That-has-been: A discussion on the body cast as that which fixes a subject in time, in relation to notions surrounding the photograph.

by

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Abstract

Much like a photograph, a casts creates a replica of its referent, thereby immobilising the subject in time. While the subject continues in time and hence ages and inevitably dies the replica does not. With this basic notion of fixing a subject, I have built an argument to contextualise my sculptures, which are made using casts of elderly people. In this discussion I have looked at my works through the ideas of different theorists. The main theorist I have cited is Roland Barthes, specifically with regards to his notion of the photograph as discussed in his book *Camera Lucida*. I have also referenced three particular artists: Rachel Whiteread, Diane Arbus and Churchill Madikida, as I have found each of their works relate to my work in various ways, creating a different reading from each viewpoint.

I declare that this thesis is my own work and that all the sources I have used have been acknowledged by complete references. This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for Masters of Fine Art at Rhodes University. I declare that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at another university

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Introduction

In this mini thesis I shall be looking at notions surrounding the photograph and discussing how these ideas can be applied to the body cast. Both of these concerns (photography and the body cast) are central to my practical work, where I have taken body casts of elderly subjects posed to resemble the children in old photographs. Thus old family photographs, from various sources, are the starting point for my sculptures; and my three-dimensional translation of photographs into sculptures using body casts touches on a number of themes around absence, presence and loss, common to both casting and photography.

The main literature I will be using to explore ideas surrounding my own works is Roland Barthes' book *Camera Lucida,* which talks about the photograph as a "certificate of presence", but also maintains that the photograph stands in for a subject in its absence therefore making it a signifier of loss and death (Barthes1980: 87). Annette Kuhn's book *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination*, discusses photographs as an object of interpretation, which allows her a greater understanding of her relationship to her family. She discusses the similarities between all family photographs. I shall also incorporate literature on various artists, whose works are in some way relevant in this discussion. These artists include Rachel Whiteread, Diane Arbus and Churchill Madikida. I will also be looking at old photographs, some of which I have adapted for my own sculptures, and discussing these in relation to the well-theorised notions of trace, index, the gaze, memory and nostalgia.

An immediate similarity between the photograph and the body cast is that both serve as a record, while also pointing to the loss or absence of what has been recorded. As Annette Kuhn (1995: 42) argues,

> On the surface, the family photograph functions primarily as a record: it stands as visible evidence that this family exists, that its members have gone through the passages conventionally produced in the family album as properly and necessarily familial. My photograph thus records the fact that a particular child was born and survived. But recording is the very least of it. Why should a moment be recorded, if not for evanescence? The photograph's seizing of a moment always, even at that every moment, assumes loss. The record looks towards a future time when things will be different, anticipates a need to remember what will soon be past.

The notion of a photograph as something that records and at the same time suggests death is mirrored by the body cast as both the photograph and the cast capture the image of a person and immobilise it in an eternal state.

In terms of my practical work my initial interest lay with an image I found of two girls from the 1850s (fig.1). They are dressed up for the photograph in a pair of matching Victorian dresses. I was so taken with this image that I wanted to reconstruct what had been photographed. The idea that these children have grown up and most probably died is what is fascinating about such images. I can access them only as 'this child' in the photograph; I can never know them beyond the immediacy of this eternally frozen moment. In a strange reversal I have sculpted these young children as elderly people, as if imagining the future of the two young girls and projecting onto the photograph the future that it disallows. The result is a sculpture titled *Caroline and Betty*[1] (fig. 2) which portrays two standing 'grannies'[2], side by side. The grannies are made using actual body casts of elderly subjects. They wear a matching pair of Victorian dresses made to resemble the dresses in the photograph; as the dresses are girls' sizes they do not fit them properly. The dresses are cut above their knees and the top of the dresses do not cover the top of their shoulders, but rather sit on the tops of their arms. The two therefore look restricted in the dresses.

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[1] The titles of all the works are taken from the names of the children in each of the photographs. Their names were hand written on the backs of the photographs.

[2] Because of the intimacy of the process of casting my elderly subjects I came to refer to them out of habit and affection as the 'grannies and grandpas' and have taken the liberty of referring to them here in this way in places.

The next work I made is a seated grandpa and his dog, titled *Cecil and Scamp* (fig.3.). As with *Caroline and Betty,* the starting point for this (and subsequent sculptures) was an old photograph, in this case of a young boy sitting next to his dog (fig.4). In my sculpture they sit on a wooden bench; the ageing Cecil with his legs crossed out in front of him and his arm around Scamp. Cecil is wearing a pair of shorts and his shirt is alongside him on the bench. The next image I worked from is of a young boy (fig.5) awkwardly posing for the photograph. The resulting sculpture, *Untitled* (*Francis)*[3] (fig.6) is a free standing grandpa. He is slightly hunched with his hands awkwardly in front of him. He wears small trousers which sit above his knee and no shirt. The last work is a seated grandma (posed as the girl in figure 7), *Untitled (Alice)* (fig.8). She is sitting on a wooden chair with her hands down at her side. Like Caroline and Betty, her dress does not fit her. She sits awkwardly on the chair, exposing her shoulders and legs. All the figures are cast in crystacal which gives them a stark white appearance. Their clothing is made of fibreglass tissue and fibre seal, thus the clothing is a ghostly cream colour and almost translucent in places.

The process I have used to make the works involved taking partial body casts of elderly people - some as old as ninety three. I approached my subjects in the old age home, and after explaining the process of taking these casts a few volunteered. I have used skin-friendly silicone (called 'Body Double') which picks up extreme detail; as the skin of elderly people is commonly wrinkled, this material was ideal. This process, however, does require the person being cast to sit still for an extended period of time. As my subjects are frail, I took moulds of them in parts. I therefore moulded the limbs; the front of the neck, shoulders and back; the back of the neck, shoulders and back; and the face in separate mould pieces as seen in figure 9.1 and Figure 9.2.

[3] The photograph of Francis Jervois was taken in 1903. We know that Francis is not alive today as written on the photograph is his date of birth and date of death: 1899-1984.

The mould-making process presented some challenges when moulding the face, as the grannies / grandpas had to keep their eyes closed as well as breathe through straws. On my numerous visits to the old age home I also recorded my conversations with my elderly models, and I have added this sound component to the final installation of the sculptures. These conversations give the works a particular context, something that the photographs and casts seem to lack.

Retired and excluded from a general social environment, most elderly people become increasingly forgotten and invisible. Arguably, they become mute figures in a societal role. This notion has been subverted in my works through the use of the sound, by giving the figures a 'voice'. By representing these elderly in art works, which are meant to be viewed, I have also brought them into a public view. In the gallery space we are compelled to interact with the works and they therefore cannot easily be pushed away, overlooked, or forgotten. Whether we do so consciously or not, it is as if we anticipate their demise and their subsequent relegation to the status of memory, as with the old photographs. We can presume that the people that the old photographs were taken *for* are also no longer here, and thus the photograph's sentimental purpose is of less value to us, as we do not know the children in these images. In this way they are inapplicable to our everyday surroundings, as we do not know whose lives they are a testament to. Although a photograph's main function is to be viewed, these old photographs have been packed away out of sight and arguably out of mind, and even in some cases thrown away and lost. I find the notion of an old age home, to some extent, echoes this.

Barthes (1980:15) argues that that which has been photographed is in some respects already dead, and in the photographs I am dealing with, human longevity suggests and almost guarantees that the children in the photograph I have quoted are

in fact dead. Already a dialogue is created between something that is recorded and therefore immortalised, and something that is already dead. It is ironic that without the photograph to prove these people were alive, I would not know that they were dead. Both photograph and cast point to the people they represent, therefore becoming an index as well as a trace of these people. The cast captures more than just an image of a person: it also retains small traces of that person such as hairs and skin cells. In the first chapter I have used Charles Sanders Peirce's theory of the index, and Charles Merewether's and Susan Best's ideas surrounding the trace, to explain this notion further.

Of course, there are also significant differences between the photograph-as-trace and the cast-as-trace. In a photograph one is not able to scrutinise the subject closely, as an average image is a scaled down representation of a person, resulting in a loss of detail and depth that is irretrievable. Barthes (1980: 99) explains his desire to regain this detail in the Winter Garden photograph of his mother. He says,

> I want to outline the loved face by thought, to make it into the unique field of an intense observation; I want to enlarge this face in order to see it better, to understand it better, to know its truth… I believe that by enlarging the detail 'in series' (each shot engendering smaller details than at the previous stage), I will finally reach my mothers being.

Unlike a photograph a life size cast of a person can be viewed from all directions, its skin studied, thus bringing in an interesting play between three dimensional versus two dimensional form and space. The photograph's smooth skin seems fitting in relation to the young children's skin which is then contrast against the rough crystacal, portraying an aged skin. The skin is the boundary that divides inside from outside, its surface carries many traces such as wrinkles, moles and scars. I will discuss this further in relation to Rachel Whiteread's work *House,* and the cast, in chapter one. When viewing my sculptures of the elderly we notice their sagging skin

and the abject hair imbedded in the casts. The sculptures' whiteness also contributes to the visibility of these 'flaws'. At the same time, the whiteness sets up a contradiction, as they link visually to, but contrast with, the pristine cleanliness and proportionate perfection of classical sculptures.

Barthes' concept that a photograph transforms a subject into an object is applicable when viewing any art work, but this becomes a more complicated notion, as I discuss in chapter two, when accessing an immobilised replica of a person through the gaze. I shall be looking at Diane Arbus's works and particularly *The King and Queen of a Senior Citizens Dance*, 1970, to explain this point. Here I will consider the similarities and differences between Arbus's representation of the elderly and my own. Chapter three then considers both photography and casting in relation to issues of memory, nostalgia and death. The idea of the photograph as nostalgic memorabilia resurfaces in the sculptured grannies and grandpas, as they capture and embody a remembered time much like a photograph does.

At the same time I found myself wondering about the children in the old photographs I had found. What age had they lived to? Which of them died first and did they have children of their own? Oddly, questions of this nature were answered by my models Irene, Alice, Zilla, Jack and Isaac, as they told me of their lives, children, grandchildren, and even great grandchildren. The sculptures moved away from the photographs and instead became an uncanny representation of these children, as well as of the elderly people I have cast. When making the grannies I realised that, as the photograph had captured and immortalised the two girls, by casting and reproducing the grannies, I have achieved much the same thing. The similarities between these old photographs and the elderly are vast, they are both venerable records of a time that no longer exists. The photographs suggest a dislocation between past and present, in

much the same way that the cast sculptures of the elderly do. They capture an image or form of a person as they are in a particular moment, thereby locking their image into a frozen present.

The idea of taking an 'image' of someone to preserve their memory is not uncommon, as before the photograph it was common practice to take a death mask of the deceased. I have looked at Churchill Madikida's work *Status*, (2005) which includes an installation of eighteen plaster masks, to further this discussion in chapter three. I have discussed this work, as well as my own work, as that which immobilises its subject and therefore captures the living image which endures the passing of time, and yet by the nature of the very process - the need for the subject's immobile state – already links them visually to death.

Chapter 1: Index, Trace and the Cast as Skin.

When viewing any object there are associated images or ideas that are attached to it, and these are called signs. They are a stand-in for something else. In the following discussion I have cited Jacques Derrida, Roland Barthes and Charles Peirce, all of whom study the intricacies of signification to different degrees, to explain the index and the trace in terms of my own work. I also refer to Fiona Bradley's discussion of the photograph and the cast as skin.

Derrida (1973: 138) says, "Signs represent the present in its absence; they take the place of the present…the sign would thus be a deferred presence". A photograph, then, represents in the present what has happened in the past. There is displacement between what we see in the image - what was in the past - and what is here now. This is because a photograph allows us to see back in time but does not allow us to go back there ourselves. The photograph signals a 'deferred presence' precisely because it exists in both past and present. If we were to see a photograph of an eighty-year-old woman when she was ten, we would probably not recognise her. The photograph is still an image of the same person; it allows us to see what she looked like at the age of ten, but does not let us see anything further - time passes but the photograph remains fixed. Barthes (1980: 96) describes time as "the new *punctum*[4]…the lacerating emphasis of the *noeme* ('*that-has-been*')[5]". We cannot reach back into the photograph to meet that young girl. In addition, there is a distance of age and experience which

[4] Barthes (1980: 27) talks of two main themes in photography, the *studium* and the *punctum*. The *studium* is what interests one in a photograph, it is as Barthes describes, "of unconcerned desire, of various interests, of inconsequential taste: *I like / I don't like*". If we were to look at the photograph of Betty and Caroline, the *studium* draws me to their matching Victorian dresses with their frilled sleeves. I also notice how they have been posed for the photograph, placed by a professional photographer with props to make it look as if they were in a study. Through this, one interacts with the image and takes interest in it, we "participate in the figures, the faces, the gestures, the settings, the actions" (Barthes 1980:26). Now that we have a premeditated view about the photograph, the *punctum* comes into play. Barthes (1980: 26-27) argues, "a photograph's *punctum* is that accident that pricks me (but also bruises me, is poignant to me)…this element which rises from the scene, shoots out of it like an arrow, and pierces me". It hence shifts the photograph away from itself. In Caroline and Betty's photograph I become aware that these two girls are no longer alive, therefore my interest in their dresses becomes inconsequential. The idea that this is most likely the only trace of these two girls' existence "pricks" me.

[5] It is from Barthes idea of the 'that-has-been' that my exhibition takes its title.

cannot be bridged between us and her. The same applies to the cast of the grannies I have made, and I will discuss this in more detail later in this chapter.

The French linguist, Charles Sanders Peirce, created a complex structure surrounding signs. His theory, as Bal and Bryson (1994:165) explain, "is characterised by a trichotomistic structure which accounts for the way signs function… [and] describes the process of signification, which is called semiosis". Within his theory the most well known of Peirce's signs are the *icon*, *index* and *symbol*. Most relevant to my discussion is the index, which he explains as follows:

> An index is a sign which would, at once, lose the character which makes it a sign if its object were removed, but would not lose the character if there were no interpretant. Such, for example, is a piece of mould with a bullet-hole in it as a sign of a shot; for with out the shot there would have been no hole; but there is a hole there, whether anybody has the sense to attribute it to a shot or not. (Peirce in Bal and Bryson 1994:167).

From Peirce's explanation I understand an index as a sign that represents or "points to" that which was once there (Bal and Bryson 1994:169). We can deduce that an index is reliant on the suggestion of the existence of a 'real' object; whereas other signs are not. Bal and Bryson (1994: 168) state that "Peirce's description of the index emphasizes its symmetrical opposition to the icon: while the icon does not need the object to exist, the index functions precisely on the ground of that existence".

The photograph is hence an indexical sign, as what we are viewing is only possible through the existence of the represented object. In simple terms, a photograph exists because of the mark left by refracted light on photo-sensitive emulsion. Similarly, as with Peirce's example of the bullet-hole being a sign that a shot took place, the photograph of a person is a sign that that person *was there*, and stood in front of the lens. Barthes (1980: 5) argues that "a specific photograph, in effect, is never distinguished from its referent (from what it represents), or at least it is not immediately or generally distinguished from its referent". This tells us that the

photograph can not be separated from its referent, as we are always aware that without the represented object there would be no photograph of it. The photograph is thus an index of "an absent other" as well as an index of presence and absence (Bal and Bryson 1994:169). We cannot deny that the moment is gone and irretrievable. But at the same time, as Barthes (1980: 76) argues, "I can never deny that the thing has been there. There is a superimposition here: of reality and of the past".

In many respects the body cast functions as an index in a similar way as the photograph does: the photograph captures an image of the person being photographed, thus connecting the referent with its own image, while the cast takes a direct imprint of its referent. It functions like the photograph, in representing the body it was taken from. Fiona Bradley (1996: 11) argues that, "photography, like casting, combines that which is present with that which is other - the residue of the original which advances and retreats in the mind of the viewer". The cast is therefore an indexical remnant and a way of re-producing the body of the person being cast. Bradley (1996: 8) further states that, "in the casting process the original, the recognisable object which the work seems to be 'about', is lost. What is left is the residue or reminder, a space of oscillation between presence and absence". The body cast is an imprint of the negative mould which has been taken off a person. A cast captures a person's likeness; from his/her facial features, to body markings such as skin patterns and wrinkles, and therefore the cast "points" to the absent body. Like the photograph, its presence draws our attention to the absence of its referent. Barthes (1980: 77) states, "what I see has been here, in this place which extends between infinity and the subject… it has been here, and yet immediately separated; it has been absolutely, irrefutably present, and yet already deferred".

In as much as a cast is an index, it is also a trace. Annette Kuhn (1995: 4) writes that,

> The past is gone forever. We cannot return to it, nor can we reclaim it now as it was. But that does not mean it is lost to us. The past is like the scene of a crime: if the deed itself is irrecoverable, its traces may still remain. From these traces, markers that point towards the past presence, to something that has happened in its place, a (re)construction, if not a simulacrum, of the event can be pieced together.

Kuhn's argument would appear to suggest that the past can be partially recovered through its traces, from the vantage point of the present. In Derrida's (1973: 141) essay on *Différance* however, he argues that "no more an effect than a cause, the trace cannot of itself, taken outside its context, suffice to bring about the required transgression [between present and past]". For Derrida, although the trace is a material remnant of what is absent or past (and thus links us to that time) it is unable to fully bridge the gap. In the case of my sculptures, bodily features like the subjects' fingerprints, skin texture, distinctive moles and their own imperfections have been faithfully 'doubled'. But these traces only emphasise that we are looking at simulacra, of the 'real' subjects who cannot be recovered.

When a cast is taken the appearance of loose skin and hair is captured by way of their imprints. In addition, skin cells and actual hair (fig. 10) are literally transferred from the body and get trapped in the mould. When casting the 'positive' figure in the mould these hairs are then transferred into the sculpture. They are an index of the person being cast, and of the process of casting, as well as trace of that particular person that has been carried through in the process of art-making, from the sitter or referent, through to the reproduced figure.

The surface of a person's body is almost entirely covered by skin, and when we engage physically with a person it is almost always through this protective layer. The skin is the boundary between the inside and the outside of the body. In the process of

casting this boundary is turned inside out and back again: when the body is cast, the skin of the person being cast is inverted to become the 'negative' inside of the mould, and then, once the figure is cast, this surface again becomes the 'skin' of the sculpture. This skin, whether 'actual', cast or photographed, is what the viewer is in contact with. The skin itself is a sign we 'read', as it bears traces of the subject's past. The skin in this way allows us to read a basic history of that person; how they have aged, the marks on their skin, scars and so on.

In the same way that the surface of the sculptures bear traces of the sitter's past, they also bear the traces of the casting process, and thus refer to their own history and 'making'. In the book *Trace*, Susan Best discusses Rachel Whiteread's work, *House (1993)* (fig.11). Whiteread filled the inside of a house with cement and chipped away the outside walls, in effect, taking a mould of the inside of the house, and making the usually 'negative' interior of the house, into a solid positive shape, and exposing the inside 'skin' of the house on the outside. Best (1999:173) explains that, "the inside has become the outside, a cavity has become a solid, a volume has become a mass, space no longer contains objects, it is rendered an impenetrable object". The inverted object draws our "attention to the surface detail" of the work (Krauss in Bradley: 1996: 76). It is the outside surface and traces of the work that allow us to recognise the object as a house.

Similarly to how we read the skin of a person, the house's 'skin' can be read, as it is this outer surface that we engage with. The outside surface of the house, like our own skin, carries a history with it. But Whiteread has removed this layer exposing a second concretised skin. This 'second skin' also carries a history, one that has weathered the internal processes of time - which are in many ways expressible - rather than the external ones.

By exposing the inside 'skin' it enables us to interact with a more private space; the inside of a house is not usually publicly exhibited. In *Rachel Whiteread: Shedding Life*, Bartomeu Mari (1996: 62) explains that, "Rachel Whiteread's sculpture connects public with private… a space in which the building loses its anonymity and is forced to take on the position of protagonist". When we engage with this work its mass is overwhelming. As it exists as a three dimensional object it fills actual space which the viewer is confronted with. This creates a tension as the work articulates negative space by becoming a solid physical representation of it, and yet, despite its dense 'fullness', it becomes a monument to emptiness.

As the house is a solid mass we are unable to enter into it, and Best (1999:174) explains that, "the desire or impetus to enter and look around is triggered, but the inside-out form of *House* prevents these movements, producing a feeling of frustration, or more exactly, a sense of being repelled, rejected or excluded". We are primarily left to interact with the work through the gaze, which engages with the surface but is denied any further interaction. In a similar way, my sculptures of the elderly are traces of their referents. Despite their vulnerable appearances however, in their solid sculpted form, we are unable to interact with these people. They are introverted beings who, like Whiteread's *House*, exclude the viewer. Usually a house, by definition a shelter, is a permeable thing; we are able enter into it; doors and windows can open allowing in light and air and general interaction with the outside world, or can be closed to protect us. Our bodies function in a similar way but the elderly, as their skin and bodies are particularly frail, are more susceptible to the outside elements. Like Whiteread's *House*, the solid forms of the sculpted elderly are now impermeable, imparting a sense of strength and permanence at odds with their frailty. The crystacal skin is hard and will no longer age as the elderly skin will, and it

is this immobile skin that we are left to engage with, as their closed eyes yield nothing to our gaze.

In the book *Trace*, Charles Merewether (1999: 169) argues that,

> For traces to be indicative would be to confer on them the status of signs. The problem is that, as a sign, our relation to the past is dependent upon the order of representation: an order that is not only posterior, but masters the past in the same way as memory controls that which precede it.

The trace, as a vestige of presence, renders us nostalgic about its absent referent. The photograph is a trace of the person who was photographed, and the cast is a trace of the person it was taken from. The person represented is now absent, leaving only a photograph and cast to stand in for them. The trace can not exist unless there is loss: the loss of what the trace signifies. Merewether (1999: 164) says a trace is, "a sign of something no longer and therefore a mark of absence around which memory for what has been lost gathers itself". One can then deduce that a trace is a part of a whole that acts as a trigger for a memory of that whole. It also can become an object of nostalgia: if it is all that one has left of an object or person one is more likely to treasure it. This is the case for the photograph, for Whiteread's *House,* as well as for my sculptures of elderly people, as all these objects are the remains of what is (or may soon be) no longer there. By representing the house, Whiteread is arguably creating a monument to what has gone. The solid space of the house commemorates the house that once stood there. Similarly, when the elderly people I have cast have died, their sculptures will commemorate them, although my sculptures possibly draw a more ambiguous line between monumentality and fragility than Whiteread's *House*.

The crystacal that I have cast the figures in is evocative of the white marble of classical Greek and Roman sculptures, which portray an idealised model of the human body - pristine, well proportioned, youthful, and smooth. While the sculptures of the

elderly quote these works, they also complicate them, as their bodies are imperfect: their wrinkled skin is aged, and their bodies stand in an uncomfortable, buckled manner. We associate classical sculptures with people of importance and tributes to the gods, and even contemporary public sculptures made to commemorate important public figures usually portray the people they celebrate in proud, strong and commanding poses. However, the imperfect, vulnerable bodies of my sculptures of elderly people manage to subvert these associations, while still remaining poignant and powerful monuments to their sitters.

Chapter 2: Posed for the Gaze

In this chapter I will explore in more depth notions surrounding the gaze, by furthering my discussion of Whiteread's *House*, as it pertains to the gaze, and later, in relation to a photograph by Diane Arbus. I will continue to refer to Barthes, and in this chapter particularly his idea that one is either the observed subject/object or the subject observing. I will however complicate this with James Elkins's assertion, in *The Object Stares Back*, that that the gaze is a reciprocated thing, and I will apply both of these perspectives in explaining the complex relationship between the viewer and my sculptures of elderly people.

As viewers, we interact with objects primarily through looking. When looking at a photograph we are able to look at an image, but are unable to interact with the person in it. In much the same way that we are excluded from Whiteread's *House*, we are also excluded from a photograph. When discussing an image of Melisande Desbordes-Valmore, Barthes (1996:100) says that, "Melisande does not conceal, but she does not speak. Such is the photograph: it cannot say what it lets us see". This notion of exclusion is also applicable to the viewing of my sculptures, as a person accesses the works initially through the gaze which traverses the surface of the works but cannot penetrate their substance. As Fiona Bradley (1996: 13-14) says about Whiteread's *House*:

> The surface of the sculpture provides the site of exchange between destruction and creation, the oscillation between what is known and what is other. It is this surface which locates the viewer in relation to the sculpture, physically and mentally… the surface of the sculpture is the point of contact between cast and original, but also that between cast and original and viewer.

Similarly, Barthes (1980: 80-81) sees the photograph as a site of exchange. In *Camera Lucida* he argues that:

> The photograph is literally an emanation of the referent. From a real body, which was there, proceed radiations which ultimately touch me… a sort of umbilical cord links the body of the photographed thing to my gaze… I am delighted (or depressed) to know that the thing of the past, by its immediate radiations (its luminances), has really touched the surface which in its turn my gaze will touch…

Our gaze, however, is not only a way of looking at an object, but also a way to 'size' it up. Elkins (1996: 31) says, "looking immediately activates desire, possession, violence, displeasure, pain, force, ambition, power, obligation, gratitude, longing…there seems no end to what seeing is". Hence the gaze is not neutral; we do not just look at an object and see an object. When discussing an image of an eunuch taken for a medical study, Elkins (1996:27) describes the photograph by saying, "This seeing is aggressive: it distorts what it looks at, and it turns a person into an object in order to let us stare at it without feeling ashamed". One can argue that this aggressive seeing creates a power struggle between the observer and the observed.

Barthes (1980:10) argues that, "I possessed only two experiences: that of the observed subject and that of the subject observing…" Barthes's argument identifies an observing subject who he acknowledges to have influence over the observed subject. This can be argued to be the case in Diane Arbus's photographs as she has taken a number of photographs of people who are other to herself. She explains her work by saying, "What I am trying to describe is that it is impossible to get out of your skin into someone else's. And that's what all this is a little bit about. That somebody else's tragedy is not the same as your own" (Arbus 1972: 2). Her photographs portray, with brutal honesty, a number of people that are out of the ordinary, some which she refers to as "freaks" (Arbus 1972:3). In her book *On Photography* Susan Sontag (1973:33) argues that Arbus's "work shows people who are pathetic, pitiable, as well as repulsive, but it does not arouse any compassionate feelings". In a similar way to how

Elkins describes the viewing of the image of an eunuch, when a viewer is looking at Arbus's images he/she is able to stare at the portrayed people without feeling ashamed. As they are regarded as 'other' to us, this creates an uneasy tone and therefore we want to distance ourselves from them. Their images look back at the viewer but can not see our intrusive gaze. It is through this gaze that the subject is transformed into object.

Barthes (1980: 13) argues, "Photography transformed subject into object, and even, one might say, into museum object". The museum object, as a record of history or nature or something special or unusual is displayed, usually behind glass, so that others may look at it. Sharon Macdonald (1999: 2) argues that, museum objects "tend to be presented as 'glass-cased' – that is, as objects there to be gazed upon, admired, and understood only in relation to themselves". The museum object is seen as a dead object: its original functionality is lost; its new function is to be viewed. Much like a museum object, a photograph records its image to be viewed by others. The idea of collecting strange and interesting objects for our gaze is not new. Collecting as a self-conscious activity can be traced back to the sixteenth century, with the start of curiosity collections and later curiosity cabinets (Pearce 1995:4). These cabinets were not only embodiments of the pursuit of knowledge but were also attractive for their exoticism. Patrick Mauries (2002: 94) explains that there "was the magico-theological ambition of reflecting creation in all its variety and diversity… [this] expressed as a desire to mingle art and nature and to seek their progeny in the bizarre and the grotesque…".

Many of these objects on display attracted people because they were 'other'. Mauries (2002: 25) further argues that

> The founding secret that lay at the heart of cabinets of curiosities was thus dual in nature: their intention was not merely to define, discover and possess the rare

> and the unique, but also, and at the same time, to inscribe them within a special setting which would instill in them layers of meaning.

It was from this interest in finding and seeing something unique that ‘freak’ shows came about. Sontag (1973: 40) argues, “Arbus was not a poet delving into her entrails to relate her own pain but a photographer venturing out into the world to *collect* images that are painful”. When discussing her works Arbus (1972: 3) says that,

> Freaks was a thing I photographed a lot. It was one of the things I photographed and it had a terrific kind of excitement for me. I just adore them. I don’t quite mean they are my best friends but they made me feel a mixture of shame and awe. There is a quality of legend about freaks. Like a person in a fairy tale who stops you and demands that you answer a riddle. Most people go through life dreading they’ll have a dramatic experience. Freaks were born with their trauma.

Barthes (1980: 13) explains that around 1840, in order for one to be photographed, one would have to “assume long poses under a glass roof in bright sunlight; to become an object made one suffer…” Barthes’ description of this process seems apt in relation to Arbus’s photographs, as by photographing these people they are arguably put under a magnifying glass and in the bright light for all to gaze upon them. In addition, as some of these people are routinely sidelined and excluded from society, their suffering will not end with the photograph.

One of Arbus’s photographs, *The King and Queen of a Senior Citizens Dance, 1970*, (fig.12) captures an elderly man and woman dressed up in matching king and queen robes and crowns. As the robes are long the material at the bottom engulfs their feet, which seems impractical. They hold sceptres in their hands and each have a wrapped present on their laps. Both stare out at the viewer, but do not smile. The idea of a senior citizen ‘king’ and ‘queen’ seems to mimic the notion of an American school’s prom king and queen. In many respects our gaze is mocking towards the elderly couple, as the way they are dressed seems ridiculous and undignified, and their

facial expressions seem to hint that they are aware of their own ridiculousness. The viewer's aggressive gaze is somewhat set up by Arbus as her photograph is deliberately unflattering. She does not portray the two in a proud moment, but rather photographs them as if they are on display. Barthes' notion of the objectified 'other' comes into play. By photographing the couple in this manner Arbus exposes them to endless aggressive gazes, as they are unable to control who looks at the image.

Just as photographs may be seen to 'freeze' their subjects and offer them up to the gaze of the viewer, so the body cast may be argued to do a similar thing. Body casts may also be seen to turn subjects into "museum objects"; the subjects are exposed to the viewer's scrutiny. In this immobile state the photographed or cast subjects are no longer in control of their own 'image'. Sontag (1973:36), when discussing Arbus's work argues that:

> A large part of the mystery of Arbus's photographs lies in what they suggest about how her subjects felt after consenting to be photographed. Do they see themselves, the viewer wonders, like *that*? Do they know how grotesque they are? It seems as if they don't.

At a superficial level, Arbus's photograph of the elderly and my sculptures of the elderly are not dissimilar. Both works 'fix' their aging subjects and put them on display for the gaze. In Arbus's photograph, the subjects are portrayed as "grotesque" (in Sontag's words). In my sculptures the exposed skin of the elderly subjects may evoke a similar reaction.

According to convention the skin of the aged is not meant to be shown. One of my models, Irene, when I took the moulds of her neck and shoulders, was extremely sensitive about being uncovered in 'public', as we were sitting on her veranda with the possibility of prying eyes. The clothing I have depicted them in may also be seen to be revealing; one would not, or not often, find elderly people in outfits like these. It

is ironic however, that Irene can control who views her actual skin, but not who views her cast skin in the form of my sculptures. By allowing me to cast her and therefore create a double of her, she is exposing things that otherwise might not be seen.

Furthermore, both Arbus's subjects and the subjects of my sculpture are immobilised, as objects, through a rigid pose. The pose is the standard way in which we construct the body for a photograph. Barthes (1980:10) explains, "I constitute myself in the process of 'posing', I instantaneously make another body for myself, I transform myself in advance into an image". The act of posing is actively allowing oneself to be observed. In a sense the pose anticipates and pre-empts the objectifying gaze of the camera. We want to be seen in a certain way, thus we construct what we want the viewer to see. Barthes (1980: 12) notes that "'myself' never coincides with my image". The pose can be seen as a form of masking, as by way of the pose we mask the 'real self'. The act of posing or holding a smile for a photograph displays the mask we wish to portray to others. This immobilised state is similar to a death mask, as it is only in death that we do not regulate our facial features. When the first photographs came about, it was common practice to sit for an extended period of time holding a pose. If one varied from this pose the image would blur. Arbus's (1972: 13) argues that, "…there's a kind of power thing about the camera. I mean everyone knows you have got some edge. You're carrying some slight magic which does something to them. It fixes them in a way".

The process of taking a mould of a body is similar to the process used to take an old photograph, in the way that both subjects are to remain still for an extended[6] period of time. The immobilisation of the subject, sitting for a photograph or mould, almost precedes his / her translation into a photograph or cast. In a sense, one poses

[6] When taking a mould, the subject is required to remain still for 20 to 40 minutes. This is depending on which body part is being moulded.

like an object to anticipate being an object. Sontag (1973:37) argues, "Standing or sitting stiffly makes them [the subjects of Arbus's photographs] seem like images of themselves". In this immobile state we also recognise that one day our own bodies will be eternally still, and hence glimpse our future death. It is in this realisation, however, that the sculptures may reflect back at us our own subjectivity. My sculptural figures are in an eternal pose (as if their stiff bodies are keeping carefully still so not to blur the photograph), while their referents age and die as time moves on. The sculptures emphasise this, as their bodies are deliberately stiff and posed; the clothing they wear does not fit comfortably but rather acts as another way to constrict them in their stance.

When we view a photograph, as well as the sculptures of the elderly, there is already a distance between our body and theirs, not only spatially and time-wise but also mentally. This distance operates in Arbus's photographs where, as discussed, we are confronted with a need to distance ourselves from that which is other. Sontag (1973: 34) says "Arbus's photographs… suggest a naïveté which is both coy and sinister, for it is based on distance, on privilege, on a feeling that what the viewer is asked to look at is really *other*". It also pertains to my sculptures in that we wish to distance ourselves from age and death. However this is shifted in my case, as the proximity required to make moulds of my subjects complicates the distancing and objective detachment that 'others'. The process of taking moulds involves an active engagement with the subject. Whereas a photograph can be taken with physical distance between the photographer and subject, a body cast is a radically more intimate process. In order for the mould to come way from my subjects, I first had to rub a waxy release agent on to the skin, and this contact also made me vulnerable. The

proximity between my skin and theirs highlighted the similarities between us, rather than fostering a sense of distancing or othering.

Upon numerous visits to an old-age home, I became aware of the way old people are seen by our general society. The notion of the body as an aging vessel is an abject one that we do not want to have to face all the time. Like Barthes' (1980: 97) notion of the photograph as a constant reminder of our own mortality and as an "imperious sign of my [our] future death", the elderly seem also to remind us that we too will age, wither and die. Through this notion, however, the viewer's gaze at my sculptures of the elderly is softened. Our gaze of the works is not aggressive, it does not have power over the work, but rather the sculptures gain our empathy. The depictions of the elderly are done in a sympathetic tone. My sculptures, whilst seemingly immobilising these elderly people for the viewer's gaze, also enable moments of identification. Despite our ambivalence, we may also recognise ourselves in them, as we cannot escape old age and hence the sculptures reflect our own impending aging and death. As we see our own demise prefigured in theirs it complicates the processes of distancing and *othering* that Barthes and Sontag describe.

The sculptures of the elderly mirror our gaze, as they reflect back at us our mortality. Their 'objecthood' replicates our 'subjecthood', and therefore reciprocates the gaze. Elkins (1996: 51) argues that "To see is to be seen, and everything I see is like an eye, collecting my gaze, blinking, staring, focusing and reflecting, sending my look back to me". In this sense the shift between Arbus's photograph and my sculptures of the elderly becomes apparent. Both works portray elderly people allowing us a glimpse into our own future, as no one can escape the aging process. However Arbus's subjects are put on self-conscious display, they are posed for the

viewer, inviting our gaze, and yet are aware of our looking. In Arbus's photographs the subjects are 'set-up' for the viewer's gaze. They "have paused to pose and, often, to gaze frankly, confidentially at the viewer" (Sontag 1973:32). In the case of my sculptures however the closed eyes, of the subjects (as seen in figure 13) complicates this. On the one hand their closed eyes does suggest possibilities for voyeuristic looking by the viewer, but the subjects' closed eyes also suggest that they are immune to or impervious to the gaze. As their eyes are closed they are unable to 'see' the viewer and therefore are distanced from our gaze. My sculptures of the elderly seem to turn their gaze inward, and this introverted pose denies the viewer access. The sculptures become isolated in their own thought - it is as if their own introspection overrides the viewer's inspection.

With the addition of the sound installation, I have shifted these elderly people out of their passivity or, at least, created a tension between the immobility of the casts and the narrative unfolding of their stories. The recordings allow them to share some of their stories, and in this way I have de-objectified them. The sound consists of recordings of some of the conversation I had while casting my subjects. I have edited myself out, leaving only the one sided conversation of the grandma/grandpa. The very idea of a conversation implies narrative rather than stasis, it gives them a conscious presence and frees them from the gaze that immobilises and isolates. Although I have argued that the cast turns the subject into "museum object", in the case of my sculptures the sound installation, which 'animates' the sculptures, shifts them from being static and fixed to being complex. In a sense the sound infuses them with 'life'.

In this context then, one may argue that Barthes' notion of two contradictory experiences, the observed subject and subject observing, seems rather simplistic.

There seems to be a more complicated relationship between these two roles as the gaze shifts between viewer and sculpture, and as the physical tenderness and intimacy required to make the moulds complicates the boundary of subject/ object or self/ other. Perhaps it is this tenderness that prevails, despite the potentially ‘grotesque’ aspect of revealing the skin of the elderly. It is evident even in Irene’s gaze back at herself: when I showed her a photograph of her sculptured double she commented on how pretty she looked.

Chapter 3: Memory and the Defeat of Time.

In this chapter I discuss the photograph and body cast as a way in which to capture and preserve the likeness of a person. It is through a person's image that we are reminded of that person and hence the memory of them is continued. I will be looking at Churchill Madikida's work *Status* (2005), in relation to the notions of memory and nostalgia that surround a death mask. I will also extend my discussion of curiosity cabinets and the idea of a museum object as a dead object, which I touched on in chapter two.

As curiosity cabinets grew and collections went beyond the idea of catalogued specimens, greater importance was placed on their display. Natural objects were preserved or stuffed to give the appearance that they were still living, and displays were often set up in such a manner as to create an allusion to specimens as they were in their natural settings. When Susan Stewart (1998: 33) describes Charles Peale's display of collected specimens, she says, "Finding ordinary taxidermy did not produce lifelike effect, he stretched skins over wooden cores he had carved to indicate musculature, and he offered painted backgrounds of the proper context for each specimen". However, recreating a static context in which these objects were to be displayed arguably highlights their death rather than gives the illusion of life. This immobilised display "marks the defeat of time" (Stewart 1998:31). Stewart argues that:

> Although the given qualities of such animated objects allowed them to endure beyond flux and history, this transcendence and permanence also links them to the world of the dead, to the end of organic growth and the onset of inaccessibility to the living (Stewart 1998:31).

The immobilisation of any animated object, not only the museum object, is an index of death. When describing eighteenth century folkloric practice Stewart (1998: 40) explains that,

> Often in the house of the dead, clocks were stopped at the hour of the deceased, mirrors were turned to the wall and black cloth was thrown over pictures and over beehives in the garden. These gestures of stopping time and stopping the motion of representation can be connected to the imperative of viewing the corpse. Death was signified in these instances by a halting of motion, a stilling of context...

As the photograph and the cast fixes a person in that moment it too becomes like these gestures of stopping time, and therefore a signifier of death. Barthes (1980: 57) says, "When we define the photograph as a motionless image, this does not mean only that the figures it represents do not move; it means that they do not emerge, do not leave: they are anesthetized and fastened down, like butterflies". The immobility of the photograph, as with my sculptures, is thus seen as something that prefigures and alludes to the subject's death even though it preserves a likeness of the subject, in life, that will potentially outlast its passing. This is the contradictory nature of the photograph which, in Colin Richards's words, "is itself dead and death-defying in trying to hold captive lost traces, people, objects, events and environments" (Richards 2004:13). By casting these elderly people, I am not only acknowledging their future death but also making a memento of them. Although the works capture and immobilise these subjects in a living state, we are reminded of their fixed state in death; especially as they are pale and wrinkled, with their eyes closed.

Before photography, a common means of preserving and fixing the image of a person involved taking a cast off the face of the dead. Many of these death masks were manipulated to appear as if the subject was living. Mauries (2002:94) explains that, "coloured wax could… actually deceive the eye into mistaking artifice for reality…In conjunction with naturalistic painting, real clothes and real hair the

illusion could indeed be startling". In this way death masks became mementos of the dead whilst simultaneously blurring the line between life and death through their life-like appearance. In many ways, this practice is inverted in my sculptures as they are made up of life casts, taken from living subjects, and yet they appear death-like. Arguably, as it is inevitable that all humans will die, any body cast taken off a living person can be seen as a form of death mask. Brenda Schmahmann (1996: 48) points out that, "casting directly off the body has an historical association with death". She further argues that the body cast is "a means of representing humans in a form which emphasises their substantiality, their identity as living individuals, but which, simultaneously, alludes to death" (Schmahmann 1996:49).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the process of making moulds of the elderly figures demanded that they had to sit in the same position for an extended time and that this related to the same way one would sit for a photograph in the 1840's. This act of stillness, like the finished sculptures, points to the subjects' future death but is also heightened by our knowledge that the subjects are ageing and hence potentially closer to death. A paradox is created, as the attempt to preserve the aging body ironically brings us closer to an awareness of its impending death.

This is explored in Churchill Madikida's work *Status,* 2005 (fig.14), an installation consisting of photographs, dried flowers, candles, wooden coffins and eighteen plaster casts of faces hung in a line on the wall. He has cast these plaster 'masks' off a number of HIV/ AIDS patients. When viewing this work one could mistake these casts for death masks, partly because of their white corpse-like parlour and their closed eyes. Much like my sculptures, the faces comprising Madikida's *Status* were cast off living subjects, thus they may be seen as nostalgic attempts to fix and portray their subjects 'in life'. But they also point to their subjects' death - not

only because of the inevitable link between casting and death as identified by Schmahmann, but also because, in this case, we are told that the majority of Madikida's subjects have in fact died. It can therefore be argued that these casts are more like death masks than casts of seemingly healthy individuals. As these people were infected with HIV/AIDS they were arguably more likely to die soon. This work relates well to my own work, as the cast elderly I am working with are also susceptible to death. This realisation was borne out rather abruptly when one of the people I was going to cast died the night before our appointment. On returning to the old age home, I was also told that one of the grandmas I have cast had died. Her cast is therefore her double and now literally seems to stand in for her in her absence.

The idea of a 'stand-in' is an uncomfortable one however, Madikida (Maree: 2008) explains that many of the subject's families did not want the casts, as they were taken while their loved ones were in a hospital at a time of sickness and suffering. When speaking to one of the family members of his cast subjects Madikida recalls him saying that, "This mask will always remind me of the pain and suffering my family member went through during his sickness period and that is not the face I would like my family to remember him" (Maree 2008). Both Madikida's casts and my sculptures of the elderly ironically capture and preserve these subjects in a state of deterioration: they seem to stop the flow of time but, in doing so, to make it painfully visible. Madikida explains that, "the cast was to capture a 3D image of my sister's face as I could see that her health was deteriorating and this was evident in her face" (Maree 2008).

The nostalgic desire to stop time and deterioration is also partly an attempt to counter the fallibility of memory. Memory is unreliable not only in old age but even at a young age as we tend not to be able to remember all the details. It is sometimes only

through visual ‘evidence’ such as a photograph that one is able to recall details and often the memories we have of people coincide with the photographs we have of them. Elkins (1996:163) writes:

> What is the memory of a face? When we are separated from someone we love, what is it that remains with us? And when someone we love dies, what is it that we keep with us, that fades a little each year but never entirely disappears? Or does it really fade? Perhaps it changes, coming together into something simpler and farther away, like a smaller face or an out line of a face, until finally, when we are old and the person has been dead many years, it becomes nothing more than a little sketch.

The fallibility of our memory creates a need for the static image; something to hold on to.

Both casts and old photographs thus serve as a way of arresting the past. Both allow us into a ‘captured’ moment; they enable us to access the past but only partially and inconclusively. In my many conversations with the elderly subjects, I realised that they seemed preoccupied with memories that are themselves only partial and inconclusive points of access to the past. In this way my subjects’ memories seemed to be like old photographs in their preoccupation with what has come before. They rely largely on already fixed memories, which create a dislocation between past and present, as a memory is already an interpretation of the truth and each time it is told it becomes a fragment of a disparate memory that no longer fits.

These are some of the concerns addressed in the sound installation made to accompany the sculptures. Each sound component is made up of conversations, some which share stories and memories, which I had with the subjects I cast. As the sound installation is looped, the viewer listens to the same conversations over and over. This mimics the repetition of the memories told by some of my subjects. On my second visit to Alice, for instance, I found that she told me the same stories of her life as on my first visit. These stories were about her camper and her many camping experiences

in Jeffery's Bay. She also explained that she loved camping so much that, even at the age of ninety two, she slept in her sleeping bag every night. These were the memories she was holding on to. Kuhn (1995: 3) says, "…memory shapes the stories we tell, in the present, about the past – especially stories about our own lives … what is it that makes us remember: the prompts, the pretexts, of memory; the reminders of the past that remain in the present". The elderly preserve the past through their memories of it.

Similarly, I preserve these elderly people through a cast of their bodies and thus, in preserving them, may be seen to preserve and embody the past. But inasmuch as these sculptures may preserve their subjects, as indexical traces of their presence, they are also infused with absence and loss. This is partly because they bear such a striking resemblance to their 'real' subjects but also capture them in a frozen past which is lost forever. Barthes (1980: 79) suggests that:

> For the photograph's immobility is somehow the result of a perverse confusion between to concepts: the real and the live: by attesting that the objects have been real, the photograph surreptitiously induces belief that it is alive, because of that delusion which makes us attribute to Reality an absolutely superior, somehow eternal value; but by shifting this reality to the past ('this-has-been'), the photograph suggests that it is already dead.

When we look at my sculptures of elderly people, we know they are not real, but rather representations of their subjects. As they were cast in the past the subjects they represent are no longer: they have changed, aged, and, in some cases, died since being cast. What these casts stand in for is already dead. As Barthes (1980: 87) argues in relation to the photograph "Every photograph is a certificate of presence", and then adds, "but presence… goes hand in hand with death. As soon as the click of the shutter has taken place, what was photographed no longer exists…". What others see as a memory Barthes refers to as something that is already lost.

The question that Perloff (1997: 50) raises is, "what sort of evidence, then, does the photograph [and, in this argument, a body cast] supply?" It calls to our attention to the idea that through these images the realisation of our own death is clear. Barthes (1980: 96) says, when discussing an image of two young girls,

> …there is always a defeat of Time in them: *that* is dead and *that* is going to die. These two girls looking at a primitive airplane above their village – how alive they are! They have their whole lives before them; but also they are dead (today), they are already dead (yesterday).

He (1980: 96) argues further that,

> In front of the photograph of my mother as a child, I tell myself: she is going to die: I shudder, like Winnicott's psychotic patient, over a catastrophe which has already occurred. Whether or not the subject is already dead, every photograph is a catastrophe.

Barthes believes that the one thing we can be certain of is that the essence of photography is death. By extension of this, because the photograph and cast perform such a similar function, it may be asserted that the essence of the cast is also death.

Conclusion

Photographs and body casts have numerous characteristics and associations that are applicable to each respectively. However for this thesis I have argued that many of the notions that apply to the photograph can also be applied to the body cast. By making casts of elderly people I have arguably done what a photographer does when he/she takes a photograph of these subjects; that is, I have captured their image and fixed that image in time. In light of this I have deduced that both a photograph and a cast are indexical of their referent; through the immobilisation of a subject, both turn subject into object and both arrest time, allowing what has been in the past to persist in the present and the future.

In the course of my research, however I have also found that the nature of my sculptures of the elderly complicates a simple conflation of casting and photography. Life-size casts, as three-dimensional replicas which often contain literal traces of their subjects in the form of hair and skin cells, evoke a different relationship in the viewer than a photograph would. This is partly because the materiality of the cast makes it different to the photograph, which seems more mediated and removed in some ways. Using Arbus's *The King and Queen of a Senior Citizens Dance* as a comparison, I have argued that the physical intimacy and proximity required to take the moulds of my models does not permit the kind of detached 'othering' that one sees in Arbus's photograph. Having said this, however, it should be noted that not all photographs objectify their subjects in the same way and to the same extent; and neither do all body casts.

I would also like to emphasise that, although I have applied many ideas and notions to my sculptures of the elderly, in hindsight these ideas do not extend to describe comprehensively any of the models I have cast or my relationship to them. In

my discussion I have sometimes made generalised observations on the elderly that are not applicable to all elderly people as well as not to all my models. The interviews I have taken allow us a partial look at some of their stories, but in no way allow us to know them fully as people- just as the casts allow for only a partial glimpse. Through this Masters exhibition I have been able to come into contact with elderly people, pushing both my own and their boundaries of vulnerability and personal space. Throughout this process, I have come to realise that the cast as an object is open to many interpretations, in a similar way that for Kuhn (1995:11-12) the photograph is:

> Photographs are evidence, after all. Not that they are to be taken only at face value, nor that they mirror the real, nor even that a photograph offers any self evident relationship between itself and what it shows. Simply that a photograph can be material for interpretation- evidence in that sense: to be solved like a riddle; read and decoded, like clues left behind at the scene of a crime. Evidence of this sort, though, can conceal, even as it purports to reveal, what it is evidence of .

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Interview

Maree, C. 2007. Email interview with Churchill Madikida conducted on 4 February 2008

Illustrations

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7

Figure 8

Figure 9.1

Figure 9.2

Figure 10

Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

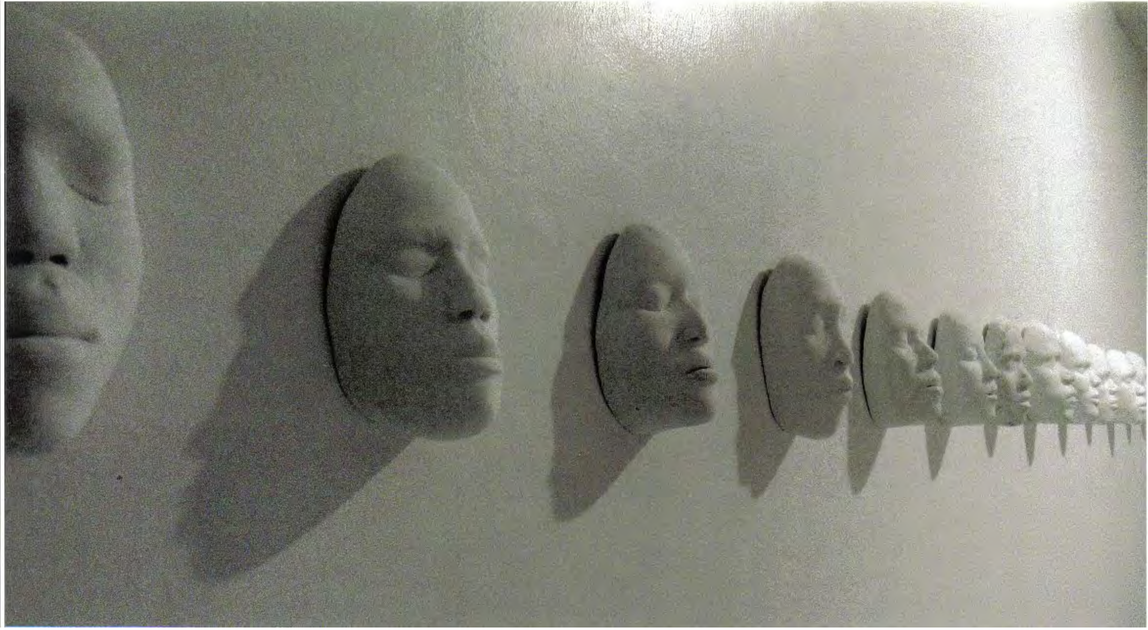

Figure 14