# Women, Art, and Power

## *and Other Essays*

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(1988)

*Icon Editions*

*1817*

Harper & Row, Publishers, New York
Grand Rapids, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco
London, Singapore, Sydney, Tokyo, Toronto

# I

# Women, Art, and Power

In this essay, I shall be investigating the relationships existing among women, art, and power in a group of visual images from the late eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. These visual images have been chosen for the most part because they represent women in situations involving power—most usually its lack. It is obvious that the story or content or narratives of these images—what art historians call their "iconography"—will be an important element for analysis in this project: the story of the Horatii represented by David, that of the death of Sardanapalus depicted by Delacroix; or the sad, exemplary tale of domestic downfall and punishment bodied forth by the English painter Augustus Egg in his pictorial trilogy known as *Past and Present.*[1]

Yet what I am really interested in are the operations of power on the level of ideology, operations which manifest themselves in a much more diffuse, more absolute, yet paradoxically more elusive sense, in what might be called the discourses of gender difference. I refer, of course, to the ways in which representations of women in art are founded upon and serve to reproduce indisputably accepted assumptions held by society in general, artists in particular, and some artists more than others about men's power over, superior-

ity to, difference from, and necessary control of women, assumptions which are manifested in the visual structures as well as the thematic choices of the pictures in question. Ideology manifests itself as much by what is unspoken—unthinkable, unrepresentable—as by what is articulated in a work of art. Insofar as many of the assumptions about women presented themselves as a complex of commonsense views about the world, and were therefore assumed to be self-evident, they were relatively invisible to most contemporary viewers, as well as to the creators of the paintings. Assumptions about women's weakness and passivity; her sexual availability for men's needs; her defining domestic and nurturing function; her identity with the realm of nature; her existence as object rather than creator of art; the patent ridiculousness of her attempts to insert herself actively into the realm of history by means of work or engagement in political struggle—all of these notions, themselves premised on an even more general, more all-pervasive certainty about gender difference itself—all of these notions were shared, if not uncontestedly, to a greater or lesser degree by most people of our period, and as such constitute an ongoing subtext underlying almost all individual images involving women. Yet perhaps the term "subtext" is misleading in view of my intentions. It is not a *deep* reading I am after; this is not going to be an attempt to move *behind* the images into some realm of more profound truth lurking beneath the surface of the various pictorial texts. My attempt to investigate the triad woman-art-power should rather be thought of as an effort to disentangle various discourses about power related to gender difference existing simultaneously with—as much surface as substratum—the master discourse of the iconography or narrative.

It is important to keep in mind that one of the most important functions of ideology is to veil the overt power relations obtaining in society at a particular moment in history by making them appear to be part of the natural, eternal order of things. It is also important to remember that symbolic power is invisible and can be exercised only with the complicity of those who fail to recognize either that they submit to it or that they exercise it. Women artists are often no more immune to the blandishments of ideological discourses than their male contemporaries, nor should dominant males be envi-



sioned as conspiratorially or even consciously forcing their notions upon women. Michel Foucault has reflected that power is tolerable "only on the condition that it mask a considerable part of itself."[2] The patriarchal discourse of power over women masks itself in the veil of the natural—indeed, of the logical.

Strength and weakness are understood to be the natural corollaries of gender difference. Yet it is more accurate to say, in a work like David's *Oath of the Horatii* [1], that it is the representation of gender differences—male versus female—that immediately establishes that opposition between strength and weakness which is the point of the picture.

In the *Horatii*, the notion of woman's passivity—and her propensity to give in to personal feeling—would appear to have existed for the artist as an available element of a visual *langue* upon which the high intelligibility of this specific pictorial *parole* depends. It is

1. Jacques-Louis David. *The Oath of the Horatii*

important to realize that the particular narrative incident represented here—the moment when the three brothers, the Horatii, take a patriotic oath of allegiance to Rome on swords held before them by their father in the presence of the women and children of the family—is not to be found in Classical or post-Classical texts, but is in essence a Davidian invention, arrived at after many other explorations of potential subjects from the story.[3] It is an invention which owes its revolutionary clarity precisely to the clear-cut opposition between masculine strength and feminine weakness offered by the ideological discourse of the period. The striking effectiveness of the visual communication here depends in the most graphic way possible upon a universal assumption: it is not something that needs to be thought about. The binary division here between male energy, tension, and concentration as opposed to female resignation, flaccidity, and relaxation is as clear as any Lévi-Straussian diagram of a native village; it is carried out in every detail of pictorial structure and treatment, is inscribed on the bodies of the protagonists in their poses and anatomy, and is even evident in the way that the male figures are allotted the lions' share of the architectural setting, expanding to fill it, whereas the women, collapsed in upon themselves, must make do with a mere corner. So successful is the binary division of male versus female in conveying David's message about the superior claims of duty to the state over personal feeling that we tend to consider a later version of *The Oath of the Horatii*, like that by Armand Caraffe,[4] to be weak and confusing at least in part because it fails to rely on the clear-cut "natural" opposition which is the basis of David's clarity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, in Victorian England, woman's passivity, her defining inability to defend herself against physical violence, would appear to have been such an accepted article of faith that the poses which had signified weakness—the very opposite of heroism in David's *Horatii*—could now, with a bit of neck straightening and chin stiffening, in the case of British ladies, be read as heroism itself. Indeed, Sir Joseph Noel Paton, the author of such a work, which appeared in the 1858 Royal Academy show under the title *In Memoriam* [2] (the original has disappeared), dedicated it "to Commemorate the Christian Heroism of the British

2. Sir Joseph Noel Paton. *In Memoriam*. Engraving after the lost original painting

Ladies in India during the Mutiny of 1857." It must be added parenthetically that the figures entering so energetically from the rear were originally not the Scottish rescuers we see in the engraving after the painting, but rather those of bloodthirsty Sepoys, the Indian rebels, which were altered because the artist felt their presence created "too painful an impression."[5] The heroism of British ladies would seem to have consisted of kneeling down and allowing themselves and their children to be atrociously raped and murdered, dressed in the most unsuitably fashionable but flattering clothes possible, without lifting a finger to defend themselves. Yet to admiring spectators of the time, tranquility and the Bible, rather than

3. Francisco Goya y Lucientes. *And They Are Like Wild Beasts.* Etching and aquatint

vigorous self-defense, were precisely what constituted heroism for a lady. Said the reviewer in the *Art Journal* of the time: "The spectator is fascinated by the sublimely calm expression of the principal head—hers is more than Roman virtue; her lips are parted in prayer; she holds the Bible in her hand, and that is her strength."[6] Now there are at least two discourses articulated in this image. One is the overt story of heroic British ladies and their children during the Sepoy mutiny, fortifying themselves with prayer as they are about to be assaulted by savage, and presumably lustful, natives. The other discourse, less obvious, is the patriarchal and class-defined one which stipulates the appropriate behavior for the lady, and it implies that no lady will ever unsex herself by going so far as to raise a hand in physical violence, even in defense of her children. Such a notion about ladylike or "womanly" behavior had of course some but not necessarily a great deal of relationship to how women, British ladies during the Sepoy mutiny included, have actually acted under similar circumstances.[7] Goya's women, in the etching *And They Are Like Wild Beasts* from the "Disasters of War" series [3], though obviously not ladies, are shown behaving quite differently from those in *In Memoriam,* although the fact that these peasant women resort to violence itself functions as a sign of the extremity of the situation. The Spanish mothers who fight so desperately to defend their children, it is implied, are something other than women: they "are like wild beasts."[8]



The suffragists, at the beginning of the twentieth century, attempted, as the photograph in Figure 4 reveals,[9] to create a convincing image of women combining ladylike decorum *and* overt physi-

4. *Woman Toppling Policeman with a Jujitsu Throw.* Photograph

cal power. The results—a properly dressed young woman toppling a startled policeman with a jujitsu throw—hover between the invigorating and the ludicrous. The discourse of power and the code of ladylike behavior can maintain only an unstable relationship: the two cannot mix.

The success of a discourse in confirming an ideological position rests not in its reliance upon evidence but rather in the way it exercises successful control through the "obviousness" of its assumptions. Force, to borrow the words of Talcott Parsons, rather than being the *characteristic* feature, is, in fact, a special limiting case of the deployment of power;[10] coercion represents the regression of power to a lower domain of generalization; a "show of force" is the emblematic sign of the failure of power's *symbolic* currency.[11] Nevertheless, Victorian assumptions about ladylike behavior are premised on the kinds of threats that, although rarely mentioned, lie in store for those who call them into question: the woman who goes so far as to rely on physical force or independent action is no longer to be considered a lady. It then follows that because women are so naturally defenseless and men so naturally aggressive, real ladies must depend not on themselves but on male defenders—as in *In Memoriam*, the Scottish troops, to protect them from (similarly male) attackers, the (overpainted) Sepoy mutineers.

That these views were held to be self-evident by both men and women at the time goes without saying: ideology is successful precisely to the degree that its views are shared by those who exercise power and those who submit to it. But there is a corollary to the assumptions underlying the visual text here which would have been more available to men than to women: what one might call its fantasy potential—a discourse of desire—the imaginative construction of a sequel to *In Memoriam*: something like *The Rape and Murder of the British Women During the Indian Mutiny*, a subject current in the popular press of the period. It is this aspect of the painting, its hint of "unspeakable things to come," delicately referred to in the contemporary review as "those fiendish atrocities [which] cannot be borne without a shudder,"[12] which must have in part accounted for its popularity with the public.

This sort of sequel does, of course, exist, although it predates

5. Eugène Delacroix. *The Death of Sardanapalus*

*In Memoriam* and was painted in France rather than in England: Delacroix's *Death of Sardanapalus* [5]. "In dreams begin responsibilities," a poet has said.[13] Perhaps. Certainly, one is on surer footing asserting that in power dreams begin—dreams of still greater power, in this case, fantasies of men's limitless power to enjoy, by destroying them, the bodies of women. Delacroix's painting cannot, of course, be reduced to a mere pictorial projection of the artist's sadistic fantasies under the guise of exoticism. Yet one must keep in mind that subtending the vivid turbulence of the text of Delacroix's story—the story of the ancient Assyrian ruler Sardanapalus, who, upon hearing of his incipient defeat, had all his precious possessions, including his women, destroyed, and then went up in flames with them in his palace—lies the more mundane assumption, shared by men of Delacroix's class, that they were naturally "entitled" to desire, to possess, and to control the bodies of women. If the men were artists, it was assumed that they had more or less unlimited

access to the bodies of the women who worked for them as models. In other words, Delacroix's private fantasy exists not in a vacuum but in a particular social context, granting permission as well as establishing boundaries for certain kinds of behavior. It is almost impossible to imagine a *Death of Cleopatra,* say, with nude male slaves being put to death by women servants, painted by a *woman* artist of this period. In the sexual power system of patriarchy, transgression is not merely that which violates understood codes of thought and behavior: it is, even more urgently, that which marks their farthest boundaries. Sexual transgression may be understood as a *threshold* of permissible behavior—actual, imaginary—rather than as its opposite. The true site of opposition is marked by gender difference.

Delacroix attempted to defuse and distance his overt expression of man's total domination of women in a variety of ways, at the same time that he emphasized the sexually provocative aspects of his theme. He engaged in the carnage by placing at the blood-red heart of the picture a surrogate self—the recumbent Sardanapalus on his bed—but a self who holds himself aloof from the sensual tumult which surrounds him, an artist-destroyer who is ultimately to be consumed in the flames of his own creation-destruction.

Despite the brilliant feat of artistic semi-sublimation pulled off here, the public and critics were apparently appalled by the work when it first appeared, in the Salon of 1828.[14] The aloofness of the hero of the piece fooled no one, really. Although criticism was generally directly more against the painting's formal failings, it is obvious that by depicting such a subject with such obvious sensual relish, such erotic *panache* and such openness, Delacroix had come too close to an overt statement of the most explosive, hence the most carefully repressed, fantasy of the patriarchal discourse of desire: the Sadean identification of murder and sexual possession as an assertion of absolute *jouissance.*

The fantasy of absolute possession of women's naked bodies, a fantasy which for the nineteenth-century artist was at least in part a reality in terms of specific practice—the constant availability of studio models for sexual as well as professional needs—lies at the heart of less-inspired pictorial representations of Near Eastern or



Classical themes, such as Jean-Léon Gérôme's *Oriental Slave Market* [6]. In this case, of course, an iconographical representation of power relations coincides with, although it is not identical to, assumptions about male authority. Although ostensibly realistic representations of the customs of picturesque Orientals,[15] Gérôme's paintings are also suitably veiled affirmations of the fact that women are actually for sale to men for the latter's sexual satisfaction—in Paris just as in the Near East. Sexual practice is more successfully ideologized in this case than in Delacroix's painting, and works like

6. Jean-Léon Gérôme. *Oriental Slave Market*

these appeared frequently in the Salons of the period, and were much admired. Why was this the case? First of all, on the level of formal structure, they were more acceptable because Gérôme has substituted a chilly and remote pseudo-scientific naturalism—small, self-effacing brushstrokes, "rational" and convincing spatial effects (an apparently dispassionate empiricism)—for Delacroix's tempestuous self-involvement, the impassioned brio of his paint surfaces. Gérôme's style justifies his subject (if not to us, who are cannier readers, certainly to most of the spectators of his time), by guaranteeing through sober "objectivity" the unassailable Otherness of the characters enacting his narrative. He is saying in effect: "Don't think that I, or any other right-thinking Frenchman, would ever be involved in this sort of thing. I am merely taking careful note of the fact that less enlightened races indulge in the trade in naked women —but isn't it arousing!" Gérôme is, like many other artists of his time, managing to body forth a double message here: one about men's power over women and the other about white man's superiority to, hence justifiable control over, darker races—precisely those who indulge in this sort of lascivious trade. Or one might say that something more complex is involved in Gérôme's strategies here vis-à-vis the *homme moyen sensuel*: the latter was invited sexually to identify with yet at the same time morally to distance himself from his Oriental counterparts within the objectively inviting yet racially distancing space of the painting.

Édouard Manet's *Ball at the Opera* of 1873 [7] may, for the purposes of my argument, be read as a combative response to and subversion of both the manifest and latent content of Gérôme's slave markets.[16] Like Gérôme's painting, Manet's, in the words of Julius Meier-Graefe, represents a "flesh market."[17] Unlike Gérôme, however, Manet represented the marketing of attractive women not in a suitably distanced Near Eastern locale but behind the galleries of the Opera House on the rue Lepeltier; and the buyers of female flesh were not Oriental louts but, rather, civilized and recognizable Parisian men-about-town, Manet's friends and, in some cases, fellow artists whom he had asked to pose for him. Unlike Gérôme's painting, which had been accepted for the Salon of 1867, Manet's was rejected for that of 1874. I should like to suggest that the reason for

7. Édouard Manet. *The Ball at the Opera*

Manet's rejection was neither merely the daring close-to-homeness of his representation of feminine sexual availability and male consumption of it nor merely, as his friend and defender at the time, Stéphane Mallarmé suggested, its formal daring—its deliberate yet casual-looking cut-off view of the spectacle[18]—but rather the way these two kinds of subversive impulses interact.

It is precisely Manet's anti-narrative strategies in the construction of the painting, his refusal of transparency, that renders the ideological assumptions of his times unstable. By rejecting traditional modes of pictorial storytelling, by interrupting the flow of narrative with cut-off legs and torso at the top of the painting and a cut-off male figure to the left, Manet's painting reveals the assumptions on which such narratives are premised. The detached parts of female bodies constitute a witty rhetorical reference, a substitution of part for whole, to the sexual availability of lower-class and marginal women for the pleasure of upper-class men. By means of a

8. André Kertesz. *Dancer's Legs.* Photograph

brilliant realist strategy, Manet has at once made us aware of the artifice of art, as opposed to Gérôme's pseudo-scientific denial of it with his illusionistic naturalism, and, at the same time, through the apparently accidentally amputated legs, of the nature of the power relations controlling the worldly goings-on here. Later, in Manet's *Bar at the Folies-Bergère* of 1881, the device of the cut-off legs appears again in the representation of a working woman, the barmaid, to remind us of the nature of the discreet negotiations going on between the foreground figure and the shadowy man reflected in the mirror, and at the same time to call attention to the arbitrariness of the boundaries of the frame. The image of the cut-off leg offers an easily grasped, nontransferable synecdoche of sexual power rela-



tions. When the image is feminine, as it is in André Kertesz's well-known photograph of a dancer's legs of 1939 [8], it inevitably refers to the implied sexual attractiveness of the invisible model, presented as a passive object for the male gaze. This is never the implication of similarly fragmented masculine legs, whether they be those of the ascending Christ in a medieval manuscript or those of an avenging hero in a modern comic strip.[19] If the fragmented legs are masculine, they consistently function as signifiers of energy and power.

Within the implicit context of passivity, sexual availability, and helplessness, how might a respectable woman artist in England in the middle of the nineteenth century create a convincing image of her professional situation? Not very easily or very convincingly. Indeed, it has been hard for viewers to tell that Emily Mary Osborn's painting *Nameless and Friendless* [9] is in fact a representation of a woman artist. The subject was defined as "A Gentlewoman

9. Emily Mary Osborn. *Nameless and Friendless*

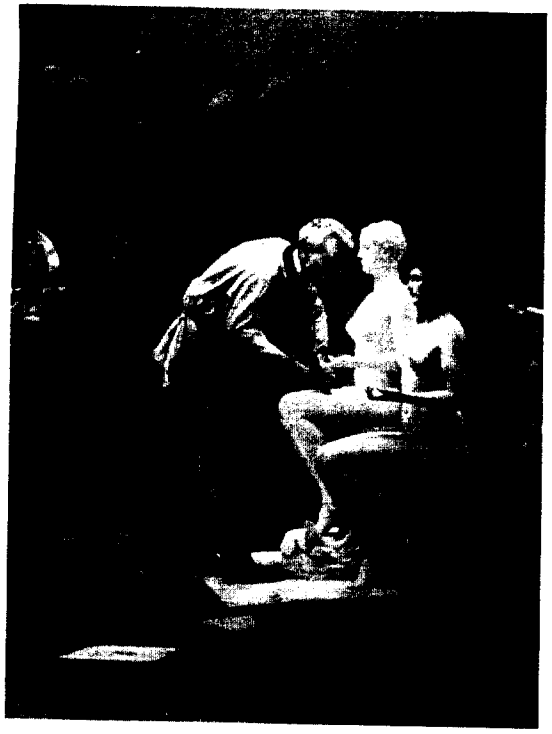
reduced to dependence upon her brother's art" in the 1970 edition of *The History and Philosophy of Art Education.*[20] Yet the documentary evidence, as well as a careful reading of the pictorial text, points to the fact that Osborn intended this as the representation of a young, orphaned woman artist offering her work with considerable anxiety to a skeptical picture dealer.[21] It is then to some extent a self-image of the woman artist who painted it, clothed in the language of British genre painting. Even the briefest inspection of the accepted codes for the representation of artists and the accepted codes for the representation of respectable young ladies at the time reveals at once why a spectator might misinterpret the work and why Osborn might have chosen this somewhat ambiguous iconography for her representation of the woman artist.

One might well assume that Osborn, as a canny and popular purveyor of acceptable genre painting to the Victorian public, shared the "natural" assumptions of the Royal Academy's public that the proper setting for a respectable young woman was that of home and family. She also, no doubt, shared the assumptions controlling the first canvas of Augustus Leopold Egg's trilogy [10] about a respectable married woman's fall and expulsion from home. An independent life, a life outside the home, was all too often, for the gentlewoman above all, related to potential sexual availability and, of course, understood to be the punishment for sexual lapse in the narrative codes of the time. Indeed, there is more than a hint, conveyed by the ogling loungers to the left of Osborn's picture, who lift their eyes from a print of a scantily clad dancing girl to scrutinize the young woman artist, that merely being out in the world at all rather than safely home opens a young, unprotected woman to suspicion. It becomes clearer why Osborn has chosen to define the situation of the woman artist as one of plight rather than of power. Only dire necessity would, she implies, force a young woman out into the dangerous public arena of professionalism. The narrative of the woman artist is here cautiously founded on a pictorial discourse of vulnerability—of powerlessness, in short. Osborn's woman artist, in her exposure to the male gaze within the painting, is positioned more in the expected situation of the female *model* than that of the male artist.

10. Augustus Leopold Egg. Number one from the trilogy known as *Past and Present*

By no stretch of the imagination can one envisage a woman artist of the nineteenth century interpreting her role, as did her male counterparts quite freely and naturally, in terms of free access to the naked bodies of the opposite sex. Gérôme, on the contrary, in his self-portrait *The Artist's Model* [11] has simply depicted himself in one of the most conventionally acceptable and, indeed, self-explanatory narrative structures for the self-representation of the artist. The topos of the artist in his studio assumes that being an artist has to do with man's free access to naked women. Art-making, the very creation of beauty itself, was equated with the representation of the female nude. Here, the very notion of the originary power of the artist, his status as creator of unique and valuable objects, is founded on a discourse of gender difference as power.

This assumption is presented quite overtly, although with a certain amount of tactful, naturalistic hedging, in *The Artist's Model.* The artist does not represent himself touching the *living woman* on her thigh, but only her plaster representation, with gloved hands;



11. Jean-Léon Gérôme. *The Artist's Model*

and the artist himself is (conveniently for the purposes of the painting) white-haired and venerable rather than young and lusty. He may remind us more of a doctor than an artist, and he keeps his eyes modestly lowered on his work, rather than raising them to confront the naked woman. The overt iconography here is the perfectly acceptable theme of the artist in his studio, industriously and single-mindedly engaging in creative activity, surrounded by testimonials to his previous achievements. Assumptions about masculine power are perfectly and disarmingly justified by the noble purposes which this power serves: although the naked model may indeed serve the purposes of the artist, he in turn is merely the



humble servant of a higher cause, that of Beauty itself. This complex of beliefs involving male power, naked models, and the creation of art receives its most perfect rationalization in the ever-popular nineteenth-century representation of the Pygmalion myth: stone beauty made flesh by the warming glow of masculine desire.

Nowhere is the work of ideology more evident than when issues of class join with issues of gender in the production of female imagery. In the case of the peasant woman, the association of the rural female with a timeless, nurturing, aesthetically distancing realm of nature served to defuse her potentiality—indeed, her actuality, in France, where the memory of women armed with pitchforks still hovered like a nightmare—as a political threat. The assimilation of the peasant woman to the realm of nature helped to rationalize rural poverty and the farm woman's continual grinding labor, as well as to justify her subjugation to a tradition of male tyranny within peasant culture itself.

Works like Giovanni Segantini's *Two Mothers* (see Chapter 2, Figure 2), with its overt connection between the nurturing functions of cow and woman, make clear the presuppositions of an ideology which supports motherhood as woman's "naturally" ordained work and demonstrates, at the same time, that the *peasant* woman, as an elemental, untutored—hence eminently "natural"—female, is the ideal signifier for the notion of beneficent maternity, replete with historical overtones of the Christian Madonna and Child.

The peasant woman also served as the natural vehicle for uplifting notions about religious faith. In works like Alphonse LeGros's *Ex-Voto* or Wilhelm Leibl's *Peasant Women in the Church*, piety is viewed as a natural concomitant of edifying fatalism, as is the peasant woman's conservative instinct to perpetuate unquestioningly traditional religious practices from generation to generation.

Yet contradictorily—ideology of course, functioning to absorb and rationalize contradiction—at the same time that the peasant woman is represented as naturally nurturing and pious, her very naturalness, her proximity to instinct and animality, could make the image of the female peasant serve as the very embodiment of untrammeled, unartificed sexuality. Sometimes this sexual force may

be veiled in idealization, as in the work of Jules Breton, who specialized in glamorizing and classicizing the erotic charms of the peasant girl for the annual Salon and the delectation of American midwestern nouveau-riche collectors [12]; sometimes it was served up more crudely and overtly, but the peasant woman's "natural" role as a signifier of earthy sensuality is as important an element in the nineteenth-century construction of gender as her nurturant or religious roles.

Nowhere does the assimilation of the peasant woman to the realm of nature receive more effective pictorial representation than in Millet's famous *Gleaners* of 1857 [13].[22] Here, the genuinely prob-

12. Jules Breton. *The Song of the Lark*

13. Jean-François Millet. *The Gleaners*

lematic implications surrounding the issue of gleaning—traditionally the way the poorest, weakest members of rural society obtained their bread and an area in which women had, in fact, historically played a relatively active role as participants in the recurrent disturbances connected with the rights of *glanage*[23]—have been transformed into a Realist version of the pastoral. Although overwrought conservative critics of the time may have seen the specter of revolution hovering behind the three bent figures, a cooler reading of the pictorial text reveals that Millet was, on the contrary, unwilling to emphasize the potentiality for an expression of genuine social conflict implied by the contrast between the richness of the harvest of the wealthy landowner in the background and the poverty of the gleaning figures in the foreground.[24] Rather, Millet chose, by ennobling the poses and assimilating the figures to Biblical and Classical prototypes, to remove them from the politically charged context of

14. Käthe Kollwitz. *Losbruch* (Outbreak). Etching and aquatint

contemporary history and to place them in the suprahistoric context of High Art. At the same time, through the strategies of his composition, Millet makes it clear that this particularly unrewarding labor must be read as ordained by nature itself rather than brought about by specific conditions of historical injustice. Indeed, the very fact that the workers in question are *glaneuses* rather than *glaneurs* makes their situation more acceptable; as women, they slide more easily into a position of identity with the natural order. Millet emphasizes this woman-nature connection in a specific aspect of his composition: the bodies of the bending women are quite literally encompassed and limited by the boundaries of the earth itself.[25] It is as though the earth imprisons them, not feudalism or capitalism.

As a visual affirmation of feminine self-assertiveness and power, Käthe Kollwitz's *Losbruch* [14]—*Outbreak* or *Revolt*—offers the



most startling contrast to Millet's *Gleaners*. An etching of 1903 from the artist's "Peasants' War" series, the image can be seen as a kind of "anti-*glaneuses*," a counter-pastoral, with the dynamic, vertical thrust of its angular female protagonist, who galvanizes the crowd behind her, serving to subvert the message of passive acquiescence to the "natural" order created by Millet's composition. One might say that what Millet scrupulously avoided by resorting to the peasant woman in his representation, Kollwitz openly asserts through her: rage, energy, action.

Kollwitz turned for historical as well as pictorial inspiration for her dominating figure of Black Anna, a leader of the sixteenth-century peasant uprising, to Wilhelm Zimmermann's classical account, *The Great German Peasants' War*, which described this powerful woman and provided a popular woodcut illustration of her as well.[26] No doubt Delacroix's classical revolutionary image, *Liberty at the Barricades*, lingered in the back of Kollwitz's mind when she created her print. But the difference is, of course, that Delacroix's powerful figure of Liberty is, like almost all such feminine embodiments of human virtue—Justice, Truth, Temperance, Victory—an allegory rather than a concrete historical woman, an example of what Simone de Beauvoir has called Woman-as-Other. The figure of Black Anna, on the contrary, is historically specific and meant to serve as a concrete locus of identification for the viewer. By introducing the back-view figure of a powerful woman-of-the-people into the foreground of the scene, the artist attempts to persuade the viewer to identify with the event, as she herself does.[27] Kollwitz, who sympathized with both feminism and socialism at this time and was particularly impressed by August Bebel's pioneering document of feminism, *Woman Under Socialism*, specifically identified herself with Black Anna. She told her biographer that "she had portrayed herself in this woman. She wanted the signal to attack to come from her."[28] In *Outbreak*, perhaps for the first time, a woman artist has attempted to challenge the assumptions of gender ideology, piercing through the structure of symbolic domination with conscious, politically informed awareness.

It is also significant that Kollwitz selected a narrative of outright social disorder for the representation of a powerful, energetic female

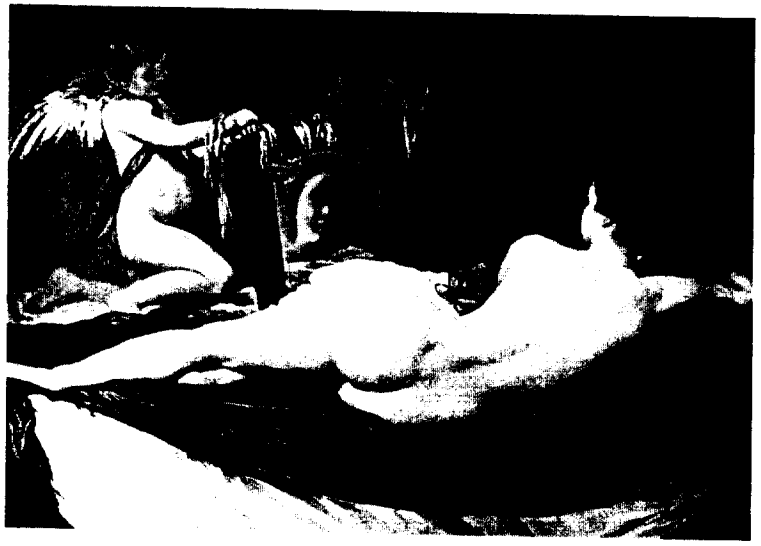
figure, directing rather than submitting to the action of her fellows. The topos of woman on top, to borrow the title of Natalie Zemon Davis's provocative study of sex-role reversal in preindustrial Europe, has always been a potent, if often humorous, image of unthinkable disorder.[29] Generally during our period, gestures of power and self-affirmation, especially of political activism, on the part of women were treated with special visual viciousness. Daumier, in a lithograph subtitled "V'la une femme qui à l'heure solonelle où nous sommes, s'occupe bêtement avec ses enfants," created in 1848, the very year of the democratic revolution fought in the name of greater equality, treated the two feminists to the left of the print (recognizable caricatures of two prominent activists of the time) as denatured hags, saggy, scrawny, uncorseted creatures, whose dissatisfied gracelessness contrasted vividly with the unselfconscious charm of the little mother to the right, who continued to care for her child heedless of the tumult of history.[30] The working-class women activists of the Commune, the so-called *pétroleuses* [15], were mercilessly caricatured by the Government of Order as frightening, subhuman, witchlike creatures, demons of destruction intent on literally destroying the very fabric of the social order by burning down buildings.[31]

In the sixteenth century, Pieter Brueghel had used the figure of a powerful, active woman, Dulle Griet, or Mad Meg, to signify contemporary spiritual and political disorder. Indeed, it is possible that Kollwitz herself may have turned to this, one of the most potent images of the menace of the unleashed power of women, for her conception of Black Anna in the "Peasants' War" series, an image more or less contemporary with her subject: Mad Meg, who, with her band of ferocious female followers, served as the very emblem of fiery destruction and disorder, a visual summary of the reversal of the proper power relations and the natural hierarchy of a well-ordered world, to borrow the words of Natalie Zemon Davis.[32] For the sixteenth century, as for the nineteenth, the most potent natural signifier possible for folly and chaos was woman unleashed, self-determined, definitely on top: this was the only image sufficiently destructive of "normal" power relations, rich enough in negative significations, to indicate the destruction of value itself.

15. *La Femme émancipée repandant la lumière sur le monde* (a *pétroleuse*). Popular print

In the figure of Black Anna, Kollwitz has transvaluated the values of Mad Meg, so to speak, and made them into positive if frightening visual signifiers.[33] The dark, chthonic force associated with the peasant woman, those malevolent, sometimes supernatural powers associated with the unleashing of feminine, popular energies and not totally foreign to the most menacing of all female figures —the witch—here assumes a positive social and psychological value: the force of darkness, in the context of historic consciousness, is transformed into a harbinger of light.

On March 10, 1914, approximately ten years after Kollwitz had created her image of woman's power, a militant suffragist, Mary Richardson, alias Polly Dick, took an axe to Velázquez's *Rokeby Venus* in the National Gallery in London [16]. It was an act of aesthetic destruction comparable in the strength of its symbolic significance to Courbet's supposed destruction of the Vendôme column during the Commune, and was greeted with a similar sort of public outrage. Mary Richardson declared that she had tried to destroy the picture of the most beautiful woman in mythological history as a protest against the government for destroying Mrs. Pankhurst, who was the most beautiful character in modern history. The fact that she disliked the painting had made it easier for her to carry out her daring act.[34] Richardson's vandalism quite naturally created a public furor at the time: she had dared to destroy public property, ruined a priceless masterpiece, wielded a dangerous weapon in an art gallery. Even today, the right-thinking art lover



16. Diego Velázquez. *Rokeby Venus*



must shudder at the thought of the blade hacking through Velázquez's image, through no mere accident the very image of Beauty itself. We may find Mary Richardson admirable for acting courageously, engaging in a punishable act for a political cause she deemed worth fighting for, and attempting to destroy a work she believed stood for everything she, as a militant suffragist, detested, yet it is clear that she was also wrong. Wrong because her act was judged to be that of a vicious madwoman and did the suffrage cause little or no good; but more than that, wrong in that her gesture assumes that if the cause of women's rights is right, then Velázquez's *Venus* is wrong. Yet it also may be said, as Jacqueline Rose has in her article "Sexuality in the Field of Vision," that "if the visual image, in its aesthetically acclaimed form, serves to maintain a particular and oppressive mode of sexual recognition, it nevertheless does so only partially."[35] Is it then possible to respond differentially to the image of Venus?

Over and above our specialized reactions to the *Rokeby Venus's* unique qualities of shape, texture, and color, and yet because of these qualities, we may respond to a variety of other kinds of suggestions generated by the painting: suggestions of human loveliness, physical tenderness, and the pleasure both sexes take in sensual discovery and self-discovery; we may also, if we are past youth and up on our iconography, be reminded of the swift passage of beauty and pleasure and the vanity of all such delights, visual and otherwise, suggested in the painting by the topos of the woman with a mirror: *vanitas*. Here, the mirror brings us not only an adumbration of mysterious beauty but, at the same time, intimations of its inevitable destruction. Such readings are possible either if we are totally unaware of the power relations obtaining between men and women inscribed in visual representation; or, if we have become aware of them, we choose to ignore them while we enjoy or otherwise respond positively to the image in question; or, if we cannot ignore them, feel that we are in no way affected by them.

The question whether it is possible at this point in history for women simply to "appreciate" the female nude in some simple and unproblematic way leads us to ask the question whether any positive visual representation of women is possible at all. A photocollage,

17. Hannah Höch. *Pretty Girl*

*Pretty Girl (Das schöne Mädchen),* of 1920 [17] by Hannah Höch, a member of Berlin Dada, suggests "in Utopia, yes; under patriarchy, in a consumer society, no." Höch's photocollage reminds us of another kind of cutting practice in art besides the destructive one of Polly Dick: deconstructive and instructive. Obviously Höch's cut-ups offer an alternative to the slicing up of Velázquez's nude, another way of refusing the image of woman as a transcendent object of art and the male gaze, generator of a string of similarly depoliticized art objects. This deconstructive practice of art—or anti-art—reveals that any representation of woman as sexual object, far from being natural or simply "given," is itself a construction. If



traditional representation has insisted upon maintaining the spectator within "an illusorily unfissured narrative space,"[16] then it hardly seems an accident that the material practice of photocollage, that free and aggressive combination of words and ready-made images characteristic of Berlin Dada in the 1920s, manifests its subversive politics in an act of cutting down and reconstructing, in which the original deconstructive impulse remains assertively revealed in the deliberate crudeness, discontinuity, and lack of logical coherence of the structure of the work. A photocollage like Hannah Höch's *Pretty Girl,* made out of ready-made materials, denies the "originality" or "creativity" of the masterful male artist vis-à-vis his female subject. It denies the beauty of the beautiful woman as object of the gaze and at the same time insists on the finished work as the result of a process of production—cutting and pasting—rather than inspiration. *Pretty Girl* is in part a savagely funny attack on mass-produced standards of beauty, the narcissism stimulated by the media to keep women unproblematically self-focused. At the same time, the collage allegorizes the arbitrarily constructed quality of *all* representations of beauty: the "pretty girl" of the title is clearly a product assembled from products—it is the opposite of the *belle peinture* of the *belle créature.* Hannah Höch, previously considered "marginal" within the context of Berlin Dada, now assumes a more central position in light of the work of contemporary women image-makers concerned with the problematics of gendered representation. Barbara Kruger, Cindy Sherman, Mary Kelly, and many others are again cutting into the fabric of representation by refusing any kind of simple "mirroring" of female subjects; they turn to collage, photomontage, self-indexical photography, combinations of texts, images, and objects as ways of calling attention to the production of gender itself—its inscription in the unconscious—as a social construction rather than a natural phenomenon.

What of women as spectators or consumers of art? The acceptance of woman as object of the desiring male gaze in the visual arts is so universal that for a woman to question, or to draw attention to this fact, is to invite derision, to reveal herself as one who does not understand the sophisticated strategies of high culture and takes art "too literally," and is therefore unable to respond to aesthetic

discourses. This is of course maintained within a world—a cultural and academic world—which is dominated by male power and, often unconscious, patriarchal attitudes. In Utopia—that is to say, in a world in which the power structure was such that both men and women equally could be represented clothed or unclothed in a variety of poses and positions without any implications of domination or submission—in a world of total and, so to speak, unconscious equality, the female nude would not be problematic. In our world, it is. As Laura Mulvey has pointed out in her often-cited article "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," there are two choices open to the woman spectator: either to take the place of the male or to accept the position of male-created seductive passivity and the questionable pleasure of masochism—lack of power to the *n*th degree.[17] This positioning of course offers an analogue to the actual status of women in the power structure of the art world—with the exception of the privileged few. To turn from the world of theory to that of mundane experience: I was participating as a guest in a college class on contemporary realism, when my host flashed on the screen the close-up image of a woman's buttocks in a striped bikini, as a presumed illustration of the substitution of part for whole in realist imagery, or perhaps it was the decorative impulse in realism. I commented on the overtly sexual—and sexist—implications of the image and the way it was treated. My host maintained that he "hadn't thought of that" and that he "had simply not been aware of the subject." It was impossible for any woman in the class "not to think of that" or for any man in the class to miss its crudely degrading implications. In a university art class, one is not supposed to speak of such things; women, like men, are presumably to take crudely fetishized motifs as signifiers of a refreshing liberatedness about sexual—and artistic—matters. My host insisted on the purely decorative, almost abstract, as he termed it, implications of the theme. But such abstraction is by no means a neutral strategy, as Daumier discovered when he transformed the recognizable head of Louis-Philippe into a neutral still-life object in his "La Poire" series. For women, the sexual positioning of the female in visual representation obtrudes through the apparently neutral or aesthetic fabric of the art work. Yet how little women protest, and

18. Balthus. *Girl with Cat (Thérèse Blanchard)*

with good reason, for, on the whole, they are in similarly powerless or marginalized positions within the operational structure of the art world itself: patient cataloguers rather than directors of museums; graduate students or junior faculty members rather than tenured professors and heads of departments; passive consumers rather than active creators of the art that is shown at major exhibitions.

A striking case in point was the dilemma of the female spectator at the Balthus exhibition which took place at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1984.[18] A barrage of verbiage was directed at her to convince her that this was indeed great art; that to take too much notice of the perversity of the subject matter was not to "respond" to these masterpieces with the aesthetic distance they deserved; and that to protest on the grounds that these rep-

resentations of young women were disturbing was simply to respond to a major element in the grandeur of the artist's conception: after all, they were "supposed to be" disturbing. To believe that being disturbed by the representation of young women in sexually perverse and provocative situations is a suitable object for questioning, much less for a negative critique, is considered the equivalent of disapproval of the erotic itself [18]. But of course, women are entitled to ask: "For whom, precisely, does this constitute an erotic discourse? Why must I submit to a male-controlled discourse of the erotic? In what sense is the gaze of the male fetishist equivalent to and identical with an erotic discourse? Why must I accept a discourse that consistently mystifies my sexuality by constituting the image of the vulnerable and seductive adolescent as a universally erotic one?" And to those who hold up Balthus's canvases as more general, radical images of transgression, one might well point out that in terms of their language, they are scarcely transgressive at all, extremely conservative, in fact, in the way they cling to an outmoded but modish language of visual repleteness, refusing to question the means of art except as the occasion of an added *frisson*. For the daring deconstruction and questioning of patriarchal authority central to Dada and to some aspects of Surrealism, Balthus's paintings substitute an unproblematically naturalistic replication of that order; Balthus's oeuvre is, in fact, a prime exemplar of the *retour à l'ordre* itself.

There is an analogy between women's compromised ability—her lack of self-determining power—in the realm of the social order and her lack of power to articulate a negative critique in the realm of pictorial representation. In both cases, her rejection of patriarchal authority is weakened by accusations of prudery or naïveté. Sophistication, liberation, belonging are equated with acquiescence to male demands; women's initial perceptions of oppression, of outrage, of negativity are undermined by authorized doubts, by the need to please, to be learned, sophisticated, aesthetically astute—in male-defined terms, of course. And the need to comply, to be inwardly at one with the patriarchal order and its discourses is compelling, inscribing itself in the deepest level of the unconscious, marking the very definitions of the self-as-woman in our society—and almost all



others that we know of. I say this despite—indeed, because of—the obvious manifestations of change in the realm of women's power, position, and political consciousness brought about by the women's movement and more specifically by feminist criticism and art production over the last fifteen years. It is only by breaking the circuits, splitting apart those processes of harmonizing coherence that, to borrow the words of Lisa Tickner, "help secure the subject to and in ideology,"[19] by fishing in those invisible streams of power and working to demystify the discourses of visual imagery—in other words, through a politics of representation and its institutional structures—that change can take place.

## *Notes*

1. For the most recent information about the three paintings usually referred to as *Past and Present*, see Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp. 71–86.

2. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), p. 86.

3. Robert Rosenblum has pointed out that David's theme may well have been the artist's own invention. See *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 68 and n. 68, pp. 68–69.

4. For a reproduction of Caraffe's *Oath of the Horatii* of 1791 (Arkangelski Castle), see the exhibition catalogue *French Painting, 1774–1830: The Age of Revolution*, Grand Palais, Paris, 1974–75; Detroit Institute of Arts, 1975; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1975, No. 18, p. 125.

5. For information about the change, see M. H. Noel-Patton, *Tales of a Granddaughter* (Elgin, Moray, Scotland: Moravian Press, 1970), p. 22.

6. See *Art Journal*, new series, IV (1858): 169, for a review of *In Memoriam*. The painting was No. 471 in the Royal Academy catalogue of that year.

7. For a full account of the daily life of British women in India in the nineteenth century, including their behavior during the Indian mutiny, see Pat Barr, *The Memsahibs: The Women of Victorian India* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1976).

8. The Spanish title of Goya's print is *Y son fieras*.

9. The photograph is taken from Midge Mackenzie, ed., *Shoulder to Shoulder: A Documentary* (New York: Knopf, 1st American ed., 1975), p. 255. It represents Mrs. Barrud, a well-known suffragette, demonstrating the methods of jujitsu.

10. Talcott Parsons, *Politics and Social Structure* (New York: Free Press, 1969), pp. 365–66. Parsons has observed: "The threat of coercive measures, or of compulsion, without legitimation or justification, should not properly be called the use of power at all, but is the limiting case where power, losing its symbolic character, merges into an intrinsic instrumentality of securing wishes, rather than obligations." Talcott Parsons, "On the Concept of Political Power," in *Sociological Theory and Modern*

*Society* (New York: Free Press, 1967), p. 331. Parsons's whole chapter, originally published in 1963, is relevant to a discussion of women and power, as is the preceding chapter in the same book, "Reflections on the Place of Force in Social Process" (pp. 264–96). See, for instance, Parsons's distinction between force and power: "In the context of deterrence, we conceive force to be a residual means that, in a showdown, is more effective than any alternative. Power, on the other hand, we conceive to be a *generalized medium* for controlling action—one among others—the effectiveness of which is dependent on a variety of factors of which control of force is only one, although a strategic one in *certain* contexts" (pp. 272–73).

11. This summary of Parsons's position is to be found in Arthur Kroker and David Cook, "Parsons' Foucault," in *The Postmodern Scene: Excremental Culture and Hyper-Aesthetics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), p. 228.

12. *Art Journal*, new series, IV (1858): 169.

13. "In Dreams Begin Responsibilities" is the title story of a book by the American poet Delmore Schwartz, published in 1938. Schwartz indicated that the title derived from an epigraph, "In dreams begins responsibility," which William Butler Yeats placed before his own collection *Responsibilities* (1914) and attributed to an "old play." Richard McDougall, *Delmore Schwartz* (New York: Twayne, 1974), pp. 46–47.

14. For the almost totally negative reception of Delacroix's painting, see Jack Spector, *Delacroix: The Death of Sardanapalus* (Art in Context) (New York: Viking, 1974), pp. 80–83.

15. Edward Said's *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978) is the basic text on the subject of the representation of the Near East. Also see my article "The Imaginary Orient," *Art in America* 71 (May 1983): 118–131, upon which much of my analysis of Gérôme is based.

16. For a more detailed examination of the issues surrounding *The Ball at the Opera*, see my "A Thoroughly Modern Masked Ball," *Art in America* 71 (November 1983): 188–201.

17. Julius Meier-Graefe, *Édouard Manet* (Munich, 1912), p. 216. It must be understood that *The Ball at the Opera*, like so many Impressionist representations of so-called scenes of "leisure" or "entertainment," may actually be read as a kind of work scene: a representation of women in the entertainment or urban service industries. Bourgeois men's leisure was, and often still is, maintained or sustained by women's work, often work related to the marketing of their own bodies. *The Ball at the Opera*, like a Degas ballet scene or Manet's representations of café waitresses or prostitutes, is a representation of women's labor just as much as Millet's imagery of the female farmworker or domestic laborer. For some of the ambiguities surrounding the notion of prostitution as "work" in the nineteenth century, see T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (New York: Knopf, 1985), pp. 101–8; Hollis Clayson, "*Avant-Garde* and *Pompier* Images of 19th Century French Prostitution: The Matter of Modernism, Modernity and Social Ideology," in Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, Serge Guilbaut, and David Solkin, eds., *Modernism and Modernity: The Vancouver Conference Papers*, Nova Scotia, Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1983, pp. 43–64; and Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain*, passim. For a variety of reasons, women's work both in the home and in the "entertainment" or "prostitution" trades escaped the Marxist analysis of production in the nineteenth century. See Linda Nicholson, "Feminism and Marx: Integrating Kinship with the Economic," in *Feminism as Critique: On the Politics of Gender*, ed. S. Benhabib and D. Cornell (Minneapolis, 1987), pp. 16–30.



18. For Mallarmé's view of the *Ball*, see his "Le Jury de peinture pour 1874 et M. Manet," *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. H. Mondor and G. Jean-Aubry (Paris, 1945), p. 695. The article originally appeared in *La Renaissance artistique et littéraire* in 1874. For Mallarmé's comments on Manet's formal innovations see "The Impressionists and Edouard Manet," an article which originally appeared in the 30 September 1876 issue of *The Art Monthly Review and Photographic Portfolio* in London, and was recently republished in the exhibition catalogue *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874–1886*, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco and the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1986.

19. The trope of the fragmented legs in the medieval imagery of the ascending Christ is discussed by Meyer Schapiro in "The Image of the Disappearing Christ: The Ascension in English Art Around the Year 1000," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, March 1943, pp. 135–52.

20. Stuart MacDonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (London: University of London Press, 1970), title to Fig. 9, opp. p. 96. For the most recent information on Emily Mary Osborn, see Charlotte Yeldham, *Women Artists in Nineteenth-Century France and England* (New York and London: Garland, 1984), vol. 1, p. 167, and pp. 300–11.

21. This is the interpretation of the painting given in the *Art Journal* of 1857, the year when *Nameless and Friendless* was exhibited as No. 299 at the Royal Academy Exhibition: "A poor girl has painted a picture, which she offers for sale to a dealer, who, from the speaking expression of his features, is disposed to depreciate the work. It is a wet, dismal day, and she has walked far to dispose of it; and now awaits in trembling the decision of a man who is become rich by the labours of others." *The Art Journal*, new series, III (1857): 170.

22. For a lengthy analysis of the representation of the peasant woman in nineteenth-century, mostly French, art, see Linda Nochlin, "The *Cribleuses de blé*: Courbet, Millet, Breton, Kollwitz and the Image of the Working Woman," in *Malerei und Theorie: Das Courbet-Colloquium 1979*, ed. Klaus Gallwitz and Klaus Herding, Frankfurt-am-Main, Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitut, 1980, pp. 49–74.

23. See Paul de Grully, "Le Droit de glanage: Patrimonie des pauvres," Ph.D. Law Faculty, University of Montpellier, 1912, for a complete historical examination of the issue of gleaning.

24. For the most penetrating examination of the social contradictions embodied in Millet's *Gleaners*, see Jean-Claude Chamboredon, "Peintures des rapports sociaux et invention de l'eternel paysan: Les deux manières de Jean-François Millet," *Actes de la recherche et sciences sociales*, nos. 17–18 (November 1977): 6–28.

25. I owe this observation to Robert Herbert.

26. See the exhibition catalogue *Käthe Kollwitz*, Frankfurter Kunstverein, 2nd ed., Frankfurt, 1973, Fig. 17.

27. Françoise Forster-Hahn, *Kaethe Kollwitz, 1867–1945: Prints, Drawings, Sculpture*, exhibition catalogue, Riverside, California, University Art Galleries, 1978, p. 6.

28. Otto Nagel, *Kaethe Kollwitz*, trans. by S. Humphries (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1971), p. 35.

29. Natalie Zemon Davis, "Woman on Top," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1975), pp. 124–51 and especially p. 129.

30. "V'la une femme . . ." is part of the series "Les Divorceuses" and appeared in *Le Charivari* on August 12, 1848. The feminist to the left is meant to represent Eugénie Niboyet, who started the "Club des femmes" and the journal *La Voix des femmes,* which she holds with the title partly hidden behind her back. The figure to the right is probably meant to refer to Jeanne Deroin, a feminist activist who was frequently the butt of Daumier's scathing satire in his anti-feminist series "Les Femmes Socialistes," which appeared in *Le Charivari* from April to June 1849. See Jan Rie Kist, *Honoré Daumier, 1808–1879,* exhibition catalogue, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1979, No. 58, p. 59, and Françoise Parturier, *Intellectuelles (Bas Bleus et Femmes Socialistes)* (Paris: Éditions Vilo-Paris, 1974), passim. For a study of Daumier's anti-feminist caricatures, see Caecillia Rentmeister, "Daumier und das hässliche Geschlecht," in the exhibition catalogue *Daumier und die ungelösten Probleme der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Berlin: Schloss Charlottenburg, 1974), pp. 57–79.

31. For a discussion of caricatures of women of the Commune, see James A. Leith, *Images of the Commune* (Montreal and London, 1978), pp. 135–38, and Adrian Rifkin, "No Particular Thing to Mean," *Block* 8 (1983): 36–45.

32. Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern Europe,* p. 129.

33. This frightening aspect of Black Anna is manifested particularly in the print from the series entitled "Whetting the Scythe," a soft-ground etching, in which the figure looms out at the spectator from a shadowy background, her weapon clutched to her body, her expression a kind of brooding malevolence.

34. Midge Mackenzie, ed., *Shoulder to Shoulder,* pp. 258–61. Also see Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907–14* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 134.

35. Jacqueline Rose, "Sexuality in the Field of Vision," in *Sexuality in the Field of Vision* (London: Verso, 1986), p. 232.

36. Peter Wollen, "Counter-Cinema and Sexual Difference," in *Difference: On Representation and Sexuality,* exhibition catalogue, New York, New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1985.

37. Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16, no. 3 (Autumn 1975): 6–18. As Mulvey herself has later pointed out, this is perhaps too simple a conception of the possibilities involved. Nevertheless, it still seems to offer a good working conception for beginning to think about the position of the female spectator of the visual arts.

38. See the exhibition catalogue *Balthus,* by Sabine Rewald, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art and Harry N. Abrams, 1984.

39. Lisa Tickner, "Sexuality and/in Representation: Five British Artists," in *Difference: On Representation and Sexuality,* p. 20.