

issue 2 | 2020  
18+

# Corpus mundi

JOURNAL OF BODY STUDIES



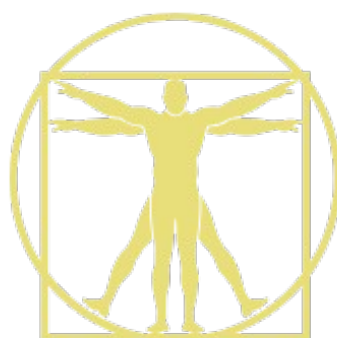


# Corpus Mundi

Scientific E-Journal

[www.corpusmundi.com](http://www.corpusmundi.com)

Vol 1 No 2



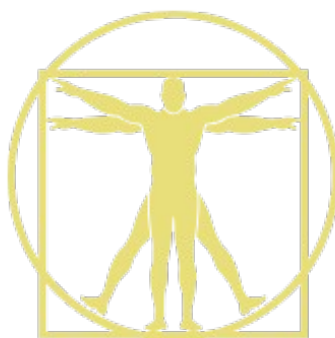
2020

# Corpus Mundi

Научный электронный журнал

[www.corpusmundi.com](http://www.corpusmundi.com)

Том 1 No 2



2020

---

## Dear friends, colleagues, readers and authors!

---

**Corpus Mundi** is a periodic academic e-journal without printed forms (since 2020). The journal publishes scholar articles, reviews, information resources, conferences and other scientific materials.

We publish four issues in a year.

The working languages of the Journal are English and Russian.

The Journal is devoted to topical issues in the field of Body Studies, corporality, history of corporality, Body in Mass culture and others.

### **Aim and Scope**

---

Our goal is to create a virtual platform for exchange of views and discussions in the field of Body studies. With this goal in mind, we aim to ensure that our online publication performs important scientific functions – communication and information – that will not only accumulate new developments in this field, but will also serve as a basis for new discoveries and insights.

The Journal advocates the principles of dialogue of cultures and elimination of conditions for possible conflicts of civilizations. It adheres to the principles of the philosophy of non-violence, cultural and religious tolerance. The editorial staff aims to remove language barriers and respect the boundaries of the national culture of each nation living on our small planet – Earth.

Our team brought together specialists whose scientific activity is in one way or another related to the study of corporality. In our Journal we are not going to be limited solely to the human body, as we approach the problem of "corporality" from the widest positions.

As we tried to create a space for international communication, we chose English (international language of science) and Russian (as the project is an initiative of Russian scientists) as working languages of our journal.

Our international team, which is represented in the editorial board of the journal, includes specialists from Russia, USA, Great Britain, Spain, China and other countries. All manuscripts submitted to the Editorial board undergo double blind review, which is the fundamental scientific and ethical principles of our project. The digital nature of modern international communications has enabled us to choose the online variant of publication of articles (without physical printing). Therefore, our journal is part of the Open Journal Systems, which allows us to organize perfectly the whole publishing process, but also makes it possible to access information. After all, the reader gets the opportunity to download any article from our site for free. We believe that only the open exchange of information will allow mankind to make a serious breakthrough in the development of science and technology.

We work on the principles of strict confidentiality and careful attention to personal data of users. Therefore, the names and email addresses of authors of this online publication are used exclusively for the purposes indicated by this online publication and cannot be used for any other purposes or provided to other persons and organizations. In addition, this principle allows to maintain a high level of criticism and impartiality when reviewing manuscripts submitted to the editor, since reviewers can not see the authorship of a particular work. The objectivity of the review is verified by double or sometimes even triple reviews, which avoids one-sidedness when working with those

manuscripts that by their nature may go beyond one discipline or traditional approaches that are dominant at the moment. Our main principle that we focus on is **SCIENCE**.

*Best regards,  
Editors*

- **Certificate of registration issued by Roskomnadzor:** ЭЛ № ФС77-77 481 since 31 December 2019
- Materials are intended for persons over 18 years old.

---

## Уважаемые друзья, коллеги, читатели и авторы!

---

Сетевое издание Corpus Mundi является периодическим научным изданием, не имеющим печатной формы, и выпускается с 2020 года. В сетевом издании публикуются научные статьи, рецензии, информационные ресурсы, отчеты об экспедициях, конференциях и прочие научные материалы.

Мы выходим ежеквартально 4 раза в год.

Рабочими языками журнала являются русский и английский

Сетевое издание посвящено актуальным вопросам в сфере телесности, Body Studies, истории телесности, телесных модификаций, телу в массовой культуре, литературе и искусстве и другим.

### Цель проекта

---

Создание виртуальной площадки для обмена мнениями и дискуссий в области Body studies.

Исходя из этой цели, мы стремимся к тому, чтобы наше сетевое издание выполняло важные научные функции – коммуникативную и информационную, которые позволят не только аккумулировать новые достижения в этой области, но и послужат основой для новых открытий и озарений.

Сетевое издание выступает с позиций «идеологии» диалога культур и устранимости условий конфликта цивилизаций. Оно придерживается принципов философии ненасилия, культурной и религиозной толерантности. Редакция преследует цель устранения языковых барьеров и уважительного отношения к границам национальных культур.

Наш коллектив объединил специалистов, чья научная деятельность так или иначе связана с изучением телесности. В своей работе мы не собираемся замыкаться лишь на теле Человека, так как мы подходим к проблеме «телесности» с самых широких позиций.

Так как мы стремились создать пространство международного общения, в качестве рабочих языков сетевого издания мы выбрали английский (международный язык науки) и русский (так как проект является инициативой российских учёных).

Наша международную команду, которая представлена в редколлегии сетевого издания, включает в себя специалистов из России, США, Великобритании, Испании, КНР и других стран.

Все рукописи, поступающие в издательство, проходят двойное слепое рецензирование, что соответствует принципам нашего проекта (основные этические принципы представлены здесь). А цифровой характер современных международных коммуникаций дал нам возможность выбрать электронный вариант публикации статей (без физической печати). Поэтому наш журнал входит в систему Open Journal Systems, который позволяет идеально организовать весь издательский процесс и предоставляет свободный доступ к информации. Таким образом читатель получает возможность бесплатно скачать любую статью с нашего сайта. Мы полагаем, что только свободный обмен информацией даст возможность человечеству сделать серьезный рывок в развитии науки и техники.

Мы работаем на принципах строгой конфиденциальности и внимательного отношения к персональным данным пользователей. Поэтому имена и адреса электронной почты, введенные на сайте этого сетевого издания, используются исключительно для целей, обозначенных этим сетевым изданием, и не могут быть использованы для каких-либо других целей или предоставлены другим лицам и организациям. Этот принцип позволяет сохранить высокую критичность и непредвзятость при рецензировании рукописей, поступающих в редакцию, так как рецензенты не могут видеть авторство той или иной работы. Объективность рецензии верифицируется двойным или порой даже тройным рецензированием, что позволяет избежать однобокости при работе с теми рукописями, которые по своему характеру могут выходить за рамки одной дисциплины или традиционных подходов, доминирующих в данный момент. Наш главный принцип, на который мы ориентируемся, – НАУЧНОСТЬ.

*С уважением,  
редакция журнала*

- **Свидетельство о регистрации выдано Роскомнадзором:** ЭЛ № ФС77-77481 от 31 декабря 2019
- Опубликованные в журнале материалы предназначены для лиц старше 18 лет



<b>Editorial Team</b>	
<b>Редакция</b>	
<b>Editor-in-Chief</b>	<b>Главный редактор</b>
<b>Olesya S. Yakushenkova</b> PhD, Associate Professor at the Department of Cultural Studies, Astrakhan State University, <b>Russia</b>	<b>Олеся Сергеевна Якушенкова</b> к.филос. н., доцент кафедры Культурологии, ФГБОУ ВО «Астраханский государственный университет», <b>Россия</b>
<b>Deputy Editor-in-Chief</b>	<b>Заместитель главного редактора</b>
<b>Rastyam T. Aliev</b> PhD, Astrakhan State University, <b>Russia</b>	<b>Растям Туктарович Алиев</b> к.ист.н., ФГБОУ ВО «Астраханский государственный университет», <b>Россия</b>
<b>Science editor</b>	<b>Научный редактор</b>
<b>Serguey N. Yakushenkov</b> Dr. Habilitatus in History, Professor of the Department of Foreign History and Regional Studies, Astrakhan State University, <b>Russia</b>	<b>Сергей Николаевич Якушенков</b> д.ист.н., профессор, профессор кафедры Зарубежной истории и регионоведения, ФГБОУ ВО «Астраханский государственный университет», <b>Россия</b>
<b>Editorial Board</b>	<b>Редакционная коллегия</b>
<b>Alexander N. Meshcheryakov</b> Dr. Habilitatus in History, Professor at the Institute of Classical East and Antiquity of the National Research University Higher School of Economics, <b>Russia</b>	<b>Александр Николаевич Мещеряков</b> д.ист.н., профессор Института классического Востока и античности НИУ ВШЭ, <b>Россия</b>
<b>Sergei V. Sokolovskiy,</b> Dr. Habilitatus in History, Chief Researcher, Center of Anthropoecology, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences, <b>Russia</b>	<b>Сергей Валерьевич Соколовский,</b> д.ист. н., гл.н.с. Центра антропоэкологии Института этнологии и антропологии РАН, <b>Россия</b>
<b>Oksana V. Timofeeva</b> Dr. Habilitatus in Philosophy, Professor, Department of Sociology and Philosophy, European University at Saint Petersburg, <b>Russia</b>	<b>Оксана Викторовна Тимофеева</b> д.филос.н., профессор факультета социологии и философии ЕУСПб, Санкт-Петербург, <b>Россия</b>
<b>Natalia A. Artemenko</b> PhD in Philosophy, Assistant Professor, Department of Cultural Studies, St. Petersburg State University, <b>Russia</b>	<b>Наталья Андреевна Артеменко</b> к.филос.н., доцент Института философии Санкт-Петербургского государственного университета, <b>Россия</b>

<p><b>Elena Y. Zavyalova</b> Dr. Habilitatus in Philology, Chair of Literature Department, Astrakhan State University, <b>Russia</b></p>	<p><b>Елена Евгеньевна Завьялова</b> д. филол. н., заведующая кафедрой литературы, Астраханский государственный университет, <b>Россия</b></p>
<p><b>Svetlana B. Nikonova,</b> Dr. Habilitatus in Philosophy, Saint- Petersburg University of Humanities and Social Sciences, <b>Russia</b></p>	<p><b>Светлана Борисовна Никонова</b> д. филос. н., доцент, профессор кафедры философии и культурологии Санкт-Петербургского Гуманитарного университета профсоюзов, <b>Россия</b></p>
<p><b>Sergey A. Troitskiy</b> PhD in Philosophy, Senior Researcher (Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia), Senior Lecturer (St. Petersburg State University), Director (Center for Cultural Exclusion and Frontier Zones, Sociological Institute - Branch of Federal Sociological Center of RAS), <b>Russia</b></p>	<p><b>Сергей Александрович Троицкий</b> к.филос.н., Российский государственный педагогический университет им. А.И. Герцена, Санкт- Петербургский государственный университет, Центр изучения зон культурного отчуждения и пограничья Социологического института РАН - Филиала ФНИСЦ РАН, <b>Россия</b></p>
<p><b>Elina A. Sarakaeva</b> PhD, Hainan Professional College of Economics and Business in Haikou, <b>China</b></p>	<p><b>Элина Алиевна Саракаева</b> к. филол. н., Хайнаньский профессиональный колледж экономики и бизнеса Хайкоу, <b>КНР</b></p>
<p><b>Graham H. Roberts,</b> Dr. Habilitatus, Associate Professor, Université Paris Nanterre, <b>France</b></p>	<p><b>Грэм Робертс</b> Dr. Habilitatus, доцент, Университет Париж Нантер, <b>Франция</b></p>
<p><b>Yuniya Kawamura</b> PhD, Professor of Sociology, Social Sciences Department Fashion Institute of Technology/State University of NY, <b>USA</b></p>	<p><b>Юния Кавамура</b> PhD, профессор социологии, факультет социальных наук, Технологический институт моды/Университет штата Нью-Йорк, <b>США</b></p>
<p><b>Shelton Waldrep</b> PhD, Professor and Chair of English, University of Southern Maine, <b>USA</b></p>	<p><b>Шелтон Уолдреп</b> PhD, профессор и заведующий кафедрой английского языка, Университет Южного Мэна, <b>США</b></p>
<p><b>Jane Kuenz</b> PhD, Professor and Associate Dean, University of Southern Maine, Portland, <b>USA</b></p>	<p><b>Джейн Куэнз</b> PhD, профессор и заместитель декана, Университет Южного Мэна, Портленд, <b>США.</b></p>
<p><b>Niharika Dinkar</b> PhD, Associate Professor, Art History and Visual Culture, Boise State University, <b>USA</b></p>	<p><b>Нихарика Динкар</b> PhD, доцент, факультет история искусств и визуальной культуры, Университет Бойса, <b>США</b></p>
<p><b>Jeremy Mynott</b> Dr. Habilitatus, PhD (Cambridge), Emeritus Fellow, Wolfson College, Cambridge, <b>UK</b></p>	<p><b>Джереми Майнотт</b> Dr. Habilitatus, PhD, почетный профессор, Колледж Вулфсона, Кембридж, <b>Великобритания</b></p>

<p><b>Thomas Kampe,</b> Dr., Professor of Somatic Performance and Education, Bath Spa University, <b>UK</b></p>	<p><b>Томас Камп,</b> доктор, профессор соматического искусства и образования, Университет Бат Спа, <b>Великобритания</b></p>
<p><b>Amy Bryzgel</b> Dr., Full Professor and Personal Chair (Film and Visual Culture), University of Aberdeen: Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire, <b>UK</b></p>	<p><b>Эми Брызгель</b> доктор, профессор, зав. кафедрой (кино и визуальная культура), Абердинский университет, Абердин, <b>Великобритания</b></p>
<p><b>David Brown</b> PhD, Cardiff School of Sport and Health Sciences, Cardiff Metropolitan University, <b>UK</b></p>	<p><b>Дэвид Браун</b> PhD, Кардиффская школа спорта и наук о здоровье, Кардиффский городской университет, <b>Великобритания</b></p>
<p><b>Michelle Keown</b> Dr., Professor, Chair in Pacific and Postcolonial Literature, Department of English Literature, School of Literatures, Languages and Cultures, University of Edinburgh, <b>UK</b></p>	<p><b>Мишель Кион</b> доктор, профессор, кафедра тихоокеанской и постколониальной литературы, факультет английской литературы, Школа литературы, языков и культур, Эдинбургский университет, <b>Великобритания</b></p>
<p><b>Salomé Sola-Morales</b> Dr., Professor, Audiovisual Communication and Advertising Department, Seville University, <b>Spain</b></p>	<p><b>Саломе Сола-Моралес</b> доктор, профессор, факультет аудиовизуальных коммуникаций и рекламы, Севильский университет, <b>Испания</b></p>
<p><b>Jaana Parviainen</b> Dr., Adjunct Professor (Docent), Senior Researcher, Faculty of Social Sciences (SOC), Tampere University, <b>Finland</b></p>	<p><b>Яана Парвиайнен,</b> д-р, доцент, старший научный сотрудник, факультет социальных наук, Университет Тампере, <b>Финляндия</b></p>
<p><b>Shogo Tanaka</b> Ph.D., Professor, Center for Liberal Arts, Institute of Civilization Research, TOKAI University, <b>Japan</b></p>	<p><b>Сёго Танака</b> Ph.D., профессор, Центр гуманитарных наук, Институт цивилизационных исследований, Университет ТОКАИ, <b>Япония</b></p>
<p><b>Valeria Varea</b> Ph.D., School of Health Sciences, Division of Sport Science, Örebro University, <b>Sweden</b></p>	<p><b>Валерия Варееа</b> Ph.D., Школа наук о здоровье, Отдел наук о спорте, Университет Эребру, <b>Швеция.</b></p>

## CONTACTS

---

**Founder:** Limited Liability Company Scientific Industrial Enterprise  
“Genesis. Frontier. Science”

**Address:** 29/1, Botvina St. apt. 50, Astrakhan,  
Russia, 414 052

---

### **Editor-in-Chief**

Olesya S. Yakushenkova

**Email:** admin@corpusmundi.com

---

### **The Management of the Journal**

Rastyam T. Aliev

Email: rastaliev@gmail.com

**Journal was founded in 2020**

<p><b>The opinion of the editorial board may not coincide with the opinion of the authors</b></p>
---

## КОНТАКТЫ

---

**Учредитель:** Общество с ограниченной ответственностью  
научно-производственное предприятие «Генезис.Фронтир.Наука»

**Адрес редакции:** 414 052, Российская федерация, г. Астрахань,  
ул. Ботвина 29/1, кв. 50

---

**Главный редактор:**

Якушенкова Олеся Сергеевна

**Email:** admin@corpusmundi.com

---

**Дирекция журнала**

Алиев Растям Туктарович

Email: rastaliev@gmail.com

**Журнал основан в 2020**

<p><b>Мнение редколлегии журнала может не совпадать с мнением авторов</b></p>
---

# Content

---

## REPRESENTING BODY

---

**Julie Patarin-Jossec**

The Politics of Heroes' Body:

Ethnographing the Training of Foreign Astronauts in Russia 14

**Anastasia A. Toropova**

Agender Aesthetics: Body is not an Image, but a Fluid 37

**Shelton Waldrep**

The Body of Art 62

**Kwasu Tembo**

Sons of Lilith: The Portrayal and Characterization of Women  
in the Apocryphal Comics of Neil Gaiman, Alan Moore,  
and Grant Morrison 88

## TRAUMA AND MEMORY

---

**Niek van Ansem, Louise David, Carien van Eekhout,**

**Marit Leijnse, Savannah Mellendijk & Kees Oost**

Remembering Urban Trauma:

St Petersburg and Nijmegen in the Second World War 122

# Содержание

---

## ПРЕДСТАВЛЯЯ ТЕЛО

---

**Патарин-Жоссек Жюли**

Политика героического тела:

этнография подготовки иностранных космонавтов в России 14

**Торопова Анастасия Александровна**

Агендерная эстетика: тело не образ, а поток 37

**Уолдреп Шелтон**

Тело в искусстве 62

**Тембо Квасу**

Сыновья Лилит: Нил Гейман, Алан Мур и Грант Моррисон  
изображают и описывают женщин в своих апокрифических  
комиксах 88

## ТРАВМА И ПАМЯТЬ

---

**ван Ансем Ник, Давид Луиза, ван Экоут Карин,**

**Лейнсе Марит, Меллендейк Саванна, Оост Кес**

Вспоминая городскую травму:

Санкт-Петербург и Неймеген во время Второй мировой войны 122



---

# THE POLITICS OF HEROES' BODY: ETHNOGRAPHYING THE TRAINING OF FOREIGN ASTRONAUTS IN RUSSIA

---

**Julie Patarin-Jossec (a)**

(a) Saint Petersburg State University / The Centre Emile Durkheim. Saint Petersburg, Russia / Bordeaux, France. Email: [patarinjossec.julie\[at\]gmail.com](mailto:patarinjossec.julie[at]gmail.com)

---

## Abstract

If the literature in the history of the Soviet space program is extremely prolific since the 1960s, including regarding cosmonaut embodiment, a lack remains regarding the contemporary reality of human spaceflight in Russia. As this article discusses, based on interviews and a long-term ethnography of the Russian training of astronauts from Western Europe, North America, and Japan, becoming an astronaut is to develop a legitimate body fitting dominant cultural and gendered models. Three mechanisms serve the manufacture of “heroes” and masculine bodies through the astronaut training: the historical narrative of human spaceflight; the values and virility attributes embed as part of the training; and the instruments used in the daily activity of astronauts (such as spacesuits). This manufacture of a legitimate body, characterized by masculinity and discipline inherited from the past, is a heuristic field for corporality and studies of global politics as it underlines how an interweaving of gender, Soviet heritage, and cultural fantasies frames the bodies of a professional elite.

---

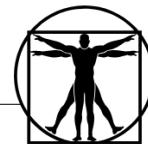
## Keywords

Astronaut training; discipline; ethnography; legitimate body; hero; human spaceflight; masculinity; star city; soviet heritage; virility



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons «Attribution» 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).





---

## ПОЛИТИКА ГЕРОИЧЕСКОГО ТЕЛА: ЭТНОГРАФИЯ ПОДГОТОВКИ ИНОСТРАННЫХ КОСМОНАВТОВ В РОССИИ

---

**Патарин-Жоссек Жюли (а)**

(а) ФГБОУ ВО "Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет" / Центр Эмиля Дюркгейма.  
Санкт-Петербург, Россия / Бордо, Франция. Email: [patarinjossec.julie\[at\]gmail.com](mailto:patarinjossec.julie[at]gmail.com)

---

### Аннотация

---

При огромном количестве книг по истории советской космической программы начиная с 1960-х годов (в том числе и по соматизации космонавтов), мы вынуждены констатировать недостаток в количестве исследований современных реальных полета человека в космос в России.

В данной статье, основанной на интервью и многолетней этнографии российской подготовки космонавтов из Западной Европы, Северной Америки и Японии, говорится о том, что стать космонавтом – значит разработать легитимное тело, соответствующее доминирующим культурным и гендерным паттернам.

Три механизма служат созданию "героических" и маскулинных тел через обучение космонавтов: исторические нарративы о полете человека в космос; ценности и атрибуты мужественности, прививаемые в процессе обучения; и инструменты, используемые в повседневной деятельности космонавтов (такие, как скафандры).

Это изготовление легитимного тела, характеризующегося мужественностью и дисциплиной, наследуемой из прошлого, является эвристическим полем телесности и изучения глобальной политики, поскольку оно подчеркивает, как гендер, переплетающийся с советским наследием и культурными притязаниями, обрамляет тело профессиональной элиты.

---

### Ключевые слова

---

Подготовка космонавтов; дисциплина; этнография; легитимное тело; герой; полет человека в космос; маскулинность; Звездный городок; советское наследие; мужественность



Это произведение доступно по [лицензии Creative Commons «Attribution»](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)  
(«Атрибуция») 4.0 Всемирная



## INTRODUCTION

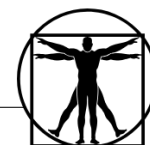
Becoming a cosmonaut or an astronaut<sup>1</sup> means developing a legitimate body fitting dominant cultural and gendered models. That is one of the main conclusions of a research initially started for a PhD in sociology, resulting in a several-year ethnography in the world of human spaceflight in Russia. As this article discusses, this manufacture of a 'legitimate' body (Boni-Le Goff, 2016), characterized by masculinity and discipline, and the embodiment of cultural heritage, is a heuristic field for a general theory about corporality and global politics, as the training consists of an interweaving of gender and cultural fantasies in an international cooperation context.

On 9 April 1961, the Soviet Air Force pilot Yuri Gagarin becomes the first human being to perform an orbit of the Earth. 572 people ever went to space since then; among them, 64 were women (including fifty Americans and four Russians). Western astronauts and Soviet or Russian cosmonauts who flew in outer space since 1961 consequently perpetrate a relatively homogenous and heteronormative part of the global population: mainly men, white, and heterosexual. Since the late 1990s, the International Space Station ("ISS") is the only human space program for all the space agencies worldwide which detain a human space program (except China). It includes Canada, member-states of the European Space, Japan, Russia, and the United States. Until 2011, Russia and the United States detained transportation systems to convey crews to the ISS. But after the retirement of NASA's Space Shuttle, Russian "Soyuz" vehicle became the only way to launch astronauts and cosmonauts. As a consequence, an important part of the training is managed at the Gagarin Cosmonaut Research and Training Center (*Centr Podgotovki Kosmonavtov, imeni Ŭ. Gagarina*) located in Star City (*Zvezdnyj gorodok*, Moscow region, Russia), for all crewmembers regardless their national belonging. The training methods inherited from the Soviet era are regulated by rituals and traditions aiming to maintain a collective memory of the age of Soviet pioneers.

Partly because those rituals and traditions were generated by the first male cosmonauts—mainly Yuri Gagarin—, partly because they aim to celebrate fearless-bravery regard danger and the service to the Motherland, they turn to epitomize the celebration of virile attributes. The profes-

---

1 'Cosmonaut' is used to refer to Russians, 'Taikonauts' to Chinese crewmembers, and 'Astronauts' to any other nationality. Except when the text directly related to Russians, the term "astronaut" is mostly used in the article as it emphasizes the experience of non-Russian astronauts trained in Russian facilities.



sionalization of astronauts then relates to masculine attributes; masculinity is thus a process that women astronauts have to embody as well, as part of the docility process. Bodies of women are not exactly disciplined and made docile as bodies of men are, in a social world ruled by power relations among sexes. Feminist sport studies have especially highlighted this dimension: (rough) physical training can serve as a technology of control and power exercise, anchoring women in normative practices (Markula, 2003) potentially accentuating gendered power relationships. Consequently, physical activity requires the embodiment of certain values, representations, and norms that could support a gendered discipline.

The literature in the history of the Soviet space program is extremely prolific since the 1960s and covers various dimensions of the subject. Among these references, a few particularly emphasizes the role of gender and masculinity in the cosmonaut profession and, more broadly, in the Soviet ideology (Gerovitch, 2015; Jenks, 2012; Fraser, 2017; Kamanin, 1995-2001), or the experience and political significance of women cosmonauts (Sylvester, 2019; Lewis, 2008). In addition to cosmonauts' memoirs, the memoirs of Nikolay Kamanin especially discuss the challenges women faced in the Soviet space program, where the issues of gender and identity regularly appear as constantly interrelated in the training. In the field of media studies, Dario Llinares provided, for his part, rare insights into the gendered embodiment of Western astronauts (2008; 2009; 2011).

However, this literature remains predominantly historical, hence a lack of researches dedicated to contemporary international training in Russia or based on an empirical method like ethnography. Yet, training astronauts today has not the same reality as in the Soviet Union. Methods and rituals may remain, but the progressive inclusion of international crews from Western Europe, Japan, North America, and even the United Arab Emirates, progressively develop a ground for the global circulation of norms that training in Russia has become. This internationalization of the Russian training (and its related ideal-type of heroism and masculinity) deeply changes the nature of bodies' politics, resulting in possible power struggles and hierarchies between the astronauts, according to their cultural norms and gendered socialization.

The training and the flight acting as rites of passage, astronauts do become national heroes and therefore can exercise a dominant position through their embodiment. Nevertheless, one should not invisibilize that this manufacture of heroes is, first and foremost, a question of invisibilisation of women to the benefit of a model of masculinity based on bodily and mental discipline. As it comes about astronauts, becoming a hero means fitting to virile attributes and, doing so, building a legitimate body.

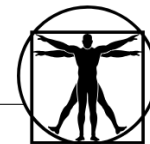


In addition to four-and-a-half-year ethnographic fieldwork conducted between August 2015 and January 2020 in European, Russian and Japanese astronaut training facilities (respectively in Cologne, Star City, and Tsukuba), this article is based on interviews with astronauts and cosmonauts from the American, European, Russian, Canadian, and Japanese space agencies. While the profession mainly consists of men, six out of 38 crewmembers interviewed in the field are women. Although interviews cited in this article are anonymized to comply with the ethnographic rules of anonymity<sup>1</sup>, the gender, the flight experience, and the nationality of interviewees are specified in citations throughout the text. However, astronauts from the European Space Agency are only cited as “Western Europeans”, since specifying further their nationality would facilitate their identification. Similarly, flight experience remains vague considering that specifying the exact number of space flights would also break away from interviewees’ anonymization. If only a few interviews are explicitly cited (often to prevent from identifying the interviewees considering the sore subject of masculine hegemony among crewmembers), this article rather relies on an oral history resulting from the interviews and the immersion in the field during the research time frame.

Without further clarification of the concepts used in this research, it may suggest an essentialization of genders, as bodies, rationalities, and representations of the self uniformly distinct from a “male” standpoint. While considering the appeal to reified men’s attributes, one of the risks incurred in taking over the mythologies of masculinity occurring in the astronaut training is to be taken over by those same reified representations. A reflexive analysis of the gendered processes part of the training thus needs to “pay careful attention to masculinity” and its plural forms (Segal, 2008, p. 21) in addressing gender and body discipline, as much as it should critically address the complexity and variations of women’s relation to the training. This risk of letting a theoretical frame being plagued by stationary and immutable categories (“men”, “women”) has been the driving force of many analytical adjustments in the course of feminist theory (see Messerschmidt, 2018). “Masculinity” is far from being a reified category (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) concerning the position of men in a social space structured by power relations, including relationships based on gender—i.e. the “gender order” (Connell, 2005 [1995]). Since these positions are always relational (i.e. “masculinity” only exists as part of a social setting), masculinities are consequently multiple (there is no singular and unique form of “the” masculinity), subject to changes

---

1 Except one case mentioned in the article, all the interviewees have been anonymized according to their space agency: NASA A, B, Roscosmos A, B, ... for the Russian space agency, and so on.



through time and space, as well as they are subject to internal contradictions and hierarchies (for a critical review of this literature, see Connell, 2014). Considering “masculinity” as a set of physiological and moral dispositions, invariably embedded through a routinized and ritualized management of the training, avoids taking for granted the social building of gendered identities. Masculinity, constituted with axiological (values) and carnal (body) qualities, remains a permanently pending process.

Like in the army (Higate & Hopton, 2005) or violent sports (Loirand, 2006; Messner, 1992), it does not seem surprising that women would have to conform to male-dominated standards in the astronaut profession. However, the very way masculinity is exercised and reproduced in the international context of the training (e.g. Western astronauts being trained in Russia according to post-Soviet methods) questions the conditions of the global circulation of cultural gendered norms and the concrete mechanisms of the reproduction of a certain model of masculinity.

As the different sections of this article underline here-after, three mechanisms serve the reproduction of a legitimate and masculine body in the training: historical narrative inherited from Western or Soviet space programs, the moral education of the training, and the standards and instruments used in the daily activity of astronauts. In truth, the historiography of human spaceflight appears to invisibilize women of the profession, emphasizing on cultural construction of space heroes as men. Then, the norms which are embodied as part of post-Soviet rituals followed in the training of international crews in Russia reproduce an ideal of masculinity related to the endurance of pain in the making of heroes. Finally, daily work tools of crewmembers appear as produced according to male body standards, creating difficulties for recruiting and training female crewmembers. The article concludes by discussing the international/national nexus in the development of a hegemonic model of masculinity, as shown in the training in Russia.

### **HISTORIOGRAPHY: WHEN MASCULINIZATION STARTS WITH AN INVISIBILISATION THROUGH TIME**

---

Space history witnesses how much the increasing integration of women into the collective corps of astronauts was slow and costly. At the time of “Mercury Seven”—the first seven astronauts recruited by the NASA in 1959: Alan Shepard, Malcolm Scott Carpenter, Walter Schirra (U.S. Navy), Virgil Grissom, Leroy Cooper, Donald Slayton (U.S. Air Force), et John Glenn (U.S. Marine Corps)—, a private selection campaign, entirely feminine, was started by a medical doctor, William Lovelace. Sup-



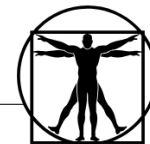
ported by the Air Force, this selection led nineteen women to perform the same physical and flight tests than NASA's male candidates. After that the army finally interrupted the access to test facilities, in the absence of official support from NASA, a commission of examination was launched to investigate sexual discriminations in the process. Nevertheless, discriminations based on sex would not be part of the *Civil Rights Act* before 1964, letting no acknowledgeable illegal behaviors to condemn. NASA did not select women before the late 1970s, and the first female American astronaut (Sally Ride) took off on 18 June 1983.

White, heterosexuals, protestants, and fathers with due diligence (or about to be): that is the portrait serving as a breeding ground to the professionalization of the Western astronaut. The same logic of exclusion was at both sides of the Iron Curtain, whatever the ideology defended by the government. Back in the early phase of the Soviet space program, cosmonauts turned out to perfectly incarnate the project of the New Soviet Man as developed under Stalin: serving the Motherland, disciplined, part of a system exceeding individualities. In other words, cosmonauts were "ideological prototypes" whose achievements allowed the Soviet population to "develop a sense of what living under communism could look like" (Bergman, 1998)<sup>1</sup>. "Discipline" was then mainly related to the "regular military man's qualities" (Gerovitch, 2015, p. 53): in 1959, selection criteria used for the first group of cosmonauts included "assiduousness, self-discipline, and the unwavering determination to reach the set goal" (id.). Thus, qualifications and properties that cosmonauts were led to develop were not their mastery of the engine, but rather their ability to make their body docile to the vehicle. Height and weight consequently became essential traits of selection while the bodies of cosmonauts fit the machine, rather than the machine fit to the bodies of cosmonauts selected according to other skills and abilities. These criteria are still current, while engineers tend to be promoted among STEMs ("Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics") educational background—where women are already a minority. During an interview with a Western astronaut, talking about memories of her selection, her tone suddenly gets passionate:

[...] we are not yet in a profession where there's a wide variety: people are very, very homogenous. [...] Think about it, what's an astronaut: that's mainly an American or a Russian, [her voice speeds up], that's mainly a man, that's mainly a white guy [...], do you see what I mean?<sup>2</sup>

1 Also cited in Gerovitch, 2015, op. cit., p. 50.

2 [Interview.] NASA 1 (female, North American, has flown several times), realized by phone, 12 July 2016.



If such features influence the chances to present and to be nominated at a selection, they exercise a certain weight in the socialization to the occupation as well, as long as the training lasts. The above-cited astronaut would have paid a high price for her sex: hazing, exclusion of her peers' group, and defamations aiming to question her ability to fly. The masculine dominion over the astronauts' corps may equal wounds and traumas contributing to the formation of the astronaut habitus, as part of a minority.

Quite the reverse for other women being part of space missions, the training would (aim to) abolish any kind of sex or race distinctions. Since each crewmember remains dependent on his/her crewmates in the realization of demanding tasks and in their safety, and since the trials experienced during the training bond the ones who share them, "being an astronaut" would not be conjugable at the plural form of sexes, races, or even cultures. That is the discourse delivered by Helen Sharman, a British scientist who flew aboard the Mir Soviet space station in 1991 as the first European woman to fly: "when you are an astronaut, you are no more man or woman, those differentiations don't make sense"<sup>1</sup>.

The boundary distinguishing neutrality and invisibility is tight. Claiming that the belonging to the corps of astronauts or cosmonauts creates sexual neutrality is, in itself, the expression of power relationships among sex. Here is one of the "variations of negation" (Wallace, 2016 [1990], p. 213-240) introduced in the critical analysis of Michele Wallace (to cite only one) in literary criticism: part of the population, including women and furthermore women of color, "cannot be heard, understood, or adequately recognized by dominant mainstream culture" (Wallace, 2016 [1990], p. 9), because this portion of the population is invisibilized through the diffusion of a dominant standardized model of identity, cultural consummation, and social representation. Invisibilized behind a mainstream culture that fits a part of the population presented as a universal model, Afro-American culture becomes in Wallace's terms the "unconscious" of the American History (p. 237).

Moreover, the low number of women in crews detain major consequences on the scientific work that they perform during their flight, while experiments under microgravity conditions represent a third of an astronaut or cosmonaut daily work:

Experiments in microgravity contexts, they have the particularity to require an important number of collected data, especially when it's about physiology. (...)

---

1 [Fieldwork notebook.] In Saint-Petersburg (Russia), 07 September 2018.



So we always have a number of subjects which... because the difference between men and women on board, on long-duration flights, it's pretty big, right?<sup>1</sup>

Make the marks of sexual particularity disappear is a way to deny its specificity and to impose a dominant model. If some cares reserved to women's bodies, during the training or the flight, may not require other explanations than logistical restrictions, this should not prevent a strong symbolic function. Hence, if the temporary interruption of menstruations during astronauts' flights allows reducing the exponential amount of wastes—which is strictly regulated regarding their mass and the conditions to their elimination—, such manipulation in the intimacy of bodies is an instrument of “discipline” and “docility” (Foucault, 2017) among others, in the process of masculinization which rules the astronauts training.

According to Michel Foucault, “docile bodies” are disciplined through a uniformization of physical appearances, including the shaving of certain parts of bodies, the control of gestures or a complete absence of control over one's own time or space (cf. Foucault, 2017 [1975], p. 166-190). Astronauts are devoid of many means of discipline which are specific to the prison, martial, and school universes analyzed by Foucault. But the abandonment of personal clothes to the benefit of a suit-wearing the space agency logo and the government flag for all public appearance and training session, the hierarchical relationship with instructors surveilling every action of crewmembers, or the delegation of one's schedule to third parties including regarding the management of “personal” or sleep time, are as many tools of the discipline of heroic bodies (p. 166-190). The expression of masculinity takes not only the form of physical strength, rely on embedded values (Wacquant, 2002, p. 234) on behalf of which one will accept institutionalized ordeals.

## **NORMS AND VALUES: THE TRAINING AS A GENDERED MORAL EDUCATION**

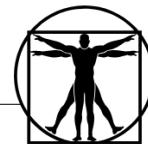
---

Disciplining bodies and minds remain interrelated, as the military training fairly illustrates: what would be the meaning of the inculcation of physical discipline, without instructing values, moral considerations, and representations that would guide the recruit's course of action? The training thereby contains a “moral and carnal education” taking over a set of corporal and mental schemes so entangled that they fade distinctions between athletic skills (hence the body) and moral abilities (hence the mind) (see Wacquant, 2004).

---

1 [Interview.] ESA A (female, Western European, has flown several times), realized in Paris (France), 09 November 2015.





In the moral education of astronauts, the pain in self-realization as a professional astronaut, man, and hero, is central. Pain and physical danger (even minor) remain omnipresent in the daily and routinized work of crewmembers. The case of spacewalks illustrates this feature: being immersed in an environment where temperatures fluctuate between  $-200^{\circ}\text{C}$  and  $200^{\circ}\text{C}$  against which the spacesuits (fairly flexible and bulky) withstand, working in full sunlight or in complete darkness for six to ten hours continuously, being hoisting from one part of the module to another, taking care to be constantly attached to not being adrift in the void, and demonstrating skills with slightly convenient gloves. Besides dehydration and exhaustion, deep joints and frozen ends, some crewmembers lose some of their nails as their hands are solicited during the activity.

Either in Soviet or Western cultural imaginaries, suffering often evidences the physical and moral superiority of heroes, leading some scholars to argue that heroism, masculinity, and masochism are deeply intertwined (Edwards, 2008), and that endurance of physical pain sets men apart from another in a hierarchy of masculinities (Messner, 1992). While manhood is thus marked by the endurance of physical pain (Jayasena, 2007), the involvement in endurance physical activities is seen as the perpetuation of masculine ideals, even if they may be sometimes injurious: “enduring physical pain is part of what it means to be a man” (Drummond, 2010, p. 201).

Hence, tales of painful trials are quite common in the trajectories of the cosmonauts and astronauts, from isolation in sleep privation to survival training. During an evening with Russian cosmonauts including some of the main directors of the Russian training facilities, I learned myself the detailed process of some of these trials:

Suddenly, the only European astronaut around the table remembers: “you once had an exercise including to not sleep during several days, like what, two, three days?” While he asks the faith of this test, the fact that the Russians tell him that it is still part of the current basic training for candidates cosmonauts shocks him so much that he suddenly put his arms further on the table, and then violently push his back on his chair. While I remain interrogative, two of the Russian cosmonauts explain to me: the candidate is isolated in a room for three days and two nights, with as only rule to not sleep. If one starts to fall asleep, a noisy alarm is put on. The goal of this exercise would be to test the nervous resistance of cosmonauts called to assume the functions of board-engineer and flight commander and to be assured that highly stressful conditions would not lead them to adopt dangerous behaviors (including regarding the hierarchy and the ground support during the flight). The former director of the training center then adds:



“Anyway it drives you completely crazy, but there are two types of madness: one is good for the flight, the other isn’t”<sup>1</sup>.

While some medical and psychological tests used in the early years of human space exploration were abandoned in Western space agencies, because of their harshness, the Russian space program maintains its methods as they were in the past decades. Such an acceptance of pain is rooted in the history of the Soviet space program and its collective memory. As a Western astronaut suggests in an interview:

[...] to be a hero, in Russia, you have to suffer. You can't be a hero if it's easy, it doesn't work. So, sometimes, you bleed to core out during the survival training, and it could really be done otherwise. [...] But somehow, it is accepted by everyone, because if you go in space, you have to pay: if you want to be a hero, you must have suffered. Otherwise, that's fake<sup>2</sup>.

Moreover, the physical danger and resistance to the pain appear as the condition to let emerge the “right stuff” of what astronaut should be made in preparation for their flight:

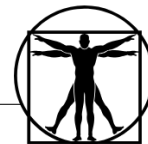
One time, there was a case that, in a Soyuz spacecraft in the summer, during a survival training it gets really hot, and from a medical standpoint, it's not so... I don't know... favorable, to have a high temperature in a Soyuz spacecraft during a survival training, you know... You may get dehydrated and eventually, you may die. That's not that bad, but medically it's very important to control the temperature. There were some American astronauts who were saying “yeah, that's true, but at the same time, if you do not put them through this kind of training environment, it's very difficult to understand who he or she is”, and that's a true statement<sup>3</sup>.

Hence, the risks are accepted, as well as the awareness of endangering one's bodily integrity. They are accepted because they are seen as traditions, and as some rites of passage which should be respected as part of the physical and moral education. Since every astronaut trains in Russia whatever his/her national belonging, all have to abide by those traditions and rituals shaping the training in Star City. Those trials frame a social bond among crewmembers, whose carnal (by the body) and moral (through the mind) inculcation makes them form a collective body. As important as the values that they are likely to share, the trials through

1 [Fieldwork notebook.] In Toulouse (France), 16 October 2017.

2 [Interview.] ESA R (male, Western European, has flown one time), realized in Mérignac (France), 06 June 2018.

3 [Interview.] JAXA A (male, Japanese, has flown several times), realized in Tsukuba (Japan), 19 November 2017.



which crewmembers get through and their interdependence in the risk management contribute to forging a certain *esprit de corps*.

The training is thus simultaneously a moral, emotional, and physical education, leading to the formation and reproduction of a modern hegemonic model of masculinity as one could find similar models in sports, the military, or transnational business (for the latter, see Connell and Wood, 2005). The social theory of heroism highlights how becoming a hero and recognized as such is a political process inherent in gender and social power relationships among sexes (Frisk, 2019). “Masculinity” refers to values as well (such as endurance, courage, bravery, self-discipline, audacity, brotherhood, or even *esprit de corps*), which are affiliated to masculine attributes and to virility in common sense. Historically, those values are related to a monopoly in the exercise of violence leading men to realize their social identity in the demonstration of physical strength and aggression, and in the obedience to hierarchy as part of self-discipline in the modern military discipline (see among others Foucault, 1988; 2017 [1975]; Higate and Hopton, 2005; Mosse, 1999). Evolved into largely legitimized and disseminated attributes, the ideal figure of the “real man” (a while incarnated in the duelist, the soldier, the gymnast, the adventurer, the “New Soviet Man”, the “New fascist man”, and the astronaut) sustains political and social stakes, and partly sustained itself through the creation of fantasy “countertypes” (Mosse, 1999). Mainly derived from the military education, where the wearing of uniforms, utilization of weapons, and the manifestation of encounter with danger are the basic instruments of the discipline, virility thus excludes “feminine attributes” (as reified as virile attributes are) which do not fit to a frame where patriarchy is a continuum of colonialism (McClintock, 1995). In a skillful medley of physical and moral properties, the astronaut training as masculinity trial realizes “the man [as] the sex who risks his life and who, in doing so, self-accomplishes” (Haraway, 2007, p. 150), so that the “noble machine” which is the sexualized body fit its aim of virility (p. 187).

Loïc Wacquant provides an analysis of the plural manifestations of masculinity in the social world of boxers in a Chicago ghetto, quite similar to the social world of astronauts: the “flaunting of a masculine corporal capital” does not only take the “explicit form of strength and violence” (Wacquant, 2002, p. 234) but fall within values (endurance, courage, bravery, audacity, *esprit de corps*), embedded by the individuals taking part in the training. This moral embodiment appears not only as a condition to membership, but primarily a process through which the trainees learn to make sense of their body, self, and environment as incorporated in the manifestation of common representations about masculinity.



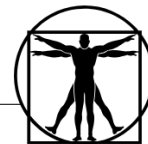
Embedding and expressing those values request institutionalized and codified practices, repeatedly over time. Every community relies on rituals to maintain a sense of the sacred and collective memory, which is necessary for the maintenance of a social order. Thus, rites appear as acts of social magic, maintaining social bonds within a category of individuals. As introduced above, the ritualization structuring the astronaut and cosmonaut training is inherited from the history of the Soviet space program—in particular from the flight of Yuri Gagarin—and most of these rites are gendered. Each launch has, for instance, to be preceded by the acts and gestures that Yuri Gagarin did before his pioneering flight, on 12 April 1961. This includes stopping on the road while going to the launchpad to urinate on the bus wheel, which may fairly create difficulties for a female astronaut (since 1961, only one took part in this ritual)<sup>1</sup>.

Through these rituals and traditions, bodies reproduce the symbolic conditions of crewmembers' collective identity, which appears to be strongly gendered through action. Those who share the training trials, and playing the game of its rituals, become accomplished as men since they come to share a "virility as spiritual truth" (Haraway, 2007, p. 149). They supported the survival training together, the rotating stools intended to induce them to vomit, the test in the centrifuge and in the hyperbolic chamber, the painful medical examinations; but they also sang the anthem of the Soviet cosmonauts, crossed the halls of the training center in Star City where portraits of the Soviet heroes of the cosmonautic are hanging, stepped up on stairs guided by sculptures of Yuri Gagarin, and when they would take the bus for their last ride to the launch pad, they would stop by the roadside to urinate on a wheel—because that was what Gagarin had done.

Every part of the training is a call to the celebration of virile attributes, from embedded values to the relation with the pain—and as the following section emphasizes, including the standardization used in the selection and the professionalization of crews. Sexualization endorses plural forms, including the denial of sexual distinctions through a uniformization of bodies.

---

1 Rituals mentioned in this article have been discussed with space historians and crewmembers as part of interviews. Consequently, sources of this section belong to an oral history of spaceflights reconstructed during the fieldwork. Explicit citations of interviewees are avoided to prevent from their identification. For further discussion of these "pre-launch rituals", see Patarin-Jossec, 2018. In the English language, while these rituals are largely discussed in popular culture, critical analysis or exhaustive record in academic literature and space agencies' departments of history (for instance, see NASA History Office, 1976-2000) often overlook this issue, favoring historical records of national space programs.



## BODY STANDARDS: MATERIALIZING MASCULINITY IN THE WORKING ROUTINE

---

Endurance regards to pain, mental rigor, discipline, endeavor, fraternity, bravery, courage, or even audacity: all those signs of “carnal rhetoric of honor” (Foucault, 2017 [1975], p. 159) that astronauts embody during their training and which rely upon gendered social representations. The training is precisely a masculinity trial because such tests seek to make bodies “docile” to a set of behaviors proper to a masculine model. This gendered socialization manifests at each step in the professionalization of astronauts. Through this disciplinary process, all astronauts are required to fit the ideal-type of the polyvalent pioneer, likely the ideal figure of the soldier that Michel Foucault assigns to a body language grounded in the virile and proud values of the military habitus (p. 159).

Back in the Soviet Union, the size of cosmonauts was one of the main criteria in the selection, while candidates had to fit with the restricted spacecraft dimensions. To this very day, the selection and the training remain organized according to the same standards, settling scales in tests and evaluations of candidates’ capabilities. Exercises of physical endurance, cardiac tests, tests of the vestibular system aiming to measure the resistance to nausea and vertigo, or even criteria involving weight, height, and muscular mass: according to which bodies are those standards elaborated and agreed? That is the central question, as far as there is a uniformization: to the benefit of which/whose body is the plurality of existing bodies lined up, including according to sex and race criteria? Why and how are common norms produced from a particular model of a body? Beyond questioning the *raison d’être* of such standards, how did a masculine and Caucasian body type, with physiological characteristics generating identity factors which would organize power relationships among sexes and races, become the ground of the astronauts’ embodiment?

Since a standard does not exist by itself and is not innate, it is necessarily socially constructed. And since it has to be entirely elaborated, it certainly generates costs<sup>1</sup>. Once edited, a standard aims precisely to save production fees on the required material in the realization of activities for which the standard would have been produced. One of the core mechanisms of the discipline and docile bodies is, indeed, the growth of profit and the search for efficiency. The masculinization of bodies is precisely

---

1 Asked on these questions of masculine normalization, as part of a documentary about the astronaut selection from a queer perspective, Donna Haraway explains how those costs would appeal to industries able to fund such manufactures of standards, which would lead to analyze sex social relationships within the space field (partly) in terms of industrial lobbying. See Silvia Casalino, « No Gravity », 2011, production 10:15/Perfect Shot film, 61 minutes.



part of the efficiency intended in astronauts' daily tasks and work routine, as illustrated with the example of Russian spacesuits used in extravehicular activities (or "spacewalks", hereafter cited as "EVA").

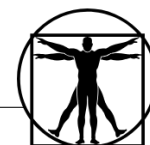
Two models of spacesuits are used in spacewalks outside the International Space Station: NASA's EMU (Extravehicular Mobility Unit), for any non-Russian crewmember, and the Russian *Orlan* ("Eagle"), inherited from the Soviet space program. The utilization of the EMU or of the *Orlan* depends on the segment of the station used for the EVA—i.e. the United States Orbital Segment or the Russian Segment). European astronauts are usually trained with the two spacesuits models, although they shall only use NASA's EMU owing to their belonging to the American segment. When I ask a European astronaut to compare those EMU and *Orlan* models, the latter confides:

I wouldn't have to have to work on a complicated US task using a Russian space-suit: that would be very hardworking. You know, the American suits go to a lower pressure, and the gloves, we have 67 sizes of gloves, you can have gloves which are perfectly tailored to our fingers. Russian have 3 sizes of gloves: small, medium and large. There are not so many things you can do in a Russian space suit, in terms of small pieces of equipment. On an American spacesuit, we're rating sometimes with small tools, more sockets, doing detailed work outside the space station<sup>1</sup>.

Russian spacesuits, including gloves and the helmet, are produced in three standardized sizes. If such a standardization certainly allows the save part of the costs involved in the manufacture of tailor-made spacesuits or of a set of sizes as large as astronauts' morphologies require, it nonetheless generates important discriminations among those calls to use them. Conceived on masculine models, any woman who would perform difficult and detailed tasks during an EVA with such a suit would be subject to clumsiness. The inequality among sexes within astronaut and cosmonaut corps is here supported by material conditions, related to the standardization of a masculine body in the manufacture of work instruments. In this respect, an astronaut—who trained in Houston (USA), Köln (Germany) and Star City (Russia)—recounts the case of the last Russian women who flew:

---

1 [Interview.] ESA K (male, Western European, has flown one time), realized in Mérignac (France), 24 August 2017.



When Elena Serova was in training, [the director of the training center] was telling the press: “she’s hopeless at EVA because she’s not tall and strong enough for the helmet”<sup>2</sup>.

This very same former director of the Russian training center would tell me, as part of an interview conducted a few months earlier, that Russians “don’t care” about whether a candidate for a job is male or female as long as he/she detains the required qualifications<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, if qualifications to become a cosmonaut are based on masculine body standards, one could assume that there is consequently a mechanism of exclusion at the very beginning of the selection process and in the very way the “right stuff” of candidates is imagined. More than a year after (in June 2019) the Russian space agency would cancel an incoming selection of new cosmonauts dedicated to women. As part of the same interview, the European astronaut [ESA R] would draw a comparison up between the Russian case and NASA, where a social context familiar with feminist and interracial struggles remain framed by non-discriminatory policies, making it intolerable to “say at NASA ‘we have a helmet, but there are only big guys who can fit in it’. Yet, the normalized use of sizes standardization in Russia, as well as this conception of the individual as supposed to fit the system that he/she uses (rather than the system adapt to individuals) is flawlessly explained by the hermeneutic of Soviet cosmonauts as part of the collective socialist system, mentioned in the first section of the article: as part of a mechanic system, replaceable and disciplined. This hermeneutic, resulting from an ideological system where individuals live for serving the collective, encourages conformity of the plural to a unique effective ideal. Several decades later, while the Russian space program announces a new selection of cosmonauts in 2020, physiological criteria still rely on the idea that cosmonauts’ bodies should fit their vehicle and their suits. The dimensions that candidates include in their application are the following: between 50 kg and 90 kg (weight); 150-190 cm (height); 80-99 cm (sitting height); 52 cm (maximum shoulder breadth); 94-112 cm (chest expansion range); 29,5 cm (maximum foot length).

Nevertheless, masculine standards in the astronaut and cosmonaut embedding process are not restricted to the Soviet and Russian space programs. On 29 March 2019, NASA would have made another leap in spaceflight history, settling the first extravehicular activity ever conducted

- 
- 2 [Interview.] Roscosmos 1 (male, Russian, has flown several times), realized in Moscow (Russia), 15 May 2017.
- 2 [Interview.] Roscosmos 1 (male, Russian, has flown several times), realized in Moscow (Russia), 15 May 2017.



(exclusively) by women—with the U.S. astronauts Anne McClain and Christina Koch. Three days before the EVA, NASA announces that Nick Hague would replace McClain because only one “medium” size spacesuit was prepared. Based on male standards, the US segment contains four spacesuits, including two medium-sized and two larger—the preparation requiring about twelve hours to make it safely configured for a spacewalk.

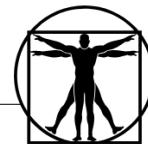
## CONCLUSION

---

Despite a lack of scholarly attention to the contemporary astronaut and cosmonaut profession, especially using methods like ethnography, the corporal and moral education involved in the training contributes to a long-standing issue covered in gender theory and body studies emphasizing the use of male bodies and normative values in the standardization of a universal model of identity. In human spaceflight context, this gendered socialization goes through the embodiment of values that contribute to the construction of virile attributes, in addition to relying on the material instruments that masculinize the bodies of women involved in a career of astronaut or cosmonaut—including regarding space suits or medical interventions into bodies’ intimacies. The resultant trial of physical and moral endurance, part of the training, creates the illusion that all individual bodies can (and should) become one: that those bodies have neither political, nor sexual or racial boundaries; that they share the same experiences despite the diversity of those individuals made of flesh and gendered socialization, of sensitive bodies experiencing, enduring, and sometimes surpassing themselves. The centrality of physical endurance highlights an ideal human body that would only be conjugated to a masculine singular and emphasizes a model of training which would be identical for all, regardless of gender identities.

Yet, among the rituals, traditions, tests, or embedded values mentioned above, none of the training or in-flight experience appears as gender-neutral, and all of them contribute to the particular manufacture of a heroic body. As Michele Wallace emphasizes, the “invisibilization” of Afro-Americans is, as stated by Ralph Ellison before her (1952), the denial of their presence in the society rather than their physical absence. In a similar dynamic, women are merely physically absent of astronauts’ and cosmonauts’ corps but furthermore “invisibilized” through the negation of their bodies—in the training, during the flight, and even in the design of spacesuits. As already outlined by Judith Butler (1990), masculinity postulates a normativity constructed against a femininity manufactured as deviation, deficiency, and dearth. If women do not fit the standardized suits tai-





lored according to an “ideal body”, they cannot properly demonstrate efficiency and skills required to be selected and assigned to a flight. If they benefit from less standardized working outfits within Western space programs, they (however) remain subject to a historical narrative of the “space conquest” in which they have been excluded, as discussed in the first section of this article. Their invisibilisation, due to structural mechanisms reproduced through time and space in the spaceflight history, lines with the construction of femininity as a dearth, compared to a complete and fully masculinity used as a reference scale in all the methods used in the process of the professionalization of astronauts.

Because it implies an important training in Russia for international astronauts, the Russian transportation monopoly in human space programs leads to the domination of Russian cultural norms regarding the production of heroes and professional space flyers, regardless of their national belonging. But being a woman in the United States, Japan, France, or Canada is not equivalent to be a woman in Russia. Models of masculinity or any gender identity are not globalized but rather maintain local particularities, and hence require a “nuanced understanding of privileged legitimating conceptions of manhood” (Beasley, 2008). The training of international astronauts in Russia allows a discussion of a masculinity process regarding potential different masculinities in the “global world” versus “nation-State” nexus. Gendered social power relationships depend on gender norms themselves related to local cultural, social, and political contexts. Those norms and the gendered “scripts” of behavior they lead to (Clair, 2016; Gagnon, 2008) require specific attention for how social representations, fantasies, and codes of conduct influence the embodiment process during the astronaut training. Hence, the plural forms of gender norms engaged in the fields of training facilities would likely create distinctions in the experience of astronauts during their training, according to their own previous gender socialization.

However, the fieldwork conducted for this study rather highlights a dominant cultural frame. More than unveiling conditions of coexistence, struggle, or permanency of national models of masculinity in a context of international cooperation, the training in Russia unveils a hierarchy between cultural norms embodied by international astronauts according to their own social and cultural frame of socialization. If the article's argument conflates the U.S., Russian, and European astronaut training, the masculinist culture promoted in the once-Soviet and now-Russian space program prevails for two reasons. First, because all astronauts have to train according to those post-Soviet norms during the lifetime of this transportation monopoly. Second, this training is largely based on sym-

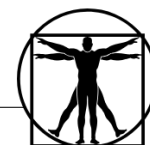


bolic practices (i.e. rituals) which are themselves supported by a model of masculine hero. Either producing acceptance or opposition, this Russian model of masculinity is not without effect. Further analysis would consist of understanding the weight of those norms, accepted during the time of a training in Russia, on the actual identity-building process of international astronauts, and the weight of such a peculiar embodiment on the system of international politics that globally frames human spaceflight.

---

## References

- Beasley, C. (2008). Rethinking Hegemonic Masculinity in a Globalizing World. *Men and Masculinities*, 11(1), 86-103. Doi: 10.1177/1097184X08315102
- Bergman, J. (1998). Valerii Chkalov: Soviet pilot as New Soviet Man. *Journal of contemporary history*, 33(1), 135-152. Doi: 10.1177/003200949803300108
- Boni-Le Goff, I. (2016). Corps légitimes [Legitimate bodies]. In J., Rennes (Eds). *Encyclopédie critique du genre* [Critical gender encyclopedia] (pp. 159-169). Paris: La Découverte. (in French)
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Clair, I. (2016). La sexualité dans la relation d'enquête. Décryptage d'un tabou méthodologique [Sexuality in the investigative relationship. Deciphering a methodological taboo]. *Revue Française de Sociologie* [French Review of Sociology], 1(57), 45-70. Doi: 10.3917/rfs.571.0045 (in French)
- Connell, R. (2014). The study of masculinities. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 14(1), 5-15. Doi: 10.1108/QRJ-03-2014-0006
- Connell, R. W. (2005 [1995]). *Masculinities* (2nd ed.). Oakland: University of California Press.
- Connell, R. W. & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society*, 19(6), 829-859. Doi: 10.1177/0891243205278639
- Connell, R. W. & Wood, J. (2005). Globalization and Business Masculinities. *Men and Masculinities*, 7(4), 347-364. Doi: 10.1177/1097184X03260969
- Drummond, M., (2010). Understanding masculinities within the context of men, body image and eating disorders. In B., Gough & S., Robertson (Eds.). *Men, Masculinities and Health: critical perspectives* (pp. 198-215). London, Palgrave MacMillan.
- Edwards, T. (2008). Spectacular Pain: Masculinity, Masochism and Men in the Movies. In V., Burr & J., Hearn, Jeff (Eds.). *Sex, Violence and the Body: The Erotics of Wounding* (pp. 157-176). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ellison, R. (1952). *Invisible Man*. New York: Random House.



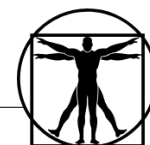
- Foucault, M. (1988). L'incorporation de l'hôpital dans la technologie moderne [The Incorporation of the Hospital into Modern Technology]. *Hermès [Hermes]*, 2(2), 30-40. (in French)
- Foucault, M. (2017 [1975]). *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison [Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison]*. Paris: Gallimard. (in French)
- Fraser, E. (2017). Yuri Gagarin and Celebrity Masculinity in Soviet Culture. In P. E., Muehlenbeck (Ed.). *Gender, Sexuality, and the Cold War* (pp. 270-289). Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Frisk, K. (2019). What makes a hero? Theorising the social structuring of heroism. *Sociology*, 53(1), 87-103. Doi: 10.1177/0038038518764568
- Gagnon, J. (2008). *Les scripts de la sexualité. Essais sur les origines culturelles du désir [Sexuality scripts. Essays on the cultural origins of desire]*. Paris: Payot. (in French)
- Gerovitch, S. (2015). *Soviet space mythologies. Public images, private memories, and the making of a cultural identity*. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press.
- Haraway, D. (2007). *Manifeste Cyborg et autres essais [Cyborg manifesto and other essays]*. Paris: Exils Éditeur. (in French)
- Higate, P. & Hopton, J. (2005). War, militarism, and masculinities. In M. S. Kimmel & al. Thousand (Eds.). *Handbook of studies on men and masculinities* (pp. 432-447). Oaks: Sage.
- Jayasena, N. (2007). *Contested masculinities: Crises in colonial male identity from Joseph Conrad to Satyajit Ray*. London: Routledge.
- Jenks, A. (2012). *The Cosmonaut Who Couldn't Stop Smiling: The Life and Legend of Yuri Gagarin*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Kamanin, N. (1995-2001). *Skrytyi kosmos*. Moscow: Infortekst/Novosti Kosmonavtiki.
- Lewis, C. (2008). *The Red Stuff: A History of the Public and Material Culture of Early Human Spaceflight in the U.S.S.R.*. Ph. D. dissertation, History, George Washington University.
- Llinares, D. (2008). Contesting the astronaut as a masculine ideal: narratives of myth in Tom Wolfe's *The Right Stuff*. In Z., Davy and al. (Eds.). *Bound and Unbound: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Genders and Sexualities* (pp. 76-92). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Llinares, D. (2009). Idealized heroes of 'retrotopia': history, identity, and the postmodern in Apollo 13. *The Sociological Review*, 57(1), 164-177. Doi: 10.1111/j.1467-954X.2009.01823.x
- Llinares, D. (2011). *The astronaut: cultural mythology and idealised masculinity*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Markula, P. (2003). The technologies of the self: sport, feminism, and Foucault. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 20(2), 87-107. Doi: 10.1123/ssj.20.2.87
- McClintock, A. (1995). *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge.



- Messerschmidt, J. (2018). *Hegemonic masculinity: formulation, reformulation, and amplification*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Messner, M. A. (1992). *Power at play: Sports and the problem of masculinity*. Boston: Beacon.
- Mosse, G. L. (1999). *L'image de l'homme moderne : l'invention de la virilité moderne [The image of modern man: the invention of modern manhood.]*. Paris: Agora. (in French)
- NASA History Office. (1976-2000). *NASA Historical Data Books (SP-4012)*, Volume 1-6.
- Patarin-Jossec, J. (2018). *Le vol habité dans l'économie symbolique de la construction européenne [Crafting Europe from outer space : human spaceflight in the symbolic economy of the European building]*. Doctoral thesis. University of Bordeaux. (in French)
- Segal, L. (2008). Gender, war and militarism: making and questioning the links. *Feminist Review*, 88, 21-35. Doi: 10.1057/palgrave.fr.9400383
- Sylvester, R. (2019). "You Are Our Pride and Our Glory!" Emotions, Generation, and the Legacy of Revolution in Women's Letters to Valentina Tereshkova. *The Russian Review*, 78(3), 392-413. Doi: 10.1111/russ.12237
- Wacquant, L. (2002). *Corps et âme : Carnet ethnographique d'un apprenti boxeur [Body and soul: Ethnographic notebook of an apprentice boxer]*. Paris: Agone. (in French)
- Wacquant, L. (2004). *Body and soul: notebooks of an apprentice boxer*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wallace, M. (2016 [1990]). *Invisibility Blues*. London: Verso.

## Список литературы

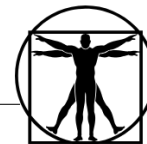
- Beasley, C. (2008). Rethinking Hegemonic Masculinity in a Globalizing World. *Men and Masculinities*, 11(1), 86-103. Doi: 10.1177/1097184X08315102
- Bergman, J. (1998). Valerii Chkalov: Soviet pilot as New Soviet Man. *Journal of contemporary history*, 33(1), 135-152. Doi: 10.1177/003200949803300108
- Boni-Le Goff, I. (2016). Corps légitimes [Legitimate bodies]. In J., Rennes (Eds). *Encyclopédie critique du genre [Critical gender encyclopedia]* (pp. 159-169). Paris: La Découverte. (in French)
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Clair, I. (2016). La sexualité dans la relation d'enquête. Décryptage d'un tabou méthodologique [Sexuality in the investigative relationship. Deciphering a methodological taboo]. *Revue Française de Sociologie [French Review of Sociology]*, 1(57), 45-70. Doi: 10.3917/rfs.571.0045 (in French)
- Connell, R. (2014). The study of masculinities. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 14(1), 5-15. Doi: 10.1108/QRJ-03-2014-0006



- Connell, R. W. (2005 [1995]). *Masculinities* (2nd ed.). Oakland: University of California Press.
- Connell, R. W. & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society*, 19(6), 829-859. Doi: 10.1177/0891243205278639
- Connell, R. W. & Wood, J. (2005). Globalization and Business Masculinities. *Men and Masculinities*, 7(4), 347-364. Doi: 10.1177/1097184X03260969
- Drummond, M., (2010). Understanding masculinities within the context of men, body image and eating disorders. In B., Gough & S., Robertson (Eds.). *Men, Masculinities and Health: critical perspectives* (pp. 198-215). London, Palgrave MacMillan.
- Edwards, T. (2008). Spectacular Pain: Masculinity, Masochism and Men in the Movies. In V., Burr & J., Hearn, Jeff (Eds.). *Sex, Violence and the Body: The Erotics of Wounding* (pp. 157-176). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ellison, R. (1952). *Invisible Man*. New York: Random House.
- Foucault, M. (1988). L'incorporation de l'hôpital dans la technologie moderne [The Incorporation of the Hospital into Modern Technology]. *Hermès [Hermes]*, 2(2), 30-40. (in French)
- Foucault, M. (2017 [1975]). *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison [Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison]*. Paris: Gallimard. (in French)
- Fraser, E. (2017). Yuri Gagarin and Celebrity Masculinity in Soviet Culture. In P. E., Muehlenbeck (Ed.). *Gender, Sexuality, and the Cold War* (pp. 270-289). Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Frisk, K. (2019). What makes a hero? Theorising the social structuring of heroism. *Sociology*, 53(1), 87-103. Doi: 10.1177/0038038518764568
- Gagnon, J. (2008), *Les scripts de la sexualité. Essais sur les origines culturelles du désir [Sexuality scripts. Essays on the cultural origins of desire]*. Paris: Payot. (in French)
- Gerovitch, S. (2015). *Soviet space mythologies. Public images, private memories, and the making of a cultural identity*. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press.
- Haraway, D. (2007). *Manifeste Cyborg et autres essais [Cyborg manifesto and other essays]*. Paris: Exils Éditeur. (in French)
- Higate, P. & Hopton, J. (2005). War, militarism, and masculinities. In M. S. Kimmel & al. Thousand (Eds.). *Handbook of studies on men and masculinities* (pp. 432-447). Oaks: Sage.
- Jayasena, N. (2007). *Contested masculinities: Crises in colonial male identity from Joseph Conrad to Satyajit Ray*. London: Routledge.
- Jenks, A. (2012). *The Cosmonaut Who Couldn't Stop Smiling: The Life and Legend of Yuri Gagarin*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Kamanin, N. (1995-2001). *Skrytyi kosmos*. Moscow: Infortekst/Novosti Kosmonavtiki.



- Lewis, C. (2008). *The Red Stuff: A History of the Public and Material Culture of Early Human Spaceflight in the U.S.S.R.*. Ph. D. dissertation, History, George Washington University.
- Llinares, D. (2008). Contesting the astronaut as a masculine ideal: narratives of myth in Tom Wolfe's *The Right Stuff*. In Z., Davy and al. (Eds.). *Bound and Unbound: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Genders and Sexualities* (pp. 76-92). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Llinares, D. (2009). Idealized heroes of 'retrotopia': history, identity, and the postmodern in Apollo 13. *The Sociological Review*, 57(1), 164-177. Doi: 10.1111/j.1467-954X.2009.01823.x
- Llinares, D. (2011). *The astronaut: cultural mythology and idealised masculinity*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Markula, P. (2003). The technologies of the self: sport, feminism, and Foucault. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 20(2), 87-107. Doi: 10.1123/ssj.20.2.87
- McClintock, A. (1995). *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge.
- Messerschmidt, J. (2018). *Hegemonic masculinity: formulation, reformulation, and amplification*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Messner, M. A. (1992). *Power at play: Sports and the problem of masculinity*. Boston: Beacon.
- Mosse, G. L. (1999). *L'image de l'homme moderne : l'invention de la virilité moderne [The image of modern man: the invention of modern manhood.]*. Paris: Agora. (in French)
- NASA History Office. (1976-2000). *NASA Historical Data Books (SP-4012)*, Volume 1-6.
- Patarin-Jossec, J. (2018). *Le vol habité dans l'économie symbolique de la construction européenne [Crafting Europe from outer space : human spaceflight in the symbolic economy of the European building]*. Doctoral thesis. University of Bordeaux. (in French)
- Segal, L. (2008). Gender, war and militarism: making and questioning the links. *Feminist Review*, 88, 21-35. Doi: 10.1057/palgrave.fr.9400383
- Sylvester, R. (2019). "You Are Our Pride and Our Glory!" Emotions, Generation, and the Legacy of Revolution in Women's Letters to Valentina Tereshkova. *The Russian Review*, 78(3), 392-413. Doi: 10.1111/russ.12237
- Wacquant, L. (2002). *Corps et âme : Carnet ethnographique d'un apprenti boxeur [Body and soul: Ethnographic notebook of an apprentice boxer]*. Paris: Agone. (in French)
- Wacquant, L. (2004). *Body and soul: notebooks of an apprentice boxer*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wallace, M. (2016 [1990]). *Invisibility Blues*. London: Verso.



---

## AGENDER AESTHETICS: BODY IS NOT AN IMAGE, BUT A FLUID

---

**Anastasia A. Toropova (a)**

(a) Scientific community "The Intellectual Environments". Russia, Moscow.  
Email: [ya-est-atanasija\[at\]yandex.ru](mailto:ya-est-atanasija[at]yandex.ru)

---

### Abstract

---

The article focuses on the analysis of agender aesthetics as a postmodern project to abandon gender identity. The article considers the ideological presumptions of the human body, gender and sex denaturalization project, within the framework of post-structural researches. Axiological grounds of the traditional identity understanding criticism have been identified. Lacan, Kristeva, Baudrillard revealed the mechanism of identity formation as an artificial construct attached to corporeality. Butler proposed a strategy to elude identification, formulated as the concept of performativity. These ideas were reflected in the works of fashion designers who share postmodern values. The article discloses the mechanisms of agender body designing by the fashion house of Gucci. Agender aesthetics is based on the idea of rejecting gender identity and proclaiming the body as the unique unit exhibiting itself in a performative manner. The artistic task of agender aesthetics is to develop the visual plasticity of human body. The main techniques for this task are the following: combining things with ideologically opposite vestimentary codes, removing the elements of clothing with rigid gender connotations from the usual context and fitting them into a new visual series to give them gender neutrality. The article problematizes the aesthetic grounds of the agender style and concludes that postmodern rethinking of human body not as an image, but as a fluid, goes beyond the elitist art practices and becomes relevant to the mass consciousness of Western people.

---

### Keywords

---

Body; corporeality; agender; postmodern; body without organs; performativity; identity; fashion



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons «Attribution» 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).



---

## АГЕНДЕРНАЯ ЭСТЕТИКА: ТЕЛО НЕ ОБРАЗ, А ПОТОК

---

**Торопова Анастасия Александровна (а)**

(а) Научное сообщество "Интеллектуальные среды". Россия, Москва.  
Email: [ya-est-atanasija\[at\]yandex.ru](mailto:ya-est-atanasija[at]yandex.ru)

---

### Аннотация

---

Статья посвящена анализу агендерной эстетики как постмодернистского проекта по отказу от гендерной идентичности. В статье рассмотрены идейные предпосылки развернувшегося проекта денатурализации человеческого тела, гендера и пола в рамках постструктуралистских исследований. Выявлены аксиологические основания критики традиционного понимания идентичности. Лакан, Кристева, Бодрийяр раскрыли механизм формирования идентичности как искусственной конструкции, закрепленной за телесностью. Батлер предложила стратегию ускользания от идентификации, сформулированную в концепции перформативности. Эти идеи нашли свое отражение в институте моды в творчестве дизайнеров, разделяющих постмодернистские ценности. В статье раскрыты механизмы конструирования агендерной телесности модным домом Gucci. В фундаменте агендерной эстетики лежит идея отказа от идентификации и провозглашение тела как уникального единичного бытия, проявляющего себя перформативно. Было выявлено, что художественной задачей агендерной эстетики является развитие визуальной пластичности человеческой телесности. Эксплицированы основные приемы для решения этой задачи: сочетание вещей с идейно противоположными вестиментарными кодами, изъятие элементов одежды с жесткими гендерными коннотациями из привычного контекста и вписывание их в новый визуальный ряд для придания им гендерной нейтральности. Осуществлена проблематизация эстетических оснований агендерного стиля. Исследование позволяет сделать вывод, что постмодернистское переосмысление человеческой телесности не как образа, а как потока, выходят за пределы элитарных практик искусства и становятся актуальными для массового сознания западного человека.

---

### Ключевые слова

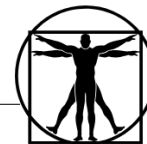
---

Тело; телесность; агендер; постмодерн; тело-без-органов; перформативность; идентичность; мода



Это произведение доступно по [лицензии Creative Commons «Attribution»](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)  
(«Атрибуция») 4.0 Всемирная





## ВВЕДЕНИЕ

---

Культура, представая в сознании индивида в виде «второй природы», как органичной и автоматически действующей, формирует так называемые «категориальные решетки сознания», становится квазиестественной надстройкой над биологическим телом человека. Многое из того, что человеку кажется естественным – его картина мира, ценностные установки, физиологические процессы, как, например, способность видеть форму и цвет, – является социально сконструированным. То же можно сказать о телесности: это структура, выработанная в особой социокультурной ситуации.

Следует ввести функциональное различие тела как природной вещи и телесности как культурного конструкта. Под телесностью я понимаю созданную систему отношений между природным телом и наносимыми на него знаками культуры. В данном случае важно то обстоятельство, что природное тело с самого начала появления культуры подвергалось и продолжает подвергаться воздействию комплекса искусственных средств. Целью этих манипуляций является конструирование особого «надприродного тела», «второй кожи» человека.

Иммануил Кант одним из первых заговорил о конструктивистском способе видения реальности: субъект онтологически разделен с реальностью «как она есть на самом деле», и поэтому его активное сознание само вынуждено создавать предметы собственного познания с помощью продуктивной способности воображения (Кант, 1963, стр. 249).

XX век стал временем тотального подозрения к вещам. Деконструктивистам удалось разоблачить то, что казалось несомненно природным – человеческий пол.

Исследования Фуко позволили обнаружить следы деятельности властных структур, которые, начиная с Нового времени, развернули проект по созданию управляемого большинства. Это удалось реализовать через обновление категориальной решетки сознания – инсталлированию в нее социальной диады – нормативной / маргинальной телесности. По логике Мишеля Фуко, чтобы упорядочить множество разрозненных тел, их необходимо сделать подконтрольными. Фуко в работе «Надзирать и наказывать» перечисляет инструменты контроля:



«К этим инструментам относятся: распределение индивидуальных тел в пространстве (в местах так называемой «дисциплинарной монотонности» – казармах, колледжах, мануфактурах, рабочих домах, тюрьмах); дрессура и муштра, призванные одновременно увеличить экономическую полезность тела и его политическую «послушность», непрерывное наблюдение (принцип «паноптизма»); экзамен, позволяющий классифицировать индивидов и помещать их на различные иерархические уровни и т. д.» (Кобылин, 2011, стр. 172).

Тюрьмы, больницы, школы как пространства изоляции формируют из гетерогенных «непослушных» тел унифицированные экономически продуктивные тела.

Так, по мысли Фуко, власть, формируя представления о нормативных и патологичных телах, занимается тем, что сводит разнообразие человеческих тел до обобществленных форм социальности.

Патриархальный язык создает различие между телом и внешней средой, а также создает расщепленное тело внутри себя.

«Фрустрациями и запрещениями этот авторитет делает из тела территорию с зонами, отверстиями, точками и линиями, поверхностями и пустотами, где отмечается и проявляется архаическая сила господства и покинутости, различия чистого и нечистого, возможного и невозможного» (Кристева, 2003, стр. 108).

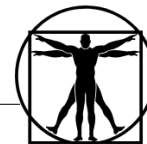
Тело как то, что можно определить, создается в языке. Телесное поведение оказывается кодом культуры, по своей сущности патриархальной.

«Означивание — неотъемлемое свойство человеческого тела» (стр. 46).

Одним из инструментов моделирования тела является создание нормативов, которые, в частности, и позволяют делить тела на мужские и женские. Тело должно им соответствовать, чтобы оставаться социальным:

«в той степени, в которой нормы действуют как психические феномены, сдерживая и производя желание, они также управляют формированием субъекта и обозначают пределы области жизненно пригодной социальности» (Батлер, 2002, стр. 31).

К концу XX века начал формироваться новый культурный проект сопротивления властным воздействиям на человеческое тело.



## ПРОЕКТ ДЕНАТУРАЛИЗАЦИИ ТЕЛА

Жан Бодрийяр, исследуя феномен гиперреальности, в частности, в аспекте сексуальности, пришел к выводу, что сексуальное тело это конструкт массового сознания. Коллективное воображение моделирует образ сексуального тела через присваивание неперенных атрибутов сексуальности:

«Эта стратегия изгнания телесного посредством символов секса, изгнание желания посредством его преувеличенных демонстраций является более эффективной, чем стратегия доброго старого подавления путем запрета» (Бодрийяр, 2000, стр. 36).

Получение физиологического наслаждения напрямую связано с игрой и притворством:

«Образ жизни транссвестита стал самой основой наших действий, даже тех, что направлены на поиск подлинности и различий» (Бодрийяр, 2000, стр. 36).

Более того, «природное» половое разделение на мужское и женское Бодрийяр оценивает как продукт культуры:

«ни одному существу «по природе» не предписано относиться к тому или иному полу. Сексуальная амбивалентность (активность / пассивность) заключена в сердце каждого субъекта, сексуальное различие вписывается в тело каждого субъекта, не будучи абсолютным термином, привязанным к некоему половому органу» (Бодрийяр, 2003, стр. 123).

По Фрейд процесс идентификации это «каннибалистическое» поглощение своим Я чужой личности. Сущность процесса идентификации – это «быть как кто-то».

Лакану удалось оформить идею об идентичности как конструкте, формируемом всегда Другим, благодаря концепции стадии зеркала:

младенец «низвергается в мир в качестве уже разделенного на части тела, едва ли способного удержать вместе свои фрагменты» (Слотердаик, 2005, стр. 480),

после чего на стадии зеркала

«целостная форма тела, этот мираж, в котором субъект предвосхищает созревание своих возможностей, дается ему лишь в качестве Gestalt'a, т. е. с внешней стороны» (Лакан, 2009, стр. 510).



Таким образом, Лакан выдвинул неожиданную для истории европейской мысли гипотезу о том, что идентичность – совокупность индивидуальных переживаний, психических и ментальных процессов – всегда закреплена за собственным восприятием тела. Образ целостного эго формируется на каркасе образа целостного тела, единого и неразрывного, не являющегося данностью.

Кристева продолжила развивать психоаналитические выводы Лакана о формировании идентичности. Символическому как маскулинному в культурном пространстве противостоит семиотическое как «доэдипальный» период становления целостного индивида.

«Семиотический ряд (еще долингвистический) отождествляется с Телом Матери и “хранится” в подсознании человека. Однако, на определенной стадии развития субъективности происходит выделение “Я” из семиотического континуума и дальнейшее конституирование его протекает в общем процессе означивания, то есть производстве языка. Так начинается “символический” уровень, отождествляемый с Именем Отца» (Брандт, 2004, стр. 132).

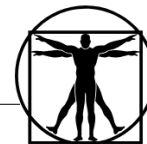
Кристева пришла к выводу, что идентичность как определение самого себя – это ценность маскулинной культуры. В свою очередь,

«Женщина никогда не может быть определена» (Kristeva, 1984).

Таким образом, «мужское» и «женское» не имеют привязки к конкретной телесной субстанции. Их различия находятся не в самом теле, а только в языке, чья корневая система построена на бинарных оппозициях.

Постмодернистское направление феминизма продолжило критику логоцентризма и универсального субъекта. Его представители также поставили под вопрос не только «естественность» гендерного тела, но и пол как таковой. Они высказали предположение, что пол, – казалось бы, наиболее естественное природное явление, – является фикцией патриархального общества. Имеет ли тело какую-либо природную сущность или оно полностью является производением культуры?

«Постфеминизм, следуя постструктуралистским принципам анализа, ставит вопрос кардинально: тело существует только в том виде как оно представлено и действует в различных, конкретных культурах, оно



вплетено в систему репрезентаций, значений, смыслов своей культуры» (Брандт, 2004, стр. 150).

Джудит Батлер сформулировала задачу гендерных исследований в подрыве иллюзий о поле как краеугольном камне идентичности. Джудит Батлер, вопрошая о природе женщины и ее телесности, ставила задачу «денатурализации» тела - разоблачить телесность, доказав его тотальную сконструированность:

«не существует пристанища в виде тела, которое не было бы проинтерпретировано в значениях, присущих данной культуре» (Батлер, 2000, стр. 308).

Не существует тела как такового, любая дефиниция – гендерная и даже половая – оказывается результатом деятельности дискурсов власти:

«Не только не существует причинно-следственной связи между полом и гендером, но само слово “пол” является неправильным употреблением термина, и биологическая действительность, которую мы называем полом, сама есть исторический конструкт и на самом деле является политической категорией» (Батлер, 2005, стр. 302).

## **АГЕНДЕР: СТРАТЕГИЯ УСКОЛЬЗАНИЯ ОТ САМОИДЕНТИФИКАЦИИ**

В английском и русском языках грамматика основана на различении мужского и женского. Существуют языки, в которых есть возможность не определять пол, не привязывать существо ни к женскому, ни к мужскому полу. В книге «Мифология трансгрессии» (Highwater, 1997) приводится ряд примеров из культуры коренных американских племен, в которых упоминаются двуполые существа (two-spirited), либо мужское и женское не связывается с наличием тех или иных гениталий, а определяются иными способами, в частности, исходя из духовной природы человека.

Определенность и наведение границ, крепкая самоидентичность, закреплённая за конкретным гендером становятся антиценностью для постструктуралистов, и прежние традиционные ценности сменяются ценностью разнообразия и расширения спектра опыта и переживаний.

Инспирированный постмодернистской идеологией индивид, ища способы освободиться от модернистской диады нормативное /

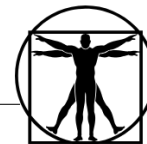


патологическое, получает возможность идентифицировать себя как уникальное и единичное бытие (Нанси).

Со второй половины XX века развернулась активность по размыванию гендерных границ. Были предприняты попытки переосмыслить идею андрогинности как сочетания атрибутов обоих полов, за которыми стояло желание снять гендерные ограничения и получить доступ к более полному спектру опыта человека как такового (Heilbrun, 1973).

Эти теоретические идеи нашли живой отклик в среде искусства. Активно проникая в практики перформансов и акционизма, в танцевальные экспериментальные проекты, гендерная проблематика оставалась маргинальной и достоянием элит, получивших прививку постструктуралистского пафоса освобождения. Лишь в начале XXI века эти аксиологические установки начали проникать в массовое сознание. Хорошим показателем того, насколько возросла ценность *body diversity* для широкого круга людей, является степень коммерциализации этой идеи. Мода пытается с помощью вестиментарного кодирования запечатлеть «дух времени». Мода прогнозирует культурную погоду и весьма чувствительна к социальным изменениям. В XX веке, женский гардероб, после сексуальной революции, в силу исторических перемен довольно быстро вобрал в себя многие элементы мужского костюма. В 1966 году Ив Сен Лоран создал *Le Smoking* – женскую версию мужского брючного костюма, ввел в моду женские бушлаты и комбинезоны. Мужской гардероб, со времен Браммеля, оставался гендерно консервативным. Готье, Мартин Марджелла, Рик Оуэнс, Хельмут Ланг, Марк Джейкобс и многие другие дизайнеры предпринимали многократные попытки размыть гендерные представления о мужской одежде, выпуская на подиум мужчин-моделей в юбках и колготках, платьях, женственных блузках и туфлях на каблуках. Мик Джаггер носил чокеры и платья, Марк Болан и Дэвид Боуи создавали эклектичные андрогинные наряды. Они подготовили культурную почву для формирования критического взгляда на гендер и пол.

Высокие продажи модного дома Гуччи, воплотившие идею гендерного разнообразия с приходом нового креативного директора Алессандро Микеле в 2015 году, привлекли внимание рынка масс-маркета. Весной 2016 года Zara создала коллекцию «Un-gendered». Selfridges – крупнейший лондонский универмаг – создал концептуальное пространство с гендерно-нейтральным отделом (Рис. 1), предложив альтернативу привычным магазинам одежды



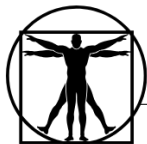
для «нее» и для «него». Британский мультибрендовый интернет-магазин Asos также во многих рекламных компаниях транслирует образы, состоящие из смешения элементов мужского и женского гардеробов. (Все фотографии взяты из открытых источников).



**Рисунок 1. Рекламная кампания лондонского магазина Selfridges 2015 года**

Одним из пионеров агендерного движения среди знаменитостей стал сын актера Уилла Смита - Джейд Смит. Он появился в рекламе Louis Vuitton 2017 года в юбке (Рис. 2), поскольку для него ношение юбки является таким же естественным





процессом, как для женщин носить мужской тренч и брючный костюм. Его марка MSFTSrep ввела гендерно-нейтральные элементы одежды – туники и платья.

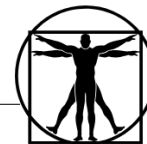
Кружевное платье Марка Джейкобса в 2012 году, саронга Дэвида Бекхэма в 1998 году, кожаная юбка Канье Уэста в 2011 были расценены не просто как эксцессы в мире моды, в мировом модном сообществе они создали культурную тенденцию, которую можно расценить как симптом того, что культура готова переосмыслить понимание гендера и воспринять идею о его fluidity. XXI век уже назвали the AD (after-dress) era – «пост-платьяной эрой».



**Рисунок 2. Джейден Смит в рекламной кампании Louis Vuitton, коллекция Весна-Лето 2016**

Логичным шагом по развитию идеи телесного разнообразия стало не просто сопротивление быть вписанным в гендерные рамки, а провозглашение радикального отказа от связи самоидентификации с каким-либо гендером. Так возник термин «агендер», обозначающий отказ человека от определения собственного гендера. По сути, это означает, что агендер стремится в структуре собственной телесности отказаться от топоса коллективного тела, свести его к нулю. Коллективное тело виртуально живет в теле человека в форме стереотипов, идеалов,





образцов, правил и запретов. Это скрытая форма контроля, которой пропитаны наши тела глубже, чем мы думаем об этом.

С тех пор как Алессандро Микеле занял пост креативного директора дома Gucci, эстетическая концепция дома радикально поменялась, и модный бренд одним из первых превратил идею агендерной одежды в мейнстрим.

На первый взгляд, может показаться, что агендер – это разновидность стиля унисекс. Унисекс формируется из комбинации вещей, которые уже лишились гендерной закреплённости в культуре – футболки, рубашки, худи, джинсы, кроссовки. Агендерный стиль конструируется противоположным образом. Семиотика стиля унисекс поддерживает нормативную идею пола, включая только те вещи, которые конвенционально признаны откреплёнными от конкретного гендера.

Суть агендерного образа радикально иная: она заключается в сочетании вещей с разным вестиментарным кодом, семантически недружественных и даже враждебных друг другу. Для слома гендерных границ, Микеле использует всевозможные вещи, имеющие гендерную привязку. Если женское тело в двадцатом веке воспитало в себе гибкость к переодеваниям, то мужское тело остается крайне ригидным. Поэтому сегодня главной художественной задачей дома Gucci является придать мужской телесности визуальную пластичность. Основным методом достижения этой цели – разбивание клише: через вписывание в композицию нейтральных вещей, превосходно подобранных по цвету, фактуре и форме, элемента женского гардероба. Береты, блузы с бантами, полупрозрачные обтягивающие топы, бархатные пиджаки, броши и бусы, расшитые жилетки; бархат, парча, искусственный мех ярких цветов, жемчуг, бисер; цветы, рюши, кружева, бисер, золотые нашивки, воланы – все вещи, которые в массовом сознании жестко закреплены за женским образом, активно, почти насильственно внедряются в образ мужского наряда Gucci (Рис. 3).

Видоизменять, примирять враждебные дискурсы – интерпретировать на современный лад принцип *coincidentia oppositorum*, смешивать, сталкивать, соединять механически – все это необходимые операции, запускающие процесс мутации мужской телесности, которым занимается дом Gucci. Одна из идеологических задач творческого анархизма Микеле – обнулить социальные и визуальные стереотипы. Эти художественные задачи вписываются в постмодернистский проект по экзорцизму из человека канонов «dead white men», высвобождая пространство для



разворачивания того, что Нанси называет «уникальным единичным бытием» – скрытых в человеке процессов, желаний, аффектов, которые подавляются инсталлированными культурными программами.

Для поколения Z становится привычной гендерная неопределенность, возникает интерес к квир-эстетике. Один из представителей данного поколения - Харрис Рид – американский и британский дизайнер, прославился своим ярким агендерным стилем (Рис. 4). Его гардероб «всеяден»: винтаж соседствует с ультрасовременными вещами, брюки сменяются на юбки, рубашки чаще заменяются на блестящие блузки. «Я всегда выделялся, мог прийти в школу в бабушкиной блузке, с платком на голове и в вельветовых джинсах клеш. Эти безумно красивые вещи с невероятной историей прекрасными казались, впрочем, только мне одному. Для всех остальных они были еще одним поводом для насмешек. Тогда одежда стала для меня чем-то вроде костюма Супермена: придавала мне сил, создавала кокон, в котором можно укрыться от грубости одноклассников» (Vogue, 2018, стр. 102). Рид известен тем, что создает сценические костюмы для музыканта Гарри Стайлза, одним из наиболее ярких представителей gender fluidity. Его гардероб состоит из комбинирования элементов мужского и женского гардероба: он носит атласные блузы с бантами, розовые брюки, парчовые костюмы, жемчужные украшения, играя и стирая коннотации вещей с принятой обществом гендерной маркировкой.

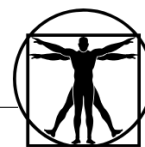
Эта эстетическая программа вписывается в постмодернистский проект по демонтажу целостной телесности.

### **ДЕМОНТАЖ ЦЕЛОСТНОСТИ ТЕЛА В ПОЛЬЗУ ПРОЦЕССУАЛЬНОЙ ТЕЛЕСНОСТИ**

---

Постмодернистская эстетика это визуализированная этика. Эстетически приемлемым является то, что поддерживает ценность разнообразия, мультикультурализма и деконструкцию ценностей, истин, знаний и методов мышления, которые характеризовали белую, преобладающую среди мужчин, западную культуру.

Для апологетов гендерной нейтральности такие свойства как мобильность, гибкость, отказ от идентификации, отказ от бинарных оппозиций – являются попыткой прорваться к гетерономному бытию. Не быть схваченным – такова стратегия единичного множественного бытия.

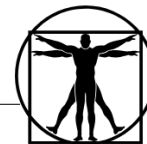


**Рисунок 3. Коллекция Gucci, Весна-Лето 2018**



**Рисунок 4. Харрис Рид на показе коллекции Gucci, Весна-Лето 2019**





Поэтому одной из главных задач теоретиков и практиков постмодерна является деинсталляция целостного образа телесности своей и других. Где целостность – там иерархия и подавленные желания. Превратить телесную целостность (тело как «организованная власть») в телесную фрагментированность (тело-без-органов) означает освободить репрессированные нормативностью желания:

«В пределе, говорил Делёз, желание и тело без органов — это одно и то же, поскольку тело без органов представляет собой содержательный план желания, рассматриваемого как процесс» (Дьяков, 2015, стр. 153).

С точки зрения модерна, агендерная телесность это завирусованный множеством эстетических программ телесный канон, апофеоз маргинализации для современного сознания. Для современного «гендерного» человека агендерный человек то же самое, что мистер Хайд для доктора Джекила. Агендер воспринимает своей message как протест против toxic masculinity и капиталистической идеи быть включенным в экономический метаболизм общества через труд и пользу.

«Полное тело без органов — это само непроизводительное, стерильное, непорожденное, непотребляемое» (Делез, Гваттари, 2007, стр. 22).

Получается, агендерный образ это добровольный выход из сложившейся социальной системы отношений, отказ от «здорового смысла» большинства в пользу иных ценностей.

Теоретик постмодерна Ибн Хасан концептуализировал постмодернистское тело как

«мутирующее» - незавершенное, изменчивое, в отличие от модернистского «гендерного тела» (Hassan, 1987).

Для Нанси тело это не устойчивый образ, а «единичное множественное бытие», не имеющего внутренне присущей ему телеологии, траектории собственного развития.

На философские представления Кристевой о теле не как образе, а как потоке повлияли рассуждения Михаила Бахтина о двух типах телесности. Бахтин выделил два способа репрезентации тела. Первый способ является «классическим» – это тело ставшее, каноничное, завершенное. Второй способ – представление о «гротескном теле» - это тело открытое, процессуальное, текучее.



«Оно никогда не готово, не завершено: оно всегда строится, творится и само строит и творит другое тело; кроме того, тело это поглощает мир и само поглощается миром» (Бахтин, 1990, стр. 351).

Кристева развивает идею гетерогенности бытия. Ведущую идею ее философии различения можно сформулировать так: тело и смысл совпадают. Этой же идеи придерживается и Нанси, доказывая в работе «Corpus», что тело возникает только благодаря «sens» – смыслу и касанию (Нанси, 1999). Телесное и ментальное никогда не распадаются на бинарные оппозиции, а сосуществуют во всех практиках, одной из которых является текст. Посредством коммуникации с другим, таким же единичным сингулярным бытием, конституируется существование всякого индивида. Такое понимание бытия – как единичного и множественного – делает невозможным помыслить бытие субстанциально в духе метафизики. Единичность «случается» и случается по-разному при разных показах. «Быть» – это случаться» (Нанси, 1994, стр. 157).

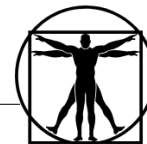
Батлер солидарна с Кристевой, и, рефлексировав «женское», рассматривает его в качестве открытого процесса:

«Само понятие “женщина” оказывается процессуальным становлением, о котором нельзя с точностью сказать, где оно берет начало и где заканчивается. Как длящаяся дискурсивная практика, оно открыто внешним воздействиям и изменениям смысла» (Батлер, 2000, стр. 338).

Батлер ввела важный термин, который радикально противопоставил себя субстанциальному подходу и эссенциализму – перформативность. Развивая логику рассуждений Фуко о захваченности субъекта в сеть властных дискурсов, Батлер указала на пространство свободы. Если любое тело конструируется непрерывно, постоянно пребывая в телесных и коммуникационных практиках, то, с одной стороны, они воздействуют на индивида, подчиняя себе, а с другой – формируют субъективность.

«Быть под господством власти, внешней тебе, – знакомая и мучительная форма. Однако обнаружить, что то, что “ты” есть, само твое устройство как субъекта в определенном смысле находится под воздействием этой самой власти, – нечто совсем другое. Субъекция состоит как раз в этой фундаментальной зависимости от дискурса, который мы никогда не выбираем, но который парадоксальным образом дает начало нашей деятельности и поддерживает ее» (Батлер, 2002, стр. 15).

Властные дискурсы раздваивающие собственное «я» на легитимное «чистое» (Кристева) и телесное, отвергаемое «я».



Из этого Батлер делает вывод, что не существует тела как такового, так как любая дефиниция – гендерная и даже половая – оказывается результатом деятельности дискурсов власти:

«Не только не существует причинно-следственной связи между полом и гендером, но само слово “пол” является неправильным употреблением термина, и биологическая действительность, которую мы называем полом, сама есть исторический конструкт и на самом деле является политической категорией» (Батлер, 2005, стр. 302).

Батлер указала на перформативный характер гендерного тела. Перформатив сам по себе не является ни истинным, ни ложным, как и перформативные высказывания в концепции Джона Остина. Всякое тело конструируется непрерывно, постоянно пребывая в повторяющихся телесных и коммуникационных практиках:

«перформация гендера ретроактивно производит иллюзию того, что существует некоторое внутреннее ядро гендера. То есть перформация гендера ретроактивно производит эффект некой истинной или неизменной женской сущности или исходной предрасположенности, так что для понимания гендера нельзя привлекать экспрессивные [построенные на представлении о выражении в неких формах чего-то уже существующего] модели» (Батлер, 2002, стр. 121).

Выходит, что любая идентичность – это результат многократных телесных и вербальных действий. Если это так, то идентичность не является неизменной, она изменяется и есть возможность это делать отчасти осознанно, изменяя перформативные действия.

Мэри Каннингем, теоретик современного танца, похожие идеи сформулировал, переосмысляя танцевальное движение. Он искал способы освободиться от телесных канонов, сформированных в обществе, культуре, танце, и методологически использовал случайность как принцип по созданию новой танцевальной телесности, лишенной целостного образа, становящейся потоком. Говоря словами Батлер, танцевальная телесность перформативна:

«Танцовщики Каннингема поочередно исследуют возможности разных частей тела, определяют круг доступных им движений и стремятся раздвинуть эти границы. Они повторяют непривычные движения до тех пор, пока те не станут органичными, “частью твоего тела”. Участники труппы говорят, что в танце “каждый становится другим, отличным от человека существом” – и рождается вторая природа» (Сироткина, 2011).



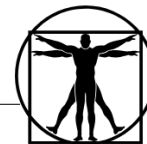
Идея процессуального тела широко отражена в практиках бодимодификаций, которые распространены среди сексуальных меньшинств в качестве способа выделиться внутри собственной субкультуры:

«К примеру, гомосексуалисты и бдсм-щики эротизировали практики вроде скарринга и клеймения и используют их для предотвращения ассимиляции с ведущим движением за права гомосексуалистов, отмечая себя в качестве “странных среди странных”» (Pitts, 2003, стр. 3).

Женские бодимодификации широко распространены в феминистской среде, борющейся против социокультурного означивания женского. Женское модифицированное тело не только критикует патриархат, проявленный в бесчисленных формах социального контроля и насилия, но также стремится открыть скрытые возможности женского тела. Эмоциональные аспекты тела – опыты боли и удовольствия в сексуальных практиках и незападных племенных ритуалах – становятся основополагающим фокусом внимания современных бодимодификаторов. Они предлагают рассматривать тело не как объект социального контроля государства, медицины и религии, а в качестве пространства исследования собственных внутренних состояний, истинных желаний, не навязанных внешними дискурсами.

За каждым культурным явлением стоят ценности. Представитель философии неокантианства Генрих Риккерт утверждал, что культура это совокупность артефактов. Культура производит артефакты, которые ориентируются на идеальный мир, уменьшая дистанцию между миром сущего и миром должного. Блага всегда связаны с ценностями. Ценность определяет то, что должно быть, и блага помогают сократить дистанцию между сущим и идеальным мирами (Риккерт, 1998). Пьер Бурдьё через понятие габитуса показал как часть благ оседает в человеческом теле. Габитус – это по сути закрепленные привычки тела, притворяющиеся природой. Через логику рассуждений, отличную от исследований Батлер, он пришел к похожим выводам: если программа тела неотрефлексированна, его привычки воспринимаются за естественные. Моральные предписания мы не рефлекслируем, они входят в нас через телесные привычки. Например, императив «держись прямо» содержит ценность здоровья, самоконтроля и постоянного напряжения:





«Перефразируя Пруста, – пишет Бурдьё, – можно было бы сказать, что ноги и руки полны заостренными императивами. Так что можно было бы составить список ценностей, ставших телом, благодаря транссубстантивации, ... которая способна внушить целую космогонию, этику, метафизику и политику через такие незначительные предписания, как “держись прямо” или “не держи нож в левой руке”» (Бурдьё, 2001, стр. 135).

Процессуальность становится ценностью, так как становится стратегией борьбы с вышеупомянутыми «заостренными императивами», которыми создается крепкая идентичность.

Возвращаясь к теме агендерного стиля в моде, рассмотрим как идея процессуальности телесного отражается в вестиментарных образах, так как любой наряд неизбежно обладает, как минимум, перцептивным образом, а он, как и всякий образ, обладает целостностью. Благодаря культурным программам наше восприятие создает паттерны. Это позволяет идентифицировать человека по вестиментарному коду. Микеле борется с привычными паттернами гендерного восприятия, основанными на идентификации человека по его полу, гендеру и внешности. Он разворачивает проект по изменению привычного восприятия облика человека, экспериментируя с визуальными кодами – смешивая их, запутывая, соединяя, видоизменяя. Каждый элемент одежды, вырванный из привычного контекста собственного стиля, становится частью нового визуального децентрализованного текста. Это типичный для постмодернизма прием двойного кодирования, связанный с детерриторизацией привычных образов и идей, это

«присущее постмодернизму постоянное пародическое сопоставление двух (или более) "текстуальных миров", т. е. различных способов семиотического кодирования эстетических систем, под которыми следует понимать художественные стили. Рассматриваемый в таком плане постмодернизм выступает одновременно и как продолжение практики модернизма, и как его преодоление, поскольку он "иронически преодолевает" стилистику своего предшественника» (Ильин, 1998, стр. 222).

Сконструированный Микеле образ агендерного тела несет отпечаток идеи Делеза и Гваттари тела-без-органов:

«Это то, что противится всем уровням организации, уровню организма и организованной власти» (Дьяков, 2013, стр. 136).



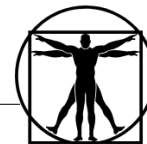
Ценностью становится неопределенность и ускользание, так как то, что не поддается идентификации, становится неуправляемым, а значит выходит из под влияния власти.

## **ПРОБЛЕМАТИЗАЦИЯ ПОСТМОДЕРНИСТСКОГО ПРОЕКТА**

---

Постмодернистские идеи проникают в массовое сознание, укрепляя свое влияние. Но есть ряд моментов, которые показывают насколько трудно осуществить постмодернистский проект по переосмыслению телесности на практике. Хочу на них остановиться.

Когда теоретики гендера предложили термин *gender and sexual diversity* – гендерное и половое разнообразие; чтобы обобщить различные вариации гендерной и половой идентичности, это предложение вызвало много критики со стороны антиэссенциалистского крыла феминисток, так как их формально включили в объем этого термина. Критика такова: если конструируется понятие, которое должно учесть всю вариативность гендерной и сексуальной идентичности, оно, как и любое понятие по определению, оказывается унифицирующим, формирующим общечеловеческий взгляд на вопрос пола и гендера. Любая объективация претендует на схватывание сущности явления в языке и на то, чтобы вплести его в ткань «здорового смысла» социального большинства. Сделать нормативным. Парадоксальным образом, те, кто отстаивает ценность какого-либо разнообразия – телесного, гендерного, полового и прочего, попадают в ловушку объективирующего взгляда общества. Принять этот термин означает капитулировать в едва начавшейся войне против эссенциализма. Представители радикального антиэссенциализма критикуют данный термин *gender and sexual diversity*, так как он, как и всякий термин, объективирует идентичность. Представители антиэссенциализма требуют от апологетов эссенциализма признания собственной идентичности как сугубо индивидуальной, не сводимой к общему знаменателю, но это требование не может быть выполнено из-за противоположных ценностных установок. Отчасти это осознается, поэтому антиэссенциалисты выбрали весьма остроумную стратегию ускользания от идентификации – через непрерывное производство концептов: гендерная текучесть, пансексуальность, агендер, бигендер, гендерквир и так далее. Количество видов гендерной идентичности с каждым днем растет,



что ошибочно считать попыткой дать точную идентификацию. Наоборот – избыточность концептов позволяет размыивать всякую определенность, что должно приводить к ослаблению контроля властвующих субъектов. Но в сознании представителей эссенциализма это нетождественное множество уже именовано как *gender and sexual diversity*, а следовательно объективировано и поддается управлению.

На уровне эстетики также возникают трудности по воплощению именно агендерного стиля, а не имитации агендерной эстетики. Микеле в социальных сетях и интервью транслирует радикальную мысль: личный вкус является основанием его эстетики, и призывает к этому остальных: «носить то, что нравится». По ходу заметим, что всякий призыв – это попытка осуществить влияние, тем более, если оно осуществляется авторитетным лицом в мире моды. К тому же, Микеле демонстрирует поклонникам своего творчества что это значит – носить то, что нравится (отказываться от гендерных стереотипов, смешивать элементы разных гардеробов и так далее). Авторитетное заявление, даже призывающее людей делать то, что им нравится, едва ли вписывается в постмодернистскую программу по деиерархизации и децентрализации общества.

Это размышление приводит к дальнейшей проблематизации, и возникает вопрос – не является ли то, что называется «личным вкусом» на самом деле пустым понятием? Разумеется, в рамках классических принципов построения эстетической системы, это оксюморон, так как вкус это результат конвенционального соглашения. Вполне возможно, то, что называется «личным вкусом» является по сути неотрефлексированной компиляций существующих эстетических программ.

Последнее, на что хочу обратить внимание – на статус постмодерновой моды. Микеле как представитель модного дома оказывается в противоречивом положении. Постмодерновая мода, создавая идеологически «правильную» одежду, транслируя ценность разнообразия и уникальности, тем не менее, неизбежно остается верной логике рыночной индустрии, нацеленной на получение прибыли. Противоречие заключается в том, что в теории постмодернизм борется с идеей иерархии, а вместе с тем, в пространстве рынка принцип иерархичности остается и воспитывается, укрепляясь в культуре, через формирование привлекательного образа, демонстрацию образца вкуса:



«мода — как и массовая культура вообще — говорит со всеми для того, чтобы ещё успешнее указать каждому на его место. Мода является одним из институтов, который наилучшим образом восстанавливает и обосновывает культурное неравенство и социальное различие, утверждая, будто бы их он как раз и уничтожает» (Бодрийяр, 2003, стр. 47).

Мода как искусство производит эстетические объекты, мода как коммерция ищет экономической выгоды, стимулируя потребительский спрос. Остается открытым вопрос как будет развиваться постмодернистская мода, оставаясь верна своим идеям.

## ВЫВОДЫ

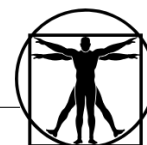
---

Постструктуралисты в трактовке феномена телесности отказываются от любых метафизических посылок, акцентируя внимание субъективном переживании образа тела и управлении этими переживаниями субъектами рационального отношения к телесности. Это во многом подготовлено философией социального конструктивизма с ее главной идеей детерминированности «естественных» процессов искусственными символическими системами.

В культуре постмодерна происходит активная борьба с идеей телеологии, поэтому изменение телесности становится как ценным само по себе, так и содержит имплицитную установку на отказ от идентификации. Для постмодернистов идентичность как укорененность в обществе становится антиценностью, она заменяется идеей перформативности телесности и пониманием человека как уникального единичного бытия. Введенный термин «агендер», ярко воплощенный в вестиментарном творчестве дизайнера дома Gucci Алессандро Микеле, реализует стратегию ускользания от идентификации и работает на переосмысление человеческой телесности не как образа, но как потока.

Собственное глубоко индивидуализированное чувство становится для постмодернистски мыслящего индивида единственным критерием «правильного» как в повседневности (так набирает популярность враждебное модерну движение бодипозитива), так и в искусстве – от алеаторного танца Триши Браун до агендерной эстетики Gucci.

---



## Список литературы

- Hassan, I. H. (1987). *The Postmodern Turn: Essays in Postmodern Theory and Culture*. Ohio State University Press.
- Heilbrun, C. (1973). *Toward a Recognition of Androgyny*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.
- Highwater, J. (1997). *The mythology of transgression: homosexuality as metaphor*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Kristeva, J. (1984). *Woman Can Never Be Defined. New French Feminisms*. New York.
- Pitts, V. L. (2003) *In the flesh. The Cultural Politics of Body Modification*. New York.
- Vogue. (2018). *Выбор Vogue: Новая одежда. Журнал Vogue, (12)*, 100-102.
- Баткин, Л. М. (1989). *Итальянское Возрождение в поисках индивидуальности*. М. : Наука.
- Батлер, Дж. (2000). Гендерное беспокойство. В *Антология гендерных исследований*. (стр. 297-346). Минск: Пропилеи.
- Батлер, Дж. (2005). Присвоение телом гендера: философский вклад Симоны де Бовуар. В *Женщины, познание и реальность: Исследования по феминистской философии*. (стр. 292–303). М.: Росспэн.
- Батлер, Дж. (2002). *Психика власти. Теории субъекции*. Харьков: ХЦГИ; СПб.: Алетейя.
- Бахтин, М. М. (1990). *Творчество Франсуа Рабле и народная культура средневековья и Ренессанса*. М.: Художественная литература.
- Бодрийяр, Ж. (2003). *К критике политической экономики знака*. М.: Библион-Русская книга.
- Бодрийяр, Ж. (2000). *Прозрачность Зла*. М.: Добросвет.
- Брандт, Г. А. (2004). *Философская антропология феминизма: природа женщины*. Екатеринбург.
- Бурдье, П. (2001). *Практический смысл*. СПб.: Алетейя.
- Делёз, Ж. & Гваттари, Ф. (2007). *Анти-Эдип. Капитализм и шизофрения*. Екатеринбург: У-Фактория.
- Дьяков, А. В. (2003). *Жиль Делёз. Философия различия*. М.: Белый город.
- Ильин, И. П. (1998). *Постмодернизм от истоков до конца столетия: эволюция научного мифа*. М.: Интрада.
- Кант, И. (1963). *Всеобщая естественная история и теория неба*. В И. К. *Собрание сочинений в 6 т. Т. 1*. М.: Мысль.
- Кобылин, И. И. (2011) *Исток и сингулярность: Дж. Агамбен и М. Фуко о рождении биовласти. Философия и общество, (3)*, 171-183.
- Кристева, Ю. (2003). *Силы ужаса: Эссе об отвращении*. СПб.: Алетейя; Харьков: Ф-пресс.

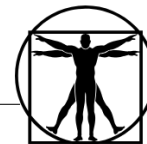


- Лакан, Ж. (2009). Стадия зеркала как образующая функцию Я, какой она раскрылась нам в психоаналитическом опыте. В Ж. Лакан, *Семинары. Книга 2*. М.: Гнозис.
- Нанси, Ж.-Л. (1994). Сегодня. Лекция, прочитанная в январе 1990 года в Институте философии в Москве. В *Ad Marginem'93. Ежегодник Лаборатории постклассических исследований ИФ РАН*. М.: Ad Marginem.
- Нанси, Ж.-Л. (1999). *Corpus*. М.: Ad Marginem.
- Риккерт, Г. (1998). *Науки о природе и науки о культуре*. М.: Республика.
- Сироткина, И. В. (2011). *Свободное движение и пластический танец в России*. Retrieved from <https://design.wikireading.ru/3700>
- Слотердайк, П. (2005). *Сферы: Микросферология. Т.1. Пузыри*. СПб.: Наука.

## References

---

- Bahtin, M. M. (1990). *The Work of François Rable and The Popular Culture of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. М.: Fiction.
- Batkin, L. M. (1989). *The Italian Renaissance in search of Individuality*. М. : Science (in Russian).
- Baudrillard, J. (2000). *The Transparency of Evil*. М.: Dobrosvet (In Russian).
- Baudrillard, J. (2003). *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*. М.: Biblion-Russian book (in Russian).
- Bourdieu, P. (2001). *Practical Sense*. St. Petersburg: Aleteia (in Russian).
- Brundt, G. A. (2004). *Philosophical anthropology of feminism: The Woman's Nature*. Yekaterinburg (In Russian).
- Butler, J. (2000). Gender Trouble. In *Anthology of Gender Research*. (pp. 297-346). Minsk: Propilei (in Russian).
- Butler, J. (2002). *Mentality of the Power. Theories of a Subjection*. Kharkiv: KCGR; St. Petersburg: Aleteia (in Russian).
- Butler, J. (2005). The body's Appropriation of Gender: The Philosophical Contribution of Simone de Beauvoir. In *Women, Cognition and Reality: Research on Feminist Philosophy*. (pp. 292–303). М.: Rosspen ( in Russian).
- Deleuze, G., Guattari, F. (2007). *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Yekaterinburg: U-Factoria (in Russian).
- Diakov, A. V. (2003). *Gilles Deleuze. Philosophy of Difference*. М.: White city (in Russian).
- Hassan, I. H. (1987). *The Postmodern Turn: Essays in Postmodern Theory and Culture*. Ohio State University Press.
- Heilbrun, C. (1973). *Toward a Recognition of Androgyny*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.



- Highwater, J. (1997). *The mythology of transgression: homosexuality as metaphor*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Ilin, I. P. (1998). *Postmodernism from origins to the end of the century: the evolution of the scientific myth*. M.: Intrada (in Russian).
- Kant, I. (1963). Universal Natural History and Theory of the Heavens. In I. K. *Collected Works in 6 v. V. 1*. M.: Thought (in Russian).
- Kobylin, I. I. (2011) Origin and Singularity: G. Agamben and M. Foucault about The Birth of Biopower. *Philosophy and society*, (3), 171-183. (in Russian).
- Kristeva, J. (1984). Woman Can Never Be Defined. *New French Feminisms*. New York.
- Kristeva, J. (2003). *Powers of Horror. An Essay on Abjection*. St. Petersburg: Aleteia; Kharkiv: F-press (in Russian).
- Lacan, J. (2009). The Mirror Stage as Formative of the I Function as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience. In J. Lacan, *Seminars. Book 2*. M.: Gnosis (in Russian).
- Nancy, J.-L. (1994). Today. Lecture, given in January 1990 at the Institute of Philosophy in Moscow. In *Ad Marginem'93. Yearbook of the Postclassical Research Laboratory IP RAS*. M.: Ad Marginem (in Russian).
- Nancy, J.-L. (1999). *Corpus*. M.: Ad Marginem (in Russian).
- Pitts, V. L. (2003) *In the Flesh. The Cultural Politics of Body Modification*. New York.
- Rickert, H. (1998). *The Sciences of Culture and The sciences of Nature*. M.: Respublic (in Russian).
- Sirotkina, I. V. (2011). *Free movement and plastic dance in Russia*. Retrieved from <https://design.wikireading.ru/3700>
- Sloterdijk, P. (2005). *Bubbles: Spheres Volume I: Microspherology*. St.-Petersburg: Science.
- Vogue. (2018). The Vogue's choice: A New Clothing. *Magazine Vogue*, (12), 100-102 (in Russian).



---

## THE BODY OF ART

---

**Shelton Waldrep (a)**

(a) University of Southern Maine. Portland, USA. Email: [waldrep\[at\]maine.edu](mailto:waldrep[at]maine.edu)

---

### Abstract

---

As part of a larger study on the mainstreaming of pornography in contemporary film and television, this essay attempts to examine and extend our vocabulary for discussing visual representations of the human body by revisiting Kenneth Clark's important study *The Nude* from 1972. Clark's book provides a history of the male and female nude in two- and three-dimensional art from Ancient Egypt and Greece to the Renaissance and beyond. This essay focuses on places within his analysis that are especially generative for understanding pornography such as the importance of placing the nude form within a narrative (Venus is emerging from her bath, for example) or attempts by artists to suggest movement within static forms. The essay places Clark's rich typology in conversation with other thinkers, such as Fredric Jameson, Erwin Panofsky, E. H. Gombrich, and Michel Foucault. The piece ends with a discussion of androgyny and hermaphroditism as they relate to the expression of gender in plastic art, especially the notion that all representations of the body necessarily include a gender spectrum within one figure. Artists whose work is looked at in some detail include Da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Donatello.

---

### Keywords

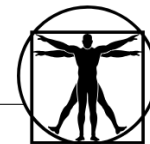
---

Body; art; pornography; narrative; gender



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons «Attribution» 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).





---

## ТЕЛО В ИСКУССТВЕ

---

**Уолдреп Шелтон (а)**

(а) Университет Южного Мэна. Портленд, США. Email: [waldrep\[at\]maine.edu](mailto:waldrep[at]maine.edu)

---

### Аннотация

---

Будучи частью более обширного исследования, посвященного проникновению порнографии в современные кинематограф и телевидение, данное эссе представляет собой попытку проанализировать и расширить наш лексикон для обсуждения визуальных образов человеческого тела, пересматривая важное исследование Кеннета Кларка «Нагота в искусстве» 1972 года. Труд Кларка рассказывает об истории изображения нагих мужчин и женщин в двух- и трехмерном искусстве от Древнего Египта и Греции до Ренессанса и далее. Это эссе сосредотачивается на тех аспектах его анализа, которые особенно ценны для понимания порнографии: таких, как значение включения обнаженной натуры в повествование (Венера, выходящая из ванны, к примеру) или попытки художников предложить движение в пределах статических форм. В эссе богатая типология Кларка осмысливается с подходами других мыслителей, таких как Фредрик Джеймисон, Эрвин Панофский, Эрнст Гомбрих и Мишель Фуко. Работа завершается обсуждением андрогинности и гермафродитизма в связи с выражением гендера в пластическом искусстве, в частности, с представлением о том, что все изображения тела обязательно включают в себя гендерный спектр в рамках одной фигуры. В числе художников, чьи работы рассматриваются в деталях, - да Винчи, Микеланджело и Донателло.

---

### Ключевые слова

---

Телесность; искусство; порнография; нарратив; гендер



Это произведение доступно по [лицензии Creative Commons «Attribution»](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)  
(«Атрибуция») 4.0 Всемирная



## INTRODUCTION

---

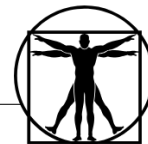
In a meditation on the body and narratology, Fredric Jameson discusses the body of Christ in the Western art-historical canon and the many ways that it allowed for a variety of theatricalized scenes to be explored. Christ's body not only allowed for representation of the body "from its birth to its agony and death" (p. 8) but also for sexuality. As Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick discusses in *Epistemology of the Closet*, the nude or semi-nude body of Christ allowed for a visible representation of gay male desire, an acceptable male body to view and worship (p. 148). It is not by accident that Oscar Wilde returns to Christ, in a sense, in his post-prison writings. For Jameson, religion as the subject matter for art allowed for a way to narrativize visual art via the theatrical:

Christ's body . . . served as the laboratory for innumerable experiments in the representation of the body in all its postures and potentialities . . . enabl[ing] the theatrical staging of equally innumerable dramatic—which is to say narrative—scenes (p. 8).

Ultimately, for Jameson, this theatricality could be termed "cinematographic" (p. 8)<sup>1</sup>. Jameson goes on to focus specifically on Peter Paul Rubens' *Samson and Delilah* (1609-1610). This particular painting shows a post-coital Samson asleep, his massive body arraigned across the painting, his torso tossed onto Delilah's, his strong left arm acting as a diagonal element that crosses nearly half the painting. That arm, as Jameson notes, is "more materialist and carnal in its sheer strength as well as its abandon, than Christ's whole body" (p. 16). The dead weight of the Christ of the *pietà* or the descent from the cross is nothing in comparison. The painting "virtually reeks of sex" (p. 16) and in that sense outdoes anything by Caravaggio or Rubens. If Christ's body is other than human, then Samson is a Nietzschean *Übermensch*, a body that expresses, finally, not so much sex as the life force itself (p. 17). Paintings of the Renaissance often represent a sort of cinematic "freeze frame," as Jameson calls it, or a *tableau* (p. 19). The artists attempted to represent a particular "moment" in time, however malleable that might be. In this painting, Rubens is not interested so much in "linear temporality" as in an "absolute" time, a conceptual time that lies outside of the regular definition (p. 19), or perhaps allows for several different timelines to exist simultaneously. Perhaps the painting enacts the very question of time, or its time, and therefore achieves a "raw immedi-

---

1 In his book on film, *Signatures of the Visible*, James emphatically notes that "[t]he visual is essentially pornographic. . . ." "Pornographic films are thus only the potentiation of films in general, which ask us to stare at the world as though it were a naked body" (p. 1)



acy” (p. 26), one that allows for conceptual thinking “in a painterly way” (p. 28). From this line of thought, as Jameson concludes:

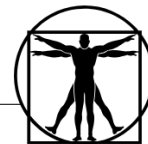
*Il n’y a pas de rapport sexuel*: through this breach or gap now stream all the ideological binaries piling up like pus or toxin in the naturalization of sex: the battle of the sexes . . . their virtual transformation into two species; but also—mind or spirit versus body or matter . . . the politics versus sexuality (public versus private)... In these oppositions the ethical bouncing ball touches first on one then the other, passing back and forth from one term to the other (bound together as they are by History), now certifying one as good and the other evil until the inevitable alternation and reversal, thereby perpetuating the timeless Apollonian stillness of the two eternal figures. (pp. 28-29)

Jameson’s reading of this particular painting by Rubens attempts to understand how time functions within it, and therefore, how narrative elements work here. Jameson seems to imply that Rubens’ solution is superior to that of the painters of the Renaissance who saw narrative as a sort of frozen time — that they were only able to think in a mostly literal way. But a central tenant of Walter Isaacson’s *Leonardo da Vinci* is that the great artist’s paintings are not only the result of his scientific observation, but that they are characterized by his ability always to fold complex notions about time (and space) into his paintings. As early as *The Annunciation* (1472-1475) Da Vinci represents the angel Gabriel as having just alighted within the garden walls. The grass blows forward, his sleeves flutter black as though from the breeze created by his flight (Isaacson, p. 59). Space suggests a narrative, a particular moment in time but also the moment before it as well. In the two versions of *The Virgin of the Rocks*, in the Louvre (1483-1486) and the National Gallery in London (1495-1508), Da Vinci represents not one moment but two: the baby St. John recognizes the Christ child who blesses him in return, while Mary attempts to enfold them both in protective gestures while the angel seems to communicate directly with the viewer. In the first version, he points to the Christ and looks directly at the viewer; in the second, he merely reacts to the scene as a whole (Isaacson, p. 230), likewise outside of it, in time, if not space. Even in the *Mona Lisa* (1503), Da Vinci gives us a figure whose presence seems both a part of a mythic past and almost eerily present as well—her eyes rendered with such attention to physiognomy and optics that they seem to move and adjust to us in ways that give them their famous immediacy. This effect, combined with the rare three-quarters view of the subject that Da Vinci had first used in *Ginevra de’Benci* (1474-1478) (Isaacson, p. 64), emphasizes the portrait’s presence, its intimacy as a portrait that demands to be experienced in the here and now.



While Isaacson argues for seeing Da Vinci as a master of the ability to represent time in a complex way in his paintings, perhaps nowhere is this most obvious than in his fresco of the *Last Supper* (1490s). Though now a ruin, in its original form, the fresco could be read from left to right and represented the apostles in four groups of three figures each. Each group represents a slightly different moment in time, ranging from just before Christ's announcement that one of them has betrayed him, to the moment during the reaction to his statement, and just after. Christ himself seems to represent the actual moment of speech, his mouth still slightly open, while his hands gesture toward the bread and wine, whose full significance is yet to come. While other paintings by Leonardo are often read from left to right in a complex clockwise direction that emphasizes their spiral organization, this painting is rectilinear and attempts to reference the space of the refectory where it is located. There are multiple spatial tricks that try to make the fresco's illusion of space and architecture seem like an extension of the room it is in. The problem for Da Vinci, however, is that viewers might stand at different places in a room, or in the case of this work, enter from a door on the right and then move to a table in front of it. That is, all paintings that attempt a realistic, even scientific, version of the world must also deal with the fact that one's sense of perspective shifts as one's position in front of the painting does. There are multiple places in Da Vinci's paintings where he seems to have been trying to combine perspectives, ultimately choosing which ones he wanted to make most important (Isaacson, p. 58). Some of the choices here result in some of the anomalies—the foreshortened ceiling, which creates a sense of depth using the theatrical trick of a steep incline (Isaacson, p. 289); the fact that the tapestries on either side of the table at which Christ and his apostles sit do not match up (p. 287); the shallow table at which they dine and from which they stare, theatrically on one side, at the audience, etc. (p. 289). Classical painting, in other words, was never perfectly seamless or symmetrical. It was more like cinema: a two-dimensional attempt to render not so much space as the movement through space; which is to say, perhaps, not space but time.

The subject matter of paintings, however, is figuration, which is to say, the body. Many of the effects of pornography in film are prefigured by the tradition of Western painting itself. For thousands of years, artists have tried, in sculpture, vases, two-dimensional art, to represent the body realistically, which has always meant representing the body in narrative. Pornography is nothing less than the attempt to give to the reality of the body a story that makes the actions of sex, in particular, visible and realistic.



As in a painting, the porn body is not naked, it is nude. This fact is one of the essential differences between porn and other genres or media that depict naked people. The nude actors of porn disrupt one of the joys of nakedness—its identification with averageness, its variety, the fact that a fairly randomized group of naked people of any sex or gender will provide variation. Porn, by contrast, is radically stylized—it pushes the actorly notion of types to an extreme and combines it with an idea borrowed from modeling that only certain body types are erotic. Any real eroticism might be in the crossover—actors or pseudo-actors who seem like porn stars but are safely in the mainstream. Porn never shows us the beauty and innocent carnality of nakedness—1960s Woodstock footage, say, or nudist beaches, or sexual situations that are not co-opted by the commercial and aesthetic dictates of porn—professionals or amateurs. How we talk about porn, therefore, is the problem of how to talk about the nude body as a form.

## THE NUDE AND THE NAKED

---

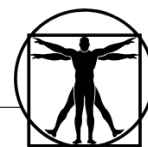
In his classic study of the naked body in art, Kenneth Clark provides one of the few books that gives us a vocabulary for talking about the naked or nude body, the relationship between the parts and the whole, and the changing representations of the human body in art across time in both two- and three-dimensional representations. *The Nude* continues to be influential since its original publication and only grows more important as we deal with the rapid increase in the visual representation of the naked body. As Clark makes clear at the onset of his study, naked means unclothed but nude means “the body re-formed” (p. 3). Nude means proportion and shape as the naked body in real life usually lacks both (p. 5). Still, the representation of the nude body cannot be completely divorced from its erotic content, or its link in real life with the naked body (p. 8), though certainly the nude body can be used to represent many other emotions or ideas than that (p. 9). In tracing the origin of the nude, it is important not to underestimate the audacity of Greek sculpture in its radical belief in the unveiling of the human body. The lack of self-consciousness about the human form is, as Clark notes, related to the Greek philosophical and aesthetic belief in the centrality of the human to define the world. While Clark refers to this belief as a kind of “wholeness” (p. 24), a more accurate description might be that the human is the measure of all things—even Greek gods are given human characteristics (though often in a magnified way). The nude human body is a metonymy for the literary epics and tragedies, the architecture, and the philosophy of Ancient



Greece in its belief in the power of human reason and in the body as the measure of the natural world. For Clark, what he calls “wholeness” reaches a peak with Praxiteles’ *Hermes* (fourth century BC) when “physical beauty is one with strength, grace, gentleness, and benevolence” (p. 46). After that point, “we witness... the fragmentation of the perfect man, and the human body becomes either very graceful or very muscular or merely animal” (p. 46). The history of the nude after this point of early Greek sculptural perfection is, then, I would argue, at one with the history of pornography itself.

As Clark traces his way through art history, representations of the human body obviously change over time. Lysippos, “the last great name in Greek sculpture,” “invented a new proportion, with smaller head, longer legs, and a slenderer body” (p. 48). Ancient writers note that he did a famous “figure of an athlete scraping himself, which was popular in ancient Rome. . .” (p. 48). By the time the male nude is rediscovered in Renaissance Italy in the form of Donatello’s *David* (1440s) the focus of the body’s architecture has shifted from “the flat rectangular chest” to “the waist” as “the center of plastic interest” (p. 55) where it would remain throughout the Renaissance. The Cuirasse esthétique perfected by Polykleitos into a structure so perfect or harmonious that armor was based on it (p. 40) was supplanted by a form that, for Clark, makes Donatello’s *David* seem more like a real boy, and not only in terms of youth. The Renaissance version of the male body reaches its perfection in Michelangelo’s nudes, which for Clark contain the same celebration of the male body that one finds in classical Greek sculpture though his nudes are “unique” in their ability to be “both poignant and commanding” (p. 89).

While today the phrase “the nude” might, without any gender attached to it, assume to refer to the female nude, the opposite sex would have been assumed prior to the seventeenth century, which is why Clark’s study begins with the male nude. Greek culture did not promote female public nudity in the same way as it did for men (only Sparta allowed women to show their legs or compete in athletic competitions almost nude) and Ancient Greek legends of Aphrodite suggest that she was draped (Clark, p. 72). The notion of a Venus coming naked from the sea was an Eastern import (p. 73). Female nudes on pottery in the sixth century BC tended to be elongated. The elaborate curves and circles “from which the classic Aphrodite was to be constructed” (p. 73) came later. Clark posits that Polykleitos, in the Munich *Girl* of circa 400 BC shows the perfection of the line that sweeps from a cocked hip to “the sphere of the breast, and the long, gentle undulation of the side that is relaxed” (p. 80).



**Figure 1. David. Donatello. 1430-1440**

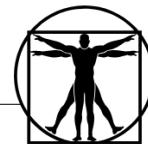




**Figure 2. David. Michelangelo. 1501-1504**

The balance and tension and the sensual line that unites the parts of the body has, to Clark, become synonymous with the female nude and the notion of beauty attached to it. For him, Rubens was to the female nude





what Michelangelo had been to the male—someone who perfected the form and added to it—mainly, sensitivity of observation and also the erotics of the surface, which became textured and took on colors that would be added to by Rococo artists such as Boucher and Watteau (p. 148). Until this time, the front side of the female form had been considered the most important, perhaps the backside considered overly sensual such as that of the Hermaphrodite. Perhaps because of this sexual insinuation, female bottoms become important in the eighteenth century (p. 150). By the nineteenth century the female body began to take the place of the male one in academic studies of the nude, probably because of Ingres and the meticulous way that he observed the bodies of women (pp. 158-159). Up until this point in art history the female nude was often placed within a narrative – groves, woodlands, the bath, etc. Nature or idealized interiors were common. While male nudes also had their origin stories or contexts—the associations with Apollo or the story of David and Goliath—nothing quite prepared the world of art for Manet's *Olympia* (1863), in which the woman, a prostitute, looks at the viewer with a stark, unmistakably naturalistic stare.

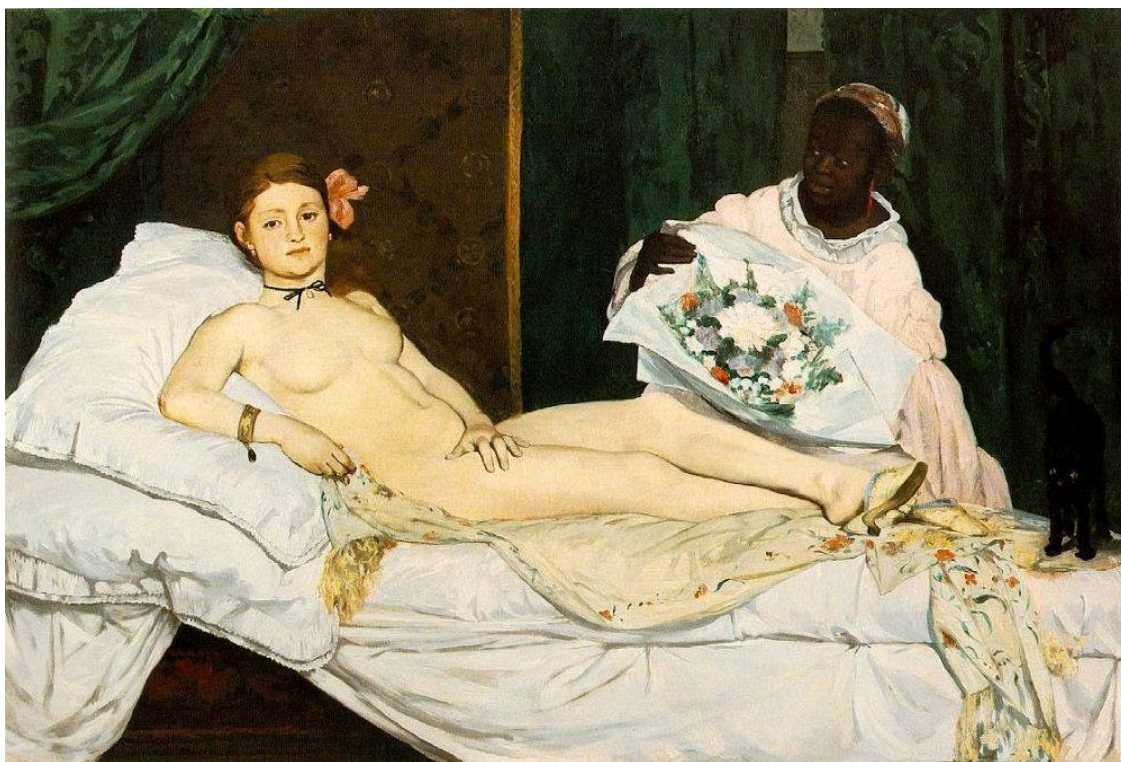


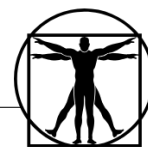
Figure 3. *Olympia*. Édouard Manet. 1863



While artists had long drawn from actual women, they were also often idealized or somehow softened (p. 164). Manet, like Lautrec, refused to do that and the late-nineteenth century was the first time that the nude became naked—or the female nude a woman. Only Renoir, from this period, seemed to continue to see the nude as a viable tradition in its own right, though he managed to apply the lessons of Impressionism to his treatment of them.

Even now, when people discuss the desirability of a specific body or body type or part of the body they do so by alluding to sculptures or paintings of the Western tradition — parts of a canon, while hardly inviolate, that is useful as a frame of reference. While porn on film is hardly the same thing, it is part of the tradition of representations of the body that are meant to be studied for their aesthetic and erotic attributes. Clark goes on in his study to take on the notion of movement or action in nudes. Just as pornography has existed for generations as a still photo or model — the *Playboy* pinup or the Athletic Model Guild “art photograph”—and as film, video, or digital loops or movies, sculpture and painting have dealt with the balance of combining the two—how to show movement in a still image. For Clark, the notion of the athlete in movement allows for the artist to find a way to balance the arms and legs with the torso by carrying movement through the torso and freeing it of any stiffness (p. 178). The torso becomes the focal point, but the limbs are connected in a fluid, elegant pattern. For Clark, the *sine qua non* of this effect is the *Diskobolos* (460-450 BC) of Myron. The cinematic attempts to represent complex, continuous actions on the metopes of the Parthenon are unsuccessfully stiff and static for Clark (an opinion not necessarily had by others), but he argues successfully that the work of Myron, in its economy of the fluid line, suggests, as Rodin would argue about nudes, seeing an action at two different moments simultaneously (p. 180). If Greek sculpture had tried to show the body in repose before it might do almost anything, now the problem was showing the body stopped in a moment of action (p. 180). While this opposite state seems more problematic for Clark, it might now remind us of the two kinds of still images that we still have in porn — the poised publicity still and the freeze frame from an actual film.





**Figure 4. The Parthenon frieze. British Museum**



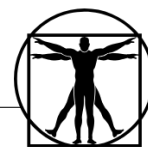
**Figure 5. Detail of the Parthenon frieze. British Museum**



Representing the human body in states of movement or action continued to evolve for mostly cultural reasons. In late-fifteenth-century Florence, for example, it would have been in the form of male nudes in battle. Michelangelo, far from making perfect bodies like these, often creates nudes that seem to express an inner life more than a realistic outer one. If these figures were to step off the pedestal or ceiling, they would actually look grotesque (p. 209). By the end of his life the nude collapses completely into itself, the Duomo *Pietà* (1547) in Florence is completely without classical proportions and Michelangelo's confidence in the body has been replaced with an almost Gothic spirituality (p. 259). By the time of the drawings by Michelangelo of the *Resurrection* (1532; *The Last Judgement*, 1536-1541) in the British Museum, Michelangelo depicts Christ floating up to heaven, as though finally freed of the body (p. 307). Once again, for Clark, the female nude took the place of the male nude by the eighteenth century, with Rubens once again leading the way. What are muscles in early Michelangelo becomes skin in Rubens, the surface becoming expressive (p. 265). Perhaps like late Michelangelo the surface starts to become semi-abstract, like Rembrandt's self-portrait in Vienna, and to break down at the level of the skin. By the time of Degas the female nude had become, once again, more animal-like and the nude had taken on more of a connection between art and life itself (p. 223). In sculpture, Rodin brings a chapter of classical art to a conclusion. While some of his sculpture could be, to Clark, overdone and exaggerated, it is, like Wagner, for a purpose, becoming vulgar to express our modern times (p. 271).

The classical tradition that Clark traces is, of course, one based upon the Greek ideal. An alternative tradition, as he terms it, can be found in the early Medieval, or perhaps more accurately, Gothic body that shows the human form not as nude but as profoundly naked, "an object of humiliation and shame" (p. 309). This rendering of the body had its own conventions but was built upon the conviction that the body expressed almost the opposite stance to the Attic one. As Clark summarizes, "While the Greek nude began with the heroic body proudly displaying itself in the palaestra, the Christian nude began with the huddled body cowering in consciousness of sin" (p. 311). The primary plastic embodiment of this change was in making the focus of the body the curvature of the stomach as opposed to the hip, which creates an upward thrust that equates with "energy and control" (p. 318). The stomach, by contrast, "is created by gravity and relaxation" (p. 318). The stomach "does not take its shape from the will but from the unconscious biological process that gives shape to all hidden organisms" (p. 318).





**Figure 6. The Deposition. Michelangelo. 1547-1555**

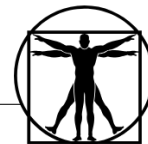
The Gothic female body, with its small breasts, long torso, and sagging stomach can be seen as an alternative representation of the nude, but can it be seen as the naked complement to the more “abstract” classical



nude? And does it cross time to become, in the future, any representation of the body that sees it as naked—or renders it in an un-idealistic way? Clark ends with these concerns, and we might take them further. Is porn an attempt at the Greek or the Gothic body? In *Eyes Wide Shut* (1999) Stanley Kubrick seems to render perfect, perhaps classical bodies, but one of his inspirations was Klimt and the German Expressionists, who were certainly creating Gothic bodies if anyone ever was. In Schiele's nude self-portraits "seemingly decaying bodies posed in sexually exhibitionistic ways displaying his groin and genitals, morbidity mingles with eroticism, suffering with lust" (Rewald, p. 55), the effect that Kubrick attempts to create at least in terms of the film's constant mixing of death and sex. For Clark, the Modernist move toward the nude "as an end in itself" was actually a movement back toward Greek classicism in which the nude was supposed to express an idea or an abstraction at the precise time when artists began to think of art as "an intellectual, not a mechanical, activity" (p. 351). The naturalistic bodies rendered from real life are replaced with the extreme minimalism of Matisse's nudes. Freed of narrative and of associations, the nude becomes simply itself — its own pure form.

In a later book entitled *Feminine Beauty*, which Clark considered more of a précis or outline of the subject, he ends the book with photos—the last one of Marilyn Monroe. Perhaps Clark saw photos as the next metamorphosis of the nude. Though Clark does not claim photography as an area of his expertise—indeed, he didn't deal much with the contemporary at all—he must have thought that photography changed the notion of the nude in some way, if only in the attention that photographers give to the nude human form. Photography continues to develop the theories undergirding the notion of ideal forms, or the representation of the body visually, in the scientific work that has been done on perspective, proportion, and how the eye translates two-dimensional (and even three-dimensional) forms into the illusion of the physical body. This more mathematical approach is often combined with an art-historical interest in stylistics and how the technical display of the body changes over time and is linked to aesthetic choices.

Erwin Panofsky argues that there the differences between Egyptian and Greek representations of the body stem from the difference between what the artists are trying to represent. For the ancient Greeks, sculpture was an attempt to bring an already living being to life, while the Egyptian purpose was for art to preserve the body for later reanimation ("reenlivened") (Panofsky, p. 61). The sculpture of the body is a mere "imitation" (p. 62) or form (p. 61); for the Greeks, it is "reconstruction" (p. 62) and "function" (p. 61), respectively. The mechanical aspects of Egyptian art



were systematic rather than observational. Any artist in the kingdom would know where an ankle should go or what the proper proportion of it would be. An underlying geometric system governs art. For this reason, Egyptian art rejects the notion that limbs, for example, are a part of an expressive movement such as we see in Greek athletes, the position of limbs are instead “purely local changes in the positions of specific members” (p. 57). Egyptian artists likewise eschew foreshortening, the “apparent extension of the plane into depth,” and the flattening of any “three-dimensional volume” in sculpture (pp. 57-58). The results of these formulae were the creation of the familiar conventions of Egyptian art—sculpture (with some exceptions) is either fully frontal or in profile; two-dimensional painting presents the body frontally but the head in perspective (p. 58).

The system of proportion developed in Greece had a different goal: to capture the real. As systemized by Polykleitus, the rigid sculptural influences of Egyptian art that can be seen in the early Kritios boy sculpture of the Archaic period slowly gives way, one innovation after another, to the pre-Hellenic high period of classical sculpture. Though we may take this style for granted now, it was, of course, not to be followed during most of the history of art in the West. Byzantine art followed a different formula and Gothic art its own. The latter brought sculpture and painting back to the Egyptian ideal in which a design was placed over representations of the body that governed how bodies would look with the naturalistic aspects not only secondary but even resented. The Renaissance restored the Greek approach and, for the first time, truly codified it in a mathematical way in order to render it not only natural but also spiritual—a Neo-Platonic yoking of the body to the soul (p. 90).

As E. H. Gombrich argues, it is important to keep in mind that Greek art is based upon a limited number of repeating types, and in this sense, it is just as constricted as Egyptian art, maybe even more so (p. 142). The type in Greek art is based on nature, but an idealized form of it—bodies as perfect specimens of the athlete, soldier, etc. While some aspects of nature are rendered—pubic hair, for example — some, such as underarm hair, are not (Scranton, p. 224). The conventions change, however, over time, from the semi-abstraction of the Archaic period to the increasing particularization of the body and its details in the Hellenistic era (p. 224). It is not always possible to tell one male (or female) figure from another. The props given to the character are sometimes important in this way, though what is paramount is the human figure (p. 238). The narrative context, however, is inherent in some figures, such as the self-consciousness of Praxiteles’ *Aphrodite* (fourth century BC), which includes the spectator in the narra-

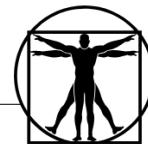


tive, completing the circuit. This use of psychology gives Greek sculpture of the Classical Period a spatial as well as temporal dimension (p. 251).

It's also important to remember that our associations with Greek sculpture now, and especially in the past, assumed that they were white marble—either from age or white-washed, literally, on purpose, the original paint having been removed. Even knowing this fact, it is often difficult for us to think about the sculpture of this era without consciously or unconsciously placing meaning on the whiteness, the marble becoming a kind of skin of its own, the blue veins of some of it seeming to be the real veins of an impossibly-white person, the color seeming to be as much an ideal as the shapeliness of the body represented. Even knowing that the free-standing sculptures and freezes that represent gods, demi-gods, and heroes were always painted, we forget to see the bodies represented as having skin tones, hair, eyes that were not only a form of realism but also non-white. European culture has created a simulacrum of ancient Greek culture in which we think of it as white, when it was not. Likewise, Modernism makes us want to see the Acropolis or sculptures of Hermes or Venus as white because it would make them more abstract, would lessen their realism, which might not be wholly convincing and make them instead pure forms in their monochromatic state. At the Acropolis Museum in Athens color is being restored to some of the statues. Likewise, it is important to keep in mind that while the representation of the body may have begun with Greek sculpture as a major influence, if only because of the total male nudity, that bodies were represented in various ways throughout the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and during the post-Enlightenment period and that most of the artists and craftsmen who made them used realism as a way to inject eroticism into the figures. That is, a Medieval reliquary of Christ's semi-naked body or a painting of St. Sebastian or of female saints might have skin tone, rosy cheeks, even hyper-realistic wounds as a way to express the materiality of the body. In this sense, they become stand-ins for the real thing, sometimes uncannily so in the case of three-dimensional sculptures or figures that allow the spectators to imagine the physicality of the suffering or ecstasy more completely, even to hold parts of a mock body as a part of a religious purging of emotions. The original realism of Greek and Roman sculpture has to be seen, then, as a part of a continuous tradition that has tried to represent the body for what it actually is, not just what it might be, even when the body is of a god<sup>1</sup>.

1 Recent interest in the body in visual art can be seen by several high-profile shows at prominent museums such as 'Life Like: Sculpture, Color, and the Body,' which ran at the Met Breuer from March 21-July 22, 2018 in New York and 'The Renaissance Nude' at the Getty Center in Los Angeles, which ran Oct. 30, 2018 to January 27, 2019. The curation for the former show presented a





Clark's approach to the nude is a useful way to continue to think about the nude in classical art and how it might help us in the close reading of the body and its representations. Botticelli's *Venus* (1490) arguably represents one of the most perfect depictions of the human form ever achieved in art. Painted in the 1480s, after the more famous *The Birth of Venus* (1484-1486), this version is earthier, subtler, and sexier at the same time. With her young, youthful face and braided hair, Venus stands in the classical position that dates back to Praxiteles with her hands loosely covering herself modestly as though stepping from a bath. Her face floats on shoulders that form a point and that then move down to an elongated body, especially the torso and slender legs. The hands, feet, and face are slightly larger in their design. The black background and dramatic position on a ledge add to the emphasis on the corporeal. Botticelli emphasizes her skin using shadows and a skin tone with red undertones, her thighs and the musculature of her stomach setting the erotic intention of the painting and sealing it with the see-through wrap she wears over her shoulders, which emphasizes her nakedness even more. What is remarkable in some ways is the incredible contemporaneity of Botticelli's female nudes—they have become an ideal within the culture and in this way never age. The representation of the female body as youthful, slim, with long hair is a type that is still with us, adding to his paintings' ability to seem timeless. It is difficult to underestimate how much influence art has on our own ability to see the contemporary nude body, the ideals of the Classical period, as reimagined through the Renaissance, continue to exert a profound influence on our notion of what bodies should look like even if they rarely do. Artistic bodies are not realistic bodies, and even actual contemporary bodies that are considered attractive deviate from artistic bodies in profound ways. On the one hand, we need to see actual bodies for what they are, to celebrate the bumpy and imperfect realness for what it is and how it is not only sexy but also the only bodies we can touch and feel and really know. On the other hand, we need to remember that artistic representations of bodies are above all else expressions of an idea of the body. No one could really look like the *Venus* nor would want to in real life. Botticelli was painting something linked to real life in its sensuousness, but as with Greek Classical sculpture, it was never meant to be a replacement for the body, or the body come to life.

number of different ways the body has changed over time and been represented realistically and erotically in different media—from dolls to cabinets filled with recycled human blood. The show was particularly helpful in highlighting the use of color in Ancient sculpture of the human nude, which was never the abstract white that we still see today. Another show at the Met Breuer, 'Obsession: Nudes By Klimt, Schiele, and Picasso,' July 3- October 7, 2018, featured the nude as well, especially the bodies of prostitutes and other models in Vienna during the years that Klimt and Schiele worked there.

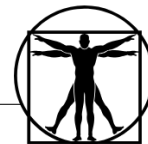


What the Renaissance set into motion was a desire for a scientific representation of the body that was at one with the attempt at the realistic representation of space. The reinvention of one-point perspective allowed for the placement not only of the eye in space, but the body as well. Three-dimensional architectural space and landscape became the containers and backdrops for bodies and the appropriate measurements used to obtain a realistic sense of depth were soon applied to bodies as well. That Vitruvius' emphasis on proportion in architecture in the rediscovered *De architectura* (30-15 BC) spurred attempts by artists of the Renaissance to render an ideal body can be seen in the Vitruvian man by Da Vinci (circa 1490) and combined with a new interest in not only continuing classical learning but in adding to it by bringing to representations of the body the new realistic analysis coming from anatomical drawings and vivisection. Yet even Da Vinci, famous for the latter as well, to some extent idealized his drawings, combining several different versions of the same flayed body part in order to find the ideal one, the essence of what was being represented, even in death and dying<sup>1</sup>.

The world of Western art and literature contained, from at least the Renaissance to the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, much of the same fascination with sex acts that we have today. One need only look at the translation into English and French of Friedrich Karl Forberg's *Manual of Classical Erotology* (*De Figuris Veneris*) to see a detailed and objective discussion of not only sexual positions but such topics as masturbation, bestiality, anal sex, and the best way to remove unwanted body hair. Written as an anthology of Greek and Roman writing, it is a commentary on Antonio Beccadelli's poem, *Hermaphroditus* [*Antonii Pandarmitae Hermaphroditus*]. Privately printed, it was, in the Victorian world, parallel to the work of something like *Teleny* (1893) — porn written for a select all-male clientele<sup>2</sup>. But read today, one is struck by the parallels to a porn site that its chapter titles might have—"Of Copulation," "Pedarastia," "Irrumation," "Cunnilingues," "Tribads" — even if some, but not all, of the names may have changed over time. Held together by the figure of the hermaphrodite, the book makes clear our connection to the ancient world, to the body as a source of knowledge, and to the slipperiness of gender that actually resides in the microcosmic level of details about sex that porn represents.

1 As Davide Gasparotto notes, "Leonardo suggests that after practicing drawing from living models, the students would select 'from the best limbs and best bodies' ('delle migliori membrane e migliori corpi') (249).

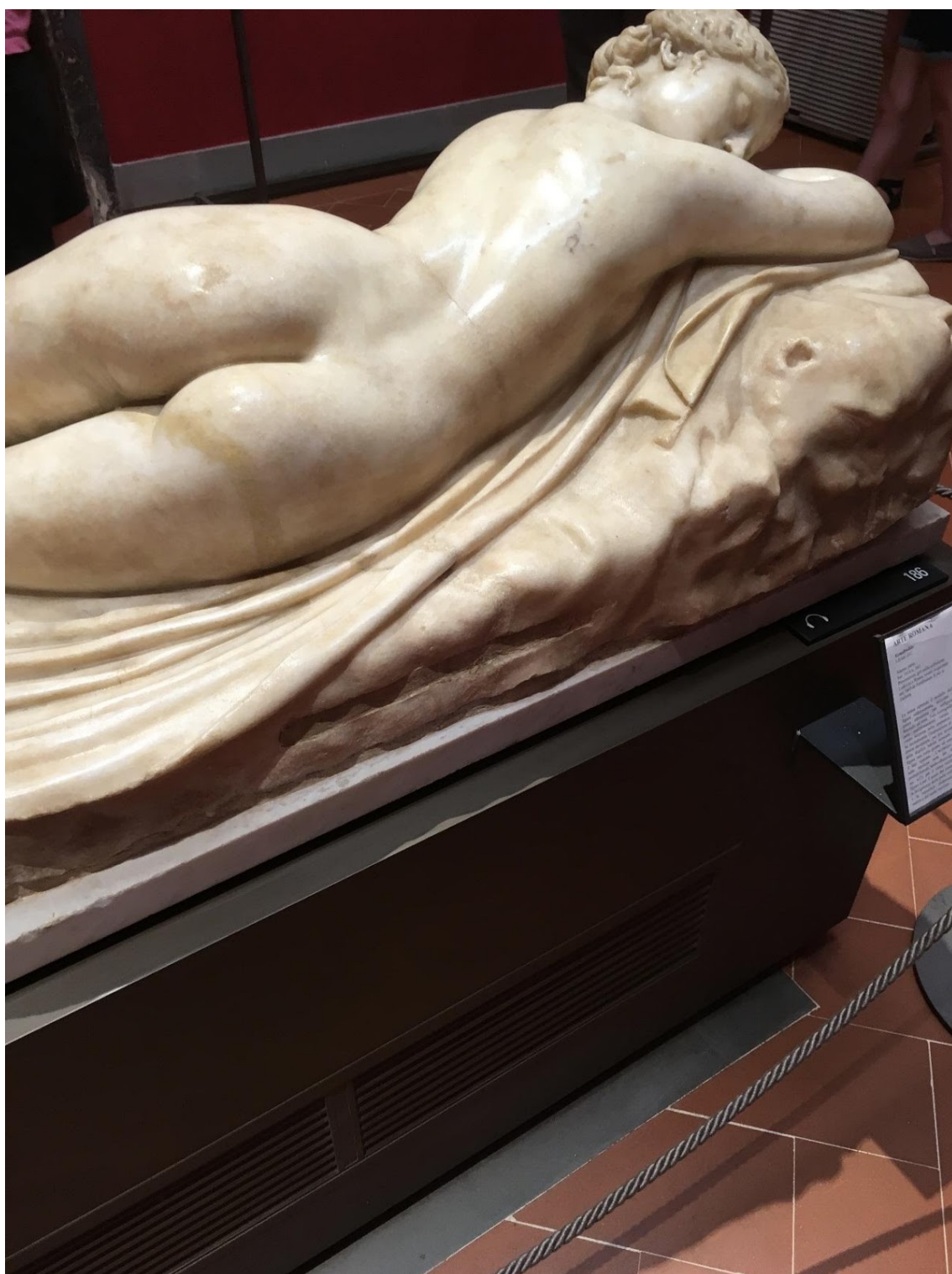
2 For more on *Teleny*, see chapter two of my *The Aesthetics of Self-Invention: Oscar Wilde to David Bowie*.



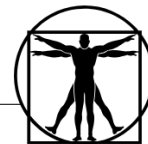
Of the many ways that we have for explaining the combination of male and female characteristics in one body, androgyny implies a mixing of attributes while hermaphroditism suggests a placing of male characteristics beside female ones in a way that leaves the two sexes distinct—a map of contrasting desires that confuses the senses or fools the eye depending upon the angle from which one sees the body. The hermaphrodite, in the classical Greek sense, suggests Plato’s theory of the combining of the sexes (though for Plato there were three) and preserves the supposed contrast between men and women — the complementarity — that Plato’s theory is often reduced to. The often-copied *Sleeping Hermaphroditus* (second century BC) makes the popularity of the form clear, its erotic potential seemingly signaled by the sheer number of versions of the original that are spread out over Italy and France.

The popularity of the hermaphrodite, at least in art, can be attributed to the necessity of leaving the sexes distinct yet seeing them combined in one body and forcing a dialogue between the two that suggests both the seeming inevitability of two sexes and the destabilizing suggestion that this is a construct, a fiction, that unsettles the very notion of the materiality of the body itself. An artistic definition is, of course, not a scientific one, but whether artistic or scientific, the concept seems to suggest an ability to move back and forth between the sexes or a mixing of codes that somehow refuse to define themselves—an ultimate undecidability, a threshold for defining the limits of sex by refusing to find a word for it. In this sense, *hermaphrodite* might always be seen as a definition that is defined only by that which it is not: decidedly one sex or the other, or not a sex at all. It is, as Ferdinand de Saussure might say, a negative definition. Its value is purely situational.

Androgyny, by contrast, is about the blending of the sexes. While this effect, as well, might be one that forces some kind of definitional design, the outcome is often different. If hermaphroditism forces some kind of thinking about biological sex, perhaps a thinking that does remain purposefully unintegrated, that approaches a limit without transgressing it, androgyny seems to force the two sexes to intermingle and produce a third term that seems firmly rooted in either one sex or the other. A purely aesthetic concept, rather than a scientific one, androgyny can, in theory, be anchored to either sex—a man with feminine characteristics, or a woman with masculine ones.



**Figure 7. Sleeping Hermaphrodite. Polycles. 155 BC**



**Figure 8. Detail of Sleeping Hermaphrodite. Polycles. 155 BC**

While the ultimate limit of androgyny may be an undecidability as well — a third term in which male and female characteristics blend into an unknowable fusion — in reality, it often skews one way or the other. That is, androgyny is a template that softens the male form or hardens the female one in such a way as to produce a non-normative response on the part of the viewer, one that suggests the limits to our ideas about what constitutes the sexes. In this sense, then, androgyny seems to always be a value judgment that marks the outer reaches of the socially accepted norms of sexual markers. In fact, as a social construct, androgyny is really about gender, not sex. It is wholly a construct of culture, even if bodies may be described objectively, and materially, as genuinely androgynous. It is also an effect that may be created by a person who manipulates the male and female cultural norms of their environment. In that sense, it is also relational, like hermaphroditism, in that the definitions of masculine and feminine are extremely local and bend more easily than we might think by where one is located — urban or rural, factory or bar, upstate or down, etc. As with the codes of sexuality, gender codes are created to be read, decoded, and understood as a comment on the limits of definition

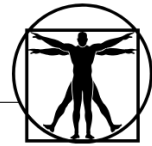




and re-definition. In this sense, it is impossible not to read the Greek statue of the hermaphrodite as a comment on Ancient Greek culture, to have its meaning within it. To the extent to which this culture has influenced the Western world, and global notions of art and beauty worldwide, one has to read the statue in two different ways. Unfortunately, we do not know much about the statue's origins, though we do know a lot about Greek definitions of sex, gender, and sexuality.

From the *Symposium* and elsewhere, J. K. Dover, Michel Foucault, David Halperin, and others have theorized the Greek ideal of male and female sexuality. The male body in Greek sculpture famously presents the body as a golden mean, but the gender characteristics are culturally specific. The male body is firm and athletic, but also softened somewhat. Though Greek plays by Aeschylus, for example, equate feminine characteristics with the East — with Persia, specifically, or Troy — they exist as well in the statuary, which grew out of Eastern sources, especially Egyptian ones. While one characteristic of Eastern inspiration was toward geometry or abstraction, another was toward the feminine or androgyny, though of a highly specific sort. Greek statues by Praxiteles and others at the height of the classical period temper this softness to provide some tension between the two poles. A distrust of the feminine, which can be seen in the patriarchy of Athenian culture, which denied women citizenship or even much of a public role outside the house, also kept the representation of the male body from being too static or feminine. Hence the male body is dynamic, in *contrapposto*, and decidedly male overall. The aesthetic of the male body, however, combines both genders, as bodies always do, and even in what is seen as perhaps the primary or originary definition of male beauty, the feminine creeps in to challenge, or change, the formula—even if it is ultimately there to be banished.

Michel Foucault notes in his posthumous *The Use of Pleasure* that while “classical figure sculpture paid more attention to the adult body” (p. 200) it was certainly also clear that in the “sphere of sexual ethics, it was the juvenile body with its peculiar charm that was regularly suggested as the ‘right object’ of pleasure” (p. 200). Foucault goes on to observe that “it would be a mistake to think that its traits were valued because of what they shared with feminine beauty. They were appreciated in themselves or in their juxtaposition with the signs and guarantees of a developing virility” (p. 200). In the high classical period, in other words, “[s]trength, endurance” were seen as protection from “softness and effeminization” (p. 200). It was not until later in the period, that “feminine ambiguity... would be perceived... as the secret cause... of the adolescent’s beauty” (p. 200). Though the seeds of this possibility may already be present in the fourth



century, during “the classical period” femininity was “more something from which the boy needed to protect himself and be protected” (p. 200). Masculinity was dominate, though in a nascent form: “Virility as a physical mark should be absent from it; but it should be present as a precocious form and as a promise of future behavior: already to conduct oneself as the man one has not yet become” (p. 200).



**Figure 9. Detail of David. Donatello. 1430-1440**

While we may not be able to talk about the Greek ideal as hermaphroditic or androgynous, by the time Greek ideas are revived during the Italian Renaissance the male and female forms have more formally blended. As the first freestanding male nude of the Renaissance, Donatello's *David* is striking as an example of Early Renaissance androgyny.



While the beauty of young men was a subgenre of Renaissance portraiture, the mixed codes of Donatello's strikingly epicene rendering—from the curls and helmet to the eagle's wing that comes up from the bottom of the statue to stroke his thigh — renders the male form in terms that go quite a bit outside the Greek code of masculinity.

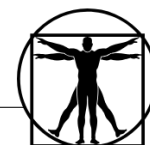
Donatello's statue, like all of his major works, is dense with information and detail and is wholly original in its expressiveness. The other great David of the period, by Michelangelo, returns the male form, to some extent, to the ancient Greeks, only with some characteristics changed, ones that were specific to Michelangelo's rendering of the ideal male form, such as compressed hips, or related to the Renaissance conceptual ideal, such as the enlarged hands of the David. The form, overall, fits the function of the subject matter, though with the added definition of Michelangelo's ideal body type. That his sculptures would ultimately tend toward the expressionistic, even semi-abstract, is there already in his willingness to bend the rules of realism, even more than the Greeks, to express an idea or overall artistic effect.

*Figures 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 are photos taken by the author.*

## References

- Clark, K. (1980). *Feminine Beauty*. New York: Rizzoli.
- Clark, K. (1972). *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*. Princeton: Princeton UP.
- Dover, K. J. (1978). *Greek Homosexuality*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Forberg, F. K. (1966). *Manual of Classical Erotology (De figuris Veneris)*. New York: Grove Press.
- Foucault, M. (1985). *The Use of Pleasure: Volume II of the History of Sexuality*. Robert Hurley (Trans.). New York: Pantheon Books.
- Gombrich, E. H. (1969). *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Isaacson, W. (2017). *Leonardo da Vinci*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Jameson, F. (2015). *The Ancients and the Postmoderns*. New York: Verso.
- Kubrick, S., (Dir.). (1999). *Eyes Wide Shut*. Perf. Tom Cruise and Nicole Kidman. Warner Bros.
- Panofsky, E. (1955). *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books.
- Pollio, V. (1968). *De architectura*. Trans. Lorenzo Cesariano. New York: B. Blom.





Rewald, S. & Dempsey, J. (Eds.). (2018). *Obsession: Nudes by Klimt, Schiele, and Picasso from the Scofield Thayer Collection*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art [Distributed the Yale University Press].

Sedgwick, E. K. (1990). *Epistemology of the Closet*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

## Список литературы

---

Clark, K. (1980). *Feminine Beauty*. New York: Rizzoli.

Clark, K. (1972). *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Dover, K. J. (1978). *Greek Homosexuality*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Forberg, F. K. (1966). *Manual of Classical Erotology (De figuris Veneris)*. New York: Grove Press.

Foucault, M. (1985). *The Use of Pleasure: Volume II of the History of Sexuality*. Robert Hurley (Trans.). New York: Pantheon Books.

Gombrich, E. H. (1969). *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Isaacson, W. (2017). *Leonardo da Vinci*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Jameson, F. (2015). *The Ancients and the Postmoderns*. New York: Verso.

Kubrick, S., (Dir.). (1999). *Eyes Wide Shut*. Perf. Tom Cruise and Nicole Kidman. Warner Bros.

Panofsky, E. (1955). *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books.

Pollio, V. (1968). *De architectura*. Trans. Lorenzo Cesariano. New York: B. Blom.

Rewald, S. & Dempsey, J. (Eds.). (2018). *Obsession: Nudes by Klimt, Schiele, and Picasso from the Scofield Thayer Collection*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art [Distributed the Yale University Press].

Sedgwick, E. K. (1990). *Epistemology of the Closet*. Berkeley: University of California Press.



---

# SONS OF LILITH: THE PORTRAYAL AND CHARACTERIZATION OF WOMEN IN THE APOCRYPHAL COMICS OF NEIL GAIMAN, ALAN MOORE, AND GRANT MORRISON

---

**Kwasu Tembo (a)**

(a) Independent researcher. Harare, Zimbabwe. Email: [tembo.kwasu\[at\]gmail.com](mailto:tembo.kwasu[at]gmail.com)

---

## Abstract

This paper examines the treatment and characterization of women, sex, identity, and gender in the lesser known or studied comics of Alan Moore, Neil Gaiman, and Grant Morrison in order to discern what such an analysis tells us about each author's engagement with the issues and debates surrounding these sociopolitical and cultural phenomena. The purpose of this study is to discern how three of the most influential writers of contemporary comics books engage with themes of gender, identity, sexuality, and trauma and, in this way, set precedents that have come to be debated and critiqued in contemporary comics scholarship and fandom. It reveals that all three writers ostensibly engage with progressive imaginings of the self, sexuality, identity, and gender as mercurial, de-centred, and subject to play and change in each of the chosen case study characters. It finds that while ostensibly progressive, all three writers simultaneously recirculate certain conceptualizations of the relationships between identity, trauma, and sexuality by taking the histories in which they emerged as assumed.

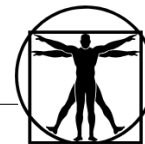
---

## Keywords

Moore; Morrison; Gaiman; Black Orchid; Crazy Jane; Orlando; Gender; Identity; Feminism; Theory



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons «Attribution» 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).



---

## СЫНОВЬЯ ЛИЛИТ: НИЛ ГЕЙМАН, АЛАН МУР И ГРАНТ МОРРИСОН ИЗОБРАЖАЮТ И ОПИСЫВАЮТ ЖЕНЩИН В СВОИХ АПОКРИФИЧЕСКИХ КОМИКСАХ

---

Тембо Квасу (а)

(а) Независимый исследователь. Хараре, Зимбабве. Email: [tembo.kwasu\[at\]gmail.com](mailto:tembo.kwasu[at]gmail.com)

---

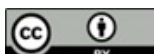
### Аннотация

В данной статье рассматривается трактовка образов женщин, сексуальности, идентичности и гендера в менее известных и слабоизученных комиксах таких известных авторов, как Алан Мур, Нил Гейман и Грант Моррисон. С точки зрения автора, подобный анализ может помочь нам понять степень вовлеченности данных создателей комиксов в проблемы и дискуссии, связанные с указанными социально-политическими и культурными феноменами. Цель данного исследования – проследить, как три наиболее влиятельных автора современных комиксов трактуют темы гендера, идентичности, сексуальности и травмы и, таким образом, создают прецеденты, которые становятся предметами дебатов и критики в современных исследованиях комиксов и фандоме. Анализ показывает в зависимости от контекста и каждом конкретном случае де-центричность, динамичность и изменчивость якобы прогрессивных представлений данных писателей о самости, сексуальности, идентичности и гендере. В статье продемонстрировано, что все эти три создателя комиксов, будучи якобы прогрессивными, повторяют одновременно определенные стереотипы о взаимосвязях между идентичностью, травмой и сексуальностью, с помощью историй, в которых эти явления возникают как естественный ход событий.

---

### Ключевые слова

Нил Гейман; Алан Мур; Грант Моррисон; Черная Орхидея; Сумасшедшая Джейн; Орландо; гендер; идентичность; феминизм; теория



Это произведение доступно по [лицензии Creative Commons «Attribution»](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)  
(«Атрибуция») 4.0 Всемирная

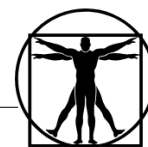


## GENDER TROUBLE: AN INTRODUCTORY OVERVIEW OF THE PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN IN THE COMICS OF MOORE, MORRISON, AND GAIMAN

---

Over the past two decades, the preponderance of mainstream Occidental feminist comics has witnessed a sustained increase. Such works acclaimed for their aesthetic and narratological achievements can be culled from a range of genres, including, but not limited to: superhero/costumed crime fighter titles such as Greg Rucka and J. H. Williams III's *Batwoman: Elegy* (2009-2010), and Sana Amanat and Stephen Wachter's revised Ms. Marvel Kamala Khan (2014-); Kelly Sue DeConnick and Valentine De Landros' revisionist exploitation comic *Bitch Planet* (2014-); bildungsromans such as Joe Kelly and J. M. Ken Niimuras' *I Kill Giants* (2008-2009), and Shannon Watters and Grace Ellis' *Lumberjanes* (2014-); confessional / 'comics vérité' such as Roberta Gregory's *Naughty Bits* (1991-2004), Lise Myhre's *Nemi* (1997), and Jessica Abel's *La Perdida* (2001-2005); Matt Fraction and Chip Zdarskys' heist drama *Sex Criminals* (2013-); and Brian K. Vaughn's speculative science fiction works *Y: The Last Man* (2002-2008) and *Saga* (2012-). These authors and their work, complete and ongoing, continues to not only influence but also hold the medium of contemporary comics to account by engaging, critiquing, countermanding, and overturning gender stereotypes, promoting awareness for LGBTQIA+ issues and debates, as well as promulgating alternative voices, styles, and perspectives in the medium of mainstream Western comics which has been historically dominated and mediated by white cis male aesthetico-narratological perspectives and techniques. This paper seeks to explore the burgeoning moments of developments of this kind which while importantly exigent in and of themselves, are also inextricable from the deconstructive, revisionist, and satirical comics that entered the Western mainstream in the 1980s and early 1990s. As a way of re-assessing the historico-theoretical context for current feminist trends in the medium and its genres, this paper takes the characters Crazy Jane (*Doom Patrol*), Orlando (*The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen*), and Black Orchid (*Black Orchid*) from their respective heterocosms as dialogic case studies to explore how the pioneers of the "British turn", namely Alan Moore, Neil Gaiman, and Grant Morrison, engaged with gender and identity politics in their less academically analyzed comics.

When considering representations of sex, sexuality, gender and identity in the work of Alan Moore, Neil Gaiman, and Grant Morrison, *Black Orchid* (1988), *Doom Patrol* (2000), and *Black Dossier* (1999) would appear



to be novel choices for case studies<sup>1</sup>. Even a cursory glance at each author's oeuvre suggests that there are more 'suited' targets for such a critique: *Sandman* (1989) for Gaiman, *All-Star Superman* (2005) for Morrison, *Miracleman* (1982) and the most obvious of all, *Watchmen* (1986) for Moore. In view of the centrality these texts occupy in each author's respective oeuvre and the aesthetic and narrative ethic of the superhero genre in Western comics *in toto*, my chosen texts could be said to be, at the very least marginal, at the very most totally apocryphal<sup>2</sup>.

However, a more fundamental question exists. Why Moore, Morrison, and Gaiman in the first place? I argue that these three authors have to be taken in conjunction with one another because together, they represent the broadest influences of the British deconstructive-revisionist style that has come to be broadly regarded as the primary paradigm of aesthetic and narrative approaches to contemporary Western comics,

- 1 Black Orchid is an American comic book written by Neil Gaiman, illustrated by Dave McKean, published through DC Comics as a three-issue limited series from December 1988 to February 1989. The narrative follows the journey of two female characters, Suzy and Flora who, after awakening in a greenhouse, attempt to discover who they are. Through this journey, they encounter numerous figures from the DC Comics hyperdiegesis including Batman, Swamp Thing, as well as foes who seek to exploit them and their abilities, namely Lex Luthor. Doom Patrol (a.k.a 'The Worlds Strangest Heroes') is a superhero team from the DC Comics hyperdiegesis debuting in June 1963. The team has undergone many permutations in multiple comics. They are usually considered and portrayed as a group of superheroic 'misfits' whose powers and abilities result in pervasive and longstanding feelings of alienation and trauma. The league of Extraordinary Gentleman: Black Dossier is a graphic novel based on Alan Moore and Kevin O'Neill's The League of Extraordinary Gentleman series. As the last of the series published under DC Comics, Black Dossier was intended to read as a sourcebook for the rest of the series, in which details of character histories, such as those pertaining to Orlando, are highlighted in various styles, including prose, letters, maps, guidebooks, a lost Shakespearean folio, and magazine articles.
- 2 See the following for a short summary of existing scholarship on the aforementioned titles: On *Black Dossier* – Michael T. Besozzi's "To Blaze Forever in a Blazing World: Queer Reconstruction and Cultural Memory in the Works of Alan Moore" (2011), *Communication Theses*, Paper 79; Hans-Joachim Backe's "The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen as (Literary) History", *Geschichte Im Comic*, 2017, pp. 189-208; and Jess Nevins' *Impossible Territories: The unofficial Companion to The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen: The Black Dossier*, Monkeybrain Books, 2008. On *Black Orchid* – Sallye Sheppard's "Entering the Green: Imagined Space in *Black Orchid*" in *The Contemporary Comic Book Superhero* edited by Angela Ndalani, 2009, pp. 205-216; Tara Prescott and Aaron Drucker's "Feminist Subjectivity in Neil Gaiman's *Black Orchid*" in *Feminism in the World of Neil Gaiman* edited by Sarah Cantrell, 2012, pp. 102-116; and Julie Round's "Can I call you Mommy? 1D Myths of the Feminine and Superheroic in Neil Gaiman and Dave McKean's *Black Orchid*" in *Debating the Difference: Gender Representation and Self Regulation*, Dundee, Scotland: Duncan of Jordanstone College, University of Dundee, 2010; and Mary Hancock's "Black Orchid Reborn: Neil Gaiman's Feminist Superhero", *Language Arts Journal of Michigan* 29(1), 2013, pp. 34-39. On *Doom Patrol* – Martyn Pedler's "Morrison's Muscle Mystery Versus Everyday Reality...and Other Parallel Worlds" in *The Contemporary Comic Book Superhero* edited by Angela Ndalani, 2009, pp. 250-270; Clare Pitkethly's "A Rubble of Fragments: Disintegration Into Panels in Grant Morrison's Comics", *ImageText*, 8(2), 2015; Marc Singer's *Grant Morrison: Combining the Worlds of Contemporary Comics*, University of Mississippi Press, 2012; Francesco-Alessio Ursini, Adan Mahmutovic, and Frank Bramlett's "Which Side Are You On? The Worlds of Grant Morrison", *ImageText*, 8(2), 2015.

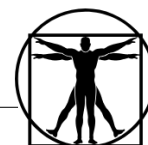


specifically superhero comics, in the late 20th and early 21st centuries<sup>1</sup>. As a postmodern trinity of Occidental comic book writing, Morrison, Gaiman, and Moores' collective work has also provided the basis for much of contemporary comics scholarship (Sandifer and Eklund 2015; Sanders 2006; Krueger and Shaeffer 2011; Millidge 2003)<sup>2</sup>. This influence is well documented and discussed in *Alan Moore: Portrait of an Extraordinary Gentleman* (2003), *Grant Morrison: The Early Years - Masters of the Medium* (2007), *Feminism in the Worlds of Neil Gaiman: Essays on the Comics, Poetry and Prose* (2012), *Grant Morrison and the Superhero Renaissance: Critical Essays* (2015), *Last Night, Superhero Saved My Life: Neil Gaiman! Et al* (2016), for example.

The overarching goal of this paper is to draw attention to the fact that the work of three of the most revered and recursively lauded authors of the medium imbued the revisionist or postmodern mainstream US comics of the late 80s and early 90s with a narrative, aesthetic, and thematic sensibility that subsequently came to greatly influence the articulation of feminist and LGBTQIA+ issues in contemporary comics. This paper will provide a comparative analysis between three texts from the three aforementioned authors in order to draw out some of the differences, as well as continuities, in discourses of gender, sex and sexuality, notably tensions between post-structuralist arguments about the social construction of gender and the self as fragmentary, fluid, negotiable, and essentialist notions of gender identity as fixed, immutable, inherent.

The broader scholarly context for this paper is extensive. Without being exhaustive, a few orienting pieces should be mentioned, as well as their relation to the specific areas of analysis being brought into view

- 1 It should be noted that there are also numerous important influences from bande dessinée and other European comics traditions. For further reading, see the following examples: Piere Fresnault-Deruelle's "Verbal in Comics:", *Communications* 15(1), 1970, pp. 145-161; Eric Maigret's "Strange Is Growing Up With Me: Sentimentality and Masculinity Among Superhero Comic Book Readers", *Communication-Technologie-Société*, 13(70), 1995, pp. 79-103; Charles Forsdick, Laurence Grove, and Libbie McQuillan's *The Francophone bande dessinée*, Rodopi, 2005; Thierry Groensteen's *La Bande Dessinée: Mode d'Emploi*, Les Impressions Nouvelles, 2007; and Georg Denning's "Otherness and the European as Villain and Antigero in American Comics" in *Comics as a Nexus of Cultures: Essays on the Interplay of Media, Discipline and International Perspectives* edited by Mark Berninger, Jochen Ecke, and Gideon Haberkorne, 2012, pp. 127-139.
- 2 It should be noted that there also exists a body of scholarship on other Western comics traditions in which these writers are not central. See the following for examples: Hilary Chute's "The Texture of Retracing in Maryjane Satrapi's *Persepolis*", *Women's Studies Quarterly* 36(1/2), 2008, pp. 92-110; Amy Malek's "Mémor as Iranian Exile Cultural Production: A Case Study of Maryjane Satrapi's *Persepolis* Series", *Iranian Studies* 39(3), 2006, pp. 353-380; Thomas A. Bredehoft's "Comics, Architecture, Multidimensionality, and Time", *MFS: Modern Fiction Studies* 54(4), 2006, pp. 869-890; Roy Bearden-White's "Inheriting Trauma in Chris Ware's *Jimmy Corrigan: The Smartest Kid on Earth*", *International Journal of Comic Art* 12(2), 2010, pp. 354-366; and Kom Kunyosying's "Horror Comics Ecology: Metonymy and Iconicity in Charles Burns's *Black Hole*", *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment* 21(3), 2014, pp. 562-574.



here – on the British Invasion / chosen writers and the 'British turn' in comics: Chris Murray's "Signals from Airstrip One: The British Invasion of American Mainstream Comics" (2010) in *The Rise of the American Comics Artist: Creators and Contexts*, edited by Paul Williams and James Lyons. Murray has also written separately on Moore and Morrison elsewhere; on Alan Moore: Annalisa Di Liddo's *Alan Moore: Comics as Performance, Fiction as Scalpel* (2009); University Press of Mississippi's Studies in Comics – special issue on Alan Moore (2010); on Morrison: Will Brooker's "Hero of the beach: Flex Mentallo at the End of the Worlds" (2011); Steven Shaviro's "If I Only Had a Brain" in *ImageText*'s special issue "The Worlds of Grant Morrison" (1993); on sexual violence in comics: Tammy S. Garland, Kathryn A. Branch and Mackenzie Grimes' "Blurring the Lines: Reinforcing Rape Myths in Comic Books" (2016); Christine Ferguson's "Victoria-Arcana and the Misogynistic Poetics of Resistance in Iain Sinclair's White Chappell Scarlet Tracings and Alan Moore's From Hell" (2009); on representation gender, sex, sexuality in U.S. comics and Comics Studies: Lillian S. Robinson's *Wonder Women Feminism and Superheroes* (2004); Carolyn Cocco's *Superwomen: Gender, Power, and Representation* (2017); on gender and queer studies: Kane Anderson's "Gender Studies and Queer Studies" in *The Secret Origins of Comics Studies* (2017).

The methodological approach to the study of comics being adopted here pursues a theoretical comparative reading over a focus on the visual elements of the case studies chosen. This, however, does not endorse a model of authorship in comics that prioritizes the scriptwriter over the draftsperson. The work of Richard Case, Dave McKean, and Kevin O'Neil is equally vital in the expression of the theoretical themes they pictorialize. The same is true of the work of many diverse voices in the contemporary comics industries, mainstream and not, that engage with the topics under analysis here – Pia Guerra and Fiona Staples being but two examples of many<sup>1</sup>. The close readings here emerge from a narratological perspective and as such, visual form, style and media are discussed as ancillaries thereof<sup>2</sup>. Due to the constraints of the approach here, this

1 See the following for further reading on Staples and Guerra's work: Diana Adesoa Mafe's "We Don't Need Another Hero: Agent 355 as Original Black Female Hero *Y: The Last Man*", *African American Review* 48(1/2), 2015, pp. 33-48; Mihaela Precup and Dragos Manea's "Bad Girls in Outer Space: Brian K. Vaughan and Fiona Staples' *Saga* and the Graphic Representation of Subversive Femininity" in *Bad Girls and Transgressive Women in Popular Television, Fiction, and Film* edited by Julie A. Chappell and Malory Young, 2017, pp. 253-282; and Kwasu D. Tembo's "Magical Negress: Re-Reading Agent 355 in Brian Vaughan's *Y: The Last Man*." *Open Cultural Studies*, 2019. pp. 161-173.

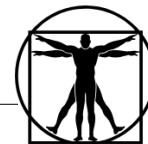
2 The literature review provided on page 5-6 represents some of the best analysis of comics from a host of perspectives that include detailed accounts of historiographical, sociopolitical, economic, cultural, linguistic, and aesthetic issues and debates in comics. These should be referred to for detailed analyses of visual form, style, and media in comics and comics studies.



paper cannot perform a comprehensive analysis of existing debates about the representation of gender violence in US comics, for instance, Gail Simone's work on 'Women in Refrigerators' and its subsequent discussion and elaboration in both fan and academic contexts<sup>1</sup>. However, in mentioning it, this paper acknowledges its indebtedness to this body of scholarship and, in some small way, seeks here to contribute to it. As grounding for the comparative analysis of the comics, this paper is also indebted to not only Kristeva's ideas concerning the Chora as I apply them to Morrison, but other post-structuralist approaches to the self as mutable, fragmented, fluid, and de-centred, specifically the machinic and rhizometric analyses of Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari<sup>2</sup>. My critical methodology here has also been influenced by Donna Haraway and Susan Bordo's respective discussions of the social construction or performance of gender, and particularly the way this relates to embodiment and representation<sup>3</sup>. I will also briefly note that due to the widespread engagement of various critical voices, academic and not, with the chosen authors and, to a lesser degree, the chosen case studies, the methodology of this paper has tried to represent and acknowledge this variety of analysis and commentary by referring to sources that blur the lines between various forms of academic scholarship and more general-audience and fan-based comics criticism. These include fan annotations,

- 1 See the following for further reading on Feminist Comics Scholarship: Anna Kerchy's "Picturebooks Challenging Sexual Politics: Pro-Porn Feminist Comics and the Case of Melinda Gebbie and Alan Moore's *Lost Girls*", *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies*, 2014, pp. 121-142; Elizabeth Marshall and Leigh Gilmore's "Girlhood in the Gutter: Feminist Graphic Knowledge and the Visualization of Sexual Precarity", *Women's Studies Quarterly* 43(1/2), 2015, pp. 95-114; and Tammy S. Garland, Kathryn A. Branch, and Mackenzie Grimes' "Blurring the Lines: Reinforcing Rape Myths in Comic Books", *Feminist Criminology* 11(1), 2016, pp. 48-68.
- 2 See my work on Superman in this regard for further reading: "Pax in Terra: Superman & the Problem of Power in Superman Returns & Man of Steel." *Postscriptum: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Literary Studies*: Bengal, Sarat Centenary College, July 2017; "Re-theorizing the Problem of Identity and the Onto-Existentialism of DC Comics' Superman." 50 Years + - The Age of New French Theory (1966-1970), *Word & Text: A Journal of Literary Studies & Linguistics*: Cardiff University, 7, 2017. pp. 151-168; "Reconsidering Immortality, Consumption, and Tragedy in the Narrative Structure of DC Comics' Superman." *The Quint: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly From the North*: University College of the North, 10.1, 2017. pp. 109-135; "A Brain in A Vat, An Earth in a Bottle: Paranoiac Horror & the Latent Panopticism of Superman in *Red Son*." *Messengers from the Stars: On Science Fiction & Fantasy*: University of Lisbon, 3, 2018; "Among Them But Not One of Them: A Xenological Exploration of the Otherness and Power of DC Comics' Superman." *Caieetele Echinox*, Romania, 34, 2018. pp. 181-199; "Superman, Power, Identity, & Otherness in the Golden Age of Modern Comics." *Coils of the Serpent: Journal for the Study of Contemporary Power*, 2019.
- 3 Susan Bordo's *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body* University of California Press, 2003; and Donna Haraway's "A Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, Technology, and Socialist Feminism in the 1980s", in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*. Ed. Leitch, Vincent B. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., (2010 [1985]), pp. 2190-2220 in particular.





undergraduate essays, blog posts and peer-reviewed chapters in academic collections being listed together.

In performing critical close readings of these seemingly 'outside' case studies, this paper seeks to reexamine how each author rejects or reenforces gender and identarian centers in terms of the onto-existential issues and debates surrounding the self and the body. As such, this analysis is also not intended to read as an encomium of the 'patriarchs' of modern comics in a way that exonerates their respectively numerous and problematic examples of gender insensitivity. Instead, it is intended to expose work that readers and scholars alike might categorize as marginal to erasure, and in so doing, add such work to the assemblage of criticism of their respective oeuvres as valuable content that further informs, alters, or problematizes perceptions of both the works and their authors.

In view of the focus of the article as a whole, it would be helpful in this opening section to establish the ways each writer approaches and represents gender, sex, sexuality and gender violence in their work as a whole, and how this has been debated in the existing critical literature. When looking at the commentary and work of these three authors and their representation of sex, sexuality, gender and violence, a consensus can be assumed concerning a latent hierarchy of offense. This position would lead one to assume, in view of Morrison's critique of Moore for instance, that Moore's comments about his depiction and characterization of women are problematic, reductive, short sighted, or willfully ignorant. Worse, that they can even be read as instances of rape apologetics. The counterargument could also be assumed; namely, that Morrison's critique in this regard is as problematic, reductive, short sighted, and willfully ignorant as Moore's. One could claim that a refusal to present the scale of sexual violence in contemporary comics similarly makes one a rape apologist. This could be said to be hypocritical. Similarly, due to Gaiman's more ostensible participation in projects, across a variety of media including comics, film, and television, that seemingly more openly engage with and pursue sociopolitical and cultural concerns of justice, particularly in terms of the contemporary issues and debates concerning race and gender, one could assume that Gaiman is somehow not as liable to criticism in the same way as either Morrison or Moore.

Commenting on Jacques Derrida's marginal approach to philosophy (and its margins) in *Margins of Philosophy* (1972), Maira-Daniella Dick notes in *The Derrida Wordbook* (2013) how there is a "complication qua revelation or unveiling, that takes place through the marginal of framing agency of parenthesis, which not only marks but enacts framing; and in doing so, illustrates in its performance, at the margins of commentary, so



to speak, the margins, the frames by which commentary, complicating itself unveils in itself the truth in framing” (Dick, 2013, p. 112). This insight has influenced this paper's approach in that, instead of acquiescing to the consensus view of the characterization and representation of women in the *mainstream* or rather well known comics of Moore, Morrison, and Gaiman, this paper seeks to analyze the comparatively marginal work of these authors to see what characterization and representation (really) looks like in the umbra of critical and consumer spotlights, and what typically unnoticed or non-discussed insights can be gleaned therefrom in terms of the issues and debates between sex, identity, gender, and violence and how each author engages with them.

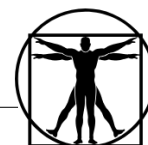
As noted in Laura Hudson's “Grant Morrison Talks Straight About Superhero Sexism and the 'Death Spiral' of Comic Books” (2011) for *Comicsalliance*, Morrison has expressed numerous views concerning sexism in superhero comics, the disturbing recurrence of rape in the work of his idol/rival Moore, and its problematic occurrence as a central device in numerous seminal texts of the typically accepted 'cannon' of great modern Western superhero comics and graphic novels. Regarding the retroactive addition of a rape scene in Brad Meltzer's *Identity Crisis* (2004) run for example, Morrison comments on comics and misogyny stating that

[i]t's hard to tell because most men try to avoid misogyny, really they do, in this world we live in today. It's hard for me to believe that a shy bespectacled college graduate like Brad Meltzer who's a novelist and a father is a really setting out to be weirdly misogynistic. But unfortunately when you're looking at this beloved character who's obviously been ass-raped on the Justice League satellite, even saying it kind of takes you to that dot dot dot where you don't know what else to say. (Morrison, 2011)

Moreover, Morrison specifically isolates the work of Moore as a key example stating:

I pick [an issue of *Marvelman*] up and there are f\*\*\* two rapes in it and I suddenly think how many times has somebody been raped in an Alan Moore story? And I couldn't find a single one where someone wasn't raped except for *Tom Strong*, which I believe was a pastiche. We know Alan Moore isn't a misogynist but f\*\*\*, he's obsessed with rape. I managed to do thirty years in comics without any rape! (Morrison, 2011)

However, Jaynova's post for *Threatqualitypress* titled “I love Grant Morrison but...” (2012) correctly draws attention to the latent hypocrisy of Morrison's critique of Moore and rape by highlighting the author's problematic relationship with gender and identity issues in his own work:



So that wasn't an implied rape scene in *Hellblazer* when the father and his friends invade the daughter's room? And I supposed Lord Fanny's rape, shown twice in the *Invisibles*, doesn't count? You could make the case that Ragged Robin's rape doesn't count because it was a false memory. However, you can't write off the Crazy Jane was raped by her father off panel, and then by a stranger in a church on-panel. Maybe I'm being nit-picky because I've read a lot of Morrison in the past year, so it's all fresh, but still...that's a lot of rape for someone who doesn't put rape in comics. (Jaynova, 2012)

Being ostensibly more intermedial than either Moore or Morrison, Gaiman's work has received far more academic attention than Morrison's corpus. Moreover, Gaiman's ostensibly more progressive oeuvre, specifically his *Sandman* series, has been discussed by numerous scholars (Castaldo 2004; Elder 2007; Indick 2007; Laity 2006; Rauch 2003; Reed 2008; Sanders 2006; Saxton 2007; Sharkey 2008). The author's views on gender, sexuality, and identity emerged recently in an interview for *LiteraryHub* titled "On Writing the Comics – And Queer Characters – We Need: Neil Gaiman and N.K. Jemisin in Conversation" (2018). In an exchange concerning representation, transgenderism, and the changing sociopolitical and cultural mores over acceptable and indeed necessary content of contemporary comics, Gaiman, unlike Morrison, offers an ostensibly progressive view:

**NG:** I was asked yesterday, somebody said "Sandman was the first place they ever encountered gay characters, lesbian characters, or trans characters. Would you write them like that now?" Well, no.

**NKJ:** Things have changed. You've changed.

**NG:** Things have changed. And because now there are lots of fantastic trans people making comics and telling their own stories. And I no longer would go, "hang on, I have trans friends. I am not seeing people like my trans friends in the comics that I am reading. So I am going to put people like my friends in my comics, because that's reflecting my world." By the way, if you are a 15-year-old boy in Middle America reading my comic, I want you to meet people that you aren't otherwise going to meet. (Gaiman 2018)

However, like Rodney Sharkey's "Being' Decentered in *Sandman*: History, Dreams, Gender, and the 'Prince of Metaphor and Allusion" (2008), Brisbin and Booth's "The Sand/wo/man: The Unstable Worlds of Gender in Neil Gaiman's *Sandman* Series" (2013) draws attention to some problematic gender and identity instances in Gaiman's *most* lauded work. This criticism redounds to the claim that *Sandman* is, on close inspection,

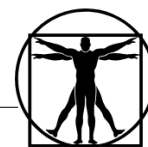


transphobic. Simon Domoney-Lyttle and Guillaume Lecomte of University of Glasgow's Comics Reading Group (2017) attempt to unpack and investigate the allegation by taking into account historical, artistic, and cultural context asking:

given that *Sandman* was published about 25 years ago, do the creators lack the current terminology to talk about the trans experience? Conversely, are they trying to publicly open up the discussion of gender identity? And where we can see it being transphobic, are there obvious occurrences of transphobic writing and/or illustration? (Domoney-Lyttle and Lecomte, 2017)

The entirety of Brisbin and Booth's article, and various analyses of it, have focussed on Gaiman's treatment of a trans character, Wanda, and onto-existential questions regarding the levels of inextricability in the relationship between gender, identity, and embodiedness. While the character's considerations, fears, deliberations, and pressures regarding sexual augmentation surgery, access (in this case denied) to psycho-spiritual trials (the Moon Trial), Domoney-Lyttle and Lecomte suggest that a debate over whether Wanda's storyline is transphobic misses the point in terms of the broader discussion of gender-based issues and debates in the comic and the industry (including the issues and debates surrounding other characters such as Lord Fanny in *The Invisibles* by Morrison, and Bill/Promethea in *Promethea* by Moore). They conclude the Brisbin and Booth's argument "doesn't take into account is the lack of understanding of the idea of gender *fluidity*" and, further, "suggest that it is probably fair to surmise that *Sandman* is trying to start a conversation about gender fluidity, identity and representation" while conceding that "some aspects of the conversation do not fall in line with how we see gender today (the proverbial liberal we'), but [in the narrative] the ideas are being challenged" (Domoney-Lyttle and Lecomte, 2017; emphasis mine).

Here, it would seem that Morrison and Gaiman's approach to gender-based issues in the medium and genre is polarized. On the one hand, we have Morrison offering hypocritical critiques and commentaries against other archons of the industry, regardless of how factually sound. On the other, we have Gaiman who critics convincingly argue has ostensibly attempted to use his work to consciously and conscientiously draw attention to these very same issues and debates, thereby using the privilege of his cis white heterosexual male voice to create dialogue, as well as open both he and his work up to criticism along these lines. "It is clear" argue Domoney-Lyttle and Lecomte "that *Sandman* was attempting to subvert fairy tale expectations, so it is fair to say that gender and sexuality expectations are also being subverted. But does this absolve the focus



on the gendered body?” (Domoney-Lyttle and Lecomte, 2017). While seemingly apologetic, the authors raise an interesting and important point central to this analysis: how does each author approach the myriad philosophical, sociopolitical, and cultural problems associated with the difference or inextricability between body and identity, self and sex?

There is much scholarly and non-academic commentary on the controversial history of gender-based violence, especially rape, in Moore's work. Joe Linton and Robert Deries note in “The Horror of Rape: Alan Moore, Lovecraft, and Neonomicon” (2015) for *Facts in the Case of Alan Moore's Providence*, there are “notable instances” of sexual violence that “include the rape of [...] Abby in *Swamp Thing*” [and that] sexual violence against women is one of the key themes of several of Moore's works” (Linton and Deries, 2015). Other examples in this trend of Moore scholarship include Anna Marshall's “Not So Revisionary: The Regressive Treatment of Gender in Alan Moore's *Watchmen*” (2016), Erica Masserano's “An Act of Social Magic: Class, Gender and Modernity in Alan Moore's *From Hell*” (2012), and Mathew Green's “She Brings Apocalypse: Sex, Imagination and Redemptive Transgression in William Blake and the Graphic Novels of Alan Moore” (2011). Similarly, Kelly Kanayama's “That Alan Moore Interview: A Response for Women Write About Comics” (2014), Sally Ferguson's “Women and Watchmen: Opening Alan Moore's Refrigerator” (2014), Todd A. Comer and Joseph Michael Sommers' *Sexual Ideology in the Works of Alan Moore: Critical Essays on the Graphic Novels* (2012), Robyn Kenealy's “Alan Moore (and I) Have Some Gender Issues” (2009), and “Alan Moore's Misogynistic Legacy” (2009) for *A Fistful of Science* all offer lengthy takes on Moore and the troublingly *consistent* history of sexual violence in his oeuvre. In response, Moore offers the following justification in Pádraig Ó Méalóid's “Last Alan Moore Interview” (2014):

Well, quite obviously, the safest and most comfortable option would have been to go along with a censorious status quo and simply not refer to sexual matters, even obliquely. Indeed, as I remember, this is exactly the option that most of my contemporaries in the field back then tended to make their default position, since they were understandably reluctant to displease their editors and thus to jeopardize their chances of future employment. It seemed to me, however, that if comics could not address adult matters – by which I meant a great deal more than simply sexual issues – then they could never progress to become a serious and accepted artistic medium, and would never amount to anything much more than a nostalgic hobby for ageing teenagers. To my mind [...] it seemed that such a potentially astonishing medium deserved more than this. Along with political and social issues, I elected to make sexual issues a part of my work. [...] So perhaps it is the next decision that I made wherein I am at fault: my thinking was that sexual violence, including rape and domestic abuse, should also feature in



my work where necessary or appropriate to a given narrative, the alternative being to imply that these things did not exist, or weren't happening. (Moore, 2014)

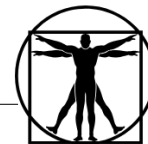
Moore goes on to further claim that

[R]ape did not exist in the comic books of that period, save for the occasional permissible off-panel rape, such as when a tavern dancing girl might be pushed back into the hay by a muscular barbarian, her lips saying no but her eyes saying yes. Other than this, no overt sexuality of *any* kind existed in the mainstream comic books of that era, with the last of the underground comix having bitten the dust during the previous decade. (Moore, 2014)

Here, a critic of Moore could claim that he is being reductive and short sighted. Consider this statement following Ó Méalóid's questioning of his depictions of rape: "Why should sexual violence be ring-fenced when forms of violence every bit as devastating are treated as entertainment? If I may venture an answer to my own question, might it be because the term 'sexual violence' contains the word 'sexual', a word relating to matters traditionally not discussed in polite society?" (Moore, 2014). That same critic could also argue that Moore is both confusing and conflating the issue of his problematic depictions of sex and sexual violence with the broader issues and debates surrounding moral and legal censorship. In view of Gaiman's seemingly conscious and conscientious exploration and inclusion of sexual violence and broader gender-based discourses in his work intimated above, the underlying question here is the extent to which Moore does the same. Does Moore include sexual violence in his work in a way that ultimately presents its associated acts and their psychological and emotional consequences as exploitable, titillating spectacle at the expense of serious critique and commentary that a voice as respected as his could instantiate?

Kevin's article titled "Alan Moore, What's With All The Rapes?" (2013) for *Contrarian Fanboy* offers a vociferous argument against any progressive interpretation of the relationship between sexual violence and the author's work. The article's statistical approach to Moore's corpus and instances of rape and/or other forms of sexual violence within it offer damning and ostensibly insuperable evidence against Moore in this regard. According to Kevin,

there's been an instance of sexual violence (much of it shockingly offhand and quickly dismissed or forgotten) in every major work Moore has written and in many of his minor works. Every volume of *The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen* contains one instance of sexual violence (almost all aimed at Mina Murray). *Lost Girls*, his long germinating erotic adventure, veers between joyful sex and



sexual violence so rapidly that I found myself wondering (however momentarily) if Moore even remembers the difference between the two. *Neonomicon*, his ode to Lovecraftian horror, features a grizzly rape. *Tom Strong*, his attempt to write an old-fashioned superhero comic has a rape (which is actually played as a punchline) [...] Even his earlier works (which in my opinion tend to be better than his offerings from the last ten years) have a disturbing pattern of sexual violence. *Watchmen*, *V For Vendetta*, *Killing Joke*, *Miracle Man* each features a scene of sexual violence. And while many of these were treated with seriousness and humanity, still others were, in my opinion, both unnecessary and ultimately insulting. Obviously the problem is bigger than Alan Moore, but Moore is often held up as the God of comic book writing and, just as often, as the conscience of comics. This lofty status means that what he does, like featuring so much rape, deserves some added reflection. (Kevin, 2013)

At best, Moore could be seen here as willfully ignorant, in view of Kevin's critique. At worst, he could be seen as an apologist for sexual violence. The point here is that while the seemingly perennial presence of rape casts a long shadow over his work, I argue (and in view of the above perhaps even controversially) that Moore has, in the same corpus, done some interesting things with gender, the most interesting being through the character Orlando, as I will discuss later.

The above excursus has tried to show that there is a notable body of academic, industry, and consumer debates concerning the representation of gender and identity issues, rape and sexual violence in all three authors' work, but particularly in the work of Moore. In view of the ostensible attitude many of said commentators, scholars and consumers offer when confronted by rape and sexual violence in comics in general, in Moore's work in particular, one might be inclined to believe that not only said representations, but the recursiveness of said representations, is abjectly 'disturbing', 'troubling', 'objectionable'. It is also true that a not insignificant industrial perspective that adheres to this appraisal of the situation is the product of author-to-author rivalries, and issues and debates surrounding (dis)taste, particularly between Moore and Morrison. The strange refracting/reflexive rivalry between the two authors, one whose publicity and legend within the comics industry has the air of a conflict between master and apprentice or, more accurately for the two authors, mystagogue and adept, oftentimes takes primacy over the content of the criticisms each author launches against the other. While Moore accuses Morrison of being parasitically derivative of everything Moore pioneered, invented, attempted, and failed at first, Morrison counters by labeling the former a serial contrarian who is increasingly out of touch with the zeitgeist, the readership, and the sensitivities and changing tastes and critical standards concerning not only sex and sexuality, but violence as well



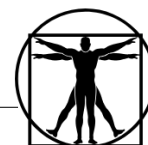
(Sneddon, 2012; Campbell, 2018). It would seem that in this quietly fraught milieu, Gaiman somehow gets a pass and is somehow immune to criticism in terms of his depiction of sex, sexuality, gender, and the female body in his comics, mainstream and marginal alike. I would counter that this middling and, compared to Moore and even Morrison, negligent critical analysis thereof is perhaps the most disturbing, troubling, or objectionable aspect of the representation of sex, sexuality, gender, female bodies, and violence among the three authors.

It is this paper's contention that while all three authors present innovative ways of re-reading the most misogynistic, racist, and otherwise prejudicial tropes of the medium, in a host of varied ways for different readerships, markets, and epochs, they are not exempt from also subtly and overtly re-inscribing these same prejudices into the medium they are said to have collectively so revolutionized. The implication of this analysis, in the last instance, is to compel the reader to look beyond the spectacular talents of each author and, following this critical comparative reading, consider just how much or how little each authors' representations and engagements with the issues and debates of sex, sexuality, gender, identity, and sexual violence really are. Beyond these contrasts and conflicts, different critical opinions within this body of scholarship, such as the 'Contrarian Fanboy' (whom I quote earlier), suggest that the fact Moore's comics often represent rape is not in itself problematic. Instead, the commentator suggests that oftentimes, the debate redounds to questions of *how* rape can and should be visually and narratively represented. According 'Contrarian Fanboy' and others, the more substantive problem is when rape is used as a lazy paraphrase for visceral realism, emotional resonance, and character development. The question this begs, then, is *how* do said authors treat these themes in their more marginal works and what can we learn from it?

### **"I WHO HAVE DIED AM ALIVE AGAIN TODAY": RE-GERMINATION, FRAGMENTATION, AND IDENTITY IN BLACK ORCHID'S SUSAN LINDEN-THORNE**

Gaiman and McKean's *Black Orchid* (1988) is a three part miniseries published by DC comics. Comparatively recondite against *Sandman*, Gaiman's early foray into superheroic fiction is still a robust example of the author's poetic, elegiac, and oneiric style. The narrative follows two May Queen-Human hybrid females, one an adult, the other a child. Being facsimiles (known as 'blossoms') of an original character named Susan Linden, the pair undertake a journey of self discovery during which they





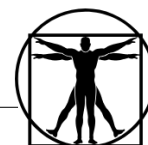
encounter notable figures of the DC Universe including Batman, Swamp Thing, Lex Luthor, and Poison Ivy. The miniseries lays out the following genealogy of Susan: Original Susan, followed by Sue 1 (the first copy created from Original Susan's DNA/RNA by her friend/admirer/handler named Dr. Phillip Sylvian). Upon her (re)birth/manufacture, she becomes a costumed crime fighter operating under the *nom de guerre* 'Black Orchid'. Her abilities include superhuman strength, speed, agility, flight, durability, and a mystical connection to the plant realm governing all botanical life on earth known as the Green<sup>1</sup>. More important in terms of the identarian questions Gaiman's miniseries asks, Linden's blossoms are able to reincarnate through an undefined process in which the consciousness of the most recent incarnation is transferred to a new host body following the death of the previous blossom. She is later burned to death by the Chairman, one of Lex Luthor's henchmen. This gives rise to a second blossom who is the focus of the narrative, Sue 2 and her immature sister-clone self Sue Jnr. The latent implication of the *sempervivum* of hybridity here is that Linden is immortal. In being multiform – that is onto-existentially (physically, psychologically, and emotionally) rhizometric – the character is in a very real sense everywhere and nowhere at once. There is no central self that persists through each new germination of self following the simultaneous destruction of the previous incarnation thereof. Therefore, Linden's blossoms remember her/their old lives, their/her memories, their/her death, and other *fragments* of their/her experiences. This is highlighted in issue No. 1 “One Thing Is Certain” (1988) where the new incarnation of the Orchid persona is told by Dr. Sylvian, that “the OTHER one knew IMMEDIATELY”, which is to say that knowledge of self in the Orchid diegesis is machinic (Gaiman, 1988). It is an assemblage of onto-existential fragments and impressions imperfectly recalled and subsequently inscribed on the latest or newest Orchid body, thereby producing an experience of fractured being for that body. Conversely, the character's auto-generative immortality points to some interesting considerations concerning primogeniture, legacy, and womanhood. If Orchid is seen as a collection of imperfect recall of previous incarnations of the persona superimposed, albeit incompletely, over, onto, or within an identical body, then Orchid's selfhood is matrilineal where she/they is/are both daughter and mother to themselves/herself.

---

1 In the DC Comics hyperdiegesis, the Green refers to an elemental force connecting all forms of plant life on earth. For elementals such as Swamp Thing, the Green is experienced as a type of psycho-affective realm inhabited, protected, and overseen by the collective minds of the Parliament of Trees.



Fig. 1. From Black Orchid Vol. 1, No. 1 "One Things is Certain" (1988) written by Neil Gaiman, illustrated by Dave McKean



The character's congenital loss of memory or imperfect recall raises agential questions in identarian terms. If an individual is (re)born fully grown but unable to recall the ontological and existential experiences that constituted said development to the terminus of maturity, one is in a position of not knowing who one is, where one came from, in Linden's case what one is, and why one came to be in this way. There are also some other seemingly latently gender-coded associations between the character, her powers/skill-set, ethic, teloi, and the actions required to bring them to fruition. For example, the obvious and reductively quintessential associations between women, fecundity, rebirth, growth and germination remain central to the character despite Gaiman's seemingly radical post-structural approach to gender, embodiedness, and identity in later works. Moreover, immediately within the first few pages of *Black Orchid*, and for much of the later narrative, Linden's blossom is portrayed as naked, ethereal, and powerful in their/her immortality. However, they are also submissive, naive, manipulable, docile, and in their/her case, literally "born sexy yesterday". The phrase refers to "a trope that's particular to science fiction and fantasy, in which – thanks to the power of science or magic – a woman has the mind of a naive yet highly skilled child, but in the body of a mature, sexualized woman. The woman is fully grown physically, and is often skilled at something male-coded like combat or coding, but she has little experience of sexuality or social norms" (Jasper, 2017).

Sue is also shown to occupy an liminal space between being born sexy yesterday and not being born sexy yesterday *enough*. At the end of the series, after the remaining Susans arrive at a hidden grove in the Amazon valley to replant themselves in the relative seclusion and sanctuary of the deep jungle, Sue 2 declares: "I have too many of Susan's memories to be truly happy here" (Gaiman, 1989). Here, Sue 2's experience, however fragmentary, de-centred, or displaced, is still subtended by those same fragments she inherited. In this sense, she is plagued by a void signified by incomplete memories. As a result, she is subject to memories both beyond and within her, paradoxically binding her self to herself with inconsistencies and incomplete narratives, and is thus unable to experience or enjoy the bliss of ignorance. In view of this use of de-centred selfhood as a narrative frame, what can the individual whose being represents but a fragment of that selfhood have in terms of agency? Sue 2 puts this paradox across rather poetically in issue No. 2 "Going Down" (1989): "In dreams we find only contradictions. I tumble into the past, awash in another's memories. I dream my sister [...] further down. Further back. The dreams are Susan...Mother" (Gaiman, 1989). In the last instance, having Sue 2 simultaneously be her own child and mother both affirms and trou-



bles the quintessentially reductive construction of a woman's narrative value that limits her agential possibilities to the status of either dependent or caregiver.

### **“HER SOUL IN DIVISION FROM ITSELF”: GENDER IDENTITY, AND MENTAL ILLNESS IN DOOM PATROL'S CRAZY JANE**

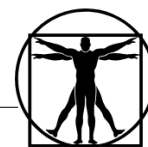
---

Created by Morrison and Richard Case, Crazy Jane is a central member of the Vertigo incarnation of the eponymous superhero team the Doom Patrol. Appearing in Vol. 2, No. 19 “Crawling From the Wreckage” (1989), Morrison explores the issues of gender and trauma through Jane Morris, the dominant personality of Kay Challis. Challis, diagnosed with multiple personality disorder, has a variety of distinct personae in her, two of which are male, with each boasting a different superpower as a result of a gene bomb. Genius intellect Will Magnus describes her condition as follows:

her experiences resulted in what psychiatrists call DISSOCIATION. Basically, that means she developed multiple personalities to cope with the trauma. Her therapists tell me that so far they've identified SIXTY-FOUR separate personalities, each with its own name and function. And following the effects of the 'gene bomb'...each one with its own distinct meta-human ability. (Morrison, 1989)

Not only does this imply that Jane is latently omnisex, but also here, the notion of de-centred or fragmentary self resembles that explored by Gaiman, albeit limited to psychic, affective, and emotional phenomena.

Unlike Gaiman's botanical frame for Linden's blossoms' plurality of self, the provenance of Jane's multiple personalities is trauma. Like Gaiman's revelations about the back-story of the original Susan Linden, Morrisons' Jane is the victim and survivor of severe psycho-sexual childhood abuse perpetrated against her by her father (Morrison, 1989). In the first two volumes of *Doom Patrol*, Morrison explores the effects of this initial trauma in numerous ways that ultimately redound to an overarching albeit unoriginal construct. Morrison portrays both Jane's powers and trauma as a psycho-emotional map that simultaneously charts as well as acts as a repository for her unconscious network of selves called The Underground. Here, it could be argued that while Morrison ostensibly situates Jane within quintessential tropes subtending persistent associations of women, mental disorders, abuse, and trauma in contemporary superhero comics, holdovers from the pervasive permutations of the psychoanalytical trope of the 'hysterical woman' derived, for example, from Sig-



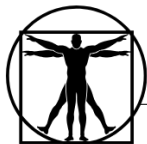
mund Freud<sup>1</sup>. However, it can be equally argued that in doing so, Morrison's presentation of Jane represents a simultaneous exacerbation thereof as well as a reclamation of agency *within* the otherwise prohibitive and repressive frames of psycho-sexual disorder in women. Such a conclusion is derived from the fact that Jane's dissociative disorder *is* her superpower, one that grants her numerous types of supra-human agencies. At the same time, this power and agency is problematized by being inextricably linked to her continued suffering and the cyclicity of her trauma. In this way, the themes, issues and debates surrounding agency, dis-empowerment, and re-empowerment both orbit and emanate from the Gordian core of her character.

All of Jane's personae are born of the same childhood trauma. Morrison here characterizes the Underground as a psycho-emotional network of repression: an Underground sub(conscious)way system expressed most clearly in Vol. 1, No. 28. In the story titled "Going Underground" (1990), Cliff Steel's (also known as Robotman, an ally and teammate of Jane's) psyche enters Jane's "psychescape" as Jane lays trapped within herself in a deep cataleptic state. Jane's complete psychic withdrawal is a result of the Patrol's battle with an apocalyptic entity called the 5th Horseman which left her psychic hierarchy of self damaged by the strain she/they endured. Driver 8, one of Jane's main personalities responsible for conducting the literal and figurative 'Train of her Thought', says to Cliff: "that's why the WOMAN is cataleptic. No one down here wants to take control any more in case they get hurt" (Morrison, 1990). Aboard Jane's Underground Train, Cliff catches indistinct flashes of both Jane's selves and their personal histories in her mind. Driver 8 tells him they are "psychic fallout from K-5", the first of Jane's personae, the very same one "who endured the first ABUSE. Those tremors are still resonating" (Morrison, 1990). She continues, adding that "Crazy Jane's only ONE of the selves who keep the woman functioning. As for Kay, SHE hasn't really existed since she was five years old. She's ASLEEP in one of the deep stations" (Morrison, 1990). Driver 8 further clarifies the nature of the deep structures of the Underground when she says to Cliff that "a lot of [Jane's personae] won't come out, even for me. Some refuse to say their names. Those are the badly traumatized ones, in the deep stations of the Underground" (Morrison, 1990). It is also revealed that following her encounter with the 5th Horseman, Jane is suicidal. Driver 8 describes the situation as follows: "I think she intends to DESTROY herself and leave the rest of us trapped in a useless body. I think she's going to the WELL" (Morrison, 1990). She further

---

1 In such texts as *Studies in Hysteria*, Read Books, 1895 [2013], and *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, Verso Books, 1856 [2017].





describes the Well as follows: “no one likes to talk about it. It's down on the low-level line. A terrible place. They say it leads into a buried and forgotten section of the Underground. No one's been down there since MIRANDA destroyed herself. Two years ago at Easter Time. The underground barely survived. If Jane goes into the Well, we're finished. (Morrison, 1990).

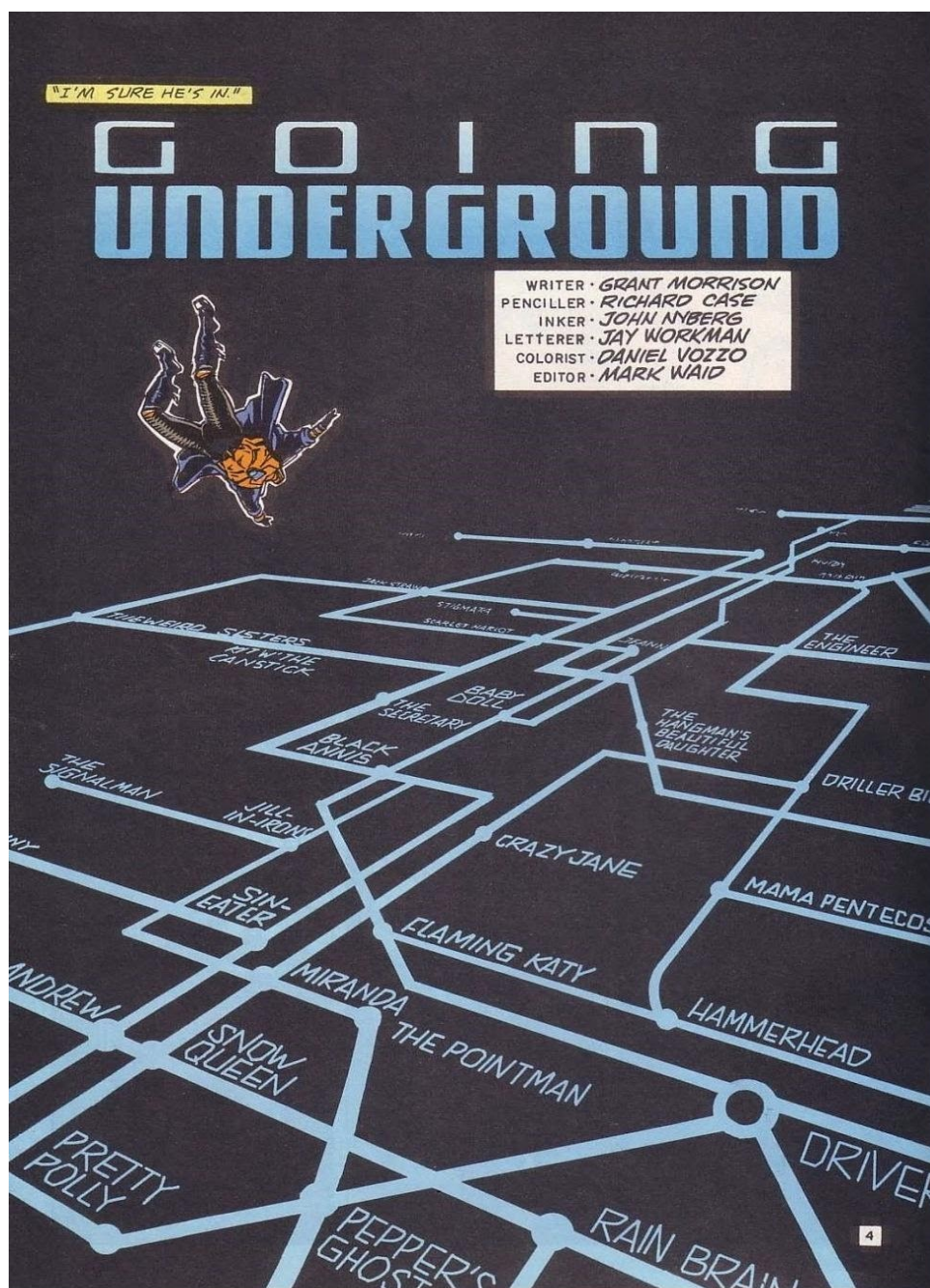
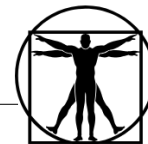


Fig. 2. From Doom Patrol Vol. 2, No. 30 “Going Underground” (1990) written by Grant Morrison, Illustrated by Richard Case



From a psychoanalytically theoretical vantage, the personae that form Jane's Underground are products of raw psychic forces in which reside Jane's life and death drives. There are two main implications here. First, the dissolution of self or essential self-fragmentation is a prerequisite to entry into the Well *and* the Underground *in principium*. Second, the network circumscribing and also bound to The Well is Choraic in a specifically Kristevan way. Unlike Jacques Lacan's phallogocentric discourse concerning the androcentric prohibition of the power of the unconscious through the symbolic order reified by institutions including the law, politics, and language, Julia Kristeva's notion of "the semiotic Chora ordering the drives" calls for a shift in focus from the prohibitive symbolic order or phenotext to the primordial conditions and closeness associated with the genotext (Kristeva, 1980). According to Kristeva, society is subject to multitudinous sociopolitical constraints which "stop the signifying process...[and] knot it and lock it into a given surface or structure; they discard practice under fixed, fragmentary, symbolic matrices" (Kristeva, 1980). This notion is described by Kristeva as the phenotext. Kristeva describes the genotext however as an infinite space (that can be lent a topography, but never be given an axiomatic form) which includes within it "drives, their disposition, and their division of the body, plus the ecological and social system surrounding the body such as objects and pre-Oedipal relations with parents" much in the same way Jane-to-Jane interfacing through a more primary connection between her personae, the Well, and the Underground facilitate and engender similar genotextual relations (Kristeva, 1980). In this way, albeit by varying degrees of de-centredness, both the Well and the Underground cause Jane's ego or self-formulation to be decoupled from her/their affective experiences of egolessness.

### **"I WAS 3, 203 YEARS OLD WEEK AND I ENDURE": HISTORY, GENDER, IDENTITY, AND KNOWLEDGE IN LEAGUE OF EXTRAORDINARY GENTLEMEN: BLACK DOSSIER'S ORLANDO**

---

"The Life of Orlando" featured in the *League of Extraordinary Gentlemen* comics series' apocryphal text *League of Extraordinary Gentlemen: Black Dossier* (1999) follows the secret history of the League's oldest member Orlando. Born Bio of Thebes in 1260 BCE, Orlando can best be described as a sexually protean adventurer, warrior, and scholar who has lived for over 3000 years. Moore portrays Orlando as both witness to and participant in numerous important events of fictional and non-fictional world histories. Interestingly, Moore uses the character's 3000 year life to

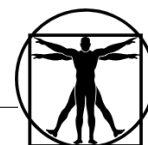




equate knowledge, experience, and history with gender, thereby drawing parallels between omni-sexuality and omni-historicity.



Fig. 3. From *Doom Patrol* Vol. 2, No. 30 “Going Underground” (1990) written by Grant Morrison, Illustrated by Richard Case



Unlike his more controversial explorations of gender, power, identity, and violence in such texts as *Watchmen* and *Neonomicon*, through Orlando, Moore suggests that multiplicity of self or self-splitting does not lead to any sort of onto-existential diminishment. Rather, it permits an onto-existential and epistemic holism. This is directly in contrast to Gaiman's exploration of the same dialectical thematization of self splitting as reductive, which concludes that self-splitting and self-fragmentation result in an insoluble ennui that immortality, through re-incarnation, cannot salve. For Moore however, the epistemic and experiential knowledge garnered from onto-existential immortality and psycho-sexual fluidity does not prevent the experiencer, as woman, man, both, and neither, from being exposed to danger. Orlando's omnisex state also puts her/him in a position to receive boons and favors. For example, when Orlando arrives in Egypt in 1250 BCE, his/her fundamental androgyny results in her/him becoming a favorite of Pharaoh Usarmarttim (Ozymandias). In this instance, identarian instability is construed as a boon as opposed to a malady as it is with Jane, or an agential or memorial impasse as it is with Linden. Moore's explorations of the interconnectedness between gender, identity, and history really become the main thrust of "The Life of Orlando" after Orlando becomes immortal. It is at this point that s/he becomes, the perfect metaphor for civilization, that is, human history is an omnisex embodiment of experiences, including pleasure, pain, knowledge, mysticism, fear, war, love, heartache – the so-called thousand natural shocks that flesh, regardless of sex, identity, and other permutations of embodiedness, is heir to.

In *Metahistory* (1973), the narratologist Hayden White notes that the construction of a history involves certain key elements. First, the chronological ordering of events within a historical field. Second, the events that constitute this chronicle are further arranged and adapted into a narrative. The nature of this narrative is 'spectacular' while also being designed to be logically coherent in terms of narrative structure; that is, it must typically have a beginning, middle, and end (White, 1973). In *Black Dossier*, Orlando's alternate history undoes both the process of *manufacturing* history and history itself as a product of this process. It then subsequently remakes or reproduces history, through an interweaving of multitudinous extradiegetic and diegetic histories in a closed, interstitial circuit of historically-minded play. This play not only is (re)produced in and through Orlando, but specifically their psycho-sexual mercurialness. In this way, Orlando's account ruptures the notion that the received grand narrative(s) of history are either 'natural' or originate from



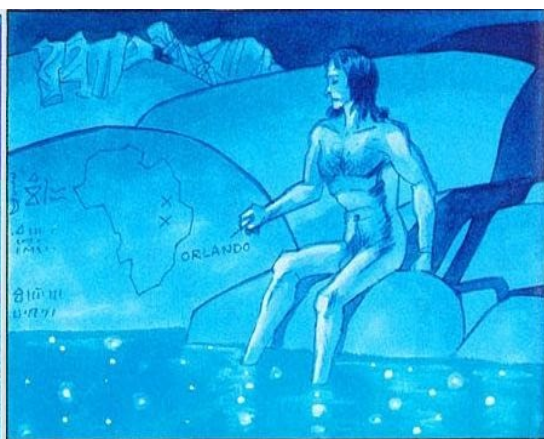


the self-presence of *man* and/or God. Here, the phallogocentric 'centre' from which history emanates is displaced by having Orlando be a specifically *transgender* witness, participant, *and* narrator of these *omnistories*.

By displacing the centre of history by consistently substituting the ontological and existential foundations of its witness/participant and, in this way dividing the centre *within* itself, Moore equates history with Orlando's antipodal and unstable fluctuations between woman, man, and in-between. Here, Moore suggests that it is precisely through this play of presences that Orlando's gender oscillations provide an opportunity for the hidden, apocryphal, absent, or marginal histories of civilization to emerge from the interstices between fact and fiction, diegetic and extradiegetic, male and female (Derrida, 1978). The latent implication here is that the intra-subjectivity of Jane, Susan, and Orlando allows for the reader's perceptions, barriers, and understandings circumscribing the modes of representation of gender and identity can be at least *temporarily* transgressed.



4. Bathing in its lapid, liquid flames, emerging strangely vitalised, I noticed old names and a map carved at its edge. (I did not carve my name there 'til millennia later, during the upstart Ayesha's rule.)

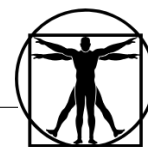


3. With Prospero gone and our league disbanded, England seemed dull. I roamed the world, even revisiting Kor in Africa and its magic pool, this time carving my name on the rock there beside it: 'Orlando.'

**Fig. 4. League of Extraordinary Gentlemen "Black Dossier" (1999)**  
written by Alan Moore, illustrated by Kevin O'Neill

**Fig. 5. League of Extraordinary Gentlemen "Black Dossier" (1999)**  
written by Alan Moore, illustrated by Kevin O'Neill

What are we to make of these attempts at expressing a post-structuralist approach to sex, sexuality, gender, and identity in these texts? What does Moore, Morrison, and Gaiman's work in *Black Dossier*, *Doom Patrol*, and *Black Orchid* reveal about each author's attempt at engaging in



the issues and debates thereof? One way of offering a summary comment concerning the above analysis is to first consider what these deconstructive examples are predicated on, that which each text takes as assumed. While ostensibly a motley trinity of three radically different types of stories, wildly different characters under varying disparate circumstances, there is a through-line in terms of the affective condition of Orlando, Jane, and Sue that actively undifferentiates them. It would appear that the agential benefits and power (literal and figurative) that comes with a decentred sense of self is a secondary, and in certain ways compensatory, allotment. It so happens that the primary, unifying psycho-emotional *experience* each character expresses, despite their power set, epoch, and the permutations of their embodiedness is a pervasive sense of isolation and/trauma. While each author does much to suggest that a radical cutting-off of self from self and/or of self from body is not a diminishment, much of the repressive, exploitative, and traumatic (pre)conditions which necessitate this reclamation of self-splitting as a type of agency remain assumed. All three authors do much to try and bend the psycho-emotional, sexual, and embodied results and outcomes of these conditions. However, they seemingly cannot disentangle them from their assumed conditions. One could argue that this was impossible for Morrison and Gaiman to do, in that *Doom Patrol* and *Black Orchid* are part of broader comics universes, themselves under the aegis of broader DC Comics continuities. Under these constraints it would be fair to suggest that there is only so much each could do in terms of bending, distorting, reassembling, and revising the powers, experiences, inner worlds, and embodiedness of Jane and Sue. Moore, on the other hand, presents a character of his own design in a broader diegetic universe, also of his own creation. And while Moore, perhaps more so than either Morrison or Gaiman, reformulates entire traditions, chronicles, and histories, a revisionist's work needs to assume certain preconditions in order to revise them. Moore certainly does make a concerted effort to decentralize history, as a grand narrative with a distinct, discrete source, either purely masculine or feminine, Western or non-Western. An equally inextricable conclusion that redounds is the fact that Moore still presents his new omnistories through the auspices of received history. Indeed, this historiographical revisionism is an essential narrative and aesthetic design mandate of the entire series. This paper holds that it would do well to be conscious of that which deconstructive/revisionist narratology and aesthetics actually ends up reifying, reproducing, and reinforcing.



## CONCLUSION

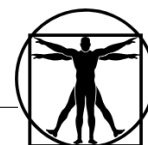
---

The above analysis has attempted to draw critical attention to comics that are more academically disregarded in the oeuvres of their respective writers, all of whom are considered revolutionaries of the medium, and which have interesting connections in terms of how identity, the body, gender, sex and sexuality are represented. In so doing, this paper attempted to provide insightful comparative close readings of these works in terms of how the representation of an unstable, mutable self relates to questions of gender, sex, identity and embodiedness, with a focus on character and narrative themes related to three specifically chosen case studies. It has endeavored to unfold this analysis using dynamic albeit cogent connections drawn between the aforesaid texts and the pertinent theoretical framework of post-structuralist philosophy, psychoanalysis, postmodern historiography and literary criticism. In conclusion, aside from offering an interesting take on how comics can be used to disseminate dense and oftentimes widely regarded 'difficult' post-structuralist theory, this analysis has highlighted the key component in each text's aesthetic and narrative achievement: the paradoxical centrality of de-centredness. They are disordered, de-centrilized specifically through their sex, genders, and identities, thereby challenging the limits and prohibitions of gender-based authority be it violence, trauma, memory, or history, but also more latent metaphysical problems regarding identity and embodiedness. It has also shown that there is a shadow to this enterprise, one predicated on assumed histories and stereotypes that oftentimes circumscribe women in fiction to narrative and aesthetic zero-sum constructions and double-binds.

---

## References

- (2018, March 26). On Writing the comics – And Queer Character – We Need: Neil Gaiman and N.K. Jemisin in Conversation. *Literary Hub*. Retrieved from <https://lithub.com/on-writing-the-comics-and-queer-characters-we-need/>.
- Anderson, K. (2017). Gender Studies and Queer Studies. In M. Smith and R. Duncan (Eds.). *The Secret Origins of Comics Studies* (pp. 178- 189). New York: Taylor and Francis.
- Brisbin, A. & Booth P. (2013). The Sand/wo/man: The Unstable Worlds of Gender in Neil Gaiman's Sandman Series. *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 46(1), 20-37. Doi: 10.1111/jpcu.12014
- Brooker, W. (2011). Hero of the Beach: Flex Mentallo at the End of the Worlds. *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics*, 2(1), 25-37. Doi: 10.1080/21504857.2011.578406

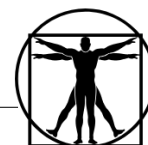


- Campbell, B. (2018, January 18). The Tao of Alan Moore and Grant Morrison. *Sequart*. Retrieved from <http://sequart.org/magazine/68155/the-tao-of-alan-moore-and-grant-morrison/>
- Castaldo, A. (2004). "No More Yielding Than a Dream": The Construction of Shakespeare in *The Sandman*. *College Literature*, 31(4), 94–110.
- Cocca, C. (2017). *Superwomen: Gender, Power, and Representation*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Comer, T.A & Sommers, M. (Ed(s).) (2012). *Sexual Ideology in the Works of Alan Moore: Critical Essays on the Graphic Novels* (ed). North Carolina: Macfarland.
- Derrida, J. (1972 [1982]). *Margings of Philosophy*. Alan Bass (Trans.). Sussex: Harvester Press.
- Derrida, J. (1973). *Speech and Phenomena and Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs*. David B. Allison (Trans). Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Derrida, J. (1978). Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences. In Alan Bass (Trans.), *Writing and Difference*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Di Liddo, A. (2009). *Alan Moore: Comics as Performance, Fiction as Scalpel*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi
- Dick, M-D. (2013). *The Derrida Wordbook*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- Domoney-Lyttle, S. & Lecomte, G. (2017, November 17). Sand/wo/man: Reading Gender Trouble in Gaiman's Sandman. *University of Glasgow Comics Reading Group* (blog). Retrieved from <https://gucomics.wordpress.com/2017/11/17/sand-wo-man-reading-gender-trouble-in-gaimans-sandman/>.
- Elder, R. K. (2007). Gods and Other Monsters: A Sandman Exit Interview and Philosophical Omnibus. In D. Schweitzer (Ed.). *The Neil Gaiman Reader* (pp. 54–78). Maryland: Wildside Press.
- Ferguson, C. (2009). Victoria-Arcana and the Misogynistic Poetics of Resistance in Iain Sinclair's White Chappell Scarlet Tracings and Alan Moore's From Hell. *LIT: Literature, Interpretation, Theory*, 20(1), 45-64. Doi: 10.1080/10436920802690430
- Ferguson, S. (2014). *Women and Watchmen: Opening Alan Moore's Refrigerator* (Honours thesis). 230. Quachita Baptist University, Arkansas. Retrieved from [http://scholarlycommons.obu.edu/honors\\_theses/230](http://scholarlycommons.obu.edu/honors_theses/230).
- Gaiman, N. & McKean, D. (1988). *Black Orchid*. New York: DC Comics.
- Garland, T. S., Branch, K. A., & Grimes, M. (2016). Blurring the Lines: Reinforcing Rape Myths in Comic Books'. *Feminist Criminology*, 11 (1), 48-68. Doi: 10.1177/1557085115576386
- Green, M. J. A. (2011). "She Brings Apocalypse": Sex, Imagination and Redemptive Transgression in William Blake and the Graphic novels of Alan Moore. *University of Nottingham Literature Compass*, 8(10), 739-756. Doi: 10.1111/j.1741-4113.2011.00839.x



- Indick, B. P. (2007). Neil Gaiman in Words and Pictures. In D. Schweitzer (Ed.) *The Neil Gaiman Reader* (pp. 79–96). Maryland: Wildside Press.
- Jasper, M. (2017, April 30). Science Fiction and the Problem with the 'Born Sexy Yesterday' Trope. *The Mary Sue*. Retrieved from <https://www.themarysue.com/born-sexy-yesterday-trope-sff/>.
- Jaynova. (2012, March 15). I Love Grant Morrison, But....*Hellblazer*. Retrieved from <http://hellblazer.ipbhost.com/topic/9203-i-love-grant-morrison-but/>.
- Kanayama, K. (2014, January 21). That Alan Moore Interview: A Response for Women Write About Comics. *Women Write About Comics*. Retrieved from <https://womenwriteaboutcomics.com/2014/01/that-alan-moore-interview-a-response/>
- Kenealy, R. (2009, December 23). Alan Moore (and I) Have Some Gender Issues, *Scoop*. Retrieved from <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/HL0912/S00211/alan-moore-and-i-have-some-gender-issues.htm>
- Kevin. (2013, March 14). Contrarian Fanboy: Alan Moore, What's With All The Rapes? *Unleashthefanboy*. Retrieved from <http://www.unleashthefanboy.com/comics/contrarian-fanboy-alan-more-whats-with-all-the-rapes/47048>.
- Kristeva, J. (1974). Revolution in Poetic Language, Part I, The Semiotic and the Symbolic. In V. B. Leitch (Ed.). *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism* (pp. 2067-2081). New York: W. W. Norton & Company, inc.
- Krueger, R. & Shaeffer, K. (2011). Alan Moore and Adaptation. *ImageText* 5(4). Retrieved from [http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v5\\_4/](http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v5_4/).
- Laity, K. A. (2006). Illusory Adversaries? Images of Female Power in The Kindly Ones. In J. L. Sanders (Ed.). *The Sandman Papers: An Exploration of the Sandman Mythology* (pp. 65–78). Seattle, WA: Fantagraphics.
- Linton, J. & Deries, R. (2015, April 30). The Horror of Rape: Alan Moore's *Providence*. *Factsprovidence*. Retrieved from <https://factsprovidence.wordpress.com/moore-lovecraft-comics-annotation-index/the-horror-of-rape-alan-moore-lovecraft-and-neonomicon/>
- Marshall, A.C. (2016). Not So Revisionary: The Regressive Treatment of Gender in Alan Moore's *Watchmen*. *The Downtown Review*, 3(2). Retrieved from <http://engagedscholarship.csuohio.edu/tdr/vol3/iss2/1>
- Masserano, E. (2012). "An Act of Social Magic": Class, Gender and Modernity in Alan Moore's *From Hell*. Retrieved from <https://core.ac.uk/display/12517628>
- Millidge, G. S. & Man, S. (2003). *Alan Moore: Portrait of an Extraordinary Gentleman*. Southend-on-Sea: Abiogenesis Press.
- Moore, A. & O'Neill, K. (1999). *The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen: Black Dossier*. New York: DC/Wildstorm.
- Morrison, G. & Case, R. (2000). *Doom Patrol Vol. 2: Crawling From the Wreckage*. New York: DC/Vertigo.





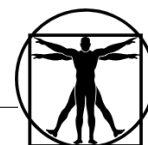
- Morrison, G. & Case, R. (2004). *Doom Patrol Vol 2: The Painting That Ate Paris*. New York: DC/Vertigo.
- Morrison, G. & Case, R. (2011, August 22). Morrison on the Death of Comics. *Rolling Stone*. Retrieved from <https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-news/grant-morrison-on-the-death-of-comics-62761/>.
- Murray, C. (2010). Signals from Airstrip One: The British Invasion of American Mainstream Comics'. In P. Williams and J. Lyons (Eds.). *The Rise of the American Comics Artist: Creators and Contexts* (pp. 31-45). Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Ó Méalóid, P. (2014, September 9). Last Alan Moore Interview. *Slovobooks*. Retrieved from <http://slovobooks.wordpress.com/2014/01/09/last-alan-moore-interview/>.
- Rauch, S. (2003). *Neil Gaiman's The Sandman and Joseph Campbell: In Search of the Modern Myth*. Rockville, MD: Wildside Press.
- Reed, A. S. (2008). Through Every Mirror in the World: Lacan's Mirror Stage as Mutual Reference in the Works of Neil Gaiman and Tori Amos. *Image-Text* 4(1). Retrieved from [http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v4\\_1/reed/](http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v4_1/reed/).
- Robinson, L. S. (2004). *Wonder Women Feminism and Superheroes*. New York: Routledge.
- Sanders, J. L. (2006). Lesbian Language, Queer Imaginings, and Death: Time of Your Life. In J. L. Sanders (Ed.). *The Sandman Papers: An Exploration of the Sandman Mythology* (pp. 185-200). Seattle, WA: Fantagraphics.
- Sandifer, P. and Eklund, T. (2015). The Comics Works of Neil Gaiman. *ImageText*, 4(1). Retrieved from [http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v4\\_1/](http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v4_1/).
- Saxton, J. M. (2007). Dreams and Fairy Tales: The Theme of Rationality in A Midsummer Night's Dream and The Sandman. In D. Schweitzer (Ed.). *The Neil Gaiman Reader* (pp. 22-29). Maryland: Wildside Press. 22-29.
- Sharkey, R. (2008). Being Decentered in Sandman: History, Dreams, Gender, and the Prince of Metaphor and Allusion. *Image-Text* 4(1) Retrieved from [http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v4\\_1/reed/](http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v4_1/reed/).
- Shaviro, S. (1993). If I Only Had a Brain. *Postmodern Culture*, 4(1). Doi: 10.1353/pmc.1993.0052.
- Singer, M. (2012). *Grant Morrison: Combining the Worlds of Contemporary Comics*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Sneddon, L. (2012, November 24). The Strange Case of Grant Morrison and Alan Moore, As Told by Grant Morrison. *The Comics Beat*. Retrieved from <http://www.comicsbeat.com/the-strange-case-of-grant-morrison-and-alan-moore-as-told-by-grant-morrison/>
- White, H. (1984). *Metahistory*. New York: New York UP.





## Список литературы

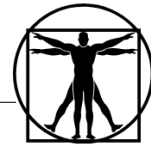
- (2018, March 26). On Writing the comics – And Queer Character – We Need: Neil Gaiman and N.K. Jemisin in Conversation. *Literary Hub*. Retrieved from <https://lithub.com/on-writing-the-comics-and-queer-characters-we-need/>.
- Anderson, K. (2017). Gender Studies and Queer Studies. In M. Smith and R. Duncan (Eds.). *The Secret Origins of Comics Studies* (pp. 178- 189). New York: Taylor and Francis.
- Brisbin, A. & Booth P. (2013). The Sand/wo/man: The Unstable Worlds of Gender in Neil Gaiman's Sandman Series. *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 46(1), 20-37. Doi: 10.1111/jpcu.12014
- Brooker, W. (2011). Hero of the Beach: Flex Mentallo at the End of the Worlds. *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics*, 2(1), 25-37. Doi: 10.1080/21504857.2011.578406
- Campbell, B. (2018, January 18). The Tao of Alan Moore and Grant Morrison. *Sequart*. Retrieved from <http://sequart.org/magazine/68155/the-tao-of-alan-moore-and-grant-morrison/>
- Castaldo, A. (2004). "No More Yielding Than a Dream": The Construction of Shakespeare in *The Sandman*. *College Literature*, 31(4), 94–110.
- Cocca, C. (2017). *Superwomen: Gender, Power, and Representation*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Comer, T.A & Sommers, M. (Ed(s).) (2012). *Sexual Ideology in the Works of Alan Moore: Critical Essays on the Graphic Novels* (ed). North Carolina: Macfarland.
- Derrida, J. (1972 [1982]). *Margins of Philosophy*. Alan Bass (Trans.). Sussex: Harvester Press.
- Derrida, J. (1973). *Speech and Phenomena and Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs*. David B. Allison (Trans). Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Derrida, J. (1978). Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences. In Alan Bass (Trans.), *Writing and Difference*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Di Liddo, A. (2009). *Alan Moore: Comics as Performance, Fiction as Scalpel*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi
- Dick, M-D. (2013). *The Derrida Wordbook*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- Domoney-Lyttle, S. & Lecomte, G. (2017, November 17). Sand/wo/man: Reading Gender Trouble in Gaiman's Sandman. *University of Glasgow Comics Reading Group* (blog). Retrieved from <https://gucomics.wordpress.com/2017/11/17/sand-wo-man-reading-gender-trouble-in-gaimans-sandman/>.
- Elder, R. K. (2007). Gods and Other Monsters: A Sandman Exit Interview and Philosophical Omnibus. In D. Schweitzer (Ed.). *The Neil Gaiman Reader* (pp. 54–78). Maryland: Wildside Press.
- Ferguson, C. (2009). Victoria-Arcana and the Misogynistic Poetics of Resistance in Iain Sinclair's White Chappell Scarlet Tracings and Alan Moore's From Hell. *LIT: Literature, Interpretation, Theory*, 20(1), 45-64. Doi:10.1080/10436920802690430



- Ferguson, S. (2014). *Women and Watchmen: Opening Alan Moore's Refrigerator (Honours thesis)*. 230. Quachita Baptist University, Arkansas. Retrieved from [http://scholarlycommons.obu.edu/honors\\_theses/230](http://scholarlycommons.obu.edu/honors_theses/230).
- Gaiman, N. & McKean, D. (1988). *Black Orchid*. New York: DC Comics.
- Garland, T. S., Branch, K. A., & Grimes, M. (2016). Blurring the Lines: Reinforcing Rape Myths in Comic Books'. *Feminist Criminology*, 11 (1), 48-68. Doi: 10.1177/1557085115576386
- Green, M. J. A. (2011). "She Brings Apocalypse": Sex, Imagination and Redemptive Transgression in William Blake and the Graphic novels of Alan Moore. *University of Nottingham Literature Compass*, 8(10), 739-756. Doi: 10.1111/j.1741-4113.2011.00839.x
- Indick, B. P. (2007). Neil Gaiman in Words and Pictures. In D. Schweitzer (Ed.) *The Neil Gaiman Reader* (pp. 79–96). Maryland: Wildside Press.
- Jasper, M. (2017, April 30). Science Fiction and the Problem with the 'Born Sexy Yesterday' Trope. *The Mary Sue*. Retrieved from <https://www.themarysue.com/born-sexy-yesterday-trope-sff/>.
- Jaynova. (2012, March 15). I Love Grant Morrison, But...*Hellblazer*. Retrieved from <http://hellblazer.ipbhost.com/topic/9203-i-love-grant-morrison-but/>.
- Kanayama, K. (2014, January 21). That Alan Moore Interview: A Response for Women Write About Comics. *Women Write About Comics*. Retrieved from <https://womenwriteaboutcomics.com/2014/01/that-alan-moore-interview-a-response/>
- Kenealy, R. (2009, Decemeber 23). Alan Moore (and I) Have Some Gender Issues, *Scoop*. Retrieved from <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/HL0912/S00211/alan-moore-and-i-have-some-gender-issues.htm>
- Kevin. (2013, March 14). Contrarian Fanboy: Alan Moore, What's With All The Rapes? *Unleashthefanboy*. Retrieved from <http://www.unleashthefanboy.com/comics/contrarian-fanboy-alan-more-whats-with-all-the-rapes/47048>.
- Kristeva, J. (1974). Revolution in Poetic Language, Part I, The Semiotic and the Symbolic. In V. B. Leitch (Ed.). *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism* (pp. 2067-2081). New York: W. W. Norton & Company, inc.
- Krueger, R. & Shaeffer, K. (2011). Alan Moore and Adaptation. *ImageText* 5(4). Retrieved from [http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v5\\_4/](http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v5_4/).
- Laity, K. A. (2006). Illusory Adversaries? Images of Female Power in The Kindly Ones. In J. L. Sanders (Ed.). *The Sandman Papers: An Exploration of the Sandman Mythology* (pp. 65–78). Seattle, WA: Fantagraphics.
- Linton, J. & Deries, R. (2015, April 30). The Horror of Rape: Alan Moore's *Providence*. *Factsprovidence*. Retrieved from <https://factsprovidence.wordpress.com/moore-lovecraft-comics-annotation-index/the-horror-of-rape-alan-moore-lovecraft-and-neonomicon/>



- Marshall, A.C. (2016). Not So Revisionary: The Regressive Treatment of Gender in Alan Moore's *Watchmen*. *The Downtown Review*, 3(2). Retrieved from <http://engagedscholarship.csuohio.edu/tdr/vol3/iss2/1>
- Masserano, E. (2012). "An Act of Social Magic": Class, Gender and Modernity in Alan Moore's *From Hell*. Retrieved from <https://core.ac.uk/display/12517628>
- Millidge, G. S. & Man, S. (2003). *Alan Moore: Portrait of an Extraordinary Gentleman*. Southend-on-Sea: Abiogenesis Press.
- Moore, A. & O'Neill, K. (1999). *The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen: Black Dossier*. New York: DC/Wildstorm.
- Morrison, G. & Case, R. (2000). *Doom Patrol Vol. 2: Crawling From the Wreckage*. New York: DC/Vertigo.
- Morrison, G. & Case, R. (2004). *Doom Patrol Vol 2: The Painting That Ate Paris*. New York: DC/Vertigo.
- Morrison, G. & Case, R. (2011, August 22). Morrison on the Death of Comics. *Rolling Stone*. Retrieved from <https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-news/grant-morrison-on-the-death-of-comics-62761/>.
- Murray, C. (2010). Signals from Airstrip One: The British Invasion of American Mainstream Comics'. In P. Williams and J. Lyons (Eds.). *The Rise of the American Comics Artist: Creators and Contexts* (pp. 31-45). Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Ó Méalóid, P. (2014, September 9). Last Alan Moore Interview. *Slovobooks*. Retrieved from <http://slovobooks.wordpress.com/2014/01/09/last-alan-moore-interview/>.
- Rauch, S. (2003). *Neil Gaiman's The Sandman and Joseph Campbell: In Search of the Modern Myth*. Rockville, MD: Wildside Press.
- Reed, A. S. (2008). Through Every Mirror in the World: Lacan's Mirror Stage as Mutual Reference in the Works of Neil Gaiman and Tori Amos. *Image-Text* 4(1). Retrieved from [http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v4\\_1/reed/](http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v4_1/reed/).
- Robinson, L. S. (2004). *Wonder Women Feminism and Superheroes*. New York: Routledge.
- Sanders, J. L. (2006). Lesbian Language, Queer Imaginings, and Death: Time of Your Life. In J. L. Sanders (Ed.). *The Sandman Papers: An Exploration of the Sandman Mythology* (pp. 185-200). Seattle, WA: Fantagraphics.
- Sandifer, P. and Eklund, T. (2015). The Comics Works of Neil Gaiman. *ImageText*, 4(1). Retrieved from [http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v4\\_1/](http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v4_1/).
- Saxton, J. M. (2007). Dreams and Fairy Tales: The Theme of Rationality in A Midsummer Night's Dream and The Sandman. In D. Schweitzer (Ed.). *The Neil Gaiman Reader* (pp. 22-29). Maryland: Wildside Press. 22-29.
- Sharkey, R. (2008). Being Decentered in Sandman: History, Dreams, Gender, and the Prince of Metaphor and Allusion. *Image-Text* 4(1) Retrieved from [http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v4\\_1/reed/](http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v4_1/reed/).



- Shaviro, S. (1993). If I Only Had a Brain. *Postmodern Culture*, 4(1). Doi: 10.1353/pmc.1993.0052.
- Singer, M. (2012). *Grant Morrison: Combining the Worlds of Contemporary Comics*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Sneddon. L. (2012, November 24). The Strange Case of Grant Morrison and Alan Moore, As Told by Grant Morrison. *The Comics Beat*. Retrieved from <http://www.comicsbeat.com/the-strange-case-of-grant-morrison-and-alan-moore-as-told-by-grant-morrison/>
- White, H. (1984). *Metahistory*. New York: New York UP.



---

## REMEMBERING URBAN TRAUMA: ST PETERSBURG AND NIJMEGEN IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR

---

Niek van Ansem<sup>1</sup> (a), Louise David<sup>2</sup> (a), Carien van Eekhout<sup>3</sup> (a), Marit Leijnse<sup>4</sup> (a), Savannah Mellendijk<sup>5</sup> (a), Kees Oost<sup>6</sup> (a)

(a) Radboud University, Nijmegen, The Netherlands.

---

### Abstract

The issue of the memory of collective trauma has rarely been analyzed in cross-cultural research. Urban trauma, in particular, is a relatively unknown concept. Never before has the memory of urban trauma of the cities of St Petersburg and Nijmegen in relation to the Second World War been compared in the academic realm. This article sets out to create a juxtaposition of St Petersburg and Nijmegen in terms of their Second World War traumas and the way these traumas are represented and commemorated in both cities. The authors examine the meaning-making role that experts play within the remembrance culture of St Petersburg and Nijmegen. A thick description of conducted field research and interviews with experts are used in order to thoroughly compare the experts' approach to the remembrance cultures. This article aims to compare and translate the way in which different types of memory of trauma relate to the same event. It establishes that although there are distinct differences between the two cities, experts deal with researching the commemoration of trauma in a similar manner. This study reveals uneasy questions, blind spots and taboos of commemorating urban trauma in both Russia and the Netherlands.

---

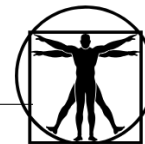
### Keywords

Urban trauma; Nijmegen; St Petersburg; Memory; Remembrance Culture; Experts; Second World War; Taboos; Blind Spots



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons «Attribution» 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

- 
- 1 Niek.vanAnsem[at]student.ru.nl
  - 2 Louise.David[at]student.ru.nl
  - 3 Carien.vanEekhout[at]student.ru.nl
  - 4 Marit.Leijnse[at]student.ru.nl
  - 5 Savannah.Mellendijk[at]student.ru.nl
  - 6 Kcsoost[at]gmail.com



---

## ВСПОМИНАЯ ГОРОДСКУЮ ТРАВМУ: САНКТ-ПЕТЕРБУРГ И НЕЙМЕГЕН ВО ВРЕМЯ ВТОРОЙ МИРОВОЙ ВОЙНЫ

---

ван Ансем Ник<sup>1</sup> (а), Давид Луиза<sup>2</sup> (а), ван Экоут Карин<sup>3</sup> (а), Лейнсе Марит<sup>4</sup> (а), Меллендейк Саванна<sup>5</sup> (а), Оост Кес<sup>6</sup> (а)

(а) Университет Неймегена. Неймеген, Нидерланды.

---

### Аннотация

Вопрос памяти о коллективной травме редко находился в фокусе кросс-культурных исследований. Городская травма, в частности, является еще относительно малоизвестным понятием. До сих пор память о городской травме таких городов, как Санкт-Петербург и Неймеген, в связи со Второй мировой войной никогда не сравнивалась в академической сфере. В данной статье авторы пытаются провести сравнение полученного во время Второй мировой войны травматического опыта жителей Санкт-Петербурга и Неймегена и того, как эти травмы представлены и увековечены в этих городах. В статье предпринята попытка проследить смыслообразующее влияние, которое оказывают эксперты на систему памяти в Санкт-Петербурге и Неймегене. Для тщательного сравнения подходов экспертов к культуре памяти используется подробное описание проведенных полевых исследований и интервью с экспертами. Целью данной статьи является сравнение и трансляция того, как различные типы памяти о травме соотносятся с одним и тем же событием. В статье демонстрируется, что, несмотря на различия между двумя городами, в подходах экспертов, занимающихся исследованием памяти о травме, можно выявить аналогичные тенденции. Данное исследование затрагивает непростые вопросы, "слепые пятна" и табу в отношении памяти о городской травме как в России, так и в Нидерландах.

---

### Ключевые слова

Травмы в городах; Неймеген; Санкт-Петербург; Память; Культура памяти; Эксперты; Вторая мировая война; Табу; слепые пятна



Это произведение доступно по [лицензии Creative Commons «Attribution»](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/) («Атрибуция») 4.0 Всемирная

- 
- 1 Niek.vanAnsem[at]student.ru.nl
  - 2 Louise.David[at]student.ru.nl
  - 3 Carien.vanEekhout[at]student.ru.nl
  - 4 Marit.Leijnse[at]student.ru.nl
  - 5 Savannah.Mellendijk[at]student.ru.nl
  - 6 Kcsoost[at]gmail.com



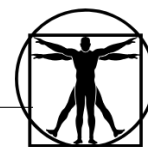
## INTRODUCTION

---

On May 15th, 1940, the Dutch army surrendered to Nazi Germany, a mere five days after the German invasion of the Netherlands began. In the years of occupation that followed, life in the small, Dutch border town of Nijmegen was not much different from that in any other city in occupied territory. That was until the 22nd of February 1944, when Nijmegen was bombed by American aircraft; the bombing killed at least 770 people, making it the second deadliest bombing raid in the Netherlands after the 1940 bombing on Rotterdam by German airplanes (Rosendaal, 2014). To make matters worse, Nijmegen became a front city once the Allied forces launched Operation Market Garden in September 1944. The liberation of the city came at the cost of approximately 800 citizens' lives (Rosendaal, 2014). By that time, the Soviet metropolis Leningrad (today: St Petersburg) had been liberated by the Red Army after having been besieged by the German Wehrmacht for 872 days. Leningrad's wartime experiences were traumatic from the very beginning: the death toll of the Leningrad blockade reached well over one million victims (Bidlack & Lomagin, 2012).

Especially in terms of suffering, St Petersburg and Nijmegen are probably incomparable, yet the impact that the blockade and Allied bombing had on the respective cities can be compared. Both events simultaneously left great gaps in the cities' histories but also added to these histories the story of war on an unprecedented scale. Notwithstanding the geopolitical aspects of the Second World War, the difference between a hostile invasion and prolonged blockade versus enemy occupation and Allied bombing is at the center of this research, which ultimately focuses on the concept of "urban trauma." Both cities and their citizens suffered this urban trauma, which as a concept can be defined as a collective trauma shared by the wartime inhabitants of the city, the generations thereafter, and, in some respects, the city itself. Whenever a subject is considered a trauma, it can be expected to contain aspects that are considered taboo or that are often forgotten - either subconsciously or because they are actively suppressed. What is remembered or forgotten depends greatly on political and cultural contexts. These are the contexts in which the process of giving meaning to historical events takes place. This meaning-making process is driven by many different actors who all have one thing in common: a desire to highlight certain aspects of the narrative of the event.





This desire to highlight certain aspects of the war is evident in both the Dutch and Russian remembrance cultures. The remembrance culture of Russia changed significantly after the collapse of the Soviet Union, as topics such as cannibalism, Stalin's crimes and food rationing came to light (Kirschenbaum, 2006). The need to protect the glorious image of Leningrad's defenders was undoubtedly still present, yet personal narratives and aspects of everyday life now became more apparent in discourse on the memory of the Blockade (Kirschenbaum, 2006). A similar change occurred in the Netherlands, where initially commemorations were organized and monuments were built by and for the resistance to promote a heroic narrative. It was not until the early 1960s when questions were raised about the extent of this resistance towards the occupiers. Moreover, it was not until the 1970s that the suffering of the Jewish community was remembered during official commemorative practices (Van Ginkel, 2011). Ido de Haan, author of the influential book *Na de Ondergang* (*After the downfall*), argued that "the Jewish community was depicted as passive, helpless people, often nervous and therefore unreliable. Besides this, they were barely ever given a voice or face" (1997, p. 114). In the end, the remembrance culture of the Netherlands has made more room for the commemoration of civilian and social history, although military history is still highly present.

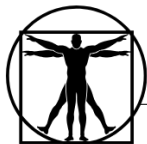
This research project specifically focused on experts' views and their role in influencing and adding meaning to the remembrance cultures of Russia and the Netherlands. In doing so, the following question was examined: How do experts approach the memory of urban trauma in Nijmegen and St Petersburg with regard to the Second World War? The methods used to answer the research question were thick descriptions of conducted field research and expert interviews.

## MEMORY AND HISTORY

---

With regard to memory and history, the rhetoric of "collective memory" is especially interesting for our research. A collective memory belongs not to an individual, but to a larger social unit, such as a family, community, or nation, which attaches special meaning to a certain event from the past. The notion of collective memory was first coined by the French philosopher Maurice Halbwachs (1980), who advanced the thesis that a certain group can have a collective memory and that this is dependent upon the framework within which this group is situated in a society. In addition, Halbwachs also recognized the role of the individual participant in the process of collective remembrance. While collective memory





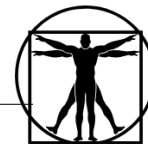
endures in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember. When creating memories, the individual self and the collective are closely intertwined.

This connection is also apparent with the idea of “postmemory,” as proposed by the American linguist Marianne Hirsch (2012). Postmemory describes the relation that, for example, the children of those who experienced the events have with the personal, collective, and cultural memory of those who came before. They only remember by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up, as is currently the case for many citizens of Nijmegen and St Petersburg, but these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and effectively as though they constituted memories in their own right. The idea of postmemory therefore clearly relates to the topic of urban trauma, since, if connected to Hirsch’s and Halbwachs’ theories, it becomes possible to relate urban trauma to the children and, to some extent, the grandchildren of those who actually experienced the war. Furthermore, from a collective historical point of view, it is possible to relate the notion of urban trauma to the cities, in general, since the memory of trauma that was conveyed to the next generations has been of consequence to the cities’ contemporary identities. Hence, this study integrates the idea that collective memory is socially framed and the belief that traumatic events continue to influence post-generations.

## **THE NOTION OF URBAN TRAUMA**

---

Within the field of sociology, traumas are primarily studied as collective phenomena. Among sociologists there is a debate about what exactly constitutes a “trauma” (Taylor Woods, 2019). On one side of the debate are academics such as Arthur Neal (1998) who believe that there are certain events that are labeled as traumas because of inherent traumatic characteristics. On the more constructivist side of the debate are those that believe that cultural representation of the past is the leading element in what is being labeled as a trauma, such as Jeffrey Alexander. Alexander (2004) therefore refers to traumas as “cultural traumas.” A middle stance in this debate is taken by Ron Eyerman and Dominik Bartmanski (2011), who argue that the inherently traumatic nature of some events, makes them more likely to subsequently being represented as a cultural trauma. The initial shock-effect that an event brings about, can have the enduring influence that is necessary for grassroot-movements to arise. Such grassroot- movements can subsequently play a vital role in the meaning-making process (Eyerman and Bartmanski, 2011).



With regard to this meaning-making process Eyerman refers to actors engaged in this process as “carrier groups” (Eyerman, 2011; 2012). Eyerman uses a broad definition regarding who are part of these carrier groups, including academics, writers, journalists, filmmakers and politicians. Persons or associations that can be labelled as carrier groups are often highly emotionally invested in the event at hand, which is why they choose to engage in the meaning-making process. On the other hand, Bradford Vivian (2017) discusses how commemorative initiatives can also be employed to serve political motives. On this subject, Vivian quotes Margalit: “It is not the question whether collective memory is manipulated. It usually is. The interesting question is why the manipulators choose to manipulate” (2017, p. 24). This shows that it is useful to make a distinction between emotional and more pragmatic motives to commemorate and hence to make a distinction between “carrier groups” and “stakeholders”.

Cultural traumas can thus be said to refer to discursive responses to the disruption of a society by a traumatic event, which creates the need for a process of meaning-making (Smelser, 2004; Alexander et. al., 2004; Eyerman et. al., 2011). When applying the concept of “cultural trauma” to the historical cases of St Petersburg and Nijmegen, it becomes clear that traumas can also be linked specifically to subnational communities, such as urban populations. The events that took place in St Petersburg and Nijmegen set those cities apart from the rest of the country, in terms of their war experience. This separation of experiences between nation and city has arguably intensified due to the low level of post-war recognition of the traumatic events. In Russia, according to one of our experts, the Soviet government initially suppressed witness accounts that did not fit the heroic narrative (personal communication, 28 January 2020). In the Netherlands, the post-war reconstruction era created an atmosphere where there was little interest in the normative value of commemoration (Rosendaal, 2014, pp. 140-142). In this climate, the bombardment of Nijmegen - unlike the one in Rotterdam - disappeared from the general public’s post-war memory.

Therefore, the traumatic memories of the Leningrad blockade and the bombardment of Nijmegen arguably constitute an “urban trauma,” existing parallelly to the national traumas of the Second World War. The concept of urban trauma can, thus, be said to simply refer to a cultural trauma tied specifically to a city or municipality.



## METHODOLOGY

---

With respect to both cities, there exists a division between the actual event (historical context), the narrative about the event (e.g. in books, museums, monuments and documentaries), and the differences and similarities found within experts' (academics, journalists, museum directors, teachers, and selected other stakeholders) opinions on the remembrance culture and its presented narrative. This study will use this division to simplify the difficult task of comparing the remembrance cultures of two extremely different cities.

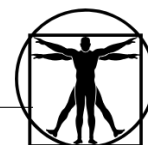
It incorporates a bottom-up perspective to existing research on the remembrance culture and urban trauma in relation to World War II for both the case studies of Nijmegen and St Petersburg. The data of the research will consist of qualitative data gathered from existing literature, an observational study and semi-structured interviews with experts. The semi-structured approach to the interview will yield information that can be compared across interviews (Hill et al., 2005; Hill, Thompson & Williams, 1997) but still allows flexibility to ask additional into-depth questions in particular areas that are possibly different across individuals (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Flick, 2002). The interviews have been coded and analyzed on two levels: to assess the differences and similarities in experiences and perceptions of remembrance culture and urban trauma between experts, and to analyze how academics reflect on remembrance culture and urban trauma.

Besides the interviews, the "thick description" method is used to record observations gathered during a trip to St Petersburg and excursions in Nijmegen. This field research includes visits to museums, monuments and ceremonies, but also brief "interviews" of civilians. The thick description is a method that was introduced by philosopher Gilbert Ryle in 1949 (Bambrough, 1994) and was further developed by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz (Geertz, 1973). For outsiders engaging with a foreign culture it entails evaluating upon a situation or event in its entirety, using this evaluation to come to a detailed interpretation of a certain phenomenon in that culture (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this paper, this method will be used to organize visits to museums and monuments, observations at commemoration ceremonies, and similar activities.

## PLACES OF MEMORY: MONUMENTS, MUSEUMS AND RITUALS

---

It is possible to divide the memory of the Second World War and how this memory reflects the trauma of a city and its citizens in three



parts, namely space, society, and individual. These parts are closely intertwined within places of memory. Places of memory, such as monuments, museums or events, signify cultural landmarks from a shared past (Legg, 2005). In both cities, people mark their memory of the war time events. In Nijmegen, the most obvious example is the “Fire Limit Route,” which consists of many tiny plaques fixed in the streets of the city center that symbolize the impact zone of the bombardment. These plaques mark not only the place of trauma, but also form a place for rituals, both on a communal and private level. For example, during last year’s commemoration runners ran along the route with torches paying tribute to the victims of the bombardment.

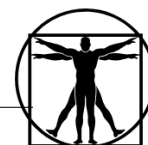


**Figure 1. One of 800 “Fire Limit” plaques, equal to the number of victims of the bombardment (own photo)**

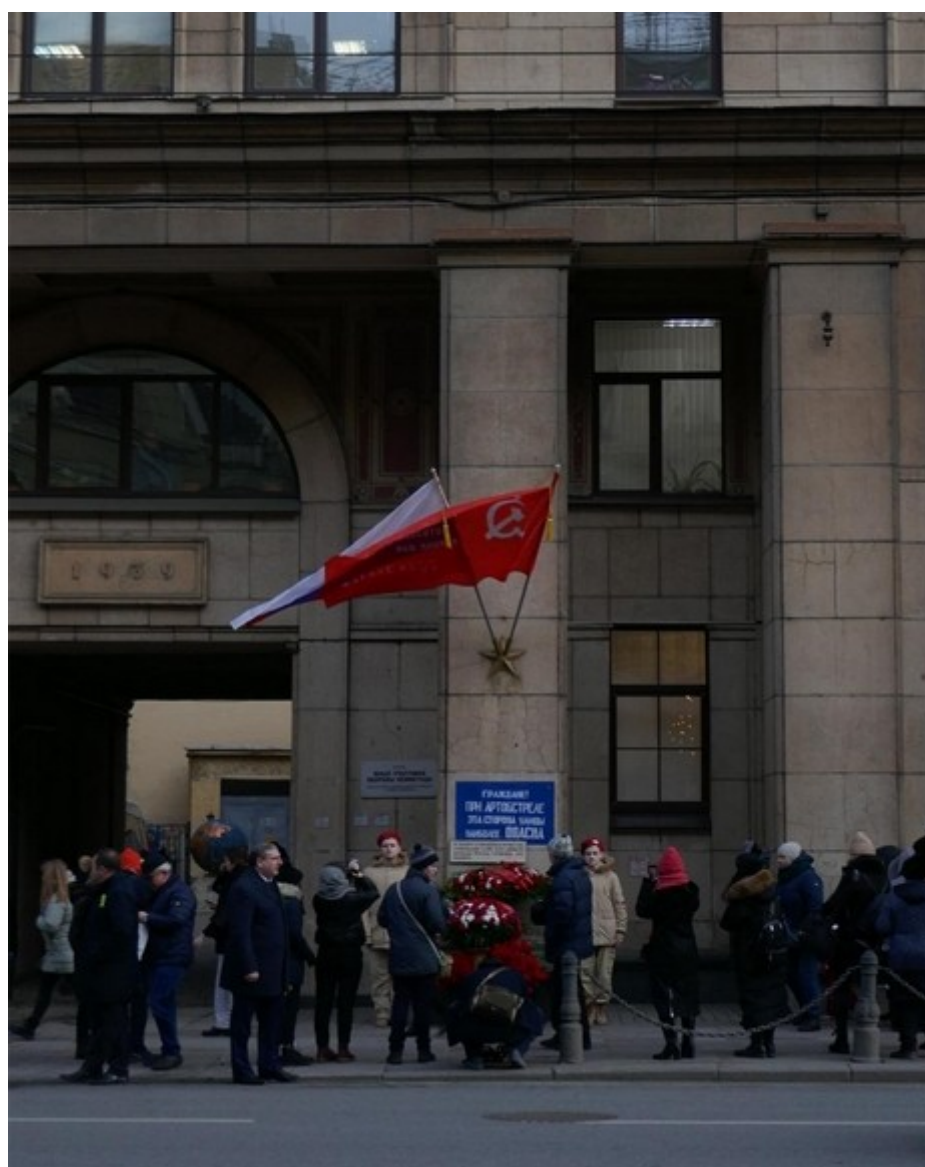


**Figure 2. The “Fire Limit Route” shows the difference between the traditional architecture (in the back) and post-war buildings (on the side). In this picture, the route ends at the traditional 16th century Dutch mansion, which used to be city hall (own photo)**





The marking of a place with plaques in order to remember an event can also be found in St Petersburg. For example, the inscription “Citizens, during shelling this side of the street is the most dangerous” that appeared on the streets of Leningrad during the siege of the city and served as a public warning message. Although the warnings initially disappeared, over time the inscriptions were recreated and accompanied by a memorial plaque. Just as in Nijmegen, these plaques function as sites of commemorations, as in January 2020 St Petersburg’s governor laid flowers at the inscription on Nevsky Prospect.



**Figure 3. “Citizens, during shelling this side of the street is the most dangerous.” Commemoration on the 27th of January (own photo).**



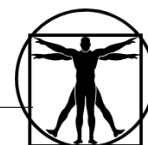
In contrast to these sites of memory, monuments do not mark the place of memory, but express the ritualized space of memory. The “Monument to the Heroic Defenders of Leningrad” on Victory Square powerfully depicts the story of the great feat of the people of Leningrad and the soldiers at the front.



**Figure 4. The “Monument to the Heroic Defenders of Leningrad” on Victory Square (“Monument to the Heroic Defenders of Leningrad,” n.d.)**

Similarly, in Nijmegen, the “Flag Bearer” depicts Jan van Hoof, a member of the resistance best known for saving the city’s most important bridge from being destroyed by the Germans. The memorial, however, represents more than one act of bravery. It symbolizes the freedom of the inhabitants of the city. Located at the side of one of the central highways, almost everyone visiting the city rides past the memorial, in a similar way to the monument in St Petersburg.

When comparing the war monuments in both cities, there are several conclusions to be drawn. One is that the monuments in St Petersburg are generally larger in size. In addition, the monuments in St Petersburg are located on more prominent spots than in Nijmegen. Even though the “Flag Bearer” attracts the attention of visitors entering the city from the riverside, this is generally not the case. A good example of this is “The



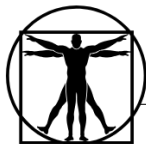
Swing”, which is located on the place where a number of schoolchildren died during the bombing of the city. However, due to it being located in a small square surrounded by trees, shops, and lunchrooms, it is not easily spotted from a distance.



**Figure 5. Jan van Hoof as “The Flag Bearer” (“Verzetsmonument “De Vaandeldrager,” n.d.)**

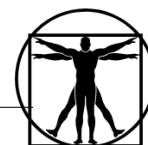
When comparing the war monuments in both cities, there are several conclusions to be drawn. One is that the monuments in St Petersburg are generally larger in size. In addition, the monuments in St Petersburg are located on more prominent spots than in Nijmegen. Even though the “Flag Bearer” attracts the attention of visitors entering the city from the riverside, this is generally not the case. A good example of this is “The Swing”, which is located on the place where a number of schoolchildren died during the bombing of the city. However, due to it being located in a small square surrounded by trees, shops, and lunchrooms, it is not easily spotted from a distance.





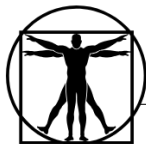
**Figure 6. The “swing” monument is located inconspicuously (own photo)**

Although both St Petersburg and Nijmegen have many war monuments scattered over the city, the monumental value of war cemeteries heeds particular attention. These places of memory may also fulfil a function of ritualization for state cults. While the Piskariovskoye cemetery in St Petersburg is an enormous graveyard that attracts the attention of a large number of visitors, the cemetery at the Graafseweg in Nijmegen looks like any other cemetery and is easy to miss. The graveyard at the Graafseweg already existed before the war, therefore the exterior of the cemetery only provides minor indication that it is the final resting place of war victims. Over time, however, some small sized monuments have been added, often on a private initiative, yet the most notable of these monuments was only placed in 2006, a year after public historian Bart Janssen published his locally famous book *De Pijn die Blijft* (The Pain that Remains, 2005), in which he raised attention for the bombardment and the mass grave that is situated at the cemetery on the Graafseweg. In fact, via archive research he even (re-)identified the existence of another mass grave at the cemetery, raising more questions with regard to the “forgetfulness” of the local authorities with respect to remembering the bombardment’s victims.

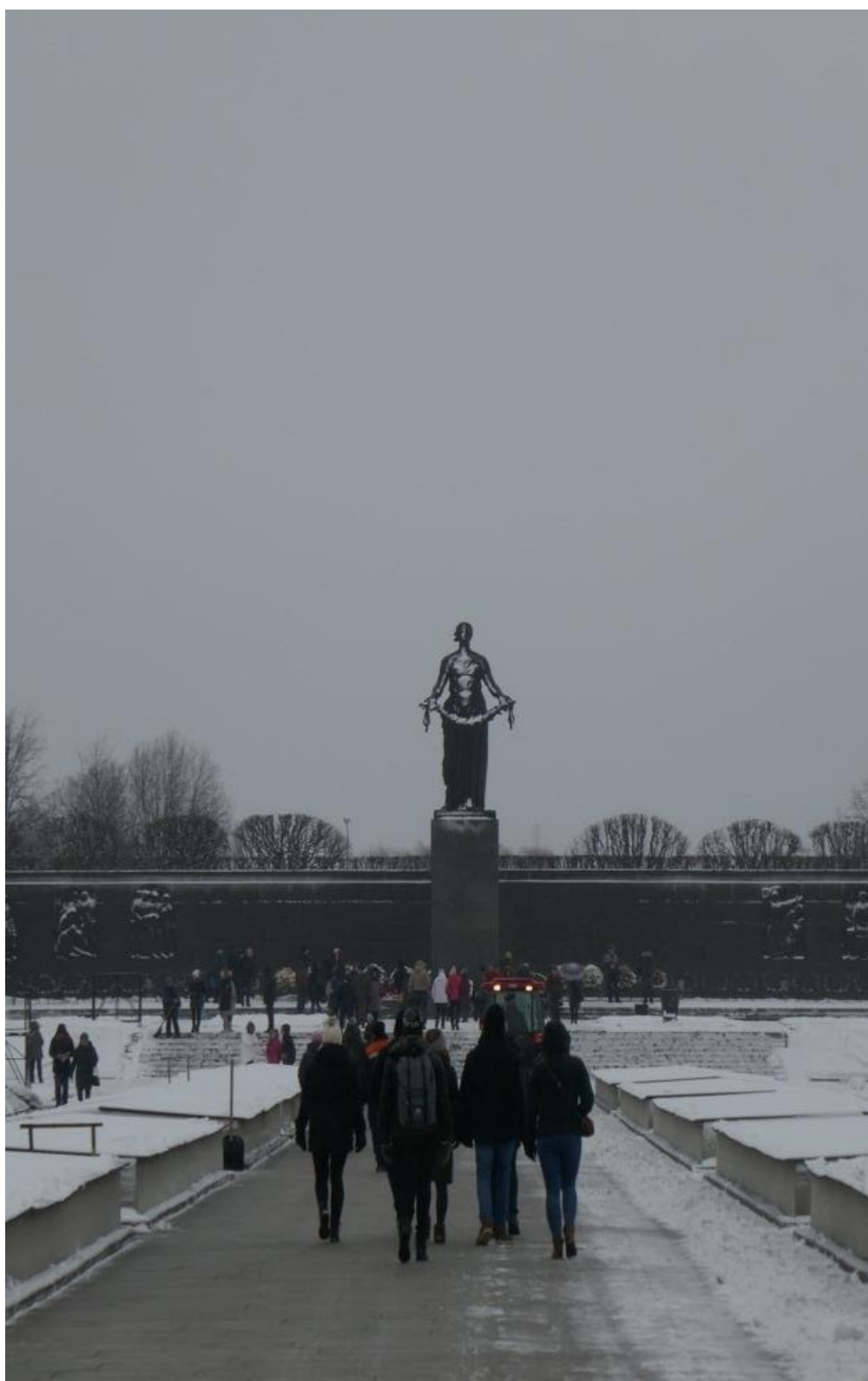
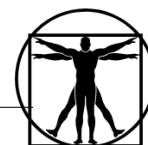


**Figure 7. The cemetery at the “Graafseweg” (own photo)**





**Figure 8. The 2006 memorial for the victims of what was at that time still known as “a bombardment by mistake,” which is also the name of the memorial. Recent research by Joost Rosendaal (2014) has concluded that instead of a bombardment by mistake, the US aircraft more likely dropped the bombs out of opportunistic motives (own photo). The ripped apart stone represents the destruction that the bombardment wreaked (own photo)**



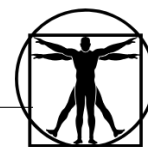
**Figure 9. Piskariovskoye Memorial Cemetery. The statue depicts Mother Russia (own photo)**



With regard to museums, the comparison between St Petersburg and Nijmegen reveals a clear division in what is remembered. At its opening shortly after the war, the oldest museum about the siege, which is currently called the “State Memorial Museum of the Leningrad Defense and Blockade,” focused mainly on the military aspect of the blockade. This was due partly because shortly after the war there were simply more artifacts available related to this topic. Examples of these artifacts are military vehicles, weapons, and other material which became superfluous when war ends. Another reason was that the museum’s curators feared Stalin’s retribution if they were to emphasize the suffering of civilians and mistakes made by the government (personal communication, interviewee K, 30th January 2020). Eventually, it was closed in 1949 and burned down under mysterious circumstances soon afterwards. It took decades before the State Memorial Museum opened its doors again in 1989 and it has remained open ever since. Hence, it remains a difficult task for museums to correctly and inclusively educate their audiences. Children, specifically, suffer from this, since they are presented with a one-sided, military aspect of the blockade (personal communication, interviewee K, 30th January 2020). Harsh actions of the Soviet government against its own population also remain a sensitive topic that has been left largely unaddressed by the most prominent museums in St Petersburg. The museums that do address these topics are harder to find and – at least in one case - face a certain degree of backlash for their efforts in addressing uneasy questions (personal communication, interviewee L, 29th January 2020).

This seems to be different from the quite prominent “Liberty Museum” in Groesbeek near Nijmegen, which holds a broad outlook on freedom and war and stimulates self-criticism, yet hardly experiences hindrance in portraying its perspective, according to its director (personal communication, interviewee C, 7th April 2020). In both St Petersburg and Nijmegen, museums are currently devoting significant attention to civilian suffering, but in Russia the focus on heroism is still definitely more pronounced. In the Netherlands, this focus amounts to attention for “outside-heroism” by the Allied Powers, which entails the glorification of heroism by the country’s liberators. The general tendency is that this focus excludes the Russian Allies, which is something that the “Liberty Museum” tries to correct (personal communication, interviewee C, 7th April 2020). A final observation is that while the reasons for war lie in the inter-war period of the 1920s and 1930s, what occurred during those years is barely portrayed in museums. Hence, the Second World War is often regarded by museums as the main event that is to be remembered and taught about. Evidently, this results in an emphasis on military history





and the war itself, whereas the times leading up to the war are disconnected from the war. In both countries, the pre-war attitude seems to be an uneasy subject. So far, museums and monuments have been discussed, but there are numerous expressions of remembrance culture that fit neither of these categories. These expressions include rituals, some of them combining the symbolism of monuments with the educational elements of museums. Besides the official memorial events, there are many other forms of commemoration rituals. Therefore, the level of society can be divided into state cults, mostly organized around national holidays, and grassroot-initiatives. For St Petersburg, commemoration rituals included many non-governmental events, such as the marathon along the Road of Life. Another example is the visits of veterans and survivors to local schools, clearly combining the communal and private level. It is striking that almost every school in St Petersburg has its own museum related to the blockade. An important observation is that art plays an important role in memorial rituals in both countries. In St Petersburg as well as in Nijmegen, commemorative ceremonies rely significantly on the use of poems and music. For example, a well-known poetry named “Leningrad Poem” (1942), written by Olga Fyodorovna Bergholz, is often referred to in memorial events. As for the 7th symphony titled “Leningrad” by Dmitri Shostakovich can be seen as a significant piece of honor of the besieged city. Although there are many well-known writers and poets about the occupation in the Netherlands, such as Ida Gerhardt (“The Carillon”, 1945), popular art seems to play a more important role. Finally, while in the grassroot-initiatives in St Petersburg there was a high degree of attention for civilian suffering, rituals in St Petersburg were slightly more focused on heroism than in Nijmegen. Both military and civilian victims are treated as such in Russian remembrance culture.

This leads to the intermediary conclusion of this paragraph. In Nijmegen civilian victims are predominantly treated as random victims of fate; their deaths are used as narrative devices to remind people of the senselessness of war, in order to propagate a never-again message. What is being honored about these victims is, therefore, not as much their alleged heroism, but predominantly their dreams and ambitions, that were forever erased by the horrors of war. In comparison, in St Petersburg, both military and civilian victims are labelled as heroes. Their stories tend to be connected with a notion of national pride. Privately, some Russian people, expressed a “never-again sentiment” when being asked about the importance of commemoration, but in public places of memory, the never-again motive is not as heavily present as in the Netherlands. In private, some Russian civilians even spoke of their discomfort with the mili-



taristic focus of some memorial events, regarding this as promoting questionable values. It should be stressed, however, that these views were discussed in brief “street interviews” and that more research is needed to establish how widely these views are being held.

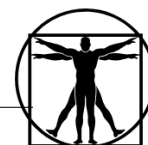
These distinctions become clearer when taking the context into account. While the people of Leningrad can be said to have endured the blockade, thereby slowing the Nazi advance and “sacrificing” themselves for the country, the people of Nijmegen can be categorized as more “passive” in their victimhood. Both the bombardment and the heavy fighting during Operation Market Garden were relatively short strikes of disaster, that simply “happened” to the population. Because the city was bombed by its allies, no immediate objective was pursued with the suffering of Nijmegen’s citizens. It follows that the perspective of heroism has not been applied as vigorously as with the blockade of Leningrad, since the events differ too greatly in impact and in the manner in which they are remembered. Whereas the bombardment was “forgotten,” the blockade and the Great Patriotic War are still central to remembrance culture in St Petersburg. Elements of heroism do exist within Dutch remembrance culture, but this applies mostly to “outside-heroes,” which is significantly different from the nationalist heroism focused on in Russian remembrance culture. These observations will be explored further in the interview-analysis.

## **INTERVIEWS: CONVENTIONAL NARRATIVES**

---

With regard to the current official narrative, almost all Russian interviewees state that this mainly revolves around heroism. In addition, the Soviet state is depicted as flawless, while the state’s enemies’ actions, and particularly those of Nazi Germany, are emphasized as the major cause of conflict and misery. This military focus is also evident for the Dutch case. As the Dutch interviewee A, a journalist, indicates during his interview, shortly after the Second World War the war was commemorated in a military, “authority-sensitive” way. According to interviewee A, when looking at memorial cemeteries one can truly see how authorities generally commemorate soldiers. Interviewee A explains that one was initially not allowed to blame the American soldiers for the bombardment in Nijmegen and, consequently, damage the heroic image of the American army (personal communication, interviewee A, 4th March 2020). For a long time, this military focus in remembrance tended to overshadow other aspects of the war and it was not until the 1980s that the suffering of Dutch civilians finally received national attention.





The remembrance culture of both cities has changed significantly ever since, as is visible in museums and monuments. Russian interviewee B, a PhD student, claims that personal stories of the Second World War started to appear thirty years after the Leningrad blockade (personal communication, interviewee B, 30th January 2020). While government-funded museums such as the Museum of the Defense and Siege of Leningrad refrained from these narratives, museums such as the Anna Akhmatova Museum started raising more difficult questions. In Nijmegen, exhibitions of museums also changed from being heroism-centered towards a more inclusive narrative. Interviewee C, a director of a Dutch museum, explains that “this ties in with the fact that those who were children during the Second World War are now retiring and looking back at their childhood” (personal communication, interviewee C, 26th April 2020). While the citizens’ narrative is undoubtedly more present this day, interviewee C argues that there are great differences between generations in their memory of the war. Whereas the older generation tends to hold on to the story of heroism, the younger generation are more malleable. Interviewee D, a professor and researcher at a Dutch university, also states that it is difficult to give meaning to the citizens who died because of the war (personal communication, interviewee D, 10th April 2020).

Although architects initially addressed the concept of victimhood either by interpreting it as part of a heroic struggle or as an example of the enemy’s barbarity, interviewee E, a Russian architectural historian, stated that this started to change during the 1960s. An architectural contest, which concerned the building of a new commemorative monument, created an intense debate. There was a high level of public engagement and interviewee E explained that citizens used this opportunity to express their opinion on the commemoration of the Siege. These competitions arguably showed that a balance was needed between heroism and suffering (personal communication, interviewee E, 30th January 2020). Slowly but surely, traumatic elements of the blockade started to become a part of everyday life for citizens, such as the taboo on wasting food. Bottom-up initiatives of remembrance started to organize events, such as symbolically handing out a piece of bread that symbolizes the amount of bread a Leningrader would have received during the blockade. However, interviewee F, a PhD student at a Russian University, explains that this form of commemoration was highly criticized by the public, “because it simplifies suffering” (personal communication, interviewee F, January 30th 2020).



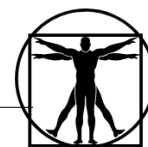
## INTERVIEWS: RESEARCH CHALLENGES

---

With regard to the conventional narratives within the remembrance cultures, experts are not only influenced by this context, but can also be considered “influencers.” It could be expected, however, that exercising this influence is not without its challenges, whenever an experts’ view clashes with the conventional narrative. Despite these prior expectations, the interviews gave no reason to assume that these challenges extend beyond those research challenges that an expert would consider “part of the job,” such as fundraising and the subjectivity of eyewitnesses. Active obstruction of the research process by stakeholders or authorities rarely surfaced as a relevant theme during interviews.

A challenge that was regularly mentioned during the interviews is that of the emotional nature and the historical sensitivity of the subject matter. Both the Leningrad blockade and the bombardment of Nijmegen involve painful stories, and these can personally affect the researcher. For this reason, one expert explicitly stated that he enjoyed the distance that his research perspective on the blockade allowed him to keep from the subject (personal communication, interviewee E, 30th January 2020). The emotional baggage that the research topics entailed increased the sense of responsibility in “representing” the history that both Russian and Dutch experts experienced. This sentiment was often expressed when eyewitnesses were involved in the interviewees’ research. Yet, even researchers who used different methodologies described situations where individuals approached them in private about their projects. This led them to become more aware of the importance of their work to others.

The experts emphasized that public reactions to projects were present in both Russia and the Netherlands; there was, however, a difference in the role these public reactions play. In the Netherlands, public reactions sometimes had an “agenda-setting”-function, similar to what one would expect from carrier groups. One clear example of this, mentioned by several Dutch interviewees, was an occasion where a historian from the NIOD (“*Dutch Institute for War documentation*”) publicly stated that all information about Nijmegen during wartime was already available. This statement resulted in a public outcry by inhabitants from Nijmegen, who felt that the case of Nijmegen had not yet been researched enough. The public outrage eventually influenced the Radboud University’s decision to make more funds available for historical research on the case of Nijmegen, which resulted in some of the literature that was consulted for this project.



The function of the public as a carrier group was less visible on the Russian side, although some interviewees mentioned a clear public interest in their endeavors. Most specifically for the architectural contest, the public replied to this event on an incredibly large scale. Even though it was less acceptable to publicly make statements about the conventional narrative of the siege as an individual, this example shows that people did use the means made available to them, in order to try to influence the narrative. Such a level of public interest is nowadays still present with respect to the blockade, as is shown by the interest in interviewee G's documentary. The Dutch film director received both enthusiastic and upset reactions when she screened her documentary in Russia in 2011:

"When I screened the documentary for participants, some were upset because I interviewed someone in my documentary, who spoke of traumatic episodes like the cannibalism that occurred during the blockade. Some participants angrily told me that they felt that these aspects of the blockade should not be spoken of."

*personal Communication, interviewee G, 11th March 2020*

The field research and the thick descriptions confirm the general image of the blockade as an exciting topic to Russians. Furthermore, the blockade is a subject that can greatly divide academics. As interviewee B described:

"Debates sometimes turn into s\*\*tstorms, such as when a collection of diaries is published as evidence for research. People then go on to say that what is described is not true".

*personal Communication, interviewee B, 30th January 2020*

This is an example of how the blockade can also cause strong reactions among more specific groups than the general public. Another example of this was provided by interviewee C, who stated that his museum faced public outrage when his museum opened an exhibition on the SS (personal communication, interviewee C, 7th April 2020). This public outrage arose mostly not due to general unwillingness to learn about this subject, but more so due to the influence of interest groups. The exposition tried to transcend the SS's general image by covering endeavors of the SS in homeopathy and archeology. The CIDI ("Centrum Information and Documentation Israel") subsequently criticized the museum heavily for humanizing the SS. However, examples of such a carrier group effectively guarding the boundaries of the conventional narrative were only discussed in a few interviews. This could partly be explained by the more present position museums hold in the media, as opposed to academic research. What should not be forgotten, however, is that many of the inter-



viewed experts also acted as carrier groups *themselves*, aiming to leave their mark on which aspects of the war are commemorated. Examples include Russian professor interviewee H who researched instances of criminal behavior in besieged Leningrad, museums in St Petersburg that address crimes of the Soviet regime during the war and interviewee A who wrote extensively about resistance fighters in Nijmegen in the local newspaper.

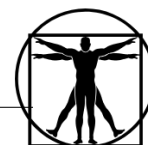
Almost all interviewees expressed a certain willingness to correct the conventional narrative or address aspects that received too little attention in their opinion. The main difference was the degree of influence these experts had; some were experienced professionals with an extensive network, others had only recently started their careers. These differences had implications for the instruments of influence experts had at their disposal. Interviewee H, for instance, was in a position where he could publish an open letter in a newspaper, and a Dutch professor had been asked to pre-read a memorial speech by a Dutch government official. These instruments of influence are the most essential factors in explaining how successful experts are in influencing their respective remembrance cultures.

Although most experts indicated that they wanted to “correct” certain faults in remembrance culture, some experts also expressed doubts in doing this. An example was given by another researcher, who knew that a certain resistance “folk hero” had probably not done the things that he was praised for. For this researcher this case prompted questions about the preferability of a positively inspiring myth over the truth (personal communication, interviewee M, 20th January 2020). It should be stressed, though, that these experts still expressed a desire to “correct” the conventional narrative in other instances. Only one researcher explicitly stated that he was not concerned with correcting the conventional narrative, stressing that his research focused more on artistic expressions of remembrance culture than the culture itself (personal communication, interviewee E, 30th January 2020).

## **INTERVIEWS: UNDERLIT AND UNDERREPRESENTED SUBJECTS**

---

During the interviews, both Russian and Dutch interviewees believe there to be underrepresented topics as well as an uneven distribution of attention. Most Russian interviewees argued for a better balance between heroism and suffering, which is currently not the case in all museums. Several interviewees argue that whilst this does not apply to all museums, most museums tend to lack individual aspects and give a voice to the citi-



zens. However, interviewee B mentions an event during which all names of the victims of the war were read out loud. Interviewee B is enthusiastic about this initiative and prefers this way of mourning (personal communication, interviewee B, 30th January 2020). The emphasis on the citizens' narrative is a central theme in both the Russian as well as the Dutch interviews. Although the citizens' narrative of Nijmegen has been receiving quite a lot of attention recently, Interviewee I, a Dutch employee of WO2Gelderland, argues that this does not do justice to the Jewish community. Interviewee I argues that occasionally, the Jewish narrative lacks recognition. Whereas the persecution of the Jewish community receives a great amount of attention in Amsterdam and surrounding cities, Interviewee I argues that this is somewhat different in Nijmegen. Important events such as Market Garden and the Bombardment seem to overshadow the Jewish narrative (personal communication, interviewee I, 2nd April 2020).

Certain "dark pages" of Russian history appear to not be a part of the official blockade narrative. Interviewee F mentions that no "bad stories" were told on differences between ranks, the amount of food one received, disabled people and PTSD cases (personal communication, interviewee F, January 30th 2020). Interviewee G argues that there appears to be little space for the acknowledgement of the traumas they suffered as victims. The problems that come with being traumatized conflict with the bigger picture of being a hero (personal communication, interviewee G, 11th March 2020). Interviewee H also addresses these dark pages and believes that certain mistakes of the governments do not receive enough attention.

The most critical issues include the delay of liberation, the poorly organized evacuation of civilian population from Leningrad before the siege and in December 1941- January 1942 as well as ill managed work by local authorities to deliver food and other supplies to Leningrad during the first winter of the siege. Several other interviewees also acknowledge this scandal of food rationing and believe that these truths should receive attention (personal communication, interviewee H, 30th January 2020).

This lack of attention for the dark pages, as is present for the case of St Petersburg, applies to Nijmegen as well. An overarching theme in multiple of the Dutch interviews is the focus on whether a person was "right" or "wrong." Even if a person was "wrong," several interviewees believe that these stories and the person's process of decision-making should receive attention as well. The heroic image of the American soldier, for instance, is often a topic of debate in Nijmegen. One of the interviewees argues that one should be allowed to slightly damage the heroic image of the American liberators, as this creates a more accurate memory.



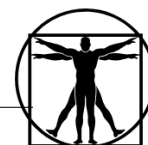
The wrongdoings of certain citizens are not the only mistakes that experts would like to see gain more attention (personal communication, interviewee C, 26th April 2020). Errors by the culture of commemoration itself are also important to acknowledge, according to interviewee A. Interviewee A gives the example of the “stone of Jan van Hoof,” who was unjustly celebrated for saving the bridge over the river Waal. While the public is aware of the untruthfulness of the story, interviewee A argues that “by informing the public of the year of the monument’s erection, one can learn how the culture of commemoration works. It will then become a story from which we can learn that we can sometimes be wrong” (personal communication, interviewee A, 4th March 2020).

The great emphasis on Germany as the true villain and the lack of consideration of other countries is apparent in several interviews. When remembering the Second World War, several Russian interviewees believe that it is important to re-evaluate the role of participants. Dutch Interviewee J, who is a researcher at university, agrees and states that it is important to put those who conquered the Netherlands into perspective. This will allow for a multi-dimensional story to arise, which in turn will create an international narrative (personal communication, Interviewee J, 15th April 2020). One should allow for the country of Germany to tell their side of the story, because, according to interviewee C, “this will show that there were good and bad guys on both sides of the war” (personal communication, interviewee C, 7th April 2020). This, however, does not function as an excuse for someone’s behavior. The interviewee states that “understanding everything is not the same as forgiving everything” (personal communication, interviewee C, 7th April 2020). To understand the complexity of ethics of this war, one should take a look at all sides of the war (personal communication, interviewee C, 7th April 2020).

Both Russian and Dutch interviewees mention the commercial aspect of commemorating the Second World War. Shortly before the 17th anniversary of the siege, many Russian films were made on this topic. Interviewee F explains that “it is pure economics; they take money from the state and make these films just for the anniversary” (personal communication, interviewee F, January 30th 2020). Thus, while in the process of commemoration, films that memorize the Siege also allow for people to earn a living.

The process of commercializing a memory applies to the case of Nijmegen as well. On the 4th and the 5th of May, several events are organized in the Netherlands to remember those who passed away during the war and to celebrate freedom. Interviewee I argues that during such commemorative events, the content and story of the event is often pushed to





the background whereas the celebration itself is more important. Interviewee I dislikes this and would like for the historical context to be of more significance. However, interviewee I claims that tourism allows for the story to reach a bigger audience (personal communication, interviewee I, 2nd April 2020). Interviewee A also does not feel particularly bothered by the commercial aspect of remembering the Second World War. Interviewee A argues that this is necessary in order for one to remember “the biggest humanitarian disaster of all time” (personal communication, interviewee A, 4th March 2020).

“In celebrating the liberation of Nijmegen, one can feel the pain of the bombardment”

*personal communication, interviewee D, 10th April 2020*

According to several experts, the story of the Second World War should not only be limited to the actual years during which the war took place. Interviewee H argues that he would find it interesting if post-war times were presented in exhibitions as well, for example “How did the lives of Russian people change after the Great Patriotic War?” Similarly, two Dutch experts would like to see the years prior to the war gain more attention. Both interviewees would like to see the 1930s receive more attention, as the attitude towards the Jewish community and Germans was incredibly different and less hostile back then (personal communication, interviewee A, 4th March 2020).

In terms of education, several interviewees express their opinion on the way in which schools are currently commemorating the Second World War. Interviewee B claims that children should not be confronted with historical traumatic events at an early age. Therefore, Interviewee B states that in order to avoid traumatizing children, one should slowly allow them to become acquainted with the Siege in a specialized children’s museum (personal communication, interviewee B, 30th January 2020). Interviewee F would also like to see change in the way children are taught about the war. He explains that schoolbooks barely focus upon surrounding cities that also suffered tremendously. Besides the lack of recognition of other cities, interviewee F states that “teachers and books do not deal with trauma. It is clear that the siege did not end happily, but you will not find this in schoolbooks (personal communication, interviewee F, January 30th 2020). Interviewee F also argues that history classes should offer different perspectives and should incorporate the division between the government’s management and the citizens’ social suffering.

In the Dutch context, interviewee A would like for young adults to learn more about the process of fleeing from the war. One could, accord-



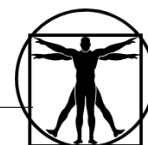
ing to interviewee A, combine this with contemporary issues such as refugees that are currently seeking asylum in Europe (personal communication, Interviewee A, 4th March 2020). Interviewee I finds it important that remember takes place in order to understand the situation the people were in and to prevent such an event from happening ever again (personal communication, Interviewee I, 2nd April 2020). Interviewee D argues that as people and their surroundings are shaped by memories, “remembering is of importance in order to allow oneself to feel connected to one’s current residence and thus functions as a mirror and frame of reference” (personal communication, interviewee D, 10th April 2020).

### **INTERVIEWS: UNEASY QUESTIONS, BLIND SPOTS AND TABOOS**

---

When this variety of expert opinions is cross-compared and compared to the data of the thick description, it becomes clear that there are several themes that generally appear to be “sore subjects.” The role of the Soviet government during the Leningrad blockade is such a troublesome subject. The heroic image of the Soviet government as liberator and victor contrasts with its inactivity and inefficiency in handling the Leningrad blockade. In addition, the efforts of the government to draw away attention from Leningrad after the war, including legal persecutions, remain a sore subject. Particularly, this post-war oppression has added to the traumatic nature of this already traumatic event, increasing the divide between the urban trauma of St Petersburg and the national Russian war trauma. Many Russian museums hesitate to incorporate a critical stance toward government-action during and after the war. The crimes of the Soviet regime are not unknown in any way, but do not fit with the narrative of a heroic past. Another controversial subject that generally seems to conflict with the image of a heroic past, relates to the criminal activities in besieged Leningrad, such as the instances of robbery, murder and cannibalism committed by citizens. While these darker themes were gruesome for those who witnessed them, they can also be traumatic for those who committed the acts. The struggle to retain one’s humanity in the worst of times, is a theme that is elaborately discussed in the classic *Book of the Blockade* (Adamovich & Granin, 1982), which is compiled from various eye-witness accounts.

In many ways, Nijmegen’s situation is quite different from the Leningrad blockade. The assertion that the government undertook criminal activities is not at all controversial, since the pre-war Dutch government was in exile during the war and the country was run by a de-facto



puppet government of the Nazi regime. After the war, questions about the level of collaboration of government-employees were easily revolved by attributing all collaboration to the NSB (“National-Socialist Movement”), the Dutch equivalent to the Nazi party. Yet, because the Netherlands ranks among the highest when it comes to wartime deportations of its Jewish population, the topic of Nazi-sympathies and collaboration remains an uneasy subject. It is certainly not a “blind spot,” since knowledge of this fact is easy to come by, yet, certain aspects of this history receive little attention. Especially when it comes to Nijmegen, several interviewees stress that little is being discussed, for instance, about what happened to its Jewish inhabitants.

This hints at an uneasy question residing in Dutch remembrance culture: the attitude of ordinary Dutch citizens with regard to the anti-Semitic measures taken by authorities during the war. This is the case both for the attitude during and after the war. After the war, some survivors of the concentration camps returned to Nijmegen, facing unsympathetic and cold attitudes by the Dutch inhabitants. Interviewee J created a documentary about this phenomenon and stated:

“The welcome that the Jewish survivors (returning from the camps) received (from the Dutch people) was cold to the point of hostility. But you can see how the Jewish community arose again after the war to participate in society. The past was pushed away and the future was embraced, despite that being really difficult.”

*personal Communication, Interviewee J, 15th April 2020*

After the war, the need to “move on” and rebuild the country created a climate where there was little attention for how non-Jewish citizens treated Dutch Jews during the war. The refusal to deal with the past adds to the notion of urban trauma that this paper engages with.

Another subject that generally seems to receive little attention is the Dutch-German relationship before the war began. Whereas Germany and the Soviet Union were both emerging great powers with ideologies that were hostile towards each other, the Netherlands is Germany’s “tiny” neighbor. The level of hostility between Germany and the Soviet Union did not exist between the Netherlands and Germany, and as a result Dutch perceptions of Germany’s political developments were not all unfavorable. A National-Socialist movement – the NSB – had already been founded in the Netherlands before the war began. Dutch perceptions of Germany did change during and after the war, but the Dutch attitude toward Nazi ideology before the war is a subject that is currently neither taught at school, nor receives much attention in the remembrance culture

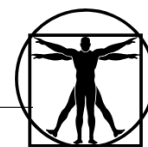


(personal communication, interviewee A, 7th April 2020). Interviewee A mentioned that he did not believe this was due to public unwillingness to learn about the subject, as he received enthusiastic reactions upon addressing it. It is simply a topic that is underlit and therefore not very present within Dutch remembrance culture (personal communication, interviewee A, 4th March 2020). This aspect can therefore be marked as a blind spot.

Finally, the bombardment of Nijmegen itself remains an uneasy question. After the war, there was a tendency - also among Nijmegen's own inhabitants - to see the ordeal as a sacrifice for the greater good of liberation. This contrasts heavily with the bombardment of Rotterdam, which can more easily be acknowledged as a war crime by the Nazi regime. Even though recent research has shown that the bombardment of Nijmegen was most likely not accidental (Rosendaal, 2009), the view of it being an accident is still widely held. In addition, it could be stated that the nationally underlit case of the bombardment of Nijmegen still takes the lime-light when compared to the city's liberation in the fall of 1944. This ordeal is often glanced over as part of the greater picture of Operation Market Garden. Therefore, some older inhabitants experience the amount of attention for bombardment-victims as disproportionate when compared to the victims of the liberation (personal communication, interviewee D, 30th November 2019). With regard to the liberation, the heroic image of the Allied powers as our liberators clouds the stories of certain less favorable actions by liberating soldiers, such as looting. These latter details can be said to be part of a true blind spot within Dutch remembrance culture, since these aspects are rarely discussed. The Leningrad blockade and the bombing of Nijmegen thus relate to one another in some respects. For example, just as with the liberation of Nijmegen, the ordeal that Leningrad's inhabitants experienced is also viewed as a sacrifice for the greater good. Furthermore, the argument that the horrific events could have been prevented if a supposed "friendly" government had made different choices can be made for both Nijmegen and Leningrad. For both this observation is - if not a taboo - definitely an uneasy question.

## **CONCLUSION: REMEMBERING URBAN TRAUMA**

One major similarity between St Petersburg and Nijmegen is that the ordeals the cities went through were not proportionally acknowledged on a national level after the war was over. This is arguably why these ordeals constitute "urban traumas," existing parallelly to the national traumas of the Second World War. When comparing the data from St Petersburg and



Nijmegen, there seems to be another major similarity: both countries have seen a development of remembrance culture from being predominantly military-oriented towards more acknowledgment of civilian suffering during the war. What is different, however, is that within Russian remembrance culture, soldiers and civilians alike tend to be portrayed as “heroes” who made a sacrifice for their motherland. This focus on the heroic aspect of the Leningrad blockade is visible in monuments, museums, memorial events and many other expressions of remembrance culture. Although there arguably is ample reason to speak about heroism when addressing the Leningrad blockade, this heroic focus tends to exclude less heroic - and more traumatic - aspects of survival during the blockade. These dark and traumatic elements do not fit the heroic narrative and are, therefore, predominantly left to be addressed by experts who actively research the subject.

In addition, the conventional view that the Leningrad blockade was a heroic sacrifice for the greater good of Soviet victory, is not easily reconciled with some difficult questions of Soviet history. While there are museums that address these traumas, they are far from the most prominent ones and addressing this theme is not without its share of negative consequences and public backlash.

When it comes to the case of Nijmegen, Dutch remembrance culture regards the civilian victims not as much as heroes, but as “random victims of fate.” Exceptions to this rule are the resistance fighters who died during the war. The memory of civilian suffering is not as much used to invoke a feeling of Dutch nationalism or heroism, but predominantly to remind people of the senselessness and the horrors of war. Within this frame, the bombardment of Nijmegen is treated as an example of how the war took away innocent lives and dreams, therefore serving a “never-again”-motive within Dutch remembrance culture. Like in Russia, there is plenty of justification for the conventional Dutch perspective on wartime civilians as innocent victims: during the war, the Netherlands were governed by a Nazi puppet government, while the “official” Dutch government was in exile.

Furthermore, wartime destruction – such as the bombardment of Nijmegen – was carried out by foreign authorities and, therefore, simply “happened” to the victims. This conventional perspective, however, excludes its own set of uneasy questions, such as the Dutch pre-war attitude towards Nazism and the Dutch attitude towards its Jewish population during and after the war. This latter category involves acts of collaboration, betrayal and post-war hostility against Jews. Especially in provincial cities such as Nijmegen, the Dutch treatment of its Jewish population is a



subject that receives relatively little attention. In addition, whereas the Holocaust receives a lot of attention in education and media, the post-war experience of the Jews who returned is a trauma of its own; one that receives strikingly little attention within Dutch remembrance culture. Finally, the bombardment and liberation of Nijmegen include many traumatic episodes, of which some still attract little attention. While in Russia the actions of the government remain a controversial issue, the same goes in the Netherlands for some actions of the Allied powers. These include instances of looting by Allied soldiers, but also the deliberate targeting of Dutch cities during bombing raids.

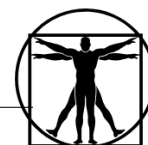
## **CONCLUSION: EXPERTS' INFLUENCE**

---

The Russian and Dutch remembrance cultures greatly influence what traumas the general public remembers and what it “forgets.” Experts, however, are not merely part of this remembrance culture, but also contribute to it. They do this by highlighting those aspects of the Second World War that they deem important and underexposed. Through the interview data, it becomes clear that both in Russia and the Netherlands experts are highly opinionated when it comes to the way the Second World War is remembered in their country. Experts can, therefore, clearly be said to function as carrier groups. It should be stressed that experts also *respond* to carrier groups. There were several cases - mostly among Dutch experts - in which interviewees spoke of their research agenda being influenced by the general public. Nearly all experts viewed correcting the “faults” in remembrance culture as part of their role. Motivations that were often discussed were the need to get a “more complete picture of the war,” to acknowledge human suffering and the need to learn from the past. In addition, one expert mentioned the economic motive of organizing museum-exhibitions on underexposed topics. Different from what was expected at the beginning of this project, experts from both countries did not experience extraordinary challenges in fulfilling their meaning-making role. Challenges in doing or publishing research mostly amounted to challenges that are considered “part of the job.” A more extraordinary challenge can be said to be the higher level of public involvement and scrutiny that comes with researching sensitive historical subject matter. This was, however, in many instances also experienced as inspiring, as stated earlier.

Success in effectively contributing to the meaning-making process seemed to depend more on the *status* and the *type of medium* of an expert. Some of the experts had already had long careers and consequently had





larger networks. As a result, they had more instruments of influence at their disposal, than experts who had only just started their careers and - hence - worked more “behind the scenes.” While all media - from museum expositions to academic publications - have some potential in leaving a mark on remembrance culture, there is a degree of difference in how much they appeal to the general audience. In addition, those experts that can “cast a wider net” have a larger chance of having an impact on remembrance culture, than those who are limited to - for instance - academic publications. This status-difference can, thus, be said to be a more prominent factor for experts while interacting with remembrance culture, than challenges or obstructions encountered during the research process.

## **DISCUSSION: OPPORTUNITIES AND LIMITATIONS**

---

During this research project, there were several practical limitations that influenced its course. One of these practical limitations relates to the planning of the interviews with Russian experts. These interviews all had to take place within one week. Because of this time span, but also distance- and language-difficulties, the Russian group of interviewees was not as heterogeneous as in The Netherlands. Most experts that were interviewed in St Petersburg were academic experts from one of the local universities, whereas in the Netherlands a larger variety of experts was spoken with. This made a perfect comparison between experts from the two cities unfeasible, even though there were still many aspects by which to compare. The function of the public as a carrier group was less visible on the Russian side, although some interviewees mentioned a clear public interest in their endeavors. It should be emphasized that - due to practical reasons - Russian interviewees only included academic researchers, and no journalists or museum directors. Hence, it is arguably logical that public reactions differed for these interviewees, since academic publications probably reach a smaller audience than, for example, popular media outlets. In addition, it should be noted that the fact that Russians relied on such a large scale during the mentioned architectural contests of the 1960s, is also an example of the general public functioning as a carrier group. Even though it was less acceptable to publicly make statements about the conventional narrative of the siege as an individual, this example shows that people did use the means made available to them, in order to try to influence the narrative.

Finally, in comparing Russia and The Netherlands, our Dutch backgrounds implied a risk of research bias. In the research design, we made several adjustments to avoid this bias. Firstly, we applied triangulation by



using two kinds of research methods, namely field research and interviews. This allowed us to cross-compare data and corroborate findings acquired by one research method, with findings from the other research method. In addition, it was vital to the impartiality of our project that we conducted field research in St Petersburg. There is nothing as revealing about one's personal bias than experiencing a significantly different culture. This experience not only helped us in understanding Russian remembrance culture, but also in understanding the Dutch remembrance culture that we had grown so used to.

## **DISCUSSION: SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

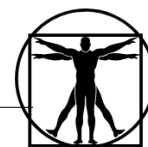
---

Regarding further research we have to distinguish between researching the Second World War, in general, and the comparative cases of Nijmegen and St Petersburg preceding, during, and after the war. Nevertheless, the more general observations concerning the war can often be applied to the two cities. Hence, the recommendations regarding the war itself can also apply to possibilities for further research with respect to both cities.

With regard to the war itself, we recommend emphasizing civilians' narratives, since the bulk of research and attention thus far has focused primarily on the military and political history of the war; even the attention paid to the Holocaust does not cover the social history genre sufficiently. This is true for academic research, but also for remembrance culture, and relates, for example, to museums, monuments, and popular culture.

Also, the relationship and differences between government and individuals provides for interesting research topics. It serves to recognize differences between the government narrative that is presented in certain areas of study, for example regarding government-funded museums versus that of civilians, which is presented via "independent" grassroots-initiatives. This might lead a researcher to distinguish, for example, between the history of a nation's politically important region, such as Amsterdam in the Netherlands or St Petersburg in Russia versus less populous cities such as Nijmegen, or even rural areas in general. On a micro-level, this also applies to areas within areas, for example less-developed neighborhoods in cities, or neighborhoods in which there reside people with one specific ethnicity or other divergent identity.

Regarding identities, destruction by war returns as a more general theme in research, and clearly differs depending on what is remembered and what not. For example, the destruction of Nijmegen still has conse-



quences for the manner in which the city and its people regard themselves, and the Leningrad blockade definitely influences its contemporary inhabitants. Yet, whereas St Petersburg's identity with regard to the war is pervaded of pride, because it withstood the siege for so long and its inhabitants experienced horrific daily scenes, the long-lasting silence with regard to the destruction of Nijmegen together with its liberation by foreign actors ensures that the city's identity with regard to the war is not necessarily one of pride and self-esteem. Furthermore, besides the pride and forgetfulness, there is also the more tangible loss caused by destruction, such as torn-apart families, architectural loss, and what we defined in general as "urban trauma."

Concerning this trauma, uneasy questions always return, both on the government level as on the civilian level. With respect to the war itself, the manner in which the Soviet government handled the situation in Leningrad deserves further attention. The relationship between the Leningrad government and the central government in Moscow, for example, or the manner in which Leningrad's government handled food rationing and the evacuation process of its own inhabitants. On the civilian level, the conduct of civilians in St Petersburg remains an uneasy question, especially because it de-legitimizes the dominant heroic narrative. The circumstances of almost three years of besiegement naturally entail a fight to survive, individually but also *between* civilians. Hence, academic and eye-witness sources have established certain "wrongdoings" by civilians in Leningrad, such as the occurrence of cannibalism and theft. These, and perhaps more, can be summarized by the theme of "ethics of war," and deserve to be further examined.

The notion of ethics introduces a more practical topic that returned often during our trip to St Petersburg, namely the question of how to teach history to schoolchildren. In relation to this, some Russian civilians privately discussed their discomfort with the militaristic nature of some commemorative rituals, which sometimes involved children. Privately, these Russian people expressed a "never-again sentiment" when speaking about commemoration of the war, much similar to the dominant sentiment in the Netherlands. It should be stressed, however, that these views were discussed in brief "street interviews" and that more research is needed to establish how widely certain views are being held, both in Russia and the Netherlands. The specific question of how to educate children, however, returned more often.

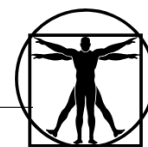
Both in-school museums that we visited and our St Petersburg guide emphasized the importance of presenting a more inclusive narrative regarding the blockade, yet hesitated to approve an inclusive story in, for



example, school curriculums. This relates to the broader question of how to teach children about war and suffering, which is a topic that is not exclusively reserved for classrooms, but should also be included when talking about, and researching, pedagogy in the domestic sphere. Finally, this upbringing includes educating both children and adults about the story of the Second World War, including that of the pre-war and post-war years.

## References

- Adamovich, A. & Granin, D. (1982). *A Book of The Blockade*. Moscow: Raduga Publishers.
- Alexander, J.C. (2004). Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma. In J. C. Alexander, R. Eyerman, B. Giesen, N. J. Smelser, and P. Sztompka (Eds.) *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (pp. 1–30). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bambrough, R. (1994). Gilbert Ryle: Collected Papers. *Philosophy*, 69(269), 376–378. Doi:10.1017/S0031819100047124
- Boukharaeva, L. M., & Marloie, M. (2015). A New Civil Right Won Under the Soviet Regime. In: *Family Urban Agriculture in Russia* (pp. 47–73). Springer, Cham.
- DiCicco-Bloom, B., & Crabtree, B. F. (2006). The qualitative research interview. *Medical Education*, 40, 314–321. Doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2929.2006.02418.x
- Eyerman, R. (2011). Intellectual and cultural trauma. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 14(4), 354–367. Doi: 10.1177/1368431011417932
- Eyerman, R. (2012). Harvey Milk and the Trauma of Assassination. *Cultural Sociology*, 6(4), 399–421. Doi: 10.1177/1749975512445429
- Eyerman, R. & Bartmansk, D. (2011). The Worst Was the Silence: The Unfinished Drama of the Katyn Massacre. In R. Eyerman, J.C. Alexander, and E.B. Breese (eds.) *Narrating Trauma: On the Impact of Collective Suffering*. New York: Paradigm.
- Flick, U. (2002). *Qualitative research in psychology: A textbook*. London: Sage.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gerhardt, I. (1946). Het carillon. In Uitgeverij C.A. Mees Wereldbibliotheek N.V *Het Veerhuis*. Santpoort / Amsterdam (oorspr. 1945).
- Ginkel van, R. (2011). *Rondom de stilte. Herdenkingscultuur in Nederland*. Amsterdam.
- Haan, De. I. (1997). *Na de Ondergang: De herinnering aan de Jodenvervolgving in Nederland, 1945-1995*. Den Haag: SDU Uitgevers.
- Halbwachs, M. (1980). *The collective memory*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Hill, C. E., Knox, S., Thompson, B. J., Williams, E. N., Hess, S. A., & Ladany, N. (2005). Consensual qualitative research: An update. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52, 196–205. Doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.196



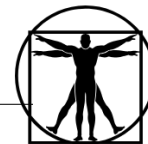
- Hill, C. E., Thompson, B. J., & Williams, E. N. (1997). A guide to conducting consensual qualitative research. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 25, 517-572. Doi: 10.1177/0011000097254001
- Hirsch, M. (2012). *The Generation of Post Memory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Janssen, B. (2005). *De Pijn Die Blijft*. Nijmegen: Vantilt.
- Kirschenbaum, L. A. (4 September 2006). *The Legacy of the Siege of Leningrad, 1941–1995: Myth, Memories, and Monuments*. Cambridge University Press.
- Legg, S. (2005). Contesting and surviving memory: space, nation, and nostalgia in Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. 23(4), 481-500. Doi: 10.1068/d0504
- Lincoln, Y. S. & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. SAGE.
- Monument to the Heroic Defenders of Leningrad*. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.saintpetersburg.com/monuments/heroic-defenders/>
- Neal, A.G. (1998). *National Trauma and Collective Memory: Major Events in the American Century*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.
- Nora, P. (1989). Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Representations*, 26, 7-24.
- Pennebaker, J., & Gonzales, A. (2009). Making history: Social and psychological processes underlying collective memory. In P. Boyer & J. Wertsch (Eds.), *Memory in mind and culture* (pp. 171–193). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosendaal, J. (2014). *The destruction of Nijmegen, 1944: American bombs and German fire*. Nijmegen: Vantilt Publishers.
- Smelser, N.J. (2004). Psychological Trauma and Cultural Trauma. In J.C. Alexander, R. Eyerman, B. Giesen, N.J. Smelser and Sztompka (Eds). *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (pp. 31–59). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Verzetsmonument “De Vaandeldrager.”* (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.trace-sofwar.nl/sights/331/Verzetsmonument-De-Vaandeldrager.htm>
- Vivian, B. (2017). “Chapter 3 - Regret: George W. Bush’s Gorée Island Address.” *Commonplace Witnessing: Rhetorical Invention, Historical Remembrance and Public. Culture*. Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online.
- Woods, E. T. (2019). Cultural Trauma: Ron Eyerman and the founding of a new research paradigm. *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*, 7, 260-274. Doi: 10.1057/s41290-019-00071-0



## Список литературы

- Adamovich, A. & Granin, D. (1982). *A Book of The Blockade*. Moscow: Raduga Publishers.
- Alexander, J.C. (2004). Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma. In J. C. Alexander, R. Eyerman, B. Giesen, N. J. Smelser, and P. Sztompka (Eds.) *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (pp. 1–30). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bambrough, R. (1994). Gilbert Ryle: Collected Papers. *Philosophy*, 69(269), 376-378. Doi:10.1017/S0031819100047124
- Boukharaeva, L. M., & Marloie, M. (2015). A New Civil Right Won Under the Soviet Regime. In: *Family Urban Agriculture in Russia* (pp. 47-73). Springer, Cham.
- DiCicco-Bloom, B., & Crabtree, B. F. (2006). The qualitative research interview. *Medical Education*, 40, 314-321. Doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2929.2006.02418.x
- Eyerman, R. (2011). Intellectual and cultural trauma. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 14(4), 354-367. Doi: 10.1177/1368431011417932
- Eyerman, R. (2012). Harvey Milk and the Trauma of Assassination. *Cultural Sociology*, 6(4), 399–421. Doi: 10.1177/1749975512445429
- Eyerman, R. & Bartmanski, D. (2011). The Worst Was the Silence: The Unfinished Drama of the Katyn Massacre. In R. Eyerman, J.C. Alexander, and E.B. Breese (eds.) *Narrating Trauma: On the Impact of Collective Suffering*. New York: Paradigm.
- Flick, U. (2002). *Qualitative research in psychology: A textbook*. London: Sage.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gerhardt, I. (1946). Het carillon. In Uitgeverij C.A. Mees Wereldbibliotheek N.V *Het Veerhuis*. Santpoort / Amsterdam (oorspr. 1945).
- Ginkel van, R. (2011). *Rondom de stilte. Herdenkingscultuur in Nederland*. Amsterdam.
- Haan, De. I. (1997). *Na de Ondergang: De herinnering aan de Jodenvervolgung in Nederland, 1945-1995*. Den Haag: SDU Uitgevers.
- Halbwachs, M. (1980). *The collective memory*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Hill, C. E., Knox, S., Thompson, B. J., Williams, E. N., Hess, S. A., & Ladany, N. (2005). Consensual qualitative research: An update. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52, 196-205. Doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.196
- Hill, C. E., Thompson, B. J., & Williams, E. N. (1997). A guide to conducting consensual qualitative research. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 25, 517-572. Doi: 10.1177/0011000097254001
- Hirsch, M. (2012). *The Generation of Post Memory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Janssen, B. (2005). *De Pijn Die Blijft*. Nijmegen: Vantilt.
- Kirschenbaum, L. A. (4 September 2006). *The Legacy of the Siege of Leningrad, 1941–1995: Myth, Memories, and Monuments*. Cambridge University Press.





- Legg, S. (2005). Contesting and surviving memory: space, nation, and nostalgia in Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. 23(4), 481-500. Doi: 10.1068/d0504
- Lincoln, Y. S. & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. SAGE.
- Monument to the Heroic Defenders of Leningrad*. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.saintpetersburg.com/monuments/heroic-defenders/>
- Neal, A.G. (1998). *National Trauma and Collective Memory: Major Events in the American Century*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.
- Nora, P. (1989). Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Representations*, 26, 7-24.
- Pennebaker, J., & Gonzales, A. (2009). Making history: Social and psychological processes underlying collective memory. In P. Boyer & J. Wertsch (Eds.), *Memory in mind and culture* (pp. 171–193). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosendaal, J. (2014). *The destruction of Nijmegen, 1944: American bombs and German fire*. Nijmegen: Vantilt Publishers.
- Smelser, N.J. (2004). Psychological Trauma and Cultural Trauma. In J.C. Alexander, R. Eyerman, B. Giesen, N.J. Smelser and Sztompka (Eds). *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (pp. 31–59). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Verzetsmonument “De Vaandeldrager.”* (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.trace-sofwar.nl/sights/331/Verzetsmonument-De-Vaandeldrager.htm>
- Vivian, B. (2017). “Chapter 3 - Regret: George W. Bush’s Gorée Island Address.” *Commonplace Witnessing: Rhetorical Invention, Historical Remembrance and Public. Culture*. Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online.
- Woods, E. T. (2019). Cultural Trauma: Ron Eyerman and the founding of a new research paradigm. *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*, 7, 260-274. Doi: 10.1057/s41290-019-00071-0



<https://corpusmundi.com>

---

По всем вопросам сотрудничества и публикации материалов  
обращаться по e-mail:

admin@corpusmundi.com или corpusmundijournal@gmail.com

Телефон: +7 (988) 068-63-72

---



Это сетевое издание доступно по лицензии Creative Commons  
«Attribution» («Атрибуция») 4.0 Всемирная.

Вёрстка: Алиев Растям Туктарович

© 2020 Corpus Mundi

---

In case you have any questions about co-operation please write an e-mail  
the following address:

admin@corpusmundi.com или corpusmundijournal@gmail.com

Phone: +7 (988) 068-63-72

---



This journal is licensed under a Creative Commons «Attribution» 4.0  
International License

Layout: Rastyam T. Aliev.

© 2020 Corpus Mundi