Sacred Space and Making the World Sacred." *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion.* New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1987. 20-65

Eusebius of Caeserea. "The Panegyric at Tyre." *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, Pamphilus, Bishop of Caesarea*. Eds. Christian Frederic Crusé and Isaac Boyle. New York: Dayton & Saxton, 1842. 407-424

Foss, Clive. *Ephesus after antiquity: a late antique, Byzantine, and Turkish City.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979

Frantz, Alison. "From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965): 185-205

Hahn, Johannes, Stephen Emmel, and Ulrich Gotter. "From Temple to Church: Analysing a Late Antique Phenomenon of Transformation." *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity.* Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2008. 13-33

Jones, Arnold H. "Paganism and Christianity, The Great Persecution." *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press in Association with the Medieval Academy of America, 1978. 29-58

Kaldellis, Anthony. *The Christian Parthenon: classicism and pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009

Keresztes, Paul. "From the Great Persecution to the Peace of Galerius." *Vigiliae Christianae* 37.4 (1983): 379-399

Lactantius. "On the Deaths of the Persecutors." *A New Eusebius: Documents Illustrating the History of the Church to AD 337*. London: SPCK, 1987. 271-272

Lynch, Joseph H. *Early Christianity: A Brief History.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. 91-104

Maas, Michael. "Roman Questions, Byzantine Answers: Contours of the Age of Justinian." *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 3-27

MacMullen, Ramsay. *Christianizing the Roman Empire: A.D. 100–400.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984

Matthews, John. "The Making of the Text." *The Theodosian Code*. Eds. Jill Harries and Ian Wood. Ithica, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993. 19-44

McDonald, William A. "Archaeology and S. Paul's Journey in Greek Lands." *The Biblical Archaeologist*. Vol. 3, No. 2 (1940): 18-24. The American Schools of Oriental Research

Nasrallah, Laura. *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonike: Studies in Religion and Archaeology*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010

Niels, Jenifer. *The Parthenon: From Antiquity to Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005

Saradi, Helen. "The Christianization of Pagan Temples in the Greek Hagiographical Texts." *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*. Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2008. 113-134

Smith, Christine. "Christian Rhetoric in Eusebius' Panegyric at Trye." *Vigilae Christianae* 43.3 (1989): 228-247

Vanderspoel, John . "Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History." *University of Calgary Webdisk Server*. University of Calgary , n.d. Web. 12 Oct. 2012. <http://people.ucalgary.ca/~vandersp/Courses/texts/eusebius/eusehef.html>

Vanderspoel, John. "Eusebius, In Praise of Constantine." *University of Calgary Webdisk Server.* University of Calgary, n.d. Web. 12 Oct. 2012. <http://people.ucalgary.ca/~vandersp/Courses/texts/eusebius/eusepraf.html>

Louis Sullivan: Influence and Innovation

Elisabeth Jeffcote

Architect Louis Sullivan (1856-1924) disrupted continuity and tradition, striving to create and define an architectural style unique to America. His contribution to the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, the Transportation Building, boasted evidence of the scientific and technological innovation and progress reached by Americans up to that point in history (Fig. 1). The exterior of this building reflected these accomplishments through Sullivan's inventive architectural approach that contrasted dramatically with the surrounding buildings comprised of the stylistically classical, white buildings also built for the Fair.

Over the course of his career, Sullivan accomplished his goal of creating a new style of American architecture and is accepted by scholars as well as the general public as the father of modern American architecture—his innovative genius cannot be denied. However, through formal and historical examination of the Transportation Building, traces of Sullivan's studies of classical architecture, either directly from the ancient past or its translations in the Renaissance, can be found. The Transportation Building, which is thought to be a typically groundbreaking piece of new American architecture, can also be seen as a culmination of Sullivan's studies of classical architecture in terms of its plan, its use of classical vocabulary (columns, arches, domes and entablatures), its specific relationships with classical and Renaissance architecture, and Sullivan's conscious attempt to evoke the spirit of Michelangelo. As such, it will be demonstrated that the foundation of Sullivan's innovative approach rested on a melding of the old and the new.

Sullivan's Transportation Building was a rectangular block pierced in the center with a raised rectangular roof (Fig. 1). The building stood at over one hundred feet tall, higher at the roofline. Behind the rectangular block was an expanding trapezoidal annex with the dimensions of 425 by 900 feet.[1] The dome and the doorway were pulled out from the flatness of the massing (Fig. 2). These two features punctuated the middle of the building's façade. A dome, consisting of a hexagon rested on top of another hexagon and capped with a hemisphere, sat on top of the Transportation Building marking the center of the Golden Doorway. The doorway began as an arch over the entrance to the Transportation Building. Five additional arches were layered on top of the preliminary arch creating a massive archway supporting an entablature, a decorative tympanum and surrounded on three sides by a decorative frame. The entrance of the Transportation Building rose 70 feet tall and was 100 feet wide. Reticulated across the façade of the Transportation Building was an attached colonnade of thirteen columns, arches and windows on each side of the doorway. This pattern continued around the sides of the structure.

The roof and general massing of the Transportation Building were simple in form, especially compared to the highly ornate decoration of the surface of the structure. Architectonically, the Transportation Building was erected from a traditional plan utilized throughout history for the construction of various buildings ranging from classical basilicas[2] to 19th century French train sheds[3] (Fig. 3). It did not employ a completely innovative approach but rather relied on the past for stability. The interior of the building relayed this point as it consisted of a long, wide and tall center lane (Fig. 4). To each side of this was a narrow, short aisle. The building was two stories, supported by columns on the first floor and arches on the

1 Hugh Morrison, *Louis Sullivan: Prophet of Modern Architecture.* New York: Museum of Modern Art and W.W. Norton, 1935. 274
2 Robert Twombly, *Louis Sullivan: His Life and Work.* New York: Viking, 1986. 263
3 Twombly, 260

second.

Though he did not comment on it, Sullivan must have experienced, or at the very least learned about, the Crystal Palace while he was in London (Fig. 5). The Crystal Palace was in the Beaux-Arts style that demonstrated the neoclassical approach taught at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, but was merged with innovative cast-iron and plate-glass materials. It was erected to house the 1851 Great Exhibition in London. Sullivan was instructed by Daniel Burnham, who was in charge of the design, erection and management of the World's Fair, to use this building as a means of inspiration and measure with which to create his own piece of architecture. Furthermore, the marriage of old and new connects the two.[4]

Sullivan's experiences in Europe had a heavy influence on his approach to architecture. Before he set out for Europe, he had already established himself in Chicago. He returned to the city from his travels with the promise of work by architect John Edelmann. While working for Edelmann, Sullivan was commissioned to paint a fresco within the Moody Church.[5] The completed work, a smashing success, relied heavily on Michelangesque musculature and dynamic movement of the human body. Sullivan learned these painting techniques through his studies at the École des Beaux-Arts. His skills as an artist accounted for his great interest in the surface ornamentation of the Transportation Building. Chicago was left in shambles in the wake of the Great Fire of 1871, making it a hotbed of architectural activity. In 1882, Sullivan's work with the Moody Tabernacle and finally with his own firm, Adler & Sullivan, catapulted him into the spotlight.

The pinnacle of success for the firm of Adler & Sullivan was its Auditorium Building completed in 1889 (Fig. 6). This structure was innovative in its composition. It was a mixed building complex comprised of a theater, hotel, office building and numerous shops, the complexity of which America had not seen before.[6] Sullivan transferred onto his structure strong, solid and simple exterior qualities. Sullivan designed the interior of the Auditorium Building as per his personal style of detailed ornamentation (Fig. 7). The multifaceted makeup of the Auditorium Building was groundbreaking not only in the field of architecture but also for the city of Chicago. By erecting such an innovative and complex structure, Adler & Sullivan put Chicago on the cultural map. It was largely thanks to them that in 1890 Chicago was chosen to host the World's Fair.

The Fair celebrated the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' triumphant voyage to America and the great accomplishments of Americans. Daniel Burnham assembled an ambitious team. Based on Adler & Sullivan's then famous name, the firm was selected to assist in designing the dazzling array of architectural wonders that Burnham dreamt of for the project. His vision for the Fair was to have an entire city, all uniform and tidy white, constructed in Jackson Park at the city center of Chicago.[7] The "White City," as it was called, would consist of ten separate buildings housing and exhibiting various genres of American achievements. Unfortunately for Daniel Burnham, Sullivan was not one to follow direction. After much dispute, Burnham allowed Sullivan to create his own building plan, and the resulting design was a building that deviated boldly from Burnham's intention.

Sullivan's justification for his renegade design was that because the building was nonpermanent, the construction materials were not stable enough to manipulate into the white marble buildings Burnham expected. All of the Fair's other architects had been able to generate the impression of white marble buildings, but on this, Sullivan took a stand. Sullivan made an honest attempt at temporary architecture by sticking to a basic design plan using commercial materials while giving the building an artistically rich polychrome façade.[8] Sullivan's approach to architecture was to treat each of his buildings as a personal project and give every one its own

4 Morrison, 181
5 Twombly, 70
6 Twombly, 140
7 Norm Bolotin and Christine Laing, *The World's Columbian Exposition: The Chicago World's Fair of 1983.* Urbana: University of Illinois, 2002. 31
8 Twombly, 263

sense of dignity in design.

Aside from the building's extraordinary exterior decoration, the Transportation Building was reminiscent of an enormous train shed both inside and out, such as those built in Paris in the 1860s (Fig. 3).[9] The train shed was a relatively new form of architecture, and was a particularly apt form for a fair building that celebrated means of transportation. Moreover, it may be assumed that Sullivan, during his year spent in Paris, utilized the city's public train system; the Gare du Nord, Paris' north train station, has strikingly similar qualities to Sullivan's design.

Beginning with the exterior, both façades consisted of a great wall erected through the use of columns, entablatures and enormous, gaping windows. On the inside (Fig. 4), much like the train shed, the Transportation Building was long, narrow and divided into three sections consisting of a broad middle lane with an aisle running along each side of it. The broad central aisle rose higher than the outlying aisles, like a nave. So while one might be tempted to credit the Gare for inspiring the interior of the Transportation Building, Sullivan was clear about his source—it was ancient: "[the interior] is treated much after the manner of a Roman basilica, with broad nave and aisles. The roof is therefore in three divisions. The middle one rising much higher… and its walls are pierced to form a beautiful arcaded clerestory."[10] The presence of his transparent motives makes it evident that Sullivan did, in fact, utilize a classical approach during the structural design of his building.

The entrance to the Transportation Building is possibly the most well known component of the building and also of Sullivan's career. It earned its own name, the Golden Doorway, largely because of its coloring but also because of its grandeur (Fig. 2). The Golden Doorway was a monumental declaration of Sullivan's individuality. Standing broad, tall and bold, the Golden Doorway greeted visitors at the main entrance of the building. The colors of the façade, along with the doorway of the Transportation Building, caused quite a stir and ultimately lead to the assessment that Sullivan's design was the most forward-looking of all buildings at the Fair.

More than an innovative or idiosyncratic element, the completed Golden Doorway was an obvious polychromatic criticism of the uniformity of Burnham's World's Fair. Sullivan worked purposely against Daniel Burnham's guideline of designing structures reminiscent of the pure, white, neoclassical buildings of the past. Nonetheless, the doorway still evoked the classical past. In its most basic and general form (a large arch) Sullivan worked with classical vocabulary, even as he made it his own. Similarly, to top the building off with an entablature made it clear that Sullivan was prepared to use recontextualized classical language.

The dome that sat atop the Transportation Building is a further classical reference. Sullivan was well aware of the great popularity and long tradition of the form of the dome, especially in Rome and Florence where he had spent much time.[8] Sullivan, therefore, erected a dome atop the Transportation Building but made it smaller and more modern-looking. This dome is a perfect example of Sullivan's appropriation and adaptation of the classical past to his own aesthetic. Its scale, rigid sides, and abutment of geometry gave the impression of innovation. However, Sullivan's dome seemingly had its foundation in classicism, similar to the rest of his building.

During his stay in Florence, Sullivan must have come into contact with the Medici Palace (1445-60); for the colonnade that existed on the façade of the Transportation Building was a near replica of the Medici Palace. However, the structure itself could not be more different from Sullivan's plan for the Transportation Building. Designed as a cube, the palace is the prime example of Renaissance architecture and spirit, emphasizing the importance of methodic thought and sensibility in design. Built during a time of classical revival, the Medici Palace contains replications of ancient Roman architectural elements. Upon entering the Medici Palace,

9 Twombly, 260
10 Louis Sullivan, *The Autobiography of an Idea*. New York: Dover Publications, 1956. 184
11 Twombly, 73

Figure 1: The Transportation Building, Chicago, Illinois, 1893 (Destroyed)

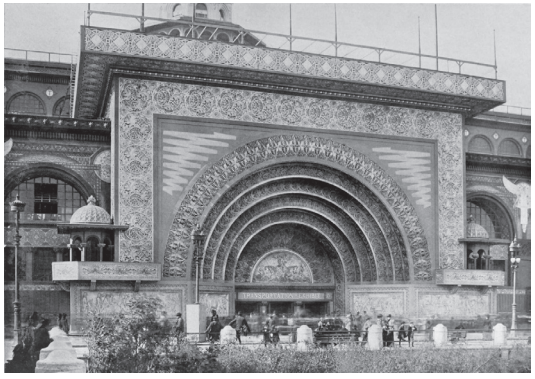


Figure 2: The Golden Doorway, the Transportation Building, Chicago, Illinois, 1893, (Destroyed)

Figure 3: Jacques Hittorff, Gare du Nord, Paris, 1864

Figure 4: Interior of the Transportation Building, Chicago, Illinois, 1893, (Destroyed)

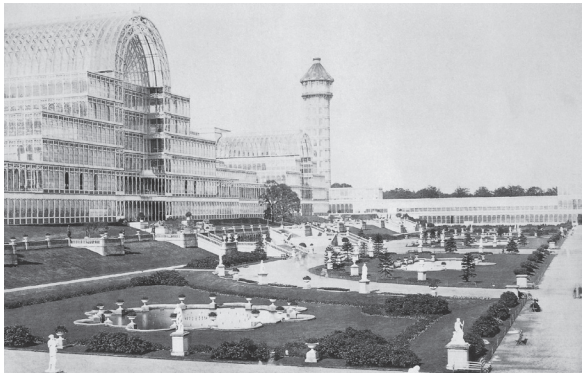


Figure 5: Joseph Paxton, the Crystal Palace, London, 1851

Figure 6: Adler and Sullivan, the Auditorium Building, Chicago, Illinois, 1889

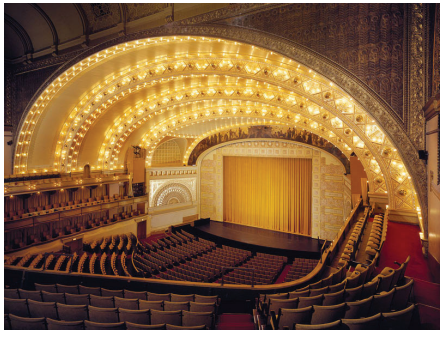


Figure 7: Interior of the Auditorium Building, Chicago, Illinois, 1889

Figure 8: Detail of the Transportation Building, Chicago, Illinois, 1893, (Destroyed)

one is greeted by an interior open courtyard that extends vertically for all three stories of the building. An airy colonnade lines the perimeter of the courtyard. Columns topped with Corinthian capitals support the arches to complete the walls. A continuing frieze fills in the empty spaces between arches and unites them as a square. Resting atop this element is another frieze, which is much more ornately designed. On this row above each arch exists a circle containing a symbol of the Medici family. A wreath that follows around the track of the frieze then connects the circles. Elementally classical, the courtyard of the Medici Palace boasts the importance of classical Renaissance detail in surface ornamentation as well as basic vocabulary.

As linearity orchestrated the colonnade of the Transportation Building, it is almost as if the Medici arches had been taken from the Palace and inserted directly onto the façade of Sullivan's building. However, acknowledging the similarities between the two buildings does not proclude their organizational differences. The dimensions of Sullivan's arches were much larger, stretching nearly to the top of his one hundred-foot high building. Above these arches was a decorative scene extending the length of the building. Similar to the placement of the Medici seal, between each arch is either an angel or a circle containing the name of a great American inventor. Instead of providing support, as they do in the Medici Palace, the columns existed within the umbrella of the giant arch and were half its height. Corinthian capitals did not top these arches; instead, they were finished off with a stunted, undecorated capital immediately met with an entablature. As in the Medici Palace, the entablature was a decoratively adorned frieze. Thus, Sullivan modernized and re-ordered the elements of the Medici Palace courtyard and incorporated them onto the façade of his building for the Fair.

Without question, Sullivan's most enlightening experience abroad was in Rome where he went to study the work of Michelangelo. Upon entering the Sistine Chapel, Sullivan fell in love with Michelangelo's art and persona. Here he "…came face to face with his first great Adventurer… the first mighty man of Courage. The first man with a Great Voice."[12] Sullivan spent only three days in Rome, two of which were consumed completely by time spent in the Sistine Chapel. *The Last Judgment* possessed him, and he believed himself to be having a personal experience with the spirit of Michelangelo. He was convinced, wrongly, that the great artist had completed this work freehand without prior planning.[13] Attempting to be the Michelangelo of American architecture, he sought to channel inspiration from his understanding of artistic originality, unapologetic courage, and triumph into the Transportation Building.[14]

Evidence of Sullivan's deep respect for Michelangelo as an artist was apparent in the most innovative component of his Transportation Building: the façade. Contrasting with the simplicity of the interior, the exterior boasted dazzlingly painted walls and three-dimensional sculptures. Flanking the main entrance on each side were the thirteen connected arches surrounded by highly decorated and detailed murals. To enliven it further, Sullivan ornamented the exterior of the Transportation Building with molded low reliefs and bold coloring (Fig. 8). Using the façade of a building as if it were a blank canvas was not common in architecture of the late 1800s. Sullivan, however, utilized the principle of merging his innovative genius with classical Renaissance inspiration to design an overpoweringly ornate external surface.

The Transportation Building sprung up from the ground in multicolored wonder. Made of polychrome, it boasted the boldest reds, greens and yellows. Something of this can be attributed to the interest in Islamic design that emerged in the 19th century, especially its highly patterned, abstract designs. However, the surface of Sullivan's building maintained a theme that referenced the Renaissance. The Transportation Building displayed images of angels,

12 Sullivan, 118
13 Twombly, 71
14 Twombly writes: "But most important of all, he realized [in Rome] his life's purpose: to be another Michelangelo, to develop his own Power—now an operative concept—and from it his art" (Twobly, 73)

wreaths and seals. He created images that Michelangelo and other Renaissance architects might have impressed upon a building had they ever painted a building's exterior.

Sullivan's Transportation Building was designed at a time in his life when he had made a name for himself as a great innovator. Through his work with the firm Adler & Sullivan, he had reached his goal of creating a new American architecture that had no obvious architectural dependence on the past. The Transportation Building, designed for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, was widely regarded as revolutionary in its architecture. The building, and the man who created it, exemplified in the New World the invention of a new and unique type of architecture that was nevertheless reliant on traditional influences. Sullivan's work with the World's Fair is a symbol of his merging of the old and the new. The Transportation Building represented a marriage of classical architecture and new American architecture, in which each individual element of the building revealed itself to be deeply rooted in the past and imaginatively adapted to the present. It is in these terms that Sullivan's great creative genius can be redefined.

Bibliography

Boltin, Norm and Christine Laing. *The World's Columbian Exposition: The Chicago World's Fair of 1983*. Urbana: University of Illinois, 2002

Girouard, Mark. *Cities & People: A Social and Architectural History.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985

Glancey, Jonathan. *Modern World Architecture*. London: DK Publishing, 2006

Larson, Erik. *The Devil in the White City: Murder, Magic and Madness at the Fair That Changed America*. New York: Crown, 2003

Miller, Donald L. *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996

Morrison, Hugh. *Louis Sullivan: Prophet of Modern Architecture.* New York: Museum of Modern Art and W.W. Norton, 1935

O'Gorman, James F. *Three American Architects: Richardson, Sullivan, and Wright, 1865-1915*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991

Sullivan, Louis H. *The Autobiography of an Idea*. New York: Dover Publications, 1956

Twombly, Robert C. *Louis Sullivan: His Life and Work.* New York: Viking, 1986

Tranformations and Disappearances: The Presence of the Artist in the Work of Francesca Woodman

Michael Rose

The photos that Francesca Woodman created during her short life (1958-1981) are at once striking and subtle, often provocative but also playful. There is a constant character of exploration that defines her work. Among all of the themes and concepts Woodman plays with in the work, there are two shared traits that seem particularly pre-eminent: the dual themes of transformation and disappearance. These themes are often explored through images of her body's relationship with intensely textured interior spaces, the surfaces of which are deeply reminiscent of those so often photographed by her professor at the Rhode Island School of Design, Aaron Siskind. These traits are present throughout much of her work, specifically in the works she created of herself. This fact has caused many viewers to question the relationship between her often hauntingly styled photos and her eventual suicide that took place in New York in 1981. By investigating a small selection of Woodman's self-depictions, it is possible to re-contextualize the themes of transformation and disappearance as central to the development of feminist art of the 1970s, rather than exclusively indicative of Woodman's much-discussed psychological state.

Woodman was a prodigious maker of self-depictions. These images, which were created regularly throughout her career, give the viewer a multifaceted depiction of the figure Woodman seeks to portray. Created nearly exclusively in black and white and often bearing evidence of the photographic process, these images are haunting in the simultaneous likeness and unlikeness they create of Woodman. Though Woodman is physically present within these works, the images break from the historical tradition of "self-portraiture" in a variety of ways. There is no visual claim that these images are depicting the artist as one may find in earlier prototypes where artists often portrayed themselves with the tools of their trade. For instance, in the self-portrait of seventeenth century Dutch painter Judith Leyster, the artist makes a concerted effort to depict herself in the role of an artist. Leyster leans back jauntily in her chair and holds out the instrument of her craft, her paintbrush. A canvas representing her productivity is seen in front of her as she engages the viewer with her gaze. This conceit is not relevant for Woodman who, working in the mid-twentieth century, would have seen the art-making process quite differently from her seventeenth century counterpart. Woodman, as a student, is said to have used herself as the model for her works mainly due to the convenience of the practice.[1] This theory suggests that the content of the works would have been identical had Woodman been able to easily procure models aside from herself. In this way, she projects onto herself and performs herself what she would have asked of other people, acting as an orchestrator of movement and performance.

The concept that Woodman was not interested in portraying herself personally in these images is supported by the basic definition of what an artist is that was instilled in Woodman at an early age by her parents. Woodman was born into a family of artists. Her mother Betty was a ceramist and her father George was a painter. Her parents were focused on their work and in a recent documentary, *The Woodmans*, directed by Scott Willis, they stressed the seriousness they conveyed to their children about their profession.[2] In that same documentary, the couple also points out that they always promoted the idea that artist intention should be removed from the art-making process. This is significant because Woodman would likely have absorbed that idea from a young age. Woodman's up-

1 Peggy Phelan, "Francesca Woodman's Photography: Death and the Image One More Time." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 27.4 (2002): 979-1004
2 *The Woodmans*, Dir. C. Scott Lewis. Perf. George and Betty Woodman. Lorber Films, 2011

bringing in a home so dedicated, not only to the concept of making things, but also to being this type of artist, is important.

As a child, Woodman often visited museums in Italy, where her family had a home. While in the museums, her parents would give the artist and her brother sketchbooks and allow them free rein of the expansive collections.[3] Woodman recorded the images of women she saw in the collections of European museums, and in that way, began to form an understanding of how women were presented throughout the canon of art history. She began taking photos at the age of 13, commencing with an image of herself, with an amateur camera given to her by her father. Soon, her father noticed that her interest in photography had expanded greatly and she had developed a voracious appetite for creating images. In spite of this self-interest, Woodman's experiments are unrelated to her own personality as evidenced by the stylistic interpretation considered by many leading scholars. In *Bachelors*, her important collection of essays, Rosalind Krauss points to Woodman's works as answers to universal questions of how images are made.[4] In this way, then, Woodman's images must be understood as a diary of conceptual concerns rather than a collection of self-representations grounded in her emotional states or activities. This fact is evidenced further upon careful inspection of the visual structure of works throughout her production.

In Woodman's *House* series, completed during her undergraduate years at the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence (1975-1979), the artist is seen transforming herself and disappearing into the environment. She is subsumed by the house, encompassed in it, and made a literal and structural element in the space. In *House #3* dating to 1976, Woodman is seen in the derelict parlor of a decrepit home in Providence (Fig. 1). The plaster walls of the room collapse onto a floor buckled by age and water infiltration. Woodman's scurrying movement is captured by a long exposure as she slides down the wall just beneath the bright light of a window. Woodman looks frightful and ghost-like. She moves away from the viewer in an apparent effort to escape and her body is seen turned towards the viewer's right. Above her is the window, which, along with a window at left, provides the only illumination for the space. Perhaps she is not only escaping the viewer, but also ducking out of view of someone outside. In the foreground, there is something curious: on the plane of the floor, there is a clear photographic anomaly where it appears that a single rectangular space has been "dodged" in the printing process. Around this box is the halo of a photographic burn. The diagonal box creates an avenue by which the viewer is able to travel directly to Woodman's figure. This method of printing points in an interesting way to Woodman's process, which has been cited by at least one colleague as "sloppy."[5] Intentional or not, however, this anomaly provides more depth to the image and serves as a reminder to the viewer that this is, in fact, a product of the artistic process, rather than an illusion of reality.

In the fourth image of her *House* series, taken in the same location as the third, the artist begins literally to form a relationship with the physical space (Fig. 2). The room is now tilting. The right-hand side of the space rises up while the left slides away. The mantel, seen from a different angle in the third image, has now become detached from the hearth. Woodman positions her body behind the architectural fragment. Her legs splay out, one on either side of the mantel frame. Woodman shakes and spasms while her movements are captured by the magic of the long exposure. This reprisal of the act of movement also seen in the third image resembles a performance caught on film. The camera once again halts her movements and she is once more frozen in the dilapidated room that itself seems to jerk and sway to the rhythm of her body. The dark and threatening opening of the fireplace is counterbalanced by the light of the windows, but there is a tension between the two as the light brings one leg forward and the dark swallows up the other. Unlike the third image, the fourth does not allude so directly to the photographic process but, instead, takes advantage of the capacity for story-telling that the photograph offers. It is now clear in both works that Woodman is being taken over by the house. This take-

3 Lewis, *The Woodmans*
4 Rosalind E. Krauss. *Bachelors.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999
5 Stephan Brigidi. Personal interview. 11 July 2012

over points to a fascinating trope in the larger context of feminist art production.

The theme of the woman in relation to the domestic space of the house is a rich metaphor, particularly when viewed through the lens of second-wave feminism. The noted scholar Linda Nochlin raises the issue that in most of the canon of art history, women were defined in the visual tradition, at least in part, by their "defining domestic and nurturing function."[6] The concept of the woman's relation to the home is explored in depth in Woodman's *House* images in a way that strikes a different tone. This is unlike works such as the 1947 image *Woman House* by French sculptor Louise Bourgeois in which the female body appears to be trapped within the cage of the domestic space (Fig. 3). Woodman uses the medium of photography to portray the woman as a transformative figure who is negotiating her relationship with the domestic space. While Bourgeois' woman is an inmate, Woodman's is transitioning into becoming a part of the house. While the figure in *Woman House* appears to be stuck inside a house, the figure in Woodman's imagery exercises the option of disappearing or transforming.

The fact that Woodman disappears into the background of a house is significant. Many authors have cited this element of Woodman's imagery as important to what would, after her death, be particularly associated with the feminist interrogation of woman as domestic captive.[7] In the 1970s, at the height of the development of second-wave feminist theory, this theme becomes increasingly important. Woodman's interest in the status of a woman within the domestic space at this same time is telling on several fronts: it evidences Woodman's familiarity with feminist art and theory, and it enables the viewer to read the disappearance of the artist as a fact that is unrelated to her later suicide, a factor which scholars have tended to read back into her work. Woodman should be understood to be playing out the role of all women in her disappearance into the domestic space, which is differentiated from earlier works such as Bourgeois' in her active struggle against it. This notion of disappearance into other spaces continues to appear in her works, including similar projects created while she was a student.

In her *Space 2* series of 1977, another project from her years at RISD, Woodman is enveloped once more by the fabric of the house (Fig. 4). In a similarly ancient-looking room, Woodman's body transforms yet again. She becomes a chameleon against the decaying wall. Her head is not visible in the picture plane, and her breasts and lower body are covered by the remnants of wallpaper that have detached from the wall in front of which she stands. Her stomach and feet are bare and visible, forming an interesting counterpart to her covered torso and legs. The image is striking for several reasons. It shows Woodman still, unlike the images of the artist in motion in the *House* series. Here, without struggle, Woodman literally begins to embody the architectural space by applying herself to its surface. While the previous images could be classed as transformations insofar as they display Woodman changing before the eyes of the viewer, this image presents the artist as a static element of the house. The sight of woman becoming object, particularly in regard to the bark-like wallpaper that covers her, calls to mind the ancient myth of Daphne, who, fleeing from Apollo, was transformed into a tree to escape his grasp. As Daphne takes on the identity of a tree in Greek myth, so Francesca takes on the identity of the house. This may be the first allusion to a classical story that Woodman will later reprise in a much more direct and literal way. Here, though, the viewer can see the foundations of this stylistic curiosity, which continues throughout her work. The series of images from *Space 2* continues with more exploration of transformation in a reprisal of the active performance from earlier works.

In another image from *Space 2* (Fig. 5), Woodman returns to a study of the transformation of the artist's body by way of long exposure, a technique that is at once lively and anxiety-provoking, and that, by virtue of its many appearances in her production, Woodman clearly enjoyed. In this image, the artist shakes her head before the open lens of her camera. Her face disappears and her

6 Linda Nochlin. *Women, Art, and Power: And Other Essays*. New York: Harper & Row, 1988
7 M. Catherine De Zegher. *Inside the Visible: An Elliptical Traverse of 20th Century Art In, Of, And From the Feminine*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996

Figure 1: Francesca Woodman, *House #3*, 1976

Figure 2: Francesca Woodman, *House #4*, 1976

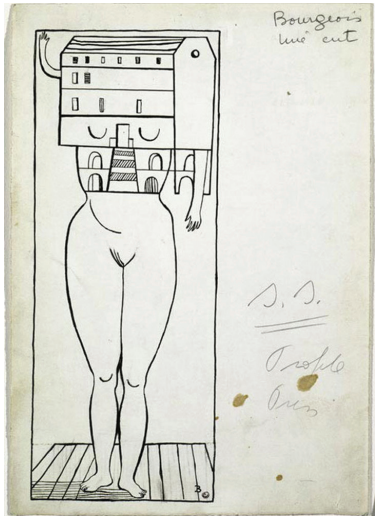


Figure 3: Louise Bourgeois, *Femme Maison*, 1947, Museum of Modern Art, New York

Figure 4: Francesca Woodman, "Untitled" from *Space 2* series, 1977

Figure 5: Francesca Woodman, "Untitled" from *Space 2* series, 1977

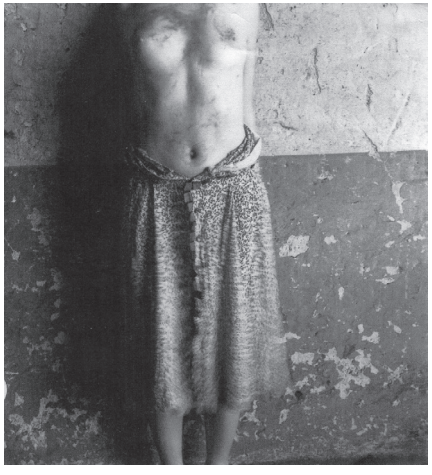


Figure 7: Francesca Woodman, "Untitled" from *Roma series*, 1977-78

Figure 6: Francesca Woodman, "Untitled" from *Space 2* series, 1977

Figure 8: Aaron Siskind, *Chicago*, 1948

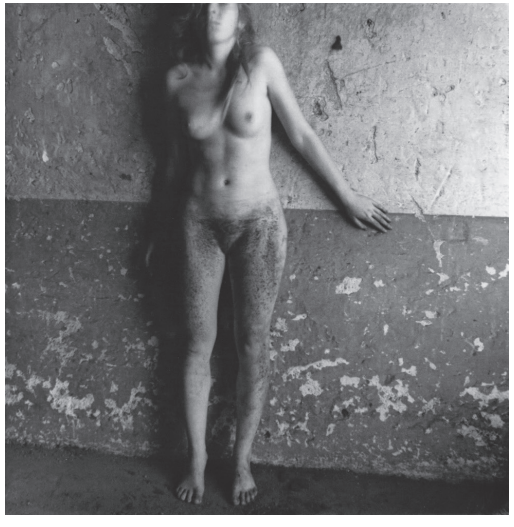


Figure 9: Francesca Woodman, "Untitled" from *Roma* Series, 1977-78

Figure 10: Francesca Woodman, *Untitled*, 1979

Figure 11: Francesca Woodman, Detail from *Daphne* series, 1980

Figure 12: Ana Mendieta, "Untitled" from *The Tree of Life* series, 1977

Figure 13: Francesca Woodman, *Caryatid*, 1980

head becomes an abstract mass on a clear, present, and sharply delineated body. In another, similar image from the series, Woodman lurches her body forward (Fig. 6). These works, like the early *House* images, are focused on showing movement, but now the artist is in a much more banal, non-threatening space which she commands. These movements, divorced from the imagery of the domestic space, do not share the contextual weight of the *House* images. They are simpler in their connotations and appear as studies of the way a body interacts with space. The absence of a clearly delineated head or face, while ripe for psychoanalysis, places the viewer's focus squarely on the body and its interaction with space. This stylistic approach brings this work directly in line with Woodman's central visual thesis: the relationship between female figure and built environment. In order to get a better grasp of these stylistic explorations, it is important that the viewer have a broader context of Woodman's life at this time.

Woodman traveled to Rome with the RISD European-Honors Program in 1977. Stephan Brigidi, now a respected American photographer and professor, was in Rome at the same time as Woodman. Brigidi had recently graduated with his Master of Fine Arts in Photography from RISD and, accompanying the RISD undergraduates during his Fulbright year, had sublet Woodman's apartment. Thus, his opinions and insights into Woodman's personality may be valuable, as he shared the space in which she lived and worked during her time in Rome. He notes that she frequently left her journal writings on loose paper all about the apartment and cites them as "erotic." These, he said, had a certain quality of freedom which he also sees in her photographs, and has been noted in her personality.[8] Brigidi also outlines the relationship of Francesca to her peers and professors, particularly Aaron Siskind, a well-known photographer and Woodman's teacher at RISD. Brigidi believes that Siskind did not take Woodman's work seriously. He admits that this may be due, in part, to Siskind's own personality, but it was apparent Siskind worried that Woodman was flighty and messy. This being said, Brigidi also believes that, at least at the time he interacted with Woodman in the late 1970s, her work had not yet fully matured. Brigidi also points to the fact that the images presented of Woodman in her own body of work are not images of who she really was: "what we know through her photography is her persona".[9] This supports the idea that the images Woodman is creating of herself are not self-portraits in the literal sense. They depict different types or stylistic tropes that Woodman was interested in exploring but cannot really be said to tell us anything about her personal struggles.

While in Rome, Woodman created still more depictions of herself and reprised the concepts of chameleon-like disappearance and absorption by the physical world. In one image from her *Roma* series, Woodman presents herself once more against a bare wall (Fig. 7). She is the single focal point and lacks specific context. The image solely presents Woodman and the wall, which, as in her *House* images, appears to be in a poor state of repair. This worn textural quality is reminiscent of many of the surfaces her professor Siskind explored in his own work. In this image, she is nude from the waist up and once again, as in the image of Woodman beneath wallpaper, her head is missing. The viewer sees only a body, matching the wall behind Woodman in its two tones. Below her waist, she is covered by a delicately patterned dress, the top of which has been pulled away to expose her breasts. The skirt of the dress matches the lower half of the wall in its patterned implications and splits her in half at the waist. She does not completely disappear into the wall, but like a chameleon, changes only on the surface. Her skin becomes the skin of the wall in its matching tones and patterns. A deep shadow cast to the left of her body reveals that, although she matches the wall, she is not part of it. Perhaps, again, this is a domestic space. There is an uncertainty about the atmosphere, a removal of content which renders the piece as yet another stylistic exploration as she takes on the motif of which Siskind was so fond. In his work of 1948, *Chicago*, Siskind, too, explores the deeply textured surface of peeling paint on a wall (Fig. 8). Woodman adopts this pattern but inserts

8 Brigidi, Personal interview
9 Brigidi, Personal interview

the female body into a space that Siskind leaves vacant, depicting a transformative relationship between the woman and space.

In another image from this series, Woodman presents herself in a nearly identical situation. She is, once again, placed against what is apparently the same two-tone wall, but this time has removed her skirt and is totally nude (Fig. 9). The lower half of her body is decorated with a thin layer of what appears to be soil. While this verifies her intention of matching the two-tone quality of the wall, she now takes on the nature of the wall in another dimension. Not only does she match it in tone or quality, but also in material. As the wall is composed of organic clay and plaster, so, too, is Woodman covered in the organic element of soil. The pairing becomes elemental as well as visual. Woodman's body also grows in this second image. Her arm, absent from the earlier image, is now outstretched across the wall and her face is contained within the picture plane. Her identity is simultaneously revealed and rebuked. The viewer is now able to see her face and her nude body, but she takes on the image and the concept of the wall. While she has transformed into a wall of her own, she has, once again, not disappeared into the wall in front of which she stands and casts her shadow as evidence of her three-dimensional reality. With the added knowledge of Siskind's style, the images from her *Roma* series can be read in two very divergent ways. First, they may be considered as a playful homage to the work of a professor and mentor she admired. They may also, however, be understood as assertive challenges to an authority figure with whom she may have had disagreements. No matter the conclusion, it is clear that these images are examples of Woodman exploring formal concepts she was interested in and had seen in the work of her professor and not necessarily depictions of an internal struggle.

These transformations are not only literal. In some images, Woodman alludes to biological as well as visual and formal relationships. In one photograph from her time spent in New York prior to her death, Woodman again depicts herself against yet another decrepit wall (Fig. 10). The plaster once more recedes to reveal the hidden structures behind the surface. In this case, there is a unique herringbone pattern formed by the lathe that once supported the now-absent plaster. This image is particularly rich and striking in its use of conceptual and visual pairings. Woodman stands at the far left of the square picture plane with her back to the viewer. She is clothed in a backless cover-up, the tone and texture of which replicate the character of the wall. In this image, she does not merge with the wall as she has before. She holds up to her bare back the spine of a fish. This layering suggests several ideas. First, it acts as a unique external x-ray of the body. The spine of the fish mimics her own spine and reveals her inner structure in the same way that the flaking plaster reveals the structure of the wall. In this way, she associates herself with the wall and with the fish. She recognizes herself as a biological being, like the fish, and alludes to the sameness of bodily structures. She then goes further and alludes to the association of humans with the built environment. Like humans, structures have skeletons, and also like humans, buildings will eventually decay and die. The image is not one of morbidity, but one of truth, much like historic images of saints contemplating the skull, in which the implicit concept was the cognizance of death and not the pursuit of it. Here, Woodman reaches a new level of thought: through evocation, she examines what it is to exist.

Woodman's continued dialogue with the idea of transformation and disappearance culminates in her later works that take on these issues in a historical context. While working at the MacDowell Colony in Peterborough, New Hampshire, Woodman created a unique collection of small photographs that retell the story of Daphne in modern terms. One of these images depicts Woodman amongst nature where she covers her arms in birch bark (Fig. 11). Her arms sway, matching the motion of the trees in the background. The image of Woodman as a tree is evocative of the *Tree of Life* series of images created by noted feminist artist, Ana Mendieta, in 1976. In one of Mendieta's images (Fig. 12), the artist covers herself in mud to replicate the texture of the tree. She, like Woodman, performs a transformative act, associating herself with nature. Both Woodman and Mendieta explore woman's relationship with nature through the lens of ancient myth. Whether there is influence from one to the other is difficult to determine, and perhaps, moot — both artists are engaging feminist renovation and interrogation of the

stereotype of woman as nature.

Also in 1980, in New York, Woodman created a series of caryatid images (Fig. 13). In one of the large format photos, a blue diazotype, Woodman wears an elaborately structured and highly starched garment that mimics the aesthetic of both classical drapery and classical columniation. She reaches her arms up and, turning her elbows at 45-degree angles, obscures her face with her hands. Her forearms create a structural brace that supports the top of the picture frame. Here, Woodman has come full circle: once more playing with the idea of being and becoming a structural object, she is no longer absorbed by the domestic space. She has instead placed herself as an integral part of a classical structure and engaged in a classical allusion, which, unlike her Daphne reference, plays back into her earlier structural explorations in an intriguing way. This image represents the culmination of a series of self-depictions in which the viewer sees Woodman repeatedly yet does not see her at all. Here, perhaps, is the finest example of the themes which Woodman considered consistently. Woodman is indeed in the image, but the photo is actually of a column, not of a woman.

The fact that Woodman committed suicide at a young age naturally provokes a certain level of questioning about the reason she so often transforms and disappears in her work. Are these disappearances a precursor to her disappearance or a wish for transformation? While this can be posited, there is ample evidence that these themes have much currency in feminist art of the 1970s. Woodman explores the relationship of woman and domestic space that Bourgeois considered and takes up the role of woman as nature imaged by Mendieta. The visual transformation and disappearances created by Woodman may not be explorations of her own personal demons but of woman, literal and temporal, in space. Woodman can therefore be understood as a young artist interested in exploring the same concepts as her contemporaries and in studying the changing relationship of woman in relation to her time.

Bibliography

Adams, Laurie. *Art and Psychoanalysis*. New York: IconEditions, 1993

Adams, Laurie. *The Methodologies of Art: An Introduction*. New York: IconEditions, 1996

Armstrong, Carol M. and Catherine De Zegher. *Women Artists at the Millennium*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006

Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981

Brigidi, Stephan. Personal interview. 11 July 2012

Chadwick, Whitney and Dawn Ades. *Mirror Images: Women, Surrealism, and Self-Representation*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998

De Zegher, M. Catherine. *Inside The Visible: An Elliptical Traverse of 20th Century Art In, Of, and from the Feminine*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996

Grant, Catherine and Lori Waxman. *Girls! Girls! Girls! In Contemporary Art*. Bristol: Intellect, 2011

Krauss, Rosalind E. *Bachelors.* Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999

Nochlin, Linda. *Women, Art, and Power: And Other Essays*. New York: Harper & Row, 1988

Phelan, Peggy. "Francesca Woodman's Photography: Death and the Image One More Time." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 27.4 (2002): 979-1004

Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977

The Woodmans. Dir. C. Scott Lewis. Perf. George and Betty Woodman. Lorber Films, 2011

Woodman, Francesca, Corey Keller, Jennifer Blessing, and Julia Bryan-Wilson. *Francesca Woodman*. San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 2011

Woodman, Francesca, Philippe Sollers, David Levi. Strauss, Elizabeth Janus, Sloan Rankin, and Hervé Chandès. *Francesca Woodman*. Zurich: Scalo, 1998

STUDIO ART

Solitaire

Dominic Channon

Commencing with the characteristics of my self as an only child, a distance runner, and an heir to my father's nomadic behavior, I have become interested in developing a further concept of self based on our capability to form our knowledge and interpretation of the world to our being. The experimentation with time and perception through the use of the camera has become my obsession. I want to create balance and repose through my work, challenging the perception of what it is that we know. My challenge is to create work that maintains these consistencies yet renders subject matter in a way that is foreign to the viewer. I attempt to develop a unique language for visually interpreting our surroundings.

My pursuit is to convey to the viewer a sense of loneliness and isolation through the lack of obvious human inhabitation juxtaposed with certain products of humanity:
A lighthouse, the methodically arranged boulders of a pier, or the pylons remaining of a disused wharf.
A bridge, a buoy left to dance backward and forward in the current, or a stream of traffic on a distant highway.

These are all visual elements communicating quietude and balance alongside the alienation of the subject matter.

Time is a multifaceted element of my work; it is used both in technique and in subject matter, but its presence is most important in the viewing of my work. My prints capture lengths of time in a single frame, allowing time to be compressed into a still image. In time-lapse video, time distends wherein thousands of snapshots are played back to create a large-scale video projection.

Untitled
22" x 31"
Archival Inkjet Print on Silver Rag

Untitled
22" x 33"
Archival Inkjet Print on Silver Rag

Untitled
22" x 33"
Archival Inkjet Print on Silver Rag

Untitled
22" x 43"
Archival Inkjet Print on Silver Rag

Memory Tokens

Julia Christ

My work deals with memory and the affliction of forgetfulness. Memories start out vivid and get washed over, dulled. New experiences cover up those of the past, and the authority of our memories is called into question. Like most humans, I collect memories compulsively; like souvenirs in a hoarder's obsessive sanctuary, those memories start to pile up. They become indistinguishable and forgotten. These collected memory tokens, whether or not they are consciously acknowledged, trigger different emotional responses and forever influence my identity.

When I revisit a place, I am brought back to events that previously occurred there; multitudes of past memories and associated feelings flicker over the actual space like a projection of light. I am seized by a hidden moment from the past and am transported back into my own personal history.

In this work, the figures are the embodiment of memory. Drifting within the space, the protagonists are unfixed and prevented from fully assembling. The physical distortion of the figures suggests memory distortion. Conversely, the environment is tangible; it is a firmly established presence. The environment both supports and competes with the figures. It creates a filtered surface over these fractured, painted figures and further clouds their presence.

Even as the figures struggle to permeate the constructed space, they insist upon their presence; like memories, these figures are holed, partial, and fractured. Nevertheless, they are significant—both the figures to the paintings and the memories to my identity. Old memories remain influential and significant to us no matter how fractured they become.

My intention is for observers to be consciously aware that they are in the act of viewing; they should feel intrusive and uncomfortable when studying these figures engaged in private transactions, which could include a trivial encounter, an affectionate touch, or a silent convergence. Like my struggling figures, I labor to catalog these memories so they do not become lost within my mind. Although these drifting memories are infinite in number and impossible to pin down, I try to replicate and reconstruct them in my paintings. The work brings forth new life and new meaning to the site, to my own personal history, and to my identity.

Suburban Summer
30" x 30"
Oil on Canvas

A Room of Light
20" x 30"
Oil on Canvas

Surveillance
60" x 72"
Oil on Canvas

You and Me
60" x 72"
Oil on Canvas

60

Casey Cullen

Through my body of work, *60,* I aim to convey my confusion of learning a new style of photography along with the uncertainty of identity. The confusion of what is going on in the photograph coincides with the unfamiliarity of the camera and the more general disorientation of everyday life. My photographs question different methods of photography through the use of an old process while also questioning the term "portrait." Working with a camera that has been surpassed and forgotten about has allowed me to keep the process alive. A large format camera enables me to have more freedom in creating the image I want by giving me clarity and manual control while leaving some elements to chance. When I set up a double exposure, I do not know what the actual image will look like because I cannot see it at the moment of capture. By double-exposing a single negative sheet with two portrait images, I am combining and comparing two identities. The works I have made confuse the eye and the mind, reflecting the ideas of questionable identity and what it means to take a portrait.

Selections from *60*
Each 20" x 16"
Gelatin Silver Print

Selections from *60*
Each 20" x 16"
Gelatin Silver Print

Selections from *60*
Each 20" x 16"
Gelatin Silver Print

Selections from *60*
Each 20" x 16"
Gelatin Silver Print

Acclimation

Rory Dlugos

In fragmenting the human figure, I hope to express loss of control or the inability to know one's future. On a daily basis, I am bombarded with this anxiety-ridden dilemma. In my work, this struggle manifests itself in the figures' expressions and poses. The seamless integration of figures into the background can be seen as their successful ability to merge with their changing environment; in other words, a positive adaptation of self.

At other times, the figure-background dichotomy represents the struggle to adapt to change and maintain a constantly evolving, healthy self. In some works, the figures are rooted in their environments, and in others they are more detached. The loss of the figure's foundation represents his or her inability to adapt to a given situation. Some figures reach out blindly with closed eyes; others are upside-down, lost in vertigo. The different situations the figures are placed in abstractly represent their issues: the cards they are given and how they choose to play them.

The paintings shown here are executed on Homasote board rather than traditional canvas. The board supports mark-making techniques such as scraping, incising and stabbing which the canvas cannot; the surface records my approach to painting, by turns aggressive and delicate. I use rigid fragmentation of space and perspective as well as inverted figures to express the internal conflict that arises from making everyday decisions. This conflict, an argument with oneself, is represented through the multiple depictions of a single individual.

There is a sense of irony to my work. Even as the figures strive for answers, I believe people try too hard to seek them. I think it is more important to focus on questions and to wrestle with them. This is analogous to the process of making a painting; I want my work to contain a spirit of questioning as well as the struggle to find answers.

Untitled
46" x 72"
Oil on Homasote Board

Untitled
46" x 72"
Oil on Homasote Board

Untitled
46" x 72"
Oil on Homasote Board

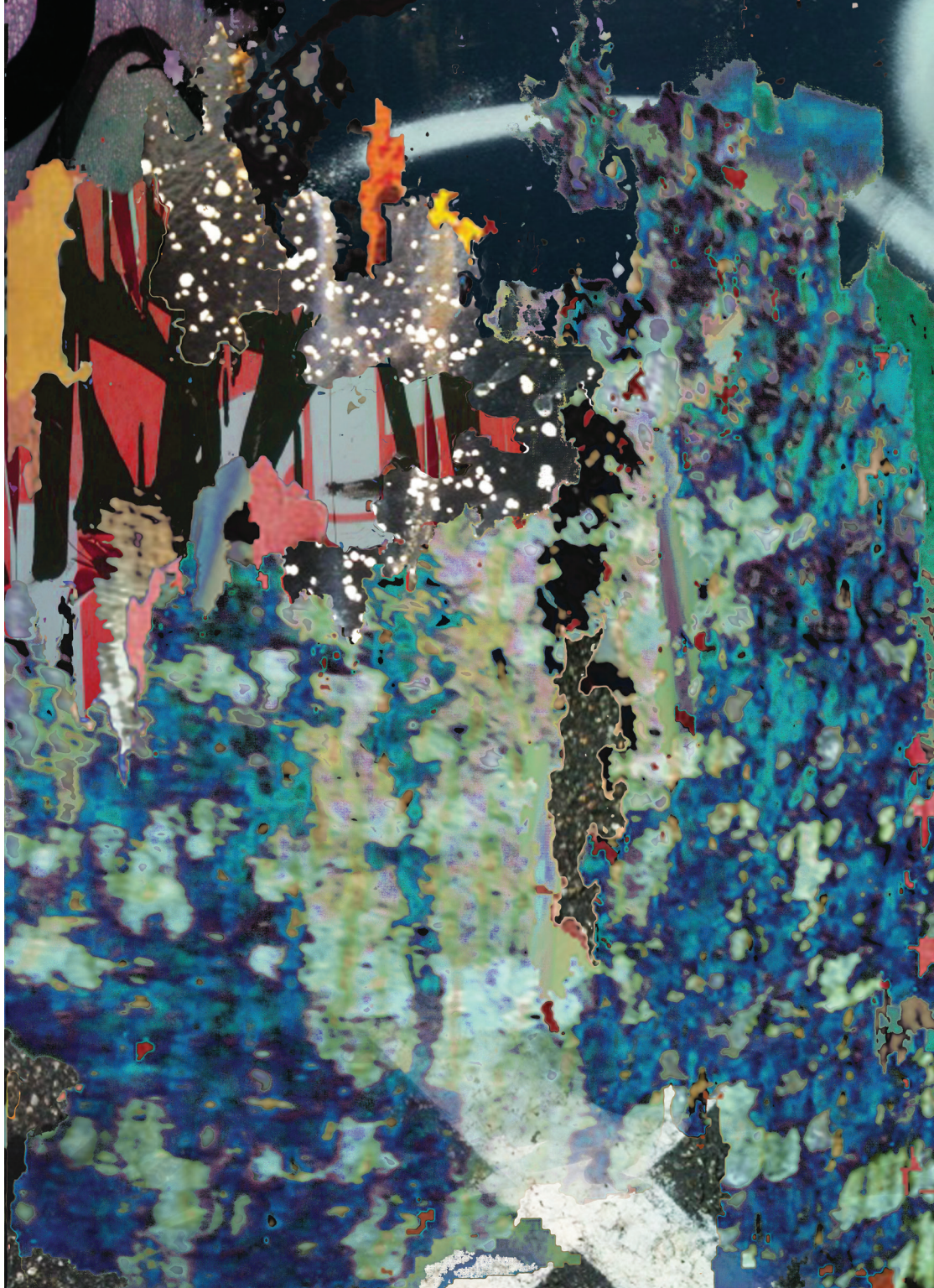
Hide and Seek

Tess Wilson

I see myself as an analyst of my surroundings. I have a predisposition for noticing and appreciating miniscule details in life. Consequently, I take photographs and make digital drawings of found objects that possess textured qualities. Whether walking to class, waiting for the train, even sitting in my kitchen at home, texture is everywhere.

My collages are meant to avoid fixity; but most especially, my collages are meant to confront the notion of abstraction and reality. Through digital imaging, I alter reality by manipulating the color, light and detail of an object at close range. To me, abstraction is a complete departure from reality, yet reality requires creative interpretation and expression. I feel that as an artist I put my creative spin on my observations while being true to the source. I want my viewers to think of memories of specific locations when viewing my work; I want my work to be seen as a unique entity to each individual. My intention is to magnify all of the tiny, insignificant details that very often go unnoticed yet still deserve our appreciation.

Familiar Findings
72" x 60"
Digital Projection



Parts of a Whole
72" x 60"
Digital Projection

Ubiquitous Bits
72” x 60”
Digital Projection

Pervasive Pixels
72" x 60"
Digital Projection

PROVIDENCE COLLEGE