52. See, for example, Michael Meyer, *Jewish Identity in the Modern World* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 57–58. The spectacular popularity of Holocaust memorials and monuments in recent years, particularly in the United States, exemplifies how the Holocaust has replaced Zionism as a potent symbol of Jewishness. For a popular account of coming to terms with the indeterminate character of modern American Jewish identity, see Craig Horowitz, "Are American Jews Assimilating Themselves out of Existence?" *New York Magazine* (July 14, 1997): 28–37.

53. Alice Kaplan, "Theweleit and Spiegelman: Of Men and Mice," in *Remaking History*, ed. Barbara Kruger and Phil Mariana, 150–72.

54. Quoted from Reinhold Heller's "Interview with Marvin and Janet Fishman," in Heller, *Art in Germany, 1909–1936*, 13–14.

Ethnic Notions and Feminist Strategies of the 1970s

Some Work by Judy Chicago and Eleanor Antin

LISA BLOOM

> A relational approach to representation would take into account both a racial dimension—the Whiteness of European-Jewish immigrants—and an ethnic/religious dimension—their Jewishness.
>
> —Ella Shohat and Robert Stam

> Eleanor Antin [was] unusual in that [she] countered the myth of a unified female experience early in the 1970s through performances that questioned the fixity of women's experience in racial terms.
>
> —Amelia Jones

In recent years the academy in the United States has staged high-profile events to define and reconceptualize feminism. The shift in consciousness that has informed such contemporary debates was prompted by recent poststructuralist philosophies and theories of representation as well as models that emerged from Jewish studies and postcolonialist and antiracist debates. Though these sets of issues have been influential in the humanities and the social sciences, particularly in women's, film, and literary studies, only recently have art schools and the traditional disciplines in academe that study visual representations—in particular art and art history—paid attention to them. The purpose of this essay is to make feminist art history more responsive to important scholarship that is already under way in other humanistic disciplines more receptive to

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ethnic, racial, and national concerns. This is important since much of the ongoing feminist work in the arts does not address feminist participation in these discourses, or the issue of how Jewish identity operates as a category within them.

A case in point is a major anthology of 1970s feminist artistic practices, titled *The Power of Feminist Art: The American Movement of the 1970s, History and Impact,* edited by Norma Broude and Mary Garrard and published in 1994. It includes the work of Adrian Piper, Faith Ringgold, Ana Mendieta, and other women of color. It is also the first anthology in recent years to bring back to scholarly attention the work of Jewish artists from the period, such as Judy Chicago, Miriam Schapiro, Carolee Schneemann, Joyce Kozloff, and others previously neglected. Although this collection represents a strong and refreshing revisionist history, it is structured on the exclusionary presupposition that a feminist sisterhood cannot come to terms with racial and ethnic differences. The relative invisibility in the book of ethnicity as a category, and of Jewishness in particular, over and against the visibility of African Americans and Latina artists (identified as "women of color"), points to the limits of such a revisionist project. Despite the book's inclusions, it reinstates long-standing values (visibilities and invisibilities), dating from the period it studies.

The difficulties of current feminist art historians in dealing with racial, ethnic, and generational differences during the 1970s have led me to revisit the work of Judy Chicago and Eleanor Antin to provide a critical account of the different ethnically marked practices in it. Many well-known feminist artists, poets, and critics prominent in California during that period—Kathy Acker, Martha Rosler, Joyce Kozloff, Lynn Hershman, and Miriam Schapiro—as well as Antin and Chicago, had emerged from New York and Chicago communities heavily marked by ethnicity, race, religion, and class. In the 1960s some of them moved to California.

Because spectators are also ethnically, racially, and generationally constituted, a study like mine attests to the difference and diversity among feminists along these axes of identification. A younger feminist community shaped by feminist visual cultural studies, postcolonial discourse, queer theory, postmodernism, and the burgeoning field of Jewish cultural studies in the academy might be especially alert to certain ethnic references in Chicago's and Antin's work. Recent work by the theorists Sander Gilman, Richard Dyer, and Ann Pellegrini examines how ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and race have signified different relations between the body and society at various historical moments.[1]

Another change of the past twenty-five years has been a redefinition of the meaning of "identity." This reconceptualization has occurred at the same time as the shift in consciousness in feminist art practices by lesbian women, women of color, and white women.[2] The way in which I situate myself as a feminist has been shaped in part by such debates. I am of a younger generation than the women artists

I write about here, yet like them my Jewish family's trajectory—immigration to the United States from Eastern Europe and Russia, and then from New York to California, and finally (in my case) from California to Japan—shapes the ways in which I perceive myself in relation to American culture as a whole. By rethinking Antin's and Chicago's work, I hope to provide a different understanding of the historiography of feminist work from the 1970s—one that will allow for divergent and competing histories of Jewish immigration. The models and lifestyles that influenced the dominant Southern Californian feminism of the period will be part of this new historiography.

The concerns and feminist passion that shaped Norma Broude and Mary Garrard's history are different from my own, but their work alerted me to some of the specific directions and priorities of their generation of scholars. The introduction to their anthology presents a challenge:

> How then do we situate the Feminist Art Movement on the broader stage, conceptually and historically? Is it merely another phase of avant-garde? Or is it not, rather, to borrow a phrase that has been used to describe the cultural climate of the 1960s, "one of those deep-seated shifts of sensibilities that alter the whole terrain?" The feminist critic Lucy R. Lippard argued persuasively in 1980 that feminist art was "neither a style nor a movement," but instead "a value system, a revolutionary strategy, a way of life," like Dada and Surrealism and other nonstyles that have "continued to pervade all movements and styles ever since." What was revolutionary in feminist art, Lippard explained, was not its form but its content. Feminist artists' insistence on prioritizing experience and meaning over form and style was itself a challenge to the modernist valorization of "progress" and style development.[3]

Because women of my generation no longer face the same resistance from patriarchal institutional structures, it is easy to forget the force that feminism had at that moment when women were engaged in activist movements. They aimed to alter dramatically their personal lives as well as their art practice and teaching. The feminist commitment to revolutionary socialist ideals was an important part of the idealism of the 1970s.

If we are to better understand the generational differences within feminism now, we need to encounter, revisit, and rethink some of these older histories and antagonisms. Given the importance in the last twenty-five years of work theorizing difference, race and ethnicity seem important categories to revisit. Responding to this very concern, Moira Roth and Yolanda M. López write:

> There is a dramatic inequality of information on women of color as opposed to Euro-American women. The feminist art movement . . . suggests an identity prioritized by gender not race. For women artists of color—despite their concern

> with women's issues—ethnicity more than gender has shaped their primary identities, loyalties, and often the content of their art. Also from the start the women's art movement has been dominated by Euro-American leadership.[4]

López and Roth's critique is a significant intervention in *The Power of Feminist Art,* for their essay, "Social Protest: Racism and Sexism," provides a way to describe the larger cultural issues that have conditioned the development of North American feminist art up to our time. They emphasize the need to understand the complex way that the categories of gender and ethnicity are interarticulated. I would extend their categories, however, to include not only women of color but white ethnic women perhaps uneasy with a feminism that would erase a consideration of differences beyond gender. There remains a great need to examine how different Jewish women's identities are tied to other social identities and mediated through institutional discourses of art history and modernism. It would be a mistake to believe that ethnicities could be understood in isolation, without considering how they belong to a complex matrix of differences among women. I focus on the complicated dialectics of feminism and other social identities—what Ella Shohat calls "ethnicities in relation . . . [which] can help us envision the possibility of a critical reading which complicates the 'center/periphery' dichotomy."[5]

In what follows, I discuss the suggestiveness of the work of Judy Chicago and Eleanor Antin for exploring the ethnic, religious, and racial undertones in what were once seen as dominant white feminist art practices. I also examine the different terms under which the works of these artists were accepted into the canon of art. Drawing from Michel Foucault's analysis of historical writing, of discursive formations and their practical institutionalization, I look at the contradictory textual means by which Judy Chicago scripts herself into an older and more conservative discourse of art history, where "quality" in art and the "artist-genius" remain central. Her allegiance to a traditional art history inflected her feminist politics at the time and contributed to her public erasure of her Jewish ethnicity.

From Gerowitz to Chicago

Though the work of Judy Chicago has already gained much attention—most recently from Lucy Lippard, from the contributors to the recent anthology edited by Amelia Jones, and from British feminist writers Lisa Tickner and Michèle Barrett—most writers have not examined how Chicago's discourse was never only about gender, but rather about a whole set of identifications mediated through various social identities, all involving questions of power inequality.[6] This oversight is due in part to Chicago herself, who gained visibility in the 1970s as an artist by emphasizing

her gender exclusively. Yet ethnicity played a central role in her self-construction as both a feminist and an artist, as evidenced in the following passage from Chicago's first autobiography, *Through the Flower:*

> I . . . wanted my being a woman to be visible in the work and had thus decided to change my name from Judy Gerowitz to Judy Chicago as an act of identifying myself as an independent woman.
>
> . . . . My name change was on the wall directly across from the entrance. It said: *Judy Gerowitz* hereby divests herself of all names imposed upon her through male social dominance and freely chooses her own name *Judy Chicago.*[7]

Her name change in 1970 from the ethnically marked Gerowitz to the more ethnically neutral Chicago is seemingly central to her scripting herself as an autonomous feminist subject and artist. Thus from the outset the categories of gender and ethnicity speak to each other, although the erasure of her ethnic name was not at the time seen as a public rejection of her ethnic group, but rather of patriarchy in general. It is hard to know to what degree her allegiance to feminism reflected a desire either to join the cultural elite of artists or to dissociate herself from the stereotype of women in traditional Jewish culture, with its familial and domestic expectations.

Whatever Chicago's motivation, it is clear that conditions might not have been propitious for someone identified as a middle-class Jewish woman in the burgeoning Los Angeles art community at the time. Miriam Schapiro describes her own case thus:

> How do you identify an artist? What does an artist look like? When I grew up an artist was defined by a Rembrandt self-portrait. There would be his smock and his beret, velvet usually, and his palette in one hand, his brushes in the other, and these were the symbols of the outward appearance of the artist. So then I say to myself, but I'm a woman, how do I fit into that? Not only that, but I'm a middle-class woman. Not only that, but I'm a Jewish woman. Not only that, I'm not particularly beautiful. In fact, you probably wouldn't pick me out of a crowd. So how would I identify myself as an artist?[8]

Despite the modernistic rhetoric of the time that appeared to favor a value-free tradition of art regardless of social identities, Schapiro felt that making art was exclusively the preserve of the dominant white male group which envisioned itself as the universal subject, somehow outside specific social or gender identities. The very words "woman," "middle-class," and "Jewish" implied minor, lesser, or subaltern

status. That women such as Miriam Schapiro saw themselves as a minority vis-à-vis a white male power structure led them to distinguish between what it meant to be a "Jewish male" artist and what it meant to be a "Jewish woman" artist. Such a dichotomy between center and periphery suggests that Schapiro and Chicago occupied a position in the art world not unlike the "non place" Johannes Fabian describes—the temporally distinct space of the "Other" in anthropological texts that differs from that of the speaking subject.[9]

In the 1990s an earlier generation's predilection for a universalist, formalist art ideology is being questioned and slowly replaced by a notion of identities that is not wedded to the assimilationist discourse of Jewish identities championed in the 1970s by artists such as Chicago.[10] Earlier romantic notions of artistic genius are also being challenged. The assumed autonomy of artist and work no longer defines the aspirations of all contemporary women artists. Since the early 1980s feminist scholars and artists have frequently analyzed and countered the older paradigms of art-historical discourse such as the concept of an artist as genius and its assertion of the priority of one identity over another.[11] As a result of such scholarship, many women critics and artists are less conflicted in negotiating these seemingly disparate and incompatible discourses than the first generation of feminist artists and critics, such as Chicago, might have been in the 1970s.[12] Michèle Barrett, noting the gap between Judy Chicago's feminism and her apparent desire to belong to an older, more conservative discourse of art history, wrote that Chicago's work process in her *Dinner Party* installation entailed

> principles of collective work . . . not so much . . . ones I might recognize as a feminist but an attempt to recreate the "school" or studio of an "Artistic Genius" like Michelangelo. Although hundreds of people gave much time and work to the project it is Judy Chicago personally who has, apparently not unwillingly, made an international reputation from it.[13]

Barrett's remarks, published in 1982, suggest a new frankness among feminists about acknowledging these discontinuities, and a greater emphasis on revealing gaps and tensions between an elitist and hierarchical discourse of art history that distinguishes the creative artist from ordinary individuals and a feminist discourse that favors nonhierarchical collaboration. Contemporary feminist theorists realize how the egalitarian ideals promoted by feminism, in particular cooperative authorship, become vulnerable to traditional concepts such as individual genius and unacknowledged (gentile) whiteness. In tracing generational differences, I am aware of the dangers of an oversimplistic division of feminist art theory into generations. I am not claiming that theorists from the 1980s and 1990s are more advanced than those of the 1970s. Rather, I am noting the shifts in feminist art-historical thought during the period and observing that some of these issues are now dealt with in a more complex way.[14]

Indeed, Judy Chicago herself now seems influenced by feminist revisionist work of the 1980s and 1990s, acknowledging the oversimplification in her having given priority to gender over other forms of difference in the 1970s. She recently wrote, "We cast the dialogue incorrectly in the seventies. We cast it around gender, and we were also simplistic about the nature of identity. Identity is multiple."[15] Her awareness of opposition between gender identification and other modes of identification does not extend, however, to an examination of the conflicts inevitable in a project that attempts to join feminist ideals of sisterhood with the traditional individualism of art history and its emphasis on the artist as romantic individual genius.[16] Though she might not repudiate the value of individualism, she brings quite different values to her recent account of her individuality as a white ethnic woman artist and the complex motives that led to her name change:

> I was a twenty-three-year-old widow with a different name—Gerowitz—taken not out of wifely duty, no way. . . . When Jerry and I were wed, young proto-feminist that I was, I had kept my original surname, altering it only after noticing —while doing the "gallery stroll" every Saturday afternoon, which is what all the "cool" art people did—that there seemed to be too many other artists named Cohen. I soon exchanged one seemingly patriarchal name for another, my then young husband's seemingly less common. But after Jerry died, people kept mistaking me for the daughter of his parents; not that I didn't like them. I did. It was just that two years of marriage hardly seemed sufficient reason to carry someone else's name for the rest of my life. . . .
>
> The upshot of this was that I felt as though I did not have a name that suited me. Still, I had to become somewhat known under the marital appellation, particularly after I started showing at the Rolf Nelson Gallery, one of the best spots in town. Rolf . . . started calling me Judy Chicago, due in part to the strong Windy City accent I had retained, but also because he thought it suited the tough and aggressive stance I had felt obliged to take in order to make my way into the macho art scene that was L.A. in the 1960s. Rolf tried to convince me to take this name professionally, but I went only so far as to use it in the phone directory. This was, in fact, an "in" thing to do at the time, as there were several artists with "underground" names.[17]

Chicago's name change seems to have been initially important as a means of associating her clearly with the dominant masculinist artistic culture of the 1960s in which "underground names" listed in the phone book were in keeping with the style of the local Los Angeles art community. Though Chicago is describing a gradual process, her comments are little in keeping with her claims of her name's importance later in her career as a feminist artist when she writes about "divesting herself of all names imposed upon her through male social dominance." These words suggest that strong and independent women like her could not permit any

male to mediate or authorize their declaration of a new feminist identity. In retrospect, however, such a statement appears too sweeping to permit a space for men such as Rolf Nelson who, she suggests, not only knew how exclusionary and masculinist the L.A. art scene was at that time but also went so far as to support promising women artists like her against the charge of being different by giving them a new name that would offer the built-in privilege of an anglicized last name. The idealized terms of Chicago's 1970s feminism did not allow her to acknowledge either her ethnicity, her collaboration with men, or the ways in which her concepts of gender and ethnicity related to ideologies of race and class. As she suggests in 1996,

> I sometimes joke that in these early days of the Women's Movement, we had not yet discovered (or invented, as the case may be) our own forms. Therefore we borrowed some, notably from the Civil Rights Movement. Perhaps inspired by the radical stance of the Black Panthers, I decided to publicly "divest" myself of the name Gerowitz in favor of Judy Chicago.[18]

In such passages Judy Chicago reveals the wide-ranging influences on her and suggests with hindsight that she might have called into question the universalism of both her feminism and art world practices of that time. In her reference to the Black Panthers and the Civil Rights Movement, she recalls that feminists of the period aligned themselves with blackness, not so much to counter whiteness as to pursue the strategies and tactics of the Civil Rights Movement. Such a formulation attributes strategies of the women's movement to black people, and presents white feminism as imitating elements of other "movements."

Chicago's exhibition announcement in *Artforum,* featuring a photograph of her in full boxing gear with a supporting female boxing "trainer," moreover, suggests other influences on the art world of the day (Fig. 22). Exhibitions at L.A. galleries during this period occasionally included publicity announcements featuring photographs of mostly male artists in various masculinist poses. According to Chicago, the publicity photograph of herself dressed as a boxer is a play on such gallery practices:

> During this period my male art buddies were all prone to very macho announcements and posters in relation to their own shows, something Jack [Glenn, the owner of a rather prominent gallery] suggested spoofing with a picture of me in a boxing ring, the very one in which Muhammad Ali trained. . . . I would also see this image posted in the studios of many women artists whom I visited during the 1970s. . . . I guess that the boxing ring ad marked the moment when women all over the country came out fighting in an effort to somehow effect a change in the intense discrimination of the art world.[19]

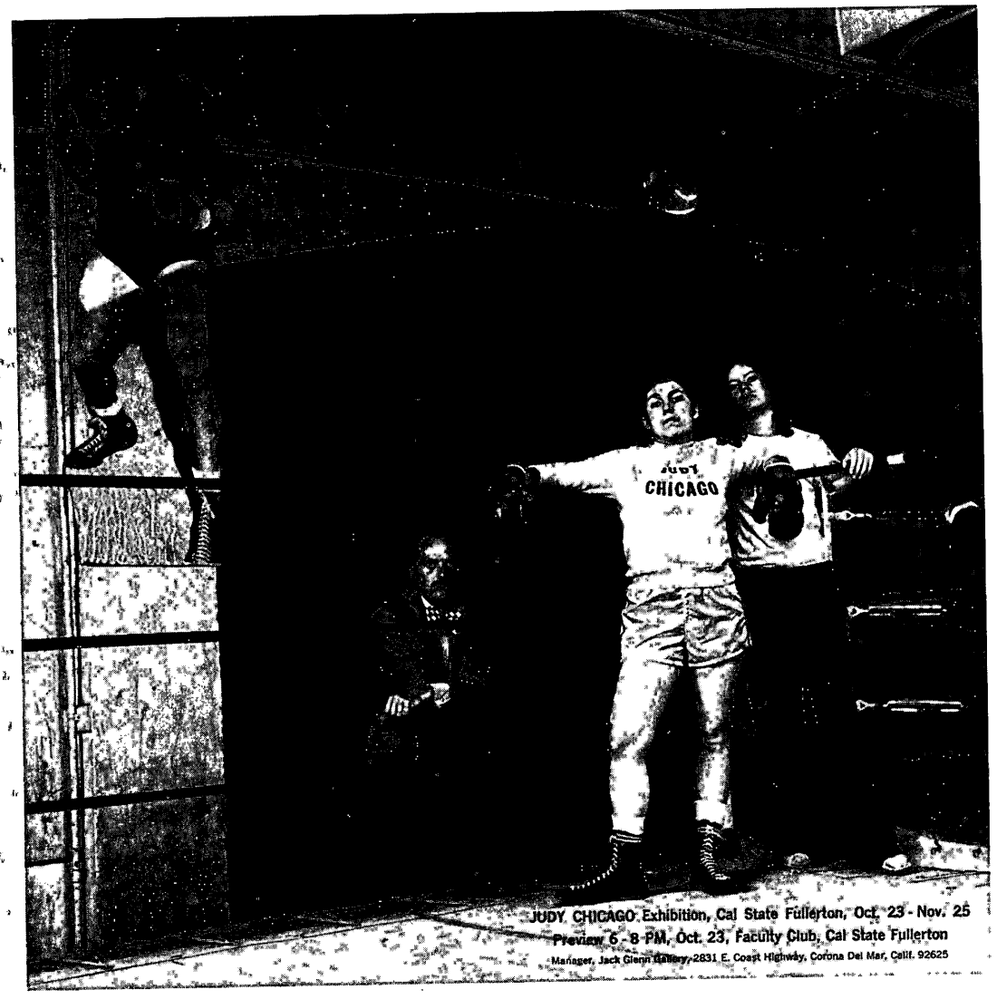


FIGURE 22
Judy Chicago, Exhibition advertisement, *Artforum,* December 1970.
Courtesy of Through the Flower Archives.

In the poster Chicago aligns herself with pop culture figures in the boxing world like Muhammad Ali. She recalls an ambivalent identification which earlier bohemian subcultures in the United States had with "blackness," for example, Norman Mailer's

"White Negro," who stalked the jazz clubs in search of sex and speed. It is not surprising that Chicago's feminism, as exemplified in this poster, was inflected by her artistic milieu, which regarded cultural signs of blackness as the mark of "cool." Yet it is striking how this poster resonated for both a male and female audience of the day in primarily gendered terms.

In Chicago's reading of her self-portrait, the ambivalent mixture of distancing from and identification with blackness is meant to lure the modernist art establishment into an affiliation with feminism and even lesbianism, which this poster seems to hint at in the confrontational stance of the two women. This affiliation between blackness and feminism evokes a tradition of avant-garde "racial romanticism" that can be traced back to the erotic extremes of Eugène Delacroix's nineteenth-century orientalist paintings. There are other particularly American Jewish influences that collude in the avant-garde's romance with race, such as the ambiguous boundaries between Jewish and black identities in Norman Mailer's 1957 figure of the "White Negro."[20] To understand Chicago's evocation of feminism in this poster and its relationship to Mailer requires taking into account not only the racial dimension, her whiteness, but also the ethnic one, her "Jewishness." Her partial identification with Muhammad Ali implies an affinity, whether past or potential, between African Americans and Jews, two groups outside the dominant culture of Europe and of WASP-dominated American art.

Chicago was also aware of certain traditional and New Age religious influences on her work. Perhaps this realization is best exemplified in her well-known celebratory feminist image-making project *The Dinner Party* (1979), a collection of thirty-nine place settings at a triangular dinner table. The arrangement references Christ and his disciples at the Last Supper and, perhaps more unexpectedly, the witches' coven and the millennium, a moment that Chicago claims will end the double standard "which defines men's rituals as not only significant but sacred, while rendering women's invisible."[21] The plates themselves are of vulvar forms emblematic of feminist heroines throughout history (Fig. 23). Celebrated as the icon of 1970s feminist art when first exhibited, the piece was shown again in 1996 as part of an exhibition in Los Angeles organized by Amelia Jones at the Armand Hammer Museum of Art, University of California at Los Angeles. The catalogue *Sexual Politics* and the exhibition were part of a wider project by Jones to rethink the reception of *The Dinner Party* in both feminist art practice and theory over the past twenty years. Jones refers in her introductory catalogue essay to Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics,* which, she says, "marks both my commitment to rethinking the terms of 1970s feminist art theory and practice and my interest in examining the politics of sexuality . . . manifest in the debates that have surrounded Judy Chicago's *Dinner Party.*"[22] Though the writers of *Sexual Politics* are mindful of the racial and ethnic tensions in Chicago's work, the overall emphasis of the catalogue is to reorient con-

FIGURE 23
Judy Chicago, "Sojourner Truth Plate," from *The Dinner Party,* 1979, china paint on porcelain. Courtesy of Through the Flower Archives.

temporary feminist art practice in Los Angeles, now turned toward feminist debates, around the representation of the female body and pleasure. Consequently, the *Dinner Party* exhibit was accompanied by important feminist work from the 1960s to the 1990s in dealing with issues of sexuality that contrasted with those in Chicago's *Dinner Party.*

As Jones is well aware, the debates around sexual politics have changed radically from the 1970s when Millet argues that male oppression alone was the reason for

women's subordination. Two decades of extensive feminist writing on racism and, more recently, Jewishness have worked to displace two widely held beliefs among feminists: that whiteness is natural and normative and that the categories of race and ethnicity concern only nonwhites. Though these beliefs are not the main focus of the *Sexual Politics* anthology, contesting the assumption in Chicago's *Dinner Party* that the history of feminism is a phenomenon and product of white Western women alone is arguably one of the most important contributions of the book. This critique also differentiates *Sexual Politics* from the uncritical celebration of a white feminism in Norma Broude and Mary Garrard's *Power of Feminist Art*. Not only does Amelia Jones disagree with Chicago's assumption that women should be characterized as a singular group on the basis of their shared sexual oppression, but she also finds Chicago's lack of consistency in her use of the vulvar forms suggestive of an uneasiness with representing certain kinds of racial and ethnic subjectivity.[23] Amelia Jones quotes Alice Walker to describe how Chicago's design for the Sojourner Truth plate exemplifies this discomfort about black women specifically:

> All of the other plates are creatively imagined vaginas. . . . The Sojourner Truth plate is the only one in the collection that shows—instead of a vagina—a face, in fact *three* faces. . . . It occurred to me that perhaps white women feminists, no less than white women generally cannot imagine black women have vaginas. Or if they can, where imagination leads them is too far to go.[24]

Rather than take issue either with the vaginal imagery or with Chicago's disregard for difference in using the vagina as a universal symbol of femaleness, Walker and Jones criticize *The Dinner Party* for treating black women as essentially different from white women, in what was otherwise meant to be a celebration of all female sexuality.[25] This is an important critique, pointing out that by using two symbols rather than one, Chicago sets up a center-periphery dichotomy, contrasting the "norm" and the "other," putting white women at the center and black women on the margins. Thus Chicago's vaginal iconography celebrates the sexuality, not of all women, but only of white females, disavowing internal ethnic and class differences and contrasting the external "otherness" of black sexuality. Her chosen symbol unifies Euro-American female identity as feminist while expressing its difference from black "others." Walker and Jones imply that a revision of the understanding of black women's sexuality is beyond the recuperative powers of Chicago's art.

Ironically, the ethnic subtext of both *The Dinner Party* and the boxing picture, rather than transcend the opposition of center and periphery, itself becomes peripheral. This assimilation of the margins entails Chicago's speaking for all women through the ethnically and racially unmarked discourse of both feminism and Christianity. To do this she adapts the metaphor of the Last Supper for her *Dinner Party*

and through her vaginal imagery also naturalizes the Christianity of the women presented in the project.[26] Her appropriation of Christianity into her own feminist discourse may not be meant to exalt Christian women at the expense of "other" women such as herself, since her project also references New Age religions. Given the dominance of Christianity in the United States, however, it is not surprising that Nancy Ring, one of the Jewish contributors to *Sexual Politics,* forcefully expresses her skepticism about Chicago's choice of the iconography of the Last Supper as a means to celebrate feminism. She even goes so far as to imply that Chicago used the Christ figure in the project to enhance her status as a white feminist. Ring writes,

> Where exactly was she [Chicago] coming from when she chose to power her art-making activities by mixing the primary metaphors of the Last Supper and the dinner party? . . .
>
> The consistency with which Chicago chose Anglo-American and European women to sit at her table and her selection of the figure of a soon-to-be-transubstantiated Christ to signify feminist transformation can reveal as much about the grounds from which her project sprang as they do about the lofty place to which she aspires.[27]

If *The Dinner Party* evokes female solidarity, that evocation is problematic, for in staging harmony, it also represses awareness of Jewish ethnicity. Chicago's "imagined community," to use Benedict Anderson's term, dominated by famous Anglo-American and European women who are mostly Christian, avoids even a "managed" harmony among ethnic groups. Jewishness is repressed historically too, since even a Jewish woman like Gertrude Stein becomes associated exclusively with her sexuality and nationality, and her Jewishness is not mentioned.

The Dinner Party was seen in the late 1970s, not in the ethnic and racial terms outlined above, but as part of the liberal critique of stereotypes of the 1960s and 1970s and as an instance of the positive feminist sexual imagery popular in the period, along with such slogans as "Sisterhood is Powerful" and "Black is Beautiful." It was a common misconception then to regard images as merely a reflection, good or bad, and to compare "bad" or "false" images of women (such as fashion advertisements) to "good" or "true" images of women. Christian whiteness and middle-classness was seen as the unspoken norm. The best example of such misconceptions is the collaborative project *Womanhouse* (1972), organized by Judy Chicago and Miriam Schapiro. They took over and renovated an empty downtown house in Los Angeles and remade each of its rooms as a "true" dramatic representation of women's experiences beginning in childhood: home, housework, menstruation, marriage, and so on. The work represented a middle-class, Euro-American perspective, although it suggested the underlying presence of an unacknowledged nonwhite ethnic or racial class. *Womanhouse* did not represent the experiences of the black or Chicana

maid or the white working-class cleaning woman, since the only "true" experiences of domesticity and marriage represented were those of white, American, middle-class women. The project did not address the differences among women themselves, specifically those arising from an inequality in power relations on the project itself. Not did it engage the question why middle-class women who spend their days scrubbing, cleaning, and scraping go to incongruous lengths to disguise their work and erase its evidence from their hands. It does not consider how the emblems of female upper-class prestige depend on the labor of black or Chicana domestics. Nor does it address the heterogeneity of identities among women from different ethnic groups, and how they might represent themselves differently from the way they are represented in the popular media, as in the case of Jewish women, who are frequently presented in popular culture as unwilling to participate in any form of domestic labor, refusing to clean or cook.[28]

Eleanor Antin: Jewish Contentions

> There is no point at which she suddenly stops being Eleanor Antin. What she becomes is already part of her, and she never ceases to be what she is to begin with. There are no borders, no precise contours, no center.
>
> —Jonathan Crary

Whereas Judy Chicago celebrated white feminist identities in a way that left racial and cultural hierarchies intact, Eleanor Antin, in her own work, complicated any evocation of female harmony as well as the white normative space and set of identities it marked out. Antin does not separate "culture" from other dimensions of daily life. She focuses on what women in their everyday lives cannot always see or name—that is, how their interests are often at odds with one another, as evidenced by her projects *Domestic Peace* and the *Encounter and Withdrawal* series. Antin's work of the 1970s that emphasized the complexities and self-contradictions of a feminist position was often less popular than her pieces that conformed to a recognizable, celebratory feminism or met more traditional standards of high art. For example, a great deal of critical attention was given to her photopiece *Carving: A Traditional Sculpture,* (Fig. 24), which was seen at the time and continues to be interpreted as an ironic comment on how the ideal of the nude is gendered in the history of art. Emphasizing its feminist importance, the art critic Cindy Nemser wrote in 1975 that *Carving* is about "how women are always concerned with the need to improve their bodies."[29] She refers to the female desire for future perfection, the lure of achieving ideals—in this case literally embodying the Greek ideal of the nude or that of a thin female body through dieting. According to Nemser, Antin shows that the popular

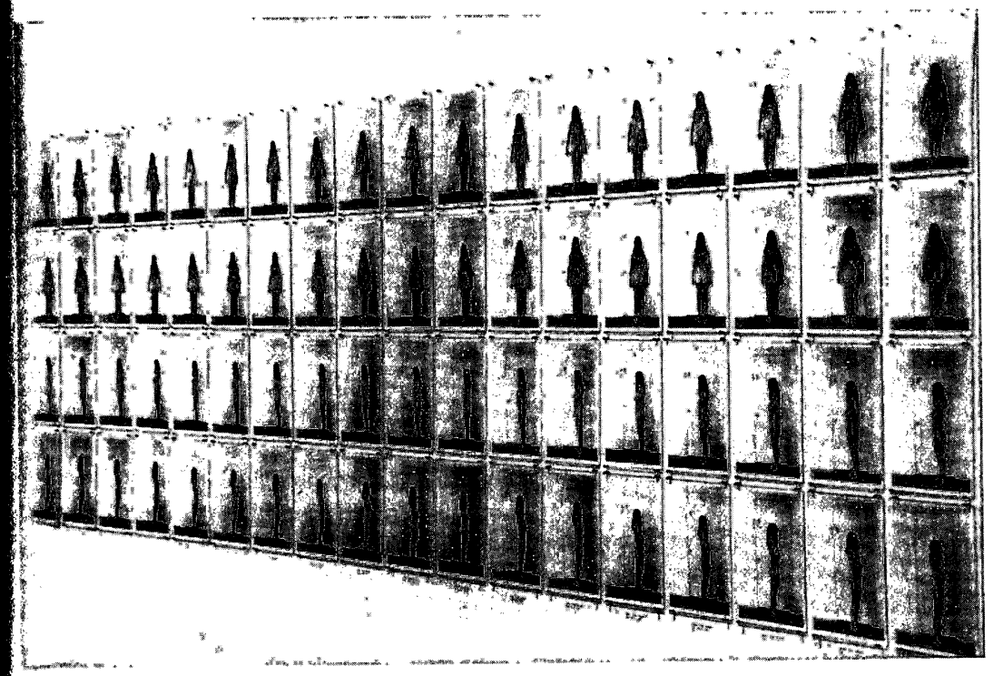


FIGURE 24
Eleanor Antin, *Carving: A Traditional Sculpture,* 1972.

ideals on offer do not actually exist for women, not even as the end product of photographic techniques. Similarly, Joanna Frueh writes of *Carving* that "just as the Classical Greek nude occludes women's bodies in this kind of aesthetically rigid form, so the socially correct beautiful body disciplines and punishes women, through frustration, guilt, anxiety, and competitiveness with other women."[30]

Despite the considerable critical attention giving to *Carving,* much of what makes it a complicated work is the ethnic subtext, which has been largely ignored. While Chicago's assimilation was eased by the facility with which she associated herself with the socially normative group (famous white Christian women), Antin uses her own body as the subject of *Carving* and in so doing forces us to consider what it means to be both an embodied female and a member of an ethnic minority. In this regard, Antin's attempt to exert formal control over her own body and achieve the aesthetic ideal required also has a great deal to do with societal constructions built

upon body differences, a legacy not only of art history but also of the physiognomically based racial theories of the nineteenth century. It is significant in this respect that *Carving* references police or medical photographic and cinematic practices of the early twentieth century in which discourses of physiognomy, photographic science, and aesthetics coincided and overlapped.

Antin establishes this connection between her work and earlier medical and scientific photographic and cinematic discourse by using a sequence of photographs that looks almost like film stills: the stills present her isolated body, which changes slightly from frame to frame, standing against a stark white background in a seemingly exhaustive catalogue of gestures and poses. In this sense we can view Antin as playing off earlier traditions to mark herself as Jewish. The cultural critic Sander Gilman writes on medical theories about the difference of the Jewish body and explains how these included a theory of adaptability: "One form of that difference was their [Jews] uncanny ability to look like everyone else (that is, to look like the idealization of those who wanted to see themselves as different from the Jew)."[31] With such theories in mind, Antin's project can be seen as her inability to adapt to the ideal and thus to assimilate as an unmarked subject. Unlike Chicago, Antin does not offer an easy solution to the dilemma of being both Jewish and female. Instead she points to the limits of fitting in, by presenting a series of anti-aesthetic photographic self-portraits that refuse to offer a neutral and undisturbing aesthetic experience.

Domestic Peace: An Exhibition of Drawings (1971), though less well known than *Carving,* operates in a similar way, in the sense that it offers no easy solution to the dilemma. Moreover, unlike other renowned works from the period, such as Judy Chicago's *Dinner Party, Domestic Peace* allowed Antin to explore the equally taboo subject of conflict in mother-daughter relations in the context of her own Jewish family. Given its unusual focus and the fact that art history tends to privilege references to high culture over the popular and the everyday, it is not surprising that this project has received less attention from both the art world and the feminist community than the other works discussed so far. According to Cindy Nemser, "The art world did not like it because it disrupted the whole romantic myth of the artist as someone who doesn't have the same everyday family connections as everyone else."[32] If artists felt uneasy with it because it dealt with the taboo topic of bourgeois Jewish family relations, feminists kept their distance because it was at odds with accepted white feminist notions of the mother-daughter bond as an arena for noncontentious women's connections and social activism (Fig. 25). Antin's previously unpublished explanation of this conceptual work reveals generational differences between Jewish women, suggesting that the kind of independence feminism offers women artists can become a divisive force between certain mothers and daughters:

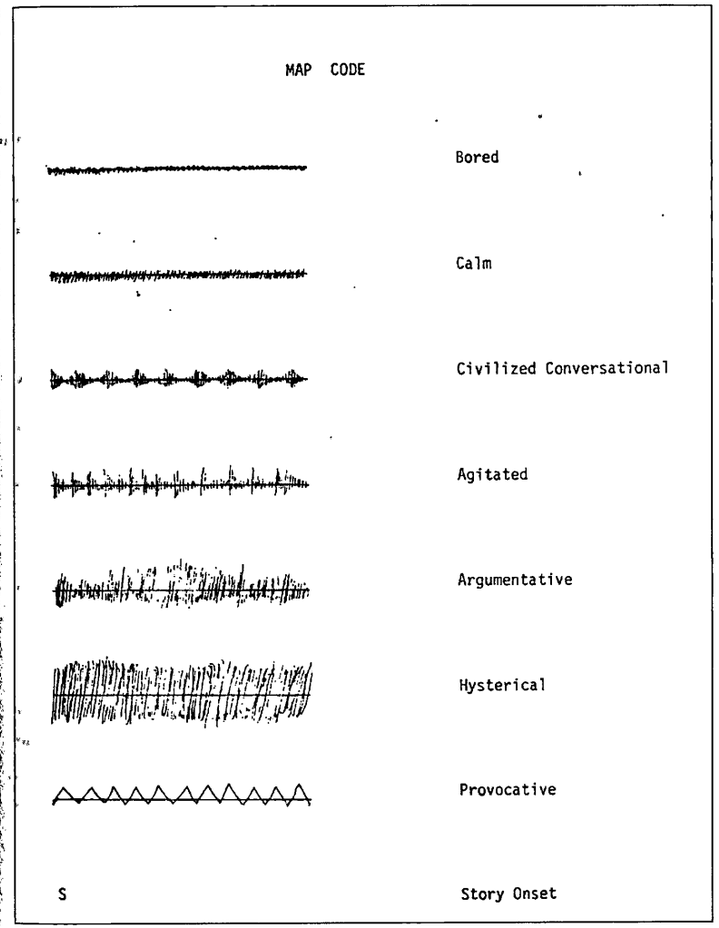


FIGURE 25
Eleanor Antin, *Domestic Peace,* "Map Code," 1971.

I live in California and from Nov. 29–Dec. 15, 1971—a period of 17 days—I planned to visit NYC with my husband and small child. It would serve our economic and domestic convenience but was also an opportunity for me to discharge familial obligations. However, though my mother insists upon her claim to the familial she is not at all interested in my actual life but rather in what she considers an appropriate life. No matter what kind of life a person leads he can always, by careful selection, produce an image corresponding to anyone else's view of appropriateness. By madly ransacking my life for all the details that suited my mother's theory of appropriateness and by carefully suppressing almost all the others, I was able to offer her an image of myself that produced in her "a feeling

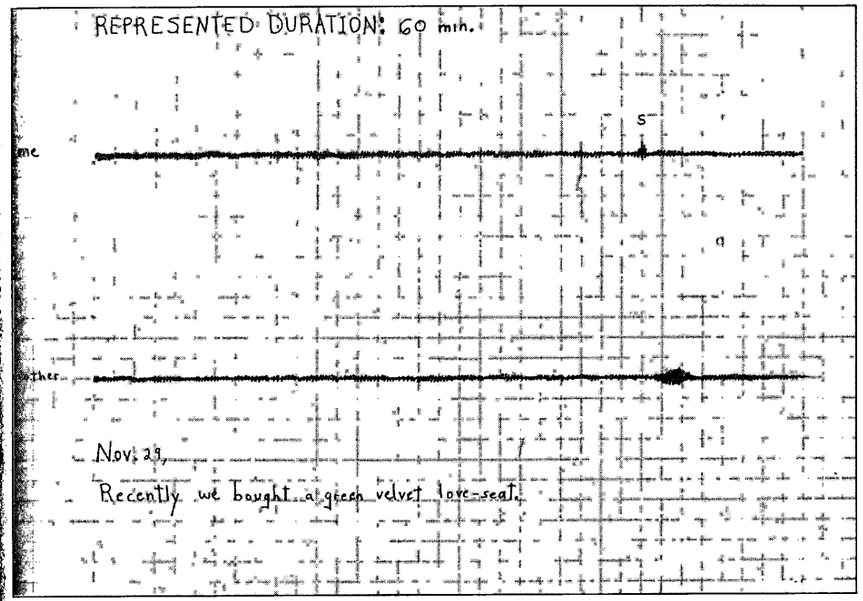
> of closeness." It should be kept in mind that this "closeness" was a "closeness" to her theory rather than to her life but appeal to her didacticism was the only way to give her sufficient satisfaction to ensure the domestic peace necessary to free me for my own affairs. I planned a daily set of conversational openers consisting of carefully chosen stories. Several of these stories contained slightly abrasive elements which might be expected to mitigate peace. I considered these to be alternates for use only on "good" days. For those hectic times when I would be forced to remain in the apartment for fairly long periods, I kept a set of reserves I could throw in to hold the line. Hopefully, these stories would act as gambits leading to natural and friendly conversation.[33]

Antin could never have the "domestic peace" she desired on her own terms, nor could it ever conform to nostalgic feminist notions of harmony between mothers and daughters. Neither does it follow the more conservative, mythic script of the gifted (usually male) artist who is separate from economic, social, familial, and sexual relations and therefore does not need "domestic peace." The project highlights mother-daughter relationships as the sites of private warfare, in which female conflict is the norm. To achieve "peace" during the periods when she must remain in her mother's house for a long time, Antin would stage a set of conversations to coincide with "what her mother considered revealing of an appropriate middle-class life," such as a sixty-minute discussion of the artist's purchase of a green velvet love seat (Fig. 26).

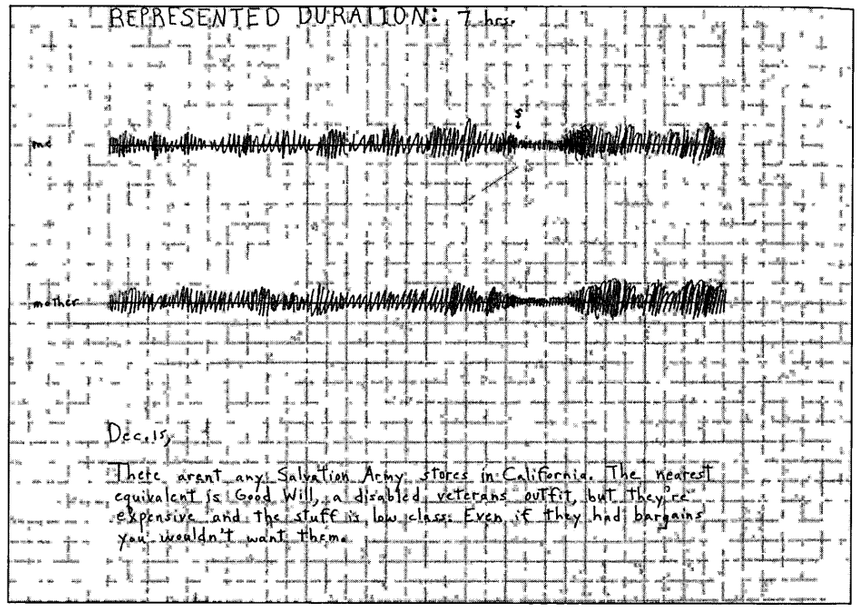
These conversations, specifying a white Jewish ethnicity situated in middle-class affluence, were short and peaceful by comparison with others that posited the possibility of enjoying a different form of consumption deviating from her mother's notion of middle-class success. The latter type of conversation is exemplified by a seven-hour agitated interaction between mother and daughter that most likely took place while they did other things around the house (Fig. 27). The story included in the piece is a half hour of calm during that conversation when Antin discourages her mother from shopping at Good Will stores in California because the "stuff is low class." Trying to gain her mother's acceptance, she says, "Even if they had bargains you wouldn't want them." Those conversations that explored ideological conflicts between middle-class Eastern Europe Jews and African Americans (Antin's mother was working as a clerk in a state office at the time), delving into class and even racial tensions in the Jewish community, created the strongest disagreements and conflicts between mother and daughter, as evidenced by the way that Antin satirizes her mother's hypocritical racial politics in one of the charts in the piece (Fig. 28).

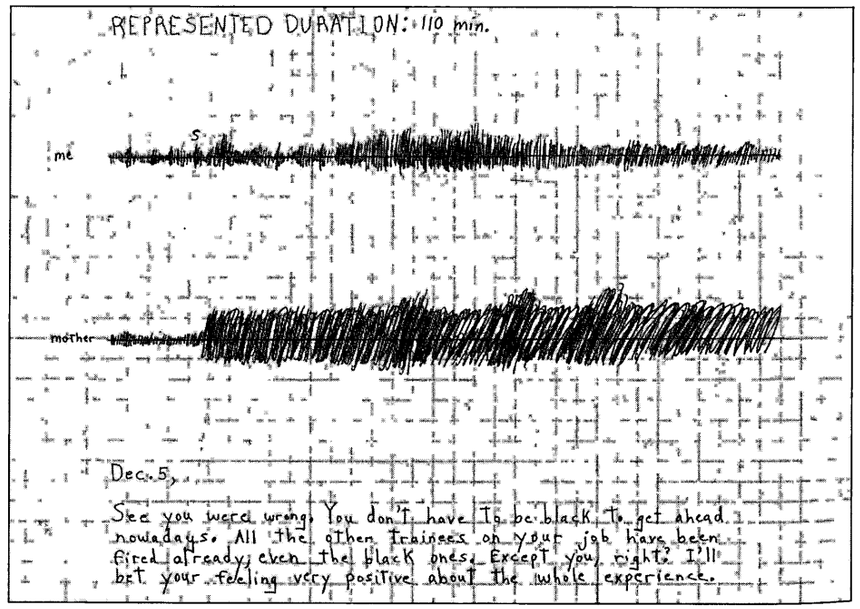
Domestic Peace reveals how harmony and calm between mother and daughter come only at the price of the artist's own silence. Yet the parodic form of the project—the exaggerated way it meticulously records in a pseudo-scientific manner the reactions to various conversations—frequently enables Antin to transcend the oppressiveness of these relations, since its satirical mode of discourse renders explicit the points of tension. In this respect, *Domestic Peace* has a lot in common with Antin's two *Encounter and Withdrawal* pieces, which also deal with the problematic bond between women, but in a setting that ordinarily would not encourage the examination of their differences—a feminist consciousness-raising group of women artists in San Diego in 1972 and 1975. The performance piece consisted of four declarations that were officially signed and stamped by a notary in advance of the group's meeting (Figs. 29 and 30). *Encounter,* "#1" provides an example:

> At the February 20th meeting, I shall take on the job of ombudsman. This will necessitate my pointing out to each member of the group, and in any manner I choose, a particular failing she displays in relation to the others. These may be of an ephemeral sort such as personal bugginess taken out on someone else or of a



FIGURES 26–28
Eleanor Antin, *Domestic Peace*: (*above*) "Nov. 29, 1971," (*following page, above*) "Dec. 15, 1971," and (*following page, below*) "Dec. 5, 1971."



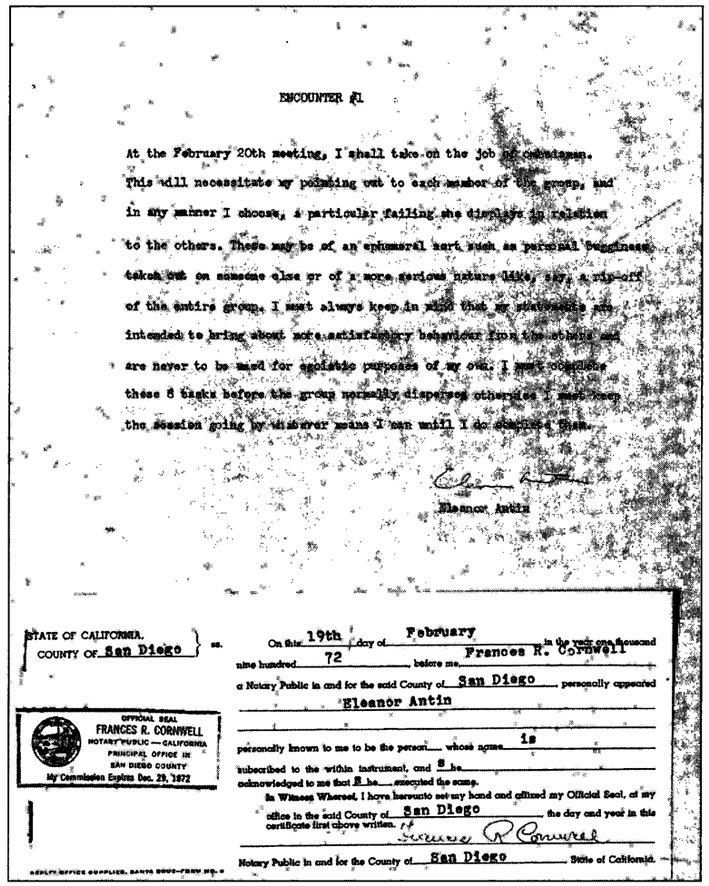


> more serious nature like, say, a rip-off of the entire group. I must always keep in mind that my statements are intended to bring about more satisfactory behaviour from the others and are never to be used for egotistic purposes of my own. I must complete these 8 tasks before the group normally disperses otherwise I must keep the session going by whatever means I can until I do complete them.[34]

This piece is unusual for the way Antin perversely performs the problem that she claims to identify and to remedy. At first, the use of the official rhetoric of the notary document itself, with its seal and signature, seems to suggest female authoritarian behavior since it references a legal discourse that opens the women in the group to unexpected scrutiny and observation. On closer inspection, however, Antin's use of such a device is performative in that it dislodges the women from the pretense of a safe utopian environment and puts them back within a context that re-creates the more complex pressures the art world and academia present for feminists such as Antin (who was a university professor at the time): hierarchy, competition, and distrust on the one hand and coalition, mentorship, and respect on the other. Moving beyond simple utopian feminist art projects of the period, Antin's piece stages the complex relations of betrayal, knowledge, and power among women and reminds the viewer of the more unsightly side of feminism. It is important that the pieces were produced in secret and have never been publicly exhibited, for this suggests that, even in a progressive social movement such as feminism, many issues at the time were left unexamined. Despite the rhetoric of openness that seemingly prevailed, problems and imbalances in the group were not addressed, and thus the artist was not willing to risk being misunderstood or perceived as disloyal.

Besides the content of Antin's conceptual pieces discussed so far, the spareness and coolness of her work distance it from the traditional melodramatic gestures of an immigrant Eastern European Jewish culture and the presumed highly emotional content of Jewish ethnic relationships. Conflict, anger, and disagreement between and among women are mapped by codes, graphs, or a notarized document. Official documents stand in for the pressure to assimilate and adopt the relatively more controlled body language of Anglo-American northern European culture, which has stigmatized expressive gestures as signs of backward and uncultivated societies. In both *Domestic Peace* and *Encounter and Withdrawal,* Antin satirizes bourgeois codes of etiquette, privacy, politeness, and good manners in a way that reduces these codes to their hypocritical core. Even the women's movement does not escape Antin's critical scrutiny.

In certain ways Antin's work reveals her interest in addressing the discourse of modernism, if only to critique and occasionally reference it, as she does in the 1970s



ENCOUNTER #1

At the February 20th meeting, I shall take on the job of ombudsman. This will necessitate my pointing out to each member of the group, and in any manner I choose, a particular failing she displays in relation to the others. These may be of an ephemeral sort such as personal bugginess taken out on someone else or of a more serious nature like, say, a rip-off of the entire group. I must always keep in mind that my statements are intended to bring about more satisfactory behaviour from the others and are never to be used for egotistic purposes of my own. I must complete these 6 tasks before the group normally disperses otherwise I must keep the session going by whatever means I can until I do complete them.

Eleanor Antin

STATE OF CALIFORNIA, COUNTY OF San Diego } ss.

On this 19th day of February in the year one thousand nine hundred 72 before me, Frances R. Cornwell a Notary Public in and for the said County of San Diego personally appeared Eleanor Antin

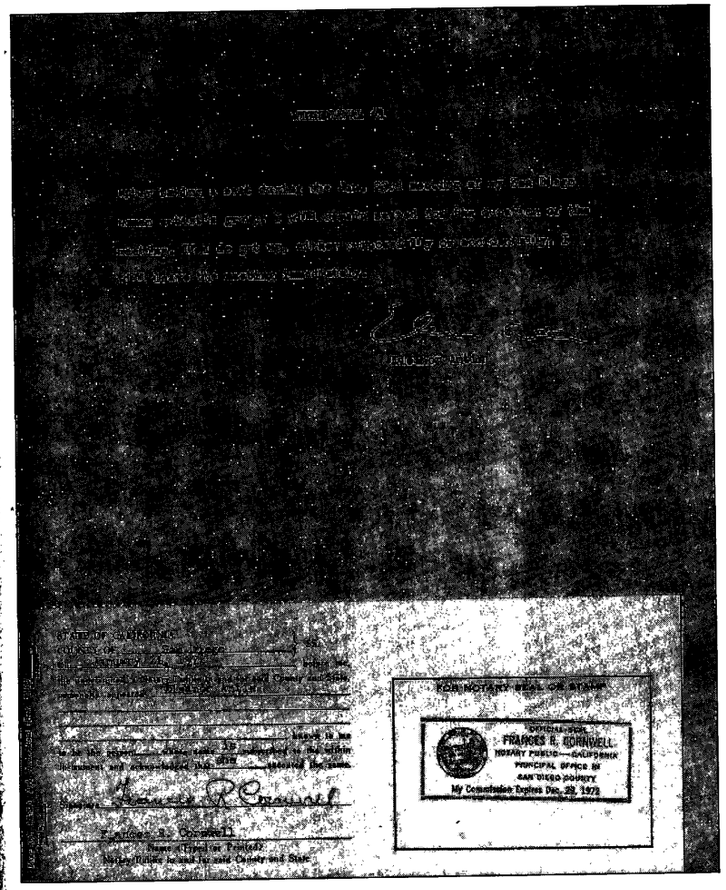
personally known to me to be the person whose name is subscribed to the within instrument, and she acknowledged to me that she executed the same.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my Official Seal, at my office in the said County of San Diego the day and year in this certificate first above written.

Notary Public in and for the County of San Diego State of California.

OFFICIAL SEAL
FRANCES R. CORNWELL
NOTARY PUBLIC — CALIFORNIA
PRINCIPAL OFFICE IN
SAN DIEGO COUNTY
My Commission Expires Dec. 29, 1972

FIGURE 29
Eleanor Antin, *Encounter,* "#1," 1972.



FOR NOTARY SEAL OR STAMP

OFFICIAL SEAL
FRANCES R. CORNWELL
NOTARY PUBLIC—CALIFORNIA
PRINCIPAL OFFICE IN
SAN DIEGO COUNTY
My Commission Expires Dec. 29, 1972

FIGURE 30
Eleanor Antin, *Withdrawal,* "#1," 1972.

construction of an invented autobiography of the black ballerina Eleanora Antinova from Diaghilev's Ballets Russes. Moreover, there is a tendency in Antin's work to mime and parody whiteness. In this respect her work reveals complexities in the relations between feminism and modernism, both movements in which she participates. The intersections of race, ethnicity, and culture do not appear in the projects of Antin's discussed so far, since even in *Encounter,* "#1" (see Fig. 29) Antin speaks about differences between women in a feminist space occupied exclusively by middle-class Euro-American women. It is only in her invented autobiographies, each of which experientially re-creates a character and a history, that she deals directly with other kinds of difference—though she references other models of difference in Europe and Russia more often than the United States. In many of her performances Antin deliberately situates herself in the margins and plays British or European roles—the Seventeenth Century French King, Florence Nightingale, or the black Russian prima ballerina Eleanora Antinova, a work that takes the form of photographs, personal memoirs, and a performance piece. In this project Antin performs in blackface to posit Russian ballet as a "white machine" but constructs herself as "black" to resist conforming to an image of what an unmarked white woman performer should be:

> I have a curved spine, my breasts are too large, my legs too short, my feet are weak, they bleed after *pointe* work, my skin is too dark to be a ballerina. Ballet is, after all, a white machine. There's very little room for life in it. I was a black face in a snow bank.[35]

FIGURE 31
Eleanor Antin, "Eleanora Antinova in 'L'Esclave,' " from *Recollections of My Life with Diaghilev,* 1983.

FIGURE 32
Eleanor Antin, "Eleanora Antinova in 'Pocahontas,' " from *Recollections of My Life with Diaghilev,* 1983.

By presenting herself as "black"—rather than simply as white and Jewish—Antin seems to suggest how unimaginable it is that Jews like herself, who have assimilated to the point that they now appear indistinguishable from dominant white Americans, could have had parents or grandparents who were arbitrarily distinguished by race. Thus Antin dresses up in "blackface" to treat stereotypes of, and discrimination against, Jews as ideologically akin to such treatment of blacks.

Though Antin's black ballerina, Antinova, ostensibly belongs to Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, she descends not so much from the world of Martha Graham and Balanchine as from a whole tradition of vaudeville and theater in which Jewish as well as black women were regarded as exotic and erotic spectacles. Antinova's memoirs, written by Antin, present a complex commentary on the marginalization of both Jewish and black women in exoticized modernist dance like that Diaghilev produced. Each dance Antin creates for Antinova parodies dances an American black or Jewish ballerina might have been forced to perform in a European dance company: Antinova as a slave girl in a ballet where she does not move her feet (Fig. 31); or as Pocahontas (Fig. 32); or as the dancer of "The Hebrews" (Fig. 33). These dances thus comment on the confining roles of "otherness" and the exotic that American Jews and blacks occupy in European modernist ballet. Antin's critique challenges an exclusive class and racial system that defines a set of normative high-cultural practices against which all are measured and into which all are expected to fit. In

FIGURE 33
Eleanor Antin, "Eleanora Antinova in 'The Hebrews,' " from *Recollections of My Life with Diaghilev,* 1983.

FIGURE 34
Eleanor Antin, "Eleanora Antinova in 'Before the Revolution,' " from *Recollections of My Life with Diaghilev,* 1983.

her parodic performance as Marie-Antoinette the shepherdess (the queen dressed as working-class Other), Antin ironizes an older form of appropriating otherness and thus undercuts any notion that a transcendent racial and class position can be easily occupied (Fig. 34).

Whereas some of the power of the works by Antin and Chicago discussed here is contingent on their ethnic subtext, these artists have more recently produced work that explicitly reflects that they are both white and Jewish. I am referring to Judy Chicago's book *Holocaust Project: From Darkness into Light* (1993) and to Eleanor Antin's film *The Man without a World* (1991), a simulation of a silent-era Yiddish film.[36] Both of these newer projects display some consistency with their earlier works. Chicago is still producing iconic images that deal on a literal level with unquestionable oppression, though this time it is the Nazis rather than American men who are the perpetrators. Antin turns to shtetl life in Poland, in a satirical way not unlike that of her earlier projects on women, to present the heterogeneity of identities among Jews, revealing that the shift toward Jewish assimilation that took place decades later in the United State was anything but uniform.

By historicizing Chicago's and Antin's work in terms of gender, race, and ethnicity, I have attempted here to affirm the struggles and to indicate the blind spots of older Jewish feminist artists. The work of these women generates the feminist work of the present. Women working and writing on the arts today should continue to rethink their relationship to earlier generations of feminists and to challenge entrenched perceptions of feminist generational differences. An intergenerational dialogue is crucial for historical critique and a feminist future.

Notes

1. See Sander L. Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Ann Pelligrini, *Performance Anxieties* (New York and London: Routledge, 1997); and Richard Dyer, *White* (London: Routledge, 1997).

2. For further discussion of this generational shift in feminist art history, see Griselda Pollock, ed., *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts: Feminist Readings* (London: Routledge, 1996); Griselda Pollock, "The Politics of Theory: Generations and Geographies: Feminist Theory and the Histories of Art Histories," *Genders,* no. 17 (Fall 1993); Janet Wolff, "The Artist, the Critic and the Academic: Feminism's Problematic Relationship with 'Theory,' " in *New Feminist Art Criticism,* ed. Katy Deepwell (New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 14–19; Thalia Gouma-Peterson and Patricia Mathews, "The Feminist Critique of Art History," *Art Bulletin* 69 (September 1987): 326–57; Amelia Jones, "Postfeminism, Feminist Pleasures, and Embodied Theories of Art," in *New Feminist Criticism: Art, Identity, Action,* ed. Joanna Frueh, Cassandra L. Langer, and Arlene Raven (New York: HarperCollins, 1994), 25–29.

3. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, "Introduction: Feminism and Art in the Twentieth Century," in *The Power of Feminist Art: The American Movement of the 1970s, History and Impact,* ed. Broude and Garrard (New York: Abrams, 1994), 10.

4. Yolanda López and Moira Roth, "Social Protest: Racism and Sexism," in *The Power of Feminist Art,* 140.

5. Ella Shohat, "Ethnicities in Relation: Toward a Multicultural Reading of American Cinema," in *Unspeakable Images: Ethnicity and the American Cinema,* ed. Lester D. Friedman (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 217.

6. Lucy Lippard, "Uninvited Guests: How Washington Lost 'The Dinner Party,'" *Art in America* 79, no. 12 (December 1991): 39–49; Amelia Jones, "Sexual Politics: Feminist Strategies, Feminist Conflicts, Feminist Histories," in *Sexual Politics: Judy Chicago's* Dinner Party *in Feminist Art History,* ed. Amelia Jones (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 84–118; Michèle Barrett, "Feminism and the Definition of Cultural Politics," in *Feminism, Culture and Politics,* ed. Rosalind Brunt and Caroline Rowan (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1982). The exception is Nancy Ring's article in the *Sexual Politics* anthology, entitled "Identifying with Judy Chicago." Though I found Ring's article useful for this essay because it provides a detailed analysis of the impact of ethnicity on Chicago's life as well as on her own, its biographical and autobiographical approach to Chicago offers a perspective different than my own. Drawing from a multiculturalist, theoretical perspective that considers Jewish identities in relation to other political issues, including feminism and colonial discourse, I am less concerned with evaluating or identifying with Chicago the person than I am with examining how Chicago's treatment of ethnicity relates to the other seemingly contradictory combination of discursive frameworks and ideologies she was working from.

7. Judy Chicago, *Through the Flower: My Struggle as a Woman Artist* (New York: Doubleday, 1975), 63.

8. Miriam Schapiro, "Interview with Amelia Jones, 21 July 1994," in *Sexual Politics,* 75.

9. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Subject* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

10. Inspired by the debates on multiculturalism and Eurocentrism, new conversations among Jews are taking place in the arts. See Lisa Bloom, "Ghosts of Ethnicity: Rethinking Art Discourses of the 1940s and 1980s," *Socialist Review* 42, nos. 1 and 2 (1994): 129–64; Norman Kleeblatt, ed., *Too Jewish: Challenging Traditional Identities* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press; New York: Jewish Museum, 1996).

11. The concepts of canonization and artistic genius have long been debated by feminist art historians. See Griselda Pollock, "Artists, Mythologies and Media Genius, Madness and Art History," *Screen* 21, no. 3 (1980); Janet Wolff, *The Social Production of Art* (New York: Macmillan, 1981); Linda Nochlin, *Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); Eunice Lipton, "Here Today, Gone Tomorrow? Some Plots for a Dismantling," in *The Decade Show: Frameworks of Identity in the 1980s* (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art and the Harlem Museum, 1990). See now Catherine M. Soussloff, *The Absolute Artist: The Historiography of a Concept* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

12. As Amelia Jones points out in "The 'Sexual Politics' of *The Dinner Party:* A Critical Context," 107–9, Chicago's investment in masculinist notions of greatness was very much in keeping with early art-historical feminist writing from the period, in particular Linda Nochlin's famous essay "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" (first published in 1971 in *Art News*), in *Art and Sexual Politics,* ed. Thomas B. Hess and Elizabeth C. Baker (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 1–43.

13. Michèle Barrett, "Feminism and the Definition of Cultural Politics," in *Feminism, Culture and Politics,* ed. Brunt and Rowan, 44.

14. For further discussion of this generational shift, see the works cited in note 2.

15. Quoted in Amelia Jones, "The 'Sexual Politics' of *The Dinner Party,*" 103.

16. In her 1979 *Dinner Party* book, Chicago explicitly associates herself with Michelangelo, writing "I can imagine how Michelangelo must have felt—twelve years at that ceiling." *The Dinner Party: A Symbol of Our Heritage* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1979), 29. Also quoted in Amelia Jones, "The 'Sexual Politics' of *The Dinner Party,*" 105.

17. Judy Chicago, *Beyond the Flower: The Autobiography of a Feminist Artist* (New York: Viking, 1996), 15–16.

18. Ibid., 20.

19. Ibid., 20–21.

20. Norman Mailer, "The White Negro: Superficial Reflections on the Hipster" (1957), in *Advertisements for Myself* (New York: Andre Deutsch, 1964).

21. Judy Chicago, *Embroidering Our Heritage: The Dinner Party Needlework* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books), 265.

22. Amelia Jones, "Sexual Politics: Feminist Strategies, Feminist Conflicts, Feminist Histories," 22.

23. Amelia Jones refers to another critique of Chicago written in 1978 by Estelle Chacom, a woman who represented a group of Chicanas from the National Women's Political Caucus. See "The 'Sexual Politics' of *The Dinner Party,*" 100–01.

24. Ibid., 101; Alice Walker, "*One* Child of One's Own: A Meaningful Digression within the Work(s)" (1979), in *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983), 383.

25. Also see Lorraine O'Grady's more recent critique "The Cave," *Artforum* 30 (January 1992): 22.

26. For a more thorough discussion of this issue, see Nancy Ring, "Identifying with Judy Chicago," in *Sexual Politics,* ed. Amelia Jones, esp. 133–35.

27. Ibid., 133.

28. See Riv-Ellen Prell, "Why Jewish Princesses Don't Sweat: Desire and Consumption in Postwar American Jewish Culture," in *Too Jewish,* ed. Kleeblatt, 74–92.

29. Cindy Nemser, "Eleanor Antin," in *Art Talk* (New York: Scribners, 1975), 281.

30. Joanna Frueh, "The Body Through Women's Eyes," in *The Power of Feminist Art,* ed. Broude and Garrard, 195.

31. Sander L. Gilman, "The Jew's Body: Thoughts on Jewish Physical Difference," in *Too Jewish,* ed. Kleeblatt, 70.

32. Cindy Nemser, "Eleanor Antin," 282.

33. Collection of the artist.

34. This series by Eleanor Antin has never been exhibited or published. Collection of the artist.

35. Quoted in Henry Sayre, introduction to Eleanor Antin, *Eleanora Antinova Plays* (Los Angeles: Sun and Moon Press, 1994), 13.

36. For an excellent close reading of Eleanor Antin's 1991 feature film *The Man without a World,* see Jeffrey Skoller, "The Shadows of Catastrophe: Towards an Ethics of Representation in Films by Antin, Eisenberg, and Spielberg," *Discourse: A Journal for Theoretical Studies in Media and Culture* 19, no. 1 (Fall 1996): 131–59. The article examines the ways that Antin and other postmodern Jewish media artists deploy different representational strategies to reimagine the history of European Jewry and its culture beyond the popularly fetishized spectacle of its destruction. For information about Judy Chicago's *Holocaust Project: From Darkness into Light,* contact Through the Flower, 101 North Second Street, Belen, N.M. 87002. See also *The Holocaust Project: From Darkness into Light,* with photographs by Donald Woodman (New York: Viking Penguin, 1993).