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ANA MENDIETA, THE IOWA YEARS: A CRITICAL STUDY, 1969 through 1977

by

JULIA A. HERZBERG

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1998

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Professor Laurie Schneider-Adams

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THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

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ABSTRACT

ANA MENDIETA:
THE IOWA YEARS. A CRITICAL STUDY, 1969 through 1977

by

Julia A. Herzberg

Adviser: Rose-Carol Washton Long

This dissertation investigates the artistic development of Ana Mendieta (born Cuba, 1948; died United States, 1985) from 1969 to 1977 when she lived in Iowa City, attended the University of Iowa, worked as an art teacher, and established herself as an artist. Mendieta is known for her early performance pieces and earth-body sculptures. From the late 1980s her work has been increasingly included in the contexts of feminist art history, performance, photography, work in nature, body art, self-representation, Cuban art, and transcultural identity. Collected by major museums throughout the United States, her work has begun to be included in surveys of world art. Her approach to earth-body art differed significantly from the new forms of conceptual art of the 1960s and early 1970s. By 1974 the artist had begun to produce ephemeral body-earth pieces in Iowa and Mexico that endowed nature with a human form, personifying it and evoking nature's lifecycle. That work evolved from both painting and performance-oriented work that layered multiple references, with sources as diverse as her autobiography, everyday life, transcultural myths, Catholic subjects, and Western and non-Western art and archaeology.

This study begins with Mendieta's exile from Cuba and relocation in Iowa, then examines her evolution as a graduate student in painting (1969-1972), a Multimedia student (1972-1977), and an elementary art school teacher (1973-1975). Mendieta developed during a period of intense collaboration between the university's Multimedia area and the

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Center for New Performing Art, two unique programs that encouraged interdisciplinary, experimental performance work. In contextualizing that innovative period, I investigate the artist's learning environment and studio practice. I also examine works that have not yet been written about, elaborate the circumstances of their creation, identify the sites and the assistance the artist had in making or performing them, incorporate her written sketchbook notations for them, and relate the substance of her comments regarding intentions for specific pieces.

This study incorporates oral histories from previous instructors, colleagues, friends, and acquaintances and discusses the artist's responses in her work to well-known visiting artists such as Robert Wilson, Vito Acconci, and Scott Burden, who performed and lectured at the university. Mendieta's early and middle production has not been examined in the literature within the larger artistic milieu at the university. This study remedies this omission and presents a contextual reading of the artist's work, thereby locating her practice within contemporary art history wherein performance, body work, and earth art were key expressive modes.

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FOR MY HUSBAND HORACIO

AND

TO THE MEMORY OF THE ARTIST

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special efforts to verify dates on original documentation when questions regarding dating arose during my research and writing.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE		i
COPYRIGHT PAGE		ii
APPROVAL PAGE		iii
ABSTRACT		iv
DEDICATION		vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS		vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS		xiii
LIST OF FIGURES		xv
INTRODUCTION		1
CHAPTERS		
1	Uprooted in Cuba, Displaced in Iowa	14
2	Painting: An Undocumented Body of Work, Summer 1969 through Early Winter 1972	54
3	Multimedia Program and the Center for New Performing Art: A Historical Reconstruction, Fall 1970 through Spring 1972	91
4	Mendieta's Work in the Contexts of Multimedia and the Center for New Performing Art, Fall 1972 through Fall 1973	150
5	The Body as Imprint, Fall 1973 through Summer 1974	198
6	Performance: Evocations of Ritual and Ceremony, Fall 1974 through Spring 1975	241
7	The Final Years: Looking Toward New York from Iowa, Fall 1975 through Fall 1977	286

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CONCLUSION		343
FIGURES		350
APPENDIX 1	Chronology, 1961-1966	438
APPENDIX 2	Robert Wilson, "Handbill," program, University of Iowa, 1970	441
APPENDIX 3	Robert Wilson, "Deafman Glance," program, University of Iowa, 1970	445
APPENDIX 4	Ana Mendieta, "Self-Portraits," M.A. Thesis, School of Art and Art History, University of Iowa, 1972	451
BIBLIOGRAPHY		459

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LIST OF FIGURES

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1 Joseph Patrick, Portrait of Ana María Mendieta, 1969, oil on linen, 60 x $42^{1/2}$ in. Courtesy of Joseph Patrick.

2 Untitled (Woman Framed by Film Strips), not signed or dated, c. 1969, oil on canvas, 30 x 22 in.

3 Untitled (Woman Standing before a Plaid Backdrop), not signed or dated, c. 1969, oil on canvas, $15^{1/2}$ x $11^{1/8}$ in.

4 Untitled (Two Seated Models), 1969, oil on canvas, 28 x 24 in. (inside measurements).s

5 Untitled (Two Women), signed and dated, 1969, oil on canvas, $17^{1/2}$ x 12 in. (unframed).

6 Untitled (Seated Woman), signed and dated, 1969, oil on canvas, 64 x 63 in. (inside measurements).

7 Untitled (Man Hitting a Woman) signed, not dated, c. 1969, oil on canvas, $35^{3/4}$ x $25^{3/4}$ in. (unframed).

8 Untitled (Seated Figure Holding His Head with His Hands), signed, not dated, c. 1969, oil on masonite, 24 x 24 in. (unframed).

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9 Untitled (Kneeling Figure with a Masklike Face), signed, not dated, c. 1969, oil on canvas, 24 x 18 in. (unframed).

10 Untitled (Seated Figure with a Masklike Face), not signed or dated, c. 1969, oil on masonite, 24 x 24 in. (unframed).

11 Untitled (Portrait of a Woman with Brown Skin), signed and dated, 1969, oil on canvas, 20 x $12^{1/2}$ in. (inside measurements).

12 Untitled (Portrait of Donna Thurman), not signed or dated, c. 1969, oil on canvas, $18^{7/8}$ x $11^{3/8}$ in. (unframed).

13 Untitled (Self-Portrait), signed and dated, 1969, oil on canvas, 38 x 28 in. (unframed).

14 Untitled (Portrait of Raquel Oti de Mendieta), not signed or dated, c. 1969, oil on canvas, $21^{1/4}$ x 18 in. (inside measurements).

15 Untitled (Portrait of Ignacio Carlos Mendieta y Oti), not signed or dated, c. 1969, oil on canvas, $39^{7/8}$ x 21 in. (unframed).

16 Untitled (Woman in Front of a Statue of the Virgin), signed and dated, 1969, oil on canvas, 20 x 18 in. (unframed).

17 Untitled (Seated Woman with Triple Headdress Projections), signed and dated, 1970, oil on canvas, 47 x $31^{3/4}$ in. (unframed).

18 Untitled (Standing Red Figure without Arms), signed and dated, 1970, oil on canvas, $36^{3/4}$ x 25 in. (unframed).

19 Untitled (Self-Portrait in Green), not signed or dated, c. 1970, oil on mat board, 40 x 20 in. (unframed).

20 Untitled (Self-Portrait in a Shaggy Sweater), not signed or dated, c. 1970, oil on masonite, $19^{3/4}$ x 14 in. (inside measurements).

21 Untitled (Portrait of a Woman with Red Hair), not signed or dated, c. 1970, oil on canvas panel, 20 x 16 in. (unframed).

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22 Untitled (Seated Woman with Earspools), signed, not dated, c. 1970, oil on canvas, $46^{3/4}$ x $31^{3/4}$ in. (unframed).

23 Untitled (Mesoamerican Figure in Front of the Nunnery at Uxmal), not signed or dated, c. 1971, oil on masonite, 48 x 42 in. (unframed).

24 Ana Mendieta and Cynthia Otis Charlton, Catalogue card TA 39 TL 123. The drawing on the left of Macuilxochitl is by Mendieta, 1971; the two drawings on the right are by Cynthia Otis Charlton, 1978. Project Archives. Courtesy Professor Thomas H. Charlton, Department of Anthropology, University of Iowa.

25 Ana Mendieta, Catalogue card Macuilxochitl - Xochipilli, 1971. Project Archives. Courtesy Professor Thomas H. Charlton, Department of Anthropology, University of Iowa.

26 Ana Mendieta, Catalogue card 2239 - L.G.A. Collection, Xolotl, 1971. Project Archives. Courtesy Professor Thomas H. Charlton, Department of Anthropology, University of Iowa.

27 Ana Mendieta, Catalogue card Xipe, 1971. Project Archives. Courtesy Professor Thomas H. Charlton, Department of Anthropology, University of Iowa.

28 Ana Mendieta, Catalogue card Xochipilli, 1971. Project Archives. Courtesy Professor Thomas H. Charlton, Department of Anthropology, University of Iowa.

29 Cynthia Otis Charlton, Drawing of Type I-A-3 headdress (3546) and component figure. Illustrated in Cynthia Otis Charlton, "Hollow Rattle Figurines of the Otumba Area, Mexico," in The New World Figurine Project, vol. 2 (Research Press: Provo, Utah, in press), fig. 2b. Courtesy Cynthia Otis Charlton.

30 Leandro Katz, Monjas, Uxmal (The Nunnery, Uxmal), gelatin silver print, 16 x 20 in. Courtesy of the artist.

31 Cynthia Otis Charlton. Catalogue card Early Tlamimilolpa, 1983. Personal file. Courtesy Cynthia Otis Charlton.

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32 Altar 4, La Venta, Museum Park at Villahermosa. Height 5 ft. 3 in. Olmec, Preclassic Period. Ignacio Bernal, The Olmec World (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1976), pl. 14.

33 Untitled (Seated Woman with Headdress of One Top Projection and Two Side Projections), not signed or dated, c. 1970-71, oil on masonite, 48 x 42 in. (unframed).

34 Cynthia Otis Charlton, Drawing of I-A-5 Head. From catalogue card TA-80 1% Surf[ace] Figs. Fld [Field] 81 - Sq. 605 26-9-88. 1992. Project Archives. Courtesy Cynthia Otis Charlton.

35 Untitled (Abstract Figure), signed, not dated, c. 1971, oil on canvas, $4^{1/2}$ x $39^{3/4}$ in. (inside dimensions).

36 Untitled (Idol I), not signed or dated, c. late 1971 or early 1972, oil on masonite, 48 x 43 in. (unframed).

37 Untitled (Idol II), not signed or dated, c. late 1971 or early 1972, oil on canvas, $5^{1/2}$ x $33^{3/4}$ in. (unframed).

38 Pottery figurine of a dancer, Tlatilco, Valley of Mexico. Height $4^{3/4}$ in. Middle Formative Period. Michael Coe, Mexico: Ancient Peoples and Places (New York and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), pl. 8.

39 Water Goddess, Teotihuacan, Valley of Mexico. Mexican National Museum of Anthropology. Miguel Covarrubias, Indian Art of Mexico and Central America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), pl. XXVIII.

40 Coatlicue, Mexican National Museum of Anthropology. Height 8 ft. 3 in. Aztec, Late Postclassic Period. Michael Coe, Mexico: Ancient Peoples and Places (New York and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), pl. 66.

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41 Columnar Atlantean figure on Pyramid 'B' at Tula, Hidalgo, Mexico. Height 15 ft. Toltec culture, Early Postclassic Period. Michael Coe, Mexico: Ancient Peoples and Places (New York and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), pl. 54.

42 Glass on Body Imprints, January 1972.

43 Grass on Woman (Artist lying nude face down on grass), 1972.

44 Thomas Macaulay, Medicine Chest, 1969, cast aluminum, porcelain handle, clear and fluorescent acrylic, metallic mylar, light fixture, timer, electrical wire, sunglasses, paint. Box portion 13 (h) x 9 (w) x 6 in. Courtesy of the artist.

45 Hans Breder, Untitled, 1969, stainless steel, 1 ft. 4 in. (h) x 4 ft. (w) x 6 ft (l). Collection University of Iowa Art Museum. Photo and courtesy Hans Breder.

46 Hans Breder, Body Sculpture, 1970, Old Man's Creek, Union Township, Iowa. Collection of the artist. Photo and courtesy Hans Breder.

47 Scott Burton, Furniture Landscape, 1970, performance-installation, Macbride Field Campus, University of Iowa. Courtesy Max Protetch Gallery, New York and the Estate of Scott Burton.

48 Tom Macaulay and Chris Parker, detail, Creation of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah Staterooms with General Assistance, 22 November 1970, performance piece, New Ballroom, Iowa Memorial Union, University of Iowa. Photo and courtesy Tom Macaulay.

49 Tom Macaulay and Chris Parker, detail, Creation of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah Staterooms with General Assistance, 22 November 1970, performance piece, New Ballroom, Iowa Memorial Union, University of Iowa. Photo and courtesy Tom Macaulay.

50 Dan De Prenger, Environment I, 1970, sculpture tableaux, Oakdale Campus, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. Photo and courtesy Dan De Prenger.

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51 Hans Breder, Voces II, 22 March 1971, performance with Ana Mendieta in foreground, the Center for New Performing Arts, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. Photo and courtesy Hans Breder.

52 Banquet, performance, 23 October 1971, the Center for New Performing Arts and the Intermedia class, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. Photo and courtesy Dan De Prenger.

53 Facial Cosmetic Variations (Self-Portraits with Hosiery Stocking Pulled over Head and Face), January/February 1972.

54 Untitled (Self-Portrait with Scar on Face), not dated, c. winter-spring 1972.

55 Facial Hair Transplants (Artist tranferring facial hair from Morty Sklar to her upper lip), March 1973.

56 Facial Hair Transplants (Artist with moustache), March 1973.

57 Facial Hair Transplants (Artist attaches Sklar's hairs from his beard to form a beard on her face), April 1973.

58 Facial Hair Transplants (Artist with beard; Sklar beardless), April 1973.

59 Facial Cosmetic Variations (Self-Portraits with Suds in Hair), April 1972.

60 Grass on Woman (assisted by Dennis and Diana Swanson), May 1972.

61 Feathers on Woman, October 1972.

62 Chicken Piece, November 1972.

63 Untitled (Bloody Jeans), 1973.

64 Untitled (Cow's heart, representing the Sacred Heart of Jesus, in a niche, Cuilapan church, Cuilapan, Mexico), 1973.

65 Rape Piece (detail, view of rear of Mendieta over table), April 1973.

66 Imagén de Yagul (aka Flowers on Body), summer 1973.

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67 Warren Rosen, Drag: Motor Performer, 1972. Performers Georgeanne Higgins and Monica Wilson. Courtesy Intermedia area, School of Art and Art History, University of Iowa, Iowa City.

68 Untitled (aka Feathers on Woman), September 1972. Photo Raquelín Mendieta.

69 Feathers on Woman (detail, Mendieta attaching feathers to model's head and neck), October 1972.

70 Feathers on Woman (detail, Mendieta attaching feathers to model's body), 1972.

71 Feathers on Woman (detail, model covered from head to toe), October 1972.

72 Chicken Piece (detail, Breder beheading chicken), 1972.

73 Dan De Prenger, Untitled (Artist in a tree), 1972. Courtesy the artist.

74 Dan De Prenger, Untitled (Artist with a prothesis at his waist), 1972. Courtesy the artist.

75 Rape Piece (detail, Mendieta with underpants around her ankles), April 1973.

76 Rape Piece (detail, bloodstains in toilet bowl), 1973.

77 Rape Piece (detail, Mendieta motionless), April 1973.

78 Untitled (Bloody bones), 1973.

79 Rape Scene (Suitcase among the rocks), April 1973.

80 Moffit Building (Door, animal innards on bloodstained sidewalk), 1973.

81 Moffit Building (Passerby looking at innards on bloodstained sidewalk), 1973.

82 Moffit Building (Passerby unaware of animal innards on bloodstained sidewalk), 1973.

83 Moffit Building (Janitor removing animal innards on blood-stained sidewalk), 1973.

84 Intermedia Works by CNPA Visual Artists and the Intermedia Class, 3 March 1973, brochure, Iowa City: University of Iowa. Courtesy Intermedia area, School of Art and Art History, University of Iowa, Iowa City.

85 Extensions. Iowa City, Iowa. Elaine Summers, A Presentation of Film, Video and Dance by The Center for The New Performing Arts, 119 1/2 E. College, Friday the

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13th [1973], 9:00 P.M. Courtesy Intermedia area, School of Art and Art History, University of Iowa, Iowa City.

86 Multimedia group rehearsing for Theater Piece for Chairs and Ladders, April 1973 (Left to right: Ana Mendieta, third from left; Dan De Prenger, fourth; Dennis Swanson, sixth; Elaine Summers, seventh.) Courtesy Dan De Prenger.

87 Dead on Street, performed 3 May 1973 in CNPA production Hybrids, Clinton, Iowa.

88 Photograph of Ana Mendieta in front of a bas-relief figure Danzante (Dancer), the Gallery of the Danzantes, Monte Alban, Mexico, 1973. Photo Hans Breder.

89 Hans Breder, Body Sculpture (Ellen Krueger on tombstone), 1973. Photo and courtesy Hans Breder.

90 Hans Breder, Body Sculpture (Model, mirror, column in open-air courtyard, Cuilapan church, Oaxaca, Mexico), 1973. Photo and courtesy Hans Breder.

91 Untitled (Body sculpture of artist in niche in open-air courtyard, Cuilapan church, Oaxaca, Mexico), summer 1973. Photo Hans Breder.

92 Eliot Porter and Ellen Auerbach, "Christ on the Cross and other images draped in purple for Lent, parish church of San Antonio, Córdoba, Veracruz," in Mexican Celebrations (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), [pl.] 64. The photographs in this book were taken between November 1955 and April 1956.

93 Holy water font and indented cross with crown of thorns and three nails inside the northeast entrance to the open-air chapel of Cuilapan, Oaxaca, Mexico. See Eleanor Friend Sleight, The Many Faces of Cuilapan (Orlando, Fla.: Pueblo Press, 1988), fig. 39.

94 Untitled (Animal's heart, holy water font in Cuilapan church, Oaxaca, Mexico), summer 1973.

95 Untitled (Artist wrapped in sheet, rooftop of Hotel Principal, Oaxaca, Mexico), summer 1973. Photo Hans Breder.

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96 Helen (McGreevy) Hoff, Untitled (Model Monica (Wilson) O'Donnell on rooftop of Hotel Principal, Oaxaca, Mexico), summer 1973. Photo and courtesy Helen (McGreevy) Hoff.

97 Helen (McGreevy) Hoff, Life in the Shadows (Monica (Wilson) O'Donnell's hand behind door in Hotel Principal, Oaxaca, Mexico), summer 1973. Photo and courtesy by Helen (McGreevy) Hoff.

98 Helen (McGreevy) Hoff, Untitled (Artist making imprint on sand, La Ventosa, Salina Cruz, Mexico), summer 1973. Photo and courtesy Helen (McGreevy) Hoff.

99 Helen (McGreevy) Hoff, Untitled (Imprint of artist on sand, La Ventosa, Salina Cruz, Mexico), summer 1973. Photo and courtesy Helen (McGreevy) Hoff.

100 Hans Breder, Body Sculpture (Model Ana Mendieta, La Ventosa, Salina Cruz, Mexico), summer 1973. Photo and courtesy Hans Breder.

101 Monica (Wilson) O' Donnell, Untitled (Rain dance piece), summer 1973. (Courtyard of Hotel Principal, Oaxaca, Mexico). Courtesy of the artist.

102 Dan De Prenger, Untitled (Site-specific piece with glass globes over coconut shells, Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico), summer 1973. Photo and courtesy Dan De Prenger.

103 Richard Bloes, Untitled, summer 1973. Photo and courtesy Richard Bloes.

104 Untitled ("Self-Portrait with Blood on Face"), 1973.

105 Blood Sign #1 (Artist outlines her body in blood and then writes inside of the body contour: "There's a devil inside me"), March 1974.

106 Untitled (aka Labyrinth Blood Imprint), (Silhouette in blood on the ground in Yagul, Oaxaca, Mexico), summer 1974.

107 Burial Pyramid, 1974, Yagul, Oaxaca, Mexico.

108 Creek #1, July 1974, San Felipe, Mexico.

109 Dan De Prenger, Untitled (Site-specific piece with neon lights), November 1973. Photo and courtesy Dan De Prenger.

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110 Charles Ray, Plank Piece I, [fall] 1973. Black-and-white photographs, 40 x 27 inches, edition of 7. Collection Lannan Foundation, Los Angeles. Courtesy of Feature Inc., New York.

111 Charles Ray, Plank Piece II, [fall] 1973. Multimedia studio, University of Iowa. Black-and-white photographs, 40 x 27 inches, edition of 7. Collection Lannan Foundation, Los Angeles. Courtesy of Feature Inc., New York.

112 Charles Ray, Untitled (Artist, rope, wall dimensions variable), [fall] 1973. Multimedia studio, University of Iowa. Black-and-white photograph, 40 x 27 inches. Courtesy of Feature Inc., New York.

113 The Center for New Performing Art Presents an Evening of Video, Film & Dance, 9 November 1973 at 119 1/2 E. College St., brochure, Iowa City: University of Iowa. Courtesy Intermedia area, School of Art and Art History, University of Iowa, Iowa City.

114 A Presentation by the Multimedia & Intermedia Classes with CNPA Members Participating, 7 December 1973 in the building behind the laundry at 207 N. Linn St., brochure, Iowa City: University of Iowa. Courtesy Intermedia area, School of Art and Art History, University of Iowa, Iowa City.

115 Charles Ray, All My Clothes, [fall] 1973, 16 color photographs, 9 x 60 inches, overall, edition of 12. Courtesy Donald Young Gallery, Seattle, Washington.

116 Rape Piece, October 1973.

117 Rape Piece (detail, partial view of artist's head with closed eye), October 1973.

118 Dead Animals, October 1973.

119 Mattresses, October 1973.

120 Blood Sign #2 (Artist makes body prints in blood with her arms), March 1974.

121 Body Tracks, December 1974.

122 Body Tracks , December 1974.

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123 Body Tracks, December 1974.

124 Photo of artist holding a banner of her Body Tracks, October 1975.

125 Body Tracks (Artist tracing her arm prints on a silver banner), January 1975.

126 Mnemonicist, CNPA Performance, April 1974. Poster. Courtesy Intermedia area, School of Art and Art History, University of Iowa, Iowa City.

127 Mnemonicist, CNPA Performance, April 1974. Detail of Ana Mendieta's Feathers on a Woman (aka Venus generosa, after the title of one of Hans Breder's pieces.) Photo and courtesy Hans Breder.

128 Untitled (Body Piece in Baptismal Font), (artist in baptismal font in Cuilapan church, Oaxaca, Mexico), summer 1974. Photo courtesy Hans Breder.

129 Untitled (Body sculpture of artist hidden in a crevice with her two feet visible above the ground, Oaxaca, Mexico), c. summer 1974.

130 Untitled (Body contour in red tempera on grass, Yagul, Oaxaca, Mexico), August 1974.

131 Pictograph on the face of a cliff, at Caballito Blanco near Yagul, Oaxaca, Mexico. Joyce Kelly, The Complete Visitor's Guide to Mesoamerican Ruins (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), p. 134.

132 Dennis Oppenheim, Rocked Hand, 1970. Still from super-8 film, Aspen Projects #2, 1970-71). Dennis Oppenheim (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1974), n. p.

133 Mary Beth Edelson, Woman Rising / Earth, 1974. Outer Banks, North Carolina. Mary Beth Edelson, Seven Cycles: Public Rituals (New York: Mary Beth Edelson, 1980), p. 17.

134 Blood and Feathers #1, 1974.

135 Body Prints (Body Print with White Sheet), December 1974.

136 Body Prints (Body Print with Black Sheet), December 1974.

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137 Body Prints (detail of Body Print with Black Sheet, view of artist on the floor from behind the sheet with body print), December 1974.

138 Body Prints (detail of Body Print with Black Sheet, view of artist on the floor from in front of the sheet with body print), December 1974.

139 Children at Henry Sabin Elementary School. Selves Portraits (sic) (art project assigned by Ana Mendieta for her class), c. 1973-74.

140 Children at Henry Sabin Elementary School. Selves Portraits (sic) (detail, art project assigned by Ana Mendieta to her class), c. 1973-74.

141 Children at Kirkwood School. Paper Box Masks (art project by Ana Mendieta assigned to her class), January-March 1975. Photo and courtesy Helen (McGreevy) Hoff.

142 Untitled (Artist wrapped as a mummy), 1975.

143 Untitled (Ape Piece), June 1975. Performance at All Iowa Fair, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

144 Untitled (Ape Piece), June 1975. Performance at All Iowa Fair, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

145 Alma Silueta en Fuego (Soul Silhouette on Fire), October 1975.

146 Ana Mendieta, Xochiquetzal Mold, 1971. 2202-2 TA-80 Otumba Project Archives. Courtesy Professor Thomas H. Charlton, Department of Anthropology, University of Iowa.

147 Devi as Durga, c. 16th-17th century A.D., Gauhati Museum. In Ajit Mookerjee, Tantra Art (Basel: 1966), pl. 60. Courtesy Intermedia area, School of Art and Art History, University of Iowa, Iowa City.

148 Ana Mendieta, Image of Devi as Durga for cover of flyer for exhibition, "Ana Mendieta," Corroboree Gallery, 5-23 December 1977. Courtesy Intermedia area, School of Art and Art History, University of Iowa, Iowa City.

149 Anonymous, Soul in Purgatory. Postcard. Courtesy Susan Aberth.

150 Ñañigo Burial, February 1976.

151 Ñañigo Burial, February 1976.

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152 Untitled (Silueta with Red Tempera), summer 1973, La Ventosa, Salina Cruz, Mexico.

153 Untitled ("Cactus"), summer 1973, La Ventosa, Salina Cruz, Mexico.

154 Silueta Tehuana, summer 1976, La Ventosa, Salina Cruz, Mexico.

155 Untitled (Silueta of roots of trees branches, Cuilapan church, Oaxaca, Mexico), summer 1976.

156 Sketch of a danzante (dancer) with artist's notes. Ana Mendieta, Ideas 1976, 1977, 1978, sketchbook, n.p.

157 Untitled (Body imprint drawn on a sheet located in niche in open-air courtyard, Cuilapan church, Oaxaca, Mexico), 1976. Photo Hans Breder.

158 Untitled (Partial silueta at portal of Tomb 30, Yagul, Oaxaca, Mexico), 1973.

159 Silueta de Cohetes (Silueta of Fireworks), Oaxaca, 1976.

160 Photograph of a fireworks shop, Oaxaca. Photo Ana Mendieta.

161 Armature for Silueta de Cohetes (Silueta of Fireworks), Oaxaca, 1976.

162 Tree of Life (close-up view), September 1976. Photo Hans Breder.

163 Tree of Life (wide-angle view), September 1976.

164 Untitled (Artist covered with mud lying on a fallen tree trunk) from Tree of Life series, September 1976.

165 Diagram II, The Tree of Life Method, in Eden Gray, The Tarot Revealed (New York: New American Library, Inc., 1969), p. 222.

166 Untitled (Silueta of yellow flowers in the grass), 1976.

167 Ix-Chel, April 1977.

168 Untitled (Silueta in mud with yellow petals), 1976.

169 Untitled (aka Incantation a Olukun-Yemaya), May 1977.

170 Fetish Series (Figure with Red Markings), June 1977.

171 Untitled (graves), June 1977.

172 Untitled (Hand, Dainzu), August 1977.

173 Untitled (Silueta inscribed on fallen tree and burned in gunpowder), August 1977.

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174 Untitled (Silueta surrounded by three bands of burned gunpowder), August 1977.

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INTRODUCTION

Ana Mendieta (1948-1985) is known for her early performance pieces and earth-body sculptures. From the late 1980s her work has been increasingly included in the contexts of feminist art history, performance, photography, work in nature, body art, self-representation, Cuban art, and transcultural identity in museum exhibitions and catalogues. Her work has begun to be included in surveys of world art and is also collected by major museums throughout the United States.[1] Her approach to earth-body art was significantly different from the new forms of conceptual art of the 1960s and the early 1970s. By 1974 the artist had begun to produce ephemeral body-earth pieces in Iowa and Mexico that endowed nature with a human form, thereby personifying it and evoking nature's lifecycle. That work evolved from both painting and performance-oriented work that layered multiple references, with sources as diverse as her autobiography, everyday life, transcultural myths, Catholic subjects, and Western and non-Western art and archaeology.

The artist was born and raised in Havana, Cuba. Her family was of Spanish descent and had been in Cuba for several generations. In the company of her sister, Mendieta left her family and country of birth in September 1961 for the United States in the Pedro Pan Operation as part of a mass exodus of unaccompanied Cuban minors who were sent to this country to escape the political turmoil and ideological changes brought about by the Cuban Revolution (January 1959). The Mendieta sisters were separated from their mother for four and a half years until she joined them in Iowa in early February 1966. Their father was reunited with his family there in 1978. Ana Mendieta and her sister were sponsored by the Catholic Welfare Bureau in Miami who sent them to a residential institution run by Catholic Charities in Dubuque, Iowa. Educated in Catholic schools for the remainder of her secondary education, Mendieta lived in different residential institutions as well as with three sets of foster parents. She attended Briar Cliff College in Sioux City, Iowa from 1967 to 1969; she then transferred to the University of Iowa where she

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received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the School of Art and Art History in spring 1969. Mendieta began her graduate studies at the University of Iowa in summer 1969. She majored in painting and received her Master of Arts in 1972. She subsequently went on to receive a Master of Fine Arts in multimedia and video in 1977.

The School of Art and Art History at the University of Iowa was known as one of the leading university-based art schools in the country. As a graduate student, Mendieta studied painting with Byron Burford and drawing with Joseph Patrick through fall semester 1971-2. At that juncture, she had begun to take her first multimedia courses in the new Multimedia area established by Hans Breder who became her mentor and lover. She had also become involved with performance at the university when it was first introduced there in 1970 by the Center for New Performing Art (CNPA). She participated in Handbill and Deafman Glance, two new works by Robert Wilson, the visionary director-writer who was commissioned to premiere those pieces at the university. The Multimedia Program in the School of Art and Art History and the Center for New Performing Art were two unique university programs that got under way in 1970. Mendieta studied Multimedia and performed in the CNPA with students in multimedia and intermedia during a period of intense creative and performing activity which was, and still remains, unparalleled in the university's history.

In 1970 Breder established the Multimedia Program and cofounded the CNPA, which received a five-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The CNPA was "a collection of artists and performers, utilizing the expanding university facilities for experimentation, creation, and production."[2] It encompassed six areas within the College of Liberal Arts--Art, Creative Writing, Dance, Film and Television, Music, and Theater--and organized events and programs that were interdisciplinary in nature. During the next five years, through spring 1975, the Multimedia Program and the CNPA were instigators of and witnesses to an unprecedented period of experimental, interdisciplinary artistic

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collaboration. Students, like Mendieta, explored ways in which dance, theater, writing, and music could be fused in their art work.

There have been several important studies on Mendieta's work that have brought diverse aspects of her development to the foreground. None, however, has examined in-depth the sources that informed the artist's development during the period in Iowa. But during the artist's years in Iowa, Lucy R. Lippard wrote a series of articles from 1975 through 1977 which introduced Mendieta's work to a national audience. As a result of those articles, Mendieta became incorporated into contemporary art history. Lippard's writings located Mendieta within the contexts of transformation art, earth art, public outdoor art, and feminist art, including goddess subjects.[3] Two local reviews of Mendieta's first one-person exhibition at the University of Iowa included the artist's first statements about the form and content of her work, her use of her body, her interest in the goddess subject, and the relationship between the earth, herself, and art. In 1978 the critic Gloria Orenstein's "Reemergence of the Archetype of the Great Goddess in Art by Contemporary Women" located the artist within a larger group of feminist artists who incorporated goddess ideas and imagery in their work.[4]

After the artist's death in 1985, the New Museum of Contemporary Art organized Ana Mendieta: A Retrospective.[5] The 1987 catalogue contained essays by John Perrault and Petra Barreras, who provided the first general overviews of her work. The work in the exhibition dates, with one exception, from 1976. Mendieta's earlier work from 1972 was not included because it was considered student work.

In 1988, Ann Sargent Wooster's "Themes of Death and Resurrection," in High Performance, underscored the fact that Mendieta's death has limited the interpretation of her work.[6] The artist/critic located her work within the larger art historical contexts of contemporary performance, earth art, spirituality, and matriarchal subjects. The article was among the first to specify parallel developments by men and women artists interested in similar formal and conceptual explorations.

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In the 1990s several catalogue essays as well as a dissertation contributed to the studies of Mendieta's work. The 1991 exhibition catalogue Ana Mendieta: The "Silueta" Series 1973-1980 was useful for its focus on the subject of the silueta in the artist's development during the 1970s.[7] Jane Blocker's dissertation, "The Unbaptized Earth: Ana Mendieta and the Performance of Exile," examines Mendieta's works in a political and historical network of meanings involving gender, race, ethnicity, and nationality.[8] The author based her methodology on the writings of Judith Butler, Homi Bhabha, and Benedict Anderson for their performative theories on gender and nation. Blocker dealt with specific themes in the work dating from 1973 which are illustrated only by a few selected works.

Two exhibition catalogues from 1996 brought the artist's work to international audiences. Ana Mendieta (Centro Gallego de Arte Contemporánea in Santiago de Compostela) and Ana Mendieta 1948-1985 (Helsinki City Art Museum). Charles Merewether, in his essay "From Inscription to Dissolution: An Essay on Expenditure in the Work of Ana Mendieta" for the Spanish exhibition, wrote about the artist's work from 1972 to 1975 but overgeneralized it: "For Mendieta, the body as the subject of violence, eroticism, and death was the body as woman."[9] To support his view, Merewether drew on the theoretical writings of Georges Bataille, Marcel Mauss, Michael Foucault, Herbert Marcuse, Octavio Paz, and Sigmund Freud, among others. Mary Sabbatino's essay for the Helsinki exhibition gave a general overview of the silueta works and discussed Mendieta's marginalized position within the broader streams of contemporary art history.[10]

What is lacking in these studies, however, is an analysis of the paths of Mendieta's development from 1969 through 1977 within the context of the painting and multimedia areas of the School of Art at the University of Iowa. Furthermore, there have been a number of recurring assumptions and facts in these studies which on close examination, are revealed to be erroneous or overstated. For example, Orenstein misinterpreted Mendieta's work as informed by transpersonal visionary experiences.[11] In addition, Perrault and

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Barreras noted that Mendieta received an M.F.A. degree in Multimedia and Video at the University of Iowa in 1977, but that credential was not listed in the catalogue chronology. This oversight resulted in the omission of an important period of study and production during the artist's formative years. The checklist of the exhibition also contains several errors in the titles and dates of Mendieta's works, as well as in the location of their execution, which have caused erroneous dating in subsequent writings. Jacobs' essay, in "The 'Silueta' Series 1973-1980," overstated the artist's connections to Santería ritual in her work. In my study I attempt to show what Mendieta learned about African as well as Afro-Cuban religions at different stages of her development and how those interests were expressed in her work. I also clarify the inventive ways her work distances itself from traditional art and religious practices. Blocker has not attempted, as I have, to survey or examine the artist's evolution chronologically or conceptually. Neither did Blocker incorporate the voices of people who knew Mendieta because she sensed from her initial interviews with the artist's former friends that they had suffered such "a severe loss" over her death that they could not provide objective facts. With the benefit of chronological distance and by casting an investigative net beyond the New York art community, however, I hold that a relatively objective history can be reconstructed, in part, through oral histories, despite the anecdotal nature of people's reminiscences about anyone. Merewether's discussion does not take into account the two programs at the university--Multimedia and the Center for New Performing Art--that informed the artist's development during the period he analyzes. Nor does he discuss the work of Mendieta's contemporaries with which he suggests it intersects.

I have therefore attempted to lay a foundation for further studies by examining the step-by-step development of the artist's early and middle artistic production. I have examined the artist's diverse interests, strategies, sources, subjects, intentions, and written statements by tracing her beginnings first as a painting student, then as an early multimedia student, to her mature production as an emerging artist, by documenting works that have

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not previously been written about, by correcting dates and locations for her pieces. My aim is to define Mendieta's work within the developmental context that illuminates the artist's awareness of and responses to a multitude of sources that engaged her imagination and thinking. By so doing, her work may be extricated from the overgeneralized focus such as violence, death, or memory of exile that have recently circumscribed her corpus of work.

In this dissertation, I propose to explore how Mendieta's paintings (1969 to early 1972) demonstrate that she had absorbed earlier modernists' uses of arbitrary color and expressive figuration. My discussion elaborates the art student's adaptations of some of the primitivizing modes observable in Picasso's early work as well as in her own studies of African art and also examines her assimilation of Precolumbian motifs in her work at this time.

Beginning in 1972 Mendieta abandoned painting to pursue conceptual work grounded in performance and body art. The philosophy guiding Multimedia studies and the Center for New Performing Art encouraged students and faculty to produce work that was interdisciplinary, that moved beyond traditional fine art categories of painting and sculpture. Mendieta responded to, and absorbed, a broad range of new ideas concerning the possibilities for corporeal expression as a sculptural mode in ephemeral art.[12] Her work evolved into a personal language based on a cross-fertilization of sources and media as she developed performative modes that merged art and life.

I also explore how the artist's early experimental work in Multimedia responded to and was motivated by modern and contemporary artists such as Marcel Duchamp, Vito Acconci, Bruce Nauman, and the Viennese Actionists, and painters such as Yves Klein and Jackson Pollock. Mendieta's early body pieces also built on her mentor Hans Breder's interest in the body as sculptural material. The artist's body movements incorporate her experiences with dance movement and kinetic motion which she studied with Robert Wilson, Cynthia Hedstrom, and Elaine Summers.

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Overview of Chapters

This study begins when Ana Mendieta, at the age of twelve, leaves Cuba as part of an exodus of unaccompanied minors to the United States. The first chapter traces the artist's steps from Havana to Miami to Dubuque, Iowa. The narrative relates the artist's experiences as she attempted to adjust to a new country, culture, institutional life, and several foster families.[13]

Chapter 2 documents twenty-six of the thirty extant paintings and drawings which belong to the artist's estate and are presently in Raquelín Mendieta's possession.[14] During her years of painting and drawing, Mendieta probably made dozens of paintings and hundreds of drawings. In addition to examining the formal language of the paintings, I explore the artist's evolving intellectual concerns as noted in her course selections, written papers, and personal conversations. By contextualizing the work she produced in the studio with her academic interests--in particular, her study of Precolumbian art--we can identify her formal and iconographic shifts in painting. In studying her progress as a painting student, this chapter explores how her work reveals that the subject of the self, the core of Mendieta's earth-body sculpture as well as her performance art, emerges first in the medium of paint. It also documents how her early interests in Mesoamerican art were sustained in her mature work.

Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 analyze the artists' production chronologically as it evolves in Iowa and Mexico as well as during a brief visit to New York and abroad (1976). Each chapter documents Mendieta's performance work and body art within the contexts of the Multimedia Program and the Center for New Performing Art.

Chapter 3 discusses Hans Breder and the early Multimedia Program; the Center for New Performing Art, its formation, purpose, aims, organization, and some of its first productions with students and faculty from the Multimedia area. The chapter also

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examines Mendieta's first performances in Robert Wilson's Handbill and Deafman Glance (1970) and her first documented body work in the Multimedia Studio (1972).

Chapter 4 focuses on the collaborative performances, in which Mendieta participated, between Multimedia and the CNPA, both in Iowa City and on tour. The study documents the performances of visiting artists who worked with Multimedia graduate students. I discuss the artist's first ritualistic pieces as well as her series on the subject of rape. The chapter concludes with the Multimedia program in Oaxaca.

Chapter 5 examines Mendieta's continued participation in public performances with her elementary school students and in performances with graduate students, faculty, and visiting artists, all of whom created intermedia work, crossing the boundaries among dance, art, sculpture, film and video, and performance. I elaborate on the artist's explorations of violence and crime in response to ambient events, which produces a new series of body prints and innovative site-specific pieces in Mexico, including her first experiential body-earth and water pieces.

Chapter 6 identifies the sources for, and the nature of, Mendieta's artistic inventions in performative pieces dealing with African and Afro-Cuban ritual and ceremony. Herein are noted the lectures of visiting artists John Perrault and Lucy Lippard and their probable impact on the artist. I also describe Mendieta's innovative role as an art teacher in two elementary schools. The chapter ends with the artist's undocumented impersonation of an ape.

Chapter 7 addresses Mendieta's artistic development during her final two years (1975-1977) in Iowa in light of the downsizing of the CNPA and the founding of the Corroboree Gallery. In addition, I discuss the artist's critical reception, her travels, exhibitions, awards, and plans to move to New York. My narrative incorporates the artist's drawings and written sketchbook annotations as preparations for specific pieces. It also explores Mendieta's first public statements on deity or goddess iconography vis à vis her own art production and the new critical framework that supports her work.

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In developing this study, I conducted extensive firsthand interviews with people who were involved with teaching, studying, and artmaking.[15] They included the artist's former instructors, fellow graduate students, friends, public school teachers, and students. To find material I traveled to Iowa City and researched primary sources. In reconstructing the section on the Center for New Performing Art, I examined the unpublished material from the University of Iowa Center for New Performing Art Records, University of Iowa Archives. The archives there provided me with data to understand the formation, administration, and activities of a unique program which fostered diverse aesthetic expressions.

I also consulted back copies of university catalogues to track down specific information regarding the names and dates of the courses Mendieta took as well as the names of teachers who taught those courses. The records in the registrar's office together with the information in the university catalogues, as well as the artist's transcript, enabled me to reconstruct Mendieta's studies. With the aid of the assistant to the registrar, who assembled class lists for me, I was able to locate both members of the faculty and former students, now widely dispersed.

I also looked through records and exhibition catalogues at the Museum of Art to identify what Mendieta had viewed during her years at the university. While in Iowa City I met with Thomas H. Charlton who taught Mendieta Field Research in Archaeology in San Juan Teotihuacan, Mexico. Unique among her former professors, Charlton retains some of her work--her catalogue cards, tally sheets, and final report on the figurine fragments from the late Aztec and early Colonial periods. With Charlton's assistance, Mendieta became the first of his students to begin to establish a system of typologies for Aztec deities. I also contacted Cynthia Otis Charlton, now an independent researcher in Mesoamerican archaeology, who participated with Mendieta in the same field research project in San Juan Teotihuacan, Mexico.

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These investigations have enabled me to provide a contextual reading of the artist's work during the Iowa years. This dissertation attempts to define the nature of Mendieta's production, thereby locating her oeuvre squarely within the parameters of contemporary art history with its connections to early performance, body work, and earth art in the 1970s.

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[1] For example see, Marilyn Stokstead, Art History (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995), p. 1149.

[2] William Hibbard (director), "Center for the New Performing Arts," 25 September 1970, CNPA Records.

[3] See Lucy R. Lippard, "Transformation Art," Ms. Magazine (October 1975): 33; From the Center: Feminist Essays on Women's Art (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1976), p. 137; "The Pains and Pleasure of Rebirth: Women's Body Art," in Art in America (May-June 1976): 80; "Quite Contrary: Body, Nature and Ritual in Women's Art," Chrysalis (June 1977): 31-47; "Art Outdoors, In and Out of the Public Domain," Studio International (March-April 1977): 89.

[4] Gloria Orenstein, "Reemergence of the Archetype of the Great Goddess in Art by Contemporary Women," Heresies: The Great Goddess, (1978): 77.

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[5] Ana Mendieta: A Retrospective (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1987).

[6] Ann Sargent Wooster, "Themes of Death and Resurrection," High Performance 41-42 (Spring-Summer 1988): 80-83. Wooster's article offers an important counterpoint to articles, such as Joel Lang's wherein the author interprets Mendieta's art in the light of her death. In other words he sees such explorations on the subject of rape and violence as well as her use of blood in her work as foreshadowing her death. See Lang, "High Art and Homicide," Northeast Magazine (26 January 1986): 20. On the other side of the spectrum, Raquelín Mendieta overstated her sister's relationship to the earth by stating that "the earth became an icon worthy of worship--the goddess--and Ana's role in this ritual gradually changed from victim to priestess." See Raquel[ín] Mendieta, "Ana Mendieta: Self Portrait of a Goddess," Review: Latin American Literature and Art 39 (January-June 1988): 39.

[7] Ana Mendieta: The "Silueta Series 1973-1980 (Galerie Lelong, 1991).

[8] Jane Blocker, "The Unbaptized Earth: Ana Mendieta and the Performance of Exile," Ph.D. diss., (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1994).

[9] Merewether, "From Inscription to Dissolution: An Essay on Expenditure in the Work of Ana Mendieta," Ana Mendieta (Centro Gallego de Arte Contemporánea in Santiago de Compostela), p. 83.

[10] Mary Sabbatino asserts the Mendieta's first silueta dates from 1973 with the piece Burial of Yagul. I would argue that the artist used her entire body as the image of her performative sculpture and therefore did not employ her silhouette to define the image. In fact, Mendieta did not use the image of her silueta until 1974. The artist acknowledged this in several writings from the period which are documented in my study.

[11] For the interested reader see Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, eds. The Power of Feminist Art: The American Movement of the 1970s, History and Impact (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers, 1994) for a series of contemporary essays that describe

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Mendieta's works and locate her contributions within a larger feminist art history. The cover of the book features the artist's Silueta of Fireworks (aka Anima), 1976.

[12] Mendieta's ephemeral work exists only in the form of film and photographic documentation.

[13] For my study of the hardships endured by unaccompanied children who were part of the Operation Pedro Pan as well as for the history of the airlift itself, I relied on two valuable sources: Lourdes Rodrígues-Nogués, Psychological Effects of Premature Separation from Parents in Cuban Refugee Girls: A Retrosopective Study (1983) and Bryan O. Walsh, "Cuban Refugee Children," (1974). Psychological Effects remains the only case study to date of its kind that examines such issues as adolescent trauma and adjustment in unaccompanied Cuban girls. Walsh's account provides a historical background of the airlift and relocation efforts organized by Catholic Charities and the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

[14] In developing the material in Chapter 2, I encountered special problems of methodology regarding titles and dates. Since none of the works were titled, I assigned descriptive titles to them which are in quotation marks. Most of the extant paintings discussed herein were not dated. Therefore I constructed a chronological framework for them based partly on empirical analysis and partly on simple deduction. The twenty-six paintings discussed herein were executed sometime during the artist's last semester of undergraduate studies from spring 1969 to early 1972. Of the twenty-six works, eight are dated: six are dated 1969 and two are dated 1970. I compared both the style and subject matter of the undated works to those of the few dated ones, taking into account the steps in the artist's training, the recollections of professors and peers, and other interests developed by Mendieta during her student years.

After an interval of more than twenty years, Mendieta's former instructors and classmates in painting and drawing no longer remember specific works she had done.

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Raquelín Mendieta, Hans Breder, and Jane (Noble) Hedrick were able to identify some of the extant work. Raquelín Mendieta remembers the general thrust of her sister's development as well as innumerable details of her life during those years (1969-1972). She also recalls having seen many, but not all, of the paintings at the time they were executed. Breder recognized only her last two abstract paintings, executed during the semester Mendieta first took his multimedia class (fall 1971). Jane (Noble) Hedrick identified some of the works through photographs. (Noble) Hedrick, her closest friend in the early through mid-1970s, shared invaluable recollections of the artist and her work from her M.A. years in painting and drawing, including their particpation in Robert Wilson's Deafman Glance.

[15] I began my interviewing process with a list of names that Breder and Raquelín Mendieta suggested to me. Over time I expanded my list. Many new names came out of conversations with interviewees, others came from Mendieta's transcript, and still others from transcripts and official class lists of students who took Multimedia and Intermedia between of 1969 and 1977.

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Chapter 1

Uprooted in Cuba, Displaced in Iowa

Introduction

Ana María Mendieta, age eleven, and her sister Raquelín, age fifteen, left Havana and arrived in Miami on 11 September 1961. They were part of a mass exodus of unaccompanied minors who were sent to the United States from Cuba during the first years of the Cuban Revolution. For almost a year before their arrival, the Catholic Welfare Bureau in Miami had been secretly involved in bringing unaccompanied minors from Cuba and placing them in foster and group care around the United States. At the time the general American public did not know the size or scope of that operation. The Mendieta sisters were separated from their mother for four and a half years, from September 1961 until they rejoined her in Iowa in early February 1966. Their father was allowed to leave Cuba only in 1978. During those years the Mendieta girls had to adjust to a new culture in institutions or in foster homes without the support of their family. After their arrival in Miami, they were sent to a residential institution run by Catholic Charities in Dubuque, Iowa, where they experienced the cultural and sociological ruptures of transition.[1] The private spaces of home gave way to the public space of the institution; the dormitory room replaced their private bedroom; facilities were shared with strangers. Meals consisted of new foods prepared in new ways that were strange to them and served in a regimented manner. They felt the pressure of having to learn a new language quickly, so they could study and communicate with everyone around them. Instead of talking to their parents on a daily basis, they waited for letters that did not always arrive. When problems arose, they had to discuss them with social workers who had never worked with Cuban youngsters. In living by new rules that governed the structure of the day, week, and month, their free time was

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circumscribed in ways they had never before experienced. Their holidays--Christmas, birthdays, graduations--were no longer joyous family celebrations.

During those years they faced the loneliness of separation from their family and at the same time endured the difficulties of adjusting and readjusting to different Catholic residential homes, schools, and foster families.[2] (See Appendix 1) While Ana and Raquelín were dealing with their own problems of family separation and uprooting, they had to live with girls who had emotional and behaviorial problems. Although their first new school provided many positive experiences, they returned each day from class to face peers who had come from dysfunctional family environments. Their first experience with care in a foster home also proved unfortunate. After their first fifteen months in the United States, they were disappointed, disillusioned, and rebellious. During that period, however, Ana and Raquelín depended on each other for support, guidance, and love. As Ana was the younger sister, she turned to Raquelín, who served as a surrogate parent for her sister.[3] As the period of separation became longer than they had originally anticipated, Ana and her sister developed fears of not seeing their parents again. Unaccompanied Cuban children who experienced prolonged separations characteristically suffered such anxiety.

Ana's fortunes began to improve during her last two years of high school when she was placed with two caring foster families. Nevertheless, during those final school years, she had to relocate and adjust to different families on two occasions. One of the biggest problems that affected Ana and Raquelín throughout their separation from their family was the insecurity of not knowing when they would be moved or what conditions they would have to face next. Ana seemed to be a buoyant person who attempted to put her best face forward. Perhaps her enormous tenacity, a quality recognized by those who knew her, resulted from having to fend for herself at an early age, coping with the sudden loss of both her family and her country. As Ana grew from adolescence to young womanhood, she carried within her the memory of separation and struggle. I will discuss in later

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chapters how some of her earth-body work from 1975 communicates her desire to reconnect metaphorically with her homeland.

1. Departure from Cuba

When Ana and Raquelín Mendieta left Havana in September 1961 for the United States, they did not know they would be among some fourteen thousand unaccompanied minors who were sent into exile between 1960 and 1962. Their parents stayed behind, expecting the Revolution to end within approximately a year.[4] A number of important political events had occurred in Cuba that frightened many families, including the Mendietas, into taking the kind of measures they did. The government of Fidel Castro had confiscated all foreign-owned oil refineries and seized U.S. sugar mills. The United States had then broken diplomatic relations with Cuba. Catholic schools had been closed, and some of the religious community, nuns and priests, had been advised to leave the country. Many families feared the government would exercise its rights over the family, thereby weakening the traditional family unit.

The Mendieta family, both parents and daughters, were involved in counter-revolutionary activities. Ignacio Alberto Mendieta (1918-1983), Ana's father, worked in the underground for the 26th of July Movement.[5] When Castro assumed power, Ignacio Mendieta was appointed to a position in the Cuban State Department (Departamento de Estado/Relaciones Exteriores).[6] In summer 1960, Ana's father, together with other State Department personnel, underwent a general investigation during which his previous employment record was scrutinized.[7] Those who conducted the investigation learned that during World War II Mendieta, who had been an attorney for the Police Department, did intelligence work under Richard (Ricardo) Barker, who in turn was the Cuban connection to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Mendieta's work in the Police Department included identifying members of the Communist Party. During Castro's period of

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prenationalization, Mendieta, who was a salesman for the Chrysler Corporation, allowed himself to be listed as a corporate officer.[8] As a Cuban, he could front for the corporate administration that was no longer allowed to exercise its power. As a result of the State Department investigation, Mendieta was told that he was not trustworthy "because he had worked with the CIA and persecuted members of the Communist Party."[9] In spite of these charges, Mendieta was given an opportunity to redeem himself by joining the Communist Party. When he refused to do so, he was informed he would never get a job in Cuba again. Faced with those alternatives, Mr. Mendieta began working in counter-revolutionary activities.

Shortly before Ana and her sister arrived in this country, Raquelín joined a group involved in the underground movement against Castro.[10] She was recruited by a young friend from their neighborhood, Vedado. For a few weeks she distributed anti-government leaflets and fliers and posted some of them on the outside walls of buildings, taking Ana with her. Although Raquelín knew that her friend was the contact person, she never met any of the other members of the group, whose names remained secret for security reasons. At the behest of her group leader, Raquelín also called the managers of targeted buildings to warn them of bomb threats so they could evacuate the people.

One day Raquelín's father called her aside to discuss her involvement. She still recalls her father's serious demeanor. Mendieta told her that he had learned of her activities from one of the young people in a group that he himself commanded. He emphasized the seriousness of her acts and warned her of potential imprisonment. He also told her that she should not have involved her twelve-year-old sister in these dangerous activities.

When it became apparent to the Mendietas that their daughters' safety was at risk, they decided to send them to Miami where the Catholic Welfare Bureau had made arrangements for their care and schooling until the political situation changed. Through a network in Cuba with links in Miami, the Mendietas made the necessary arrangements for their daughters to leave the country.[11] They were not alone in taking that action; thousands

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of other Cuban parents made similar painful decisions regarding their children's welfare. There were several reasons for parents sending their children unnacompanied into exile.[12] First and foremost they did not want their children to grow up under the new regime.[13] Among those who held that view, some parents were involved in the anti-Castro Cuban underground and feared their children would be taken as hostages.[14] Some parents feared their children would be indoctrinated in Communism in the new state-run education system or by the newly organized Association of Youth Rebels and Rebel Pioneers. When private schools in Cuba were closed in spring 1961, families saw their last refuge from indoctrination threatened; they doubted their own ability to offset the effects of indoctrination and propaganda on their children. Rumors spread that a new decree, patria potestad, would assert the government's rights over parents' rights. Although Cuban families who sent their children into exile did not know at the time the enormity of the operation in effect, they did know they were not the first in this century to take similar measures.[15] Events that occurred in the 1930s during the Spanish Civil War influenced Cubans as they attempted to make their own decisions regarding their children's safety.[16] Cuban parents knew about the thousands of Spanish children who had been evacuated from Spain. They recalled stories and rumors about children who had been sent from Spain to Russia for training and about other children held as hostages. They began to fear that the same thing would happen in Cuba.

2. The Catholic Welfare Bureau, Diocese of Miami

By September 1961, when the Mendieta sisters arrived in Miami, the Catholic Welfare Bureau in that city had been secretly involved for almost a year in bringing unaccompanied minors from Cuba and placing them in foster and group care around the United States. The Mendieta sisters arrived in the second wave of Cuban refugees that began in summer and fall 1960.[17] From fall 1960 social service agencies in Miami and the

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federal government began working on ways to meet the needs of an increasing number of new arrivals seeking assistance. Father Brian Walsh, executive director of the Catholic Welfare Bureau, realized that his service agency was not equipped to handle the unprecedented influx of refugees.[18] Therefore, in November 1960, Father Walsh organized two programs, one became known as, Operation Pedro Pan, and the other, the Cuban Children's Program.[19] The goal of the first program was to help "Cuban parents send their children unaccompanied to the U.S. to avoid Communist indoctrination."[20] According to the Catholic Welfare Bureau, some fourteen thousand children between the ages of six and eighteen were transported by air from Cuba to Miami by the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962. The goal of the second program, the Cuban Children's Program, was to provide foster or group care for the Cuban refugee children who came to the United States without their parents.[21] Of the fourteen thousand children who were flown out of Cuba, more than seven thousand received foster care in the Cuban Children's Program.[22]

Throughout fall 1960 social service agencies in Miami met with officials of the federal government to secure special funding for foster care in institutions or family homes for children separated from their parents.[23] At the end of December 1960 when the first unaccompanied children arrived, the Catholic Welfare Bureau had very limited facilities for receiving what it anticipated would be a few hundred children over the following several months.[24] Because of its limited facilities in the Miami area, the Catholic Welfare Bureau counted on more than 130 national Catholic Charities agencies throughout the United States to provide group and foster care for those children.[25]

On 9 January 1961, the U.S. State Department issued visa waivers for unaccompanied Cuban minors.[26] That ruling allowed minors to enter the country without the usual visa that would have been obtained from the American Embassy in Havana had it not just been closed. At the end of January the National Resettlement Conference, held in Miami, was attended by Catholic Charities directors from all over the country, who were

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urged by Father Walsh to facilitate the placement of Cuban children in foster homes. Walsh stressed the need to keep the program secret.[27]

At the beginning of February 1961, President John F. Kennedy announced a federal aid program for Cuban refugees. The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) assumed responsibility for all Cuban refugee programs. Within a month of that announcement, contracts were signed by the three child welfare agencies agreeing to care for the Cuban children according to their religious heritage: the Catholic Welfare Bureau, the Children's Service Bureau for Protestant children, and the Jewish Family and Children's Service. The Florida State Department of Public Welfare acted as the agent for HEW.[28] The Catholic Welfare Bureau administered the federal funds to the Cuban Children's Program, which distributed them to Catholic Charities in dioceses around the country.[29]

At the time of President Kennedy's announcement, Operation Pedro Pan and the Cuban Children's Program, under the Catholic Welfare Bureau, were already caring for the Cuban refugee children in Miami. From 26 December 1960 to 3 February 1961, 174 unaccompanied children had arrived in Miami on visa waivers.

The operation in early February was small in comparison to what it became during the next phase.[30] In the following twenty-one months, until 22 October 1962, the Cuban Missile Crisis, Operation Pedro Pan and the Cuban Children's Program received more than fourteen-thousand children. During those months, the Catholic Welfare Bureau set up several large reception centers in Miami--Kendall, Florida City, and Matecumbe--and established two group-care facilities for teen-age boys in Miami, the Cuban Boys Home and Casa Carion. The Catholic Welfare Bureau took 7, 464 children under care by placing them in foster care in more than a hundred cities in thirty-five states under the auspices of ninety-five different child welfare agencies. In March 1962 news of the exodus was reported in three national newspapers. Two appeared in the Miami Herald and another in a Cleveland newpaper.[31] The first Miami Herald article announced the arrival of nearly eight

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thousand Cuban children in "Operation Exodus,"[32] and the second provided the exodus with the name Operation Pedro Pan. Having been warned in advance of the newspaper stories, Father Walsh issued a press release giving the basic outlines of the story while omitting details about the organizing networks in Cuba, flights from Havana to Jamaica, visa wavers, and so on.[33]

When Operation Pedro Pan officially ended on 22 October 1962, some fourteen thousand young Cubans had received visa waivers to come to this country.[34] The Cuban Children's Program continued to provide foster care for Cuban refugee children until they were reunited with their relatives. On 1 December 1965, Freedom Flights from Varadero began, and within six months most of the children in the Cuban Children's Program were reunited with their parents.[35] Ana and Raquelín Mendieta were reunited with their mother and brother a little more than a year after those flights began. Their father arrived in the United States in 1978 after being released from jail.

3. Arrival in Miami and Relocation in Iowa

Ana Mendieta and her sister Raquelín left Havana on a KLM flight that was met in Miami by a representative of the Cuban Children's Program. When they landed Ana kissed the runway in a dramatic gesture of thanksgiving. The girls carried about thirty-three pounds of personal belongings in duffel bags called gusanos ("worms"), the name given to Cubans who went into exile after the Revolution. Children like the Mendietas who had no relatives in the United States were taken to Camp Kendall where they stayed for processing until residential care could be provided. Whenever possible the Catholic Welfare Bureau tried to find relatives or friends with whom to place the arriving children because they knew the advantages of keeping a child with his or her family, even if it was poor, rather than placing the child in a foster family or group institution.[36]

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Upon arrival at Camp Kendall, the girls and boys were placed in different buildings. Quarters were overcrowded because of the steady stream of arrivals; sometimes two girls shared a single bed. Ana and her sister were there for about three weeks before they were sent to St. Mary's Home in Dubuque, Iowa. The day before they left Camp Kendall, the Mendieta sisters saw their names and that of the home on a blackboard. They were told that St. Mary's Home would receive them, and shortly thereafter they would be sent to live with an American family.

Ana and Raquelín traveled to Iowa with four other Cuban girls, the Alvarez and Santana sisters. They arrived at St. Mary's Home on 5 October 1961. The Mendietas stayed there until the administration found them their first foster home toward the end of July 1962. The three pairs of sisters included Lissette and Olga Alvarez, ages fourteen and five; Gisela and Alina Santana, ages fifteen or sixteen and nine; and the Mendieta sisters, ages fifteen and twelve, soon to be thirteen. The Alvarez and Santana sisters stayed for shorter periods because they had relatives or family friends who sent for them.[37]

St. Mary's Home was run by the Catholic Archdiocese of Dubuque; it had been an orphanage until the 1950s. When the Mendietas arrived it was a children's home for girls and boys who had been abused or neglected or who had emotional and behavioral problems.[38] Although there were only a few orphans at the home, the Catholic community in Dubuque, as well as the Cuban girls who were there, referred to it as an orphanage. St. Mary's Home did not prove to be an auspicious beginning for either the Mendietas or the Alvarez sisters. Their overall experiences at the home were traumatic and disillusioning.[39] They soon became disheartened because they had been promised different living arrangements and thus expected better conditions and circumstances. Ana and Raquelín had never anticipated living with emotionally disturbed girls, and they certainly expected to live in a warm, receptive environment.

For the first six weeks, Ana was physically separated from her sister. Because of her age, she was placed in the Little Girls Unit for girls who were twelve years and

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younger. There were about six girls in that unit; they lived in a different area of the house than the older girls, who lived in the Older Girls Unit. Because the younger girls were served their meals at a different time and place than the older girls, Ana and Raquelín did not see each other during meal times. In fact they saw each other very little each day; they were allowed to be together only once a day after school when they could watch television for a short time. The separation was very hard on Ana who needed her sister's company and friendship more than ever during that initial period of transition.[40] In the absence of her sister, Ana had no one to turn to or confide in because the two Cuban girls in her unit were much younger than she was. Her desolation must have been greatly exacerbated when day after day she was confronted with a nun who, as their unit house mother, was harsh and unaffectionate. Both Raquelín and Lissette Alvarez remember that the nun looked like a man in a nun's habit. Added to Ana's inevitable sense of loneliness and abandonment was the obligation of learning English as quickly as possible, for the new girls were forbidden to speak Spanish. When they lapsed into their own language out of necessity or habit, they were hit. On several occasions the nun hit one of the young Cuban girls.[41] Olga Alvarez, who did not understand English at the time, was beaten because she did not respond when told to wash the dishes.[42] The fear of not being able to speak or understand English compounded by the fear of being hit caused Olga to stop talking.

There were a number of other rules to which the young girls had to become accustomed. For example, they were allowed to bathe only once a week. Having been raised in the tropics where showers were part of the daily routine, they found it was difficult to alter their hygienic habits. If girls were caught sneaking a shower, they received corporal punishment.[43]

Ana became very sad, and every time she saw her sister, she cried and insisted that they be reunited. The forced separation was apparently more than the young adolescent could bear in light of all the other abrupt changes.[44] Finally, when Ana turned thirteen on 18 November, the administration consented to her moving into the unit with the older girls.

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Her bed was then placed next to her sister's, and Lissette Alvarez was on Raquelín's other side. This move marked a second period of adjustment for Ana because she subsequently had to confront very different behavioral patterns than she was accustomed to dealing with previously. According to Lissette Alvarez, there were about ten girls in their ward, most of them dysfunctional. Thus the Mendietas had to adapt to a new environment that was often hostile due to the delinquent behavior of their peers as well as the abusive behavior of some of the nuns.[45]

The house mother in the Big Girls Unit was a nun of Chinese origen who was as unaffectionate toward the girls as the nun in the Little Girls Unit. Sister Mary Innocence, who had lost her parents when fleeing China and projected her own traumatic experience onto her charges, told the girls that they would never see their parents again.[46] No doubt her predictions created additional anxiety in Ana over the possibility of ever seeing her parents again.[47]

The Mendietas shared quarters with a group of girls who were there because of their deviant behavior. With the exception of the Cuban girls, almost everyone else had gotten in trouble with the law. One girl had robbed a gas station at gunpoint with her boyfriend; another had been in street fights where she had fought with a switchblade. One girl had stabbed her mother with scissors, and another had been raped by her step-father. One of the girls, who had been in and out of mental institutions for years, was retarded. The girls recounted their pasts in boastful ways. Raquelín said she and Ana feared for their own safety. One of the girls had tried to strangle her counselor and throw her off the balcony. The girls at St. Mary's Home had lived violent lives and accordingly conducted themselves in very different ways than the Cuban girls. It was difficult for the Mendietas to handle this kind of behavior at the same time that they longed for home. During this period Ana spoke to Ina Sicar, her grandmother's former housekeeper who lived in New York.[48] During their telephone conversations Ana often cried and complained that the other girls acted horribly and used foul language. Horrified, she confided in Sicar

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that one of the girls, who was not married, had a baby. Had it not been for the very positive experiences the Mendietas were having at Whalert High School, they would probably have suffered even more than they did.

Ana also had to endure some corporal punishments, which she had never experienced in Cuba. In one instance she talked back to a nun and told her that she and her sister should be trusted, that they were not criminals. As a result of Ana's perceived insubordination, the nun slapped her on the head several times causing her head to strike against the door knob. When Raquelín protested, the nun told her to shut up, although she stopped hitting Ana. As a general rule, Cuban girls from their background were not slapped on the face; a child might have been reprimanded with a slap on the buttocks but not on the face. The cultural shock of being hit in the head added insult to injury.[49]

On another occasion, Lissette Alvarez received a letter from her father which she read to Raquelín.[50] The emotional content of the letter sent both girls into uncontrollable sobs at which point the Chinese nun led them by the ear to a dark room where the heating units were housed. When Lissette and Raquelín forced their way out of the room, the nun took them to the kitchen and locked them in a closet for a while.

In another incident of spring 1962, Raquelín was again locked in a closet. When another nun came to unlock the door she asked Raquelín why she had been crying. Raquelín boldly expressed her disappointment in living at St. Mary's Home. She told the nun that they had been promised they were going to live with a family, that they had not expected to live in an institution. Feeling they had been betrayed, Raquelín accused Catholic Charities of having lied to them. At that point, according to Raquelín, the nun said she would find them a home.

First Foster Home

In July 1962 the Mendietas were taken to the home of the Butler family. When they responded positively, they moved to their first foster family that same month shortly before

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Raquelín celebrated her sixteenth birthday on 4 August. The Butlers were a working-class family with six children aged six to seventeen. After the Mendietas moved into the Butler household they returned to Whalert where they continued to make friends and enjoy their school life. Their approximately five-month stay with their first foster family had its positive and negative aspects. Overall, however, their experience was an unhappy one. By the time they left they were distrusted and unwanted.

At the start, the Mendietas were excited about the prospects of moving into the home of an American family. They were eager to be part of a family environment, which they sorely missed. Ana and Raquelín shared a room. This was a wonderful treat for them because it reminded them of their years together in Havana, where they had always shared a bedroom. They were now able to enjoy a sense of peace and tranquility unknown to them since they arrived at St. Mary's Home. Every night before they went to sleep, they freely exchanged their thoughts of the day. The Mendietas were pleased to interact with the Butler children. Theresa, for example, was twelve years old, close in age to Ana. The Mendietas were used to being in a big family because their three cousins lived downstairs in the same house in Havana. They and their cousins, who were like sisters, saw each other everyday.

Little by little, however, problems began to mount, and feelings were hurt. One negative experience followed another. According to Raquelín, Mrs. Butler was not a kind or nurturing person, either toward her own children or her foster charges. It seems that she overloaded the Mendietas with housework. During weekdays they were expected to take turns with the Butlers' daughter setting and clearing the table, washing and drying the dishes, and sweeping the kitchen floor. On Saturdays Ana and Raquelín had to do all the household chores such as vacuuming, ironing, and cleaning the bathrooms. In one instance, Mrs. Butler told Ana to clean the second-story windows from the outside using a ladder. Because Ana was afraid of heights, she refused. Consequently the family called

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the social worker and asked her to speak to Ana. Ana told the social worker that she thought the Butlers' sons should be doing that kind of heavy work, not her.

Many other problems arose and caused arguments or bad feelings. For example, the Butlers gave each of the girls a dollar a week for their allowance.[51] That was the cost of the school bus each week; if they took the bus rather than walk the three miles to school, they had no allowance. When the girls tried to persuade the Butlers to increase their allowance, they were told they should walk to school to save money.

Mr. Butler, who had been a navy lieutenant, was also a rather violent man who frequently beat his children. He kept a long stick in the kitchen which he used on his son Jimmy. He cut his daughter's hair in front in a crew-cut style because she had been asking him to allow her to have bangs like the Mendietas. On another occasion, Butler slapped his daughter's face, making her lip bleed, because she had repeated curse words that Ana and Raquelín had taught her. The many stories that Raquelín remembers confirm that his behavior left lasting impressions on her. Unfortunately for the Mendietas, they were once again living in an atmosphere of violence.

Within a short time, tempers flared and resentments grew within the Butler family toward the Mendietas. The Butlers resented the fact that the Mendietas had well-to-do friends at school. They told Ana and Raquelín that they were dirty refugees who did not have the right to be friends with the high-class people of Dubuque.[52] A barrage of recriminations followed. The parents told them they were horrible people and had no right to be there. When the girls complained about St. Mary's Home, Mrs. Butler said they should be thankful that Catholic Charities saved them from Communism.

As Raquelín recounted, the final straw came when Mrs. Butler falsely accused them of having stolen money from her purse. Whether the Butlers fabricated this incident so as to have an excuse to forego their foster parent responsibilities or whether one of the children in the family took the money either to get the Mendietas in trouble or to rebel against their own parents will probably never be known. Mrs. Butler did, however, call

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Catholic Charities to inform them that the family could no longer keep the Mendieta girls because they were out of control.

In January the Mendieta girls were taken back to St. Mary's Home. There they were confronted with three social workers who told them they were criminals and therefore no longer had the right to complain about St. Mary's because they proved to be the same as the other delinquent girls at the home. As a punishment the Mendietas' privileges were suspended, and their every move was carefully monitored. In an apparent attempt to add insult to injury, the social workers claimed they should be grateful to Catholic Charities for looking after them because their parents no longer cared about them. These false accusations and allegations were more than Ana and her sister could bear. Feeling emotionally devastated, they began to sob.

Although Ana and Raquelín denied having stolen the money, they nevertheless promised to comply with whatever rules the nuns set for them if they would be allowed to finish the school year at Whalert High School. It meant a lot to both girls to continue in the school where they had good friends and where the nuns had been so kind.[53] Raquelín especially wanted to graduate with her class. Within a month, however, Catholic Charities of Dubuque sent them from St. Mary's Home to Our Lady of Angels Academy in Clinton, Iowa.

The Mendietas survived their ordeal in Dubuque but not without some battle scars. Their bitter experiences at St. Mary's Home, compounded by their unfortunate encounter with their first foster family, created a sense of bitterness and distrust of a system they felt had let them down. Even today Raquelín Mendieta prefers not to talk about her first two years in this country, a period marked by broken expectations.[54] Some years later Ana Mendieta confided in a friend that her orphanage experience taught her how to survive, how to defend herself, how to fight and hold on to her integrity.[55]

Another New School and Institution

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At the beginning of February 1963, Ana and Raquelín arrived at Our Lady of Angels Academy in Clinton, Iowa. Ana was in the last semester of her sophomore year (tenth grade) and Raquelín in her senior year. Our Lady of Angels Academy was an all-girls private boarding school. Most of the students were Americans, but there was also a group of Spanish-speaking girls, including a number of wealthy girls from Mexico in addition to the ten Cuban girls who were sponsored by Catholic Charities.[56] Although the other Cuban girls liked the school,[57] Ana and Raquelín did not. They felt resentful for having been placed in a home with problem girls, for having been placed with a family who turned against them, and finally for being uprooted and moved to yet another school against their will. They were angry for not being able to finish the school year at Whalert, where they had come to feel comfortable.[58] After their unfortunate experiences in the Butler household, together with the charges leveled against them at St. Mary's Home, the girls had become rebellious.

Looking back on the months they spent at Our Lady of Angels, Raquelín still remembers her negative feelings toward that school. In recalling those times she muses about having had more freedom at St. Mary's than she had at the boarding school where she felt "locked up." Evidently the Mendietas found it difficult to adjust to the regimentation of the boarding school. They did not like having to get up for 5 a.m. mass, maintain silence from 5 to 8:30 a.m., and then eat most of their breakfast in silence. According to Raquelín, they were always getting into some kind of trouble with the nuns who gave them demerits. They then had to work off their accumulated demerits on Saturdays and Sundays by doing chores. These included washing, ironing, or sewing the younger childrens' clothes, shining shoes, and washing floors. Students were expected to keep their voices low in public spaces, observe silent time, and maintain a neat uniform. Students had permission to leave the building for three hours on Saturdays and for one and a half hours on Sundays. Although the Mendietas made some very good friends at Our

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Lady of Angels Academy, the school seemed like a prison to them. They probably would have felt like that in any institution at that particular time in their lives.

Another pair of Cuban sisters, Georgina Fernández Jiménez and Marisela (Fernández) Verena, also remember the Mendietas from the boarding school time.[59] Georgina Fernández, who was sixteen at the time, recalled that she had learned from the Cuban girls that the Mendietas had been traumatized by their experiences. Although Fernández could not specify the nature of the problems they encountered, she recollected that they either could not get along or they did not fit into the places they were assigned. When Fernández Jiménez knew them in winter-spring 1963, both Raquelín and Ana talked in a rebellious manner. Looking back to that time, she concludes that they must have been angry.[60] Fernández Jiménez recalls Ana as being petite, vivacious, but at the same time nervous. She described Ana as always moving, as never standing still. Fernández Jiménez also remembers some of the conversations other girls had with Ana; especially about calming her down from states of anxiety or fear.

Marisela Verena, who was twelve and a half, remembers Ana as having an insolent and aggressive manner. She thought that the behavior of the Mendieta sisters was different from that of the other Cuban girls at the academy who had also come on Operation Pedro Pan. The other girls acted the same, probably because they had all been through the same experiences in this country. In explaining the differences, she said: "We were quieter. We had not gone through what they had gone through [either in Catholic institutions or in foster care]. It's not that we did not like them; it's just that we thought they were different. We had gone through traumatic experiences that transformed us, but we were not aggressive."[61]

Before the semester ended Ana and Raquelín spent an enjoyable Easter vacation at the home of the Miller family. Mr. and Mrs. Miller were the parents of one of Ana's friends from Whalert High School in Dubuque. The Millers told the Mendietas they were going to apply to be their new foster parents. Had they been successful, Ana would have

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gone to live with them and continued her schooling at Whalert. Raquelín would have gone to Clark College in the same city and spent weekends with the Millers. Although the Miller family attended Raquelín's graduation in June from Our Lady of Angels Academy, the two sisters were not sent to their house following graduation.

For some unexplained reason Ana and Raquelín were moved, without notice, to another institution administered by Catholic Charities. This time an unknown social worker arrived at Our Lady of Angels Academy and drove them to the Children's Home in Cedar Rapids. During the ride the Mendietas were convinced they were en route to the Millers in Dubuque. Once again Ana and her sister were disappointed. When they arrived in Cedar Rapids, the social worker informed them they were going to spend the summer in another residential facility, the Children's Home. The Cartwrights, an elderly couple, ran the institution; they were the nicest people the Mendietas had met to date.[62] Helpful in every way, they gave the Mendietas more freedom than they had ever had. Ana and her sister began to recover a sense of self-esteem because the Cartwrights allowed them to take walks without having to feel that someone was watching their every move. Raquelín still remembers them fondly as having "treated us with a lot of love, care, and respect."[63]

Other conditions at the home were less pleasant, however. It was a secular residential treatment facility for emotionally disturbed children.[64] Aside from the Mendietas, the girls at the Children's Home were emotionally disturbed; many of them were juvenile offenders. Ana and Raquelín tried to avoid their peers while they whiled away their summer making drawings in a playroom equipped with a radio.

Ana wrote many letters to her parents expressing how unhappy they were with conditions at the different institutions. In her very dramatic manner, she told them she thought the girls in the home were going to kill them. By that time, however, Raquelín no longer sent letters. On the one hand, she thought her parents would become too upset, and, on the other, she did not believe they were in a position to remedy the situation. While still in the Children's Home, they received a letter from Father Walsh, executive

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director of the Children's Welfare Bureau in Miami, who was in charge of both the Cuban Children's Program and Operation Pedro Pan. He told them that a cousin of their grandmother was going to take over their welfare because she had learned how bad things had been for them. As a result Catholic Charities was going to send the airfare for their return to Miami so they could live with their grandmother's cousin. Although the news appeared exciting at first, they learned that Ana would have to go to another girls' boarding school and Raquelín could not go to college because Catholic Charities had no more money to support tuition. On behalf of Ana, Raquelín wrote a letter to Father Walsh explaining their sentiments regarding their welfare. Ana did not want to be in a boarding school where she would be separated from her sister; Raquelín wanted to go to college; and they both wanted to see each other often.[65] These considerations led them to ask permission to stay in Iowa. Father Walsh responded positively to their wishes. Within a short time, they were assigned a new social worker, Thomas Shea, who helped arrange for a scholarship for Raquelín at Mt. Mercy College in Cedar Rapids.[66]

Second Foster Home

Soon Ana met the Saddler family, with whom she lived for the following year. Thanks to the generosity of the Saddlers, the two sisters often spent weekends together in Ana's new foster home. It is interesting to learn how Lillian and John Saddler, who became Ana's second foster parents, learned about the Mendietas. Mrs. Saddler found out about the two Cuban sisters through a neighbor friend who had already taken in a foster daughter.[67] The neighbor, Mary Carsons, explained that one of the girls needed a home by the time school began or the sisters would be separated from each other. Mrs. Carsons further explained that the older sister (Raquelín) would go to Mt. Mercy College and the younger to Regis High School if a Catholic home were found. At first the Saddlers were a little wary, particularly because of their age: Mrs. Saddler was only twenty-four and her husband was twenty-seven, making Mrs. Saddler some eight years older than Ana at the

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time. A priest from their church, St. Matthew's Parish, came to talk to the Saddlers about the foster placement and within a week Ana was living with them.

There was an inevitable period of adjustment for both parties. Each had to grow to know the other. Ana was still not used to American culture. Lillian Saddler recalls that it was a little strange having a new foster child with them at first. However, they grew extremely fond of each other. According to Raquelín, the Saddlers were very nurturing, loving, and kind. Ana was very fond of their eighteen-month-old baby Timothy, who must have reminded her of her own brother who was three when she left Cuba. She played with Timothy for hours on end. Ana was a youngster who liked to pull pranks. One involved teaching Timothy to blow smoke rings. Ana defended her own smoking by telling Lillian that her grandfather, who was a doctor, told her that smoking was good for digestion.[68] It was easy for Ana to feel comfortable with Lillian who was close to her in age. She liked talking to her, and often in the evening Ana went and knocked on her door and said: "Leelean, should we visit? I have interesting things to tell you." Inevitably, Ana, who was very proud of her Cuban heritage, told Lillian about her family and memories of Cuba. Still today, Ana's former foster mother recalls that Ana told her about her great uncle, who had been a president of Cuba;[69] her mother, a professor of physics and chemistry, who had been voted Miss Varadero Beach when she was growing up;[70] her father, who was a vice president of Chrysler Corporation; and her grandparents, who had a summer house in Varadero. Ana told Lillian Saddler that her parents had sent the girls to the United States hoping that Castro would be ousted so that the regime would end and they could return to their country. Ana also told Lillian anecdotes about the Revolution. In a moment of considerable exaggeration, she said she had seen pickle jars with eyeballs in them and people she knew lying dead in the street. In point of fact, Ana probably based her stories on those she had heard from a family friend who had been taken prisoner and tortured under the Batista regime.[71] Although Ana did not see any people she knew dead

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in the streets, she and her sister did know a number of young men from their neighborhood who fought and died in the Bay of Pigs invasion.[72]

Ana had a difficult time adjusting during the first half of her junior year at Regis High School. She tried unsuccessfully to befriend students in the "in circle," who apparently rejected her.[73] Some of them taunted her by calling her nasty names. Some, who apparently did not want her in their school, went so far as to tell her to go home. In response to peer rejection, Ana became sick.[74] She got bad headaches and severe stomach aches which caused her to miss a lot of school. The Saddlers took her to their family doctor who did a battery of tests. When the family physician discovered that Ana did not have a physical ailment, she was referred to a psychiatrist. According to Raquelín Mendieta, the psychiatrist found that she was suffering from stress due to her school situation.[75] He gave her medication and sleeping pills.

During this time Ana saw her social worker Thomas Shea at least once a week for counseling. Raquelín said he became Ana's father figure; she felt at ease with him and could "get things off her chest."[76] In my conversations with Shea he said that Ana was at a point in her separation when she began losing hope of ever seeing her family again.[77] This fear was coupled with the unsettling reality that she was forced to deal with uncertainty. She never knew where she would be moved and for how long she would be allowed to stay in any one home or school. In fall 1964 Ana was despondent.

Lillian Saddler remembers that Ana began to feel better about herself during the second half of the school year when she started to make some friends. She also continued to see old friends from Whalert High School who visited her from time to time at the Saddlers' home. Among the many memories that Lillian Saddler still holds dear is an occasion when she reprimanded Ana for something and Ana replied in a grandiloquent manner: "Some day I am going to become a great artist and all the aggravation will be worth it to you because you can say you were that artist's foster mother."[78]

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By the end of summer 1964, Lillian Saddler was expecting a second child. In anticipation of their growing needs, the Saddlers were going to have to use their second bedroom for their two children. So Ana had to move on. The Saddlers had become very fond of Ana and she of them. When it came time for her departure, she held tight to Lillian Saddler's neck, hugged her good-bye, and in a gesture of deep affection that was not characteristic of Ana's behavior, cried.

Third Foster Home

Ana's move to her third foster home was also a fortuitous arrangement. The Mulherin family had three children; Karen, their older daughter, was already a friend of Ana's. The Mulherins gave Ana the feeling of living in "a real American family."[79] They shared laughter and disappointments, and they disagreed with one another from time to time like all families. Karen and her sister Diane shared their bedroom with Ana. Karen and Ana, who were both seniors in high school, had the same friends. Karen became a lifelong friend of Ana's.

The Mulherins found out about Ana through their church affiliations. Father Martin Laughlin, a teacher at Regis High School, asked Mr. and Mrs. Mulherin if they would be interested in providing a foster home for a Catholic Charities child. The priest knew that Ana was a friend of Karen Mulherin's from school. Although Karen Mulherin no longer recalls having a conversation with Father Laughlin, she assumes that he spoke to her to be assured that Ana would be well received.[80] The Mulherins accepted the Catholic Charities request.

Similar to Lillian Saddler, Karen (Mulherin) Soteco also has many fond memories of her experiences with Ana during their year together. They offer special insights into Ana's views of herself, her family, and her departure from Cuba that few other people who knew her at this time, aside from her sister, know. It is also of interest to learn about the

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experiences Ana wanted to share with a close friend as well as those she wanted to avoid disclosing.

Ana told Karen about Cuba, a place that Ana sorely missed. She showed her foster sister photos of herself and her family taken when Ana was a young child. Through those pictures, Karen learned about the Mendieta girls' summer vacations spent at their grandparents' summer home in Varadero. The large property gave Karen the impression that the Oti family was very wealthy. Ana's grandfather was a doctor who treated the poor for free. She thought the world of her grandparents. Karen got the impression that Ana was very proud of her father's artistic talent.[81] Most of Ana's cousins who remained in Cuba were Communists. Ana voiced disagreement with their political position.

Ana explained some of the cultural differences that governed social relations in Cuba. For example, young girls were chaperoned on dates, and youngsters could drink wine at family gatherings, an unfamiliar custom in the States. Ana also told Karen that she started to smoke before she came here. That explains why Ana looked in ashtrays for cigarettes to smoke when she arrived in Miami.

Ana explained that her parents sent them out of Cuba because of her father's involvement in the underground, which made them fear for their daughters' lives. Some years later Karen learned from Mrs. Mendieta some details regarding Raquelín's and Ana's involvement in clandestine activities. According to their mother, the girls threw molotov cocktails and made bomb threats.[82] The Mendieta parents feared their girls would be apprehended by the authorities. Curiously enough, Mrs. Mendieta never told Raquelín that she knew about her daughters' activities in the underground.[83] Although Raquelín had always suspected that their counter-revolutionary activities had played a decisive role in her parents decision to send them to the United States, Mrs. Mendieta never admitted that to her daughters during her lifetime.[84]

Ana confided to (Mulherin) Soteco that when leaving Havana the Cuban authorities conducted body searches, including their genitals, on some of the young people, to make

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sure they were not taking out jewels or money. The Mendieta girls, however, were checked by a woman in the militia (miliciana) who ran her hands over the outside of their clothing and felt the linings of the hems and collars of their clothes looking for hidden jewelry and money.[85]

Ana apparently wished to put aside the unpleasant details of her experiences at St. Mary's Home and with the Butlers. For example, Ana never said anything about being punished at St. Mary's Home for speaking Spanish, although she did tell her foster sister that the Butlers had been mean to Raquelín and her and that they had been falsely accused of stealing money from the foster family. She also told Karen that she liked Whalert High School, the city of Dubuque, and the friends she made there. As one might expect, Ana frequently noted how much she liked the Saddlers.

By Ana's senior year in high school, she felt confident about her position as an assimilated foreigner in an American school. She tried to get in with the so-called cliques.[86] She felt she had the right to be in any American social group at school because she was "as good as any American." After all, she had learned English from scratch and kept up with her grade. In fact, Ana skipped a grade when she arrived in this country because she was ahead in course work.

Karen thought that Ana could have been an excellent student had she worked harder. Perhaps because of all her moving around, she was not yet settled enough to exert the kind of effort needed to get outstanding grades. Ana and Karen remained friends throughout Ana's life. Until today Karen remembers Ana as having been a very loyal friend who demonstrated time and again her concern for her friends.

Karen thought of Ana as a strong person who was very resilient and had a volatile personality. She expressed her likes and dislikes very forthrightly and was sometimes sarcastic.[87] She got very angry at her classmates' behavior if she perceived injustice or stupidity. Many of her peers at the university later described Ana in similar ways. It seems that Ana developed certain defense mechanisms to deal with social situations in which she

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was not sure of herself or she developed an arrogant air perhaps because for a long while the many adults who were in control of her life did not seem to pay much attention to her wishes.

When Ana graduated from Regis High School she celebrated with the Mulherin family. Her sister, her boyfriend, and Ina Sicar from New York City attended.[88] Ana called Ina to ask her to be with her at her graduation because neither her parents nor grandparents could come. Ina accepted Ana's emotional request with great affection. On many occasions over the last four years, Sicar had sent the girls money and presents.[89] In Sicar's characteristic generosity, she sent Ana money for her graduation ring.[90] Ana expressed to Karen how much Ina meant to her.[91] Ana lived with the Mulherin family for the rest of summer 1965. From the following fall through May 1967, Ana went to Briar Cliff College in Sioux City on a scholarship.[92] Her separation from her family partially ended with the arrival of her mother and brother in Iowa in February 1966.

Through the years Ana Mendieta was open with her peers about the reasons she was sent to the United States. She never hesitated in stating that she and her sister came here from Cuba to escape the Revolution. However, she was very private about disclosing details of her personal life, especially the difficulties endured as a result of being separated from her family or about the early problems she encountered in the first Catholic residential home and the foster home. When Ana was in college, she told her sister not to tell people they had been sent to "orphanages."[93] Evidently she still felt ashamed of having been placed in residential homes for so long a period. She also felt that people would think less of her or they would pity her. She tried to avoid dealing with either of those reactions, so she covered up her past.[94] Of all the interviewees to whom I spoke, only a few of her closest friends knew she had been at St. Mary's Home, for example. It seemed that in the few instances Mendieta commented on her earlier years in Iowa, she said she had gone to Catholic boarding schools. She was more open about her placements and displacements after she moved to New York in January 1978. When she applied for a Cintas Foundation

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Fellowship for 1978-79, she briefly described her family, background, and exile from Cuba in the application:

> I was born in Havana, Cuba in 1948. My parents raised me in a typical loving upper middle class environment. In 1961, after the Bay of Pigs Invasion my parents sent my sister and I to Florida through an organization, Catholic Charities, because they were in fear for our welfare. My sister and I finally were located in St. Mary's Home, Orphanage in Dubuque, Iowa w[h]ere we stayed in several foster homes and orphanages until we were ready to attend college.
> Shortly after, my mother and younger brother arrived in this country (1966), and my father remained in Cuba as a political prisoner.[95]

Mendieta, the artist, had a flair for hyperbole. In reminiscing about her "orphanage" years, she has been quoted as having said she had to choose in life between being a criminal or an artist.[96] When Mendieta made that comment she must have had in mind St. Mary's Home and the Children's Home, the two institutions that had girls with emotional behavior problems. In many ways her anecdote reveals much about the way she came to terms with and articulated her experiences there. It provides an inkling of how close those experiences touched her psyche. As she matured she must have pondered again her proximity to delinquent behavior and how different she might have been had she not been able to overcome that adversity as well as she had. One can only hypothesize how she might have turned out had she not had a strong sense of family and the constant support and love of her sister, who served, as did many older Cuban siblings, as a surrogate parent.

As Mendieta matured as an artist, she dealt with her separation and rupture in her art. She considered exile or dislocation and used them as agents to create some of her work. As early as 1974, but more consistently from 1975, the artist developed a body of work using the image of her body in nature. Some of the images intended to evoke a reunification with the earth or, by extension, her homeland. In such instances Mendieta

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integrated in her art her unique experiences. In more recent years several other former Pedro Pan children have also expressed their experiences of exile in their writing or art.[97]

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[1] Much of the material concerning the Mendieta sister's experiences as well as their personal reactions to those experiences come from Raquelín Mendieta in conversations with the author over a period of several years.

[2] See Lourdes Rodríguez-Nogués, "Psychological Effects of Premature Separation from Parents in Cuban Refugee Girls: A Retrospective Study," doctoral diss., Boston University School of Education, 1983 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1995). This study constitutes a first attempt at describing and analyzing the experiences of a group of unaccompanied Cuban refugee girls who came to the United States in the early 1960s as part of a group of 15, 000 unaccompanied Cuban minors. The dissertation presents the responses of forty women to a questionnaire regarding their memories of separation from their parents twenty years later. The doctoral study also includes the in-depth interviews with a sub-group of eleven women who recounted their experience as unaccompanied minors. Neither Ana nor Raquelín Mendieta were part of that doctoral study.

[3] Raquelín and Ana Mendieta's relationship was common among Cuban children who came here. From the interviewees of Rodríguez-Nogués' study, we learn that among siblings who accompanied each other in exile, the older one assumed the parenting role by assuming the responsibility for the younger child's welfare. In the period of adjustment, the younger child did better, and at the same time, the older child felt needed. See Rodríguez-Nogués, ibid., p. 223.

[4] The Mendietas were not alone in expecting the Revolution to be short-lived. Rodríguez-Nogués notes that the majority of Cubans who left in the early years of the Revolution were convinced that their exile was temporary. See "Psychological Effects of Premature Separation," p. 50.

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[5] Castro and his group first attacked Batista on 26 July 1953 at the Moncada barracks (Cuartel de Moncada) on the outskirts of Santiago de Cuba in the Oriente province. That assault signaled the beginning of the armed struggle against Batista. Following the attack, Castro's group called itself the 26th of July Movement. For supporters of the Revolution in Havana, there were two principal movements that supported his takeover: the 26th of July Movement and the Directorio Estudiantil. For discussion of Castro's ideological views in 1953, see Hugh Thomas, Cuba: la lucha por la libertad 1762-1970 (Madrid: Ediciones Grijalbo, 1974), pp. 1067-1079.

[6] Raquelín Mendieta does not know what position her father held. Telephone conversation, 11 August 1997.

[7] In her dissertation, Jane Blocker provides an account partially based on conversations with Raquelín Mendieta regarding Ignacio Mendieta's roles in Cuban politics from the late 1940s through the Revolution and its aftermath. The author also provides an overview of the artist's maternal and paternal sides of the family vis à vis their political leadership from independence. See, "The Unbaptized Earth: Ana Mendieta and the Performance of Exile," Ph.d. diss., (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1994), p. 4.

[8] Raquelín Mendieta (ibid.) said that many of the Americans who were friends of her father asked for his permission to list his name as a corporate officer.

[9] Raquelín Mendieta, ibid. Her father told her about his involvement in counter-revolutionary activities after he came to the United States in 1978.

[10] Raquelín Mendieta, ibid.

[11] The network that evolved over the twenty-two months of Operation Pedro Pan is too extensive to document here. However, in the English-speaking academic community, James Baker and Penny Powers played key roles in the early months of the children's exodus. In December 1960 and early January 1961, the American Baker, headmaster of Ruston Academy in Havana, worked with the American Chamber of Commerce in Miami and Father Walsh to secure permission for about two hundred unaccompanied Cuban

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children to leave Havana. When the American Embassy closed, Baker left Havana and turned over the operation of the Cuban children's exodus to the British-born Powers, who was a teacher at Ruston Academy. In the 1930s, Powers had been instrumental in aiding the escape of Jewish children in Nazi Germany in the program called Kindertransport. Together with other Cubans, Powers worked with Pola (Polita) Grau and her brother Ramon (Monchy) Grau, both of whom worked in the underground network distributing thousands of visa waivers after the Bay of Pigs. Polita Grau was taken prisoner in January 1965 and served fourteen years. See Monsignor Brian O. Walsh. "Cuban Refugee Children," Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs, 13:3, 4 (July-October 1974): pp. 389-392; "The History of Peter Pan," Operation Pedro Pan (Miami: Operation Pedro Pan Group, 1990, n.p.).

[12] The reasons provided herein are based on several sources including those discussed by Walsh in "Cuban Refugee Children," pp. 382, 383; those elaborated upon by Rodríguez-Nogués, "Psychological Effects of Premature Separation," pp. 2, 5, 6, 7, 49, 50, 57, 58; and my numerous conversations with former Pedro Pan children.

[13] Miguel Bretos, his sister, and cousin were Pedro Pan Cuban children. In discussing his exile with the author, he emphasized that his parents had weighed conditions very heavily before choosing exile. His parents were faced with what seemed to them an untenable political situation at the time. It was not an easy decision to leave their country where part of his family on the Bretos side had been for 250 years. He added that everyone he knew from his generation had sought exile for political, not economic, reasons. Miguel Bretos, telephone interview, 28 July 1997.

[14] In the Curriculum Vitae section of the Application for the Cintas Fellowship, Ana Mendieta wrote: ". . . after the Bay of Pigs Invasion, my parents sent my sister and I (sic) to Florida through an organization, Catholic Charities, because they were in fear for our welfare." See Application for the Cintas Fellowship, section 16, Curriculum Vitae.

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Submitted by 1 March 1979. Box: Letters: Art Letters and Business 1978-1979, Section C. Artist's file.

[15] Nearly 15,000 Basque children were evacuated from Spain during the 1930s and sent to France, England, Belgium, Russia, and Mexico. Jewish children were smuggled out of Germany and sent to foster homes in England and other countries. In 1940, about one thousand British children were sent to the United States for safety. Rodríguez-Nogués discusses both the Basque children's and the Jewish children's forced exodus as well as the literature in these areas. See "Psychological Effects of Premature Separation," pp. 64-80.

[16] Walsh, "Cuban Refugee Children," p. 381.

[17] The first wave of Cuban refugees arrived between January 1959 and June 1960. In the majority of cases they were affluent Cubans who did not need social assistance. See Walsh, "Cuban Refugee Children," p. 279.

[18] The Catholic Welfare Bureau, now the Catholic Service Bureau, was the social service agency of the Catholic Diocese of Miami. It was founded in 1933 and licensed in 1945 by the Florida State Department of Public Welfare for child welfare programs. In 1960 it had a small staff of fifteen persons and one small group home, St. Joseph's Villa. That year it had cared for about eighty dependent children at the Villa and in foster family homes. See Walsh, "Cuban Refugee Children," p. 386.

[19] From the evidence at hand, it seems that a Miami Herald reporter first used the name Operation Peter Pan and Operation Pedro Pan in his article announcing the Cuban children's exodus organized by the Catholic Diocese in Miami. Gene Miller, a Herald staff writer, referred to the flights from Havana and Miami, and then on to other American cities, as "the underground railway in the sky--Operation Peter Pan. Maybe it should be Operation Pedro Pan." See Gene Miller, "'Peter Pan' Means Real Life to Some Kids," Miami Herald, Friday, March 9, 1962. I thank Ely Shovel for providing me with that article.

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[20] Walsh, "Cuban Refugee Children," p. 379.

[21] In time the Cuban Children's Program became a completely separate department of the Catholic Welfare Bureau. It had its own staff that was responsible to the executive director of the Catholic Welfare Bureau. See Walsh, "Cuban Refugee Children," p. 399.

[22] Yvonne Conde has recently completed Operation Pedro Pan. The unpublished manuscript is based on personal accounts of more than one hundred former Pedro Pan children, their early experiences in this country and their reflections today regarding their separation from family and country. She interviewed people who secured visa waivers, airline personnel, Catholic Welfare Bureau personnel (transit camps administrators, counselors, teachers, nurses), and foster parents thoughout the United States. In attempting to fit together the pieces of the larger operation, she compared the experiences of fellow Pedro Pan children.

[23] Walsh, "Cuban Refugee Children," p. 389, n. 14.

[24] For example, it administered St. Joseph's Villa, a small home for twenty girls, and the Kendall complex, which belonged to the County Welfare Department and included a group of run-down and closed buildings designated for sixty children. The Kendall complex was renovated over the next few months and eventually became known in Miami as well as in Cuba as Camp Kendall, the reception center for thousands of Cuban children. Walsh, ibid, p. 393.

[25] Ibid.

[26] María (Nena) de los Angeles Torres, a former Pedro Pan child, is an associate professor of political science at De Paul University, Chicago. She received a John T. and Catherine T. Mac Arthur Foundation grant for her study "The Peter Pan Operation: The Cold War and the Struggle for the Hearts and Minds of Children." The unpublished study investigates the specific immigration policies that led to the visa waivers for unaccompanied Cuban children. Torres is now preparing a book that deals with the larger history of the

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Peter Pan Operation, the subsequent relocation of the children in this country, and their attempts to reunite with their parents.

[27] At the conference some of the media had begun to hear the details of the airlift and the resettlement program. In fielding questions from the media, Father Walsh admitted to the presence of unaccompanied Cuban children in Miami, but he did not admit to knowing anything about how they arrived in this country. Up to that point the operation was still secretive. Walsh, "Cuban Refugee Children," pp. 410, 411.

[28] The Welfare Planning Council of Dade County met many times between November and January to identify the needs of and plan solutions for the Cuban influx. For a summary of these meetings, see Walsh "Cuban Refugee Children," pp. 387-389, 396.

[29] Walsh, "Cuban Refugee Children," p. 397. At that time, funds were approved to provide $6.50 per day per child for institutional care and $5.50 per day per child for foster care.

[30] Walsh, ibid.

[31] See Erwin Potts, "8,000 Cuba Children Saved from Castro Brainwashing," Miami Herald, 8 March 1962; Gene Miller, "'Peter Pan' Means Real Life to Some Kids"; Cleveland, Plain Dealer, 9 March 1962, as cited in Walsh, "Cuban Refugee Children," p. 412.

[32] Preceding the main text of the front-page article, the author published the following: "For many months newsmen in Miami have known the dramatic story of the flight of Cuban children to this country -- but have refrained from telling it to protect those involved. Wednesday, administrators of the program decided the time had come to release it to the public." See Erwin Potts, "8,000 Cuba Children Saved." I am grateful to Yvonne Conde for providing me with that article.

[33] Cleveland, Plain Dealer, 9 March 1962, in Walsh, "Cuban Refugee Children," p. 412.

[34] "The History of Peter Pan," Operation Pedro Pan, n.p. Once the Cuban blocade was declared, all commercial flights from Cuba to the United States were terminated, as was the

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visa waiver program. However, Cuban children continued to come to this country from other ports of entry in diminished numbers.

[35] Walsh, "Cuban Refugee Children," p. 413.

[36] Walsh, ibid, p. 392.

[37] I have been unable to locate the whereabouts of Gisela and Alina Santana. The Alvarez sisters left St. Mary's Home after about eight months. Lissette Alvarez, interview, Miami, Florida, 5 January 1994.

[38] Thomas D. Shea is a social worker for Catholic Charities, Archdiocese of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa. He was Ana Mendieta's social worker from summer 1963 to May 1966. Telephone conversation, 18 August 1997.

[39] Their emotional adjustment would have been traumatic under even the best of circumstances because, as Rodríguez-Nogués points out, adolescence is a difficult period in which to adapt to forced separation. It came at a time when developmentally adolescents needed to reinforce their attachment to significant others in order to ensure a healthy and normal psychological development. Thus their separation created a great sense of loss. See Rodríguez-Nogués, "Psychological Effects of Premature Separation," p. 11.

[40] During that second period of adjustment, Ana needed the constant support and company of her sister who represented for her the core family unit. Therefore when Ana was separated from Raquelín for most of the day and during the night, she became very stressed and fearful. In the case studies of other Cuban girls, Rodríguez-Nogués informs us of the beneficial effects of keeping siblings together. In a similar study of the effects of separation on the Basque children in the 1930s, the author found that the most successful coping occurred among children who were sent into exile with their siblings as well as with an auxiliary team of teachers, aides, and priests who helped them to adjust. Many of the Basque interviewees stated that siblings should never be separated. See Dorothy Legarreta, The Guernica Generation: Basque Refugee Children of the Spanish Civil War (Reno:

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University of Nevada Press, 1984), in Rodríguez-Nogués, "Psychological Effects of Premature Separation," pp. 67, 68.

[41] Lissette Alvarez, ibid.

[42] Raquelín Mendieta, telephone conversation, 13 August 1996; Lissette Alvarez, ibid.

[43] Lissette Alvarez (ibid.) remembers that one of the girls, who sneaked a bath, was left with black and blue marks on her face after having been slapped.

[44] Ana was suffering from culture shock as described by Garza-Guerrero. "Culture shock is a stressful, anxiety-provoking situation, a violent encounter--one which puts the newcomer's personality functioning to the test, then challenging the stability of his (sic) psychic organization. Culture shock is accompanied by a process of mourning brought about by the individual's gigantic loss of a variety of his love objects in the abandoned culture. Among others, these losses are outstanding: family, friends, language music, food, and culturally determined values, customs, and attitudes." See C. A. (sic) Garza-Guerrero, "Culture Shock: Its Mourning and the Vicissitudes of Identity," Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 22 (1974), p. 410, as cited in Rodríguez-Nogués, "Psychological Effects of Premature Separation," p. 25.

[45] Raquelín Mendieta, ibid.; Lissette Alvarez, ibid.

[46] I thank Thomas Shea for obtaining the nun's name. Telephone conversation, 18 August 1997.

[47] Other Cuban girls reported that one of their fears was that their parents would not leave Cuba. Rodríguez-Nogués, "Psychological Effects of Premature Separation," especially p. 215.

[48] Ina Sicar, who had been a housekeeper for Ana's grandparents, Elvira de Rojas de Andux and Dr. José Francisco Oti y de la Fé, since she was fourteen years old. Sicar who had known Ana since she was a baby was especially close to her. Sicar came to the United States in 1958. Ana first got in touch with her by telephone some time after she arrived at St. Mary's Home. Ina Sicar knew that the Mendieta girls were in the United States

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through ongoing telephone conversations with Ana's grandmother in Cardenas, Cuba. Ina Sicar, interview, New York, 18 August 1996.

[49] Marisela (Fernández) Verena, interview, San Juan, Puerto Rico, 24 April 1996. See note 59 below for the history of her arrival from Cuba.

[50] Lissette Alvarez, ibid.

[51] Although I do not know the exact amount the Butlers received as a stipend per child per week, it was not less than $5.50 per day per child, the amount allocated at the beginning of the program in 1961.

[52] These accusations must have been particularly hurtful for a number of reasons. The Menideta sisters had come from a household that was much more comfortable economically than the Butlers', they had associated as young people with children and adults who came from stronger professional backgrounds than the Butlers', and they had enjoyed a stable and loving family life that was all but nonexistent in the foster family. Furthermore, Ana and Raquelín Mendieta did not perceive themselves at the time as refugees, but as political immigrants who until October 1962 had expected to return to Cuba. In general Cuban immigrants who arrived before October 1962 had anticipated going back to Cuba within the short foreseeable future. Regarding this last point, see Rodríguez-Nogúes, ibid., p. 21.

[53] Ana and Raquelín Mendieta were in the process of accepting or adjusting to their new environment, that being Whalert High School. Rodríguez-Nogués points out that once that process begins, refugee children then begin to form a new identity. See "Psychological Effects of Premature Separation," p. 82.

[54] Raquelín Mendieta, ibid. According to the commentaries of the participants who filled out the questionnaire for the Rodríguez-Nogués study, many had not discussed their difficulties in exile with other people either during or after their years of separation from their family. The interviews and questionnaire gave many women the first opportunity to articulate their experiences of the separation. Similar to Raquelín Mendieta, many recalled painful memories. See ibid., pp. 170-240.

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[55] Ann Zerkel, telephone interview, 26 September, 1997. Zerkel and her former husband were close social friends of Ana Mendieta and Hans Breder from the early to mid-seventies.

[56] Marisela (Fernández) Verena, ibid.

[57] Verena, ibid.

[58] Raquelín Mendieta, ibid.

[59] Georgina Fernández Jiménez (b. 1945) left Cuba in February 1962; she stayed in Florida City for three months before being sent to Our Lady of Angels Academy in Clinton, Iowa. Today Fernández Jiménez lives in Miami and is a journalist. Marisela (n. Fernández) Verena left Cuba in May 1962 and was sent to St. Vincent's in Davenport, Iowa. After a few months, a nun there located the whereabouts of Verena's sister Georgina at Our Lady of Angels. Today Marisela Verena is a composer and singer who lives in Puerto Rico.

[60] Georgina Fernández Jiménez, interview, Miami, Florida, 4 January 1994.

[61] Marisela Verena, ibid. In the context of Verena's comment, she told me an anecdote regarding Ana. "One day Ana walked by me and told me that one of the nuns had just slapped her. When I asked her what she did, she said that she slapped her back. Cuban girls are not slapped in the face. Such an act is offensive. We get hit on our buttocks, but never on our faces. So I believed her."

[62] Mr. and Mrs. Cartwright, now deceased, met Ana and Raquelín's mother after she arrived in Iowa. They also attended Raquelín's wedding.

[63] Raquelín Mendieta, ibid.

[64] The Children's Home began as an industrial school for indigent children in 1879. In 1940 the Industrial School was renamed the Children's Home. Its mission was to care for orphans. In 1961 the Children's Home changed its mission and began to provide live-in services for emotionally disturbed children between the ages of twelve and seventeen.

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Today the non-profit, non-sectarian organization is called Tanager Place. See "Tanager Place," brochure (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: In-house publication, n.d.), p. 5.

[65] Although the Mendieta sisters had been in the United States for three years, they still needed to be together to maintain their sense of a reconstituted family.

[66] According to Thomas Shea (telephone conversation, 18 August 1997), Catholic Charities, Archdiocese of Dubuque, paid for Raquelín Mendieta's scholarship to Mt. Mercy College.

[67] Lillian Saddler, correspondence, 31 July 1997.

[68] In presenting her version, Ana Mendieta slightly changed the details of the family story. It was her great grandfather, Carlos de Rojas, who used to insist that his children smoke a cigarette after lunch to aid their digestion. Raquelín Mendieta, telephone conversation, 9 August 1997.

[69] Carlos Mendieta was the president of the Republic of Cuba in 1934.

[70] The crew team at the Nautical Club of Varadero (in Varadero, Cuba) chose Ana and Raquelín Mendieta's mother Miss Varadero because of her social charms. The award, based on personality rather than on beauty, went to one of the members' young daughters. Raquelín Mendieta, ibid.

[71] Raquelín Mendieta, telephone conversation, 20 August 1997.

[72] Raquelín Mendieta, ibid.

[73] Saddler, ibid.

[74] This is Raquelín Mendieta's (ibid.) conclusion. Lillian Saddler said she was not aware that Ana's peers were so mean to her. She does recall that Ana had a prolonged series of bouts with bronchitis. Telephone conversation, 19 August 1997.

[75] Raquelín Mendieta, ibid.

[76] Thomas Shea was not permitted to discuss with the author the nature of Ana Mendieta's problems because the information in her file is confidential. Telephone conversation, 6 August 1997.

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[77] Thomas Shea, telephone conversation, 18 August 1997.

[78] Saddler, ibid.

[79] Raquelín Mendieta, telephone conversation, 13 August 1996.

[80] Along these lines Karen (Mulherin) Soteco noted that her fellow schoolmates were from homogeneous family backgrounds from different Western European countries, excluding the Mediterrean countries. Therefore there were no recently arrived families from Spanish, Spanish-Cuban, Spanish-Afro-Cuban or Caribbean families in their community. Considering the cultural differences between Spanish-Cuban and Irish-American, it would have been important for the Mulherins, and especially for Karen, to be accepting of Ana Mendieta. Karen (Mulherin) Soteco, telephone conversation, 30 July 1997.

[81] In Raquelín Mendieta, in her essay "Childhood Memories: Religion, Politics, Art" (Ana Mendieta [Santiago de Compostela: Centro Gallego de Arte Contemporánea, 1996], p. 223), writes about her father's avocation as an artist who painted and did sculpture, much of which was religious in content. He fashioned an art studio above their garage where he worked in private; the Mendieta girls were not allowed to visit the studio. The only artwork of their father that they saw was what he brought into the house.

[82] According to Raquelín, she and Ana never threw molotov cocktails.

[83] I told Raquelín Mendieta (telephone conversation, 11 August 1997) about Karen (Mulherin) Soteco's account of their mother's conversation with her. Raquelín Mendieta was surprised on the one hand, but pleased on the other to hear about it because it confirmed suspicions she had had over the years.

[84] Raquelín Mendieta, ibid.

[85] Raquelín Mendieta, ibid.

[86] (Mulherin) Soteco, ibid.

[87] (Mulherin) Soteco, telephone conversation, 15 August 1997.

[88] Ina Sicar, ibid.

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[89] Ina Sicar (ibid.) told the author that when Ana and Raquelín were at St. Mary's Home, the gifts she had sent them were not always given to them.

[90] Ina Sicar, ibid.

[91] In discussing Ina Sicar, who was Afro-Cuban, Ana told Karen (Soteco) Mulherin that the racial problems in Cuba were not as severe as they were in the United States. In fact Karen remembers Ana telling her that there were no serious racial problems in Cuba.

[92] Mendieta's scholarship to Briar Cliff College was provided through Catholic Charities, Archdiocese of Dubuque, with federal funds given to the Catholic Welfare Bureau, Diocese of Miami, for the Unaccompanied Cuban Children's Program. Mendieta's second year at college was financed by the Cuban Student Loan Program. Thomas Shea, telephone conversation, 18 August 1997.

[93] Raquelín Mendieta, 20 August 1997.

[94] I asked each interviewee if Ana Mendieta had ever mentioned she had been placed in an orphanage or a Catholic home for girls.

[95] Ana Mendieta, Draft for Cintas Foundation Fellowship 1978-79. From Letters: Art & Business, 1978-79. Artist's files.

[96] Luis Camnitzer, New Art of Cuba (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), p. 90.

[97] Two professionals noted in this chapter are Lourdes Rodríguez-Nogués, Ed.D. a psychologist, and Yvonne Conde, a journalist, both of whom arrived as unaccompanied minors in the United States in 1961. In researching their work, they were motivated by their own experiences to find out more about how other Cubans made sense of their experiences so that they could compare them with their own. Rodríguez-Nogués states that her doctoral study "Premature Separation" signaled the completion of her journey that began some twenty years ago when she left Cuba as an unaccompanied minor. Ernesto Pujol (b. 1957, Havana), is one of a growing number of Cuban-born contemporary artists living and working in the United States who address issues of exile in his work. Scheduled to leave Havana as an unaccompanied minor, Pujol's flight was suddenly

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canceled. Following that episode Pujol left Cuba with his parents on visa waivers. The artist's recent work deals with the confusion and pain created by forced exile. A recent installation titled "Los hijos de Pedro Pan: Homenaje a Ana Mendieta," 1995, was the first exhibition by a Cuban-American to examine the Pedro Pan exodus in Cuba. The exhibition was dedicated to the memory of Ana Mendieta, who was the first Cuban-born artist in exile to return to her country and present her work there in 1980.

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Chapter 2

Painting: An Undocumented Body of Work, Summer 1969 through Early Winter 1972

Introduction

Mendieta, who wanted to become an art major, transferred from Briar Cliff College in Sioux City to the University of Iowa in Iowa City in summer 1967. She was interested in the School of Art and Art History because it was recognized as one of the earliest university-based art schools in the country.[1] Mendieta was a painting student from the end of her undergraduate studies in the spring of 1969 through the fall semester of 1971-2 of her graduate studies, shortly before she abandoned painting in favor of a newly emerging form of expression. Although much of the work, executed in a medium she later renounced, has the flavor of a classroom studio assignment, it nonetheless begins to reflect the themes that were central to the artist's mature oeuvre. Only twenty-six paintings remain from that period because the artist herself destroyed all other vestiges of her student work when she left Iowa for New York in 1978. The remaining canvases, left in her mother's house in Cedar Rapids, escaped the general purge: her mother simply ignored Mendieta's instructions to "throw them out, they have nothing to do with my work."[2]

In general, the work done between 1969 and 1971 is mostly figurative: most paintings are composed with one or two central figures centrally situated. Stylistically the work is primitivizing, boldly expressive, uninterested in the conventions of three-dimensional representation, and akin to the early explorations of Picasso, Matisse, and the German Expressionists in the first decades of the century. The two principal subjects are portraits and self-portraits. Of particular interest is the evolution of Mendieta's approach to the self-portrait as she rejects the conventional for a more personally expressive, even

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idiosyncratic style, a style that reaches its culmination in the work she exhibited for her Master's thesis, work that survives only in photographs.

From 1970 the artist's paintings begin to express her interests in Precolumbian art, an area she studied a few years earlier. In 1971 Mendieta traveled to Mexico for the first time and took Field Research in Archaeology. Her final paintings incorporate ideas and imagery informed by her work there. Her early use of Mesoamerican subjects foreshadow her later performative pieces in archaeological sites beginning in summer 1973. This interest will find significant expression in her body art and earth sculptures, two new artistic modes through which she connected not only visually but symbolically to the larger Latin American world from which she had been prematurely separated as an adolescent.

1. Painting and Drawing, 1969

When Mendieta began graduate school in Studio Art, the faculty consisted of professional artists, many of whom had national reputations. Students who wanted to pursue an M.A. or M.F.A. in studio art could major in painting, drawing, sculpture, prints, design, photography, ceramics, metalworking and jewelry, or multimedia.[3] Mendieta chose painting as her major and drawing as her secondary area of concentration. The art school was catholic in its approach to teaching, that is, there was no special "style" that distinguished the department.[4] Painting students were exposed to a broad spectrum of teaching approaches and artistic styles in both professors and their fellow students.[5] In the painting and drawing areas, professors were not known for imposing their styles or tastes on the students.[6] Mendieta chose to do most of her study with Byron Burford and Joseph Patrick.[7]

Burford taught academic painting, but nevertheless encouraged his students to develop their own style.[8] Those students who studied with him still remember fondly his open-mindedness and easygoing manner. He gave students considerable freedom to

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develop the subjects that interested them in whatever style engaged their attention.[9] Although Burford was present in the classroom of the Painting III course, he did not hold regular class sessions for the Painting Workshop course, at least not in 1969.[10] Rather, he met with students a couple of times during the semester to discuss their work.[11] Therefore, because of the structural organization of the Painting Workshop much of Mendieta's painting was done in the confines of her own studio.

Although she was enrolled in four courses with Burford, he did not know her work as well as Patrick did.[12] Nor does it seem that Burford had the same impact on her early development as did Patrick, who had the opportunity to see Mendieta's student work developing at close hand every semester, beginning in the fall of 1969 and continuing through the fall of 1971. During those years, Patrick was always present in his drawing classes, where he often drew alongside the students. The general departmental approach emphasized drawing as the underpinning of one's work.[13] Although Patrick taught academic drawing based on still-life and the live model, he also encouraged diverse approaches to drawing as a way of working rather than as literal representation of the model.[14] This approach was evidently appealing to Mendieta, who seldom attempted a literal representation of the human image in either drawing or painting. Patrick, who painted a portrait of Mendieta (fig. 1), recalls her consistent presence in the drawing classroom.[15] Along with others, he remembers that she very much enjoyed the drawing classes which provided opportunity for spirited exchange, especially during student critiques.[16] Patrick recalls that during those times it was often difficult for Mendieta to accept the criticisms of her fellow classmates and defend her representations of crudely rendered forms and club-footed figures. Students committed to the notion of academic drawing as the basis of figurative representation seldom subscribed to Mendieta's own conviction that her images were powerfully expressive, faulting her figures for their lack of grace, elegance, and proportion. Despite these criticisms, drawing remained central to her

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work throughout her career. She used it later to record the literal image of her own body in sand, soil, and snow as well as that of the earth goddess on leaves, bark paper, and tree trunks.

Fifteen paintings (figs. 2 - 16) were probably executed in the advanced painting courses, Undergraduate Painting Workshop and the graduate Painting Workshop, in the spring and fall semesters of 1969-70.[17] The student work of this year is stylistically similar and indicates the artist's interest in working through some of the basic exercises appropriate to her level of accomplishment. In these works Mendieta concentrated on rendering the figure in different poses -- standing, sitting, bending over, kneeling, and moving. She depicted the human figure in profile, in three-quarter view, and in frontal view. She developed an unusual palette in which unmodulated colors were laid down one next to the other. With few exceptions, she composed the figure in a schematic and consciously primitive manner. She achieved a bold and expressive figuration in these early paintings. Mendieta often told her sister Raquelín, who was also studying painting, that she was uninterested in conventional standards of beauty.[18]

"Woman Framed by Film Strips" (fig. 2), "Woman Standing before a Plaid Backdrop" (fig. 3), "Two Seated Models" (fig. 4), "Two Women" (fig. 5), and "Seated Woman" (fig. 6), were painted for the Undergraduate Painting Workshop from models hired personally by Mendieta and three other painting students because the painting workshop did not provide them.[19] At the time Mendieta painted these four works, she was also enrolled in Life Drawing.[20] Instruction emphasized the rendering of form with anatomical accuracy in three dimensions. In accordance with long-standing practices, students drew from male or female models who were present in the class.[21] In her paintings the concerns of the life drawing class are overshadowed by her need for expressive figuration. In "Two Seated Models," Mendieta paid attention to the underlying drawing, the figure-ground relationship, and the rules of foreshortening to the extent that she wished to employ them. She did not, however, replicate the human form with a sense

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of anatomical correctness in either "Woman Framed by Film Strips," "Woman Standing before a Plaid Backdrop," or "Two Women." In these works, in contradistinction, Mendieta concentrated on producing schematic figures in which form is no longer tied to perceptual observation. Thus the anatomical passages of the body do not interconnect in a naturalistic manner. In "Two Women," for example, the passage from the lower half of each body to its upper half is barely described. Despite this awkwardness, the work is expressively accomplished by virtue of its color, the compactness of the figural forms, and the exaggerated facial expressions. Both figures bare their teeth in a manner likely derived from de Kooning's Woman paintings of the late 1940s to early 1950s.[22] In "Woman Framed by Film Strips," "Woman Standing before a Plaid Backdrop," and "Two Seated Models," as well as in the 1969 paintings discussed below, the young artist adopts a geometric surface pattern consisting of boldly colored striations that suggest the contours and cross-contours of the anatomical passages.[23] Surface patterning, as a substitute for traditional modeling, also adorns the figure in such works as "Man Hitting a Woman" (fig. 7), "Seated Figure Holding His Head with His Hands" (fig. 8), "Kneeling Figure with a Masklike Face" (fig. 9), and "Seated Figure with a Masklike Face" (fig. 10). These four works executed for the Graduate Painting Workshop were based on drawings that Mendieta did in Patrick's Life Drawing class that same fall semester of 1969.[24]

According to Patrick, the graphic stylization of Mendieta's paintings was initially employed in her drawings.[25] They probably originated in Patrick's drawing classes where he encouraged students to invent marks for textures and shadows.[26] These works provide evidence of Mendieta's ability to transfer experiences learned in drawing to the medium of paint, thereby achieving a sense of power and inventiveness. Among the people whom I interviewed, Ann (Gerber) Sakaguchi remembers taking Patrick's Life Drawing class with Mendieta in the spring of 1970. She recalls that students drew on large drawing paper and used different media such as pencil, chalk, and sometimes charcoal, white wash, and ink. Sakaguchi remembers Mendieta's drawings "as being very fresh and spontaneous. She

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[Mendieta] drew fast and they [the drawings] were pretty expressive. She simplified the lines--they [the drawings] had a primitive look. And I think she added her own patterning. I remember her doing these kinds of staccato things with a pencil or dots. She seemed very confidant in what she drew in her own kind of spontaneous expression."[27] Similarly when Howard Rogovin, Mendieta's instructor in the Drawing Workshop, was shown photographs of her 1969 paintings, he remembered that her drawings had similar stylistic characteristics. It seemed to him, he said, that the artist's bold expression, which some people would term crude or naive or primitive, seemed natural to her.[28]

Even though Mendieta drew from the models in the Life Drawing class, she freely interpreted their physical forms and their facial features in her paintings. Rather than attempting to render a visual likeness, she used the classroom models as a starting point for poses and gestures. Mendieta's expressive directions, which were encouraged by Patrick, included changing the model's face to a masklike visage in "Kneeling Figure with a Masklike Face" (fig. 9) and to an Africanlike face in "Seated Figure with a Masklike Face" (fig. 10). Perhaps she was consciously adapting some of the primitivizing modes of Picasso's early work in which the faces of the figures were influenced by Africanizing and Iberian faces. She may also have been trying to incorporate some of the stylistic elements observed in African art which she studied in summer 1970.

In a similarly interpretive vein, Mendieta's 1969 "Portrait of a Woman with Brown Skin," (fig. 11) began as a portrait of her mother, Raquel Oti de Mendieta. Shortly after the initial sittings, the young Mendieta changed the literal likeness of her mother in the same way she changed the facial features of the models for the images in the four above-mentioned paintings. When Mrs. Mendieta saw her depiction with dark skin, she complained that she looked like a devil.[29] Yet "Portrait of a Woman with Brown Skin" is one of the most engaging works from 1969. Much of its appeal comes from Mendieta's ability to combine nondescriptive colors to create an energized surface pattern. She

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constructed the planes of the face with bold strokes of expressive color--cadmium red, yellow green, and deep blue.

As Mendieta worked on her mother's portrait, "Portrait of a Woman with Brown Skin," she may have looked closely at Matisse's use of vivid color and linear brushstrokes to define the surface planes of the face in Portrait of Mme Matisse / The Green Line (1905). Although Mendieta never adopted the bright, clear colors of Matisse's Fauve palette, her work was apparently influenced by the French modernist's as well as the German Expressionists' liberation of color from its traditional role. Mendieta, like other graduate painting students, would have been familiar with Matisse not only from her courses in art history and her study of modern art, but also from the work of James Lechay, a senior professor who worked in a Matissian mode.[30] Although Matisse departed from a naturalistic representation in the portrait of his wife, he did produce a likeness of her facial identity. Mendieta, on the other hand, transformed both--her mother's Spanish identity and her actual appearance. The portrait of the artist's mother has an Africanizing air, achieved through the shape of the face, the color of the skin, and the small vertical and horizontal lines on the face which resemble striations on African masks. In "Portrait of a Woman with Brown Skin" (fig. 11) as well as in other paintings from 1969, Mendieta used a palette of dark and intense colors. In many instances she combined intense yellows and pinks alongside cadmium red to which she added brown and black to lower the tonality of the brighter colors as in "Woman Framed by Film Strips" (fig. 2) and "Woman Standing before a Plaid Backdrop" (fig. 3).[31] Although Mendieta had absorbed earlier modernists' uses of arbitrary color and expressive figuration, it is not really possible to pinpoint the influences of any particular artist's use of color. What is more certain is that she learned to use complementary colors as part of her art school training,[32] but she used them in a highly individualistic way. Patrick said that he could not recall other students who had used color quite the way she did.[33]

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From the fall through the summer of 1970, Mendieta lived in her mother's home in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, where she set up her painting studio.[34] There, during the fall of 1969, she painted several portraits that were small in scale and intimate in feeling. These include a "Self-Portrait" (fig. 13); "Portrait of Raquel Oti de Mendieta" (fig. 14), a more naturalistic rendering of the artist's mother; "Portrait of Ignacio Carlos Mendieta y Oti" (fig. 15), the artist's ten-year-old brother; and a portrait of an unknown sitter, "Woman in Front of a Statue of the Virgin" (fig. 16).[35] The two family portraits capture the actual likeness of the sitters and affirm the art student's ability to draw perceptually from the model, if she so desired. According to Raquelín Mendieta, their mother sat for this portrait. Ignacio sat for only part of the time it took his sister to paint his portrait. In all probability Mendieta also relied on a photograph of her brother when he wasn't sitting for her. One imagines that a ten-year-old would not have the patience to sit very many times for his portrait!

The "Self-Portrait" marks the emergence of that theme in her work. Likewise, "Woman in Front of a Statue of the Virgin" is the first appearance of a religious subject. Both would become central themes in Mendieta's subsequent work. Art students often did portraits and self-portraits;[36] however, devotional scenes were rather uncommon.[37] This is the only known painting in which Mendieta draws upon her own Catholic background for iconographic references. Witihin four short years, in 1973, Mendieta would once again draw upon Catholic imagery for her body sculptures.

Mendieta clearly favored a dark palette in these paintings. Nevertheless, in "Portrait of Ignacio Carlos Mendieta y Oti," the darker colors are modulated by a bright, acid yellow, tinged with green on the collar, in the highlighting of the face, and in the background area around the boy's head. Byron Burford, her painting instructor at the time, suggested that Mendieta had used a different key, a different mode and thus achieves a kind of brooding quality that suggests a certain psychological resonance as well as a kind of gravity.[38]

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2. Painting, Drawing, and Academics: Mesoamerican Subjects, 1970

In the following year, 1970, Mendieta took four painting courses during the spring, summer, and fall semesters.[39] Two dated works survive from this time: "Seated Woman with Triple Headdress Projections" (fig. 17) and "Standing Red Figure without Arms" (fig. 18). On the basis of style, however, I have attributed four more paintings to the same year. These are "Self-Portrait in Green" (fig. 19), "Self-Portrait in a Shaggy Sweater" (fig. 20), "Portrait of a Woman with Red Hair" (fig. 21), "Seated Woman with Earspools" (fig. 22).[40] According to Raquelín Mendieta, Ana Mendieta continued to develop her portraits and self-portraits, an observation supported by five of the six paintings.[41] Mendieta also continued to employ the same compositional format already noted in her 1969 work -- a close view of the single figure, either seated or standing, placed frontally in the center of the pictorial space. Several of these works still retain the air of a "classroom exercise" by virtue of the reappearance of specific models or poses. The works also reveal the artist's continued use of an intense palette in which cadmium red, black, burnt Sienna, chrome oxide green, and terra verte impart an intense energy to otherwise static configurations.[42] Mendieta's coloristic expressionism is perhaps nowhere more notable and effective than in "Portrait of a Woman with Red Hair" (fig. 21), "Seated Woman with Earspools" (fig. 22), and "Seated Woman with Triple Headdress Projections" (fig. 17), three works in which the central figure is painted in orange-red and highlighted in acid yellow.

In spite of the links to previous work, the 1970 paintings further explore different styles and different ways of handling the brush. For example, "Seated Woman with Triple Headdress Projections" (fig. 17) continues the kinds of painterly brushstrokes that characterize "Portrait of a Woman with Brown Skin," dated 1969 (fig. 11). The more blended and even brushstrokes that first appeared in the 1969 "Self-portrait" (fig. 13) and in the family portraits from that time have attained an even greater fluidity in "Self-Portrait

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in Green" (fig. 19). Mendieta employed a very different kind of brushstroke, however, in "Self-Portrait in a Shaggy Sweater" (fig. 20). In this work a thinner brush achieves a finer line with a dancelike quality. Burford made some interesting comments when he looked at a print of this work. In observing its notable Matissian qualities, he recalled the work of his colleague, James Lechay. Burford thought that Mendieta's painting, with its combination of wash and graceful graphic line, was a closer response to Lechay's work, especially in terms of the general execution of the image, than it was to Matisse's.[43] The dating of this work is based upon Raquelín Mendieta's identification of the sweater as one she had loaned to Ana who was living with her in the fall of 1970.[44] This coincides with Mendieta's enrollment in the Drawing Workshop of James Lechay. Although Mendieta may not have actually painted "Self-Portrait in a Shaggy Sweater" in Lechay's class, she certainly seems to have adopted his stylistic directions in the execution of the work.[45] Unfortunately since there are no other stylistically similar extant works, this appears to be an anomalous in her work.

All the single-figure images executed in this year, both dated and attributed to 1970, are more carefully observed than in most of the pictures dating from 1969. In "Self-Portrait in Green" (fig. 19), for example, Mendieta employs the rules of foreshortening to a greater extent than is evident in her previous work. In this painting Mendieta renders the hands and the tilt of the shoulders in a very convincing manner. She captures to a "tee" her characteristic seated pose -- one in which she sat with one leg under the other.[46] Similar draftsmanship is brought to bear in "Self-Portrait in a Shaggy Sweater" (fig. 20) in which the form of the nose and the facets of the planes of the face are carefully observed. Patrick, who taught Mendieta "Life Drawing" in the spring of 1970, said that as Mendieta's drawing skills improved, her images also reflected these perceptual changes.

Sometime during 1970 Mendieta began to incorporate Mesoamerican features into her otherwise contemporary subjects, thereby signaling a change from her generalized "primitivizing" interests to a more specific cultural vocabulary. Mesoamerican subjects

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remained central to the artist's paintings for about a year until the end of 1971, possibly the beginning of 1972. Presumably this change occurred first in Mendieta's portraits and then, perhaps toward the end of the year, in the multifigured composition that is dated 1970. Such works as "Seated Woman with Triple Headdress Projections" (fig. 17) and "Standing Red Figure without Arms" (fig. 18) are the first testimonies to a lifetime involvement with Precolumbian subjects. Before discussing the paintings, however, it would be useful to consider Mendieta's introduction to Mesoamerican art and her academic study of it both prior to and concomitant with its incorporation into her art.

Mendieta's first academic course in nonwestern art at the University of Iowa was Introduction to Primitive Art, taught by Michael Kampen in the fall of 1967 when she was still an undergraduate. Kampen, who was working on his doctoral dissertation, "The Sculptures of El Tajín, Veracruz, Mexico," taught the course as a basic survey of Mesoamerican art from 1300 or 1200 B.C. to the conquest.[47] The required text for the class was Michael Coe's Mexico: Ancient Peoples and Places; additional assigned readings came from Miguel Covarrubias's Indian Art, Mexico and Central America.[48] Kampen's survey included major monuments from the most important archaeological sites, including Yagul, Monte Albán, and Mitla in Oaxaca; the Pyramid of the Sun, the Pyramid of the Moon, the Ciudadela, a huge sunken square with a group of structures, including the Temple of Quetzalcóatl, the Water Goddess of Teotihuacán,[49] and the Tlalocan mural in a palace building in Tepantitle, in Teotihuacán; the ballcourt and the Pyramid at El Tajín; the ballcourt, the Castillo, and the Temple of the Warriors at Chichén Itzá; and the Nunnery at Uxmal. Kampen showed slides of important examples of terra-cotta figurines, some with double heads, from Tlatilco in the Valley of Mexico from c. 1000 B.C. Students also saw examples of funerary urns from Monte Albán. Kampen talked about several manuscripts in codex form and showed slides from facsimiles of the Dresden Codex. He also owned a facsimile of that codex (which is in the form of a screenfold manuscript) that he passed around in class so that students could examine it at close hand.[50] Kampen also placed

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photocopies from the Codex Mendoza on library reserve.[51] Among the Aztec deities introduced in class were Xipe Totec ("Our Lord the Flayed One"), Coatlicue ("Serpent Skirt"), and Tlaloc, the Aztec rain god. In addition to this somewhat standard visual survey, Kampen also introduced Aztec poetry. In particular he remembers reading from Miguel Leon Portilla's Las literaturas precolombinas de Mexico (1962).[52]

That same fall semester of 1967, Mendieta had an opportunity to study Precolumbian ceramics in the studio course Introduction to Ceramics. The class text, which contained a section on Precolumbian ceramics,[53] illustrated several figurines from Michoacan, Mexico; an effigy vessel of a warrior and pottery dog, of the Colima culture; and a ceremonial funeral urn derived from stone sculpture of the Zapotecs from Oaxaca, among other Mesoamerican pieces.[54] Evidently these two courses opened new avenues of thought and experimentation, which would not be fully realized in the artist's creative work for a number of years. Mendieta was so enthusiastic about Mesoamerican art that she encouraged her sister Raquelín to take Primitive Art America, which also included Mesoamerican and Andean art.[55] Mendieta's enthusiasm for things Mexican was expressed in a number of ways over the next few years. For example, as an undergraduate in the spring of 1969, she wrote a paper entitled "The Influence of Mayan Art on Frank Lloyd Wright," probably for the course Great Styles and Masters of Art.[56] In that study Mendieta quoted Wright on the importance of Mayan, Inca, and Toltec architecture to his thinking. She referred to Wright's manifesto on organic architecture and compared what she perceived to be similarities between his ideas and those contained in Mayan architecture. Prior to her adoption of the Nunnery in the painting "Mesoamerican Figure in Front of the Nunnery at Uxmal," c. 1971 (fig. 23), Mendieta wrote about the influence of the Nunnery in Wright's modern work:

> The most striking resemblance or influence of Maya Architecture on Frank Lloyd Wright is that of ornamentation and design, where geometric patterning and forms bear direct relationships.

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> A comparison between the capitals of the slender columns in the hall of the Winslow House, River Forest, Illinois, of 89 and the 'metope' from the frieze of the Nunnery at Uxmal is possibly the earliest example of Mayan [Maya] influence on Wright. Wright adapted the relief from the 'metopes' on each of the faces of the capitals. The motif being an inverted and truncated pyramid, typical of the stepped pyramids of the Precolumbian period.[57]

For John Perrault's contemporary art course, Art Theory II, in the summer of 1969, Mendieta wrote a paper on the Mexican modernist painter Rufino Tamayo.[58] Perrault thought that Tamayo was a conservative artist working in already established modernist directions and was therefore not very pleased that she had chosen the Mexican artist as the subject of her paper.[59] When Perrault asked Mendieta why she had chosen an artist whose work was so far afield from the very contemporary work covered in class, Mendieta responded that she felt it was important to understand one's roots.[60] Indeed, this comment has proved far more telling in terms of her own feelings and her ability to translate those feelings in her work than could be gleaned at the time, by Perrault or anyone else. In the summer of 1969, however, the young graduate student was just beginning her search for ways to communicate a sense of the "primitive" in her paintings and drawings, a search that would lead to a highly individualistic expression of her roots.

At about that time there were two exhibitions held at the Museum of Art at the University of Iowa that brought new attention to Mexican art among the university community.[61] The first, "Silent City: Mexico and the Mayas," was shown in December 1969 and the second, "Accessions 1969/1970," in April - May 1970. The former presented sculptural figures and photographs, but the specific works cannot be documented because no catalogue was published.[62] The latter featured some fifteen pieces of Mexican ceramic sculpture, most of which were Colima, Nayarit, and Veracruz figurines.[63] These exhibitions were probably the first in which Mendieta saw Mexican ceramic sculpture "in the flesh." A short time later, Mendieta became personally acquainted with the director of

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the Art Museum, Ulfert Wilke, who had a significant collection of Colima and Nayarit pieces which he made available to students.[64]

Raquelín Mendieta remembers that her sister welcomed the opportunity to talk about Precolumbian art with interested fellow students. One such person was Leonardo Lasansky, a printmaking student with family ties to Latin America.[65] Lasansky, who remembers having had several such conversations with Mendieta, was adopting subjects from the Spanish conquest in his own work.[66] Lasansky had also studied with Michael Kampen; he had already worked with Thomas Charlton on an archaeological project in San Juan Teotihuacán, Mexico in the spring of 1969.[67] In 1971 Mendieta would take a similar course with Charlton. Particularly interesting in this regard is the fact that from the late summer of 1970 to the late spring of 1971, Lasansky had access to a group of terra-cotta figurines that Charlton had brought back from the laboratory in San Juan Teotihuacán to the University of Iowa on a temporary permit.[68] Although Lasansky is not sure, he thinks it likely that he showed the figurines and molds to Mendieta.[69] If Mendieta had seen those pieces, then she would have seen examples of Aztec female figurines characterized by two projections on the top of the head, a form that later became identified as a Type I-A headdress.[70] If that conjecture holds, then it is likely that Mendieta took the idea for the headdress for the image in the painting, "Seated Woman with Triple Headdress Projections" (fig. 17), from the Aztec figurine heads that Lasansky showed her.

Mendieta subsequently had firsthand experience with Precolumbian artifacts in the summer of 1971 when she participated in Professor Thomas Charlton's course Field Research in Archaeology in San Juan Teotihuacán, Mexico. Mendieta herself wrote about its importance a number of years later: "In 1971 I spent the summer doing archaeological work in San Juan Teotihuacán, Mexico. The summer had a great impact on my work, as I rediscovered my s[S]panish heritage & culture as well as establish[ed] a tremendous bond between myself & Pre-Colombian cultures."[71]

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Six students worked in the archaeology lab that summer.[72] Besides Mendieta, there were two graduate anthropology students working on thesis projects and three undergraduate students from the art and art history department.[73] Cynthia Otis Charlton -- then one of the undergraduates -- remembers that the study presented an entirely new learning experience for most of them. The students lived in rented rooms in private homes near the archaeological laboratory in town. They worked four days a week and one day each week they traveled to different archaeological sites to see the original context from which the materials came. On those occasions they discussed how materials were collected from the surface or by excavation. Laboratory work was done in an informal setting in which there was very little lecturing and no required reading. A typical day consisted of about eight hours of lab work on presorted artifacts that had been collected from nearby sites. Each student was given a different set of materials to analyze which had been collected either from the surface or from excavations during the previous project, Post-Conquest Developments in the Teotihuacán Valley, Mexico.[74] The artifacts had been washed and preliminarily sorted by Mexican workers in the lab.[75] The students would then examine the artifacts and attempt to find the differences and similarities of the individual fragments so that they could be grouped into categories on the basis of their attributes. For example, the hairdo or the treatment of the hair or the head covering were attributes used to categorize figurines.[76] On weekends, they went on longer trips to visit modern markets, archaeological sites, and museums. Toluca was one of the biggest markets they visited to try to trace the origins of contemporary ceramics by meeting with potters and discussing their work. The group also visited old ranch or hacienda ruins that were in varying stages of becoming archaeological sites. The sites included Teotihuacán, Calixtlahuaca, with a round pyramid to Ehecatl, Tula, with colossal stone Atlantean figure columns, Tenayuca, Santa Cecilia, Tlatelolco, and Tepeapulco. The museums included those located at the sites as well as the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City. When visiting this Museum, Mendieta took numerous slides of figurines and objects exhibited in cases there.

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Mendieta worked on Aztec figurine fragments from both the late Aztec (1400-1520) and very early Colonial periods. She attempted to identify the figurine fragments that had been collected during the Post-Conquest project. She recorded her findings on catalogue cards, tally sheets, and in a report which Charlton kept as part of his working archives. Mendieta also made figurines from several molds from the TA-80 Otumba collections (from Charlton's Post-Conquest Developments project). At the beginning of that summer's work there was as yet no established system for organizing the Late Postclassic and Colonial figurine artifacts into categories, so Charlton supplied Mendieta with a photocopy of drawings of Aztec figurines from one of Eduard Seler's volumes, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprachund Altertumskunde (1960).[77] These drawings served as a useful point of reference, providing Mendieta with specific models with which she could compare the fragments she was examining. It should be noted that during the course of lab work, it was often difficult for her to identify small fragments of heads, torsos, and appendages. With Charlton's assistance, Mendieta became the first of his students to begin to establish a system of typologies for Aztec deities. In fact, her catalogue cards formed the basis for subsequent studies on those same figurines. Catalogue card TA 39 TL 123, for example, features three drawings of Macuilxochitl - Xochipilli ("5 Flower - Flowered Lord"), one by Mendieta and two by Cynthia Otis Charlton, done some years after Mendieta began her work (fig. 24). Some of her observations are noted alongside Mendieta's. In the light of Mendieta's later adoption of the names and iconographical motifs of Precolumbian deities in her body sculpture, it is interesting to learn which Aztec deities she identified that summer. Her typologies on the catalogue cards identify not only Macuilxochitl - Xochipilli ("5 Flower-Flowered Lord"), the deity of dance, music, love and flowers (fig. 25), but also Xólotl ("Dog-faced lord"), god of twins and deformities, (fig. 26);[78] Xipe Totec ("Our Lord the Flayed One"), god of renewal (fig. 27);[79] Xochipilli ("Flowered Lord") (fig. 28);[80] Tlaloc ("God of the Earth"), the Aztec rain god;[81] and Ehecatl ("Wind"), god of the breath of life and the breezes that

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bring the rain clouds.[82] Such deities as Xipe Totec, Ehecatl, and Tlaloc would of course have been familiar to Mendieta from Kampen's earlier class.

Having reconstructed the specifics of Mendieta's knowledge of Precolumbian art, gained through class study, museum exhibitions, and archaeological lab work on Aztec figurines, we can turn to the way Precolumbian sources informed her paintings beginning in 1970. Mendieta's incorporation of Mesoamerican imagery appears first in her single-figure compositions and then, perhaps toward the end of the year, in the multifigured composition "Standing Red Figure without Arms" (fig. 18). Because two paintings, "Seated Woman with Earspools" (fig. 22) and "Seated Woman with Triple Headdress Projections" (fig. 17), appear to use the same classroom model and share similar stylistic qualities, I deduce that they were painted at about the same time. During the evolution of each work, Mendieta altered the model's facial features to resemble the physiognomy of Precolumbian figurines. Although Mendieta retains the overall contemporary look of her model, casually seated in a modern chair in both paintings, she introduces two motifs specific to Precolumbian art: headdresses and earspools. Nevertheless, even as Mendieta was both incorporating specific Mesoamerican motifs, she reinvented them at the same time. In "Seated Woman with Earspools" the generalized style of the earspools and the low headdress (or plain hair) do not appear to be literal copies of any adornments common to Mesoamerican figurines.[83] "Seated Woman with Triple Headdress Projections" features a subject with two circular earspools, one of which has been modified by the addition of a contemporary pendant earring.[84] The three projections on the crown of the headdress are a free adaptation of one of the most common female figurine headdress types in the Late Postclassic Aztec period, Type I-A.[85] The Type I-A headdress (fig. 29) , as it is known for identication purposes, has two central projections and two side loops of hair.[86]

In subsequent paintings, Mendieta continued to rely on Precolumbian motifs in specific and generalized ways, both quoting particular figural types and freely adapting them to her own purposes. Two paintings of 1970, "Standing Red Figure without Arms"

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(fig. 18) and "Mesoamerican Figure in Front of the Nunnery at Uxmal" (fig. 23), are multifigured compositions and, as such, mark a significant departure from her other work. At the same time, they demonstrate the artist's progress in appropriating motifs to create a personal statement. The subject of "Standing Red Figure without Arms" illustrates Mendieta's ongoing investigation of Precolumbian subjects. Behind the standing figure the pictorial space is divided into four horizontal registers, like the composition of a page in a codex. I have already noted the different codices that Kampen taught; Michael Coe's Mexico: Ancient Peoples and Places had illustrations of the Codex Mendocino and the Codex Borgia.[87] According to (Noble) Hedrick, Mendieta used to look through the [facsimiles of] manuscripts at the library at the University of Iowa.[88] In Mendieta's painting, the upper register features three seated figurines; the third register a landscape with palm trees; the second register a row of four truncated figures (head and chest only); the lower register again features a landscape, here with a rising sun.[89] The standing male figure occupies most of the vertical space at the right side of the composition. Although the images in Mesoamerican codices are composed in simple profile and frontal positions on a flat background, Mendieta attempted to situate her figures in somewhat more complex spatial relationships. Note, for example, the sculptural presence of the standing male who is depicted in three-quarter profile, and the combined profile and frontal views of two of the three figurines. Mendieta combines a flat background in the second and fourth registers with a view suggesting three-dimensional space in the other two bands. In short, she juxtaposed Western visual strategies with Precolumbian motifs.

Although no drawings remain from these years, we know that the artist was depicting Precolumbian subjects in her drawings. (Noble) Hedrick, who was in Lechay's Drawing Workshop in the fall of 1970, remembers a series of portrait heads that Mendieta did. (Noble) Hedrick not only recalls Mendieta's passion for Precolumbian art at that time but also remembers that Mendieta's images bore a close resemblance to Precolumbian figures. The portrait head drawings, which had a monumental quality, were apparently

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depicted with their eyes closed.[90] Although Mendieta was exploring varied ways of incorporating Precolumbian subjects in her paintings and drawings, she also worked in other styles and with other subjects, as is evident in "Self-Portrait in a Shaggy Sweater" (fig. 20), discussed above.

A second multifigured painting, "Mesoamerican Figure in Front of the Nunnery at Uxmal" (fig. 23), is signed but not dated. It depicts a male figure standing on a ground plane in the middle of the composition and occupying most of the central vertical space. Two large niches appear behind and to either side of the central figure: one is occupied by a single cross-legged, seated figure, similar to the figurines in "Standing Red Figure without Arms." The other niche, however, features a strange three-headed figure. Occupying the entire upper horizontal space is a somewhat schematized but recognizable view of the Nunnery at Uxmal which we can compare to a contemporary view (fig. 30) of that same monument.[91] It seems reasonable to date "Mesoamerican Figure in Front of the Nunnery at Uxmal" after "Standing Red Figure without Arms" and before Mendieta started her abstract paintings in the fall of 1971. The two paintings share monumental central figures with figurines in secondary positions, symmetry of compositional structure, and a vertical spatial organization that suggests distant space. Furthermore, "Mesoamerican Figure in Front of the Nunnery at Uxmal" shows a greater artistic accomplishment in its figural construction and spatial organization. The composition is simpler and more elegant than that of the earlier painting, dated 1970. When Joseph Patrick saw a photograph of "Mesoamerican Figure in Front of the Nunnery at Uxmal," he noted that Mendieta, after years of drawing, finally had learned to winnow out the unimportant details to arrive at this elegant simplification.[92]

With regard to the previously discussed five paintings characterized by Precolumbian imagery, it is clear that Mendieta adopted both generalized images as well as specific ones, sometimes in the same work. The curious figural types of "Standing Red Figure without Arms" and "Mesoamerican Figure in Front of the Nunnery at Uxmal" are

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attributable to both the artist's general familiarity with Mesoamerican ceramics and her knowledge of specific motifs and their contextual meaning. Just as she would have been familiar with a broad cross section of figurines adorned with plain headdresses and earspools, she would likewise have had ample opportunity to look at ceramic figurines in seated cross-legged positions, both in reproductions and in the exhibition "Accessions 1969/1970." In "Standing Red Figure without Arms" (fig. 18), however, Mendieta also incorporated images with specific historical antecedents in mind. In that painting, the row of four figure fragments with head and torso are recognizable as articulated figures from the Tlamimilolpa phase (c. A.D. 250-450) of the Teotihuacán period. Tlamimilolpa figures (fig. 31) had large holes through which strings would have been placed for attaching appendages. In Mendieta's version, the image is depicted without arms; the area at the shoulder where the arm would be attached is clearly described. The hole in the shoulder of the figure fragments is included. In all likelihood the artist first saw these figures in reproductions.[93] Later she saw actual examples in the archaeology laboratories in San Juan Teotihaucán or in the Museum at the Teotihuacan Archaeological Zone in 1971, and in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City.[94]

Mendieta synthesized a number of sources for the imagery in "Mesoamerican Figure in Front of the Nunnery at Uxmal" (fig. 23). Aside from adopting the image of the Nunnery itself, which Mendieta had researched for her paper on Frank Lloyd Wright, the artist seems to have been looking closely at Olmec figures as prototypes for the seated cross-legged figure on the left (fig. 32). Kampen showed slides of these monumental stone Olmec figures from La Venta, Veracruz.[95] The three-headed figure on the right appears to be an artistic invention that may have been inspired by the two-headed terra-cotta figurines from Tlatilco that had also been surveyed in Kampen's class. Above the three-headed figure Mendieta wrote the words "El escriba," that is "the scribe." The central figure depicted in profile bears a superficial resemblance to the figural type in the procession of musicians from the wall painting at Bonampak, in Chiapas. Although

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Kampen apparently did not discuss the wall paintings from that site, they had been written about in the literature since the late 1940s and were reproduced in many books on Mesoamerican art, including the one by Miguel Covarrubias on library reserve in Kampen's class.[96]

Among the most specific references that Mendieta used are the headdresses depicted in "Seated Woman with Triple Headdress Projections" (fig. 17) and "Seated Woman with Headdress of One Top Projection and Two Side Projections" of c. 1970-71 (fig. 33). In the first painting from 1970, the artist looked closely at and adapted the figurine headdress Type I-A from the Late Postclassic Aztec period for the seated woman. In the later painting, the seated female figure is featured with a headdress and earspools that seem to be adapted from a specific Aztec figurine type referred to as I-A-5 (fig. 34).[97] This figurine type, which is characterized by a center projection and two side projections on the head, was identified and analyzed by Mendieta in the course of her fieldwork. On her catalogue card for Macuilxochitl - Xochipilli (fig. 25), she drew the head of the deity with a top projection and two side projections. She then adapted the style of earspools for her seated female figure from those depicted in her drawing of the Aztec figurine fragment that she called Macuilxochitl - Xochipilli. The earspool on the painted figure's right ear conforms to the style of the earspool on the figurine fragment of Macuilxochitl - Xochipilli (fig. 25) that was illustrated first by Mendieta and later by Otis Charlton (discussed above). Otis Charlton specifically remembers discussing this figurine with Mendieta at the time the artist was working on its identification.[98] The earspool on the figure's left ear, however, is freely interpreted by Mendieta in her painting. The overall linear style of "Seated Woman with Headdress of One Top Projection and Two Side Projections" is much closer to the kind of "primitivizing" style Mendieta used in her 1969-70 work than it is to the abstracting style that characterizes her work in the fall of 1971. For this reason, I conclude that the artist had started the painting at some earlier point and finished it, or at least the area of the elaborate headdress, after her stay in San Juan Teotihuacán, Mexico.

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3. Painting and Drawing: The Final Year, 1971

Little is known of the artist's production in painting and drawing in the first half of 1971. Mendieta took Individual Instruction for the painting requirement and Drawing Workshop with Rogovin, who in 1994 could recall neither having seen Mendieta's Mesoamerican style paintings nor discussing her interests in that area.[99] He did, however, remember that the artist's drawings from that general period displayed some of the "primitive" characteristics of her 1969-70 period. He said that it seemed to him that the artist's bold expression, which some would term crude or naive or primitive, seemed natural to her. Only four remaining paintings (of the twenty-one), besides the "Mesoamerican Figure in Front of the Nunnery at Uxmal," are datable to 1971, following her summer in Mexico as an archaeological lab worker. One of these paintings, "Seated Woman with Headdress of One Top Projection and Two Side Projections" (fig. 33), appears to have been started, possibly as early as 1970, at the time Mendieta was focusing on the seated figure subject and finished only after the Mexico trip. The specific headdress elements of the figure had become familiar to the artist through her archaeological lab work. The remaining three paintings reveal a completely new mode of expression.

In the fall semester of 1971 Mendieta took her last course in painting and her first course in multimedia. She was enrolled in Burford's Painting Workshop and in Hans Breder's Multimedia II, and apparently attended Milton Resnick's Painting III class.[100] Resnick, a New York abstract artist who works in an Abstract Expressionist style, evidently influenced Mendieta's reorientation from figuration to abstraction, a shift observable in "Abstract Figure" (fig. 35), "Idol I" (fig. 36), and "Idol II" (fig. 37). While viewing photographs of the paintings in 1994, Hans Breder recognized the two Idol pictures and recalled a large batch of abstract works on paper (no longer extant). He

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confirmed these as Mendieta's final works before she switched modes of artistic expression.[101]

Following the summer in San Juan Teotihuacán, Mendieta continued her search for Precolumbian subjects which she would use in her subsequent work. The unusual painting "Abstract Figure" is midway between figuration and abstraction. The image of an idol is barely perceptible in the disembodied areas of paint.[102] The image of the central figure seems to be an inventive response to several kinds of Precolumbian figures Mendieta may have had in mind. In curious ways, the figure features some of the characteristics of the Tlatilco fertility figures and other Preclassic figurines with truncated arms that Mendieta had recently seen and photographed at the Museo National de Antropología in Mexico City (and earlier in Kampen's class).[103] These interested her because they were similar to the kinds of small household figurines, i.e., female deity figures, that she had been examining in the laboratory.[104] Mendieta seems to be adopting the features of the truncated torso, the downward pointing, short arms, and the stublike feet, each turned outward in a manner peculiar to many of the figurines from Tlatilco (fig. 38).[105]

Mendieta had seen a reproduction of the Water Goddess from Teotihuacán in the Museum at the Teotihuacán Archaeological Zone and then the original in the Museo National de Antropología in Mexico City (fig. 39).[106] The colossal stone statue, carved in low relief, stands at the entrance of the museum at the archaeological zone, where its presence is overwhelming. Cynthia Otis Charlton still remembers the tremendous impact of the statue on her on the several occasions she saw it during summer 1971. In the Museo National de Antropología, the Aztec goddess Coatlicue is another colossal statue whose presence is overwhelmlingly grand (fig. 40). Mendieta saw the Atlantean figures from Tula in the archaeological zone when the class visited the site (fig. 41). That type of colossal monument, columnar in shape, seems to provide the silhouette of the abstract idol image in the both paintings "Idol I" and "Idol II." In "Idol II," for example, the abstracted blocklike head as well as the other corporal divisions appear rooted in a conceptual

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understanding of columnar sculpture such as the Water Goddess from Teotihuacán or Coatlicue. Given Mendieta's newly piqued interest in deity figures, it seems likely that any of these major monuments would loom in the artist's memory and serve as a point of reference for the idol images in this new body of work.

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[1] The School of Art and Art History pioneered the artist-teacher concept, appointing its teachers on the quality of their work rather than the number of their degrees. It was one of the first university-based art schools to bring established professional artists--Grant Wood among them--to its permanent faculty. See General Catalog 1972-74 (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1972): 30.

[2] When Mendieta moved from Iowa to New York in 1978, she instructed her family to throw out her paintings which were in her parents' house in Cedar Rapids, because they were no longer of any use to her. Raquelín Mendieta, Personal communication, 14 March 1995. Jane (Noble) Hedrick, a close friend and fellow art student at the time, also remembers seeing many other paintings and drawings from 1970-1. Jane (Noble) Hedrick, telephone interview, 29 February 1995.

[3] Studio majors are listed in the General Catalog 1976-1978 (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1976): 32.

[4] Byron Burford, interview, Iowa City, 5 December 1994. This view was also expressed by former painting students whom I interviewed.

[5] In my conversations with former painting students and instructors, each remembered the open attitude toward artmaking. Miriam Bloom, who began her M.A. in painting in the fall of 1971, said that all kinds of artistic traditions and subjects were encouraged under Burford. She recalls how exciting it was to go past studio-cubicles and see the great diversity in the students' work. Miriam Bloom, interview, New York City, 19 October 1994.

[6] This view was expressed by former students and by former faculty in my interviews.

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[7] According to Mendieta's transcript from graduate school, she took six painting courses, four of which were taught by Byron Burford, who was head of the Painting area. These were: Graduate Painting Workshop, two sections, fall of 1969; Painting III, spring of 1970; and Painting Workshop, fall of 1971. Mendieta took five drawing classes, three of which were taught by Joseph Patrick. These are Life Drawing I, fall of 1969-70, Life Drawing II, spring of 1970; Life Drawing II, summer of 1970. Mendieta also attended Patrick's class when she was signed up for James Lechay's Drawing Workshop, fall of 1970. In undergraduate study, Patrick taught Mendieta, Life Drawing, in the spring of 1968.

[8] Burford, interview. Professor Burford joined the faculty at the University of Iowa in 1946. In the 1960s and 1970s he was the recipient of many prestigious grants and awards, including several Ford Foundation Awards and a John Solomon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship. During the years that Mendieta was a graduate student in the Painting area, his work, which dealt with the subject of the circus, was known nationally and internationally through extensive one-person and group exhibitions.

[9] Sandy Skoglund, who began her work towards her M.A. in the fall of 1969, said she changed from the printmaking area to painting because she felt that Burford had an open and encouraging approach toward painting. Sandy Skoglund, interview, New York, 9 November 1994. This view of Burford was corrorborated in my interviews with Noah Jamieson, Miriam Bloom, and Jane Gilmor, former painting students who were doing their Master of Arts and Master of Fine Arts during the same years as Mendieta was.

[10] Burford, interview. Forrest R. Bailey, who was an instuctor in the Painting area from 1966-1972, remembers that the painting classroom could not accomodate the number of painting students who were enrolled in Painting Workshop. Therefore, the only way the instructor, i.e., Burford could see a student's work was by appointment on a one to one basis. Forrest R. Bailey, telephone interview, 21 December 1994.

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[11] Bloom, interview. This was the consensus among the former students whom I interviewed.

[12] In the interviews I conducted with Professors Burford and Patrick, it was clear that Patrick had known Mendieta and her work far better than had Burford. Patrick remembers many aspects of the artist's work.

[13] Skoglund, interview.

[14] Skoglund, interview.

[15] Patrick vividly recalls Mendieta's customary presence in the drawing classroom. She attended his classes even when she was officially enrolled in Lechay's Drawing Workshop in the fall of 1970, for example. Joseph Patrick, interview, Iowa City, 6 December 1994.

[16] Jane (Noble) Hedrick, who was a close friend of Mendieta's, said that Ana liked Patrick's drawing classes so much that she tried to convince Hedrick to study with him instead of with Lechay, with whom Hedrick took most of her drawing courses. Jane (Noble) Hedrick, telephone interview, 2 February 1995.

[17] According to the class records both Ana and Raquelín Mendieta were in Undergraduate Painting Workshop in the spring semester of 1969. Stuart Edie, now deceased, taught the class.

[18] Raquelín Mendieta, personal communication, 10 June 1994.

[19] Raquelín Mendieta, who was one of the four students, recalls that they painted with the models outside of the actual Painting Workshop class. Raquelín Mendieta, personal communication, 10 June 1994. According to Burford, the painting classes did not have a budget for models, so when students wanted models for their paintings, they often hired them. Burford, interview.

[20] According to the official class lists, Mendieta took Life Drawing in the spring of 1969 with James Lechay.

[21] Patrick, interview.

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[22] Raquelín Mendieta said that de Kooning's work was of great interest to her sister. It should be noted, however, that the teeth motif is intended as an art historical reference, and as such it serves to animate the expressions of the figures.

[23] I appreciate Patrick's discussion of this particular stylistic device used by Mendieta in her paintings as well as in her drawings. Patrick, interview.

[24] Raquelín Mendieta, personal communication, 10 June 1994.

[25] When I showed Patrick reproductions of this work, he immediately remembered a whole body of drawings that were similar to the paintings of 1969. Patrick, interview.

[26] Howard Rogovin, interview, Iowa City, 7 December 1994.

[27] Ann (Gerber) Sakaguchi, telephone interview, 28 October 1994. Sakaguchi got a B.A in art at the University of Iowa in the summer of 1970. She returned to Iowa City in the fall of 1973 to pursue a Masters in Art Teaching (M.A.T.) which was conferred in December 1974. Sakaguchi was a student teacher at the Henry Sabin Elementary School (Iowa City) in the spring of 1974 when Mendieta was teaching there.

[28] Mendieta took Drawing Workshop in the spring of 1971 with Rogovin. Rogovin, interview.

[29] Raquelín Mendieta, personal communication, 10 June 1994.

[30] Burford discussed James Lechay's interest in Matisse and the way Lechay's work adopted and translated Matissian lessons. Burford, interview.

[31] These observations on Mendieta's color palette were offered by Burford when we reviewed together reproductions of her extant paintings. Burford, interview.

[32] Patrick, interview.

[33] Patrick, interview.

[34] Mendieta lived in her mother's home in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, from the summer of 1969 when she started graduate school through the following summer of 1970. She commuted to Iowa City for classes which she took in the late afternoons or evenings since she was

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teaching full time in elementary school. Raquelín Mendieta, personal communication, 10 June 1994.

[35] Raquelín Mendieta, personal communication, 10 June 1994. "The Self-Portrait" and the "Woman in Front of the Statue of the Virgin" are signed and dated; the other two are not.

[36] Michael Myers, telephone interview, 25 October 1994. Professor Myers taught undergraduate painting classes when he was an instructor from 1970 to 1972. When he taught Mendieta in Painting I in the fall of 1967, he was a T.A. (1967 - 1969).

[37] A number of people--including Patrick and Skoglund--whom I interviewed concurred.

[38] Burford, interview.

[39] Mendieta took Painting III with Burford and Individual Instruction in the spring of 1970. Individual Instruction was a course that students took when they felt they needed more individual time painting on their own. There were 61 students on the class list that was signed by Frank Seiberling, the head of the department. Mendieta studied Painting III in the summer of 1970 with Tony Underhill, now deceased, and Painting Workshop with Roy Colmer in the fall of 1970.

[40] Raquelín Mendieta recalls having seen "Seated Woman with Triple Headdress Projections" and "Self-Portrait in a Shaggy Sweater" when they were painted. She also remembers that "Seated Woman with Triple Headdress Projections" was one of her sister's favorite works. Another was "Woman Framed by Film Strips". Ana often talked about these two paintings with a lot of enthusiasm, and she referred to each of them in special ways. For example, Ana referred to "Seated Woman with Triple Headdress Projections" as Mujer coronado (Crowned Woman) and the earlier "Woman Framed by Film Strips" as Mujer de pelicula (Woman out of the Movies). Raquelín Mendieta, personal communication, 10 June 1994 and 19 April 1995.

[41] Raquelín Mendieta, personal communication, 10 June 1994.

[42] Burford, interview.

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[43] I appreciate Burford's (interview) comments on Mendieta's painting.

[44] According to Raquelín Mendieta (personal communication, 10 June 1994), Ana lived with her in her home in Iowa City from the late summer of 1970 to the end of the fall semester of 1970-71. Raquelín Mendieta has always spoken of this work as a self-portrait because she feels it subtly features the artist's own expressions which are recognizable to those who knew Ana well. For example, the artist's mother, Raquel Oti de Mendieta, also considered the painting a self-portrait. After her daughter's death, Mrs. Mendieta had the painting framed and hung it in her living room. Raquelín supposes that Ana had a photograph taken of herself in Raquelín's sweater which Ana used as a point of departure. Then at some point during the development of the subject, Ana changed her own features, retaining some of her peculiar expressions, but avoiding a close resemblance.

[45] At the time I spoke to James Lechay (telephone interview, 1 December 1994), I had not yet verified the class Mendieta took with him. He remembered teaching her in the Drawing Workshop class in which she did a three-dimensional project which featured eggs hanging from branches. In response to my questions, Lechay told me that students in his Drawing Workshop were free to work in any manner they wished and with any media, including oil. When I asked the professor if students were allowed to use paint in the drawing workshop, he said that they could have, but that painting was not a common practice in that particular course.

[46] When Jane (Noble) Hedrick saw a photograph of this work some twenty-five years after it was painted, she commented on how characteristic the pose was. (Noble) Hedrick, telephone interview.

[47] Michael Kampen's dissertation was published a few years later as The Sculptures of El Tajín, Veracruz, and Mexico (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1972).

[48] Kampen, telephone interview, 3 November 1994. There were no paper assignments; exams consisted of slide identifications and short essays.

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[49] Muriel Porter Weaver describes the Ciudadela as a square approximately four hundred meters long, which is limited by a wide platform on the north, east, and south sides. Each platform supports four smaller pyramids on top with the exception of the eastern side, which has three. A wide staircase on the west affords access to the entire compound. The platforms enclose a huge patio, toward the back of which is the famous Temple of Quetzalcóatl. See Muriel Porter Weaver, The Aztecs, Maya, and Their Predecessors: Archaeology of Mesoamerica, (New York and London: Seminar Press, 1972), p. 124. Weaver's book provides a solid background on most of the monuments in the archaeological areas that Kampen remembers having taught.

[50] Michael Kampen, telephone interviews, 9 March and 5 May, 1995. Kampen also said that he showed copies of Ferdinand Anton's Das Pantheon der Maya in class.

[51] Kampen, telephone interview.

[52] Kampen, telephone conversation, 5 May 1995. Kampen still remembers going to The Mill Restaurant, which was a local watering hole for university students and young faculty and finding, on one occasion, a group of his students there reciting Aztec poetry that they were inventing as they went along.

[53] The book used for that course was Glenn C. Nelson, Ceramics: A Potter's Handbook (New York and Chicago: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1960, 1966). The book is in the artist's library and the title page is signed "Ana María Mendieta."

[54] In addition to the works noted above, there were also illustrations of Nazca, Chimu, and Mochica pieces in the chapter "Ceramics of the Past," ibid., pp. 31-37.

[55] Primitive Art America was taught by Michael Kempen in the spring of 1968.

[56] (Noble) Hedrick sent me a copy of Mendieta's paper which she had kept among her memorabilia for all these years. Mendieta's paper does not have a title page, so it is not possible to know the course or professor for whom the paper was written. In examining Mendieta's transcript, however, it appears that the paper could have been written for Great

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Styles and Masters of Art, a course taken in the spring of 1969. The official course list which was signed "Art History Staff" does not provide us with the name of the professor who would have read the paper.

[57] Ana Mendieta, "The Influence of Mayan Art on Frank Lloyd Wright," n.p. [6]

[58] John Perrault, telephone interview, 10 March 1994.

[59] Perrault, ibid. Perrault introduced very contemporary material--including minimalism, concept art, body art, and earth art. He had expected that his students would write on a practitioner of one of those new forms.

[60] Perrault's recollection of Mendieta's commment regarding her wanting to understand her roots was written about in Robert Katz, Naked by the Window: The Fatal Marriage of Carl Andre and Ana Mendieta (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1990), p. 274.

[61] The University of Iowa Museum of Art inaugurated its new building in May 1969.

[62] I thank Leonardo Lasansky for bringing this exhibtion to my attention. Leonardo Lasansky, telephone interview, 5 February 1995. I also appreciate Donald (Jeff) Martin's efforts in attempting to locate archival records for this exhibition, which as it turned out, were nonexistent. Donald (Jeff) Martin, telephone communication, 13 February 1995; written communication, 15 February 1995.

[63] The works in the exhibition are documented in the catalogue checklist. Many of the pieces are illustrated therein. See University of Iowa Museum of Art, Accessions 1969/1970 (Iowa City: University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1970).

[64] Ulfert Wilke became the director of the Art Museum at the University of Iowa in 1968. At the time he agreed to make available his art collection to students and scholars. In 1975 the Art Museum at the University of Iowa exhibited three hundred and ninety-six works from Wilke's collection which included extensive holdings of African, Precolumbian, Northwest Coast Indian, and Oceanic art. See University of Iowa Museum of Art, An

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Artist Collects: Ulfert Wilke Selections from Five Continent (Iowa City: University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1975).

[65] Lasansky was a contemporary of Mendieta's in graduate school. His father, Mauricio Lasansky, was head of the Print area in the School of Art and Art History during the years Mendieta studied there. Leonardo Lasansky's parents had sought exile in Argentina during World War II. Leonardo Lasansky, telephone interviews, 5 and 8 February 1995.

[66] Lasansky said that his interests were more on the conquest period. Lasansky, ibid.

[67] I thank Cynthia Otis Charlton for telling me about Leonardo Lasansky, his work with Thomas Charlton, and his possible connections to Mendieta. Cynthia Otis Charlton, written correspondence, 30 January 1995.

[68] Otis Charlton, ibid. I am grateful to Otis Charlton, Thomas Charlton, and Leonardo Lasansky for providing me with the above undocumented information and for so patiently answering my questions which enabled me to form the above reconstruction. The figurines had come from surface collections from Otumba, a site near San Juan Teotihuacán where Charlton was conducting research on a project called Post-Conquest Developments in the Teotihuacán Valley, Mexico. Lasansky was interested in determining how the figurines were made. That kind of an investigation was possible because the figurine and mold fragments were still on the ground surface at the time of collection.

[69] Lasansky, ibid.

[70] Otis Charlton is thoroughly familiar with the Aztec figurine fragments from Otumba because of her many years of work on them.

[71] Ana Mendieta. Handwritten draft from the Cintas Fellowship (Program) 1978-79. From the Artist's Papers. Box titled "Letters: Art Letters & Business 1978 - 1979."

[72] All of the information pertaining to the course "Field Research in Archaeology" was discussed by Thomas H. Charlton and myself in a series of personal and written communications beginning in September 1994. I met with Professor Charlton in Iowa City

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on 8 December 1994. There were several follow-up telephone conversations in the early months of 1995. In those instances in which Cynthia Otis Charlton elaborated or provided additional information, she is separately cited.

[73] According to Otis Charlton's recollection, one of the graduate students analyzed ceramics for her Ph.D. dissertation on ceramics; another graduate student was doing her M. A. studies, and she worked with some local artisans who were making modern pottery, so she was not often in the laboratory.

[74] Charlton first began taking students to Mexico in 1968. During that summer and the following one, the group did fieldwork, surveying, and excavating. From 1970 to 1974 Charlton's students did analysis in the lab rather than excavation.

[75] In the process of sorting, the local Mexican workers purveyed the material and divided it up into separate bags within each collection. A collection consists of surface materials taken from an approximately 5 by 5 square meter area within a site. For the definition of a square within a site, see Thomas H. Charlton, Deborah L. Nichols, and Cynthia Otis Charlton, "Aztec Craft Production and Specialization: Archaeological Evidence from the City-State of Otumba, Mexico," World Archaeology 23:1 (1991): 102.

[76] Other ways of determining the categories of the fragments are by clothing, by manufacturing techniques, i.e., open back or two piece molds, or by surface treatment (painted or slipped surfaces). Otis Charlton discusses these categories for Aztec figurines in her article "Hollow Rattle Figurines of the Otumba Area, Mexico."

[77] In 1971 Mary H. Parsons had not yet published the typology for Aztec figurines that would become a prototype for future work of this kind. See earlier footnote on Parsons.

[78] On Mendieta's catalogue card, she did a drawing of the figurine that she tentatively identified as the Aztec god, Xólotl. Her reference for the deity figure is [Abb. 33a. Xólotl, der Gott der Zwillinge und der Missgeurten. Valle de Mexico. Samml. Uhde] Seler ["Die archäologischen Ergebnisse meiner ersten mexikanischen Reise," in Gesammelte

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Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprachund Altertumskunde, vol. 2, (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt), p. 310.

[79] On Mendieta's catalogue card for Xipe, she identified two collections, 2226 and 2202 respectively. Following the collection number is the number of the fragment(s) within that specific collection.

[80] Mendieta's catalogue card 2202-2, not illustrated herein, describes Xochipilli in the following manner: "Feather cape with V nec. Right hand is up with fingers to outside. Reference to 36 C Seler."

[81] On Mendieta's catalogue card 2224, she drew a torso fragment with a split conch shell chest ornament that is the symbol of Tlaloc. Next to the drawing she wrote: "swirl design. Reference to Tlaloc (shell). See foto 16 in El Templo Mayor de Mexico." Professor Charlton pointed out to me that Mendieta correctly drew a stylized cross section of a conch shell, which is one of the water attributes associated with Tlaloc, but incorrectly referred to it as a "swirl design." Thomas H. Charlton, interview, Iowa City, 8 December 1994.

[82] On Mendieta's catalogue card for Ehecatl, which is not illustrated herein, she identified five different collections. Some of these collections had as many as sixteen figurine fragments in them. Note for example, 2202-16. Each of the artifacts from a given collection were grouped according to its attributes, so that the sixteen fragments from collection 2202 were written up: "Mold. Protrusion of the mouth. Feather headdress."

[83] When Professor Michael Kampen saw a print of "Seated Woman with Triple Headdress Projections," he commented that the generalized form of the earspools are typical of many Precolumbian styles. Michael Kampen, telephone interview, 6 March 1995.

[84] (Noble) Hedrick (telephone interview) observed that the modern earring was similar to those worn by Mendieta herself.

[85] I thank Cynthia Otis Charlton for identifying this type for me. In writing on hollow rattle figurines, Otis Charlton adopted Mary H. Parsons' four subtypes, each one differentiated

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by slight variations in headdress style. See Cynthia Otis Charlton, "Hollow Rattle Figurines of the Otumba Area, Mexico." Terry Stocker, ed. The New World Figurine Project vol. 2 (Provo, UT: Research Press, forthcoming.)

[86] According to Mary H. Parsons, who established a typology for Aztec figurines, Type I-A describes a hollow rattle figurine with a headdress that has two plain rectangular to trapeziodal top projections. That particular headdress has four different forms and is one of four types that Parsons analyzes in her article, "Aztec Figurines from the Teotihuacán Valley, Mexico," in Miscellaneous Studies in Mexican Prehistory Anthropological Papers, no. 45, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan: Ann Arbor, MI, 1973): 84-86, Plate 19 b, c, h.

[87] Michael Coe's Mexico: Ancient Peoples and Places (New York and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967) was in the artist's library at the time of her death. I have consulted the book in her library. She did not make notes of any kind in her book. Plate 72 is a reproduction of a page from the Codex Mendocino, and plates 73, 74 illustrate two pages from the Codex Borgia.

[88] (Noble) Hedrick recalls that Ana and she used to spend Thursdays in the library looking at art books, including manuscripts, during the semester they lived together in the fall of 1971. (Noble) Hedrick, telephone interview, 17 February 1995. Further to this Mendieta had a copy of the book Die Maya-Handschrift Codex Dresdensis in her personal library.

[89] The two landscape scenes are the only ones represented in any of the surviving pictures.

[90] Jane (Noble) Hedrick, telephone interview, February 21, 1995. She said that the drawings were executed with broad strokes in pastel and charcoal. They appeared like quick studies that were done with a great sense of confidence. Mendieta gave one of those drawings to Hedrick who had it for many years before it was lost.

[91] I thank Michael Kampen for identifying the building for me. Michael Kampen, telephone communication, 6 March 1995.

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[92] Patrick, interview.

[93] (Noble) Hedrick remembers Ana's tremendous curiosity and desire to know as much as she could about a subject before she began working with it in art. (Noble) Hedrick, telephone interview, 17 February 1995.

[94] I appreciate Cynthia Otis Charlton's discussion of these figures with me as well as providing me with copies of her drawings of the figures from the Tlamimilolpa phase from Teotihuacán on her catalogue cards. A group of articulated figurines had been collected in the late 1960s during the project, Post-Conquest Developments in the Teotihuacán Valley, Mexico. None of these was sent to the University of Iowa for study purposes in the fall of 1970. The articulated figurines were in one of the labs in San Juan Teotihuacán during the summer of 1971, however, when Mendieta worked there. Otis Charlton, telephone communication, 19 April 1995.

[95] Kampen took slides of Olmec figures when he he was researching his dissertation. Although those slides were not part of the slide library collection, Mendieta could have easily seen those figures in any number of books. Kampen, telephone communication, 16 May 1995. A reproduction of this kind of Olmec figure is in U Prints, N280. It is identified as "Altar 4 with Seated Priest, from La Venta, 64."

[96] I appreciate Kampen's comments on these murals. Kampen, ibid. Covarrubias's book contains a section on the frescoes of Bonampak (pp. 233-261).

[97] I thank Cynthia Otis Charlton for identifying the style of this headdress. Otis Charlton, telephone interviews, 26 and 30 January 1990.

[98] Otis Charlton, personal communication and written correspondence.

[99] Mendieta took Drawing Workshop in the spring of 1971 with Rogovin. Rogovin, interview, Iowa City, 7 December 1994.

[100] Hans Breder, personal communication, New York, 31 October 1994.

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[101] Raquelín Mendieta's memories of this work corroborate Breder's. Raquelín remembers Ana showing her the Idol pictures, as Ana's sister referred to them, in her studio in the early months of 1972.

[102] (Noble) Hedrick remembers having seen this painting in Ana's studio on the third floor of the art building.

[103] Charlton took his students to the Museo National de Antropología in Mexico City to look at examples of the kind of objects that they had worked on in the lab. They visited the archaeological exhibits which had complete objects, as opposed to the fragmentary objects the students had been working on. Although Ana had been analyzing Aztec figurines, she would have paid special attention to figurines from all cultures from the Prehispanic period that were on view. Among these she would have seen figurines from Tlatilco. Charlton, telephone interview, 16 September 1994; Otis Charlton, personal communication, April and May, 1995.

[104] Mendieta took many slides of figurines from various cultures and periods that were exhibited in the Museo National de Antropología in Mexico City. Cyndi Otis Charlton identified many of the figurines and objects in those slides as being from the Basin of Mexico and the Gulf Coast from the Preclassic and Classic periods.

[105] Several Tlatilco figurines are reproduced in Coe's Mexico: Ancient Peoples and Places, for example, pls. 8, 9.

[106] Charlton, ibid.

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Chapter 3

Multimedia Program and the Center for New Performing Art: A Historical Reconstruction, Fall 1970 through Spring 1972

Introduction

In fall 1970 the Center for Performing Arts (CNPA) was formed as a unit within the College of Liberal Arts. Funded by a five-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, the CNPA developed a singularly innovative interdisciplinary arts program that worked with faculty and students from Art, Creative Writing, Dance, Film and Television, Music, and Theater. The CNPA developed an extensive visiting artist program that included people in the arts from all over country, established resident ensembles, and provided laboratory-studio spaces for experimentation and performance.

That fall Ana Mendieta first participated in Handbill and Deafman Glance, two new works by Robert Wilson, the visionary director-writer who was commissioned for the CNPA. During that fall and through the following spring (1971), Mendieta often attended CNPA programs, especially when Hans Breder, head of the new Multimedia Program and cofounder of the Center for New Performing Art, performed in them. Mendieta took her first multimedia course the following fall semester of 1971 while completing her final course requirements for her Master's thesis in painting. In spring 1972, while working on her thesis, she took two additional classes in multimedia. During those months when Mendieta felt that she did not have the necessary support in the painting area to pursue an M.F.A., Mendieta began to shift her production away from painting toward a more conceptually based, ephemeral kind of art.[1]

Mendieta's transition from a painting student to a multimedia artist can be charted in a series of performative pieces she did during spring semester of 1972 in the Multimedia

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classroom. Those works respond to ideas explored in the Multimedia area regarding the use of the body as sculptural material and as a site for change. Mendieta's work embodies ideas she absorbed from looking at and reading about the art of Marcel Duchamp, and the recent work of Bruce Nauman, and Vito Acconci, who were among the many artists discussed by the students at that time. Her first documented piece Glass on Body Imprint of January 1972 (fig. 42) features the artist pressing her face against a small piece of plexiglass, thereby distorting her facial features. She did several other pieces in which she transforms her physical appearance in notable ways. These changes in Mendieta's new work appear in her M.A. thesis Self-Portraits. It consists of three photographs of the artist's face. In two Mendieta changed her own appearance from female to male by adding hair to her face. The transgressive self-portraits are among the first of many subsequent works in which the artist alters her appearance to express a highly individualistic view of herself. In response to the conceptual directions afoot in the Multimedia area, Mendieta began producing work in which her own body was both the subject and object of the work. In May, for example, Mendieta did Grass on Woman (fig. 43) in which she lay nude face down on the grass partially covered with freshly cut grass. The work is memorable in that it foreshadows Mendieta's interest in using her own body to connect with the earth.

1. Hans Breder and the Early Multimedia Program

Hans Breder (b. 1935), painter, sculptor, intermedia artist, and professor, was born and educated in Germany.[2] He came to the United States when he was twenty-nine on an eight-month fellowship in 1964. When his fellowship ended, he became an assistant to the kinetic sculptor George Rickey. In 1966 Breder went to the University of Iowa as an assistant professor of drawing in the School of Art and Art History. For the next two years, during which time Happenings, Pop Art, Op Art, Minimal Art, and Conceptual Art were emerging, Breder taught two traditional studio art courses: Media of Drawing and

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Life Drawing. Keenly affected by some of the current experimental modes, Breder decided to propose Intermedia, a course that would introduce art students to new, contemporary concepts, including performance- oriented art.[3] The studio art faculty approved the new course for in fall 1968, making it the first university-level course of its kind in the country.[4] At the time Breder used the word "intermedia" to express the notion of producing art in the interstices or in the boundaries between the arts. The course began to introduce an interdisciplinary approach to art making in which intermedia students explored ways in which dance, theater, writing, and music could be fused in their work.[5] The intermedia course was cross-listed in other departments to encourage students from areas outside of studio art to enroll. During the first academic year, faculty from several interdisciplinary areas began participating by teaching in Breder's new course.

From the outset, Breder initiated discussions with Ted Perry, professor of film in the Department of Communications, to explore how they might collaborate on an intermedia performance. Breder and Perry's conversations soon involved William Hibbard, director of New Music, and Bob Gilbert, from the Theatre Department. The following spring semester (1968) these four professors began collaborating on the intermedia opera Interplay that was performed a year later, in spring 1969.[6] The Iowa City Press-Citizen, one of Iowa City's leading newspapers, described Interplay, as a work that "crossed the boundaries of their [the professors'] individual disciplines to piece together an intermedia mosaic of acting, film, sculpture, and sonoric situations."[7] Some ten years later Perry wrote that whether or not the four professors were successful in creating a new opera was secondary to the opportunity they had in working together and exploring the ways interdisciplinary modes could be synthesized in a work.[8] Due in large part to the success of Interplay, Breder, Hibbard, Gilbert, and Perry were encouraged by the Rockefeller Foundation to apply for a grant to enable them to develop an interdisciplinary performance program.[9] Their pilot proposal outlined a five-year program for the Center for New Performing Art (CNPA). In fall 1970, under the sponsorship of the Rockefeller

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Foundation, the CNPA officially began its tremendously innovative and experimental performance project which served a generation of artists and the public.

Within two years, Breder founded and cofounded two unique university art programs -- the Multimedia Program in the School of Art and Art History and the CNPA -- both of which began in fall 1970. During the next five years, through spring 1975, the Multimedia Program and the CNPA were instigators of and witnesses to an unprecedented period of experimental teaching and interdisplinary artistic collaboration. Both programs shared similar interests and significant points of contact. Through course work the Multimedia program was one of several academic areas within the College of Liberal Arts that directly supported the interdisciplinary concerns of the CNPA.[10] With Breder's permission, some Multimedia students had the opportunity to develop work that was performed in CNPA programs.[11]

The Multimedia Program offered courses in Multimedia I, II and Intermedia and an M.A. and M.F.A. degree.[12] Breder chose the words "multimedia" and "intermedia" to confer the notion of working between mediums in the production of a work. Recently Breder wrote that intermedia and multimedia "exist in a liminal space where the interplay of two or more media propagate new ideas, new forms, new ways of seeing and being."[13] As is noted in the descriptions of the multimedia and intermedia courses in the General Catalogue, they evolved in form and content during the years from 1970 to 1976. During the first two years, from 1970 to 1972, multimedia emphasized the production of an art object that utilized many mediums. The Multimedia II course was described as follows: "New media such as styrofoam, plexiglas, polyester, and others in mutual combination and in combination with conventional media. Plexiglas constructions; structured canvas; painted sculpture; light projection on sculpture; and other combinations. Special emphasis on the use of kinetic and environmental elements."[14] There was no accompanying course description for intermedia in the 1970-72 catalogue. However, former graduate students, who were also teaching assistants, affirmed that there was a shift away from new media

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such as plexiglas and polyester to a more conceptually oriented forms of expression, especially body art.[15] In fall 1972 through spring 1976, Multimedia II was so described: "A continuation of Multimedia I, emphasizing an individual direction; events, films, and sound and video documentation; investigation in new materials; special section for workshop projects."[16] The Intermedia course was described as follows: "Investigation into interdisciplinary activity with experience in poetry, dance, music, film, theater and art; advanced standing is required for enrollment in the special section for production-oriented investigation of interdisciplinary activities in cooperation with members of the Center for New Performing Art."[17]

Breder conducted his multimedia and intermedia classes as workshops with an emphasis on collaboration and experimentation. The workshop, as a place for production, often extended beyond the physical classroom into specific site locations. When this happened, students became involved in producing ephemeral art, site-specific art, performance and installation pieces, and body art. Breder conducted his intermedia and multimedia classes in a relaxed atmosphere of comraderie and collaboration.[18] Breder encouraged students to fashion an individual curriculum around their special interests.[19] If, for example, a student came from the Writer's Workshop, Breder encouraged him/her to create a three-dimensional mode in which the written word would assume a spatial dimension. Breder remembers one such piece in which a student wrote a narrative with (three-dimensional) words suspended from a clothesline. In encouraging individual expression, students had a freehand in choosing the directions they explored as well as the projects they developed.[20] By all accounts, Breder did not suggest specific avenues of exploration, nor did he impose a specific aesthetic or artistic orientation for his students to adopt. Although Breder did not give specific reading assignments or provide his students with a syllabus, he expected them to keep informed of new developments in body, conceptual, and earth art as these were evolving at the time. Students tacitly understood that they were expected to become familiar with writings that Breder talked about as well as

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the artists' work discussed in his classroom.[21] In general class discussions, he often brought art magazines or books to class to introduce modernist and contemporary artists and their works to his students. Multimedia students, who kept well informed, often brought in articles from Art Forum and Avalanche to discuss work that interested them.[22] Breder distinctly remembers, for example, introducing the work of Oscar Schlemmer, Yves Klein, Piero Manzoni, and Rudolph Schwarzkogler to several generations of Multimedia graduate students.[23] Many of Duchamp's revised definitions of art were of interest to students investigating new aesthetic forms, discovering unusual places to make their work, and investing expanded meanings into their creations. In the process of learning to create their own conceptual work, Multimedia students also discussed the work of their colleagues within the forum of a critique. As is discussed below, many new concepts in body art and performance-oriented art--whether in the form of street works, earth art, action art, and so forth--were introduced firsthand to Multimedia students through the visiting artists program in the School of Art and the CNPA.[24]

Breder's intermedia course attracted students outside the art department from the areas of film, drama, dance, theater, and the writer's workshop.[25] Although Breder usually taught the class, instructors from these other disciplines frequently participated in the workshop. The multimedia course was oriented toward the production of a nontraditional art object and site-specific installation works. Students created new art forms as an extension of painting and sculpture. Macaulay and Andringer remember their first multimedia classes, from fall 1969 through fall 1970, as places where students experimented with several different forms of art within a single work.[26] Andringer, whose background was in painting and drawing, remembers doing drawings that were made from playing bingo. He also recalls doing conceptual, task-oriented works such as painting with water on a blackboard and drawing with white chalk on a white wall. Macaulay, who had a sculpture background, found the sculpture department conservative. The multimedia area offered encouragement for students like Macaulay who wanted to experiment in making

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sculptural objects outside of traditional metal casting.[27] For example, one of Macaulay's early sculptural objects, Medicine Chest of 1969 (fig. 44), explored the relationship between the real and illusory and examined libidinal imagery associated with the unconscious.[28] Macaulay remembers students learning to make polyurethane foam sculpture. In spring 1970, in response to the U.S. incursion into Cambodia during the Vietnamese war, a group of Multimedia students made thirty polyurethane foam sculptures in the form of the human figure.[29] The sculptures were tied together and dropped into the Iowa River which runs through the university's campus. About 250 persons watched the flotilla from the riverbank and footbridge near the Memorial Union. Students referred to their art action as a political event which was one of many demonstrations against the war in Vietnam on the campus at the time. The Iowa Press-Citizen photographed the event and reported that the "bodies" were intended as a reminder of an incident in Cambodia in which slain Vietnamese were reported floating down the Mekong River. Many Multimedia students had already been introduced firsthand to Hans Haacke's performance or Allan Kaprow's happening or John Perrault's Streetworks when they were visiting artists at the University of Iowa.[30] Notwithstanding those earlier art events, this collaborative art event was among the first organized by Multimedia students.

The kinds of classroom experiments that Breder was initiating in Intermedia and Multimedia found expression in his own sculpture as well. From the late 1960s through the early 1970s Breder was doing minimal, constructivist sculpture, characterized by the use of highly polished metal or glass and mirrors (fig. 45).[31] In 1970 Breder began expanding his sculptural language into one that incorporated live models and mirrors to produce new forms of body sculpture (fig. 46). This work incorporates square sheets of mirrors juxtaposed and contrasted with the nude female body(ies). Breder created these pieces in both interior and exterior spaces. Many of his works were conceived of as performance pieces that were documented in photography and on video. His students, who became familiar with this work as it evolved from 1970 to 1973, saw it in the

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multimedia and intermedia classroom, CNPA performances, and Multimedia and CNPA collaborative events. Breder often created intermedia events in which he presented his body sculptures that incorporated sculpture, dance, and film. In summer 1970 he presented his new work together with Majorie Strider's and Scott Burton's in a series of collaborative performances at the University of Iowa.

Strider and Burton were invited as visiting artists from New York to teach a course during the summer session in the School of Art.[32] In addition to the public perfomances they gave toward the end of their stay, they taught the course Art in the Urban Environment. It was the second consecutive summer course that introduced some of the new conceptual ideas and forms in recent art. Sandy Skoglund, now a well-known artist who was a graduate painting student in the course, remembers Strider's and Burton's concerns with making art outside the studio.[33] In that context both artists discusssed the recent series of Streetworks (1969) performed by Strider, John Perrault, and Hannah Weiner. Although the details are no longer clear in Skoglund's mind, she recalls that "they [Strider and Burton] were dealing with the ideas of making art from a radically different point of view, even though Strider's sculpture was fairly conventional compared to the ideas they were [in the process of] formulating."[34] To demonstrate the need to leave the studio to make art, Strider and Burton, on occasion, taught outdoors. They found a large hole below street level in the center of Iowa City. It had been left after a building had burned down some years ago.[35] From that hollowed-out place, the two artists talked about negative space in sculpture, among other things.

Breder, who was teaching multimedia during the summer session, organized two public performances with Strider and Burton. In "Two Evenings," each of the artists presented their performance works.[36] The "First Evening" took place at the Macbride Field Campus. There the three artists performed their works in different places on a huge tract of land -- a wooded area, a lake, and on low rolling hills. The audience, composed of students including Mendieta, members of the larger university community, and residents

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from Iowa City itself, was transported around the field campus in trucks to see or participate in the performances, each of which respectively took place an hour before sunset, at sunset, and at dark.

Burton's outdoor Furniture Landscape (fig. 47) was the first of his furniture pieces, the sculptural-performance genre for which he later became famous.[37] The artist's work consisted of placing pieces of furniture that he had located in various parts of town in a wooded setting. Burton selected a table and chairs, an upholstered sofa, and a mirrored bureau to create "the potent presence of human absence."[38] In an attempt to combine natural and artificial environments of the outdoors and indoors, the artist involved the active participation of the audience who walked around the furniture as they might in actual rooms. As noted in the program, the audience acted as the performers, thereby breaking down the traditional barrier between the spectator and actor. Regarding Burton's conceptual performances, Robert Pincus-Witten wrote that in tracing the role of furniture in Burton's thinking, the objects in the landscape of the Iowa piece suggest the notion of furniture as psyche; this in turn leads to furniture as surrogate people in later pieces, which reverses itself onto people-equal-furniture, a prefiguration of the Behavorial Tableaux (in still later pieces).[39]

Following Burton's piece, Strider performed For D.W. She described the piece as a movie without film in which three horsemen rode from the summit of a hill toward the audience seated below.[40] The horsemen repeated the action many times -- each time, however, they rode down the hill a little closer to the audience. In the final run they galloped at full speed toward the spectators, turning aside just in time to miss them. Strider intended the performances to convey a "cinematic" quality -- to parody the stop-and-go action of film stills.

Breder's Eclipse I was performed at nightfall near the waterfront at Lake Macbride. The piece was one of many in which Breder's interest in real and virtual space was explored. In preparing for the piece, Breder choreographed the movement of three

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sailboats (with crews) on the lake.[41] Then he photographed and filmed them. During the performance at Lake Macbride, Breder illuminated the trees near the shore with blank colored slides -- red, purple, pink -- creating the illusion of a theatrical setting. He projected slides and film of the three sailboats onto the lake without a screen. At a certain juncture the sailboats moved through the water, as if it were a set, and fused with the projected images. At that moment the actual sailboats became the screen for the projected images, creating in the viewer's eye "a sense of obliteration/ eclipse, superimposition/ fusion."[42]

The artists chose to do their pieces in outdoor sites so that the audience could become involved with art outside the traditional museum or theater-concert hall venue. Performances in site-specific locations were thought to diminish the distance between high art and everyday life, thereby encouraging a reconsideration of each. Site-specific work also compels the artist to rethink the formal and conceptual modes of producing art outside the traditional art institutions in which walls are an integral element of the exhibition space. Mindful of those objectives, Burton left his furniture tableau in the wooded landscape after he departed Iowa City. Miriam Bloom, a painting student at the time, reported that she remembers seeing the pieces in situ the following fall semester.[43]

The "Second Evening" of performances was held indoors at the University Theater. Strider's performances Cinematic and Color Me: A Two-Part Autobiographical Work were concerned with illusion and reality.[44] In Color Me: A Two-Part Autobiographical Work, the artist, dressed as a 1940s movie star, stood on a 12-foot metallic star on stage. During the performance, Strider-as-star was alternately concealed and revealed from view as the stage revolved and the curtains rose and fell over her. In Burton's Ten Tableaux: Theatre as Sculpture, twelve female and male models performed as moving sculptural figures with a stationary viewer in the role of spectator. The piece attempted to explore the crossovers between theater and sculpture, envisioning the theater as sculpture, and sculpture as performance.[45] Breder presented Eclipse II, a projection piece in which the images of the

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three clothed performers on the front of the moving stage fuse with projected images of three nude performers on the screen at the back of a revolving stage. As the stage moves, the static images appear ever more fragmented until at the end of the (two-minute) revolution, the position of the clothed performers overlaps the positions of the projected performers. Burton's and Breder's work attempted to impart the recent notions of performance art, a genre in which theater, sculpture, and body art were beginning to assume new functions.

The Iowa City Press-Citizen wrote an introductory piece on the two evenings of performance prior to the events themselves. The summary caption in the newspaper described the presentation as an unusual and new art form.[46] "Unusual and new" were appropriate terms to describe the visual art performances, which were still novel events at the university at the time. The Burton-Strider-Breder event was one of the first planned for a broader-based audience, and as such it marked the beginning of a long line of intermedia and interdisciplinary events co-organized by the Multimedia Program and the Center for New Performing Art.

2. The Center for New Performing Art

The Center for New Performing Art evolved from two principal thrusts within the university.[47] On the one hand, there was an interest among faculty and department chairmen to explore means of embracing multiple fine arts disciplines by expanding the creative and performing activity of the then three-year Center for New Music.[48] On the other hand, there was a group of individual artists who wanted to find a means of augmenting their interdisciplinary activities and productions. The CNPA officially became a unit within the College of Liberal Arts in the fall semester of 1970. Shortly after the semester got under way, the new head of the CNPA, William Hibbard, wrote a communiqué (September 25) announcing the formation of the Center, its function within

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the university, its overall objectives, and the first program of the season.[49] Hibbard quoted President Boyd, who, in his letter to the Rockefeller Foundation, had expressed his view that the University of Iowa was an ideal place for the Center for New Performing Art because of the university's long involvement with the fine arts. Boyd viewed the then proposed CNPA "as a logical extension of already existing Fine Arts programs."[50]

Hibbard pointed out that the Rockefeller Foundation had awarded the University of Iowa a large grant for a five-year program to develop a Center for Performing Arts. Hibbard underscored the fact that the grant constituted the largest one the foundation had ever made to any university for an interdisciplinary arts program, making the CNPA the most extensive organization of its kind on an American campus. In clarifying the CNPA's functions, Hibbard defined it "as a collection of artists and performers, utilizing the expanding university facilities for experimentation, creation, and production."[51] The Center includes six areas: Art, Creative Writing, Dance, Film and Television, Music, and Theater. Hibbard also clarified what he thought were the differences between the terms "intermedia" and"interdisciplinary", as they applied to the Center's work. He wrote: "One may be tempted to lump all of these areas into one vague conceptual bag: Intermedia. Though this is not exactly inaccurate, it is misleading. It would be far closer to the nature of the CNPA to label its operating concept as interdisciplinary. This means that this campus will be the scene of numerous events of varying degrees and densities of media interaction."[52]

In the same communiqué Hibbard described the different venues that would be selected for the CNPA's productions. Regarding this aspect he said that some productions would be formal presentations designed for a concert hall, some for churches, others for small rooms with a limited attendance. Some performances would be film events, others environment (environmental or site-specific or outdoor) events. Some works would be designed to involve the audience as participants rather than as spectators. In his closing thoughts, Hibbard asserted that the members of the CNPA as well as the visiting artists

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"are convinced that if the Fine Arts are to survive today, they must do so at the University and branch out from there. The University is no longer a closed, academic society -- it never was intended to be so."[53]

From the outset the CNPA formed a staff of artists, established resident ensembles, especially in the areas of dance and theater, developed a visiting artist plan, purchased equipment, especially for film and video, and provided for laboratory-studio space suitable for experimentation and performance.[54] The staff of artists came from areas that are noted above; in addition, Art Technology was added in the 1971-72 season. Aside from the staff of full-time faculty artists, there were also CNPA fellows -- part-time faculty and students -- receiving a stipend to produce their work and organize CNPA events. The new resident ensembles included the Center for New Music (since 1966), the Iowa Theater Lab (1970-1975), the CNPA Dance Ensemble (1971-1973), and the Jo Lechay Dance Company (1974-1975).[55] The Iowa Theater Lab had five very successful years of productions and performed in various parts of the United States, Europe, and South America.

The visiting artist category was also a very successful component of the CNPA. It had two aspects, one long term and the other, short term.[56] The long-term program invited visiting artists for an extended period, anywhere from two weeks to a semester, to work with resident CNPA talent and to collaborate with them in performance work. The short-term program invited visiting artists for individual lectures, exhibitions, screenings, and performances.

Hibbard wrote a position paper (5 October 1973) in which he discussed the experimental nature of the CNPA and its relationship to the university's academic structure. He stated that the CNPA is first and foremost an organization devoted to research.[57] He argued that the CNPA did not have a primary educational purpose (because it was not an academic department) nor a direct entertainment function. Instead it was responsible for pursuing "significant young talent and ideas and to provide -- as much as possible -- laboratory conditions for the development of this talent and its research into the performing

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arts. Rather than performance being the goal of our work, we view performance as a vital, practical tool of research."[58] He added that the lasting achievements of a season are not the actual works performed, nor the number of productions mounted, but rather the quality of research projected through performance. Finally, Hibbard underlined the importance of innovation and artistic evolution as primary goals.

CNPA Productions (summer 1970 through spring 1971)

During the first season of CNPA productions, from summer 1970 through spring 1971, twenty-four performances were presented in Iowa City.[59] In the following discussion, I examine five of these programs, four from the fall, and one from the spring. In the fall there was an intermedia program by faculty and students; two productions by Robert Wilson, a visiting professor; and a site-specific installation by John Freeman, also a visiting artist. Ana Mendieta performed in Wilson's two works, and by all accounts, she saw the intermedia program as well as Freeman's installation. The four works were characteristic of the kinds of interdisciplinary (or intermedia) performances that began to have a notable impact on the arts community at the University of Iowa.

"X-Changes," was an intermedia performance presented in the New Ballroom of the Iowa Memorial Union on 22 November 1970. It consisted of several individual works by resident artists and graduate students from different disciplines. The first part of the program included Conversation Piece by Franklin Miller (film), with the participation of Ric Zank (theater) and two students; Eclipse III by Hans Breder, with the participation of Peter Lewis for music, Franklyn Miller for film, and Carol Henning, a student model. The second half of the program consisted of two works, Exchange by Christopher Parker and Tom Macaulay, and Creation of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah Staterooms with General Assistance by Macaulay and Parker, both graduate students and CNPA Associates in Performance.[60]

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The following is a reconstruction of Tom Macaulay's and Chris Parker's piece, Creation of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah Staterooms with General Assistance. The two graduate fellows conceptualized a performance piece in which four additional staterooms were temporarily created in the New Ballroom of the Iowa Memorial Union at the university. The new rooms -- Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah -- were to be temporary additions to the nine permanent staterooms, most bearing the names of Iowa's neighboring states, in the Iowa Memorial Union. The performance proceeded as follows. Macaulay and Parker together with four assistants and members of the audience assembled the furniture in the room to suggest the topographical characteristics of four states. While the audience was seated, Macaulay, Parker, and their assistants divided the ballroom into quadrants by unrolling sections of a snow fence from the middle of each of the four walls to the center of the room (fig. 48).[61] The center of the ballroom became the Four Corners area, (the only point in the United States where four states touch one another). Once the states were designated by the snowfence, the sounds of the state birds were projected through speakers from the four corners of the ballroom. Each of the assistants, who were dressed in highway workmen's vests and were carrying bullhorns, addressed the audience seated in their respective states. Each read a statement describing some of the historical and physical characteristics of each state. For example, the reading on Colorado ended with the following manner:

> Colorado, with a mean elevation of c. 6, 800 ft.
> and with 51 of the 80 peaks in north America
> over 14, 000 ft. high, lays claim to the name
> "top of the world." Down from these heights
> rush melting snow to form important river systems
> and nourish the water-hungry lands beyond.
> Water is an agent in metamorphism, and by its
> movement land is constantly being worn-down,
> carried away, and redeposited. We are water, 96%.[62]

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After the readings, the audience was asked to participate in the topographic creation of the four states. Each foreman instructed his group to pile the 50 chairs in their state into stacks of five and then arrange them according to the designated plan devised by Macaulay and Parker. Then the audience together with the artists moved 669 additional chairs, 142 folding tables, and 28 folding platforms from the storage area into the Ballroom where the pieces were assembled and stacked in the designated arrangement to suggest the topography of each state. For example, in Arizona the lines made from stacks of 10 chairs created the configuration of the Grand Canyon with the Hoover Dam marked by an 8-foot-high platform (fig. 49). Both round and rectangular tables as well as square platforms, all of varying sizes, were stacked to mark mountain ranges, many of which reached 10 feet in height. In addition, 27 tablecloths were used to cover those stacks that represented mountain ranges or peaks that, in actuality, are over 10,000 feet above sea level. The Yuma Desert was represented by small paper plates, the Painted Desert by colored napkins, and White Sands National Park by white napkins. The Continental Divide was created with plastic cups which ran from the stage facing north, over the stacks of furniture, to the center doors on the south wall. When the furnishing was complete in all the states, the bird sounds were replaced by a recording of the Grand Canyon Suite. The music signaled the end of the performance, at which time the foremen announced the room exits off the Colorado River and encouraged the audience to flow out into the Gulf of Mexico (which was the hallway outside the ballroom).

Macaulay and Parker attempted to create a conceptual site-specific work that utilized both the everyday materials (such as platforms, tables, chairs, tablecloths, plates, and napkins) in this room and involved the audience in its production. The artists explored several ideas current at the time within the CNPA and the Multimedia Program: first, to diminish the distance bwtween high art and everyday life; second, to create a performance-oriented work in which the audience participates in its production; and finally, to encourage fellow students in the visual, performing, and liberal arts to rethink the

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possibilities proposed by site-specific work that challenge traditional notions regarding form, presentation, and materials used in the production of an art work.

One of the most important events of the CNPA's five-year period occurred during fall 1970 when Robert Wilson went to the university to produce Deafman Glance. Wilson was the CNPA's first artist in residence. William Hibbard's correspondence to his colleagues regarding Deafman Glance expresses his great sense of enthusiasm and anticipation for the new work. In Hibbard's letter of 26 October 1970 to the theater and dance faculty announcing Wilson's new dance-play, the director expressed the thought that Deafman Glance would attract national attention to the university as well as to its Theatre and Dance programs.[63] Hibbard expected the new Iowa production by the Byrd Hoffman School of Birds (the name Wilson used for his inner group) to achieve the same success as had Wilson's most recent work The Life and Times of Sigmund Freud (1969). In fact Hibbard's prediction proved correct: Deafman Glance had a very successful subsequent showing in New York and an even more successful reception at the World Theatre Festival in Nancy, France. From there Deafman Glance became an international tour de force as it traveled to Rome, Paris, and Amsterdam.

Wilson's stay at the university during the fall semester is vividly recalled by Hans Breder and Mel Andringa, each of whom worked closely with Wilson.[64] The then twenty-seven-year old director resided in an old farmhouse that he turned into an intermedia community where students, faculty, residents from Iowa City, and a few performers from New York City discussed the ways in which art and life could be fused.[65] Breder said that while Wilson was there, intermedia experiments were continual and the group lived the art/life question instead of pondering it.[66] Wilson taught a noncredit workshop everyday which many intermedia and multimedia students attended. The workshop sessions became rehearsals for Deafman Glance as well as for Handbill, an intermedia performance event that preceded it.

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In the workshop sessions, Wilson taught body movement and body awareness. All of Wilson's work to date involved getting people to discover, or rediscover, their own particular vocabulary of movement.[67] He put his philosophy to the test in workshops in which people (such as Ana Mendieta) learned to crawl across the stage on their stomachs or walk with their hands and feet in the role of sheep. Mel Andringa also remembers S. K. Dunn's important role in teaching dance movement to the casts of Handbill (Appendix 2) and Deafman Glance (Appendix 3). She had had a lot of movement experience which included working with Wilson in the film Watermill (1969). The film illustrated a "7 Part Movement" that Wilson and Dunn developed to teach the participant to concentrate on something other than the moving body. They believed the exercises would help a person develop a personal approach to working with one's own body. In one of Wilson's early talks to students and faculty at the School of Art, Dunn performed the seven part movement at the same time the film was shown. She then taught the series of movements to the cast who practiced these as warm-ups before rehearsals. The series was incorporated into Handbill as well as Deafman Glance. The exercise, intended to increase the body energy level through the repetition of the seven parts, also emphasizes the importance of being concentrated and relaxed while moving.[68] The seven parts consisted of simple and carefully detailed movements that were repeated over and over.

Handbill was an intermedia performance event presented on 21 November in the Museum of Art. Conceived and directed by Wilson during the rehearsal period for Deafman Glance, the site-specific work consisted of a succession of tableaux, music, and slow movements. As in Deafman Glance, Wilson used mostly nonprofessional people from the university community. The work, which was divided into four sections, occupied most of the floor space in the museum: the first section took place in the museum's lower sculpture court, the second on the main floor where the audience moved about viewing a number of independent activities and scenes, the third in the lower gallery and auditorium where viewers saw Wilson's film Watermill, the fourth back on the main floor. Some of

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the scenes also took place outside the museum. Many of the visual elements were drawn from earlier works.[69] Andringa and Tom Macaulay, who were in both of Wilson's productions, still recall the powerful visual imagery created in Handbill. Macaulay, dressed as a fisherman with a fish on the end of his line, was outside the museum. The audience saw his vignette before entering the museum. Another outdoor scene involved a performer portraying Medea on a sheet on the ground, a scene the audience could glimpse only through a window. Inside the museum there were many unusual eye-catching scenes, choreographed movements, and set designs. Several such scenes included a woman moving on top of a motorized extension ladder, a flute player creating a sound environment, figures dressed in fur coats and ten gallon hats carrying blocks of ice while bouncing on long boards to the music "Alley Cat."[70] The floor in one of the galleries was covered with hay; its space was divided into parallel zones with wire. Not only were the galleries utilized for performance space, but some of the objects in the collection became props. For example, strange-looking fish from the Mississippi River were placed on silver plates in the decorative objects collection.

Handbill functioned as a prelude for those in the cast who continued in the larger stage performance of Deafman Glance. Ana Mendieta was one of the students who was rigorously trained during daily rehearsals for the difficult movements designed for the elaborate production.[71] Andringa, who became a production coordinator and assistant stage manager for Deafman Glance, recalls the pre-rehearsal periods. The participants warmed up by doing a combination of free dance exercises and the seven-part movement in a darkened room. The room was kept dark so that the participants would concentrate on their own movements. Over time they developed long periods of concentration. Andy de Groot, Wilson's choreographer, often led the dance rehearsals where he often did a spinning exercise. Once he began spinning, many followed him. Near the end of the period, S. K. Dunn initiated a more directed movement in which people followed certain exercises such as falling down, rolling over, and so forth. At that point the group's

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movement took the form of a choreographed activity. When Dunn finished, the exhausted group would take a long rest period before Wilson began rehearsals which he always started in a very quiet voice.[72]

Deafman Glance was a three-hour piece based on a series of images around a young African-American, deaf-mute. His fantasies and dreams are the basis of the events on stage. When Deafman Glance opened at the Brooklyn Academy of Music the following February, the Village Voice wrote that it was a "gorgeously orchestrated vision of a reality in which the mythical and ordinary, the fantastic and banal, accret and flourish. ... The vastness of the stage is filled with angels, dancers, birdwomen, frogs, apes, eyes, fish, children."[73] In its review of Wilson's New York work, Variety described the theater piece -- with almost no dialogue -- as one that relies on movement, spatial relationships, and stage effects. The reviewer commented that the nonprofessionals had been rehearsed with drill-master precision, and their total concentration on the rhythmic and pictorial subtleties of the work was simply amazing. By all accounts the Iowa production was equally remarkable.

Mendieta was one of the students who undoubtedly benefited from her training in movement and dance. She was one of the Grey Figures who crawled across the stage on her stomach pulling her body with her arms in by inch. It seems that Mendieta's concentration, grace and self-possession, as well as her stamina -- all characteristics evident in her later performance body pieces -- owe a good deal to the specialized training she received during these months of performance for Wilson's two productions.

The Center for New Performing Art invited John Freeman to do an installation at the end of the fall semester. The artist did Empathy Generator, a site-specific work that was on view at the Museum of Art from December to early January 1971. It was an unusual piece in that it carried and dripped a red liquid simulating blood through a network of clear tubes.[74] Dan De Prenger, then an undergraduate, was hired as Freeman's assistant.[75] He helped construct the multiple elements of the installation. De Prenger

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recalls that he built a room for the Empathy Generator in the off- campus studios that was later moved into one of the museum's galleries and reassembled there. In the center of the room a globe was suspended from the ceiling by a cable. A red bloodlike liquid ran over the globe through a series of clear tubes (that were attached to the cable) into a cylindrical tank below it. The room contained a small circular area that accommodated a small audience. The entrance to the room was built to fit into the seating area. When the audience was seated, the circular unit rolled into the entrance, creating a sealed area for the audience. There were two projection scenes with a sound track on two of the walls in this enclosed space.[76] According to De Prenger, the piece was intended as a political commentary on the war in Vietnam. During Freeman's residency at the university, he showed slides of his work, some of which were Plexiglas cubes filled with blood. In an art poster announcing the exhibition "John Freeman Blood Systems" at the Reese Palley Gallery, the artist is photographed standing on the ground with his shadow falling behind him and a pool of blood in front of him.[77] I believe Freeman's installation as well as his other works with calf's blood provided Mendieta with some ideas for using blood as a medium in her later work.[78]

3. Explorations in Body Work and Performance, Spring 1971 through Spring 1972

Body art is a current term used to describe work in which artists use their own bodies as both subject and object of their work. Body art combines aspects of sculpture, performance, process, and conceptualism. Ana Mendieta began to use her body as the subject of her work beginning in 1972. She called her work "pieces," a term commonly used by contemporary artists at the time who became known for their body works, body sculpture, and corporal art as the terms were being defined in the critical literature in the early to mid-1970s.[79] Mendieta's introduction to body art, and hence her exploration of it,

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originated in the Multimedia Program, in part, out of response to Breder's own interest in the body as sculptural material. Breder's work of this period-- with nude females and mirrors -- exemplifies his interest along these lines. As the figure shifts and moves, new anatomical images with multiple arms and legs are reflected through optical illusions.[80] Breder's human kinetic work provided him with a new sculptural language with which to investigate real and virtual space. It also responded to some of the newer interests in ephemeral materials which could be produced and viewed in a variety of site-specific locations. Being performance-oriented, Breder's body sculptures fit into the collaborative performance work under investigation by the CNPA. In the early 1970s, Mendieta often performed in Breder's pieces.

Body art came to assume an important position in Breder's own teaching and classroom discussions, as well as in the work of some of his students. He advanced two notions: one that performance is a collaboration among poets, musicians, filmmakers, and artists on a given piece; the other that the body can be used as sculptural material in an art work.[81] Breder's interest in sculptural body works found varied responses in his students' works. In Dan De Prenger's first semester in Multimedia in fall 1970, he did Environment I (fig. 50), an impermanent sculptural piece consisting of a mannequin's leg and neon tubes. The work responded in large part to Breder's body segmented sculptural pieces.[82]

In all probability Breder first talked about the new possibilities of the "body" as an element in art in his multimedia classes as early as spring or fall 1970. However, he remembers formally introducing the subject of body art after Willoughby Sharp introduced it in a series of workshops at the university in spring 1971.[83] From that point Breder kept the new developments center stage on the front burner, so to speak, throughout the 1970s. De Prenger, Jordan, and Bloes recall Breder always talked about the body--as an object, a surface, a material stripped of autobiographical references. They were immersed in these

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developments through information that Breder and fellow students introduced by way of written and visual material as well as in the presentation of students' work.[84]

Breder did not teach in a theoretical manner, rather, in his role as studio artist, he taught by example. He introduced his students to the work of a number of important European artists including Marcel Duchamp, Yves Klein, Piero Manzoni, the Viennese Actionists Guenter Brus, Otto Muehl, Hermann Nitsch, and Rudolf Schwarzkogler -- all of whom used the bodies in their art in diverse manners.[85] Duchamp did some seminal works with respect to gender transformation; examples include L.H.O.O.Q., Rrose Sélavy, and Belle Haleine, Eau de Violette. He also did several works in which his own physiognomy was reconfigured or redesigned by cosmetic changes that he initiated: including Monte Carlo Bond and Duchamp Tonsured (by Georges de Zayas). Artists who succeeded Duchamp followed his lead and further investigated ways that the human body could become a material surface for art. In Paris Klein painted the bodies of human models who in turn made imprints of themselves on canvases. Manzoni signed his name on the body of a nude woman, thereby identifying her as the art object. In Vienna in the early to mid-1960s, Muehl and Nitsch held public actions with human performers, slaughtered animals, and animal intestines and blood. Brus cut into himself as if his body were a material such as canvas. He also used vomit and defecation as part of his performances. Schwarzkogler (1940-1969) also created body actions by cutting into his own flesh and that of his model.[86] Multimedia students still remember seeing current copies of Avalanche in the Multimedia studio as well as the Documenta 5 catalogue for the exhibition (30 June to 8 October 1972) in Kassel which illustrated a full page of one of Schwarzkogler's actions which featured a model with his penis bandaged and apparently mutilated.[87] Avalanche contained a steady stream of articles on body artists during its years of publication (fall 1970 to summer 1976). Documenta 5 enumerated the photographs, films, and videos of many young American artists including Vito Acconci, Larry Fox, Barry Le Va, Lucas

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Samaras, Bruce Nauman, Keith Sonnier, and Dennis Oppenheim, whose conceptual works were concurrently written about in U.S. art magazines.

The notion of the "body" was explored in new and diverse ways in an all-day film and video program organized by the CNPA. On 22 March 1971 the university's annual Refocus Program presented a festival of films and videos--some by established filmmakers and works-in-progress by faculty and students.[88] In conjunction with Refocus, the CNPA organized an additional program of film and video events that were "aimed at extending the performance and conceptual possibilities of these media."[89] The March production was considered one of the highlights of the CNPAs first academic year, 1970/71.[90] The Refocus multimedia program proceeded as follows. The Iowa Memorial Union building became a screen for an all-day show of films by faculty and students of the human anatomy that were projected on different parts of the "body" of the building. For example, in different places and at specified times the film Brain and Behavior was shown on the ticket window of the box office. The film The Nervous System was projected on a panel of light switches in the second-floor lobby. The film Muscular Contraction under the Microscope was shown on the uniforms of people working in the kitchen. The Endocrine Glands was shown on the cream dispensing machines in the cafeteria line in the River Room, and so forth.[91]

Aside from the presentation of films on anatomy, there were two additional programs shown in the Ballroom of the Union in the all-day program (from 2 to 11 pm). One consisted of pieces by faculty, associates, and students; the other by the art critic in residence Willoughby Sharp. Franklyn Miller, a staff associate in film/video, showed a piece featuring a videotape-delayed image of the performance space that was projected into the same space.[92] Hans Breder did Voces II (fig. 51), a film projection piece with Ana Mendieta, Jane (Noble) Hedricks, Dan De Prenger, Ted Jordan, and six others performers.[93] The film showed the hands of a person manipulating the movable parts of an articulated wooden mannequin, the kind artists use in their works. A live actor described

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the positions of the mannequin to eight performers who face away from the film toward the audience. According to the actor's verbal instructions, the performers attempted to replicate the mannequin's movements. Toward the middle of the piece, a prerecorded sound track of the actor's voice replaced his live instructions. The voice on the sound track had been manipulated so that the instructions became unclear and untimately indeciferable to the performers who had been trying to follow them.[94] When Anselm Hollo wrote about the piece at the time, he said that there was a sense of entropy resulting from the breakdown of information as it passes from the live voice of the actor to the voice on the tape to the movements of the performers. "Thus what begins by looking and sounding like a parody of a chain of command (military and otherwise) ends in refreshing chaos."[95]

In the second part of the show, Willoughby Sharp, a cutting-edge critic from New York, presented a series of films and videotapes of recent body works, earth works, and other work by major American and European artists. Sharp's presentation of this new material introduced a category of artistic work that was generally not yet known in the visual and performing arts community at the university.

During the time of the Refocus program, Willoughby Sharp had been invited by the CNPA as a critic in residence to give a series of workshops. At the time Sharp was becoming known in avant-garde circles through his promotion of kinetic art, air art, and more recently conceptual art of which body work was considered an offshoot. Hans Breder met Sharp in New York in the late 1960s and participated in the exhibition "Kineticism: Systems Sculpture in Environmental Situations" that Sharp organized 1968 at the University Museum of Art and Science in Mexico City. A few months prior to Sharp's residency at the university, he published the first issue of the art magazine Avalanche, a quarterly that heralded the new trends in body works. When David Bourdon wrote about body artists in a 1973 article, he referred to Sharp as the movement's "most assiduous promoter."[96] Many former students and CNPA staff still remember Sharp and the general thrust of his lectures in the workshops. Franklyn Miller recalls that the CNPA staff valued

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Sharp because he was considered an important vector in disseminating knowledge of some of the recent artistic modes. Similar to Perrault, Haacke, Kaprow, Strider, Burton, and Wilson, all of whom lectured or performed at the university within the previous two years, Sharp also provided a new body of knowledge with respect to the latest developments in contemporary modes.

Sharp did not leave lecture notes identifying the artists or titles of their works or the films and videos he showed.[97] However, his first article on body works provides a good reference for the kinds of information he most likely shared with the students who attended his workshops.[98] Using the article "Body Works" as a guide, in addition to specific recollections of people who attended the workshops, we can assume that students heard about and saw examples of work by Bruce McLean, Bruce Nauman, Dennis Oppenheim, Terry Fox, Larry Smith, Vito Acconci, Keith Sonnier, Dan Graham, William Wegman, Barry Le Va, and Richard Long, among others.[99] In the article, Sharp discussed artists who explored their own body as sculptural material and used it as tool, place, prop, corpse, and found object.

In discussing the body as sculptural material, Sharp would have had visual material for the following artists whose works were illustrated in the magazine. Bruce Nauman did Making Faces, a now famous series of holograms in which the artist distorts his face. William Wegman's Eleven Toothpick Expressions consists of eleven photographs documenting the artist with toothpicks stuck in his gums. Dennis Oppenheim repeatedly rolled the underside of his right forearm over some wire in Arm & Wire, leaving an imprint on his flesh. The six-minute piece was documented on 16 mm film. Terry Fox did a three-part piece titled Asbestos Tracking (18 May 1970) before his opening at the Reese Palley Gallery in San Francisco. In one part, the artist skipped around the gallery leaving a broken line of black foot marks on the concrete floor. Larry Smith cut a six-inch long Line (1970) into his left arm, causing harm to the flesh. Vito Acconci performed Hand and Mouth (1970) in which he repeatedly put his hand down his mouth until he gagged.

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Although these artists referred to their work as actions, events, performances, pieces, and things, Sharp used the term "body work" to describe the work in which the artist's body is both the subject and object of the work. Body work was generally executed in the privacy of the artist's studio and documented by means of photographs, films, and videotapes.

In presenting the notion of the body as a tool, as a marking instrument, the critic would have shown works by Dennis Oppenheim. Similar to Richard Long, who had done a series of works in which he used his feet to mark a space on the ground in an English Meadow, Oppenheim also used his feet to make marks. Two Jumps for Dead Dog Creek, March 1970, and Ground Level, 1970, were among a dozen works in which the artist ran on soft ground leaving his footprints which he then made into plaster casts. The film Back Track, 1969, illustrates Oppenheim's body being dragged along the sand to make marks. Sharp pointed out the interesting similarities of Oppenheim's piece and Yves Klein's Imprints, 1961. It seems likely that he showed work by Barry Le Va who did a piece in which he repeatedly ran into one of the walls at full speed at the La Jolla Museum.

In Sharp's discussions of artists who use their body as place, as a ground marked in ways quite similar to those employed in earthworks, the critic probably spoke about Oppenheim's Reading Position for Second Degree Burn, 1970.[100] The work was quite remarkable in that the artist exposed his body to the sun for five hours. During that time, he covered parts of his body with a book which left marks on his skin when it was moved from one position to another. Oppenheim commented that he allowed himself to be painted -- his skin became pigment.[101] Sharp would have talked about similar kinds of work being done by Vito Acconci and Larry Smith. In Acconci's film Rubbing Piece, for example, the artist rubbed his left forearm for an hour until he had a sore. He documented the piece by taking a color photo of his arm every five minutes.

In Sharp's discussions of artists who use their body as a prop or as a backdrop in relation to other physical objects, the critic may have referred to Joseph Beuys who succeeded in transforming his body into an object, albeit a human object. In How to

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Explain a Painting to a Dead Hare, 1965, Beuys paints his face gold and sits immobile on a stool cradling a dead rabbit in his left arm. The piece became "a living tableaux with Bueys as a frozen statue."[102]

Considering the fact that Mendieta later used her body as a cadaver in many pieces beginning in 1973, it is interesting to note that Sharp provided examples of this genre in contemporary body work in the Avalanche article. Therein, for example, Sharp wrote about Yves Klein, who did several works in which he lay outstetched pretending to be dead, and Keith Arnatt's Self-Burial, 1969.[103] In the latter, the artist stood on a patch of ground and slowly sank into the earth.

Sharp would have discussed the work of artists who were extending Duchamp's idea of the "found object" into the notions of the found body or the body in normal circumstances. Almost all of the artists written about in Avalanche tested their bodies and thus their endurance to some extreme degree. When Bruce Nauman was a graduate student at the University of California at Davis, he began to do a performance resembling calisthenics for thirty minutes during which time he put himself through a series of bodily exercises such as standing, leaning, bending, squatting, sitting, and lying down.[104] He continued this investigation in a series of straightforward activities which he filmed with a 16mm camera. Multimedia students, who also attended Sharp's workshops, most likely saw Nauman's films, such as Bouncing 2 Balls between the Floor and Ceiling with Changing Rhythms, 1968; Playing a Note on the Violin While I Walk around the Studio, 1968: and Dance or Exercise on the Perimeter of a Square, 1968. In all of these films the artist was engaged in everyday activities in which he moved from one set of movements to another in a totally unselfconscious manner, giving an appearance of studied relaxation.

Sharp's introduction to Vito Acconci's work was the first of many subsequent opportunities students had to become familiar with his innovations. Acconci had been a student in the Writer's Workshop at the University of Iowa; he was a visiting artist in 1974; and then in 1976 he taught Beder's Multimedia classes for a semester. Acconci was

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also the subject of many articles in Avalanche. In spring 1971, students most likely were introduced to such works as Breathing Piece, 1969, in which the artist concentrates on breathing as a unique bodily function; and Following Piece, 1969, in which Acconci picked a different person at random each day and followed that person until he/she entered a private place. He continued this activity everyday for one month.[105]

The subject of body art was formally introduced in these workshop lectures. Multimedia students who were interested in pursuing the multiple possibilites that body art offered could learn about artists' work in any number of ways during the subsequent years. Mendieta was introduced to some of these new modes in Sharp's series of workshops in spring 1971; however, at that time, she was still focused principally on painting. Beginning the next semester, her classroom interests slowly began to shift. As will become apparent, her knowledge of body art and its extension into performance deepened over the next several years.

In fall 1971 there were several performances in which Multimedia students did work involving the body as subject and object of their work. "Midway," presented on 23 October at the University of Iowa Museum of Art was one such event. The CNPA presented sixteen interdisciplinary works in the Museum of Art, among which were bodyworks, events derived from I-Ching, video-sculpture, environmental music, dance pieces, and other synaesthetic activities.[106] The Museum of Art had been used by Wilson to perform Handbill the previous year, and since that time the museum's director Ulfert Wilke, had remained sympathetic to having student -faculty performances there. Mendieta had the opportunity to see some of the multimedia and intermedia students in high gear. The intermedia class -- all five of its members -- collaborated on Banquet (fig. 52), a sculpture tableau which was presented in the Print Room. Dan De Prenger, who was part of that collaboration, remembers that the intermedia students conceptualized each aspect of the piece.[107] Two nude performers (members of the class), wrapped in cellophane, sat motionless at opposite ends of an elegantly set table with silver objects from the museum's

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collections between them. There are several ideas motivating this exploration. Breder's work on the body as sculpture, the body as living theater, is evident in the students' realization. So too, according to Dennis Swanson, were George Segal's sculptural environments with plaster figures, as well as Christo's wrapped objects, including those of live women in plastic.[108]

Chris Parker's Projection was another unusual and bold piece presented in October in CNPA production. Parker, who had taken a class in Multimedia II the previous year (December 1970), was an associate in the CNPA at the time. He did a one hour performance piece that attempted "to make a concrete metaphor out of the relationship between film and sculpture, using the human body a vehicle."[109] Parker had made a steel structure. five feet in length, that was projected horizontally through the window of a projection booth in the auditorium. (The steel stucture was secured inside the booth so that it would support the weight of Parker's body without sagging.) Parker's body was then placed on the structure with the steel supports running underneath his clothes up to his neck to support his weight. The body, which projects horizontally into the room, appeared to be suspended in space. Once the body was in place, the film projector was turned on in the booth so that the light shone across Parker's body, casting a shadow of the projected figure onto the screen. Parker "considered that the piece was both a film and a piece of sculpture."[110] Parker inverted the normal relationship of the surface and the wall. Macaulay commented that the viewer's position relative to the wall was peculiar because Parker's body appeared to be standing on it. Parker seems to be incorporating certain interests of Breder's vis à vis the professor's use of projection in his body sculptures. However, Parker had already had considerable experience in filmmaking which he brought to bear in this piece.[111] He was also very interested in Oppenheim's work at the time.[112] In his piece, Parker incorporated prevalent notions of putting the body through stress, of using the body--stripped of autobiographical content--as an object, as material upon which to enact a scene.

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Dennis Swanson was another student in that group who attempted in his performances to juxtapose concepts and materials from two or more fields of study in his art. Swanson's The Penguin: as a Domestic was a performance piece presented on the patio outside of the main entrance to the museum. Briefly described, Swanson, dressed in a tuxedo, set off a mechanical toy penguin on top of a table. When the penguin, dressed in a tuxedo with tails, waddled around, it knocked over the miniature furniture on the table top. Each time the penguin fell, Swanson picked it up, wound it again, and then set it back on the table until all of the furniture got knocked over. During that performance, Dan De Prenger imitated bird calls. Swanson said he devised the piece with references to Duchamp's, "I live the life of a waiter;" and Claude Levi-Strauss's notion of the artist as magician.[113]

Toward the end of that fall semester, faculty and students participated in 3 Evenings in the Studio Theatre organized by the CNPA in cooperation with the University Theater.[114] On one of those evenings Ted Jordan, who was in the same multimedia class with Mendieta, did Tag. Jordan's performance piece embraces some of the current explorations by body artists such as Nauman, Oppenheim, Acconci, and Chris Burden, all of whom were devising pieces that put their bodies through unusual stress. Jordan's description of his pieces states that three partially clothed figures, two males and one female, performed a game of tag in a 10 by 10 foot space. Through the participants' movements, they intended to express their ambivalence toward each other. Throughout the performance, each tries to avoid the other in the tag game. Each relates to the other in both an aggressive and passive manner. "Because of the participants' ambivalent attitudes, the actual movements are neither highly competitive nor apathetic but evenly paced and sly. Consequently, the piece, and [which incorporated the] original concept of competitive 'tag' is reduced to its bare essentials; simultaneous[ly] contrived yet uncalculated movement and ambivalent (ambisexual) interaction among three living objects."[115] In the second performance of Three Evenings, Chris Parker and three other performers presented Zone. In that work a

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performer cut his hair off his check and shaved the zone clear. Simultaneously two other performers tied the ends of a rope from which they suspended a dead pigeon around their chests.[116]

Although Mendieta did not document any pieces during her first Multimedia course (fall 1971), she did an ephemeral work, possibly from that time, that is still remembered by some of her peers. In attempting to adopt some of the notions advanced by artists whose "body works" are discussed earlier in this chapter, she did a piece in which her body functioned as a place, a receptacle. Mendieta put a bean in one of her nostrils which began to sprout after a week or two.[117] Apparently the new growth caused problems in her sinuses, so she had to have it removed.[118]

In spring 1972 Mendieta stopped painting and began to produce a new body of work for the Multimedia course that is as engaging in its transformative aspects as any of her later work. Judging from her extant body of documented work, she took up the battle cry in Multimedia, plunging head-on into an experimental environment that encouraged new ideas, forms, and ways of seeing and being.[119] Similar to her colleagues in the program, Mendieta kept informed of new developments in body, conceptual, and earth art as these were written about in the art magazines and discussed in classes and among fellow students. Mendieta's new work indicates that she looked very closely at Marcel Duchamp's Rrose Sélavy, Haleine, Eau de Violette, and L.H.O.O.Q., three key examples, among others, of the Dada artist's gender performances in photography.[120] Several other Duchampian works also engaged the young artist's attention as she searched for ways to incorporate some of his notions [or premises] into her pieces. Mendieta also responded to specific works by Bruce Nauman and Vito Acconci, two artists, among others, who were influenced by Duchamp. At this time, as well as for the next several years, Multimedia students often discussed Duchamp's work, his ideas, and his impact on a new generation of artists.[121] For example, Sharp had recently written on Duchamp's influence on Nauman and Acconci in his 1970 "Body Works" article: "One extension of Duchamp's found object

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is the found body or the body in normal circumstances. While Duchamp recognized the integrity and power of ordinary ready-made objects and their aesthetic relevance, a number of artists have presented simple physical functions like breathing and sneeezing as works of art."[122] In all probability, the visiting critic related similar thoughts in his lecture series at the University of Iowa. According to the recollections of former Multimedia students, these ideas were very much in the air when Mendieta skillfully wove elements from Duchamp, Nauman, and Acconci into her pieces. Because of the nature of Mendieta's transformations of other artists' works, it is sometimes difficult to pinpoint the precise nature of her borrowings or adaptations.

Mendieta's pieces from spring 1972 explore the possibilities for identity change, remapping, reconfiguring, and re-presenting the artist's physiognomy. In each performance-oriented piece, she transforms her facial features, thereby recreating a transgressive self-portrait. Facial Cosmetic Variations (Self-Portraits with Hosiery Stocking Pulled over Head and Face) (fig. 53) consists of nine poses, each of which documents the young artist's face, which is distorted by a nylon stocking (woman's hosiery) pulled over it. In some of the works she uses a ripped stocking, which adds a strange surface texture to the head shot. In other shots she wears a blond wig and in others a dark brown one. In two shots she has heavy, dark makeup on her face. These alterations change her appearance from her usual look in which her makeup-free face with its lighter complexion was framed by her long, straight dark hair. The notion of making up her face for Facial Cosmetic Variations may well have been prompted by Nauman's earlier series Art Makeup No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 1967-68, in which the artist applied different-colored makeup (white, pink, green, and black) to his head, neck, shoulders, and upper torso.[123]

Nauman did another piece that was well known at the time and had an impact on Mendieta. In Nauman's Making Faces, the artist grotesquely distorted the features of his face by pulling and squeezing his lips and cheeks with his hands. Mendieta, who was familiar with Nauman's Making Faces, evidently considered the series when she conceived

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Glass on Body Imprints (fig. 42).[124] In her extensive series of shots, she pressed her face and body parts against a piece of Plexiglas, thereby violently distorting her features.[125] She had 35mm shots taken of this piece in her apartment and then showed the series to the Multimedia class.[126] Mendieta liked this piece because she performed it a year later in a Multimedia and CNPA event in March 1973, at which time it was listed in the brochure as the Door Piece. (see Chapter 4). Mendieta was not the only artistic experimenter to make works featuring temporary physical changes to the artist's body; several professional artists were also exploring similar ideas. That same year, for example, William Wegman did Family Combinations, 1972, which features six self-portraits, each of which is distinguished by a different facial feature: nose, hair, eyes, or chin.[127] Another work that seems to be informed by Nauman's Making Faces is Hannah Wilke's series of facial expressions, Gestures, 1974-76.[128] In the individual shots the artist gently manipulates her face with her hands, forming gestures rather than distortions--a stance appropriate to an artist who explored and critiqued the nature of beauty in her work.

With the aid of makeup and latex, Mendieta did a disturbing piece in which she appears with scars on her face. The three different poses reveal the artist with her eyes closed, a long, deep scar on her right check, and a small scar above her left eyebrow (fig. 54). This untitled, undated, and unsigned work fits into the kinds of explorations she did in spring 1972, probably around the time of Facial Cosmetic Variations (Self-Portraits with Hosiery Stocking Pulled over Head and Face) and Glass on Body Imprints.[129] I believe Mendieta was responding to pieces that some of the male body artists did when they inflicted harm on their bodies. For example, Vito Acconci rubbed his arm until a sore appeared (Rubbing Piece, 1970); Chris Burden had someone shoot him in the arm (Shoot, 1971); William Wegman stuck toothpicks into his gums (Eleven Toothpick Expressions, aka Souix, 1970); Larry Smith cut a six-inch-long line into his arm (Line, 1970). Although Mendieta did not inflict injury on her body as some of the male body artists did, she responded to their verve.[130] Using her body as a field to act upon,

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Mendieta simulated bodily harm in a dramatic piece that projects disfiguration to her face. Although no one recalls this piece today, it jolts our expectations regarding the presentation of one of our most cherished features, the face. This untitled piece is the first in a subsequent series (1973) investigating bodily injury as a theme in her art.

Mendieta did two perfomance pieces descriptively titled Facial Hair Transplants in which she transferred the facial hair from a friend's face onto hers. In the first performance Mendieta is in the Multimedia classroom seated at a table before a mirror. The piece begins by applying paste to her upper lip (fig. 55). This occurs when Morty Sklar, a friend, stands next to her, and simultaneously begins by cutting hairs off his beard. As he removes his hairs, she applies them to her upper lip until she forms a moustache (fig. 56). In a second performance the process is repeated so that Mendieta winds up with a beard. This time however, Mendieta attaches Sklar's hairs from his beard to form a beard on her face (fig. 57). At the end of the piece Mendieta and Sklar are photographed together--she with a beard and he without one (fig. 58).

Evidently Mendieta performed these pieces with the thought of incorporating the images of herself with a beard and moustache in her thesis Self-Portraits for her Master of Arts degree in painting that same spring semester (1972).[131] The thesis consists of three silk-screen images of the artist's face.[132] One is Self-Portrait with Beard; another Self-Portrait; and the third Self-Portrait with Moustache. Although the original work is no longer extant, photocopies of the images of the artist with beard and moustache are slightly different from the ones she documented in the series Facial Hair Transplants.[133] In changing her own appearance from a female to a male, by adding hair to her face, Mendieta responds to two of Duchamp's best known gender transformations. One is the L.H.O.O.Q in which the artist changes the image of the Mona Lisa from female to male by adding a moustache and beard. The other is Rrose Sélavy, a photograph taken by Man Ray of Duchamp dressed as a woman.

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In Mendieta's "Thesis Statement," she stated her interest in hair, noted several examples of people for whom hair had special significance, acknowleged Duchamp's Mona Lisa as the source for her work, and described her process piece in which she transferred Morty Sklar's facial hair onto her face. (Appendix 4) Her brief text (of about 250 words) begins with the following thought: "Hair has always fascinated me. The way it grows, where it grows and the significance past civilizations placed on it."[134]

In the following paragraph she provided some historical antecedents, mentioning various symbolic functions of hair: "The [E]gyptian priests shaved their hair as a sign of celibacy and sexual abstinence, as a symbol of self-castration. Samson lost his strength when Delilah cut his hair. The American Cheyenne Indians scalped enemies to proof (sic) their bravery and manhood. Catholic priests wear a tonsure as a symbol of celibacy. Even after death hair grows and does not decay."[135] Much of the material in this paragraph was paraphrased from a passage in Arturo Schwarz's The Complete Works by Marcel Duchamp. The brief text accompanies the 1921 photo of the artist with his hair shaved like a five-pointed star. The text in the catalogue raisonné reads: "In a photo taken in 1921, Duchamp's hair, at the back of the head, is shaved in a star-like fashion--a style which recalls the tonsure of Catholic priests. 'The sacerdotal sacrifice of men's hair is an ancient mark of priesthood, from the baldness of Egyptian hierophants to the tonsure of Catholic priests and Buddhist monks. Notwithstanding the great disparities of religious views, hairlessness is always associated with sexual abstinence and celibacy, i.e., with symbolic self-castration.' "[136]

In Mendieta's third paragraph, she introduces the reader to Duchamp's transformation of the Mona Lisa. "In 1919, Marcel Duchamp drew a moustache and a beard to a color reproduction of the Mona Lisa. He stated: "The curious thing about that moustache and goatee is that when you look at it the Mona Lisa becomes a man. It is not a woman disguised as a man. It is a real man, and that was my discovery, without realizing it at the time.[137]

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She then informed her reader of her source for the thesis project. Mendieta wrote:

> As an extension of Duchamp's piece, I asked my friend Morty Sklar to cut his beard off and give me the hairs." In writing about the notion of transference and its meaning, she explained: "What I did was to transfer his beard to my face. By transfer I mean to take an object from one place and to put it in another. I like the idea of transferring hair from one person to another because I think it gives me that person's strength. After looking at myself in a mirror, the beard became real. It did not look like a disguise. It became a part of myself and not at all unnatural to my appearance.

She concluded by saying: "For my thesis I submit three self portraits. One with Morty's beard, one with Morty's moustache, (done through the same process as the beard,) and a plain one to illustrate the above statements."

Mendieta provided her committee with the citation for Duchamp's quotation in which the artist commented on the way he viewed the Mona Lisa once she had a beard and moustache. However, Mendieta did not credit her source for some of the ideas she gleaned from reading the short text in Schwarz's catalogue raisonné on hair and its role in celibacy, sexual abstinence, and self-castration. It is difficult to know if Mendieta was intentionally or unintentionally negligent in failing to cite the Schwarz material. Nevertheless, it seems she did not want to bring attention to the fact that she was closely examining the range of Duchamp's transformative portraits which provided her with several ideas she incorporated into her work at the time.

In her "Thesis Statement" she focused almost exclusively on the role of hair as an empowering element. She evidently did not wish to elaborate on the issue of gender switching, which she suggests once she adds a moustache and beard to her own face. Not only was she subversively responding to the masculinizing of the Da Vinci icon, but Mendieta was also responding to Duchamp's feminizing of his persona as Rrose Sélavy, whom she also did not refer to in her "Thesis Statement."[138]

Mendieta's Self-Portraits were also grounded in an understanding of Vito Acconci's Conversions, 1971-72, in which he attempts to transform his male body into a female.[139]

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The Acconci piece, well known at the time among Multimedia students, had three parts. In Conversions 1, Acconci burns his hair off his chest with a candle until his chest is hairless. Then he attempts to form women's breasts out of his own. In Conversions 2, Acconci performed a series of three-minute exercies before a fixed camera. He walked, ran, bended over, lifted his leg, and did sit-ups, all the while attempting to keep his penis out of sight between his legs. In Conversions 3, Acconci pushes his penis between his legs. A woman takes his penis into her mouth as he attempts to carry out the same exercises described in Conversions 2. The camera person, who functions as a voyeur, shoots a close-up of the artist from the front who appears to have no penis. In this close-up view of Acconci, the woman who is kneeling behind him is not visible. In the artist's words: "I become the woman I've cancelled out."[140]

Despite the fact that Mendieta was intrigued by Duchamp's ideas regarding sexual transformation, she did not elaborate on that aspect of his performative pieces in her "Thesis Statement." It stands to reason, then, that she would not have wished to refer to Acconci's gender transformation piece, which would have further removed her work from the context of the work being produced in the painting area. Since Mendieta's thesis supervisor, Bryon Burford, was head of the painting area, I believe that Mendieta did not want to admit to exploring concepts germane to the Multimedia area and, by extension, to contemporary artists whose body works were peripheral to the work being done in painting.

Mendieta did a final piece in spring 1972 which brings her dialogue with Duchamp full circle. Facial Cosmetic Variations ("Self-Portraits with Suds in Hair") is directly inspired by Monte Carlo Bond, one of Duchamp's performative pieces which in all likelihood she came to know in Schwarz's Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp.[141] In the 1924 work, Man Ray photographed his friend Marcel Duchamp with shampoo in his hair. The foam was shaped like two horns on top of Duchamp's head. Mendieta's theatrical responses feature five color 35mm slides.[142] In one of the shots, her hair is twisted in front

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of her forehead; in another, it is twisted on top of her head; in yet two others, her hair forms a weblike mass over her face (fig. 59). Mendieta's inventive pieces prompts us to think about the conceptual performances with hair by Janine Antoni. Loving Care, 1992-95, for example, is one of many private rituals that the artist performs by using parts of her own body--her teeth, mouth, hair, eyelash--as the implements with which she sculpts, paints, and draws the gallery floor with her dye-soaked hair. Loving Care is a performance "in which Antoni slowly and methodically mops or paints the entire gallery floor with her dye-soaked hair."[143]

The notion of transferring facial hair and reidentifying one's appearance also appealed to Ted Jordan, who was in the same Multmedia II class at that time.[144] An untitled body piece by Ted Jordan features him in the process of shaving and cutting the facial hair on his face. The body piece was conceptualized after Jordan found a piece of clip art in the Village Voice of an advertisement for a hair-removal product. The clip art illustrated the face, shoulders, and chest of a man with texts and diagrams indicating the position of hair on the different parts of his body. The text read: "low hairline, bushy joined eyebrows, hair high up on cheeks, ingrown hair on neck, ugly hair on shoulders and chest." Jordan's body piece appropriated the text which became the instructional diagram for his performance both in the Multimedia classroom and for the reproduction of the piece in the Center for New Performing Art, Vol. 2.[145]

In May, Mendieta did a work that foreshadows her subsequent investigations in body work in which she merges with nature. In Grass on Woman, May 1972, (fig. 49) she lay nude face down on grass that partially covered her body. The piece was done on Dennis and Diana Swanson's lawn. They, together with an undergraduate student in Swanson's Multimedia I course, assisted Ana in the production. According to the Swansons, they decided on the placement of the blades of cut grass on her body and then attached them with Elmer's glue (fig. 60).[146] Breder shot some twenty slides, and Mendieta chose the ones she wanted for reproduction.[147] In retrospect this piece turned out

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to be a pivotal one in the artist's early work, for it recorded her initial search for a connection to nature.

The work Mendieta produced during the winter and spring are testimony that she discovered a new language that left behind conventional painting for a performative mode of body work. She looked at her own body, as does a dancer and or actress and saw in it the possibility for expressive material transformations as subject and object of her art. In most of the subsequent work over the next year, Mendieta built upon these transgressive self-portraits, searching for new equations at every step.

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[1] Jane (Noble) Hedrick, telephone interview, 21 January 1995. Raquelín Mendieta's and Hans Breder's conversations with me corroborate this point.

[2] Breder studied architecture at the Hochschule für Bildende Künste in Bielefeld, Germany from 1959 to 1964.

[3] Hans Breder, "Intermedia: Enacting the Liminal," Performing Arts Journal 50/51 (1995): 113.

[4] According to Breder, the intermedia course was readily accepted by his colleagues on the art faculty because they thought he was proposing a course in intermediate drawing. See Hans Breder, "Intermedia: Enacting the Liminal," p. 113. According to class lists, the Intermedia course had two sections when it was first offered in fall 1968; three sections were offered in spring 1969; one section in fall 1969. Multimedia II had two sections when it was first offered in fall 1969.

[5] Breder, "Intermedia: Enacting the Liminal," pp. 112, 113.

[6] See Ted Perry's recollections regarding the challenges and difficulties involved in Breder's and his first attempts at creating an intermedia work: Ted Perry, "Interplay," in Intermedia, eds. Hans Breder and Stephen C. Foster (Iowa City: Corroboree: Gallery of New Concepts, School of Art and Art History, University of Iowa, 1979), pp. 11-12.

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[7] Perry, "Interplay," p. 14.

[8] Perry, ibid.

[9] In 1969-70 the Rockefeller Foundation awarded the University of Iowa a $25,000 pilot grant for Breder, Hibbard, Gilbert, and Perry to develop the Center for New Performing Art interdisciplinary performance program. See "Final Report 1970-75" in the University of Iowa Center for New Performing Art Records, the University of Iowa Archives, Special Collections, Main Library. Hereafter references to documents from the CNPA Records will not include the full citation.

[10] William Hibbard, Report, June 1973. See heading General University for the Academic Season of 1972/73, CNPA Records. The report, written as an overview of CNPA activities for the 1972/73 academic season, lists the courses taught by CNPA staff members and created to accommodate the CNPA's interests. These include Multimedia I, II, Intermedia, and Art and Technology in the Art Department; Special Studies in Movement in the Dance Department; Two Action Studies Surveys of New Music, Seminar in Percussion Performance, and Recording Techniques in the Music Department.

[11] According to the course description for Intermedia IS:101 for 1972-74 and 1974-76, students had to obtain Breder's permission to enroll in the special section for production-oriented investigation of interdisciplinary activities in cooperation with members of the Center for New Performing Art. See General Catalog 1972-1974 (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1972), p. 34 and General Catalog 1974-76 (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1974), p. 40.

[12] Breder first called the program Intermedia. When it became an official degree program in fall 1970, he changed the name to the Multimedia Program. Mel Andringa recalls that at the time Breder did not want the name "multimedia" to connote the notion of making an art object by using mixed media. In 1994, however, once the meaning of the word

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"multimedia" referred to technology, Breder changed the name of the program to the Intermedia and Video Program.

[13] Breder, "Intermedia: Enacting the Liminal," p. 114.

[14] General Catalog 1970-1972 (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1970), p. 18.

[15] Dennis Swanson, written communication, 21 April 1997. Swanson studied in the program from fall 1970 through spring 1972. He received an M.A. in sculpture in January 1971 and an M.F.A. from the Writer's Workshop in January 1972. Although he completed the course requirements for an M.F.A. in Multimedia, he did not complete the thesis. He was Breder's teaching assistant for Multimedia I from fall 1971 through spring 1973 and a CNPA associate in performance from fall 1971 through spring 1973.

[16] General Catalog 1972-1974, p. 34; General Catalog 1974-1976, p. 40.

[17] Ibid., pp. 34, 40.

[18] Mel Andringa, telephone interview, 6 October 1994.

[19] Hans Breder, personal communication, 15 November 1993. Breder also elaborates his teaching methodology in "Intermedia: Enacting the Subliminal," p. 116.

[20] Mel Andringa, telephone interview, 6 October 1994.

[21] Dennis Swanson, telephone interview, 28 July 1995.

[22] In my interviews with former students, most of them remember reading Art Forum and Avalanche on a regular basis.

[23] Breder, telephone conversation, 21 July 1995. One of several books Breder remembers talking about at the time was Alexander Dorner's The Way beyond Art (New York: New York University Press, 1958.)

[24] Although the School of Art had had a tradition of inviting visiting artists to give workshops, the new funding for the CNPA made it possible for that program to invite a greater number of artists on a regular basis than had been possible before.

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[25] Hans Breder, personal communication, New York, 23 October 1993. The intermedia course was cross-listed with music and film.

[26] Mel Andringa, telephone interview, 6 October 1994. Tom Macaulay, telephone interview, 2 June 1995. Both students were in the same intermedia class in spring and fall 1969. They were also in the same multimedia classes in fall 1969, and spring and fall 1970.

[27] Tom Macaulay, telephone conversation, 2 June 1995.

[28] Macaulay's early explorations of the real and the illusory are responses to similar conceptual directions explored by Breder in his sculpture at the time. By the early 1970s Macaulay also investigated the ambiguities of language in relationship to the object. Although he continued investigating issues of the real and the illusory, Macaulay's work from 1972 was very different from Breder's. For a brief discussion of Medicine Chest, see Pamela Houk's essay in Tom Macaulay: Sculptural Views on Perceptual Ambiguity, 1968-1986 (Dayton, Ohio: The Dayton Art Institute, 1986), p. 39.

[29] Tom Macaulay, telephone conversation, 2 June 1995. Macaulay sent me a copy of the event published in the newspaper the Iowa City Press-Citizen.

[30] Hans Haacke, Allan Kaprow, and John Perrault were visiting artists/critics at the School of Art and Art History in spring and summer 1969. On May 8 and 9 respectively, Haacke did a performance and Kaprow a happening at the inauguration of the new building of the University of Iowa Museum of Art and the annual convention of the Art Educators of Iowa. Haacke's interest at the time in kinetic art and air art was expressed in a piece in which he released four-foot helium balloons to which were attached bands of mirrored mylar. Several hundred people watched this event from the footbridge over the Iowa River in front of the Art Department. Although Haacke did not give a lecture to students on that occasion, in all likelihood Breder took the opportunity to introduce some of the new sculptural concepts in which streams of air determine a sculpture's form and movement.

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Breder and Haacke were among a group of artists whom Willoughby Sharp included in the 1968 exhibition "Kineticism: Systems Sculpture in Environmental Situations" at the University Museum of Art and Science in Mexico City. Kaprow, the father of happenings, organized Course: A Happening in Cedar Bluff, Iowa. On the banks of the Cedar River, the artist, students from the School of Art, and local residents dug a series of tributaries on the bank leading to the river. Then, in a kind of processional order, they poured buckets of water from the river through each of the tributaries. The recycling activity had a ritualistic component. For a description of Haacke's and Kaprow's works, see Breder and Foster, eds., Intermedia, pp. 94, 101. John Perrault taught Seminar Problems in Modern Art in summer 1969, a course Mendieta took. Perrault, who was an artist as well as a poet and critic for the Village Voice, was the first to teach a course on very contemporary work in the School of Art. He taught minimal art (Sol Lewitt, Carl Andre, and Richard Serra) and conceptual art (Joseph Kosuth) and its various offshoots, such as performance (Vito Acconci and Chris Burden), street works (Perrault, Majorie Strider, and Scott Burton; Perrault and Acconci), earth art (Robert Smithson) and super-realism. John Perrault, telephone interview, 10 March 1994. At the time Judith Collischan (now a well known art historian and curator in New York), who was a graduate student in Art History, was Perrault's research assistant. She had slides of recent work made from Art Forum and Art in America that were later placed in new categories in the slide library when the course ended. Collischan remembers several assignments Perrault gave to his students: one was to make a work of art that would fit into the classroom or in some kind of invisible space. Some people created invisible pieces with air currents. Another exercise was based on Carl Andre's and Barry Le Va's scatter pieces. Based on Richard Serra's thrown lead pieces, students devised all kinds of gravity pieces in which things fell to the ground. Judith Collischan, telephone interview, 16 March 1994.

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[31] Until fall 1970 when the Multimedia Program and the CNPA formally began, Breder was doing minimal, constructivist sculpture. Characterized by the use of highly polished metal or glass and mirrors, his work had begun to receive considerable critical attention in different parts of the country. He had several one-person shows at the Richard Feigen Gallery in New York and Chicago (1967, 1969, 1970). His work was included in many group shows, among which were: "Recent Acquisitions" at the Whitney Museum of American Art (1967), "Kneticism: Systems Sculpture in Environmental Situations" at the University Museum of Art and Science in Mexico City (1968), "Painting and Sculpture Today" at the Indianapolis Museum of Art, and "Superlimited Books, Boxes and Things" at the Jewish Museum, New York (1969). These shows brought Breder into communication with various people in the art world and thus enabled him to expand his professional connections in New York while he lived in Iowa.

[32] When Majorie Strider and Scott Burton (1939-1989) went to Iowa, both were teachers at the School of Visual Arts in New York. Strider taught painting and drawing; Burton, English. Each of them was working in several art mediums. Strider had solo shows of her paintings at the Pace Gallery in New York (1965 and 1966). In 1969 she co-organized a series of performances known as "Street Works" with John Perrault and Hannah Weiner, a poet. Strider continued doing performances throughout the 1970s. Burton, who came from a literary background, wrote a ballet libretto for "Shadow'd Ground" (Aaron Copland/John Taras), which was performed by the New York City Ballet Company at Lincoln Center (1965). He also wrote art criticism and organized exhibitions of painting and film programs. His performance work was seen at Hunter College in New York (1969) and at the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford (1970). The preceding credits were culled from various sources including the program for "Two Evenings of Works by Majorie Strider, Hans Breder, Scott Burton" and the Press Release for the Wadsworth Atheneum program, April 8, 1970, two documents from Majorie Strider's files; Majorie

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Strider's resume of 1971 and Scott Burton's of 1980, both from the Artist File and Artist Exhibition Catalogue, Museum of Modern Art Library, New York

[33] Sandy Skoglund (interview, 9 November 1994) recalls Strider and Burton talking about street works. She also recalls that they talked about working outside the studio as well as about the politics of not making objects.

[34] Skoglund, ibid.

[35] Personal communication with Majorie Strider in New York, 11 March 1996. Sandy Skoglund and Ted Jordan still remember that unusual site.

[36] The program "Two Evenings of Works by Majorie Strider, Hans Breder, Scott Burton" was supported by the University of Iowa Museum of Art, the School of Art, and the Center for the New Performing Arts in cooperation with the University Theatre.

[37] See section "Selected Performances" in Scott Burton: The Last Tableau (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1991), n.p. This now famous performance piece was first reproduced in Tri-Quarterly 32 (Winter 1975); see Robert Pincus-Witten, "Scott Burton: Conceptual Performance as Sculpture," Arts (September 1976): 114.

[38] Robert Rosenblum, untitled essay in Scott Burton: The Last Tableau (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1991), n.p.

[39] Pincus-Witten, "Scott Burton: Conceptual Performance as Sculpture," p, 114.

[40] I reconstructed Strider's performance from a conversation with her on 12 March 1996, as well as from conversations with Hans Breder on 24 October 1994 and 8 March 1996. Breder also sent me a short newspaper clipping of the performances, and Strider gave me a copy of the program "Two Evenings."

[41] Breder, conversation in New York, 21 March 1996.

[42] Breder, "Intermedia: Enacting the Liminal," p. 115.

[43] Miriam Bloom, interview in New York, 19 October 1994.

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[44] The three pieces performed by Strider in the "Two Evenings" are described and illustrated in Breder and Foster, eds., Intermedia, n.p.

[45] "Three to Perform New Art Form at Field Campus," Iowa City Press-Citizen, 29 July 1970, p. 5A.

[46] Ibid., p. 5A.

[47] William Hibbard, "Final Report 1970-75," n.d., n.p., CNPA Records.

[48] The Center for New Music was funded in 1966 by the Rockefeller Foundation to establish a resident group of performers and composers under stipend within the School of Music. William Hibbard was the director.

[49] William Hibbard, "Center for the New Performing Arts," September 25, 1970, CNPA Records.

[50] Hibbard, ibid.

[51] Hibbard, ibid.

[52] Hibbard, ibid.

[53] Hibbard, ibid.

[54] Hibbard, "Final Report 1970-75," n.p., CNPA Records. The report contained a breakdown of the resident artists and their areas beginning with the 1970-71 season through the 1974-75 season.

[55] Before the CNPA Dance Ensemble was discontinued, it functioned for two years, from the 1971-72 through the 1972-73 seasons. Beginning with the 1973-74 season, individual dancers received a stipend to work with one another and also with members of other areas of the CNPA. In 1974-75 the Jo Lechay Dance Company was formed. When the Rockefeller Foundation grant ended in 1975, the Dance Company moved its base to Minneapolis, Minnesota. The Iowa Theater Lab continued its successful productions throughout the 1974-75 season. At the conclusion of the CNPA, it moved to Baltimore, Maryland to become the resident company of the Theatre Project, a theatrical organization

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attached to Antioch College-Baltimore. See William Hibbard, [Minutes] Meeting of CNPA Advisory and Executive Committee, Thursday, 27 September 1973, at 3:30 p.m., n. p.; also "Report written June 1973 reviewing the CNPA activities for the academic year of 1972-73," n.p., CNPA Records.

[56] Hibbard, "Final Report," n.p., CNPA Records.

[57] William Hibbard, "Position Paper on CNPA Administrative Policies," n.p., CNPA Records.

[58] Hibbard, ibid.

[59] William Hibbard, "Survey of Performing Seasons [1970-1975]," n.p., CNPA Records.

[60] Tom Macaulay was one of the first students enrolled in Breder's new intermedia and multimedia courses (1969 to 1971) who graduated from the Multimedia Program. In fall 1970, Macaulay was teaching assistant for Breder's Multimedia I and Art Forms I and a candidate for his M.F.A. in art, which he received in January 1971. Macaulay was also a CNPA associate in performance from 1970 to 1973. Christopher (Chris) Parker (d. 1983) studied Intermedia in fall 1970 and Multimedia II in spring 1971. He received an M.A. in English in May 1970; an M.A. in art in August 1970; and an M.F.A in art in August 1971. He was a teaching assistant in Art Forms IV.

[61] A snow fence is made of wooden slats held together by three bands of wire. Snowdrifts are contained behind the fence.

[62] Thomas Macaulay, Creation of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah Staterooms, "X-CHANGES," CNPA Program, 22 November 1970. Thomas Macaulay, personal files.

[63] William Hibbard, Letter, 26 October 1970, to the Theater and Dance Faculty regarding Robert Wilson (CNPA). In that letter Hibbard underscored the point that the CNPA's artist in residency program would put the Fine Arts program in the foreground of contemporary cultural activity in America.

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[64] Wilson worked closely with Breder's students whom he found more open to the new sensibilities toward body movement than the students from the dance-theater area. Breder attended the workshops because his class formed the core group. Andringa, was one of the first students enrolled in Breder's new intermedia and multimedia courses who graduated with an M.A. from the Multimedia Program in January 1971. Andringa, who had a work-study position in fall 1970, was one of the few art majors in the program who had some theatrical background. As a result of this experience, he became a liaison between the Art Department, William Hibbard, the director of the CNPA, and the technical staff of the university's E. C. Mabie Theatre. After performing in Handbill, Andringa functioned as the unofficial stage manager, in Deafman Glance until Rick Nelson, the stage manager arrived shortly before the production. Andringa was one of several University of Iowa students who followed Wilson to New York where he joined Wilson's group. There he was the stage manager for The Life and Times of Joseph Stalin (1973).

[65] Breder, "Intermedia: Enacting the Liminal," pp. 114, 115. In Wilson's working notes from Iowa City, December 1970, he expressed the prevailing sense of excitement and experimentation. "Running together. We caught each other falling standing still we fell into each other falling into the wall walking again and again and again I talked of Isadora Duncan . . . Then I read Stein to Hans's class then gave them a reading list: Gurdjieff, Stein, Duncan, Jill Johnson, Angela Davis, Langer, National Enquirer, Cassirer, Houdini, Edgar Cayce."

[66] Breder, "Intermedia: Enacting the Liminal," p. 114.

[67] Calvin Tomkins, "Profiles: Time to Think," the New Yorker (13 January 1975): 42. Although Wilson was not trained as a dancer or therapist, he learned body awareness from a dancer some years before while working with brain-damaged children. From the time Wilson went to Pratt Institute (1965) until he produced The King of Spain (1969), he supported himself by teaching classes in body movement.

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[68] Copy of "7 Phase Movement" for Handbill 2. Hans Breder, personal files.

[69] Andringa, telephone conversation, 8 April 1996.

[70] Andringa, ibid. Also see Calvin Tomkins' article ("Profiles: Time to Think," p. 44) in which he describes similar scenes that were developed in Wilson's loft in 1968 which, as Andringa recounts, were reincorporated into Handbill as well as in Deaf Man Glance.

[71] Andringa, 8 December 1994 and (Noble) Hedrick, 21 January 1995.

[72] In Tomkins' article ("Profiles: Time to Think," p. 54), he elaborates upon the different ways movement and dance figure in Wilson's productions. Tomkins noted that until Deafman Glance, Wilson used dancing only in warm-ups during rehearsals--to free the body and get rid of tensions. Since Deafman Glance dancing has become much more important.

[73] Arthur Sainer, "Worms, Apes, Eyes, Angels, Ladies, Fish," Village Voice (4 March 1971), n.p. Hans Breder's files.

[74] It is the first work produced at that time that I have been able to document which appears to incorporate blood as a medium.

[75] Although several students, including Mel Andringer, Tom Macualay, and Dennis Swanson, remember Empathy Generator, I am especially appreciative to Dan De Prenger for having drawn for me the installation in the gallery so I could visualize the transformed space. De Prenger studied Multimedia II from fall 1970 through spring 1974, earning his B.A. in 1972, M.A. in May 1974, and M.F.A. in May 1977.

[76] Mel Andringer (interview, Iowa City, 8 December 1994) recalls that the sound track recorded the noise of a fly buzzing. Dan De Prenger could not remember details regarding the visual or sound elements of the projection.

[77] Dennis Swanson sent me a copy of the poster that he has kept through the years. The show took place at the Reese Palley Gallery in New York from 19 September to 10 October 1970.

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[78] I was unable to locate the whereabouts of John Freeman. However the artist's former restaurant partner Ken Reisdorff informed me that Freeman used calf's blood in his work. Telephone conversation, 4 May 1996. Breder also confirmed this.

[79] Breder also used the term "piece" not only to identify his conceptual work but also to identify his students' work. In the context of the CNPA, the actors, dancers, musicians, and film/video makers also referred to their work as "a piece."

[80] Hans Breder and Robert Alexander, "Participatory Art and Body Sculptures with Mirrors," Leonardo 7 (1974): 145, 145.

[81] Breder, interview, New York, 24 October 1993.

[82] Dan De Prenger, interview, New York, 3 August 1995. De Prenger found a mannequin's leg in a drain pipe in one of the large studios in the Oakdale Campus where he created a tableau, or what later became know as an installation.

[83] Breder, interview, New York, 24 October 1993.

[84] De Prenger, interview, New York, 28 July 1995.

[85] Breder first introduced his students to the Viennese Actionists in 1972. He had a copy of Peter Gorsen's Sexuälsthetik zur Bürgenlichen Rezeption von Obszönität und Pornographie (Hamburg: Rowholt, 1972). Gorsen wrote about and illustrated the actions of Brus, Muehl, Nitsch, and Schwarzkogler in the chapter "Zur Ästhetik der Aggression." It was a usefel resource especially until material on these artists became available in English. Breder, sent me a copy of that chapter.

[86] Breder and his students became familiar with the visual documentation in the German catalogue and thought, as did many people, that the wounded person was Schwarzkogler. False statements from critics asserted that Schwarzkogler had died from having cut off his penis. In fact he died from other causes. See Scott Watson, ed. Rudolf Schwarzkogler (Vancouver, British Columbia: University of British Columbia Fine Arts Gallery, 1993), pp. 20.

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[87] Richard Bloes recalls that during lulls in students' discussions, Breder often opened the catalogue to stimulate commentary on an artist's work. Bloes, interview, New York, 15 January 1994.

[88] Stavros Deligiorgis, telephone conversation, 5 June 1996. According to Hans Breder, John Schultze, professor of photography initiated Refocus (1964-1974) as a film and still photography exhibition. Breder, telephone conversation, 7 June 1996.

[89] Press Release, the University of Iowa News Service, 18 October 1971, CNPA Records. Also see "Union Body to be Exposed," Daily Iowan, 19 March 1971.

[90] In a meeting with the Fine Arts Committee, Professor Hibbard reviewed the artistic achievements and aims of the Center. He cited the importance of three programs, those being the Refocus mixed media production, the Center for New Music's production of Stravinsky's Les Noces, and Robert Wison's Deaf Mans Glance. See CNPA Meeting with Fine Arts Committee, Friday, 24 September 1971, p. 1.

[91] Chris Parker studied Multimedia II spring 1971. According to Thomas Macaulay, Chris Parker, who was then an associate of film in the CNPA, selected the best science films from the university's film collection. The complete list of films is annotated in "Union Body to be Exposed," Daily Iowan, 19 March 1971.

[92] Franklyn Miller, telephone conversation, 7 June 1996.

[93] Breder, telephone conversation, 9 May 1996. None of the performers was listed in the program brochure or in the press release.

[94] Peter Lewis, director of the Electronic Music Studio, prerecorded the actor's voice on a sound track, which he then manipulated so that the actor's directions would be slower that the movements by the mannequin.

[95] Anselm Hollo, "Hans Breder," Intermedia p. 61. Hollo, a Finnish poet, was a visiting lecturer from 1968-71 in the Writer's Workshop (part of the English Department). In 1971-72 he was head of the Translation Workshop, also part the English Department.

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During the 1972-73 CNPA season. Hollo was a CNPA associate in Writing, and at that time he often collaborated with Breder in productions.

[96] David Bourdon, "An Eccentric Body of Art," Saturday Review of the Arts, 1: 2 (February 3, 1973); reprinted in Gregory Battcock and Robert Nickas, eds., The Art of Performance: A Critical Anthology (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1984), p. 189.

[97] Liza Bear, former editor of Avalanche, informed me that the magazine's archives are located in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Willoughby Sharp was not available for discussion. Liza Bear, telephone conversation, 10 April 1996.

[98] For this seminal article, see Willoughby Sharp, "Body Works," Avalanche (Fall 1970): 14-17.

[99] Breder vividly recalls Sharp's showing slides and videos of Vito Acconci, Dennis Oppenheim, Bruce Nauman, and William Wegman. Former students I interviewed clearly remember Sharp's visit: their memories of specific artists and works is less clear than is Breder's.

[100] Sharp wrote about Dennis Oppenheim's Reading Position for Second Degree Burn, in "Body Works," p. 15. Reproductions of the piece appeared a subsequent issue of Avalanche (Winter 1971): 18, 19.

[101] For Dennis Oppenheim's description of Reading Position for Second Degree Burn, see Dennis Oppenheim (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1974), n. p.

[102] Sharp, Avalanche, p. 16.

[103] Sharp worked on "Information," an important contemporary exhibition organized by the Museum of Modern Art, New York, summer 1970. Several of the artists in Sharp's article in Avalanche --including Keith Arnatt--did works exhibited in that show.

[104] Sharp, Avalanche, p. 17.

[105] Acconci wrote about every "activity" he performed in the exhibition catalogue Vito Acconci (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1979).

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[106] For a listing of the performers and a description of each of their seventeen pieces, see the program for "Midway," University of Iowa Museum of Art, 23 October 1971, Center for New Performing Art, CNPA Records. Also see Cynthia Carr, "CNPA Explores New Artistic Media," Daily Iowan, University Edition, 7 July 1972. Carr was a student at the university when she wrote reviews of cultural activities on campus. Since then she has distinguished herself as an important critic writing about performance art.

[107] Dan De Prenger, who photographed the piece in situ, brought this work to my attention.

[108] Swanson, telephone interview, 28 July 1995.

[109] Christopher Parker, Projection, from "Intermedia Works," fall 1970-spring 1972. I am indebted to Tom Macaulay for sending me these unpublished papers by Chris Parker on selections of his works that were executed for the Center for New Performing Art. In Parker's introduction, he wrote that all the pieces written about are examples of performances that are in some way directly concerned with juxtaposing the concepts and materials involved in two or more fields of art.

[110] Parker, ibid., n.p.

[111] Parker won a national prize for a film he made in 1966 or 1967.

[112] Macaulay, telephone conversation, 12 June 1995. Clarrisa Parker confirmed her deceased husband's interest in Oppenheim to the author. Parker, telephone conversation, 13 May 1996.

[113] With respect to Duchamp, Swanson had in mind the chapter "I live the life of a waiter," in Pierre Cabanne, Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp, trans. Ron Padgett (New York: Viking, 1971), pp. 91-109. Swanson was especially interested at the time with Levi-Strauss's notion of the artist as magician, as written in Claude Levi-Strauss, The Savage Mind (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press and Weidenfeld Nicolson, 1966), pp. 220-28. Swanson, written communication, 2 June 1996.

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[114] Swanson sent me a copy of the catalogue brochure 3 Evenings in the Studio Theater (Iowa City: Center for New Performing Art, 1971), which lists each of the programs performed on 9, 10, 11 December 1971 in the Old Armory Studio Theatre.

[115] Ted Jordan, Tag, catalogue brochure 3 Evenings in the Studio Theater, n.p. The piece was performed on 9 December.

[116] Tom Macaulay recalled for me the details of Parker's piece (telephone conversation, 12 June 1995). He commented that the university was having a problem controlling the pigeon population so it used a chemical substance to reduce the numbers. Parker used one of the dead pigeons from that fallout in his work. For reproductions of Zone, see CNPA Vol 1, July 1972, n.p.

[117] Swanson, telephone conversation, 28 July 1995; (Noble) Hedrick, telephone conversation, 7 June 1996.

[118] (Noble) Hedrick (ibid.) remembers that Mendieta was working part time at a V(eteran's) A(dministration) Hospital when the problem occurred. One of the doctors she knew who attended her was quite appalled that she had done such a thing to her body.

[119] Breder expressed these ideas in "Intermedia: Enacting the Liminal," Performing Arts Journal, p. 114. See note 7.

[120] These works were part of the 1997 exhibition "Rrose is a Rrose is a Rrose: Gender Performance in Photography," organized by the Guggenheim Museum. The exhibition presents photographically based artworks--portraits, self-portraits, or montages--in which the gender of a depicted subject is highlighted through performance for the camera as well as through technical manipulation of the image. Works by artists such as Marcel Duchamp, Man Ray, Nan Goldin, Robert Mapplethorpe, and Cindy Sherman, among others, are in the show.

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[121] Dennis Swanson, Ted Jordan, Helen (Mc Greevy) Hoff, and Bill Rowley, all remember Duchamp's being discussed in Multimedia during the time these students were in the program between 1971 and 1974.

[122] Sharp, "Body Works," Avalanche, p. 16.

[123] Nauman's four 16mm films are Art Makeup No. 1: White, Art Makeup No. 2: Pink, Art Makeup No. 3: Green, Art Makeup No. 4: Black, 1967-68. Although they were not specifically cited by Willoughby Sharp in his article "Body Works," it seems likely the critic showed one or more of these films during his residency in 1971.

[124] Mendieta knew about Nauman's series of holograms from both Sharp's article "Body Works" which reproduced one of them, and from his lecture. She might have seen one of the holograms on the cover of Art Forum (December 1970), which illustrated Marcia Tucker's article ""PheNAUMology," pp. 38-44.

[125] Sandy Skoglund (interview, New York, 9 November 1994) still remembers Mendieta showing her some prints of her piece which seemed utterly grotesque at the time. Jane Noble remembers her friend Ana taking xeroxes of her different body parts on a Xerox machine. According to Noble, Mendieta removed her pants, turned off the lights and proceeded to xerox her legs and stomach before she realized that there were some janitors in the room smoking cigarettes. Mendieta told Noble that they never said anything to her.

[126] Hans Breder identified the locale. The photographer is unidentified.

[127] William Wegman's Family Combinations, 1972, is reproduced in Body Works, exhibition catalogue (Chicago: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1975), p. 13.

[128] Hannah Wilke's piece is documented in Hannah Wilke: A Retrospective (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989), p. 61.

[129] I discovered three black and white prints in Mendieta's archival files. When Raquelín Mendieta loaned me this material to study, these prints were in boxes that the New Museum

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of Contemporary Art returned after the institution organized the Ana Mendieta retrospective in 1987.

[130] In writing about women body artists, Lucy Lippard commented that they were less inclined to incorporate violence, even a self-destructive form, in their work, than were some of the male body artists such Acconci, Oppenheim, and Burden. See Lucy R. Lippard, "The Pains and Pleasure of Rebirth: Women's Body Art," Art in America (May-June 1976): 79.

[131] Ana Mendieta, "Self-Portraits," Iowa City: University of Iowa, May 1972. Byron Burford was the thesis supervisor; the thesis committee was composed of Burford, Hans Breder, and Frank Seiberling, director of the School of Art and Art History. The thesis is registered T 1972 .M 538 in the Archives, the University of Iowa Library.

[132] In discussing Mendieta's thesis with Byron Burford, he recalled the three self-portraits were photographs. However, Raquelín Mendieta, Jane Noble and Miriam Bloom all recall that Mendieta used silkscreen printing to create her self-portraits. Bloom (interview, 19 October 1994), who was Burford's T.A., remembers teaching Mendieta seriography for her thesis project. Noble (telephone conversation, 28 July 1996) recalls that Mendieta used three different colors, including red for the background.

[133] A copy of the original thesis is in the University of Iowa Library; another is in the artist's estate.

[134] Ana Mendieta, "Thesis Statement," Self-Portraits, p. 1.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Arturo Schwarz, The Complete Works by Marcel Duchamp (New York: Harry Abrams, Inc., 1969), p. 484 cites Eric Neumann, The Origins and History of Consciousness (1949), trans. R.F.C. Hull (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), vol. 1, p. 59.

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[137] Ana Mendieta's quotation from Duchamp was taken from an interview of the French artist by Herbert Crehan, "Dada," Evidence (Toronto) 3 (Fall 1961): 36-38. Mendieta cited Crehan in her "Thesis Statement," p. 1, n. 1.

[138] In my interviews with both Dennis Swanson and Helen (McGreevy) Hoff, each recalls having consulted Schwarz's The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp for different assignments. Swanson (telephone conversation, 27 June 1995) consulted the book for Directed Studies, a course he took in fall 1972 on Duchamp. Helen (McGreevy) Hoff noted in her journal of 13 February 1973 that she went to the art library to read Schwarz on Duchamp instead of going to class.

[139] Breder, interview, New York, 15 November 1993. Acconci's Conversions 1, 2, 3 was written about in Avalanche (Winter 1971): 82-95.

[140] See Conversions (film, 72 mins., 1970-71) in Vito Acconci (Chicago: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1980), p. 15.

[141] Monte Carlo Bond, 1924, is reproduced in Schwarz's Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp (1969), #280, p. 490.

[142] The piece was not printed in the artist's lifetime. The original slides of this work were among many Raquelín Mendieta unexpectedly found in her sister's files in late 1995 when they were given to Galerie Lelong. Since then several of the pieces were reproduced in the exhibition catalogue Ana Mendieta (Galicia, Spain: Centro Gallego de Arte Contemporanea, 1996).

[143] Andrea Miller-Keller, "Janine Antoni/MATRIX 129," Janine Antoni/MATRIX 129, exhibition brochure (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1996), n.d.

[144] Ted Jordan first studied Multimedia II in spring 1971 and continued each semester through spring 1972 when he received his M.F.A. in Multimedia.

[145] Ted Jordan, Untitled in Vol. 2 (Iowa City: Center for New Performing Art, 1973), p. 27.) The full page features Jordan seated at a small table shaving his facial hair. In the

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upper left corner of the page is a reproduction of the clip art that Jordan superimposed on the print.

[146] Swanson, telephone conversation, 29 September 1996. I sent slides of the piece, Grass on Woman, to the Swansons who identified it. It was mistakenly identified by Breder as having been executed on the lawn outside his studio at the university. Probably Breder confused it with another piece done in that spot. Hans Breder, " Ana Mendieta: Imprints / Student Years 1972-1977," Sulfur: A Literary Tri-Quarterly of the Whole Art, 22 (Spring 1988): 75.

[147] Breder, interview, New York, 15 November 1993. Breder communicated to me that he always felt this work was a forerunner of Mendieta's subsequent silhueta work.

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Chapter 4

Mendieta's Work in the Contexts of Multimedia and the CNPA, Fall 1972 through Summer 1973

Introduction

Ana Mendieta's transition from a graduate art student to an artist in her own right began in fall 1972, when she officially enrolled in the Multimedia Program for an M.F.A. degree. As a student relatively new to Multimedia, she began evolving a highly personal language through the use of her own body as primary material. She marked it with blood and transformed it with flowers. She used different materials from those used by her colleagues in the Multimedia area. She addressed subjects no one else in the program was exploring with the same intensity. Her works contain autobiographical issues that her colleagues were unaware of at the time. Mendieta responded to and absorbed a broad range of new ideas concerning the possibilities for corporal expression as a sculptural mode in ephemeral art. The artistic strategies and processes supported by the Center for New Performing Art as well as those in Multimedia grounded her in a new kind of conceptual thinking which encouraged her to do work that moved beyond the traditional fine art categories of painting and sculpture. Her aesthetic was based on a cross-fertilization of sources and media. She excelled because of her ability to merge distinctive strands of artmaking and life into an aesthetic singularly recognizable as hers.

Her work from these years deals with violence, rape, and death; physical and spiritual transformation; and Catholic and Pre-Columbian subjects. Her early body transformation pieces dating from later summer-early fall 1972 expand upon her initial explorations first begun in winter-spring 1972. Feathers on Woman (October) (fig. 61) was the first piece in which the artist attached chicken feathers to a model, thereby

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transforming a human into an animal. The second work, Chicken Piece (November) (fig. 62), featured the artist pouring blood from a decapitated chicken over her own body. These two pieces were among the first in which blood, ritual, and myth found expression in her work. Beginning in early 1973 and continuing through the spring and fall of that year, the artist performed a series of body pieces on the subjects of rape, death, and violence. In one of several works from that series, Mendieta created a tableau out of bloody, discarded clothes suggesting the remains of a sex crime (fig. 63). Work addressing those themes temporarily gave way to pieces rooted in religious references when, in the summer of 1973 Mendieta traveled to Oaxaca, Mexico. Oaxaca was a special place that exuded a religious aura that the artist had not experienced since leaving Cuba. She responded to the spiritual environment of Oaxaca by doing work derived from her Roman Catholic background (fig. 64). Without being pedantic or overly self-righteous, her site-specific body works integrated sacred and secular art forms. She developed a new group of works that built upon, yet departed from, those she was evolving at that time in Iowa.

Mendieta's work first came to critical attention in the mid-1970s when Lucy R. Lippard wrote about two of the artist's works on rape in several articles and essays.[1] In her article "Transformation Art" in Ms. Magazine (1975), the critic cited a list of women artists whose work addressed issues of transformation. In reference to Mendieta, Lippard wrote: "Shocking, bloody 'rape tableaux' performed by Ana Mendieta with herself as victim."[2] It was unclear from Lippard's brief remark which rape pieces she was referring to, as there were no reproductions in the article or further descriptions of the pieces. Shortly thereafter, Lippard published "The Pains and Pleasure of Rebirth: Women's Body Art" in Art in America (1976). There she noted: "In Iowa City, Ana Mendieta has made brutal rape pieces where the unwarned audience enters her room (or wooded area) to discover her bloody, half-naked body."[3] Lippard correctly acknowledged two rape pieces, one that Mendieta performed in her apartment and the other in a wooded area. However,

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the artist's class was invited to see only the first piece (fig. 65). The second, which I will discuss in chapter 5, was performed in private. The work that was reproduced in the article with the title "Rape piece," 1975, was not one of the pieces Lippard described in the article. The reproduction illustrated a different work, one executed in 1974 that features Mendieta's body covered with a bloodstained sheet (see Chapter 6). Lippard's third essay, "Making Up: Role-Playing and Transformation in Women's Art," in From the Center: Feminist Essays in Women's Art (1976), was a reprint from the 1975 Ms article. The reproduction illustrated a work in which the artist lies in an open tomb in Oaxaca (fig. 66), thereby further confusing the visual identity of Mendieta's rape pieces. Lippard's final article, "Art Outdoors, In and Out of the Public Domain," appeared in Studio International (1977). Her text was reprinted from "The Pains and Pleasure of Rebirth." The same type of error was made with respect to the reproduction as had occurred in the original article. Instead of including one of the rape pieces, the reproduction illustrated an untitled work from 1975 that featured the artist's silhouette on the ground.[4] None of the four articles by Lippard reproduced a correct image of Mendieta's rape piece from the 1973 series.

Regarding the early critical attention to Mendieta's Oaxaca works, Lippard wrote about a then untitled piece from 1973 (which the artist later titled Imagén of Yagul) in "The Pains and Pleasure of Rebirth" and From the Center (fig. 66). In both texts Lippard wrote that Mendieta appeared "nude in an ancient stone grave in Mexico covered with tiny white flowers that seem to be growing from her body."[5] None of the other Oaxaca pieces from 1973, which are explored in this chapter, were written about during the artist's lifetime. More recently, however, several of the artist's works were included in the exhibition "El Corazón Sangrante/ The Bleeding Heart" (1991). Although the organizing curators explored the motif of the bleeding heart from historical and contemporary perspectives in their catalogue essays, they did not examine Mendieta's use of the Sacred Heart of Jesus motif in her work. Nor did the curatorial selection include any of of the bleeding heart

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imagery (as the terminology is used in Mexico) in Mendieta's works either from 1973 or later years.[6]

1. Fall 1972

Center for New Performing Arts (CNPA), an Overview

Beginning its third academic year, the CNPA continued its ambitious and innovative schedule of events. Director William Hibbard introduced some changes in the overall program, thus providing the Multimedia area with new and expanded opportunities for public performance. These changes centered around Iowa City productions, touring schedules, new publications, and guest artists.[7]

Iowa City productions included both formal and informal presentations. They were presented, as discussed in the previous chapter, in a variety of venues both on and off campus.[8] According to Hibbard, the CNPA viewed informal presentations as creative laboratories open to the public and instructive to both artists and their attending audiences.[9] Beginning in the fall, the CNPA and the Multimedia area began presenting "loft performances" in Dan De Prenger's studio, which was located at 119 1/2 East College Street.[10] For the next two years De Prenger's studio functioned as a principal performance space for Breder's group in much the same way that Willougby Sharp's studio-loft did in Manhattan during those same years.[11]

The CNPA presented a large number of its programs to new audiences across the country with the assistance of the National Endowment for the Arts. As a result of this new funding, touring programs became a major part of the CNPA's schedule. Faced with the prospects of new audiences and places, the CNPA staff was able to create fresh work specifically for an event that would be seen in other parts of the country.[12] During the academic year, Multimedia artists performed at the Max Hutchinson Art Gallery in New York City, at Illinois Wesleyan University in Bloomington, Illinois, and at the Clinton Art

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Center in Clinton, Iowa. Other areas of the CNPA, such as New Music and the Iowa Theater Lab, enjoyed a similar expansion of performing activities.[13]

The CNPA produced three publications between fall 1972 and early spring 1973. These included Vol. 1, Vol. 2, and Speculum, all of which the CNPA likened to performance.[14] Vol. 1 and Vol. 2 were designed as artists' books which documented artwork that had been performed by staff and students during the first two academic years of the CNPA. Vol. 2, however, also reproduced work created specifically for the publication.[15] Speculum was designed in the form of a book that explored the notion of the mirror as object. Also considered a performance, it was a collaboration among four professors from diverse disciplines: Hans Breder, visual artist; Robert L. Alexander, art historian; William Hibbard, musician and head of the CNPA; and Anselm Hollo, a poet teaching at the Writer's Workshop.

The graduates in the Multimedia area felt challenged and motivated by the many new opportunities they had for presenting their work in loft performances, traveling shows, publications, and with guest artists in special performances.[16] Ana Mendieta certainly took full advantage of this fertile environment as she plunged into her own artistic production. The following discussion presents some innovative body and performance pieces that Mendieta saw either at the time of production or in subsequent documentation.

New Venues for Multimedia Presentations

Beginning in fall 1972 there were two new venues for Multimedia performances. One was 119 1/2 East College Street in Iowa City, the other was the Max Hutchinson Gallery in New York City. On 12 October poets and CNPA visual artists presented Poetry and Performances at 119 1/2 East College Street.[17] Breder together with some of his students, namely Swanson, De Prenger, and Rosen, performed works in progress. De Prenger used neon tubes in his body piece which he likened to moving sculpture. Warren Rosen created Drag, a piece in which elements from dance, theater, and sculpture

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coalesced.[18] Rosen worked with two dancers, Georgeanne Higgins and Monica (Wilson) O'Donnell (fig. 67). He attached a rope and harness to Higgins, who was pulled very slowly across the stage by a winch (a motorized machine used to pull heavy material from one place to another). At a given point Higgins was pulled over Wilson, who then made a revolution (a complete turn) under Higgins. The piece ended with Higgins being "dragged" off stage.

The second venue for some of the Multimedia group was the Max Hutchinson Gallery. In November, Breder took several students to New York to perform Hybrids. Their program was similar to the one the group performed in Poetry and Performances at 119 1/2 East College Street. Michael Kirby, the drama critic, wrote a very favorable review of the performance pieces in Drama Review. In referring to Hybrids as a group show, the critic wrote that "it [the show] was a hybrid form deriving from both dance and the visual arts."[19] Kirby equated the use of nude figures in the different pieces to the use of the nude in academic art. He wrote that the performers became "living sculpture," their bodies were treated as objects, and their movement as in dance was simple and minimal. If the pieces had been presented as a part of a dance program, they would have been seen as dance. By presenting the work in an art gallery instead of in a theater, the boundaries between the performing and fine arts were blurred.

When the CNPA publications Vol. I and Vol. 2, were on view at the Museum of Art in November 1972 and April 1973, respectively, they drew a good deal of attention because many faculty and graduates had work reproduced in them. A glimpse at each of the publications affirms the innovative and diverse directions explored from 1970 through 1972.[20] Vol. 1 reproduced a photograph of Chris Parker's Winter Solstice, 12 noon, December 22, 1970, bottom of Grand Canyon.[21] Performed during winter vacation in Colorado, the site-specific work was one of the earliest documented body pieces by a graduate student. The photograph shows the artist stretched across the top of the bridge railings above a walkway. Parker placed a hat directly under his body on the walkway,

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adding a humorous touch to a piece that otherwise arouses anxiety in the viewer's mind because of the artist's precarious position. Parker was familiar with Dennis Oppenheim's early work through such important publications as Information and Arte Povera, among others.[22] Because of shared affinities, one is tempted to compare Parker's Grand Canyon to Oppenheim's Parallel Stress of the same year.[23] The Oppenheim piece, performed on the Brooklyn and Manhattan bridges, features the artist with his body placed between two stacks of large concrete cinder blocks in front of one of the bridges. His toes appear to be anchored on top of one stack while his hands grip the top of the other. Parker and Oppenheim's pieces are private performances on bridges; they feature the artist with his body placed in a precarious and stressful position in relation to constructed elements of the bridge. They also explore a relationship of the body to place and space, a relationship Parker further explored in his body projection piece from fall 1971.[24]

Mendieta: Two Key Early Works

The notion of altering one's appearance, however radically or slightly, appealed to a number of the students, especially Mendieta. As discussed in the previous chapter, Mendieta began to use her body as a vehicle or surface for transformation in work she did beginning in winter-spring 1972. She continued this exploration when in late August she turned to a new subject, that of transforming a woman into a bird. The artist went to her sister Raquelín's house to try out her new idea.[25] Ana directed Raquelín to attach chicken feathers (on latex) to her upper body. Raquelín documented her sister's work in progress at different stages of the application (fig. 68). Because there was no light meter on the camera, Raquelín had to photograph Ana outside on the lawn where passersby glimpsed this peculiar being.[26] Ana's next step was to present Feathers on Woman in the Multimedia class, where she executed the piece on a classroom model. In an extensive series of slides, Mendieta's step-by-step process is documented beginning with Mendieta's attaching white chicken feathers to the model's head and neck (fig. 69), then to her body (fig. 70), ending

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with a figure whose front is covered from head to toe (fig. 71). Mendieta recreated this piece in several public venues over the next several years.

There is no oral record of Mendieta's having discussed the meaning of Feathers on Woman either at the time she did her first version at her sister's house or after she presented it in the Multimedia studio. Clearly, she was searching for a new vocabulary with respect to subjects and materials within the larger theme of transformation. Considering Mendieta's already proclaimed interest in Mesoamerica, it is plausible that she thought about the legend of Queztalcoatl, the feathered serpent, who was both the ancient god and legendary ruler of the Toltec. According to one account he was transformed from a serpent to a bird by divine fire.[27] Mendieta would not have been interested in reenacting the specific narrative (which would have involved a transformation from a snake to a bird), but she would have found it challenging to adopt some of the transformational elements of the legend and wed these to her own inventive piece.

It is also possible that Mendieta had one of Carlos Castaneda's writings in mind when conceptualizing Feathers on Woman. Castaneda had written several books which were frequently talked about in the Multimedia classes from the early-to-mid 1970s.[28] Those books narrate the experiences Castaneda had with don Juan, a Yaqui socerer, who teaches the author how to attain "knowledge" (socery).[29] Don Juan relates an acccount to Carlos that may have informed Mendieta's ideas regarding her transformation piece. The account describes an event in which a woman named la Catalina transforms herself from a witch into a blackbird in order to kill don Juan.[30]

About the same time Mendieta was conceptualizing Feathers on Woman, she began work on Chicken Piece, a performance that features the artist holding a decapitated chicken in front of her body so that its blood sprays her. Prior to her class presentation of it, she rehearsed the piece with her trusted friend Jane (Noble) Hedrick.[31] For the dry run, Mendieta decapitated the chicken which (Noble) Hedrick had handed her. (Noble) Hedrick remembers that Ana had a very difficult time controlling the flailing chicken. During the

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short performance, which was only several minutes in length, Mendieta worried about the chicken's scratching her while it fluttered violently. When Mendieta did the piece in the Multimedia classroom in front of her colleagues, she initiated some basic changes. In the first place, Hans Breder decapitated the chicken with an ax (fig. 72); then Dan De Prenger handed it to her. In the filmic and photographic documentation of the piece, Mendieta appears able to control the chicken while its blood is spattering her and the surrounding walls and floor (fig. 62). At the end of the piece her body resembled a surface similar to that of a Pollock canvas covered with splashes and squirts of paint. A number of Mendieta's peers still recall having seen the piece or having heard about it afterwards, for it was considered daring and dramatic.[32] Although it was fairly common to perform in the nude in the Multimedia studio,[33] it was not commonplace to present a work in which a live animal was killed and its blood used to cover the surface of a human body as if in expressionistic abandon. Chicken Piece is also significant because it is the first of Mendieta's works to feature blood as well as to impart a ritualistic connotation.

Mendieta explored a range of interests and sources for the development of Chicken Piece. First and foremost she looked at contemporary performances for conceptual ideas and formal elements. As discussed in the previous chapter, the artist adopted ideas from work presented at the university as well as those documented in books. From these Mendieta searched for subjects from everyday life and explored new media such as animals and blood. In all likelihood, a couple of works already presented at the university provided her with ideas for using such unusual materials as blood and dead birds. For example, John Freeman used cow's blood in Empathy Generator (December 1970), a work seen by Multimedia students at the time.[34] Chris Parker and two other performers used a dead pigeon in Zone (December 1971) (see Chapter 3). In addition to these examples, Mendieta was directly inspired by the radical performances of the Viennese Actionists who used slain animals, blood, and mock ritual in their art actions. She learned about these in Multimedia through Breder, who brought the class a copy of Peter Gorsen's Sexualästhetik zur

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Bürgerlichen Rezeption von Obszönität und Pornographie.[35] The book described and illustrated some of the early performances of Hermann Nitsch, Gunter Brus, and Rudolf Schwarzkogler with blood and animals. There were two actions that seem to have had a special impact on Mendieta's Chicken Piece: Hermann Nitsch's 31st Action (Mary's Conception), 1969, and Rudolf Schwarzkogler's Chicken Action.[36] 31st Action (Mary's Conception) features a nude woman who is attached to a cross, several performers--including Nitsch--who are dressed as priests, and members of the audience who assist in the work. The nude woman is stretched in a spread-eagle position. The innards of a disemboweled lamb are placed in different places on top of her body. Nitsch then pours the animal's blood from his chalice over the woman, including her private parts. One of the performers inserts a dildo into her vagina; the priest (Nitsch) then performs oral sex with the dildo. Nitsch's actions had a "liturgical, ritual character that seemed to ape those of the Catholic church and thereby pointed out the sadomasochism inherent in church ritual by desublimating it."[37] In Schwarzkogler 's Chicken Action, the artist covered his body with gauze to make himself antiseptic. He attached medical instruments -- which look like wires -- to the chicken, further suggesting a surgical operation.[38]

In developing her own ideas based on those of the Viennese Actionists, Mendieta adopted the notion of a ritual together with similar elements a slayed animal and its blood. In so doing, she went a step beyond simply using a dead bird, as had been used in the university performance Zone (December 1971). Following the precedents of Nitsch and Schwarzkogler, she too became the principal performer in her work. Similar to Nitsch, she used outside performers as he had done in 31st Action (Mary's Conception). She probably decided to sacrifice a chicken because she thought it would be perceived as a relatively unobjectionable act -- many people in Iowa were accustomed to seeing chickens killed on the farm.[39] Although she chose not to adopt Nitsch's pornographic elements or his perverse critique of Catholic ritual, she did intend to suggest a ritualistic act by having the chicken's blood spatter over her. The ritualistic aspect of her performance is further

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suggested by the solemn and slow manner she adopts in handling the chicken as if it were a bird of sacrifice. Although at about that time Mendieta had talked about chicken sacrifices in Cuba to (Noble) Hedrick, Chicken Piece remains an artistic invention of the artist's own making.[40] It is not an accurate reenactment of an animal sacrifice as practiced in Cuban Santería, but it partakes of elements of it. In the Yoruba-based syncretistic religion, blood sacrifices from birds, chickens, and other animals are poured over holy stones, otas. They are never spattered or poured over a devotee's body.[41] Graduate students in Multimedia were encouraged to do innovative pieces, some of which were works in progress. Chicken Piece was, in fact, a work in progress that contained elements the artist further elaborated upon in later work.

Using one's body as the subject of a piece also appealed to Dan De Prenger. During the same semester Mendieta did Feathers on Woman, De Prenger did two pieces in which he used his body as sculptural material. In the September untitled work (September), the artist climbed a tree in the nude (fig. 73). In retrospect De Prenger recalls he was interested in presenting an earlier view of man, who in a former stage of development was in direct contact with nature. De Prenger himself was also interested in reenacting what he imagined to be man's return to his natural environment. He felt that there was something very threatening, even ominous, about attempting to climb a tree--particularly one with very rough bark--in the nude. The documentation of this piece was shown to the Multimedia class. In November, De Prenger did the second piece in the Multimedia studio for his colleagues (fig. 74) who were present: he attached a prothesis to his waist in order to alter the appearance of his body, which he perceived as a site for change.

2. Spring 1973

Mendieta: Themes of Violence

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In 1973 Mendieta's artistic production was notable in terms of the quantity and quality of her output. In her search for subjects from the here and now, for subjects that conjoin art and life, she confronted violence and, as well, embraced it as a central theme in her work. Mendieta explored the subject of rape and violence with forthright integrity. By the middle of the semester, the artist reacted in a very personal way to a campus rape-murder that stunned the entire university community. She later wrote: "when a young student at the University of Iowa was found murdered after having been brutally raped . . . I started doing performances as well as placing objects and installations in public places in order to bring attention to this crime and all sexual violence."[42] In a series of works executed over the course of a year, Mendieta found multiple ways to image violence. Each of her pieces investigates physical assault in a different way. She produced some of her work in private, and then located some of it in public places so that passersby could respond to it. Her sensitive treatment of this problematic subject remains a paradigm for contemporary artists who confront this theme in their work.[43]

The incident that triggered that series of works occurred on 13 March, during spring vacation. A vicious murder took place on the University of Iowa campus at which time Sara Jane Ottens, a nursing student, was killed by another student, James W. Hall. Ms. Ottens's body was found lying face down. The crime took place in one of the bedrooms in the coed dormitory. The young woman died from multiple injuries to the neck which resulted in asphyxiation.[44] Officials said that the woman's body had been beaten in several places and her clothing was found in disarray around the room. Witnesses reported that investigators removed a bloodstained broomstick from the room. Although assaults were not uncommon on campus, Ms. Ottens's death was the first homicide in the university's history. From the outset, rumors circulated that Ms. Ottens may also have been raped. This suggestion of a possible sex crime was written about in the Iowa City Press-Citizen: "A broomstick found beside her was used in an assault upon her that may have been sexually motivated."[45] The following November the Des Moines Register

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reported the results of the medical examiner's autopsy, which revealed that Ms. Ottens had not been sexually molested but had been severely beaten and mutilated even after she had died of strangulation.[46] For some two years the story of Ottens's death, followed by Hall's subsequent trial and release, was reported in the media throughout the state. In September, Hall was indicted by a grand jury for murder, by early the following May (1974), a jury found him guilty of second-degree murder. In July he was sentenced to a fifty-year prison term. The following January (1975), Hall was released on bond from the reformatory where he was serving his sentence. He then began the second semester of his junior year at the university while his appeal went before the Iowa Supreme Court.[47]

Shortly after Sara Jane Ottens's murder, Mendieta presented Rape Piece to her peers from the Intermedia class. Essentially the piece features Mendieta stripped nude from the waist down, with underpants around her ankles and her upper body stretched over a table and tied to it (fig. 75). Her body was bloodied, dish shards were scattered about the floor, a hanger was left near the table in the middle of the floor, cigarette butts were left in the ashtrays, and bloodstains were left in the toilet bowl (fig. 76). She dared to use her body to represent a subject that has generally been unrepresentable in art outside of allegory.[48] In effect she formulated a new language that expanded the conventions of established representational practices. In this piece, as well as in subsequent ones, Mendieta attempted to depict convincingly the violent aspect of rape. She did not glorify the act, rather she confronted a woman's feelings regarding its humiliating assault upon her body and psyche. Mendieta narrated her feelings toward this act in the first person by using her body.[49]

Mendieta carefully prepared for her piece. Several days before the performance, she discussed the process with (Noble) Hedrick.[50] Her friend remembers the importance of locating the table at the right angle so that Mendieta's body would be seen at the moment each of the class members entered her apartment. (Noble) Hedrick and Mendieta moved the table several times until they located the position they wanted. (Noble) Hedrick also

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practiced tying Ana in different positions until they were satisfied that the placement of her body and the table was right. Mendieta knew that a rapist would want to look at his victim, but she would not have been able to lie on her back for several hours, so she settled for lying face down with her eyes open. (Noble) Hedrick had classes the day Mendieta presented the piece, therefore she did not see the tableau firsthand.

On the day of the performance, Mendieta asked Sheila Kelly, another close friend, for assistance in preparing for the work.[51] After meeting Mendieta in downtown Iowa City, they went to the Whiteway Super Market to buy a few buckets of beef blood.[52] Then they went to Mendieta's apartment to prepare Ana as well as to arrange the objects in the room. Kelly recalls that they made a mess of the apartment by smearing blood on the floor and table and by upsetting the furniture to indicate that a struggle had taken place. Mendieta insisted on including a hanger, despite its association with abortion. After Mendieta removed her pants and left her underpants around her ankles, Kelly tied her to the table and smeared her with blood. Once the preparations were complete, Kelly left Ana in her apartment, with the door ajar, waiting for the first members of the class to enter and find her in the guise of a dead person.[53] Fellow classmates, unaware of the subject of the performance, entered her apartment over a period of some two hours, during which Mendieta remained motionless (fig. 77).[54] The intensity and control she displayed during that piece characterized her subsequent work.

With the exception of (Noble) Hedrick and Breder, no one I have interviewed remembers discussing the content of her piece with her, either before or after the performance. For that matter no one recalls discussing Rape Piece with Mendieta in the context of the actual campus murder-rape. The only comment Kelly recollects is that Mendieta hoped the piece would shock her fellow students, who, with the exception of the artist herself, were male. Dan De Prenger, who was in the Intermedia class, did not attend the performance in Ana's apartment, but saw the documentation afterward in class. In response to my query as to whether members of the class discussed the subject matter of

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the piece, he said that he thought people were too shocked to do so. In this regard, De Prenger remembers feeling uneasy with what he perceived to be the "shock value" of the work. "Shock value is not the kind of thing I wanted then."[55] Tom Macaulay, who was a CNPA associate in performance, seems to recall Rape Piece, but he did not discuss it with her, partly because she was very private about her work. "She was not open [to discussion] in that way."[56] No other student in the Multimedia area had done a piece on that subject before. Although some of the students were probably familiar with allegorical paintings such as Titian's The Rape of Europa or Rubens' The Rape of the Sabine Women, they were not accustomed to seeing, much less discussing, the subject of rape as an actual act of violence perpetrated by men. The class was more inclined to comment on the formal qualities of the piece or to express their surprise, which, according to Breder, is what they did. Apparently Mendieta was very pleased by the reaction of her peers.[57] Several years later Mendieta commented on the Rape Piece to a staff writer of the university newspaper. The artist was quoted as saying that she had done the piece "as a reaction against the idea of violence against women."[58] Mendieta also recalled that the members of the class sat down in her apartment and started talking about the piece. When she stayed in position without budging, she remarked that the group was "really jolted."

Mendieta's ongoing explorations with the subjects of violence, crime, and death are expressed in several pieces she did in the alley next to her apartment building on South Linn Street. Two untitled pieces feature bloody bones and discarded jeans. The former consists of small animal bones placed on the ground close to the building's exterior wall (fig. 78). The bones and the surrounding area were covered with blood. The jeans piece was similarly conceived and composed. Mendieta arranged a pair of her own jeans and shirt in the same area. She stained the crotch of the jeans with blood, which she also spilled on the ground around the garments. The pieces, small in scale, are haunting in the associations they evoke. The bloody bones piece suggests mutilation, dismemberment, the remains of some heinous crime. The jeans piece suggests a sex crime, one in which the

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perpetrator abandons the clothes in an alley during getaway. Mendieta has suggested the presence of a person through the representation of the empty garments. The garments thus become the body of the absent wearer and, as such, act as a surrogate by suggesting her presence.[59]

Mendieta prepared each of the works in her apartment and then carried the objects to the side alley through (Noble) Hedrick's groundfloor apartment window.[60] Mendieta would watch passersby through the window and observe their reaction at a safe distance. She left the artifacts until they disappeared. However, (Noble) Hedrick recalls that Mendieta was terribly disappointed that no one who passed by these tableaux reacted in any specific way, much less called the police.[61] Mendieta chose locations for her work with considerable thought. Doubtless, she viewed the alleyway, for example, as an ideal place to choreograph an untoward act of violence. Alleyways are used as depositories for unwanted objects, whether in the form of garbage, detritus, aborted fetuses, and, on occasion, abandoned babies and bodies.

Another installation piece addressing this subject features a small suitcase filled with unidentified wrapped objects that are bloodstained (fig. 79). The piece was placed among rocks in City Park near an abandoned zoo.[62] She wrapped the objects so that passersby who unsuspectedly came upon the suitcase would have to unwrap them in order to identify them. Mendieta conceived of these pieces ("Bloody Chicken Bones" and "Bloody Jeans") with a sense of mystery. She really hoped that people would probe the contents in the suitcase.[63] We might wonder why Mendieta chose to place these objects in a city park. Several motivating factors perhaps lay behind her decision. On one hand, Multimedia artists had been working in site-specific locations for several years. She would have been familiar with City Park because CNPA and Multimedia events had already taken place there. She chose a rather out of the way place--a rock crevice--to install the piece.

In another work on violence, Mendieta left the more private domains of the alleyway and the semi-hidden location in City Park for a main street in downtown Iowa

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City. She did a public piece in front of the door to the Moffit building where she lived (fig. 80).[64] The building was only a few blocks from campus, and at certain times of the day many people passed by. Mendieta staged her piece, descriptively titled Moffit Building, in the midafternoon at a time when there was a lot of sidewalk traffic. In creating the piece Mendieta poured blood on the sidewalk directly in front of the building's central door. On top of the bloodstained area, she placed some cut-up pieces of an animal's (probably a cow's) innards. The use of an animal's innard recalls Hermann Nitsch's use of a lamb's innard in his work. The area was stained in such a way as to suggest that the blood had seeped out from under the door onto the sidewalk. Similar to the alleyway pieces, Mendieta was interested in recreating a scene suggestive of a crime which would attract people's attention or arouse their curiosity. As is apparent in the film and slide documentation, numerous people took notice as they passed (fig. 81), while others did not (fig. 82). The piece ended when the building's janitor came and cleaned up the mess (fig. 83).

Multimedia and CNPA Performances

The first collaborative event of the spring semester (3 March) was a presentation by CNPA visual artists and members of Breder's intermedia class." The program "Intermedia Works" by CNPA Visual Artists and the Intermedia Class (fig. 84), took place at the 119 1/2 East College Street loft (Dan De Prenger'a studio-loft.). The following discussion illustrates the diverse aesthetic modes created by the Intermedia graduate students, who were encouraged to develop individual modes of expression.[65] Mendieta did Door Piece in which she pressed her face against the glass panel of a door, thereby violently distorting her features.[66] In preparing the piece, she covered the glass panel with an opaque material, leaving a circle just large enough for the spectator to see her face while she stood behind the door. Door Piece was a version of Glass on Body Imprints from spring 1972 (fig. 42). Both pieces are informed by Bruce Nauman's First Hologram Series (Making Faces),

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1968. The Mendieta work also requires the spectator to peep through a hole to see the artist perform on the other side. The relationship between artist and viewer as posed by Duchamp was a notion that was discussed in class.[67] Although Mendieta looked at works by Duchamp and Nauman for ideas which she then adapted to effect changes in her physical appearance, other students wrestled with some of these ideas differently. Dennis Swanson, for example, did a "theatrical performance" in the portal of another door across the hall from the one Mendieta used. Swanson filled the doorway entrance with clay shale fragments. The spectators had to find small openings between the rock fragments in order to see the performance. In the space behind the door, a performer smashed together pieces of the shale over a small table that was tilted upward to allow for better viewing. Due to the billows of dust created by the shale fragments, "it was unclear whether the barrier was being slowly destroyed by the performer or whether he was resigned to his confinement and, or the permanence of the barrier."[68] Swanson's piece responds to Duchamp's ideas regarding the relationship between the artist and the spectator. In explaining his interest in Duchamp, Swanson quoted the artist: "Now, the spectator doesn't judge the picture by the intentions of the originator but by what he actually sees. This vision is never objective: the spectator interprets and distills."[69] Swanson went on to explain: "Perhaps, in pressing against this barrier, the spectator of my piece viewed only him- or herself, grinding the images of art."[70]

In that same evening of performances, Bill Rowley did Projection Piece I, a very different piece from Swanson's or Mendieta's, which was in response to one of Ad Reinhard's black paintings from the collection of the university's Museum of Art.[71] Rowley used nine projectors to form a large square that was divided into nine smaller squares. As the audience passed in front of each of the nine slide projectors, some of the light beams were interrupted, momentarily causing some of the smaller squares to appear black. The overall effect created a play of interchanging black and white squares in the grid on the wall.

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In April, Elaine Summers spent a week in Iowa as a visiting intermedia artist and dancer in residence. She came to the university as director of the Elaine Summers Experimental Intermedia Foundation in New York. In a letter to William Hibbard, director of the CNPA, she outlined the proposed program: (1) a two- hour daily class with the dance department based on kinetic awareness and the physical structure of the body in relation to dance; (2) an evening discussion, open to all students, about tension as it relates to the performing arts; (3) conferences and an afternoon workshop with Breder exploring the uses of multimedia and intermedia collaboration as a performing art; (4) an intermedia performance incorporating dance, video, film, and slides; and (5) a performance of a version of Energy Changes in collaboration with Breder, integrating the work into video.[72] According to the program announcement (fig. 85), Summers produced six works which involved CNPA staff, film, and art students. Mendieta participated in three: Iowa Blizzards, From 119[1/2] East College Street, and Chairs and Ladders.[73]

Iowa Blizzard, the first piece, came about because of an unexpected blizzard. The day after Summers's arrival a record storm nearly closed the university. The visiting artist decided to do an improvisational film piece with the Multimedia class in City Park in unplowed snow.[74] Since the piece was silent, Summers called out the instructions to the group. In essence the "non-dancers" performed natural movements such as skipping, hopping, walking, leaping, and falling. According to Summers, the students, who were open to suggestions and instructions regarding dance movement, moved their bodies with a great sense of freedom. The results of her improvisational choreography are surprisingly delightful. The ensemble looks like modern dancers who move with a sense of ease and enjoyment. Bill Rowley, a film student, filmed the piece in black and white, 16 mm. He also did special effects printing and then edited it. Some of the film is shot in slow motion; in many instances he printed images on top of each other to get a layered effect. Sometimes he reversed the image(s) or printed them upside down, or slightly out of synchronization.

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Summers held a two-hour warmup class every morning which was intended to develop a sense of kinectic awareness. Monica (Wilson) O'Donnell, then a dance minor, remembers that Summers's body awareness exercises were the first ones she had ever done.[75] During those morning sessions, Summers instructed the group in progressive relaxation exercises. She attempted to teach each person how to visualize and then relax each part of his or her body in a step-by-step manner. The group often began the session by lying down and placing a small rubber ball under their necks and backs. Summers talked about how it would physically feel to get in touch with different muscles in their bodies. The group practiced rolling on the floor and moving very slowly as a means of feeling and controlling their different body parts.

Theater Piece for Chairs and Ladders (fig. 86) was an intermedia work in progress. Summers had previously performed it in London, New York, and other U.S. cities. Summers described the piece as one in which the dancers improvised their movements and dialogue. The piece--a nonlinear piece--included music, a film, and poetry. Art Rosenbaum, a painting instructor, improvised on the guitar; Dennis Swanson recited poetry; the film (still a work-in-progress) projected images of disparate scenes of world events and daily household tasks. Chairs and ladders were on the stage. The heroine of the piece remained silent throughout the performance. She and the other performers moved around the props. One of the women climbed up the body of a male performer and hung onto his coat. At the end the actors piled all the chairs and ladders into the form of a pyramid.

(Wilson) O'Donnell recalled the rehearsals for the piece. They had to develop a set of movements in which each movement was performed only once. So, for example, if they stomped, they stomped only once. They practiced doing one unique movement after the other around the props which included a tall, freestanding step ladder and chairs. Each time the dancer moved, he or she had to produce a new movement--a difficult task.

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(Wilson) O'Donnell recalls the piece was interesting to perform and well received by the audience on the night of performance.

The final CNPA and Multimedia event of the spring semester took place at the Clinton Art Center in Clinton, Iowa (3 May 1973). A grant from the National Endowment for the Arts provided the funds for the tour to Clinton. Five Multimedia students performed indoors, and four others, including Mendieta and Bill Rowley, performed outdoors. Rowley did Projection Piece II. He installed a window frame with a mesh screen opposite a motion picture projector on the steps outside the building where the performances took place.[76] At the end of the program, when the audience exited the building, they saw the projected 16mm footage of the street and sidewalk traffic which had been filmed in the same location some days before. Rowley worked with material from the here-and-now to create a site-specific scene within an installation piece.[77] In the parlance of the time, Rowley and group were trying to find ways to de-aestheticize the art object, that is, to bring everyday objects (or subjects) into the realm of art.

Mendieta did an untitled piece that she later titled Dead on Street (fig. 87), a body work in which the artist lay motionless in a pool of blood, simulating a dead accident victim or crime. Their work was seen after the audience left the auditorium of the Art Center. Since Rowley's piece was self-projecting, he was able to assist her in her piece.[78] He remembers that she appeared to be bleeding from a severe wound in her upper body. She had asked him "to slowly circle around her taking pictures with a flash camera, stopping, framing, making flash exposures," as would a photographer at the scene of an accident or crime. Once people noticed the flashes from the camera, they began to gather around her. Rowley remembers confusion regarding whether someone should call an ambulance or not. Since Mendieta had directed Rowley not to interact with the group, he continued taking flash exposures. It began to drizzle. When the last onlookers left, Mendieta stood up, and on the pavement there was a dry sihouette of her body on the wet pavement. He photographed this final image. The photographs were shown later in class. Unfortunately,

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however, there are no longer extant photographs of the piece, and only one of the 35mm slides is light enough to identify.

Michael Pearson, a member of the Multimedia class, was on the trip to Clinton and remembers Mendieta's performance He remembers that the onlookers who saw Mendieta lay motionless in a pool of blood were upset about it. Looking back from on that event, Pearson presumes they were shocked to see blood used in a work of art. Perhaps, he surmises, they thought that blood was an inappropriate element to present in "art."[79] Pearson also recalls that the artist was pleased with the reactions of the audience who saw her performance because she wanted to make an impression.

Dead on Street is reminiscent--in both its formal elements and its conceptual directions--of Chris Burden's performance of Deadman of 1972, a piece in which the artist also portrays himself dead. Burden's piece was originally performed in the Riko Mizuno Gallery, Los Angeles. News of Burden's performance did not reach the Multimedia area, however, until a feature article on the artist appeared in Avalanche in the summer-fall issue of 1973.[80]

3. Summer 1973

Oaxaca

The Multimedia II class had its first summer session in 1973 in Oaxaca, Mexico. Breder subsequently took groups there in 1974, 1976, and 1978. An announcement of the course, posted in the Art Department, offers a good description of Breder's new area of interest as well as his view of how the Mexican-Indian culture would stimulate his students' work in "body art."

> Multimedia is an interdisciplinary program which seeks to explore new forms, concepts, aesthetics, and materials in relation to performance. By definition the program is concerned with experiments, with actions whose outcome is not foreseen. This places a tremendous stress on the students; their inventiveness, their sensibilities and imagination.

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> Direct, immediate interaction with our environment has played a strong part in our work. To give an example: a few summers ago some students drove out daily to Mac Bride Field Campus to shape a natural area into a work of art by subtly manipulating grass, pieces of wood, trees, stones, and artifacts such as paper and metal. Others used the natural movements of trees and water as integral parts of their performances. The new perceptions gained during that summer deeply influenced all subsequent work.
>
> The foreign land and above all the encounter with a different culture will shock the students into new insights. The Mexico-Indian culture is rich in theatrical elements whose exploration will deepen our current understanding and use of ritual concepts such as are found in "body art." This experience, quite apart from its intrinsic worth, will enrich the work and also open students' eyes to different and still overlooked aspects of our own culture.
>
> In Oaxaca we will meet Peter Lewis who is the head of the electronics studio at this University. He will cooperate with us on various projects. Toward the end of the 8-week session, the students will give a performance of their pieces at the Conservatorio de Música in Mexico City.[81]

Breder had decided on the trip to Oaxaca by at least the beginning of the spring semester because Mendieta showed slides of Mexico to the Multimedia class to interest them in enrolling in the course.[82] According to Helen (Mc Greevy) Hoff, one of the students in Multimedia II, Breder asked the class to speculate on the kinds of work they would do if they left their Iowa context and worked in Mexico.[83] Breder suggested that the class consider Duchamp and his speculation on the ways meaning comes from context.

According to the Official Class List, five students--Monica (Wilson) O'Donnell, Charles (Chuck) Hudina, Dan De Prenger, Richard Bloes, and Helen (Mc Greevy) Hoff--were registered for credit in the Multimedia II class in Oaxaca. However, three other students--Ellen Krueger, Warren Rosen, and Ana Mendieta--accompanied the group. Krueger and Wilson received stipends from the CNPA to work as models with Breder in his work. Rosen, a major in the Multimedia area, chose to go because his friends Bloes and Hudina signed up. Although Mendieta listed her role as "coordinator for the University of Iowa Summer School Multimedia Program, Oaxaca, Mexico," on an early chronology, she did not hold an official position in the program.[84] She did, however, according to her former colleagues, serve as informal cicerone and translator for the group.

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Mendieta had already had a wonderful experience in San Juan Teotihuacán, Mexico, when she studied Field Research in Archaeology (summer 1971), so she was especially enthusiastic about the prospects of returning to that country to do her own artwork. Some years later she wrote about how important that trip had been, for it provided her with experiences that enabled her to "rediscover her Spanish heritage and culture and as well as establish a bond betwen myself and Pre-Columbian cultures." The Oaxaca trip of 1973 must have had as profound an impact on her as did her 1971 trip because she began her production of body work that incorporated both Roman Catholic and Pre-Columbian sources. She found numerous ways to vivify her experiences toward both cultures and their mixtures. From 1973 on, Mexico--the closest thing to Cuba by virtue of the fact that it was Latin America--became an alternative motherland where the artist reconnected to roots from which she had been forcibly severed.

In preparing for the Multimedia II trip to Oaxaca, (Wilson) O'Donnell remembers that the group met at Warren Rosen's house, where they talked about a myriad of details regarding the forthcoming trip. As Mendieta had been to Mexico in summer 1971 and was already familiar with Mexican archaeology, mythology, and culture, she evidently felt confident about discussing some of the cultural differences between Americans and Oaxacans, a people of largely Zapotec and Mixtec backgrounds. Mendieta took an active part in the discussions, suggesting the kinds of appropriate clothing for women. She also communicated the importance of showing respect for the people and places they would soon encounter. She advised her colleagues not to communicate a sense of arrogance but rather conduct themselves with respect.[85] (Wilson) O'Donnell thought the group was appreciative of Mendieta's leadership because none of them had been to Mexico before.[86]

Although Breder did not assign any special readings prior to their trip, he did recommend Carlos Castaneda's Return to Ixtlan: The Lessons of Don Juan. Breder saw parallels between the teacher-apprentice roles documented in Castaneda's books and his

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own class teaching.[87] De Prenger recalls that each person in the group read the book and considered it very important at the time.[88]

Everyone arranged his or her own travel plans to Oaxaca. Breder and Mendieta, who were a couple, arrived before the others in early June. (Mc Greevy) Hoff, Bloes, (Wilson) O' Donnell, and Krueger traveled together on a train, arriving on 11 June. De Prenger and his family drove down in a camper. The group stayed at the Hotel Principal, which had been recommended by Peter Lewis (associate professor, Department of Music, University of Iowa), who had a house in Oaxaca. The owner of the hotel, Jorge Brena, was a filmmaker who was interested in the intermedia work Breder was doing. Shortly after everyone arrived, several of the students left Oaxaca for several weeks and traveled in various parts of Mexico.[89] The core group then consisted of Breder, Mendieta, De Prenger, Krueger, (Wilson) O' Donnell, and (Mc Greevy) Hoff, who stayed together for the remainder of the trip. They visited famous archaeological sites, colonial churches, and small villages in and around the city of Oaxaca. The archaeological sites are testimony to a former era of urban and architectural splendor. Some of the colonial churches--Santo Domingo and the Cuilapan church--are among the most beautiful in the Americas. The small villages offered a cornucopia of delights. For example, the group went to Zaachilla and Tlacolula on market days and made several trips to Teotitlan del Valle, a famous weaving center. There they saw the Feather Dance festival, a ceremony unlike any they had ever seen before. Through films on the Day of the Dead, they began to learn about Mexican beliefs concerning the ways in which life and death interface. They also took a short trip in De Prenger's camper to La Ventosa, a small fishing village on the pennisula of Salina Cruz on the Gulf of Tehuantepec. They stayed in La Ventosa with Mexican families, slept in hammocks, and some of the students did some site-specific work on the beach.[90]

During their stay the group visited the archaeological sites in Monte Alban, Mitla, Yagul, Dainzu, and Tlacolula. The group visited Monte Alban, the majestic mountaintop

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site, as soon as they arrived in Oaxaca.[91] Mendieta first learned about Monte Alban, Mitla, Yagul, and Dainzu in Michael Kampen's class Introduction to Primitive Art in fall 1967 (see Chapter 2). It would not be surprising if Mendieta took her copy of Michael Coe's Mexico with her so she could refer to the material on Monte Alban and Mitla. Monte Alban, the great ceremonial center, is known for its ball court and subterranean tombs, many of which had fine frescoes. There are also the remains of the Danzantes (dancers) Building and the Gallery of the Danzantes, where an impressive group of bas-relief figures on large stone slabs attracted Mendieta's attention.[92] Impressed with those figures, Mendieta imitated one of their "strange rubbery postures," as Coe referred to them, in a photographic shot that Breder took of her in front of one of the images (fig. 88). Apparently the photograph of Mendieta was reproduced in the brochure announcing the Multimedia II class in Oaxaca in summer 1976. Mitla, another Zapotec site, was considered one of the archaeological wonders of ancient Mexico, with the remains of five groups of palacelike structures over its site.[93]

When the group visited archaeological ruins, Breder did not lecture about their historical importance, nor did he bring a guide along. He did not intend to teach a mini-course on the archaeological history of the ruins, but rather to expose his group to what he considered to be the magic of the place. Breder fully expected that the place itself would provide a host of new ideas which would be expressed in body art. Warren Rosen still recalls that Breder tried to provide a new and stimulating environment in which to create work.[94] Breder, who was very interested in ritual, always encouraged people to think about mystery and mysticism and to discover another kind of vision or way of looking at things in Oaxaca. Sometimes the entire group went together to sites to explore or to work; at other times, they broke up into smaller units. Sometimes they worked spontaneously in a given place and at other times they planned their piece before arriving at the site.

Mendieta did a piece titled Imagen de Yagul(aka Flowers on Body) in an empty grave in the archaeological site of the same name (fig. 66).[95] Mendieta discussed some

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aspects of the piece with Breder before arriving at the site. For example, he remembers going with Ana to the market where she purchased several big bouquets of white nubes (montecasinos or September weeds).[96] They drove to the site with Krueger, (Wilson) O'Donnell, and Brena. Everybody understood beforehand that the piece had to be done quickly before someone objected to Mendieta doing a piece there in the nude.[97] She lay nude in the shallow grave with her arms down at her sides.[98] Then Breder placed the white flowers over her head, neck, chest, and the middle area of her torso and legs. Krueger and (Wilson) O'Donnell stood guard while Ana lay there and Breder photographed the piece from different angles.[99] (Wilson) O'Donnell recalls that both Breder and Mendieta were very pleased with the piece.[100] However, Mendieta never discussed the meaning of the piece or her motivations for doing it. Both (Wilson) O'Donnell and Krueger recall that Breder and Mendieta were both interested in Oaxacan graveyards. In fact, Breder did a "tomb piece" (a piece on top of a tombstone) with Krueger as model in a graveyard outside the town of Oaxaca (fig. 89). In that instance Mendieta stood at the entrance of the graveyard in order to notify them if anyone approached. Breder's piece featured Krueger lying over the tombstone. A mirror was placed in an upright position perpendicular to the edge of the stone so that it would reflect the lower half of her body. Although Breder cannot recall if he did his piece before or after Mendieta's, it seems that Breder did his first, because Krueger vaguely remembers that Ana wanted to do a piece in a tomb as well. However, Mendieta had somewhat different ideas in mind than Breder. That she chose a Precolumbian grave site indicates her desire to make a specific connection to an ancient culture whose history was recorded in artifacts throughout the area. Tombs or burials--whether empty or recently excavated--were common sites in the Valley of Oaxaca. She placed white flowers, on her body as a sign of life.[101] Thus she conjoins an image of death with one of life. Through the syncretistic blending of symbols of life and death, Mendieta reenacts a Precolumbian belief that the soul or life force lives on in the afterlife. Mendieta's Imagen de Yagul (Image from Yagul) represents an attempt to rechannel an ancient

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Mesoamerican belief through her contemporary body piece. This piece was the first of many that reestablished the artist's connection with Pre-Columbian culture, one that she had already expressed in her earlier paintings of 1970-72.[102]

There were many visual treasures in the Valley of Oaxaca that delighted the Multimedia group. One of these was the magnificent sixteenth-century Dominican church complex in the village of Cuilapan. The complex, seven miles south of Oaxaca, consists of a church, still in use; a monastery, no longer in use; and an unfinished open-air chapel.[103] The Cuilapan church complex, now a national monument, was built over a Zapotec temple. Both Breder and Mendieta, in turn, found it an extraordinary place to work.

Breder did a series of body sculptures there. He worked principally with two models--(Wilson) O'Donnel and Krueger--in the courtyard of the unfinished open-air chapel. The resulting works feature the models in different positions on top of the base of a column (fig. 90). Their body parts, reflected in the mirrors, create a sense of kinetic movement. When (Wilson) O'Donnel and Krueger were unavailable, Mendieta modeled there for Breder in several body pieces.

Mendieta also executed her own series of works in the Cuilapan church. In contradistinction to Breder's body and-mirror sculptures, Mendieta's pieces were based on religious iconography. She did both body sculptures and sculptural objects in a niche, a baptismal font, and a holy water font.[104] More than any other graduate in the group (that year as well as in subsequent ones), Mendieta worked in specific historical sites where she incorporated elements from those places and at the same time accommodated her body pieces and ephemeral sculpture to the site. The specific place--rich in religious and cultural history--provided her with a multicultural context within which she addressed personal experiences and infused a new dimension of personal meaning into her expression. Mendieta's Oaxaca work originated from her own Roman Catholic background. Mexico provided her with a religious aura she probably had not felt since she left Cuba. Artistically building upon those memories, she discovered new ways to explore sacred imagery in her

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pieces and bridge the gap between sacred and secular art forms without being pedantic or overly self-righteous. She successfully struck a new chord, one that built upon work she was doing in Iowa and at the same time departed from it.

Mendieta did five untitled works in the Cuilapan church. These were documented either by Breder or herself. (When she was the subject of the piece, Breder took a series of photographs of her in different poses or from different angles. When Mendieta used an object in her sculptural piece, she then photographed it in a series of shots.) She executed three different works in a niche on the inside wall of the open-air chapel. One of these "niche" pieces features the artist covered with a white sheet; another features the image of her body in red tempera on a white sheet; the third features an animal's heart supported by branches.

The first piece was done during one of the days when Breder worked in the open-air chapel with (Wilson) O'Donnel and Krueger. Mendieta brought a bedsheet from the Hotel Principal to use in her niche piece. Once her body was covered, she became a veiled statue.[105] She performed a series of six different poses in the niche (fig. 91), each of which was documented in 35mm slides. In conceiving the form of this piece, she drew upon Lenten traditions as well as her dance experiences at the university. Statues of holy figures--Christ Mary, the saints, and angels--are customarily draped in dark purple or in black, in church during Holy Week (fig. 92).[106] The images are unveiled for the Easter Vigil mass held after sundown on Holy Saturday. Mendieta's memory of having seen these veiled sculptures in both Cuba and Iowa may have prompted her reenactment of this religious ceremony.[107] She adopted a different modern dance expression for each of the poses in the niche. The ideas for dance movements likely came from her performance work in Robert Wilson's (1970) and Elaine Summers's (1973) productions.

The last niche piece features an animal's heart supported by branches (fig. 64) Unknown to her colleagues at the time, these three works address the subject of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, as discussed below.[108] In these sculptural pieces, Mendieta used a calf's

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heart that she bought in the market in Oaxaca. The branches supporting the heart are similar in appearance to the crown of thorns, an element often found wrapped around the disembodied heart of Jesus in iconographic representations. In Roman Catholic belief the heart crowned with thorns symbolizes Christ's love and his passion.[109] Mendieta's own Catholic background was steeped in devotion to the Sacred Heart. She and her sister went to El Apostolado del Sacrado Corazón de Jesus, a school run by nuns, devoted to the Sacred Heart. As was customary, on the first Friday of every month, the Mendieta sisters went to mass and communion to express their devotion to the Sacred Heart.[110] Raquel Oti, Ana and Raquelín Mendieta's mother, expressed her devotion by placing a statue of the Sacred Heart in her home in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, where it remained until her death.[111]

In examining the architectural stone elements in the Cuilapan church that are reproduced in Sleight, The Many Faces of Cuilapan, one discovers that the holy water font (fig. 93) is next to a sculpted stone image of an indented cross with a crown of thorns and three nails.[112] Mendieta responded to this specific religious imagery by doing a piece in the holy water font (fig. 94). There she placed the cow's heart most likely intended as a surrogate image of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Similiar to the heart-in-the-niche piece, it too was supported by thorny branches.

Another explicitly "Catholic" piece was performed on the rooftop of the Hotel Principal. Mendieta lay on a structural beam with her body wrapped in a white sheet; a calf's heart, symbolic of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, was placed on top of her. Breder assisted Mendieta by pouring blood over her body, the beam, and the surrounding roof area (fig. 95). Breder documented the piece in ten 35mm slides. That piece and the untitled one in the Cuilapan Monastery are similar. It is possible that Mendieta intended both pieces as oblique references to the religious devotion to the Sacred Heart and the veneration of the Holy Shroud, which allegedly reveals traces of the image of Jesus' face and his body wounds suffered from the crucifixion.[113]

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This piece must have been done without anyone other than Breder present because no one recalls having seeing it when it was created. However, the rooftop was an area first used by Helen (McGreevy) Hoff for one of her pieces. (McGreevy) Hoff and Monica (Wilson) O'Donnell, who shared a room together at the Hotel Principal, also collaborated on a couple of pieces. (McGreevy) Hoff's untitled piece (fig. 96) featured Monica breaking out from under a pile of tiles, an action that Helen likened to a resurrection.[114] The piece was constructed with found materials, including a bedspread and some roof tiles. Monica lay on the roof, and Helen covererd her with the bedspread; then Helen placed the tiles around and over Monica's body. Once Monica was covered, she pushed through the tiles. Helen, who was raised a Catholic, told me that the piece was inspired by the many religious images she saw in Oaxaca churches. (McGreevy) Hoff also did a piece titled Life in the Shadows (fig. 97). It consisted of a series of images each of which featured (Wilson) O'Donnell doing a different body movement behind the opaque glass pane of a hotel door. (McGreevy) Hoff photographed Monica's movements each of which appeared as a shadow. The art student became interested in working with shadows in part because of the extremes of light in Oaxaca. She was also inspired by Carlos Castaneda's Journey to Ixtlan. In that account don Juan, taught his protégé Carlos to find life and new meanings in shadows.[115] (McGreevy) Hoff did a site-specific body piece on the beach in La Ventosa when the group went there for a few days at the beginning of their trip. For that piece (fig. 98) Helen lay down on the beach digging her body imprint into the soft sand near the tide. She photographed her imprint once the tide washed over the outline of her head (fig. 99). It is likely, however, that (McGreevy) Hoff got her idea after having seen Breder do a body sculpture at the water's edge during low tide. Breder's piece (fig. 100) featured Mendieta with mirror. Although Helen did not pursue these formal directions in her work when she returned to Iowa, her piece may have stuck in Mendieta's mind because she utilized the form of the silhouette on sand in her later ephemeral pieces.

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Monica (Wilson) O' Donnell did a piece in the courtyard of the Hotel Principal. As it rained everyday, the dancer incorporated rain into her piece (fig. 101), showing its effects on her hair and body during an improvisational movement.

Dan De Prenger also found the beach a desirable locale for site-specific sculpture. He, too, had been impressed with the sense of religiosity and mysticism he felt when visiting the cathedral and churches in Oaxaca and surroundings. One of the objects that attracted his attention was the oblong glass globe used to cover statues of saints in Mexican churches.[116] He told me that he was enchanted with the idea of using the globes in artwork to create what he percieved to be a mysterious environment. In an untitled work (fig. 102), he placed two glass globes over coconut shells that were strewn on the beach. De Prenger expressed the thought to me that at the time he felt these were poetic pieces, substantively different from the body pieces he had been doing with neon, for example.

Warren Rosen and Richard Bloes also found the natural environment in Mexico a rewarding place to explore new forms, concepts, and materials. Rosen did a body piece in which he lay on the beach with his body partially covered with white sand.[117] The areas of his body that were tan, such as his upper back and legs, created a contrast of white, black, white, a play on minimalist pairings. He likened his body to a canvas and the sand to a surrogate pigment. I suggest the piece existed as a kind of private dialogue with Dennis Oppenheim's Reading Position for Second Degree Burn, 1970, a work Rosen would have known about from Avalanche.[118] The Oppenheim piece featured the artist lying in the sun on the beach for five hours, during which time he covered parts of his body with a book so that the skin tones changed over time.[119]

Richard Bloes created an interesting work with a pile of branches (fig. 103). He arranged them into an abstract figure that seemed to him to have a very skeletal shape.[120] He constructed the piece in a crevice which suggested a burial place. Evidently Bloes was also attempting to incorporate in his work some of the imagery he had been familiar with in Mexico.

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During the group's stay in Oaxaca, they met about once a week in the Hotel Principal to discuss their work. When the students returned to Iowa, they developed their film. When the fall semester began, Breder organized a small exhibition of some of their Oaxaca pieces; Mendieta showed Imagen de Yagul (fig. 66).

Looking back on the work Mendieta produced from fall 1972 through summer 1973, the artist continued to use her body as a vehicle or surface for transformation in her work. Several pieces from that period are well known today. Her production was based on subjects from the here and now -- on subjects that conjoin art and life. She drew inspiration from work discussed in Multimedia and in art magazines, from her personal life experiences and incidents or events that she observed. The works thus contain elements of self-referentiality as well as exteriority. She responded to her immediate environment on a conceptual and physical level. Her extended series on violence is visually dramatic and chilling in its explicitness. Mendieta first dealt with the presence of an absent figure when she created tableaux with empty garments. Mendieta's participation in CNPA productions with the Multimedia group gave her new opportunities for developing her perfomance work. The dance movement classes and performance pieces directed by Elaine Summers provided Mendieta with further opportunities to choreograph her own body movements in her performative work. The untitled piece with her body covered with a sheet in the niche in Cuilapan is one of several examples illustrating her directions along those lines (fig. 91). The Oaxaca trip provided the artist with a new venue where she incorporated both Roman Catholic and Pre-Columbian sources in her work. The resulting pieces affirmed the ways in which she vivified her knowledge of both cultures as she attempted to express aspects of her Cuban identity.

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[1] Lucy R. Lippard first met Mendieta at the University of Iowa in February 1975 when the critic was invited as a visiting artist by the CNPA. Lippard's visit is discussed in Chapter 5.

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[2] Lucy R. Lippard, "Transformation Art," Ms. Magazine (October 1975): 33.

[3] Lucy R. Lippard, "The Pains and Pleasure of Rebirth: Women's Body Art," in Art in America (May-June 1976): 80.

[4] Lucy R. Lippard, "Art Outdoors, In and Out of the Public Domain," Studio International (March-April 1977): 89.

[5] Lippard, "The Pains and Pleasure of Rebirth," p. 80. See From the Center: Feminist Essays in Women's Art, p. 137.

[6] The curatorial selection included the following three works: Untitled (Fetish Series) 1977; Body Tracks, 1982; Untitled (semicircular tree trunk carved and burned with gunpowder), 1985. For reproductions, see El Corazón Sangrante / The Bleeding Heart (Boston: Institute of Contemporary Art, 1991), pp. 103, 175, 178.

[7] William Hibbard, report, June 1973, n.p. The report was written as an overview of CNPA activities for the 1972/73 academic season, CNPA Records.

[8] In addition to the familiar places on campus such as the Macbride Auditorium, the New Ballroom in the Memorial Union, and the Museum of Art, in spring 1972, Multimedia and the CNPA also began to use the City Park for performances.

[9] Hibbard, report, June 1973, n.p., CNPA Records.

[10] De Prenger was a CNPA associate in performance from fall 1972 through spring of 1974, and Breder's teaching assistant for Multimedia I in fall 1973 and spring of 1974.

[11] Willoughby Sharp's studio-loft at 95 Grand Steet in New York served as a performance place for emerging artists who were doing body pieces. In 1971, for example, Breder first showed Intermedia Works at Sharp's studio-loft. Performances at 95 Grand Steet were often posted on the pages of Sharp's magazine Avalanche. For earlier discussion of Sharp, see Chapter 3.

[12] Hibbard, report, June 1973, n.p., CNPA Records.

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[13] The CNPA toured fifteen productions with the assistance of the NEA. See William Hibbard, "Places Toured under NEA Assistance: 1972-73 Academic Season," in report, June 1973, n.p., CNPA Records.

[14] Hibbard wrote: "If 'performance' be defined--in part--as the dissemination of artistic work to the public, then publication also falls into this category. We feel that the publication of art work is similar to touring in that it expands the CNPA's audience--indeed the area covered is broader than single concerts can provide." Ibid. Vol. 1 was published in July 1972, Vol. 2 in February 1973, and Speculum shortly thereafter.

[15] Tom Macaulay designed Vol. 1 and Vol. 2. He did the artwork for the cover of Vol. 1, and Derrick Woodham, another art professor, did the cover for Vol. 2. William Hibbard wrote a short introductory text for each publication. Students and faculty alike designed the layout for their own page(s) of work.

[16] All of the former students whom I interviewed remember with great enthusiasm the many opportunities provided by the CNPA program.

[17] Dan De Prenger's loft which had formerly been a dance studio--began to hold events that were well attended by the college community as well as by interested artists in the area. De Prenger, interview, 28 June 1995.

[18] Warren Rosen, interview, 1 August 1995. Warren Rosen studied in the Multimedia II program from fall 1971 through fall 1973; he was a CNPA associate in performance from fall 1972 through spring 1974. Rosen received his M.A. in Multimedia in spring 1974.

[19] Michael Kirby, "Hybrids, "Drama Review (June 1973): 101-104.

[20] Vol. 1 documented Breder's mirror and body sculpture pieces; Tom Macaulay and Chris Parker's Creation of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah Staterooms with General Assistance; Chris Parker's Projection and Zone; and Derrick Woodham's Work and Receptionist (pieces dealing with the public and private functions of a museum). Vol. 2 includes: Tom Macaulay's Four Corners of the State of Iowa, a companion piece to Creation of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah Staterooms with General Assistance

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(fall 1970); Michael Eilenfeldt's street work, 200 lbs. Sugar in the Crossing of Washington and Dubuque Streets, a street work executed during his work in Multimedia; Warren Rosen's Drag, Dan De Prenger's Neon Transit, and Hans Breder's Hybrids, all performed at the Max Hutchinson Gallery in New York; and Ted Jordan's untitled shaving piece (spring 1972). The photographic reproduction of Jordan's work also illustrated the piece of clip art with texts and diagrams indicating the places on the body where hair needed to be removed. Richard Bloes's conceptual work Shadow Correction was also reproduced. It originated as a proposal in which he took a photo of a shadow in a corner of a room. Bloes used a light diffuser to light out the shadow. For the piece in the publication, Bloes wrote a short text that was superimposed on the photo which features two gray walls in a room. It said: "shadow correction . . . paint all of the shadows in a room lighter until they disappear."

[21] Clarrisa Parker took a series of pictures of Winter Solstice. She did not remember other details of the work nor her late husband's specific interests in doing the piece. She did state that at the time Chris had begun to do site-specific work wherever he traveled. Parker, telephone interview, 13 May 1995.

[22] Tom Macaulay sent me a copy of Parker's reading list that he prepared for one of the Focus film festivals. Parker kept informed of contemporary art through his own voracious reading. Parker, who was highly considered for his intellectual bent by all who knew him at the University of Iowa, had a broad range of interdisciplinary books on his list.

[23] The earliest documentation I have found of Parallel Stress appears in Flash Art 23 (April 1971): 12. It is described in the following manner: "Documentation. (A ten minute performance piece on collapsed concrete pier between Brooklyn & Manhattan Bridges. The photo was taken of the body at the point of extreme stress). Size: 39 x 39". John Gibson Gallery, New York."

[24] For discussion of Projection, see Chapter 3, note 109.

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[25] Raquelín Mendieta, personal communication, New York, 13 August 1996.

[26] Raquelín Mendieta took some thirteen slides, of which only two are light enough to identify the images. When Ana finished the piece, Raquelín told her sister that she reminded her of the White Owl Cigar figure in the popular television commercial.

[27] The Nahuatl word Queztalcoatl means feathered, or plumed, serpent. He was held to be the ancient god and legendary ruler of the Toltec in Mexico. According to one source, the ruler of the Toltec left Tula, crossed the Valley of Mexico, and proceeded to the Gulf of Mexico where he set fire to himself and rose to the heavens to become the Morning Star. In a different version, he set sail eastward on a raft of serpents, prophesying that in another year Ce Acatl, the anniversary year of his birth, he would return to conquer his people. These two versions and others of Queztalcóatl are written about in Muriel Potter Weaver, Aztecs, Maya, & Their Predecessors: Archaeology of Mesoamerica (New York and London: Seminar Press, 1972), pp. 204-5. Jane (Noble) Hedrick remembers she and Ana sharing stories about diverse people's beliefs. Specific to this context, Ana showed her images of the plumed serpent Queztalcóatl. Jane (Noble) Hedrick, telephone conversation, 24 September 1996.

[28] Breder and several of his former students remember reading and discussing Castaneda's books during those years. They included: The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge (1968), Separate Reality: Further Conversations with Don Juan (1971), and Journey to Ixtlan: The Lessons of Don Juan (1972). Although Breder and Mendieta read Tales of Power (1974), together with the first three, it was discussed to a lesser degree than the first three. Breder, telephone conversation, 15 November 1996.

[29] Castaneda was an anthropology student at the University of California when he first began his apprenticeship under Juan Mutus, whom the author calls don Juan. His apprenticeship first began in 1961 and ended in 1973. The Yaqui socerer guided Carlos in the use of hallucinogens, peyote, jimson weed, and mushrooms, so he could learn the mysteries of sorcery. Through the separate ingestion of each of these, Carlos experienced

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altered states of consciousness, which he terms "nonordinary reality." Castaneda's writings, which are both ethnography and allegory, are grounded in anthropological research, thus providing the reader with glimpses of a Yaqui view that was not previously accessible to the author.

[30] When don Juan, describes to Carlos how he got hurt, the Yaqui indian explains that a woman named la Catalina flew into his house in order to kill him. Don Juan continued explaining that la Catalina, a "fiendish witch," knows how to become a bird in the same way that don Juan himself knows how to become a crow. This account first appears in Castaneda's The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968, p. 45. It also appears in an expanded context in A Separate Reality (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971), pp. 243-265.

[31] (Noble) Hedrick, telephone conversation, 21 September 1996.

[32] Although Monica (Wilson) O'Donnell was not in Multimedia II when Mendieta did Chicken Piece, she remembers hearing about the piece as being "really shocking and gutsy." (Wilson) O'Donnell who at the time was studying Multimedia I at the time also recalls hearing how the blood spattered on and around Mendieta. Monica (Wilson) O'Donnell, interviews, New Jersey, 13 and 26 September 1995.

[33] Ted Jordan, telephone interview, 12 December 1995. In recalling students, including himself, who worked in the nude, he commented that there were never any erotic overtones intended. He thought of the nude body more in terms of stripping down to the purest form. This notion was corroborated by Breder.

[34] For discussion of John Freeman's Empathy Generator, see Chapter 3.

[35] Breder, telephone interview, 18 June 1996.

[36] Nitsch's 31st Action (Mary's Conception) is illustrated in Gorsen, Sexualästhetik zur Bürgerlichen Rezeption, pp. 180-188; for Schwarzkogler's Chicken Action, see ibid., p. 171.

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[37] Scott Watson, "Rudolf Schwarzkogler," in Rudolf Schwarzkogler, exhibition catalogue (Vancouver, British Columbia: University of British Columbia Fine Arts Gallery, 1993), p. 14.

[38] Breder, telephone conversation, 28 August 1996. Warren Rosen still remembers discussions in Multimedia about the Viennese artists' animal and blood performances that were intended, in part, to subvert Catholic rituals. Rosen, interview, New York, 2 August 1995.

[39] It was also customary in Cuba at the time to take live chickens home and kill them. Once, when Ana was young, she saw a chicken with its neck rung in the courtyard of her home. The graphic sight was so upsetting to her that for years she refused to eat chicken. Raquelín Mendieta, personal conversation, New York, 13 August 1996.

[40] (Noble) Hedrick, telephone conversation, 24 September 1996.

[41] The sacrificial ritual is followed by chants, prayers, and invocations to the deity. Miguel (Willie) Ramos, telephone conversation, 26 September 1996. For discussion of blood sacrifices (ebo eje) as part of the offering of an animal to a deity, see Miguel Ramos, "Afro-Cuban Orisha Worship," in Santería Aesthetics in Contemporary Latin American Art, ed. Arturo Lindsay (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), p. 32.

[42] Mendieta communicated her thought in a letter to Stephanie Blackwood, curator of the exhibition "Rape." See Arlene Raven, "We Did Not Move from Theory We Moved to the Sorest Wounds," Rape, exhibition catalogue (Columbus: Ohio State University Gallery of Fine Art, 1985), p. 5, note 1.

[43] Although Mendieta was not aware of Suzanne Lacy's Rape Is of 1972, the piece remains one of the very early works by contemporary artists of the 70s generation to address specific examples of rape not only as a sexual violation but also as a psychological assault. Rape Is is an artist's book that Lacy published in two different editions, one in 1972, the other in 1976. Lacy donated her book to the Franklyn Furnace in 1978, which now belongs to the Museum of Modern Art/Franklyn Furnace/Artist Book Collection.

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[44] The details of Sara Jane Ottens's death were reported by Mark F. Rohner, "Probe into Slaying of Coed to Be Widened," Iowa City Press-Citizen, Saturday, 17 March 1973. See "Sara Jane Otten-James W. Hall," Vertical file, University of Iowa Archives.

[45] Rohner, "UI Student Indicted in Slaying of Coed," Iowa City Press-Citizen, 19 September 1973. See "Sara Jane Otten-James W. Hall," Vertical file.

[46] Larry Eckholt, "Autopsy Data on Dead Co-Ed," Des Moines Register, 14 November 1973. See "Sara Jane Otten-James W. Hall," Vertical file.

[47] When Hall's appeal was denied, he was sent to prison where he served nearly seven years of his fifty-year term. In 1983 a district court judge overturned his conviction. However, about twenty years after the Ottens murder, on 24 April 1993, James W. Hall was convicted of first-degree murder in a second strangulation case of another women. See Debora Wiley, "Hall Is Found Guilty in Latest Strangulation," Des Moines Register, 24 April 1993. See "Sara Jane Otten-James W. Hall," Vertical file.

[48] Raven wrote: "Rarely have we seen a realistic portrayal of a woman raped in any form of art. Never a human being lying lifeless in the room we have just entered. Never the artist herself, whose name we know, as a subject and not an object." Raven, "We Did Not Move from Theory," Rape, p. 5.

[49] See Sylvia Moore, review of WCA Panel, "Images of Rape in Western Art from a Feminist Perspective," in Women Artists News (Spring/Summer 1989): 25, 36. Moore summarized key points of the panelists' documentation of rape in art through the centuries. Jean Gillies, Eva Keuls, Arlene Raven, and Eleanor S. Wootton presented papers that critiqued depictions of rape in art for ignoring or disguising the brutality and humiliation of the actual act. Raven showed how the work of contemporary artists such as Suzanne Lacy, Ana Mendieta, and Nancy Spero, among others, provided an honest view of rape which in turn negates the romanticizing of it. Excerpts from Eleanor S. Wootton's paper ("Glorification of Rape by the 'Big Three,' But If You See It from Women's Eyes, It Doesn't Seem a Romp at All") were included in Moore's review.

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[50] (Noble) Hedrick, telephone conversation, 7 June 1996.

[51] Sheila Kelly, telephone interview, 1 December 1994. Kelly and Mendieta had been friends since 1966 when they were students at Briar Cliff College in Sioux City, Iowa.

[52] Kelly told me that she remembers being "shocked" when Ana told her that she was going to use blood in her work. Kelly, a sociology major, was very pleased about the prospect of assisting Ana with one of her pieces. Ibid.

[53] Mendieta took a big risk--anyone living on that floor of the apartment house could have walked into her apartment because the door was ajar.

[54] Breder told me that Ana did not tell anyone in her class, himself included, about her intentions to perform the rape piece.

[55] De Prenger, interview, New York, 3 August 1995.

[56] Macaulay (telephone conversation, 2 June 1995) was at the time an instructor in art; he believes he probably saw documentation of the piece after it was performed.

[57] Kelly, telephone conversation, 1 December 1994. Breder (telephone communication, 18 November 1993) also said that everybody was shocked at the power of the piece that was very dramatically staged.

[58] Kittredge Cherry, "Mendieta Incorporates Herself, Earth, and Art," Daily Iowan (University of Iowa) (6 December 1977), p. 7. The review was written on the occasion of Mendieta's one-person show at the Corroboree Gallery of New Concepts in December 1977. See chapter 7.

[59] Nina Felshin, "Clothing as Subject," Art Journal (Spring 1995): 20. In her article Felshin discusses the recent art of the empty dress as representing a departure from clothing's traditional role in Western art as an accompaniment to the body. Although Felshin did not write about Mendieta's piece, which has not yet been reproduced in the writings on the artist, it nevertheless is an earlier example which illustrates Felshin's thesis.

[60] (Noble) Hedrick, telephone conversation, 7 June 1996.

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Breder identified the locale for me in a letter, 21 August 1996.

[63] (Noble) Hedrick often spoke to me about Mendieta's passion for mysteries, which she frequently read, as well as for her love of old Charlie Chan movies.

[64] According to Raquelín Mendieta, many students, including Ana, lived in the old rundown building (now demolished), which was owned by a woman named Mrs. Moffitt, whose name came to identify the building at 101 South Linn Street. Mendieta, conversation, New York, 9 September 1994.

[65] Not only did Breder encourage aesthetic diversity, but Hibbard, director of the CNPA stated that one of the objectives of the program was to provide for laboratory-studio space suitable for experimentation and performance. See section 2. The Center for New Performing Arts in chapter 3.

[66] In written correspondence, 28 May 1996, Dennis Swanson identified the piece Mendieta did for the CNPA program on 3 March. He also sent me a copy of the brochure of the evening's program, which lists the artists but not the titles of their works. Swanson's description of the piece matches the Door Piece which Mendieta documented on Super 8mm film. According to Swanson and Breder, Mendieta returned to the loft following the evening's event, reenacted the piece, and documented it on Super 8mm film.

[67] Swanson and Rowley have both discussed with me the continuing interest many students had in the work of Duchamp.

[68] Swanson, written correspondence, 28 May 1996.

[69] Ibid. Marcel Duchamp, "The Creative Act," in The New Art: A Critical Anthology, ed. Gregory Battcock (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1966): 24, 25.

[70] Swanson, ibid. It should be noted that Swanson had a special interest in Duchamp. While working toward an M.F.A. in Art (Multimedia), he took Directed Studies (fall of 1972) with Frank Seiberling, the head of the Art Department, so he could undertake a semester's study on Duchamp.

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[71] Bill Rowley, telephone interview, 12 June 1995.

[72] See Elaine Summers's letter to William Hibbard, director of the CNPA, 13 February 1973, CNPA Records.

[73] Although Mendieta's name appears in three of the six programs, Elaine Summers and others remember the details of only two works, Iowa Blizzard and Chairs and Ladders.

[74] Although Summers had expected to work with dancers from the Dance Department, the people in that area did not want to work outside the conventions of established modern dance.

[75] My reconstruction of these warm-up classes is based upon conversations I had with Dan De Prenger, 3 August 1995; Ellen Krueger, telephone communication, 8 September 1996; and (Wilson) O'Donnell, telephone communication, 9 September 1996.

[76] Bill Rowley, telephone interview, 12 June 1995. Following that conversation, Rowley sent me a one-page announcement of the program listing the artists and the titles of their work. Rowley also included a written description of Projection Piece II and other pieces he did in 1973.

[77] Rowley, telephone conversation, 12 October 1996.

[78] Rowley, telephone interview, 12 June 1995.

[79] Michael Pearson, telephone interview, 26 July 1995.

[80] Burden (Chris Burden: 71-73 [Los Angeles: Chris Burden, 1988], p. 54) described the piece: "At 8 p.m. I lay down on La Cienega Boulevard and was covered completely with a canvas tarpaulin. Two fifteen-minute flares were placed near me to alert cars. Just before the flares extinguished, a police car arrived. I was arrested and booked for causing a false emergency to be reported. Trial took place in Beverly Hills. After three days of deliberation, the jury failed to reach a decision, and the judge dismissed the case."

[81] Hans Breder, Course Outline for Multimedia II (O15:100) Class in Mexico during the Summer Session of 1973. From the personal files of Helen (Mc Greevy) Hoff.

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[82] Helen (Mc Greevy) Hoff. Diary entry 6 January 1973.

[83] (Mc Greevy) Hoff, ibid.

[84] See "Chronology" in Ana Mendieta: A Retrospective (New York: New Museum for Contemporary Art, 1988), p. 70.

[85] (Wilson) O'Donnell, interview, New Jersey, 9 September 1995. According to (Wilson) O'Donnell when Mendieta spoke to the group about Mexico, her tone was serious and sober as opposed to the more usual flamboyant style that often charcterized her manner of speaking.

[86] Richard Bloes (interview, New York, 15 January 1994) had similar memories concerning Mendieta's unofficial role.

[87] When Breder was an art student in Germany, he was selected to train as an apprentice. He could therefore readily empathize with the methodology employed by don Juan who guided Carlos through a multitude of experiences so that Carlos might gain what the sorcerer defined as special knowledge. Breder maintains that as a teacher he also attempts to engage his students in their art production so they become aware of their stages of development.

[88] Dan De Prenger, interview, New York, 3 August 1995. De Prenger stayed some days in the village of Ixtlan on that trip.

[89] Bloes and Rosen departed for Yucatán where they stayed for the next several weeks. Hudina went to Puebla, among other places. I pieced together this information from Chuck Hudina (interview, San Francisco, 13 July 1995) and Helen (Mc Greevy) Hoff's diary, which contains a day-by-day account of the places she visited, as well as some of the places other students in the group visited.

[90] Breder, 28 November 1993. Helen (Mc Greevy) Hoff's diary provided me with many details of the trip.

[91] In (Mc Greevy) Hoff's diary entry on 12 June the first day after she arrived in Oaxaca, she wrote that they visited Monte Alban.

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[92] For a brief discussion of the danzantes (dancers), see Coe, Mexico, p. 95. Also see Covarrubias, Indian Art of Mexicoa and Central America (New York: Alfred A. Knoft, 1957), p. 147. Both books were required reading for Kampen's Introduction to Primitive Art.

[93] Ibid., p. 145.

[94] Rosen, interview, New York, 2 August 1995. Bloes corrorborated this view to me in his conversations on Oaxaca.

[95] Imagen de Yagul was the title of her piece in her M.F.A. thesis. At some later date, Mendieta descriptively titled the piece Flowers on Body.

[96] Breder, telephone conversation, 20 May 1994.

[97] Wilson, telephone conversation, 8 November 1996.

[98] In my conversations with Breder regarding this piece, he has always referred to the opening as a tomb. My research has confirmed that Mendieta did not do her piece in one of the principal tombs at that time. She evidently did her piece in a shallow open grave that had probably served as a burial place for a common person.

[99] Breder, telephone conversation, 11 September 1996. He also recalls that a guard came over to where they were performing the piece and stood by him without ever reproaching them.

[100] Mendieta's Imagen de Yagulseems to anticipate Dieter Appelt's Erinnerungsspur (Trace of Memory), 1978. In the later piece, the artist places his nude body in a shallow dirt grave in a field covered with snow. Appelt's piece is reproduced in William A. Ewing, The Body: Photographs of the Human Form (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1994), p. 317.

[101] Lucy Lippard makes a similar point (From the Center: Feminist Essays in Women's Art [New York: E.P. Dutton, 1976], p. 137), when she writes that the tiny white flowers "seem to be growing from her body."

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[102] For an interpretation of the female body and the earth as a performance of time and history, see Blocker, "The Unbaptized Earth: Ana Mendieta and the Performance of Exile." Ph.d. diss., pp. 52, 53.

[103] Eleanor Friend Sleight, The Many Faces of Cuilapan (Orlando, Fla.: Pueblo Press, 1988).

[104] I have been able to identify these elements and their whereabouts through reproductions in Sleight, The Many Faces of Cuilapan.

[105] In describing this piece, Charles Merewether notes the Catholic custom of covering sacred statuary at Easter. Merewether has misdated the piece summer 1974. Charles Merewether, "From Inscription to Dissolution: An Essay on Expenditure in the Work of Ana Mendieta," Ana Mendieta (Santiago de Compostela: Centro Gallego de Arte Contemporánea, 1996), p. 103.

[106] Donna Pierce, "A Living Ritual," in Mexican Celebrations (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), p. 9. I am grateful to Susan Aberth for bringing this book to my attention.

[107] In pre-Vatican II Roman Catholic rites, crucifixes and statues of the saints were covered with purple cloth during Holy Week. Vatican II simplified many rites, including this one.

[108] Apparently Mendieta never discussed her Catholic beliefs or her interests in Catholic iconography at this time with either Breder or her colleagues.

[109] My conversations with Ernesto Pujol regarding the iconography of and devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Sacred Heart of Mary have been very helpful in dealing with this material. Pujol, now an artist, was a Trappist cloistered monk at Mepkin Abbey in Moncks Corner, South Carolina, from 1980 to 1984.

[110] When Raquelín Mendieta became fifteen, she was invited to join a group of young people who were devoted to the Sacred Heart. Raquelín Mendieta, telephone conversation, 21 September 1996. She still has the medal she was given at the time she entered that

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association. The Oti family, maternal relatives of the Mendieta girls, was very devoted to the Sacred Heart.

[111] Ibid.

[112] See Sleight, The Many Faces of Cuilapan, fig. 39.

[113] The Holy Face Monastery in Clinton, New Jersey, has a photographic replica of what was purportedly the Holy Shroud. Under the imprimatur of Francis Cardinal Spellman, the monastery published a pamphlet on the replica with a brief history of the icon from the first time it was photographed in 1898 to the televised exposition of the Shroud with Pope Paul VI on 23 November 1973.

[114] In conversation with (McGreevy) Hoff on 8 November 1996.

[115] In (McGreevy) Hoff's journal entry of 18 June 1973 she records her thoughts regarding shadows. "I was thinking about shadows today. Don Juan speaks to Carlos of them when instructing him in the art of 'non-seeing'. Dan [De Prenger] referred to them as a wall (I wasn't understanding him very well) but I tend to think of them as negative space. They would be one aspect of what Don Juan was talking about when he said to look at what wasn't there. I also think of shadows as a mirror-image. Like in Han's pieces, the image in the mirror would be akin to a shadow. Shadows are black and white, not color. That leads to a possible photographic piece - cut out the shadows in the photo and maybe replace them with color, a drawing maybe? Shadows are dependent on objects, and partially vice versa. Shadows are what make things appear visually 3-d. Shadows may be a different dimension in themselves--Rod Surling (of Night Gallery) would think so." (Written correspondence, October 1996.)

[116] De Prenger, interview, New York, 3 August 1995.

[117] Rosen, interview, New York, 2 August 1995.

[118] Oppenheim's Stage 1 and 2 of Reading Position for Second Degree Burn (Jones Beach, June 1970) was illustrated in Sharp's Avalanche (Winter 1971): 18-19. In my

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conversations with Tom Macaulay, he recalled having taught his students the Oppenheim piece, emphasizing the ways in which the body could be used as a material surface.

[119] Oppenheim described his piece in the following manner: "The piece incorporates an inversion or reversal of energy expenditure. The body was placed in the position of recipient . . . an exposed plane, a captive surface. The piece has its roots in a notion of color change. Painters have always artificially instigated color activity. I allowed myself to be painted--my skin became pigment. I could regulate its intensity through control of the exposure time. Not only would my skin tones change, but its change registered on a sensory level--as well I could feel the act of becoming red. I was tattooed by the sun. You simply lie down and something takes you over. It's like plugging into the solar system." See Dennis Oppenheim, Reading Position for Second Degree Burn, in Dennis Oppenheim (1974), n.p.

[120] Bloes, interview, New York, 15 January 1994. The artist told me that Mendieta and Breder raved about his piece.

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Chapter 5

The Body as Imprint, Fall 1973 through Summer 1974

Introduction

In fall 1973 Mendieta continued to investigate the theme of violence, producing a series of individual works resonating with emotional power. One of her last and most disturbing pieces from that period features a series of photographs of the artist's face dripping with blood (fig. 104). She produced these in response to factual incidents of ambient violence as well as to satisfy her own need to deal directly with fears she had harbored since the time she was uprooted from Cuba.

In spring 1974 Mendieta did a series of performance pieces in the Multimedia studio where she outlines her silhouette and makes prints of her body in blood. Blood Sign #1 is the first piece to introduce the image of the artist's silhouette (silhueta), which soon becomes a leitmotif in her work (fig. 105). The silhouette and body prints functioned as alternative self-portraits as well as her surrogate presence.

During the summer trip to Oaxaca, the artist continued to explore site-specific places such as historical monuments, archaeological sites, and the Mexican landscape in which to do performative pieces. Mendieta expanded her visual vocabulary by doing floor sculpture, body pieces in the earth and water. The Cuilapan Monastery was by then a familiar place to reinvestigate Catholic subjects. The ceremonial site of Yagul provided the artist with an opportunity to do two innovative pieces: Laberinth Blood Imprint (fig. 106), a floor sculpture of the artist's silhouette that contained references to Precolumbian sources; and Burial Pyramid (fig. 107), the first piece in which the artist merges with the earth. The resulting body-earth sculpture evokes references to birth and thereby connects to an earlier body sculpture that evokes similar associations. In other performance pieces documented

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on super-8 film, Mendieta works in the water. Some of these pieces were done in private and others were executed in the presence of members of the Multimedia group who were studying in Mexico.

Mendieta's contributions were numerous: she was the only person among her contemporaries who worked at archaeological sites[1] with the aim of imbuing her pieces with Mesoamerican sources or historical overlays. Once again, the artist embraced Mexico as a place and as a subject, affirming her view of that country as her surrogate motherland.

During the course of the year beginning in fall 1973 and ending in summer 1974, Mendieta used her body as the subject and object of her work; as a formal element, as a field to act upon. Her pieces were hybrid forms of performance, sculpture, painting, and body art. All her work during this period is characterized by a high degree of quiet theatricality and an astonishing range of formal and emotional power as noted in such differing expressions as "Self-Portrait with Blood on Face" (fig. 104) and Creek #1 (fig. 108).

1. Fall 1973

Multimedia Explorations of Body Sculpture

As noted in the preceding chapter, both Multimedia and Intermedia work encouraged students to use their bodies as modes of expression. Among the diverse modes of conceptual art that students explored, it was body work, in its multiple expressions, that continued to engage a number of students. Dan De Prenger and Charles Ray, for example, both produced some very provocative pieces the same semester that Mendieta continued exploring themes of violence in her body pieces. Dan De Prenger expanded upon his earlier body sculpture pieces. In Untitled (November), four different-colored neon tubes were suspended from a tree (fig. 109). The tubes were hung in the tree with power lines running from the tubes to the ground, where the lines were attached to a transformer. The

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sculptural piece was displayed in the park, together with other site-specific work, from night to the following morning. In the artist's view, the work moves between the boundaries of performance and installation. In this experimental environment, artists (both staff and students) working with these concepts hoped that the viewer would begin to appreciate new forms of sculpture placed outside a museum setting.

Charles Ray, an undergraduate in the sculpture area, did several sculptural pieces with his body for Multimedia that have recently garnered national and international critical attention.[2] Plank Piece I and Plank Piece II (figs. 110 and 111), now in the collection of the Lannon Foundation, were radical departures from the minimalist constructivist sculpure Ray was doing at that time. The two body pieces were executed in the Multimedia studio with the assistance of fellow students. Executed when the artist was still an undergraduate, his pieces connect with some of the experimental modes afoot in Multimedia. In response to Breder's encouragement to do body and performance pieces, Ray conceptualized a piece in which he could combine some of the formal ideas from working with abstract steel sculpture with those that embraced the new ideas of body art.[3] Once Ray decided the concept and the elements for his piece, he brought a plank into the Multimedia studio. With the assistance of fellow students, his body was placed over the end of the wood plank which leaned against the wall forming a 90 degree angle at the base. His limp body, which looked like a sack of potatoes, appeared precariously pinned to the wall by the plank (Plank Piece I). In Plank Piece II, Ray's body hung upside down against the wall. He was supported in this awkward position by the plank which was placed under the back of his knees so that it could maintain the weight of his upper body which was stretched out against the wall. In both pieces his body defied gravity as it was suspended in the air. Ray expressed the thought that at the time he was investigating the formal relationships between the body, the wall, and the plank. He had not yet, however, perceived his body as a field, surface, or substitute canvas, as did other students, such as Mendieta, for example. Because he was only twenty at the time, and because of the idea that one's work was not

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supposed to be about one's inner feelings (according to the artist), Ray did not consciously think of his piece as having any autobiographical meaning. During the intervening years, the artist has reflected upon his earlier ideas and has come to realize that there were many autobiographical elements in the two works.[4]

Ray did a piece in the Multimedia studio in which his body, wrapped with rope, was suspended from a wall (fig. 112).[5] In another piece in which his body resembled a cocoon, he was wrapped in rope and then lifted up and suspended from a tree. Already accustomed to working with steel, ropes, and natural objects such as trees, Ray chose materials for his body sculpture with an eye to the formal elements. The artist recalls that his friends lifted him up into the tree where he remained for several hours.[6] Ray told me that he was not afraid of falling from the tree. He selected a spot on or near the campus where lots of people regularly passed by. He found it intriguing that he would be seen by some people as they passed by but go unnoticed by others. He hoped to do a piece that would reverberate within the community. Despite Ray's lack of concern with what appears to be a precarious position, this (documentation of the) piece--as well as the plank pieces--create within the viewer a sense of anxiety. The very idea of placing one's body thirty feet off the ground creates a sense of extreme unease for the viewer. That quality gives the piece its edge and connects it to similar explorations that Oppenheim and Burden did in some of their body pieces already discussed herein. From another perspective, it is interesting that both Mendieta and Ray did pieces in public areas that depended on passersby discovering them. Mendieta explored this notion in several works including The Moffit Building (figs. 80-83). Both Mendieta and Ray were interested in finding ways to challenge the "person on the street" to become engaged--however fleetingly--in a work of art. Similarly to Ray, Mendieta had already begun to use her body in performative sculptural pieces in her Oaxaca works.

Multimedia Performances in Collaboration with CNPA

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The Center for New Performing Art presented an "Evening of Video, Film & Dance," 9 November 1973, at 119 1/2 East College Street (fig. 105). The performers included Hans Breder with Ellen Krueger and Monica Wilson, Dan De Prenger, Bill Rowley, Raymond Metrulis, Warren Rosen with Chuck Hudina & the Mystery Lady, Cynthia Hedstrom, Visiting Artist, and Ana Mendieta with Sabin School Students. The group presented a wide range of individual works reflecting the diverse areas each worked in. Breder's piece featured Wilson and Krueger in Clap, a body percussive piece that was documented on video.[7] The work featured Krueger producing body sounds on Wilson's back. Rowley did Delay Decay, a video performance; Warren Rosen did another version of Drag; Metrulis did a piece with electric fans. Dan De Prenger showed his film (The Incredible) Shrinking Man, which (Wilson) O'Donnell remembers as a wonderful piece.[8] De Prenger collaborated with Rowley, who used a high-speed camera to film De Prenger's piece.[9] It featured De Prenger on a street corner among passersby. At a given signal, De Prenger performed a trick fall, which Rowley, who was about a block away, filmed with a telephoto lens. Although the fall lasted only a few seconds, the projected film time lasted about five minutes.[10] The resulting imagery was shown in very slow motion. Although De Prenger's full figure was included in the frame as he fell, the extreme foreshortening of the image provided no clue that he was falling forward. Thus, to the film viewer, his body appeared to shrink during the viewing time. Hedstrom presented two works: a live solo dance piece featuring improvised movement and a video art piece. The improvisational dance piece made use of the new dance vocabularies Hedstrom had been exploring in her work with an improvisation group called the Natural History of the American Dancer. That group was influenced by the Grand Union, a dance collective that performed at the university the following spring semester.[11] For the video piece, Hedstrom choreographed a dance in which the camera focused exclusively on her knees. She attached some objects to her lower legs which produced percussive sounds adding a rhythmic quality to her dance.

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In the same presentation of "Evening of Video, Film & Dance" (9 November), Mendieta directed Freeze, a movement piece with fifth and sixth grade children from one of her art classes at the Sabin school. The idea for using students in a performance event no doubt came from Robert Wilson's Iowa performances of Handbill and Deafman Glance (fall 1970) in which he filled most of the roles with university students. In Mendieta's performance piece she periodically called out, "Freeze." In response to that command, each child came to a complete stop and held his or her position for a brief time without moving. The idea behind the piece was to capture a series of body movements based on natural movements, all the while communicating the notion of the body as a sculptural form. Mendieta handed out an announcement of Freeze with the following text: "Time passing and change are undeniable aspects of the world around us. For the artist of our day time has an increasingly higher dignity. Often artistic creation results in the production of art objects. However when a concern for time is primary, an experience, not an object may result. The 5th and 6th graders from Henry Sabin School participated in the creation of such an experience. Though the participants were young, the art ideas were not diluted."[12]

In this brief accompanying text, Mendieta suggested that conventional definitions of art were being redefined. Two of those changes involved the notions that art was not necessarily limited to the production of a static object and that art could be perceived as experience itself. Without resorting to complicated theory, Mendieta set forth the idea that time, process, and ephemerality are elements of artistic creation.

The final collaborative event was A Presentation by the Multimedia & Intermedia Classes with CNPA Members Participating, 7 December 1973, with Charley Ray, Monica Wilson, Bill Rowley, Ellen Krueger, Terry Reilly, Chuck Hudina, Ana Mendieta, and Charlie Luther (fig. 114). Bill Rowley designed the field of letters surrounding the names of the participating artists and their works. The field of letters reads: "ORDER OF EVENTS FOR FRIDAY DECEMBER 7 1973 AT THE ONE STOP GALLERY."

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Mendieta did a piece titled Sign. There is no documentation in the artist's archives of a piece with this title. It is possible that she did her first version of a piece that became Blood Sign #1 and Blood Sign #2 (March 1974). Rowley seems to remembers that she made marks with her body on paper.[13] He related to me that Mendieta did a piece that was something like a work of Yves Klein (who covered models' bodies with pigment). In Mendieta's piece, she worked with blood instead of pigment and applied it to the surface, which Rowley recalls was a large sheet of paper. According to his recollection, Mendieta, who was nude, put blood either on her arms or on other parts of her body and moved over the surface of the paper. If Rowley's recollection is correct, it was in December that Mendieta first performed a piece in which she ran her arms down paper, leaving her prints on the surface.

In that December event, Ray showed a series of photographs titled All My Clothes, in which he modeled a different set of clothing for each picture (fig. 115). Many years later when the series was shown in a solo show of his work, the artist wrote a brief text elucidating the serial imagery: "I am the model for a photographic inventory of all the clothes in my wardrobe."[14] Beyond expressing his understanding of the body as an arena for performance, Ray was also experimenting with ways to reinvent Duchamp's idea of the found object as well as minimalism's notions of repetition. It seems Ray was anticipating post-minimalism's concern with personal or private references or narratives, as was Mendieta in her investigations.

Monica (Wilson) O' Donnell and Ellen Krueger each did similar improvisational pieces.[15] Their movements involved weight changes, holding heavy things and carrying bundles on their backs. Their ideas came from observations they made while in Mexico, where they saw people carrying things in long black shawls on their backs, from their chests, or their heads.

In addition to designing the announcement, Rowley also performed Stupid Dance, a super-8 projection piece.[16] The filmmaker shot a large spider as it descended on a thread

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of silk. In order to film it, he stooped down and followed its movement close at hand. For the perfomance, Rowley projected the image of the spider on the wall holding the camera as he had when he originally filmed it. When the spider descended, Rowley stooped down under the image to make it seem that the beam of light from the projector was revealing the image of the spider.

Hudina did a video piece titled Frame with Monica Wilson.[17] It featured a male-female struggle, a reference to a battle of the sexes. Wilson was trying to get into the frame, while Hudina, with his back toward the camera, was trying to block her. The camera filmed a closeup of their backs and torsos, creating body pieces from their movements.

Mendieta: Themes of Violence, a Continuation

Mendieta pursued themes of violence in her works throughout the fall of 1973, no doubt in response to the continued press coverage of the Sara Jane Ottens, a nursing student who had been killed the previous March in her dormitory at the University of Iowa. By mid-September, James W. Hall, a fellow student at the university, was indicted by the grand jury. Following his indictment, someone donated money for bond release. Newspaper reports reiterated details of the brutal crime, including the possibility that Ms. Ottens "was apparently even sexually molested after her death."[18] Judging from her powerful and evocative explorations of physical assault, Mendieta was deeply affected by the circumstances surrounding this crime. She did four pieces in the fall that continue to document her outrage. Rape Piece was performed in private in a wooded area.[19] Nude from the waist down, Mendieta's rear end and legs were covered with blood (fig. 108). She was photographed in different positions with her body spread-eagled, face down. One shot, however, captures a partial view of her head and face with one of her closed eyes (fig. 117). She had the piece documented from thirty-five angles, some of which focused exclusively on the bloodstained vegetation. Her narrative, which can be reconstructed by

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arranging the thirty-five shots in a sequential order, leads the spectator to this chance encounter with the dead body of a woman raped and abandoned in the woods.

Mendieta selected each site for her pieces with utmost consideration. For the Rape Piece, the artist needed a private place where the odds of her being seen were slight. In choosing a secluded wooded area, she may have thought about Scott Burton's similar choice for his furniture tableau (fig. 47). Certainly her decision was informed by her knowing that such out-of-the-way places like the woods have traditionally been used for clandestine meetings between lovers as well as for perverse acts such as rape. Woods could also be, as they were in this work, a convenient place for the molester to leave his victim.

Lucy Lippard rightly pointed out that women body artists, in contradistinction to their male counterparts, rarely inflicted physical harm on their bodies.[20] However, she also noted that "the fear of pain, cruelty and violence surfaces frequently in their work."[21] The three examples Lippard cited were Hannah Wilke's S.O.S. (Scarification Object Series, 1974-75), Rebecca Horn's body contraption pieces, and Ana Mendieta's rape pieces (the one in her apartment and the one in the woods). Wilke's and Horn's pieces were executed after Mendieta's, but Chris Burden's Shoot of 1971 was well known to Multimedia graduates at that time. The piece featured the artist getting shot in the arm by a friend. I suggest that Burden's daring may have encouraged Mendieta to perform an action that required a great deal of courage. In the same way that it was not common for a male artist to wound his body in an art piece, it was not common for a woman artist to represent her body as a site for mutilation, especially the kind that women most profoundly fear. It would be some years before women artists would represent their psychic and physical pain as graphically as Mendieta did.

Mendieta's unrelenting pursuit of violent subjects led her to take photographs of dead animals found on the street (fig. 118). A series titled Dead Animals consists of eighteen slides of a small snake, squirrels, birds, and other unidentifiable animals.[22] She

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may have considered the work as preparatory or auxiliary material within the larger theme of death by homicide. Nevertheless, the theme of Dead Animals is very interesting from the standpoint of her ongoing search into the daily world for subjects that evidently captured her attention and imagination.

Mattresses (October) was done in an old, empty farmhouse (fig. 119).[23] It appears that Mendieta gathered debris from within the house and scattered it over the mattresses. She poured paint over various objects, including the mattresses themselves, and spattered it on the wall. Even though no one was present, this work, perhaps more than any other, conveys the sense of a depraved act. The dirty objects, the abandoned site, the blood-stained materials symbolize the brutality of the imagined struggle between Ottens and her purported rapist-killer, or by extension any woman and her attacker. It was only in November, a month after Mendieta did Mattresses, that a news report released information stating that Sara Jane Ottens was not sexually molested.

As I noted earlier in this discussion of Mendieta's works addressing the theme of violence and crime, she hoped that passersby would discover her pieces whether in City Park or the alleyway next to her apartment building. Indeed this happened one afternoon when unexpectedly one of her peers, Charles Ray, drove up to the empty farmhouse where, unbeknownst to him, Mendieta had already executed her mattrress pieces. In recalling this unexpected discovery to me, Ray still remembers the horror he felt when he came upon what he supposed was the scene of a violent crime. Afraid to call the police to report this incident, Ray returned to the university and recounted the incident to the Multimedia class. While he was explaining the condition of the room and what he imagined to be the residue of the crime, Mendieta announced that it was she who had executed the tableau. Ray recalls that she was very pleased that he had come upon the piece unexpectedly and had been so moved. Mendieta asked Ray if he would write something on the piece for her.[24]

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Mendieta did Sweating Blood (November), which she documented on super-8 film and showed to the class. Students usually prepared their pieces outside the class and either reexecuted them in the studio or showed documentation of them there. Sweating Blood was executed during the same months as her work dealing with rape and death, but it departs from the subject of physical assault. Mendieta seized upon the common expression "sweating blood" and turned it into a literal exercise and a convincing illusion at the same time. Mendieta also achieved some interesting visual effects all the while using blood. During the performance she kept her eyes closed, and blood slowly seeped from her hair down her face. Without examining the original film to see how it was edited, one could speculate that the camera stopped and started as someone, out of the camera's view, injected blood into her hair so it could run down her face.[25]

Dripwall (December) was a variation of the sweating blood piece. In this work, Mendieta covered a doorway with paper that was punctured with holes. From behind the paper she squirted blood, probably with a syringe, so that the paper appears to be sweating blood. The blood flowed down the paper in three vertical lines, suggesting an abstract image of the crucifixion.

One of the artist's final works of 1973 is "Self-Portrait with Blood on Face" (December) (fig. 104). Each of the twenty-four shots illustrated a different position of the artist's face with blood streaming down. These works also project us forward in time to Barbara Kruger's now famous "Your body is a battleground."[26] We are reminded of police shots of battered women. In all likelihood, a personal family incident sparked her decision to do this rendering. Earlier in the year, Mendieta's sister Raquelín had been assaulted by her husband.[27] In one incident among several, Ana was at her sister's home when her alcoholic husband threw a frozen piece of meat at her.[28] When Raquelín said she would call the police, he took a shotgun and fired it in the air. He then proceeded to hit her head against the door, causing a concussion.

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At the end of a year's investigation on the theme of violence, Mendieta decided to reveal her face as if it had been injured. "Self-Portrait with Blood on Face" elucidates the triangular relationship of the subject as both object and victim of abuse. Similar to other pieces in this series, this work communicates with the outside world, all the while becoming a container for anxiety. The piece itself reaches a new watermark with respect to the emotional impact it makes on the viewer.

Although Mendieta rarely spoke directly about the meaning of her pieces to anyone, at times she did reveal some of her interests to a few people who were close to her. For example, when her sister Raquelín asked her why she used blood in her pieces, Ana confided that she was very afraid of both violence and a violent death--two fears undoubtedly caused by her premature and prolonged separation from her family. She explained that, by working with blood and with violent images, she exorcised those fears.[29]

One may ask why Mendieta was generally not forthcoming about the content or meaning in her work. There are several answers: one has to do with the nature of classroom critiques and others have to do with Mendieta's desire not to discuss her work in terms of her own personal experiences or feelings. During critiques Multimedia class members usually discussed each other's work in formal terms rather than in terms of content.[30] Students talked about their experiences while making the work, their choice of materials, and problems or challenges encountered in the process. Breder often asked them to comment on whether they thought a piece "worked" or not, and, if it did, why? Rowley recalls members of the group often talked about "our experiences in producing the work because we were talking about art in a raw state as proposed by Duchamp in his lecture 'The Creative Act.' We weren't trying to give these works meanings. To give them [definitive] meanings was to end the life of the work of art and make it a museum piece [an object of consumption]."[31] Thus accordingly Multimedia and Intermedia students did not attempt to give an absolute or definitive meaning to each other's work at the time they

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discussed it in the classroom. Within the established format of classroom discussions it is understandable that Mendieta would have resisted discussing her work in terms of its content. This point is illustrated in an anecdote that Dan De Prenger related to me.[32] After Mendieta did one of her pieces with blood, De Prenger asked her why she used that particular medium in her work. He wanted to know if she used it for texture, for color or for some other reason. She not only refused to answer his question but also became furious and all but stopped talking to him. Looking back on the incident, he still does not know if she reacted the way she did because she thought he was challenging her right to use whatever materials she wanted or because he was undermining her artistic intent.

It is important to keep in mind that Mendieta was very private about disclosing details regarding her personal life. While she was open about having come to the United States because of the Cuban Revolution, she was very guarded about disclosing information regarding the tremendous difficulties she endured as a result of being separated from her family and home, about her early problems in the orphanage and her poor treatment in her first foster home. In a similar vein Mendieta did not share her feelings regarding the brutality of Jane Ottens's death with her colleagues either in private conversations or in class critiques. She did, however, express her sentiments through the performance of her works. In my discussions with former students, several of them made some significant comments along these lines. Dan De Prenger said that Mendieta never explained her work in terms of private references, although he wished she had because he feels he may have understood it better.[33] Chuck Hudina commented that, at twenty or twenty-one, he was not yet mature enough to have grasped the personal narrative embedded in her work.[34] Charles Ray told me that it was not common for college students in their early twenties to discuss life's complexities at that age,[35] and now feels that such a conversation maybe more appropriate to people at a later stage in life. Finally, Rowley suggested that a fellow classmate would not have asked Mendieta why she did the things

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she did because it would have seemed as if he were prying into areas that were personal, and there was no context for that in Multimedia.

2. Spring 1974

Vito Acconci, Visiting Artist at CNPA

In February Vito Acconci was invited as a visiting artist by the Center for New Performing Arts. He was recommended to the committee by Hans Breder, who had known the artist and his work from the late 1960s when Acconci first came to critical attention. By 1974 Acconci had become known as "one of the major bodies in a new art movement known as body art."[36] Considering the artist's credentials, Acconci was a very strong choice for a variety of reasons. He had developed an extensive body of work on videotapes, films, and audiotapes, many of which had received significant critical attention to date in the leading art publications;[37] he had already had solo shows in some of the leading avant-garde galleries in New York as well as in several important university galleries;[38] and he had participated in an extensive number of group shows both in this country and in Europe.[39] In addition to his cutting-edge work in body art and performance, Acconci, who also had a strong teaching background, was a graduate of the Writer's Workshop at the University of Iowa where he received his MFA in 1964.[40]

Breder and several of his students vividly remember that Acconci showed slides and videos of his work, providing a kind of retrospective.[41] The following pieces are among those that the artist either spoke about or might have spoken about when he presented his work to the Multimedia classes as well as in his public lecture. Some of these are based on former students' accounts; others are included because they are among the most highly written about at the time and it seems likely that Acconci would have discussed them.[42]

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In Following Piece, September 1969, the artist selected an unknown person at random everyday for one month and followed that person until he or she entered a private place.[43] Drifts, September 1970, was shown to the class.[44] The piece, which informed one of Ana Mendieta's Oaxaca pieces the following summer, features the artist in a series of actions in which he rolls toward and away from the waves and then rolls on the sand with his wet body.[45] Combination, performance, June 1971, was a piece in which the artist sat in a closet for six hours with three roosters.[46] The artist explained that the roosters both resisted his body and used it as shelter.[47] Claim Excerpts, September 1971, was a three-hour video performance during which the artist sat blindfolded in the basement with metal pipes and a crowbar in his hands.[48] Acconci's performance was shown on a TV monitor upstairs where viewers could also hear the artist threaten to use the weapons if they entered his territory. Seedbed, January 1972, performed at the Sonnabend Gallery in Soho, was one of the artist's most notorious pieces.[49] The piece had to do with the artist who masturbated under the gallery floor. Acconci hid himself from the public, beneath a sloped floor. Visitors to the gallery could not see the artist, but they could hear his amplified voice talking about himself while he manipulated his genitals. "Acconci's performance involved its viewers in the most private psychology of the plot / artist."[50]

First Appearance of Mendieta's Silhouette (Silhueta)

Although Mendieta continued using blood as the primary medium in her work, she no longer so explicit in exploring the subject of violence. In March she performed several pieces in the Multimedia studio which signaled a new direction in her development. She produced Blood Sign #1 and Blood Sign #2, experimental classroom pieces in which the artist drew her outline (in Blood Sign #1) and then pressed and dragged her hands and arms on the wall (in Blood Sign #2) to register their traces. Blood Sign #1 begins with the artist facing a wall with her back to the camera (and the class) (figs. 105). She then bends down and slowly dips her hands and forearms in a small pan of blood placed next to her on

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the floor. She places her hands on the wall at the top of her head and traces her outline around the contours of her body. Because the consistency of blood medium is thin, Mendieta had to reinforce the outline several times where the tracing was faint. She performs the action with a deliberate and serious demeanor. After the outline is traced, she takes a few steps back, pauses, looks, and then reapproaches her outline now handprinted on the wall and writes: "There's a devil inside me." The phrase was one Mendieta grew up hearing in Cuba from adults who remarked to her that she had a "little devil" in her ("tienes un diablito adentro") on those occasions when she was up to mischief.[51] Her inclusion of a brief text in Blood Sign #1 enabled her to incorporate aspects of an autobiographical narrative, which in turn provided her with a mode for merging art and life. The body tracing provided her with an image of her absent self which also functioned as an alternative self-portrait. As I discussed Chapter 4, Mendieta first suggested the presence of a person, that being her own, through the representation of the empty garments in an untitled piece with bloody jeans. In that piece the garments themselves served as the body of the absent wearer and, as such, suggested her presence.

When the camera began filming Blood Sign #2, Mendieta's hands and forearms already had the blood medium on them (fig. 120). The artist began her piece with her outstretched arms raised above her head in a V position. She slowly dragged her hands down the length of the wall bending her body to control her movement, until she nearly touched the baseboard. After making the traces of her arms and hands, she stood up and took several steps back from the wall so that the camera (and the class) could focus on the prints. It is interesting to observe in the black and white prints of Blood Sign #1 and Blood Sign #2 that Mendieta executed the work on the section of the wall that had electrical outlets. At the time, Mendieta was evidently more focused on the process of the piece, on determining whether it could hold its own as a fully independent work. Therefore she did not pay attention to choosing a surface free of mechanical fixtures which would interfere with the look of the final image, that being the contour of her body handpainted in red

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blood. After she had worked through the first two pieces, Mendieta reexplored the process and form in three other works, documented only on super-8 film, and subsequently titled Three Short Film Ideas. In producing those pieces that same March, Mendieta chose a clean section of the wall in the Multimedia studio. In the first piece, she was nude from the waist up when she began by placing her hands against the wall near her shoulders. She then moved her hands down the wall, slowly marking the contours of her body. In the second piece, she began with her hands and arms extended along the wall at shoulder height. She then moved her hands along the path of her outstretched arms until she reached her shoulders at which point she followed the vertical outline of her body to the floor. When she finished the slow ritualistic tracing, she stood up and walked away from the camera's view, leaving behind a schematic body outline traced in blood.

The third piece contained elements of the preceding two, which were in turn variations of Blood Sign #1 and Blood Sign #2. Mendieta was evidently very satisfied with the results of these pieces for she adopted aspects of them in a series titled Body Tracks performed the following December. In the December series there are at least three sets of documention; each features the artist executing her body prints in tempera on different-colored bannerlike supports that she hung against the wall in the Multimedia studio (figs. 121, 122, 123). The banners--whether white, red, or silver--provide a pristine backdrop in that they concealed the irregularities of the old walls as well as the electrical outlets. They also served as colorful backdrops for the reductivist image of her body prints and outline. The large cloth supports became art objects which Mendieta kept for several years.[52] Body Tracks was certainly one of her favorite works. She hung a series of them in the Multimedia studio when Lucy R. Lippard went to the university as a visiting artist in spring 1975 (figs. 124);[53] she performed the piece in Antwerp, Belgium in 1976 and at Franklyn Furnace in New York in 1982. Within the context of the work produced in Multimedia and the CNPA at the time, Body Tracks was a paradigmatic example of a work that conjoined ideas basic to several art forms while challenging the

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conventional boundaries between them: the pieces could be viewed as painting, body work, and performance all at once. They conform to the category of painting because Mendieta's pieces are made with tempera on a cloth-support; they also reveal the gestural markings of her hands in a very literal way, recalling the spontaneous thrusts of paint that artists such as Jackson Pollock did in his work.[54] To the extent that the artist uses her own body instead of a brush to apply the pigment to the surface, Body Tracks differs from a conventional painting. With respect to body work, Mendieta's form is both the subject and object of the piece. Considering her piece in the light of performance, she performed the role of both director and actor, employing theatricality in executing the piece. As the performance piece was ephemeral, its documentation depended upon the camera, which ultimately became more important to the posterity of the piece than were the banners as permanent objects.

As for the inspirational sources of Mendieta's explorations, the most specific links are to Yves Klein's Anthropometries. Under the artist's direction, female models, partially covered in blue paint, pressed their bodies on a white ground, leaving a series of body prints as physical evidence of their gestural expressions.[55] Multimedia students talked about Klein's performance of Anthropometries in Breder's workshop, where two early copies of Avalanche with articles on Klein's celebrated Paris performance were available.[56] Mendieta adopted the central idea of Klein's conceptual performances: using the body as a tool to register its image on a support. With Klein's work as a model for her performance-based pieces, she introduced certain changes in the French artist's flamboyant style and process. For example, Mendieta was the sole performer, collapsing, as it were, Klein's role as directer and his models as actors into one. She also adopted a body language suggestive of a quasi-religious act beginning with her "blood" or "paint" applications through her slow, deliberate body movements. Although Mendieta performed a couple of the March pieces in the nude, she was dressed while executing the December series of Body Tracks. Although Klein's Anthropometries provided Mendieta with a specific model

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for her performance-based pieces, she may well have considered the body imagery in any number of Jasper Johns's paintings such as Pinion, 1963-66, or Divers, 1962. Although Pinion features imprints of different body parts (a knee, hand, and foot, for example), Divers seems to have provided a prototype for one of Mendieta's versions of Body Tracks (fig. 133). In that performative piece the artist registers her arm prints down the center of the banner, leaving an imprint on it that is strikingly similar to the one in Divers.[57]

In April, Mendieta recreated Feathers on a Woman of 1972 as part of Mnemonicist, a CNPA intermedia performance at the Museum of Art.[58] Mnemonicist was conceived by Hans Breder in collaboration with Stephen Bundy, a colleague, visiting dancer Gretchen Langstaff, and CNPA artists (figs. 126).[59] The participating students included Greg Gradient, Kristine Graziano, Chuck Hudina, Ellen Krueger, Carol Martin, Ana Mendieta, Louise Nehis, Martha Paulos, Monica Wilson, and Kathleen Young. Breder aimed at creating an intermedia work with dance movements, music, and both slide and film projections.[60] In keeping with the conceptual principles of CNPA performance which Breder helped evolve, Mnemonicist integrated diverse interdisciplinary aesthetics into a collagelike form. In its entirety the program featured numerous vignettes on stage that were simultaneously visible to the audience. Several pieces featured body movements in the forms of classical ballet, modern dance, and wrestling. Two pieces recalled narrative elements of the Icarus myth; two others the Venus myth. Gretchen Langstaff, the visiting dancer, performed a classical ballet piece. Two CNPA students (Ellen Krueger and Monica Wilson) performed modern dance movements with a mirror, simulating living sculpture. Two men (one from the wrestling team, another from the film area) staged a wrestling match. In the context of ballet and modern dance, their movements could be likened to dance. Breder elaborated on the Icarus myth in the film Icarus.[61] It featured a woman flying through the air, simulating the flight and fall of Icarus, who died when his wax-and-feather wings melted because he flew too close to the sun.[62] Aspects of the Icarus legend were also suggested in Mendieta's piece in which she attached feathers to the head

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and body of a woman model (figs. 127).[63] The visual narrative recalls a part of the story in which Daedalus made artificial wings for his son and himself so they could escape King Minos.

Breder related aspects of the Venus myth through two projection pieces. In one, slides of historical Venus images were projected on the body of a performer who simulated the movements of the two-dimensional images. In another, Breder projected words of the song "Blanziflor et Helena" from Carl Orff's choral work Carmina Burana: "Ave, formosissima / gemma pretiosa, / ave, decus virginum, / virgo gloriosa, / ave mundi luminar, / ave, mundi rosa, / Blanziflor et Helena, Venus generosa!"[64] Breder used the Greek-derived word Mnemonicist for the name of the performance in order to suggest memory, which interweaves diverse narrative elements from myths and medieval songs in the nonnarrative sequence of individual pieces that comprise his intermedia work.

3. Summer 1974

Oaxaca

For the second summer Breder held his Multimedia II class in Oaxaca. That year he organized the trip with two other professors from the art department. John Schultz taught Creative Photography and Carl Fracassini taught Watercolor Painting. According to the class lists, there were about twenty-nine students enrolled in the three courses. Multimedia II had seven students; Creative Photography thirteen, and Watercolor Painting nine.

The student composition of Multimedia II was different from that of the previous summer because none of the students had ever taken classes in Multimedia or Intermedia. All the students enrolled in Breder's course also took Creative Photography, and most of the students were undergraduates. Dan Bernstein and Michael Peterson, who were enrolled in Multimedia II in Oaxaca, recall that they did not begin to get a feel for performance-oriented work until the later part of the course.[65]

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Although my research has not turned up a copy of the announcement of the Multimedia II course, Breder stated that the objectives were the same as those posted in the 1973 announcement.[66] Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the program defined itself and its expectations similarly to the way it did before. In some form or other, the new students coming from other areas in the Art Department would have become aware that Multimedia was considered an interdisciplinary program that sought to explore new forms, concepts, aesthetics, and materials in relation to performance; that it was concerned with experiments, with actions whose outcome could be predicted beforehand.[67] New members of the group would also have heard about Multimedia's emphasis on exploring site-specific locations in new terrains.

Before leaving for Oaxaca, there was a meeting in which the instructors informed the group about the cultural differences between Mexico and the United States.[68] Bernstein still recalls a general discussion on the great differences between Mexican-Indian and Anglo-American cultures. Prior to his embarking on the trip, he expected it "would offer an entirely different experience."[69]

Students enrolled in Multimedia II arrived in Oaxaca on their own. Breder and Mendieta traveled together as they had done the previous year. Upon arrival everyone stayed in Jorge Brena's Hotel Principal. Shortly thereafter some of the group moved to different places in and around Oaxaca. Breder and Mendieta rented bungalows in San Felipe, a little village outside Oaxaca. The Hotel Principal still remained a place of general activity for weekly reunions as well as a workplace where students developed their black-and-white photography in a darkroom set up there.[70]

Breder's teaching approach, like that of Schultz, was very "loose."[71] According to Peterson's recollections, both professors felt that Mexico offered an environment that would motivate them to look at things differently. The group met with Breder once a week to discuss ideas for a piece or talk about a piece one of them had done.[72] During those

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sessions they talked about where they had gone or where they would like to go. They also made plans for larger trips to archaeological sites or to other places of mutual interest.

The Multimedia II group followed working modes similar to those of the 1973 group. Individuals often paired off or went in smaller groups of threes or fours to places they wanted to explore, sometimes producing work for one of their courses. Breder and Mendieta usually went out on their own to do their work. The former students with whom I had conversations told me they did not do many pieces for Breder's class. According to them, it was easier for them as photography students to take photographs than it was to devise body or performance-oriented work in situ.[73] Although Breder brought a Sony video camera and tape deck, a super-8 camera, and a Polaroid camera, there were some problems with the equipment. The video camera as well as the Polaroid camera broke down a couple of weeks into the session.[74] As everyone had been looking forward to using the video camera, there was a sense of disappointment when it was no longer available to them. Because the students from the Multimedia group brought their own 35mm cameras with them for their work in Creative Photography, the loss of the Polaroid camera did not amount to much. However, most of the students were not able to use the super-8 camera because they did not have extra supplies of film.[75]

Breder's group visited most of the sites the earlier group had seen, for example, the great archaeological ruins of Monte Alban, Mitla, and Yagul. On those occasions the three classes traveled there together in a large outing. During the eight-week trip, the Multimedia people went for several days to La Ventosa on the peninsula of Salina Cruz on the Gulf of Tehuantepec. While there, some stayed with Mexican families, and others found a little hotel. Some of the Multimedia II group also visited small villages in and around the city of Oaxaca, such as Zaachilla, Tlacolula, and Teotitlan del Valle.

Although Mendieta was not enrolled in the Multimedia course, she produced a significant number of works that expanded her practice. Judging from the work she documented, she took to heart the notion of exploring new forms, concepts, aesthetics, and

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materials in relation to performance. In producing some provocative pieces of body art in unusual places, she investigated the possibilities of working with nature's materials, the earth and water. She returned to work in the Cuilapan Monastery and Yagul and La Ventosa to create new work. Some of her pieces had religious meanings; others established a personal link to a broader cultural history; and still others were experiential, secular pieces, but performed as ritual. Generally Mendieta did her work privately in the company of Breder. There were occasions, however, when she did her performative pieces in the presence of others.

Mendieta returned to the beautiful Cuilapan church where she had executed several pieces in a niche in the open-air courtyard the previous summer, including a body sculpture of the artist covered with a white sheet, and a sculptural object of an animal's heart supported by branches. On this occasion Mendieta was inspired to do another unusual piece. In "Body Piece in Baptismal Font," the artist submerged herself inside the stone baptismal font, which is located in the baptistry in the unfinished part of the church (fig. 128).[76] Mendieta seems to have been considering several sources and ideas for this work. In part, she was responding to Breder's body-mirror sculpture pieces. Rather than working with a mirror and its reflected image of a woman's body parts, the artist positioned one of her arms and two of her legs to suggest a similar kind of body fragmentation. It is well to recall that Mendieta had previously adopted the iconography of the fragmented body in pieces addressing the subject of rape. In addition to the notion of fragmentation, and its corollary, dismemberment, the work includes the Catholic reference to relics. The tradition of keeping body parts of saints as relics for devotional and miraculous purposes has a long history beginning in the period of the Early Church. I suggest that Mendieta was working with all of these ideas. As she chose a specific element--the baptismal font--as the container for her piece, she evidently intended to symbolize the importance of the sacrament of baptism in the church's teaching. She knew that this font was constructed to perform the rite of baptism during which persons being

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baptized have holy water poured over their foreheads. The sacrament is administered to erase original sin, bringing the individual into the community of Christ. Mendieta must have felt free to execute pieces that incorporate Catholic iconography because the font was no longer used for religious rites. From the artist's point of view, probably, none of her pieces would have been considered sacrilegious because they were not performed in the functioning part of the church.[77] Mendieta would have perceived the baptismal font and its surrounding space in the unfinished part of the Dominican church as a dramatic background, one ideally suited for her private body performance pieces, but one that nevertheless offered her the opportunity to draw on religious rites, practices, and customs.[78]

Mendieta further explored the possibilities of dismemberment in another piece in which she hid in a trench and exposed parts of her limbs above the ground line (figs. 129). Breder took 35mm shots of Mendieta's site-specific performances. He captured her in four different positions: one features the artist's arm and a leg; another, a forearm and part of her other hand; another, the soles of her two feet; the fourth, part of a leg and an arm.[79] These shots of isolated limbs remind us of figure fragments, arms and legs, that often appear on the surface of the ground in rural terrains in Mesoamerica. I suggest that Mendieta was reminded of the archaeological studies of artifacts that were collected from the ground surface from Otumba, a site near San Juan Teotihuacán in summer 1971.[80] Mendieta established a three-part equation, combining aspects of burial, archaeology (thus discovery), and contemporary body art. In unexpected ways, this piece, similar to earlier ones, reveals the artist's ongoing interest in producing work that a passerby (whether actual or imagined) would happen upon. This spirit informs the artist's earlier pieces such as "Bloody Bones in the Alley," "Suitcase among the Rocks," and Moffit Building.[81]

In Untitled (body contour on grass in red tempera) (figs. 130), Mendieta continued exploring the theme of burial, thereby establishing a direct dialogue with Imagén de Yagul (aka Flowers on Body) of 1973. In that piece, Mendieta lay nude in a shallow grave with

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her body covered with white flowers. In the 1974 work the artist once again selected a shallow open grave as a container for her body as artifact. By contrast, she formed an image of her body by pouring tempera on the grass-covered ground.[82] As the 35mm slides document only the finished piece, we have to imagine the artist's working process. It appears from the imprint of her legs shown in the slide that she began by lying on the grass to form an impression of her body before she freely filled in the outline with red tempera. She was not able to get a clearly delineated outline of her body probably because of the uneven levels of grass and the fact that she had no way to contain the tempera from running. Notwithstanding the technical difficulties involved, she successfully rendered the image of her silhouette, a motif that characterizes her work from late 1975.

Mendieta did two other pieces in the ceremonial center of Yagul that summer. The first, Laberinth Blood Imprint (figs. 106), was performed in the Palace of the Six Patios and documented on both 35mm slides and super-8 film.[83] The slide documentation captures the image of Mendieta's silhouette on the floor of an open patio with columns.[84] The super-8 film begins with a moving view of a long, narrow passageway. In a short time the camera focuses on the image of Mendieta's silhouette which she executed on the floor of the patio. Mendieta's working process for this piece is similar to that employed for other site-specific pieces noted previously. It combines elements of preplanning together with a good measure of spontaneity. The fact that she brought blood with her to the archaeological site indicates her intentions to do a piece, conditions permitting. Because she was with a large group from the three classes at Yagul, she had to make instant decisions about where and when to execute her piece. Breder remembers that she decided to do the floor sculpture at a moment's notice. He traced Mendieta's silhouette while she lay on the floor.[85] She then scooped the dirt from the floor around her outline to make a rim which contained the blood she poured. Mendieta worked very quickly to avoid being stopped by the watchman. Breder had no sooner finished taking shots of the piece than the watchman came with a broom and swept it away without saying a word to anyone.[86]

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Given Mendieta's inclination to do pieces that passersby would later find, she must have been disappointed that no one would chance upon the image of a silhouette in blood executed on the floor.

The resulting image features the outline of her body with her arms somewhat uplifted and extended away from her shoulders in a position reminiscent of the one she used to register her body prints in the second untitled piece in Three Short Film Ideas. (In the March 1973 piece, she extended her arms at shoulder height prior to making her body prints with her hands and arms.) Mendieta also seems to have based this image, at least in part, on a large painted pictograph on the face of a cliff, at the nearby archaeological site of Caballito Blanco near Yagul[87] (fig. 131). The image in the pictograph is distinguished by the rays emanating from the head and arms.[88] Mendieta seems to have loosely appropriated those elements to form one of the arms of her imprint. No other image in Mendieta's oeuvre is configured in quite this manner. But her appropriation of that pictograph is characteristic of the way Mendieta often worked, which was to look about her, find contemporary or historical sources, take certain elements from them, and then transform those into an image of her own making. She did this in a number of her paintings by introducing Mesoamerican motifs. Evidence of this is noted in "Seated Woman with Triple Headdress Projections" (fig. 17) and "Seated Woman with Earspools" (fig. 22), among others.

Despite the apparent spontaneity of the piece, at least from the standpoint of its impromtu execution, Mendieta attached great importance to it. Art historian Sherry Buckberrough told me that, according to Mendieta, "it was the first piece that used the silhouette image instead of her body."[89] Whether the silhouette image was the artist's first, or as I would assert, among her first, is perhaps not as consequential as the fact that the artist recognized its importance in her development.

Indeed Labyrinth Blood Imprint is a pivotal piece of special significance. The performance of the piece continues the strategy of outlining the body, an act first performed

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in her March pieces. The final image prefigures a new iconography, that being the human body silhouette configured with outstretched and uplifted arms. Finally, it establishes the primacy of the singular, reductivist image as leitmotif in the form of a silhouette. The final image in Labyrinth Blood Imprint attests to the artist's intent to transform a historical motif to foreground her work in a Mesoamerican context. If the March pieces, Blood Sign #1 and Blood Sign #2, blurred the boundaries between painting and body work, then Labyrinth Blood Imprint introduces another dimension to her intermedia work -- the body imprint as floor sculpture.

Burial Pyramid was the artist's second piece performed at Yagul (fig. 107). It exhibits the kind of bravado that Mendieta was fond of projecting in her pieces.[90] Mendieta performed the piece next to the stairs of a temple mound in the presence of the Multimedia group. A couple of the students helped her remove the rocks to make a partial clearing where she could lie on the ground.[91] Once she lay down, another student helped pile the rough rocks on top of her nude body until she was completely covered except for her face.[92]

The two-and-a-half-minute film begins with a view of Mendieta's body buried under rocks. The camera focuses on the artist, who is slowly trying to emerge from underneath them. Her deep breathing creates body movements that slowly unsettle the rocks placed on her chest. Once they tumble off, she is free to move her legs, even if ever so slowly, to dislodge the ones on the lower part of her body. By the end of the film, the rocks had only rolled off one of her legs. Once she realizes that she cannot budge the remaining ones, she remains immobile with her eyes closed. In the final moments of the film, the camera focuses on the artist's body, capturing her union with the earth.

Burial Pyramid, was the artist's first earth-body piece. She transformed ideas originating in monumental earth works into a personal idiom that expanded her modes of body sculpture, performance, and small-scale earth work.[93]

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Although Mendieta performed Burial Pyramid in a spontaneous moment, she had already done a work that embraced some of the directions explored in the 1974 piece. Grass on Woman, 1972, was Mendieta's first body sculpture that connected with nature. That work features the artist lying face down on the freshly cut lawn with blades of grass partially covering her body (fig. 43). Burial Pyramid brings that tentative investigation to new heights. From this point on, Mendieta expands in countless ways the subject of the human body in nature.

There are several contemporary works that might have prompted the artist's thinking along these lines. I believe she incorporated ideas from artists who did earth works as well as those who did body art executed in nature. Robert Smithson and Dennis Oppenheim both did work that seems to have resonances in Burial Pyramid. Mendieta first learned about Smithson's earth works from John Perrault when he taught Art Theory II, a contemporary art course, at the University of Iowa in 1969.[94] Smithson's earth works received extensive publication from the late 1960s through the mid-1970s.[95] Multimedia students were very aware of his work, although their discussions were not as focused on earth works as they were on body work and intermedia work.[96] Multimedia students, including Mendieta, did not have the manpower or the material to execute large-scale earth projects in the manner of Smithson's Spiral Jetty, 1970-71, or Amarillo Ramp, 1973. Nevertheless, the notion of working with the earth and its elements appealed to Mendieta, as is illustrated by Burial Pyramid. By the time the artist did that work in Yagul, she was already using her body as subject and object of her work; and sometimes, as noted in that piece, her body functioned as a site, a place. In contrast to Smithson, Mendieta used her own body to determine the scale of the work as well as its form. In the light of these considerations, then, it seems that Dennis Oppenheim's Rocked Hand, 1970, (fig. 132) from the Aspen Projects, was a work that offered Mendieta specific points of departure.[97] The Oppenheim piece, documented on super-8 film, features the artist slowly covering one of his hands with rocks. Once the artist's left hand is weighed down and covered, it blends

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into the suroundings.[98] Mendieta might have known about Rocked Hand from Willoughby Sharp's lecture and videotapes in Iowa in spring 1971 or from seeing it illustrated in art magazines.[99] I suggest that Mendieta appropriated some of Oppenheim's ideas regarding the use of his body, which he placed in physical contact with the land. She engaged Oppenheim in a dialogue when she executed Burial Pyramid. To her credit, she expanded the conversation by adding significant elements to it. Whereas Oppenheim covered his hand to blend with the landscape, she covered her body. In the final analysis, her piece became a metaphor for union with the earth, for the process of birth or life.

In retrospect, it is interesting to compare Burial Pyramid to Mary Beth Edelson's Woman Rising / Earth, 1974. There are important parallels between Edelson's piece and Mendieta's in terms of form, although Mendieta could not have known about Edelson's piece at the time.[100] Woman Rising / Earth (fig. 133) features the artist lying nude on the beach in the Outer Banks along the North Carolina coast. In a series of photographic documentation, which was not published at the time, each shot captures the sequential movements beginning with the artist lying nude on the beach to the final shot of having risen to a fully standing position. Edelson wrote: "I found a spot on an isolated part of the beach where I would not be stumbled upon because I intented to try to communicate with the ancient goddess."[101]

Unlike Edelson, Mendieta never physically rose from the earth. Whereas Edelson engaged in a private dialogue with the goddess, Mendieta attempted to merge--both physically and metaphorically--with nature or mother earth, whom she viewed as a feminine entity.[102]

In addition to the provocative earth-body sculptures performed in Yagul--one in blood and one with rocks--Mendieta did several other unusual pieces in the water which expanded her formal vocabulary and conceptual modes. These include Bird Run, Ocean Bird Washup, and Creek #1. These pieces provide further evidence of the artist's earlier thoughts regarding art, which she said is not necessarily limited to the production of a static

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object, but which can be perceived as experience itself.[103] These pieces as well as her subsequent production affirm her belief that time, process, and ephemerality are artistic creations.

The first two pieces were executed in La Ventosa when Mendieta, Breder, and some of the Multimedia group visited there during the first half of the summer. Bird Run and Ocean Bird Washup were executed in private and filmed by Breder. They were conceived as experimental pieces that both incorporated familiar elements and expanded the artist's vocabulary . In many regards Bird Run is an extension of Feathers on a Woman, originally performed in October 1972 and more recently in April 1974. Mendieta transformed herself into a white bird with feathersand ran down the beach at water's edge for the duration of one minute and forty-five seconds. While the repetitive nature of the exercises reminds one of some of the physical activities performed by body artists in the early 1970s, it also illustrates Mendieta's interest in doing pieces based on empirical experience. The film is followed by Ocean Bird Washup in which Mendieta continues her role as a birdwoman. The film begins with the artist floating on the gentle waves in the ocean. During the three-minute piece the artist's body is washed by the waves until she is carried onto the shore. Her body functions as object, a piece of driftwood, as it were. Once her body is washed onto the sand, she remains there for the duration of the piece while the waves break over her.

These pieces are about the artist as performer experiencing nature's rhythms, nature's elements. Mendieta did her first piece on the beach at the water's edge the previous summer when she modeled for Breder (fig. 100). Evidently she wanted to perform an autonomous piece in the same site utilizing the elements of sand and water. It seems to me that Mendieta's point of departure for Ocean Bird Washup was Vito Acconci's Drifts, a piece featured in Avalanche in 1971.[104] An extensive series of photographs documents the artist's performance. It illustrates Acconci, fully dressed, rolling toward the waves as the waves roll toward him. In another series of photographs, Acconci rolls away

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from the waves as the waves roll away from him. In yet another, the artist lies on the beach in one position as the waves come up to him. Then with his wet body, the artist shifts around on the sand as the sand clings to him. Each of these activities is documented by a series of photographs, and each is accompanied by the artist's words describing how he moves his body and how these movements define the notion of performance.

Mendieta adopted some of Acconci's ideas in Drifts in conceptualizing her water pieces. Whereas Acconci performed the piece himself, Mendieta simulated the role of a birdwoman, a transformative role that evidently still interested her. Perhaps the artist still thought about the transformative roles of the birdwoman or La Catalina in Castaneda's writings or Icarus, who flew too close to the sun. Whatever her motivation, Ocean Bird Washup allowed her to experience the sensation of the waves moving her body onto the shore. Her body became an object at the same time that it was the activator or the performer. Through these pieces the artist discovered a phenomenological experience that was part of the experimental nature of Multimedia work.

Mendieta did another water piece before the summer was over. Creek #1 (fig. 108) was performed in a creek in San Felipe during a class outing.[105] In an offbeat moment, Mendieta decided to do a body piece in the water. Creek #1 was a quiet, static piece, a couple of minutes in duration. Filmed on super-8 film, the work features the artist lying immobile in the water, feet anchored on a rock, hands holding onto two rocks. Her head is turned to the side so she can breathe out of her mouth. Jane (Noble) Hedrick suggested that part of Mendieta's interest in doing a piece like this was to overcome her fear of being submerged in water.[106] If this view is correct, then perhaps Mendieta tried to overcome this fear by confronting it in her art, similarly to the way she attempted to deal with her fear of violence and death by using blood.

Looking back on the work Mendieta produced from fall 1973 through summer 1974, it is clear that the artist made another quantum leap. In the fall she continued exploring the subject of violence in its many manifestations in a series of powerful pieces.

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In the spring she introduced a new motif, her body's imprint or trace or silhouette. The body's imprint as final image is beautifully documented in her first floor sculpture, Laberinth Blood Imprint, in Oaxaca in the summer of 1974. During those months, Mendieta incorporated the Mexican environment in very direct ways while consistently challenging her own sensibilities and inventiveness. Her most significant innovations include a piece in which the artist merges with nature and several others in which she begins working with water. These pieces embrace nature as a place and a concept in her work.

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[1] Dan Bernstein, telephone interview, 23 February 1997.

[2] Several of Ray's works from 1973, in the form of photographic documentation, were included in important recent exhibitions. For example, Plank Piece I and Plank Piece II, Untitled (Ray's body wrapped in rope and suspended from the branches of a tree), and All My Clothes, all of 1973, were exhibited in "Charles Ray" at the Rooseum - Center for Contemporary Art, Malmö, Sweden in 1994. Olga Viso illustrated Plank Piece I and Plank Piece II in her catalogue essay, "Charles Ray: Abstract Sculpture and Lived Reality," in Distemper: Dissonant Themes in the Art of the 1990s (Washington, D.C.: Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, 1996), pp. 78-85; and Untitled (Ray's body wrapped in rope and suspended from the wall in the Multimedia class), 1973, is reproduced in "Charles Ray 1953" (portfolio), Grand St. 59 (1996): 24.

[3] Charles Ray, telephone interview, 6 December 1996. During our conversation Ray spoke to me about his early work under the English sculptor Roland Brenner, who taught in the sculpture area at the University of Iowa. Brenner's work was based on Anthony Caro's sculpture. As a result of Brenner's teaching, Ray was immersed in Caro's methodology of abstract steel sculpture. When Ray took his first course in Multimedia in the fall of 1973, he was moving I beams around his studio. The conceptual leap occurred when Ray figured

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out a way to make a body sculpture that combined some of the rigid forms of abstract sculpture with the more organic forms of the human body.

[4] Ray expressed similar sentiments in the article by Peter Clothier, "Charles Ray: Edgy, Provocative Presences." Art News (December 1987): 97-98.

[5] Untitled, 1973, is reproduced in Grand St. 59 (1996): 24.

[6] Ray, ibid.

[7] Breder's Percussion Piece is reproduced in Intermedia, p. 62.

[8] Monica (Wilson) O'Donnell, interview, 13 and 26 September 1995.

[9] De Prenger, telephone conversation, 18 December 1996.

[10] Rowley, telephone conversation, 18 December 1996. Rowley told me that the high-speed camera was able to expose a 200-foot roll of 16mm film in 5.3 seconds when projecting at the normal rate of twenty-four frames per second.

[11] Cynthia Hedstrom, telephone interview, 10 December 1996. Hedstrom could not remember the details of her live solo piece. While in Iowa much of the fall, she had a studio and held workshops, but she no longer recalls the activities of her workshop.

[12] Mendieta's announcement came to my attention thanks to Bill Rowley who had kept it in his files.

[13] Rowley, telephone interview, 20 June 1995.

[14] Charley Ray, exhibition catalogue (Malmo: Rooseum - Center for Contemporary Art, 1994), p. 32.

[15] (Wilson) O' Donnell, interview, 13 September 1995.

[16] Rowley, telephone interview, 7 July 1995.

[17] Hudina, interview, 13 July 1995.

[18] Larry Eckholt, "Judge to Rule on Hall's Bond," Des Moines Register, 22 September 1973. Eckholt's article quoted the state in a resistance filed in court.

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[19] I have not been able to identify the person who assisted Mendieta in documenting her piece on 35mm slides.

[20] Lippard, "The Pains and Pleasure of Rebirth: Women's Body Art," Art in America (May-June 1976): 80.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Raquelín Mendieta recently found the 35mm slides documenting this work in her sister's personal material. This work, together with an extensive series of slides of other work, is now in the Galerie Lelong. None of the 35mm slides was published during her life, and to date Dead Animals has not been written about.

[23] In my conversations with Charles Ray (telephone interview, 6 December 1996), I learned the whereabouts of Mendieta's mattress pieces.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Bill Rowley, telephone conversation, 6 July 1995.

[26] Barbara Kruger, Untitled work, 1989, photosilkscreen on vinyl. Interesting in this regard, Kruger was one of the artists who judged the selection of works for the exhibition "Rape" at the Ohio State University Gallery of Fine Art in 1985.

[27] Raquelín Mendieta, conversation, 13 August 1996. I am very moved by the confidence Raquelín Mendieta showed me and her willingness to allow me to write about this personal incident in my dissertation. I trust that no one who reads this in the future will take the liberty to repeat this incident without specific permission from her.

[28] Ana Mendieta managed to take Raquelín's two young daughters to the bedroom so they would not see their father's tirade.

[29] Raquelín Mendieta, telephone conversation, 30 March 1994.

[30] Rosen, interview, 2 August 1995; Rowley, interview, 20 June, 1995; De Prenger, interview, 3 August 1996.

[31] Rowley, telephone interview, 20 June 1995.

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[32] De Prenger, interview, 3 August 1996.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Chuck Hudina, interview, 13 July 1995.

[35] Ray, ibid.

[36] David Bourdon, "An Eccentric Body of Art," Saturday Review of the Arts 1: 2 (February 3, 1973); reprinted in Babcock and Nickas, eds., The Art of Performance, p. 187.

[37] Some of the early reviews and articles on Acconci appeared in Artforum, Avalanche, Arts Magazine, Art in America, and Village Voice. For a list of works and a selected bibliography, see Kate Linker, Vito Acconci (New York: Rizzoli, 1994), pp. 202-219.

[38] These galleries include the John Gibson Gallery, 112 Greene Street, and the Sonnabend Gallery; the museum galleries include the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence and the California Institute of the Arts in Valencia.

[39] Two prestigious national shows include the Whitney Museum of American Art (1973) and the Museum of Modern Art, New York (1971 and 1973). Among the many international exhibitions, Documenta 5 (1972) at the Museum Fridericianum in Kassel, West Germany was of great importance. See Vito Acconci Biography (May 1994), pp. 4, 16, in Artist Exhibition Catalogue, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

[40] Acconci taught at the School of Visual Arts, New York (1968-1971) and the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, Halifax (1971-1972).

[41] Breder conversation, New York, 2 December 1996. Former students who were in the Multimedia program or Studio Art at the time include Monica Wilson, interview, 13 and 26 September 1995; Bill Rowley, interview, 20 June 1995; Luther Utterbeck, interview, Iowa City, 7 December 1994; Dan De Prenger, interview, 6 June and 3 August 1995. Dennis Swanson, interview, 28 July 1995.

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[42] Some former students still remembered the titles of Acconci's works; others described his work, in which case I was able to provide the title herein. For specific works by Acconci that were introduced by Willoughby Sharp in his series of lectures, films, and videos on body works in spring 1971, see Chapter 3.

[43] Bourdon, "An Eccentric Body of Art," p. 185.

[44] Utterbeck, interview.

[45] For extensive photodocumentation of this performance, see especially Vito Acconci, "Drifts and Conversations," Avalanche 2 (Winter 1971): 83-85.

[46] De Prenger, ibid.

[47] Vito Acconci, Vito Acconci, exhibition catalogue (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1979), n. p. The performance is identified and briefly described next to number 17.

[48] Wilson, ibid.

[49] Dennis Swanson (interview, 28 July 1995), who was no longer in the program when Acconci went to lecture in February 1974, told me an interesting anecdote in relation to Seedbed, which came to everyone's attention in Multimedia at the time it was performed. Swanson remembered Hans, Ana, himself, and some other people going over to the apartment of a waitress who worked at a local bar and filming her [on video] while she masturbated. Apparently that act was a take off on the Acconci piece--finding a person who was doing in real life what Acconci was doing in art.

[50] Paul Shimmel, "Just the Facts," Chris Burden: A Twenty-Year Survey. (Newport Beach, CA: Newport Harbor Art Museum, 1988), p. 16.

[51] Raquelín Mendieta, conversation, New York, 5 September 1994.

[52] At some juncture she attached them to flagpoles so they could blow in the wind. Breder (conversation, 15 October 1993) told me that Mendieta kept the banners until 1980 when she threw them away.

[53] Breder, conversation, 10 May 1994.

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[54] Mendieta would have known Jackson Pollock's Mural of 1943 and Portrait of H.M. of 1945, which were part of the collection of the University of Iowa Museum of Art since the late 1940s. Pollock was one of several abstract expressionists whose work was in the collection. For reproductions of Pollock's paintings, see The University of Iowa Museum of Art 101 Masterworks (Iowa City: The University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1986), pp. 114-119.

[55] For an interesting article on Klein's Anthropometries, see Christopher Phillips, "All about Yves," Art in America (May 1995): 88-91, which details the variety of processes and the supports Klein employed. For example, sometimes the models left their imprints on linen, at other times on unpigmented white silk. Sometimes Klein spray painted around their outlines.

[56] Dennis Swanson, who took Multimedia II through spring 1972 and taught Multimedia I through spring 1973, remembers many references to Klein during those years. Bill Rowley, Breder's teaching assistant in Intermedia though spring 1974, has similar memories. Regarding Willoughby Sharp's first article on body works, he wrote that Klein wore gloves to avoid getting paint on his hands when he painted his models. See "Body Works," No. 1 Avalanche (Fall 1970): 13. In the following issue, Sharp reproduced an extensive series of photographs of Klein's performance at the International Gallery of Contemporary Art in Paris. See "Yves Klein by Shunk-Kender," Avalanche (Winter 1971): 36-43. In addition to these two sources, the University of Iowa Library had in its holdings numerous catalogues on the work of Yves Klein.

[57] Mendieta may have seen a reproduction of Pinion, 1963-66, in Idea and Image in Recent Art (Chicago: Chicago Institute of Art, 1974), an important exhibition catalogue at the time that addressed Duchamp's broad significance in the work of contemporary artists such as Cage and Johns, Nauman and Acconci. Mendieta could have been familiar with Divers from any number of publications in the holdings of the University of Iowa Library. The

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painting was reproduced in, for example, Jasper Johns, exhibition catalogue (New York: The Jewish Museum, 1964), fig. 70, and in Jasper Johns (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1972), fig. 36.

[58] Monica (Wilson) O'Donnell told me about this CNPA performance which is not listed in the Center for New Performing Arts Survey of Performing Seasons. (Wilson) O'Donnell gave me a copy of the CNPA poster which features Ellen Krueger and herself performing in Breder's piece.

[59] Stephen Bundy, an assistant professor in Interdimensional Concepts at the university, designed the stage sets for the performance.

[60] Breder, numerous conversations between 28 October 1993 and 1 April 1997.

[61] Breder worked with Chuck Hudina, a CNPA associate in film, and Ellen Krueger, one of his models. Hudina (interview, San Francisco, 13 July 1995) shot the film at 16,000 frames per second, which created the illusion of Krueger flying. For a reproduction of this piece, see Breder, Threshold States / Sprach-Schwellen, p. 52.

[62] Breder's film is an interpretative piece based on the second part of Goethe's Faust, which in turn is based on the Icarus myth. Briefly stated, Faust and Helena have a child Euphorion, who attempts to fly. Once he alights into the air, his cloak supports him momentarily. At that moment Euphorion's head begins to radiate light, a comet follows him, and the choir sings, "Icarus, Icarus." Then the boy falls to the feet of his parents and dies. Breder, telephone conversation, 15 January 1987.

[63] See Chapter 4, fig. 21, for discussion of this piece which Mendieta first performed in the Multimedia studio. Breder asked Mendieta to perform the piece in the context of Mnemonicist because he thought it strengthened the visualization of the Icarus legend.

[64] Breder, correspondence, 17 January 1997.

[65] Dan Bernstein, telephone interview, 23 February 1997; Michael Peterson, telephone interview, 2 April 1997.

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[66] Breder, telephone conversation, 2 April 1997.

[67] Breder, Course Outline for Multimedia II (O15:100) Class in Mexico during the Summer Session of 1973. Previously cited in Chapter 4.

[68] Bernstein, ibid.

[69] Bernstein, ibid.

[70] Before the groups arrived, Breder arranged for the darkroom with Brena who was also a filmmaker and photographer.

[71] Peterson, ibid.

[72] According to Peterson and Bernstein (ibid.), Watercolor Painting and Creative Photography also met once a week.

[73] This is based on my conversations with four of the seven students who were enrolled in Multimedia II. According to Breder, he also brought down his own super-8 camera, a Bloxex, which both he and Mendieta used to document her work (telephone conversation, 7 May, 1997).

[74] Peterson, ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] For a reproduction of the baptismal font and its location, see Sleight, The Many Faces of Cuilapan, fig. 46.

[77] Pujol, telephone conversation, 7 November 1996.

[78] Bernstein and Peterson did a film in the Cuilapan Monastery toward the end of their trip. Unfortunately Peterson is not able to find it. Peterson, ibid.

[79] Richard Harvey (interview, Palm Beach, 1 March 1997) recalled that he drove Breder and Mendieta in his car the day she did this piece. He told me that they all had a lot of laughs when she was trying to get her body into the trench and accommodated herself in the rough terrain in order to perform the body movements she had in mind.

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[80] Professor Thomas Charlton's course, Field Research in Archaeology in San Juan Teotihuacán, Mexico, provided Mendieta with the opportunity to study artifacts, among which were figurines. For previous discussion of Mendieta's work in Charlton's project, see Chapter 2.

[81] For previous discussion of these pieces, see Chapter 4.

[82] Breder (telephone conversation, 12 May 1997) told me that Mendieta brought several jars of tempera to Oaxaca. It was the kind she used in her classroom teaching. It consisted of powder to which she added water.

[83] Laberinth Blood Imprint and Burial Pyramid were documented on a contact sheet, which Raquelín Mendieta provided me. I therefore had the advantage of looking at the sequence of shots taken of each work. The numbering on the contact sheet indicates that Laberinth Blood Imprint was executed before Burial Pyramid.

[84] Mendieta did her piece in Patio B or E of the Palace of the Six Patios. For a reproduction of the plan of that building, see Ignacio Bernal, "Architecture in Oaxaca after the End of Monte Alban," in Archaeology of Southern Mesoamerica, Part 2, ed. Gordon R. Willey, Handbook of Middle American Indians, vol. 3, Robert Wauchope, gen. ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), p. 843. I appreciate Tom Charlton's bringing this plan to my attention so that I could identify the monument.

[85] Breder, interview, New York, 15 October 1993.

[86] Breder, telephone conversation, 5 May 1997. I showed Bernstein Mendieta's work that was documented on super-8 film. He remembers visiting Yagul, but he does not remember seeing the artist do Burial Pyramid. In all probability her floor piece disappeared before he was able to get a glimpse of it.

[87] In Joyce Kelly's guide book, the author writes that the visitor who turns off the highway onto the road to Yagul can see the white pictograph on the face of a cliff which is part of the archaeological site of Caballito Blanco. Kelly also stated that according to Alfonso

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Caso, the great Mexican archaeologist, the pictograph is difficult to interpret, but it is probably one of the oldest known paintings in Oaxaca. See The Complete Visitor's Guide to Mesoamerican Ruins (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), pp. 134-35. I thank Cynthia Otis Carlton for bringing this pictograph to my attention.

[88] For a reproduction see Kelly, Complete Visitor's Guide to Mesoamerican Ruins, p. 134.

[89] Sherry Buckberrough, 14 June 1994. Professor Buckberrough met Mendieta when she taught art history at the University of Iowa from 1973 to 1976. After leaving Iowa Buckberrough began to teach in the Department of Art at the University of Hartford and (where she still teaches) she invited Mendieta to the Visiting Artist Program to do a site-specific outdoor work there in 1978.

[90] Bernstein still vividly remembers being very impressed with the piece at the time he saw it.

[91] Both Peterson and Harvey recall having assisted Mendieta with her piece. Michael Krell, another student in the group, whom I could not locate, took pictures of Mendieta performing Burial Pyramid. Mendieta became very angry with him because she thought he had no right to document her piece. Peterson, Bernstein, and Breder all conveyed this account to me.

[92] Harvey, ibid.

[93] In Michael Kirby's chapter "On Acting and Not-Acting," the drama critic creates a scale that identifies nonmatrixed performing, nonmatrixed representation, received acting, simple acting, and complex acting. He uses this scale to measure the amount or degree of representation, simulation, impersonation, and so forth in performance behavior. His discussion has been very useful to me in understanding the distinctly, but subtly different, stages in Mendieta's quiet, nonnarrative theatricality. See Battcock and Nickas, eds., The Art of Performance, pp. 97-111, reprinted from The Drama Review 16, no. 1 (March 1972: 3-15.

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[94] For an earlier discussion of John Perrault teaching at the University of Iowa in summer 1969, see Chapter 2.

[95] For a listing of the critical writings on Smithson, I have consulted his Biography / Bibliography that was provided to me by the John Weber Gallery which handles the artist's estate.

[96] Students whom I interviewed who were in the Multimedia program at the time recall having been exposed to Smithson's work either through discussions or readings. For example, Spiral Jetty, 1970-71, and Amarillo Ramp, 1973, were especially well known.

[97] In summer 1970 Dennis Oppenheim was an artist in residence at the Aspen Center for Contemporary Art in Colorado. He did a series of pieces on film and videotape that he later compiled as the Aspen Projects. Rocked Hand is one of those pieces that is in Aspen Projects #2, 1970-71. See Dennis Oppenheim: Drawings and Selected Sculpture, exhibition catalogue (Normal, Illinois: Illinois State University, 1992), pp. 49, 51.

[98] Dennis Oppenheim, exhibition catalogue (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1974), n. p.

[99] Although there is no mention of Rocked Hand in Sharp's "Body Works," Avalanche (Fall 1970), he may have shown the video to the Multimedia class in spring 1971. Mendieta might have come across the reproductions of this piece in Flash Art 39 (February 1973): 20. The text describing the piece states: "Film stills from: Rocked hand, 1970. One hand slowly covers the other with rocks, weighing it down. The body splits in two as the right hand renders the left invisible - blending in into the surroundings."

[100] Woman Rising / Earth was first illustrated in a 1975 article by Jack Burham, "Mary Beth Edelson's Great Goddess," Arts Magazine (November 1975): 75-79.

[101] Mary Beth Edelson, Seven Cycles: Public Rituals, exhibition catalogue (New York: Mary Beth Edelson), p. 17.

[102] In Spanish la tierra means she-earth or mother earth. César Trasobares, (conversation, 14 April 1997) told me that Mendieta always spoke about a female force in nature.

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[103] Mendieta's thoughts were written in a program announcement for Freeze, a movement piece performed by fifth and sixth graders from the Henry Sabin Elementary School in the CNPA production, "Evening of Video, Film & Dance," 9 November 1973. See above, note 12.

[104] Vito Acconci, "Drifts," Avalanche (Winter 1971): 84-89.

[105] Breder, conversation, 2 April 1997.

[106] Jane (Noble) Hedrick (telephone conversation, 21 September 1996) said that her friend Ana was claustrophobic, and that she always tried to overcome her fears.

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Chapter 6

Performance: Evocations of Ritual and Ceremony, Fall 1974 through Summer 1975

Introduction

From fall 1974 through spring 1975, Mendieta did fewer body pieces and performance work than she had during the previous two-year period. Her production was somewhat reduced, perhaps because of a heavy teaching schedule in Kirkwood and Henry Sabin elementary schools. She was responsible for having developed an experimental art program at those schools, where she taught for two years. She incorporated many ideas in her teaching that she had been exploring in her own work within the Multimedia context. Mendieta successfully shaped an art curriculum for elementary school children that included performance-oriented work, site-specific work, and nonconventional forms of painting and sculptural objects.

Her continued participation in the larger artistic environment of Multimedia and the CNPA assured her of a support system that encouraged and sustained her research. The resulting work looks back on earlier ideas as it evolves new forms to embody them.

Most of her work, especially that documented on super-8 film confers a sense of ritual and ceremony. Her silent performances in front of the camera center around a single activity. Those theatrical compositions were dramatically staged--her every movement graceful, measured, and precise. We, the viewing audience, watch those performances some twenty-three years later with great admiration for their provocative edge as well as their intimacy and power.

1. Fall 1974

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From performance to performance

Mendieta's Blood and Feathers #1 is a performance that was documented on super-8[1] (fig. 134). It is paradigmatic of the many performance works she did from the early through mid-1970s and it has several components that distinguish it from conventional theater.[2] For example, Mendieta as artist devised her own piece (as opposed to a playwright producing a script in conventional theater); she staged the piece in her mind (as opposed to the producer backing it, and the director and theater company's executing it); she found an alternative space, which was outdoors, for her performance (as opposed to the director's staging the entire play, sometimes in collaboration with the playwright); the piece was performed several times in different places (as opposed to the play's being presented to audiences on a repeated basis in the same venue).[3] Similar to her other performances, Blood and Feathers #1 is nonverbal and nonwritten, but it has a story line with a beginning, middle, and end. During the piece, the artist pours blood on her body, covers herself with white feathers, and transforms herself into a white bird.[4] Mendieta performs her piece in front of a camera. Therefore her audience will see only the documentation of her live performance. Through her performance--which includes the story line and acting--she simulates ritual and ceremony.

The performance opens with Mendieta standing nude at the edge of Old Man's Creek, a small body of water that flows through a private wooded area, known as the Williams Farm, some six miles from Iowa City.[5] The camera focuses on the artist for about ten seconds while she stands motionless. Following this introductory segment, Mendieta picks up a receptacle filled with blood and pours it over her body--first on her shoulders and legs, then on her back and arms. Once her body is sufficiently covered so that the feathers can adhere to the surface, she begins to roll in the feathers which she has piled on the ground. After Mendieta is covered, she slowly stands up, walks over some of the feathers lying on the ground, and then stands absolutely still with her arms raised at her side for the remainder of the film. All of Mendieta's movements are performed with poise

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and grace, reminiscent of a slow dance. The slow, measured rhythm of the artist's movements makes the three-minute piece seem longer than it is.

Between 1972 and 1976 Mendieta produced a series of pieces in which she used feathers on her body, or on a model's body, transforming a woman into a bird. Blood and Feathers #1 represents, at least in part, an ongoing exploration of the subject of transformation. Untitled (a.k.a. Feathers on Woman), September 1972, was the first piece in which the artist attached feathers to her head and neck. That experimental piece, executed at Mendieta's sister's house, was followed by Feathers on Woman, October 1972, a piece performed in the Multimedia classroom where the artist attached feathers to a model.[6] As I discussed in Chapter 5, Mendieta created an untitled version of Feathers on Woman for Mnemonicist, a CNPA intermedia performance, conceived by Hans Breder and performed at the Museum of Art in April 1974. Bird Run and Ocean Bird Washup were performed in site-specific places--on the beach and in the ocean. For the artist's performance, she used latex to attach the feathers to her own body. At the end of July 1974, Mendieta performed "Feathers on Woman" in Breder's Híbridos, an intermedia work presented at the Instituto Politécnico Nacional in Mexico City.[7] The intermedia work was performed again as Híbridos or How Faustus Had a Sight of Paradise, at the Museum of Art on 6 December[8] and again on 7 December at the University of Wisconsin in Madison.[9] Mendieta did not travel to Wisconsin, where Breder performed her piece in her absence. Two years later, in 1976, Mendieta performed the blood and feathers piece at the Student's Center in Belgrade, Yugoslavia and at the International Cultural Center in Antwerp.[10]

Blood and Feathers #1 affirms Mendieta's ongoing interest in the subject of transformation, but also explores the subjects of ritual and ceremony; it thus continues a dialogue that began with Chicken Piece, November 1972 (fig. 62). The 1972 performance began with a short series of actions: Hans Breder beheaded a chicken, fellow student Dan De Prenger handed it to Mendieta, who held it in front of her body while its blood spattered

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her. The live sacrifice of the chicken was basic to the conceptual development of the piece. As I stated in my earlier discussion in Chapter 4 of Chicken Piece, Mendieta's own performance, observable in her acting as well as in her unwritten script, suggests ritual. Mendieta's piece was inspired by two different sources: her study of African art[11] and her recent exposure to the Viennese Actionists who used slain animals, blood, and mock ritual in their art actions. I suggested the mock rituals of the Viennese Actionists provided her with a new set of ideas concerning formal and conceptual strategies. Once the artist decided to stage a piece in which ritual was basic to a performance, Mendieta then turned to her own interests in developing her ideas. At that point African and African-based traditional religious practices in Cuba provided her with interesting points of departure. She had studied African art and at that time (1972-74), had a limited knowledge of Afro-Cuban practices. In her study of Primitive Art Africa, she learned about animal sacrifice.[12] She knew, for example, that the Yoruba and other African peoples believe that animal sacrifice is a sacred act. The outpouring of sacrificial blood, thought of as vital fluid or ashé, is given to promote and preserve life, and to establish a bond of union with the supernatural order.[13] At the time she performed Chicken Piece, she would have known that blood sacrifices are poured on the symbols of the deity, not spattered or poured over a devotee's body.[14]

It is evident that Chicken Piece and Blood and Feathers #1 share a number of features, both formal and conceptual. In both works the artist uses her body as a surface for blood, and in both she evokes ritual and ceremony. Whereas the 1972 piece foregrounds sacrifice, without making evident the ceremony behind it, the 1974 piece evokes an initiation rite. In some traditional African initiation ceremonies, an initiate's head is anointed with sacrificial blood and the feathers from an immolated animal.[15] Illustrations of just such an initiation ceremony from Dahomey and Brazil were illustrated by the anthropologist Pierre Fatumbe Verger in Dieux d'Afrique which was in the University of Iowa's library.[16] Mendieta may have seen reproductions of this ceremony in that 1954

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publication which was available to her, or heard about these ceremonies from other sources and subsequently adopted elements from them in devising her own performance rites. By the time Mendieta did Blood and Feathers #1, she was used to seeing African art firsthand at the University of Iowa Museum of Art.[17] It is also conceivable that Mendieta may have gotten the idea of using feathers in her 1974 performance from having seen or read about African objects with feathers.[18] Whatever source(s) informed her pieces, neither Blood and Feathers #1 nor Chicken Piece should be viewed as an actual reenactment of specific religious practices, either a sacrifice or an initiation ceremony, but rather as artistic creations with associations to generalized religious practices that she often referred to as "voodoo."[19]

In Iowa Mendieta used the word "voodoo" to refer generally to African traditions surviving slavery in the New World.[20] The term, however, is not an accurate one to describe African religious retentions in Cuba. The word "voodoo" is a colloquial modification of Vodún, the name given by the Fon and Fon-related peoples of Dahomey, whose religion was fundamental to the creation of Haitian Voudou. When Mendieta and her sister spoke together about African-based religions or superstitions in Iowa, they used the word Santería, a word they were already familiar with in Cuba.[21] However, the term Santería was not yet known among the artist's U.S. peers, whereas the word "voodoo," which connoted negative and, or Jack-in-the-Box kinds of magical practices of African origin, was widely known and used.

Breder and other friends of the artist remember that Mendieta told them that she went to "voodoo" ceremonies as a child in Cuba; but apparently Mendieta fabricated that story.[22] In spite of those inventive anecdotes, the young artist is still remembered by many for her "voodoo" dancing at parties as if she were possessed. She began by doing spins in the middle of the floor. Two or three minutes into the dance she would kneel on the floor and make big circles with her head, swirling her long hair.[23] Mendieta's frequent references to "voodoo" were undoubtedly the result of her desire for and need to elaborate

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upon the strands of familial memories which she wove into a larger fabric that re-presented images of her homeland.

Mendieta had no firsthand exposure to orthodox religious practices of Afro-Cubans while she was growing up in Havana.[24] Cuban children who came from backgrounds similar to the Mendietas were generally not exposed to Afro-Cuban religious ceremonies, so it is not surprising that Ana Mendieta never attended any. However, the artist and her sister learned about popular beliefs and folkways in conversations with their black nannies and from listening to music and watching TV.[25] Their nannies, who played an important role in child rearing and referred to themselves as Catholics, introduced them to many aspects of their syncretistic beliefs.[26] For example, during the Mendietas' siesta time, they used to listen to their nannies' conversations.[27] Inevitably they heard them talk about Chango's Day (el Día de Changó) or, as the holiday is known in the Christian calendar, Saint Barbara's Day (el Día de Santa Barbara), or Yemaya's Day (el Día de Yemayá) or, as it is celebrated by Catholics, theVirgin of Regla's Day. The young Mendieta girls routinely heard their nannies suggest a despojo, a ritual cleansing with herbs, for any kind of ailment.[28] Despite frequent references to despojos, the young Mendietas did not witness any in person. One of their great-uncles opened a natural history museum in Cardenas, and it contained, among its many objects, "Diablitos" ("little devils') costumes that had been worn by Abakuá believers.[29] They did not know the cultural or religious contexts of the Abakuá, which at that time they knew only by the name "diablitos."[30]

Ana and Raquelín Mendieta's vocabulary contained many Afro-Cuban idiomatic expressions. For example, they would often respond to a friend who was acting in an unruly or hyperactive manner by asking: "Se te subió el santo?" ("Are you in a trance?") In the Afro-Cuban context, the expression "subirse el santo" is used in religious ceremony when the orisha / saint takes possession of the believer.[31] These commentaries inform us that Ana and Raquelín, like many other white Cuban children, were aware of spiritual trances and drummings (which occurred in ceremonies). But according to Raquelín

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Mendieta, they did not know the specific functions or conditions under which these practices occurred.[32] They thought of these practices as "something more connected with popular culture than with religion." [33]

The Mendieta sisters also learned about Afro-Cuban orishas/saints through popular music, television sit-coms, and the radio.[34] There were any number of well-known songs with the names of Afro-Cuban orishas. Tabu and Babalú are among a number of songs that Raquelín Mendieta remembers especially because they were written by Margarita Lecuona, a distant relative of her mother's. Tabu names Ochún, Ifá, Obatalá, Changó, and Yemayá; and the song Babalú refers to Babalú Ayé, the Afro-Cuban orisha of infirmities.[35] Babalú was first made popular by Miguelito Valdés and then sung on TV by Desi Arnaz on the I Love Lucy Show.

From the evidence at hand it appears that Mendieta learned about Afro-Cuban practices little by little through the years after her arrival in Iowa. We know that Mendieta read the great Cuban enthnographer and writer Lydia Cabrera some time after the mid-1970s,[36] especially after she moved to New York in 1978.[37] Once Mendieta moved east, she connected with other Cuban Americans who shared similar interests in exploring dimensions of Cubanidad (their Cubanness). Many Cubans in exile have found Cabrera's writings of great interest.[38] However, no one I interviewed can affirm that she read Cabrera in the early 1970s.[39] Despite Mendieta's superficial knowledge about Afro-Cuban practices in the early to mid-1970s, she used her imagination to construct her rituals and views of a larger Cuba that constantly informed her identity.

In the critical literature on Blood and Feathers #1, there have been several interpretations that have created misunderstandings regarding the artist's intentions in performing the piece, the meaning of it, and the extent of her specific knowledge of traditional Afro-Cuban practices. None of the writers knew of Mendieta's study of African art and thus could not take that study into account when discussing her sources. As a result, writers have assumed that the artist's awareness of sacrifical practices derives from

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her knowing about them from Afro-Cuban contexts exclusively. The result has been an overarching attempt to interpret Mendieta's early to mid-1970s work in the light of Afro-Cuban religious practices.

One of the earliest references to Blood and Feathers #1 is found in Lucy R. Lippard's From the Center. The critic briefly describes a series of different works that Mendieta did in Iowa City. Within that context Lippard wrote: "in another [piece] she makes herself into the 'white cock,' a Cuban voodoo fetish, covered with blood and feathers."[40] In another article that appeared shortly thereafter, Lippard wrote that Mendieta "covered herself with feathers to become the voodoo worshipper's sacrificial white cock."[41]

Lippard reference in both instances was to Blood and Feathers #1, a piece that was evidently still untitled at the time Mendieta gave the critic the documentation. Lippard's reference to voodoo is evidently based on Mendieta's use of the word to refer to Afro-Cuban religion. The critic raises two problems when describing the artist's work. In the first instance, when animal sacrifices in the form of birds and chickens--either hens or roosters--are made in Afro-Cuban ceremonies, they are not fetishes. Mendieta knew that a fetish is "an object that had an indwelling power capable, when properly invoked, of curing disease, causing destruction, or giving protection."[42] The fact that the artist likened herself to a rooster does not necessarily mean that she is a sacrificial animal. It seems that Lippard may have used the word fetish where ritual would have been more accurate. The critic's assertion that the artist became the voodoo worshipper's sacrificial white cock appears exaggerated, even miscast. There is no empirical evidence, or otherwise, to suggest that the artist was becoming a sacrificial animal. In her art performance Mendieta simulated a transformation from human to animal to evoke the form of a bird or chicken that is offered in actual religious ceremony. When Mendieta did the earlier pieces with feathers, she referred to herself as a bird;[43] however some years later when the artist visited Cuba, she told an inquiring critic: "Soy como un gallo en Santería" (I am like a rooster/cock in

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Santería.)[44] It may very well have been that Mendieta intended to evoke the ritual practice of bird sacrifice as an end in itself by masquerading as a white bird, for she knew that bird sacrifices were associated with ritual empowerment in African and African based religions. But she did not transform herself into one.

Artist and writer Ann Sargent Wooster wrote that Mendieta did two performances "reminiscent of voodoo rites."[45] The two pieces described, but not named, by the writer were Chicken Piece and Blood and Feathers #1. Sargent Wooster correctly stated that Mendieta did not know about these practices from Cuba, but that she had read about them later in the United States. The writer assumed Mendieta had read about them by the time she did the performances. In fact, Mendieta had learned about animal sacrifice from her art history course on African art.

In a recent essay by Mary Jane Jacobs, the author writes: "In 1972 Mendieta enacted Bird Transformation at Old Man's Creek, Iowa, in which she became the sacrificial rooster by rubbing herself with blood and then rolling in white chicken feathers. Particularly related to this art performance-ritual is the plante (intitiation rites) of the Abakuá cult during which a white rooster is sacrificed: the initiate then parades with the animal's head in his mouth, letting the blood drip. . . . In a related filmwork, Mendieta appeared naked holding a beheaded chicken that spattered blood on her as an act of cleansing rather than defiling."[46]

The work Jacob's misidentifies as Bird Transformation, 1972, is in fact Blood and Feathers #1, 1974. The filmwork to which Jacobs refers is in fact Chicken Piece of 1972. In both cases the titles are written on the super-8 films.

There are several problems with Jacobs' argument. In adopting Lippard's "white cock" subject, Jacobs identifies the artist as "a sacrificial rooster," such as the one used in Abakuá intitiation rites in which the initiate parades with the animal's head in his mouth, letting the blood drip. Although it is difficult to verify the accuracy of the ceremonial steps that Jacobs outlines because the writer does not cite her sources,[47] her interpretation is

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contradicted by the empirical action of the story line of the performance itself. Mendieta's simulated ceremony in Blood and Feathers #1 does not reenact the secret Abakuá initiation ceremony as Jacobs describes it. Further to these complications and, or contradictions, we have to ask ourselves again what did Mendieta know about the Abakuá religious confraternity's rites when she did this piece? I have found no evidence to suggest that the artist knew anything about these ceremonial rites at the time she did her 1974 piece. Although Mendieta owned a copy of Cabrera's La sociedad secreta Abakuá at the time of her death, there is no evidence that she owned it or knew of it at the time she did the performance piece.[48]

Finally Jacobs' assertion that "chickens are beheaded so their blood can spatter over a person's body as an act of cleansing," is not true to the practice of chicken and bird sacrifices which are offered as acts of empowerment or healing in Santería. It is important to keep in mind that Mendieta's performance was intended to suggest a ceremonial rite in either African and, or Afro-Cuban ceremonies. The artist did not create a narrative intended to reenact the specific steps of a religious practice, but to evoke generalized religious practices in which sacrificial rites are central to worship. Blood and Feathers #1 is a piece that connects the secular to the sacred, the material to the spiritual in an attempt to underscore the inherent values of both in artmaking. In the process Mendieta extends the definition of body-sculpture-performance.

Mendieta ended fall 1974 with several versions of Body Tracks and two works she descriptively titled Body Prints ("Body Print with White Sheet" and "Body Print with Black Sheet"). These works draw upon Catholic subjects. Executed in the Multimedia studio, one features the artist's body covered with a large white cloth ("Body Print with White Sheet") (fig. 135), the other features her covered with a transparent black sheet ("Body Print with Black Sheet") (fig. 136). It is likely that the artist either executed the pieces during the Multimedia class or presented the documentation of them to members of

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the class when they were asked to present their work. However, no one I interviewed recalls seeing the work presented during the evening Multimedia class.[49]

A friend and apartment mate, Nancy Noyer, assisted the artist in their home during the trial run for one of the body prints. At Mendieta's request, Noyer poured red paint on her face and body and pressed a little roller over those areas to even out the paint; she then placed a transparent sheet on top of the artist and pressed the roller over the artist's body so that an impression or imprint of it would bleed through the cloth. When they were finished Mendieta asked Noyer if she understood the meaning of the piece. When Noyer replied that she "didn't get it," Mendieta told her it had to do with Catholicism. That incident was one of the very few in which Mendieta offered information on the meaning behind or motivation for her work. Unfortunately, Noyer did not pursue the conversation; she was reluctant to discuss Catholic beliefs because she was not from the same religious background.[50]

Evidently pleased with the results of her exploratory piece, Mendieta performed two versions that were documented on 35mm slides. The documentation (eleven, 35mm slides) of "Body Print with Black Sheet" shows the different preparatory steps, thereby permitting a view of the work in progress. For example, one of the slides captures a view of Mendieta nude on the floor and the sheet with her body print on it raised in front of her (fig. 137). Another shot was taken from in front of the sheet with her body print so that her body lies behind it, where an assistant must have been guiding the sheet as it was raised from on top of her body (fig. 138).

These two works are located squarely within the artist's continued exploration of religious subjects. We recall Mendieta's untitled painting (1969) that depicted a woman standing before a statue of the Virgin (fig. 16). As discussed in previous chapters, the artist's interest in Catholic themes evolved from traditional painting to body work over a period of four years. In summer 1973 in Oaxaca, for example, the artist discovered a new visual language to present Catholic themes in unconventional modes. Mendieta's body

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sculptures as well as sculptures made from found objects include the bleeding heart; her body imprint on a sheet in a church niche; and her body wrapped in a white sheet with a red heart placed on top of her. The later piece performed on the rooftop of the Hotel Principal contains oblique references to the religious devotion to the Sacred Heart and the veneration of the Holy Shroud. The 1974 Body Prints ("Body Print with White Sheet") also contain religious references, at least in the artist's mind to aspects of the apocryphal account of Veronica. Mendieta apparently referred to this legend by titling it St. Veronica in the slide documentation she sent to Sherry Buckberrough.[51] This piece offers another instance in which the artist reinvents elements of the popular legend of Veronica's veil to suit her artistic purposes. One version of the popular legend, for example, recounts that Christ wiped his face on Veronica's cloth that she gave him on his way to Calvary. His image directly appeared on the cloth. The inspiration behind Mendieta's piece evidently came, at least in part, from that aspect of the story, for her body image also appears on the cloth that covered her body.

The effect of these two images, viewed twenty-three years after they were made, largely resides in their sheer visual power to move the spectator. We are accustomed to seeing Christian images impart strong emotional qualities. However, painted, stone, or wood-carved images are illusionistic; Mendieta's tableaux were performed. If we relate them to Christian sculpture, we think of images of Christ with blood gushing from his wounds. Those images are intended to remind the worshiper that he or she is bathed in the blood of Christ and will be absolved through his sacrifice on the cross. Mendieta's art merged the boundaries between theater, sculpture, and body art while drawing upon religious contexts and postmodern strategies for artmaking.

2. Spring 1975

Multimedia and the CNPA

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Hans Breder described the Multimedia Area of the School of Art and Art History as the single area that "operates with the same basic interdisciplinary objectives as the Center for New Performing Arts. The intermedia courses are cross-listed with both Theater and Music."[52] The official course descriptions for Multimedia II and Intermedia were the same as earlier descriptions. Multimedia II emphasized individual direction; events, films, and sound and video documentation; investigation of new materials; and a special section for workshop projects.[53] Intermedia is conducted as an investigation into interdisciplinary activity with students who have experience in poetry, dance, music, film, theater, and art.[54]

Douglas Allaire was a new student in the Multimedia area at this time who recalls his classes as a place where students showed their work whether in the form of video, photography, performance, or installations.[55] He remembers that "multimedia was not a typical class. Basically students showed up and so did Breder, [but] nothing happened until someone showed his work. We constantly shared ideas and argued both in and out of class. It [Multimedia] was like an atmosphere."[56] Beginning in the academic year 1974-1975 and continuing through 1977-78, Allaire majored in multimedia. During those years he remembers discussing the work of Nam Jun Paik, Chris Burden, Marcel Duchamp, John Cage, Robert Rauschenberg, Yves Klein, Joseph Beuys, and Michael Snow (who was invited by the CNPA as a visiting artist to give a lecture in May 1975). Such historical movements as Dada as well as contemporary movements such as earthwork were talked about. The notion that art was something more than a commodity continued to be central to the thinking of the time.

The CNPA finished its sixth academic year in May. From its inception as a pilot project in 1969-70 through the academic years beginning fall 1970 through spring 1975, the innovative program was supported by grants from the Rockefeller Foundation. During its six-year history, the CNPA represented "an important and nationally recognized model for how progressive arts can be nurtured in a university environment. The CNPA consisted of a group of artists in the visual arts, dance, film, music, theater, and writing

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who sought to explore new forms, concepts, aesthetics, and material in relation to performance."[57] Richard Hibbard, the director, asserted that the emphasis on performance provided a stimulus that created a certain ideological coherence without blurring fundamental distinctions between the arts. Accordingly, the program was rich in individual creative endeavors and ensemble activity. In Hibbard's final report on the CNPA's activities, he stated that the "nature of the arts and technologies today created their own types of interdisciplinary structures, both material and aesthetic, and that the artists involved would, and did, respond to this condition. It was by design, then, that no overall CNPA 'style' of philosophy was created. By insisting upon an artist's orientation, rather than an art-oriented program, the individual artist's special creative insights were continually stressed and challenged."[58] Although the Rockefeller Foundation no longer supported the CNPA after spring 1975, it continued for the next several years under the aegis of a new director with support from the National Endowment for the Arts. Its interdisciplinary performance program was smaller in scale.[59].

In January 1975 the CNPA invited John Perrault, artist and writer, to lecture and perform.[60] That trip marked Perrault's second visit to the University of Iowa where, in summer 1969, he had taught Seminar Problems in Modern Art.[61] Perrault's course, which is discussed in Chapter 3, introduced Mendieta, then a painting student, to a host of new, contemporary ideas, forms, and movements in progress. Mendieta commented in later years to the New York artist Eduardo Costa that Perrault's course was very meanful to her.[62]

When Perrault went to the university, Mendieta had an opportunity to hear his lecture, see his perfomance, and meet him personally. In his lecture "Art and Everyday Life," Perrault addressed ideas that had been at the forefront of artistic exploration in Multimedia since its inception. Perrault presented ideas regarding the merging of art and life that he had incorporated into his own work. There were various sources such as John Cage and Robert Rauschenberg that influenced his thinking.[63] In addition to those two

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artists, Perrault had investigated such wide-ranging ideas as those espoused by John Dewey in Art and Experience, and by the Shakers, who looked at work not as art but as a form of prayer. Those were some of the sources that fueled Perrault's aesthetics of art and everyday life. When he and Eduardo Costa did Street Works, they attempted "to dissolve art making into everyday life, so you could not tell the difference."[64]

Perrault's performance Media Memorial: Approximately One Minute Every Five Minutes for Sixty Minutes consisted of small segments of previous performances; some he acted, and others he showed on film and slides.[65] Part of his performance dealt with time as a marker between each of his performances. To suggest temporal intervals, he walked away from the performance area for a minute after presenting each segment. The intervals were as much part of the overall performance as were the quotations from his performances.

During Perrault's visit Mendieta showed him documentation of her work. When she moved to New York in early 1978, she looked him up, and subsequently they became friends.

Lucy Lippard's Public Lecture

Lucy Lippard was another important art figure who was invited to the university to give a public lecture in spring semester 1975. The well-known critic, who was sponsored by the Art History Workshop, gave a talk titled "Women's Work" (21 February).[66] The Art History Workshop was established by the Art History Department to bring guest speakers to lecture on nineteenth- and twentieth-century art.[67] At the time of Lippard's visit, she had already published many well-known books and articles on modern and contemporary art. She was also known for her political activism as well as for her early feminist work on women artists. Lippard began to focus on women artists around 1971.[68] That same year she organized "Twenty-Six Contemporary Women Artists," a seminal exhibition.[69] Soon thereafter she wrote the catalogue essay for another watershed

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exhibition, "Women Choose Women" in early 1973.[70] Lippard was also putting together the New York Women's Art Registry and the W.E.B. (West-East Bag) slide registries of women artists across the country. Lippard was in the throes of preparing a number of projects--articles and two books--on women artists at the time she presented her lecture "Women's Work." These projects include "Transformation Art," in Ms. Magazine; "The Pains and Pleasure of Rebirth: Women's Body Art," in Art in America; Eve Hesse; and her pioneering book From the Center: Feminist Essays on Women's Art.

Lippard was the first guest speaker invited by the Art History Workshop who spoke exclusively on artwork by women artists. There had been no art history course on women artists until Sherry Buckberrough, instructor and visiting lecturer, taught one in the spring and summer of 1976.[71] The male voice in art history was dominant at the university,[72] just as it was in most areas of academia throughout the country. According to Buckberrough, there was a real sense of anticipation over Lippard's talk because of all the excitement created by the burgeoning women's movement.

Sherry Buckberrough remembered the gist of Lippard's talk.[73] According to her, the critic showed several carousels of slides of art by women artists without discussing theoretical issues. Buckberrough's recollections correspond to what in fact Lippard wrote about the work she had done on women artists to date. In the From the Center, the author wrote that she showed some 350 slides, collected in the registries, when she lectured.[74] She also wrote that she had not yet evolved a new feminist criticism, but that her present work extends the basic knowledge of art by women, and that it might be considered the raw material for postulating a feminist critique in the near future.[75] Judging from what Lippard wrote about her state of research, one may deduce that in her lecture she emphasized the visual material over critical content. Her enormous body of slide documentation would have been new material to the university audience.

I would speculate that during Lippard's lecture she informed the audience of her own evolving interests in women artists. She may have noted the exhibitions she was

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involved with and some of the articles on women artists recently written. In citing the paucity of historical exhibitions and documentation, she may have informed her listeners about a couple of benchmark articles by art historians such as Linda Nochlin..[76] In that same context, Lippard may have noted the names of new publications such as The Feminist Art Journal (1974) and Women Artist Newsletter (January 1975), perhaps even Cindy Nemser's Art Talk: Conversations with 12 Women Artists (1975). Likewise Lippard would have probably spoken about the new cooperative galleries in New York such as A.I.R. and Soho 20 that both opened in fall 1973. Lippard probably spoke about the California Institute of the Arts, Feminist Art Program and the Los Angeles Woman's Building, all of which she wrote about in From the Center.

There is no way of knowing which artists or how many Lippard showed during her slide presentation. One can make an educated guess by listing some of the artists who were written about and illustrated in From the Center. Some of the same women were featured in "Twenty-Six Contemporary Women Artists " and "Women Choose Women." They include: Alice Aycock, Jo Baer*, Lynda Benglis, Louise Bourgeois*, Judy Chicago*, Hanne Darboven*, Iole de Freitas, Eve Hess*, Nancy Holt*, Rebecca Horn*, Nancy Graves*, Patricia Johnson, Joyce Kozloff, Agnes Martin, Brenda Miller, Mary Miss*, Joan Mitchell*, Christine Oatman, Howardena Pindell, Adrian Piper*, Yvonne Rainer*, Faith Ringgold*, Miriam Shapiro, Joan Snyder, Pat Steir, May Stevens*, Majorie s Winsor*, and Barbara Zucker.[77]

Although the invitation came from the Art History area, Lippard's critical work was very well known and appreciated in the Multimedia group. As I noted in previous discussions, Lippard's Changing: Essays in Art Criticism (1971) and Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972 offered important ideas that were discussed each semester. Lippard's presentation of so many women artists must have been an eye-opener to Multimedia students who at the time did not discuss feminist practices in the studio. Although the Multimedia area submitted the names of many women artists as

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visiting artists to the CNPA, it was not a venue for developing new ideas on "women's work,"[78] and from the early to mid-1970s, most of the artists discussed were male. In this regard, it is interesting that former students who studied prior to 1975 do not recall such names as Hanna Wilke, Carolee Schneeman, Suzanne Lacy, or Eve Hesse. Judy Chicago's name rang familiar among some of the former students, but they did not remember the details of her paintings.[79]

That situation changed after 1975 when more women artists began to figure in discussions in the Multimedia area as well as in the Art History area. Not only did Buckberrough teach two courses on women artists of the twentieth century, but many women artists were invited as visiting artists by Multimedia especially beginning in 1977.

Mendieta's evolving consciousness as a feminist artist occured over a period of time. Suffice it to say here that, prior to spring of 1975, she seemed to debunk the notion of a feminist art or feminist issues.[80] She did not belong to any university women's group that existed during those years. Although she evidently felt passionate rage over the 1973 murder of Sara Jane Otten, which was expressed through a series of rape pieces, Mendieta never joined the Rape Hotline that was established to help women who were victims of abuse in Iowa City.[81] From all the evidence at hand, it seems that Mendieta strongly defended her right to succeed in art because she was a person, not because she was a woman. Although Mendieta appears to have had great hesitation about acknowledging the positive values of feminist positions, whether in the arts or in the social sphere, Lippard's lecture was probably the first to present her with a broad body of solid documention on women's artistic practices. Mendieta was introduced to many artists whose names and work she had not known about previously. The artist was obviously impressed with Lippard's presentation for she wrote to her and sent her material for the registries. She certainly followed Lippard's next phase of writings which featured Mendieta's work. Slowly over the next two years, Mendieta became interested in women artists working in New York.

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During Lippard's visit to the university, Mendieta had the opportunity to meet her when Breder invited her to the Multimedia studio. Breder showed some of his video work, and Mendieta exhibited several Body Tracks.[82] Mendieta's correspondence with Lippard initiated a friendship that lasted many years.

Henry Sabin School and Kirkwood Elementary School

Ana Mendieta was employed as a full-time art teacher from August 1973 to January 1978 by the Iowa City Community School District. From August 1973 through June 1975, she taught art in two elementary schools, Henry Sabin Elementary School, an experimental school, and Kirkwood, a traditional one.[83] She is still fondly remembered by a number of people who knew her then. Principals, colleagues, student teachers, parents, and former students shared with me their vivid memories of Mendieta's talents as well as her commitment to art. Her two school principals, James Thomas and Paul Davis, thought her teaching methodogy was creative, her personality dynamic, and her work with children innovative.[84] Kay Ries, an art coordinator in the school district, recalls: "Mendieta's passion was to get kids to perceive themselves as artists."[85] Nancy Noyer, team teacher from another subject area at Sabin, remembers how happy her students were to go to art.[86] Helen (McGreevy) Hoff, a student teacher at Kirkwood, wrote that Mendieta provided her students with a lot of positive reinforcement.[87] And Julia Burton Varn, a Sabin student, says that Mendieta taught her how to appreciate beauty in everyday life.[88]

Mendieta's background in art was well formed when she began teaching in Sabin and Kirkwood. She had an M.A. degree with the equivalent of a major in painting and a minor in drawing; two years of course work in the Multimedia area in which she was working toward an M.F.A.; and previous teaching experience in elementary school. The work Mendieta did at Sabin and Kirkwood allowed her to incorporate many ideas she explored in her own work within the Multimedia context. In her teaching she shaped a curriculum that provided opportunities for performance-oriented work, site-specific work,

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and nonconventional forms of painting (Selves-Portraits) and sculptural objects (paper box masks).

When Mendieta started teaching, Sabin was a newly opened experimental school and Kirkwood was a traditional one that had been in operation since 1966.[89] Sabin was started so that it could pioneer new teaching and learning strategies which would subsequently be employed by the other elementary schools in the district.[90] According to James Thomas, the school functioned as a demonstration school open to study by other educators and laypersons alike. In a 1973 article in the Des Moines Register, Thomas's views regarding Sabin were enthusiastically written about.[91] The article pointed out that Sabin's students came from families of varied ethnic as well as economic backgrounds. The children, from preschool and kindergarten through sixth grade, possessed a broad spectrum of learning abilities. Sabin accepted about 235 young students from both within as well as outside its distinct boundaries.

Team teaching was one of several innovative approaches introduced at Sabin. A team included certified teachers as well as paraprofessional aides (who had at least sixty hours of college credits), instructional aides (who did not have to have college degrees), student teachers, and interns. Sabin's faculty attempted to integrate different subject areas into the curriculum. As a result, subject areas were not taught in isolation. The building's interior space was reconstructed to create spacious areas for large group activity as well as protected areas for quiet study. The new physical accommodations served children who were placed together in units instead of in grade levels. There were three units: A for youngsters six to eight years old, B for those eight through ten, and C for those ten, eleven, and twelve. Thomas said that the unit structure facilitated individualized instruction in which students of varying ages could develop and progress at their own pace.

At the time Sabin and Kirkwood initiated changes in their art programs, the Iowa City elementary schools had a traditional art program that enjoyed a national reputation.[92] Nan Mercier, who began teaching art at about the same time as Mendieta, remembers the

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philosophical debate concerning approaches. Mercier said that, when she entered the system, art educators were given a set curriculum with precise instructions on teaching methods. Thus art teachers were expected to cover an area of content that included specific media and concepts. In opposition to that traditional art program, there was a movement afoot for an alternative school that would break with conventional pedagogical approaches. Educators such as Thomas and Davis, for example, believed that education should be more experienced based and relate more directly to the individual needs of children. These notions also extended to the teaching and learning of art. Thomas and Davis had become disenchanted with the district's art program because they felt that it was overally product oriented.[93] In their view, art classes focused too narrowly on producing art objects suitable for the annual art show, which had become a celebrated event within the school system. Within that competitive system, many students never had the opportunity to show their work because art teachers selected what they considered the best. As a result, many young students lost interest in artmaking.[94] Thomas and Davis also felt that students learned very little about the process and philosophy of art. Armed with their beliefs, they convinced the district superintendent to hire their own art teacher who would be in agreement with their views. As a result of their search, they hired Mendieta.

According to Thomas and Davis, Mendieta was a splendid addition to their staffs. Davis remembers her "doing things that were unheard of at the time with elementary kids."[95] She introduced actual experience into the making of art. For example, in November 1973, several months after Mendieta began teaching, she had her fifth and sixth graders from Sabin participate in an "Evening of Video, Film & Dance," a production organized by the Center for New Performing Arts (CNPA) with Multimedia students. The idea for using students in a performance event no doubt came from Robert Wilson's Iowa performances of Handbill and Deaf Man Glance (fall 1970), in which he filled most of the roles with university students.

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Julia Burton Varn, who was in fifth and sixth grades between 1973 and 1975, recalls that Mendieta devised projects and provided the necessary instruction so that kids could produce the work themselves. As Ries pointed out, contrary to many art teachers, Mendieta did not control the artmaking process.[96] Burton Varn also recalls some of the rules of behavior that Mendieta attempted to instill in her children. She made it clear to them that they could not criticize each other's work and that they had to learn to accept each other's differences. "We couldn't say: 'Gee, that's really ugly,'or 'Why did you use that color?' That type of criticism wasn't really allowed."[97] Mendieta taught the children that each person was working from his or her heart and that people see life differently.

Mendieta initiated some interesting art projects, among which were chalk drawings (figs. 139 and 140). Mendieta took polaroid shots of a chalk drawing project that she titled Selves-Portraits. The artist kept these in her permanent files. In constructing the drawings, the children went to the outdoor playground in back of the school and drew life-size portraits of themselves on the asphalt. Mendieta told the children to draw themselves as they saw themselves or as they would like to be.[98] The results were wonderfully imaginative, colorful figures. As Ries pointed out, art teachers in traditional elementary art programs frequently used chalk and pastels on paper. It was not, however, common to use chalk outdoors in life-size drawings.[99] Mendieta loved the idea of doing work outside where the elements of time and weather altered the original form. She felt, as she did in her own work, that process and temporality were part of the integrity of the piece.

Mendieta attempted to instill the notion that some of the art forms the children did were unusual. For example, she often had them do art projects using everyday materials.[100] In such instances they learned to collect materials such as bits of cloth, string, yarn, bottle caps, or other discarded common items that struck their fancy. Using these materials they learned to make a collage by adhering these bits and pieces to paper or board or to an existing jar to create a mini-sculpture. Burton Varn remembers learning to find unexpected beauty in things that were usually considered trash or garbage. One of

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Mendieta's objectives was to demonstrate through art how to recyle discarded materials and thus avoid waste. Possibly Mendieta made these points in connection with social studies lessons on ecology.

Another project Mendieta and her young students liked involved making face masks out of plaster.[101] Mendieta used one of the students as a model to demonstrate the steps to making a face mask with plaster gauze. Once the demonstration was complete, each child began work with a partner. They dipped the gauze in water, applied it to the face, and then waited for it to harden. Once the gauze hardened, the mask easily slipped off the child's face. During the time the children were involved in the project, Mendieta circulated among them to make sure nobody had trouble breathing. Burton Varn felt claustrophobic about having things on her face and as a result felt anxious during that project. However, Mendieta, who had a lot of patience with children, remained calm and reassuring so that the young student came through the exercise just fine. In the follow up exercise the class painted the plaster face molds in the colors of their choice. Burton Varn remembers they used reds, yellows, and deep purples in a lot of their work. She applied some of these unusual colors to her own face mask; she believes she even drew a curly moustache. These features remind us, on the one hand, of Mendieta's inclination to use unusual colors in her paintings and, on the other, of her recent Facial Hair Transplants "Self-Portrait with Moustache " (fig. 56).

Another art exercise Burton Varn remembers is one in which she drew Yasir Arafat's face from a reproduction in a magazine. Mendieta had the children find a photograph of someone's face in a news magazine. Burton Varn chose a picture of Arafat. As instructed, she cut the image of his face in half lengthwise, and then attempted to draw the other side of his face on a piece of paper. Although that exercise evidently provided some children with the opportunity to make a realistic drawing, the activity differed from conventional ones in which art teachers often asked their students to draw images of stuffed animals on paper.[102] Because of Sabin's emphasis on an interdisciplinary approach to

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teaching, I suspect that Mendieta's exercise might also have been coordinated with a social studies teacher who may have been teaching world events and using popular magazines as source material.

Helen (McGreevy) Hoff was a student teacher at Kirkwood in the early months of 1975. She was assigned to Mendieta, whom she had known from Multimedia classes. (McGreevy) Hoff kept a record of her daily lessons plans which provide us with a partial record of Mendieta's own teaching. Judging from (McGreevy) Hoff's entries, Mendieta was a dynamic teacher who was able to keep the class thoroughly absorbed in whatever art project she planned. One of several art projects that (McGreevy) Hoff documented in 35mm slides is descriptively titled Paper Box Masks (fig. 141). It was done with first and second graders. According to the lesson plans, there were several objectives: to develop motor skills by cutting out the eyes, by pasting on small details, and by painting.[103] The children were given materials such as boxes, scissors, paint, bits of hair, string, cloth, and glue. Before making the masks, Mendieta talked to the children about masks. She talked about the different kinds of masks they might be familiar with, such as football helmets, make-up, and so forth. She reviewed with them the necessary details of the mask, such as the eyes, nose, and mouth. To make sure their eyes were in the right place, each child had to work with a partner. Mendieta always provided a lot of positive reinforcement. According to (McGreevy) Hoff, she would have said something about how nice the added features looked or how beautiful the colors were.

There were a number of special programs and events at Henry Sabin and Kirkwood that Mendieta participated in as art teacher that are worthy of mention. Three times a year, in fall, winter, and spring, the two schools organized a three day outing. The objective was to observe the seasonal changes in nature in the same locale. An article in the local newspaper (Iowa City Press-Citizen), describes the activities Mendieta led: "The art teacher used the woods environment for the basis of two classes."[104] Burton Varn was on that trip to the woods at Camp Daybreak outside Iowa City. She remembers collecting

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leaves, fossils, and sticks, among other things. Out of those materials the group made collages. She recalls they talked about the materials as they collected them along the beach: then they took them back to the lodge where they glued them onto hard paper, such as oak tag. In retrospect Julia Burton Varn recalls that at that time she probably did not see any beauty in the objects they collected from nature. "Probably no one kept their work because it smelled badly from the river water. But [now] I understand her [Mendieta's] point that you could find beauty in unusual objects or in everyday objects but it [that beauty] would be an unusual form of art."[105]

Mendieta was percieved as a teacher who affectionately motivated her students as she attempted to instill in them a love for artmaking. There are two overriding elements that characterize Mendieta's teaching: she tried to make art a living experience that students could relate to in their everyday lives; and she encouraged her charges to use their imaginations. These were also the objectives of her own art.

Mendieta's Work

At the end of the spring semester the artist did an untitled piece that was directly linked to her earlier explorations of Precolumbian subjects. In that piece Mendieta was wrapped like a mummy and placed on the sand. The untitled work was documented on both 35 mm slides and super-8. The original slides are dated June 1975.

Jane Noble assisted her with the piece they executed near Lake Macbride (fig. 142).[106] Both of them dug out a shallow pit in the sand. Mendieta placed herself in a fetal position while Noble wrapped the wet plaster gauze around her nude body. During the time it took Noble to wrap the different areas of the body, the bandages began to dry. Mendieta could no longer move by herself, therefore Noble had to move her so she could be documented in different positions. Within a short period of time, Mendieta became claustrophic; she had a difficult time breathing; in fact, she began to scream. After Noble

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unwrapped her, Mendieta commented to her friend that that is what it must feel like to be buried alive.

The piece illustrates the artist's ongoing interest in finding new aesthetic forms which maintain a historical dialogue with indigenous American peoples, who represented for her linkages to her cultural identity. In doing a piece like this, Mendieta also acknowledges her debt to art history, in particular Christo's works in which he wrapped women. Mendieta's piece also looks back on the art work she did with her elementary classes in which she taught them to make plaster gauze casts. While the artist was interested in having a phenomenological experience in the process of making art, she found a formal language to vivify Latin American history and, to boot, a language and form that came out of everyday life. She continued merging art and life, a concept fundamental to her artistic formation.

Mendieta achieved her objective in another unusual piece. In late June the artist did one of her last performances in the role of an animal. At the Hawkeye Downs at the All Iowa Fair, the artist transformed herself into an ape and spent the better part of the day in a pen she built for herself (fig. 143). Five black and white photographs, neither signed nor dated, document the performance.[107] Two shots, each taken from different angles, feature the artist alone in the pen. Two others show Mendieta with a few people around her. The final shot features Mendieta led by Zerkel on a tether away from the pen (fig. 144).

Mendieta devised the piece during the time she audited the Intermedia summer course.[108] Breder suggested that the students go to the fair and perform or exhibit their pieces in a building used to show art. Mendieta built her pen next to that building. Neither Zerkel nor Breder remembers at what point Mendieta went out to the fairgrounds to build the pen, but it was Zerkel who drove Mendieta to the fair in Cedar Rapids. First she took Mendieta to the nearby Kirkwood Community College to change into her costume.[109] Zerkel remembers observing Mendieta change into character while she applied makeup and hair to her face and body and changed into an ape costume. At one point, Mendieta told her

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friend not to talk to her anymore. That comment made Zerkel understand that the artist was in the process of impersonating an ape.

There were many antecedents in the artist's work confirming Mendieta's strong interest in selecting performance roles in which she explored other personas and identities. One of the earliest unidentified and undated pieces is a project she did using a chapter on Egyptian art titled "The Two Lands Reunited" from an art history book.[110] Throughout that chapter, Mendieta replaced each illustration of an Egyptian figure with an image of her face. Thus Mendieta's self-portrait replaces Queen Tiy and Queen Nefertiti, among other historical images. After Mendieta began to produce work in the Multimedia area, she did several different versions of Feathers on Woman, as well as Bird Run, and Ocean Bird Washup, all discussed in preceding chapters.

Mendieta's interest in transformational pieces was one shared by many women artists at that time. Lucy Lippard's article "Transformation Art" elaborates that point.[111] When Lippard showed slides of "Women's Work" in her lecture in Iowa the previous spring, it is very possible that the critic showed slides of Eleanor Antin's performances of self-transformation in such works as The Ballerina, The King (Charles I), The Black Movie Star, and The Nurse. Mendieta may also have been aware of those pieces from reproductions that appeared in earlier art magazines.[112] Although knowledge of Antin did not instigate Mendieta's "Ape Piece;" these could have provided the artist with yet another source of reference when conceiving her piece. Lippard rightly saw Mendieta in the company of other artists such as Antin who at the time were interested in defining as well as expanding the limits of themselves through varied character appropriations and transgressions.

There were, I suggest, several more immediate sources that Mendieta considered for "Ape Piece." Those were related to carnival or circus imagery: the All Iowa Fair in Cedar Rapids, the Clyde Brothers Circus, and her former professor Byron Burford's paintings of circus subjects. When the artist was a teenager living in Cedar Rapids, she

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had gone to the All Iowa Fair[113] and would have seen the sideshows of freaks and performance acts.[114] She probably went to the Clyde Brothers Circus, a circus held yearly in Iowa City.[115] She also saw Burford's paintings of circus subjects.[116] Burford, who still paints large-scale works of circus subjects, also did banners for sideshows that advertised the performances inside the sideshow tent.[117] He often told his students of his own experiences in the circus from the time he was a young boy and worked in sideshows.[118]

In deciding on her piece, Mendieta did a parody of a parody. The artist developed her version of a sideshow based on a circus genre known as a gorilla parody. Those acts were performed at circuses such as the Clyde Brothers. They featured a man dressed as a gorilla who moved through the aisles under the big top with the intention of amusing the audience.[119] Rather than walking through the audience, she waited for them to find her. She was actually taunted by some of the people who came by her pen and saw her there acting her part. Zerkel recalls a couple of people offered to give her money to break character. She never did, however. When the performance was over, Mendieta commented on how interested she had been in the reactions of the passersby. We recall the artist had been interested in the reaction of people on the street a couple of years earlier when she did pieces such as Mattresses, Moffit Street, and Dead on Street.

It is surprising how very contemporaneous "Ape Piece" continues to be twenty years later. Only recently a Russian performance artist, Oleg Kulik, came to New York and performed the life of a dog in a cagelike room at Deitch Projects in SoHo for a week.[120] From the time he arrived in New York, he removed his clothing, put on a dog coat, collar, leash, and muzzle and began communicating in canine sounds. Kulik as dog growled and barked as he bounced off the walls of his confinement.

The "Ape Piece," similar to On Becoming a Dog By Acting Like One, had a rather grotesque edge to it; it also confronted the public with a carnivelesque act that was intended to attract audience attention. Mendieta embraced the possibilities of transformation in the 1975 piece as seriously as she had done in any work to date.

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[1] This piece is titled Bird Transformation in the exhibition catalogue Ana Mendieta (Santiago de Compostela: Centro Galego de Arte Contemporánea, Santiago de Compostela, 1996).

[2] In François Pluchart's essay on performance and body art works by American and European artists, the French modern art critic outlines the components of both conventional theater and performance art. See "Risk as the Practice of Thought," in The Art of Performance, eds. Battcock and Nickas, p. 120. For another useful discussion of the linkages between performance art and theater, see Cee S. Brown, "Performance Art: A New Form of Theatre, Not a New Concept in Art," in Battcock and Nickas, pp. 118-124.

[3] I am grateful to Alma Villegas, Ph.D., Educational Theater, for her discussions with me on the evolving categories and merging boundaries among conventional theater, new forms of theater, and performance.

[4] At or around the time Mendieta did Blood and Feathers #1, she also performed Blood and Feathers #2. In the second piece, instead of chicken feathers, Mendieta used turkey feathers, which were too large to adhere to her body. Jane (Noble) Hedrick (telephone conversation, 21 September 1996) remembers being at Old Man's Creek when her friend performed Blood and Feathers #1. Although (Noble) Hedrick did not see Mendieta's performance with turkey feathers, she remembers that Mendieta spoke about having been dissatisfied with it. Evidently that is why Mendieta selected Blood and Feathers #1 for one of the three films titled Filmworks 1974, which was later shown in the artist's first New York exhibition at 112 Greene Street in 1976.

[5] Hans Breder was a close friend of Diane Troyer, whose family still has a large virgin timber farm in Union Township in Johnson County, about six miles from Iowa City. According to Diane Troyer, the Williams farm carries the family name of her mother who was a Williams before she married her husband whose last name was Troyer. Beginning in the early 1970s Breder did several pieces by Old Man's Creek, which ran through the Troyer farm. Through Breder Mendieta met the Troyer family, who allowed her to work

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there as well. According to the visual documentation, it appears that the Blood and Feathers #1 piece was among the first of many pieces she did over the years at Old Man's Creek.

[6] At the time Mendieta executed those two pieces, I suggest she may very well have been motivated by Carlos Castaneda's stories of don Juan, who was threatened by a witch named la Catalina who transformed herself into a bird. For that earlier discussion, see Chapter 4.

[7] Bill Rowley sent me an announcement of the event, which reads: " 'Híbridos de Hans Breder.' Espectáculo de cine y teatro. Exploración y experimentación de formas y conceptos. 31 de julio, 1974." The pieces listed on the announcement include the following: Intercara [a film] by Bill Rowley, Metamorphosis [a video] by Breder with Monica Wilson and Ellen Krueger, Como Fausto Cre[y]o el Parai[í]so by Hans Breder. Although Mendieta's name was listed together with the other participants in the program, neither the title nor a description of her piece was announced. However, Breder confirmed she performed a version of the feathers-on-woman vignette similar to the one she performed in Mnemonicist the previous April. Breder's film, which was shot at Yagul, features him decapitating a chicken and drinking its blood, a symbolic act intended to refer to Goethe's Faust in which Faust makes a pact with the devil. Breder "chose a chicken to sacrifice because I thought the audience would react to animal sacrifice rather than a Goethian ritual, based on ancient witchcraft." Breder, in several conversations, including 28 October 1993 and 26 July 1995.

[8] This is documented in CNPA Survey of Performing Seasons, under 1974-75 Season, Iowa City Performances.

[9] This is documented as "Intermedia performance by Hans Breder and troupe at University of Wisconsin, Madison." See CNPA Survey of Performing Seasons, under 1974-75 Season, Tour Performances.

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[10] Thanks to Breder (interview, 15 November 1993; telephone communication, 13 June 1997). I have been able to identify all of Mendieta's performances of this particular piece in Iowa City, Madison (Wisconsin), Belgrade, and Antwerp.

[11] Mendieta studied Primitive Art Africa in summer 1970 taught by Professor Marshall W. Mount. Although Professor Mount did not remember Mendieta, he was helpful in recalling some of the aspects of the course he taught. The textbook was Paul S. Wingert, Primitive Art: Its Traditions and Styles (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962). Professor Mount believes he began with sub-Saharan African art in the northwest, then moved down the coast of West Africa into central Africa, and probably finished in east Africa with the Makonde. In answer to my questions regarding the Yoruba, Mount said he taught shrine figures and the art of the various cults, including the Ibeji, Shàngó, and Ogboni cults. He also included some material on the Egungun. When I asked Professor Mount if he made connections to African retentions in the New World, particularly in Cuba, he said he did not, except to mention the deity Shàngó and its survival in Brazil, Cuba, and New York where there is still a Shàngó temple in Harlem. In relation to Shàngó, Mount showed Shàngó dance staffs known as oshe-Shàngó and the double ax iconography, but he did not discuss initiation rites. Telephone interviews, 28 February and 20 June 1997.

[12] In Primitive Art Africa, Mendieta learned about the animal sacrifice, especially chicken sacrifice, as part of religious ceremony. Mount discussed sacrificial rites in which feathers and blood from chickens were made over such objects as masks and statues to empower them in an exchange of vital life, ashé. Ibid.

[13] J. Awolalu, "Elements of Sacrificial Rites," in Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites (Harlow, Essex, UK: Longman Group 1979, reprinted 1981), pp. 163-182. In that section, the author discusses sacrifice as an indispensable part of worship. Awolalu makes several important points concerning the Yoruba and other African peoples' belief in the significance of blood as part of liturgy: "The life of the victim is in the blood: and in consequence of this, the blood that is poured out is always given first to the divinity--that

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is, poured on or before the symbol of the divinity. In offering the blood, the Yoruba know and believe that they are offering the life of the animal. And when they give the life of the animal, they want life in exchange. In other words, they want the deity to take the blood or the life of the animal offered in order that they, the supplicants, may live long and enjoy prosperity."

[14] I made this point earlier when I discussed Chicken Piece for the first time. See my reference in Chapter 4, n.44 to Miguel (Willie) Ramos, historical anthropologist, Chango priest, and Obá Oriaté (director of ceremonies) for Afro-Cuban orisha initiation (telephone conversation, 26 September 1996.)

[15] I am grateful to Babatunde Lawal (telephone conversation, 15 October 1996) and Miguel W. Ramos (telephone conversation, 3 June 1997) for discussing with me aspects of initiation ceremonies. Professor Lawal noted that blood and feathers are used in Shàngó and other orisha initiation ceremonies among the Yoruba and Yoruba-related peoples in Africa and the New World. Mr. Ramos noted that this particular ritual is not commonly practiced in Afro-Cuban orisha ceremony, however. When a similar ritual is performed in Cuba, it is usually performed in a private ceremony as a propitiary rite due to a life-threatening situation.

[16] Pierre Fatumbe Verger in Dieux d'Afrique: Culte des orishas et vodouns à l'ancienne Cote de Esclaves en Afrique et à Bahia, la Baie de tous les Saints au Brésil (Paris: Paul Hartmann, 1954), illustrations, 35-36. Miguel (Willie) Ramos told me about the Verger book. It contains the only reproductions of that ceremony that Ramos has come across in his extensive studies on African retentions in the New World. The Verger book has been in the University of Iowa Library since as early as 1961, according to Earl Rogers, University Archivist. Unfortunately the circulation records have not been perserved, so there is no way to confim whether Mendieta borrowed the Verger book. Rogers, telephone communication, 14 April 1997.

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[17] There were any number of opportunities for Mendieta to see African art at the University of Iowa Museum of Art. Aside from the fact that Professor Mount took his class to the museum to see the holdings, she also saw Ulfert Wilke's collection of African art that was both in his home and at the museum. The former director's collection had two sculptures from Zaire each with feathers and patination. These are documented in An Artist Collects: Ulfert Wilke Selections from Five Continents, (1975), pp. 90, 91.

[18] From her course in Primitive Art Africa, Mendieta learned about the animal sacrifice, especially chicken sacrifice, as part of religious ceremony. Mount discussed sacrificial rites in which feathers and blood from chickens were made over such objects as masks and statues to empower them in an exchange of vital life, ashé. There were other African pieces highlighted at the Museum of Art. Some of them came from the De Havenon collection that were donated to the museum in 1969 and 1971. Those pieces were exhibited and documented in two shows, "Accessions 1969'70" and "Accessions 1971'1972." One of those objects was a Teke mask with feathers from Zaire (Congo). See University of Iowa Museum of Art, Accessions 1971'1972 (Iowa City: University of Iowa Museum of Art), fig. 55, p. 20. I am again grateful to Donald (Jeff) Martin, who verified the exhibition provenance of these objects in the acquisition files (Martin, telephone conversations, 12 and 17 June 1997).

[19] When I asked Breder (interview, 15 November 1993) how Mendieta referred to Afro-Cuban ceremonies or rituals, he said that she did not distinguish between ritual and ceremony, rather she referred to them in a general way as "voodoo." Jane (Noble) Hedrick also confirmed the Mendieta used the word "voodoo" when referring to African practices in Cuba or elsewhere. (Noble) Hedrick has very clear memories of numerous discussions with Mendieta over the years during which time she spoke in general terms about black Cubans who retained their Afro-Cuban beliefs within a Catholic society. In this context Mendieta often spoke about "voodoo." (Noble) Hedrick told me that when they were having those conversations she always assumed that Mendieta was relating former

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memories of her recollections of Cuba, so that as friends they could share each others' experiences. (Noble) Hedrick, telephone conversation, 24 September 1996.

[20] Raquelín Mendieta (telephone conversation, 11 June 1997) told me that they did not know the word "voodoo" in Cuba. They learned it once they were in Iowa.

[21] Raquelín Mendieta (ibid.) said that the word Santería was known and used to refer to black Cuban beliefs and superstitions when she was growing up. They may also have referred to such beliefs as brujería (which translates into English as witchcraft), a common term used then, but one that did not necessarily connote witch hunts or the kinds of negative black magic that the English word does.

[22] Raquelín Mendieta emphatically denies that her sister ever went to any religious ceremony.

[23] Stavros Deligiorgis, English professor, friend, and collaborator in CNPA events with Breder, so described Ana's dancing. He said that either before or after Mendieta's dance, she usually talked about what real voodoo was like. She said that it was not fun, it was never entertainment, and it was not social. It was not done when someone feels happy or high. There was a dark side to voodoo in general. Dance was just one small part of it. Mendieta explained that one cannot just get up and dance the way one does in a European dance. Deligiorgis, interview, Iowa City, 9 December 1994. Mendieta also continued to do her version of "voodoo" dancing during the years she lived in New York, according to artist and friend Liliana Porter, interview, 11 March 1994.

[24] Raquelín Mendieta confirmed this to me in numerous conversations.

[25] Ibid.

[26] In one of William Bascom's studies on Afro-Cuban retentions, the anthropologist found that "members of Santería cults [religions] regard themselves as Catholics. All informants, without exception, stated unqualifiedly that they were Catholics, yet they stressed the importance of those very elements of their faith and ritual which set it apart from that of the

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Catholic Church." See "The Focus of Cuban Santería," Southwestern Journal 6 (Albuquerque, 1950): 66.

[27] Raquelín Mendieta, "Childhood Memories: Religion, Politics, Art," in Ana Mendieta (1996), pp. 226-227.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Museo Oscar de Rojas was founded by Oscar de Rojas, who was the uncle of Raquelín and Ana's maternal grandmother (Elvira de Rojas de Andux). Raquelín Mendieta, conversation, 19 June 1997.

[30] The Abakuá is a secret male society in Cuba founded in the second half of the nineteenth century by people of southern Nigerian origins. When members of the confraternity danced in religious ceremonies, they wore costumes with pointed hats. Society at large referred to them as "diablitos." Two important book on this religious confraternity are Cabrera's La sociedad secreta Abakuá. La sociedad secreta Abakuá: narrada por viejos adeptos, rev. ed. (Miami: Ediciones C. R., 1970) and Anaforuana: ritual y símbolos de la iniciación en la sociedad secreta Abakuá (Madrid: Ediciones R, 1975).

[31] In sacred ceremony an important religious phenomenon, the process of being possessed, occurs. When the practicant goes into a trance, he or she is overcome by both the personality and characteristics of the particular orisha who is being honored during that ceremony. The spiritual possession is understood as an exchange of life force (ashé) between practicant and orisha. This transformation is commonly described as one in which the orisha/saint comes down to enter his believer, which in Spanish translates: "subirse el santo." For a discussion of spiritual possession, see Lydia Cabrera, Porqué . . .Cuentos negros de Cuba (Madrid: C. R., 1972), pp. 238-239.

[32] These views concur with those of Isabel Castellanos, professor of linguistics at Florida International University and co-author of the multivolume Cultura afrocubana (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1992-1994). Professor Castellanos, who left Cuba when she was twenty-one, still clearly remembers hearing about different Afro-Cuban customs and

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folkways when she was growing up. But her awareness, like that of the Mendietas', was a superficial one. Although she knew the names of some of the orishas/saints, and was aware as well of trances and drummings, she did not know the religious beliefs motivating the ceremonies. She had no knowledge of the functions or specifics of Afro-Cuban religious practices. Only when she was much older, and living outside Cuba, did Castellanos begin formally to acquire a deeper knowledge of Afro-Cuban religious practices. Telephone conversation, 11 June 1997.

[33] Raquelín Mendieta, "Childhood Memories: Religion, Politics, Art," p. 227. In her essay, the author was referring specifically to her grandfather, Dr. José Francisco Oti y de la Fé. However, in our many discussions on this subject, Raquelín expressed to me that these were the general sentiments of other adults in her family, including her mother. I would like to point out that the Mendieta and Oti family views were very much within mainstream white Cuban, Spanish Catholic thinking at the time. In general Catholics of non Afro-Cuban background did not ascribe much importance to the long surviving religious traditions of Afro-Cubans, or they tended to lump them under variations of Catholic beliefs.

[34] Ibid. For an excellent discussion of the role of music as a disseminator of an Afro-Cuban worldview, see Jorge Castellanos and Isabel Castellanos, "El negro en la música cubana," Cultura afrocubana, vol. 4, pp. 265-396.

[35] Ochún is the Virgin of Charity, Ifá (Orula) is Saint Francis, Obatalá is the Virgin of Mercy, Changó is Saint Barbara, Yemayá is the Virgin of Regla, Babalú Ayé is Saint Lazarus. See Miguel W. Ramos, "Afro-Cuban Orisha Worship," in Santería Aesthetics in Contemporary Latin American Art, p. 61.

[36] When Mendieta died she left behind her books, many of which were on Afro-Cuban religions. These include Lydia Cabrera's, La sociedad secreta Abakuá: narrada por viejos adeptos, rev. ed. (Miami: Ediciones C. R., 1970); El monte: Igbo-Finda, Ewe Orisha, Vititi Nfinda, 4th ed. (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1975); Reglas de Congo Palo Monte,

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Palo Mayombe (Miami: Peninsular Printing, 1979); and Yemayá y Ochún: Kariocha, Iyalorichas y Olorichas, 2nd ed. (New York: C. R., 1980). Enrique Sosa Rodriguez, Los ñáñigos: ensayo (Havana: Casa de las Américas, 1982) is a book that Mendieta brought back from Cuba after her 1982 visit. Also, on one of the artist's trips to Cuba in the 1980s, she brought back the following booklet, which was in her grandfather's library in Varadero: José Angel Bustamante, El sacrificio totémico en el baroko ñáñigo. (offprint from "Revista Bimestre Cubana," vol. 73 (July-December, 1957) Havana: Cárdenas y Cía. Although Mendieta had a 1975 edition of a copy of Cabrera's El Monte in her library, she apparently did not acquire it that year. When Cesar Trasobares first met Mendieta in Miami in October 1981 she told him that she did not have a copy of El Monte nor had she read the book. They looked for a 1975 copy, which he had, but it was out of print. Trasobares was able to buy her two copies of Cabrera's book in 1983 when the fifth edition was published. Telephone conversation, 19 June 1997.

[37] Eduardo Costa, artist and writer, became a close friend of Mendieta's in 1982. He was very interested in and knowledgable about African religious retentions in Brazil. He and Mendieta often spoke about the importance of an African worldview. Costa said that Mendieta had several books by Cabrera by that time and that she loaned them to him to read. In turn, he loaned her some books in Portuguese. Eduardo Costa, telephone interview, 20 June 1997.

[38] In Rosario Hiriart's Prologue to Cabrera's Yemayá y Ochún: Kariocha, Iyalorichas y Olorichas, the writer affirms the great interest among Cuban exiles in studying orisha worship. See Hiriart, "Prólogo," Yemayá y Ochún, [p.] I.

[39] Breder does not recall that Mendieta read Cabrera during the time they were together. If she did, she did not discuss the Cuban writer with him. Raquelín Mendieta does not remember that Ana and she discussed Cabrera before Raquelín left Iowa in 1975.

[40] Lucy R. Lippard, From the Center: Essays on Feminist Art (New York: E. P. Dutton 1976), p. 137.

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[41] Lucy R. Lippard, "Quite Contrary: "Quite Contrary: Body, Nature and Ritual in Women's Art," Chrysalis 2 (1977): 31-48.

[42] Wingert, Primitive Art: Its Traditions and Styles on fetishes, p. 24. The author also notes that in many 'fetishes' this power was derived from magical substances that had been attached to or inserted into the object to activate it. [In African art] great numbers of figures, masks, animal forms, and abstract objects had to be furnished by the artist for use by his patrons in these countless, magic-working ceremonies."

[43] Raquelín Mendieta confirmed to me in one of our many conversations regarding this piece that her sister referred to herself, as well as to the model she used, as a "bird," not as a chicken or a cock.

[44] Angel Tomas, "El arte como refugio," Artes Plásticas, n.d. [c. 1981], n.p., from Margarita Cano's files.

[45] Ann Sargent Wooster, High Performance 41-42 (1988): 82.

[46] Mary Jane Jacobs, "Ashé in the Art of Ana Mendieta," in Santería Aesthetics in Contemporary Latin American Art, p. 193.

[47] There are a number of sources that describe aspects of this rite. For example, Cabrera writes about the plante or initiation ceremony, in which the white rooster is sacrificed and the rooster's blood is drunk, in two books. See La sociedad secreta Abakuá, pp. 181, 182, and Anaforuana: ritual y símbolos de la iniciación en la sociedad secreta Abakuá. (Madrid: Ediciones R, 1975), pp. 29, 40, 41, among others. In writing about Abakuá rituals, Castellanos describes how the ekue (sacred drum) receives a goat's blood and how a rooster is sacrificied; however, there is no description of the initiate's parading with the animal's head in his mouth. See Cultura afrocubana, vol. 3, pp. 249, 250. In writing about Abakuá initiation in Cuba, Robert Farris Thompson elaborated the signs (anaforuana) drawn on an initiate's body's during the swearing-in ceremony. However, he did not write about animal sacrifice as part of that ceremony. See Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), pp. 254, 255.

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[48] Raquelín Mendieta said that to her knowledge her sister did not acquire Cabrera's book until later. Isabel Castellanos points out that Cabrera's book was an obscure publication when it came out in 1970; furthermore, it was very difficult to read because of its content. Castellanos sees little likelihood that Mendieta would have read that book as among her first on Afro-Cuban religions even if she had known about its circulation.

[49] Richard Harvey (interview, Palm Beach, 1 March 1997) remembers that his final assigment for the Multimedia course was one executed in the studio during the class session.

[50] Nancy Noyer, telephone interview, 19 December 1994. Part of Noyer's reluctance also stemmed from feeling uncomfortable with an artistic language with which she was not familiar. Years later in conversation with the author, Noyer said: "And frankly I didn't want to appear so ignorant."

[51] When Mendieta sent slides of "Body Print with White Sheet," to the art historian Sherry Buckberrough, the artist identified the piece as St. Veronica. Buckberrough, interview, New York, 19 July 1994.

[52] Wallace J. Tomasini, Hans Breder, and Stephen Bundy, "Proposal to the CNPA," 12 April 1975, CNPA Records.

[53] General Catalogue 1974-1976, p. 40.

[54] Ibid., pp. 34, 40.

[55] Douglas Allaire, telephone interview, 28 May 1997, and written communication, June 1997. Allaire graduated with an M.A. in 1976 and an M.F.A. in 1978 in multimedia.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Hibbard, "Preface," Intermedia, p. 5.

[58] Hibbard, "Final Report 1970-75," n.p., CNPA Records.

[59] In Chapter 7, I discuss the administrative and program changes of the CNPA.

[60] CNPA Survey of Performing Seasons, 1974-75, CNPA Records.

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[61] Breder had submitted his name as a candidate for the position of new director of the CNPA, which became available at the end of the spring semester. Breder, telephone conversation, 10 March 1997.

[62] Costa, telephone interview, 20 June 1997. Also see Chapter 2, p.13.

[63] John Perrault, telephone communication, 25 June 1997. A short time after my conversation with Perrault, he sent me a copy of the lecture he delivered as well as a copy of the letter (15 December 1974) to William Hibbard, director of the Center for New Performing Arts,with the descriptions of his perfomances.

[64] Perrault, telephone communication, 25 June 1997. The two artists stopped doing Street Works in the early 1970s, but Perrault had started to do Secret Works, a project still in progress. Although he cannot discuss the nature of the work, he proposes that, as an artist, he can make an artwork for himself instead of for the social sphere.

[65] Perrault, ibid. Perrault had stopped doing performances by that time. In reminiscing he told me that he wanted to "make one last stab at it." He stopped performance because he saw himself moving too close to theater, a performing art he was not interested in pursuing.

[66] See Attachment #5, Art History Workshop, Spring Semester 1974-1975. Hans Breder provided me with a copy of the listing of artists who were invited speakers in the Art History Workshop.

[67] Sherry Buckberrough, interview, Hartford, 13 June 1994.

[68] In Lippard's "Introduction: Changing since Changing," she noted that she had been working on women's art since 1971. See From the Center, p. 1.

[69] In Lippard's "Introduction" in the Aldrich Museum exhibition catalogue, she stated her reasons for organizing the show. "I took on this show because I knew there were many women artists whose work was as good or better than that currently being shown, but who, because of the prevailingly discriminatory policies of most galleries and museums, can rarely get anyone to visit their studios or take them as seriously as their male

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counterparts." See Twenty-Six Contemporary Women Artists (Ridgefield, Conn.: Aldrich Museum of Contemporary Art, 1971), n.p. [p. 1]. Many women artists in that exhibition were artists Lippard did subsequent work on, including Alice Aycock, Sylvia Mangold, Brenda Miller, Mary Miss, Howardena Pindell, Adrian Piper, Jacqueline Windsor, and Barbara Zucker.

[70] The exhibition "Women Choose Women," was organized by Women in the Arts and shown at the New York Cultural Center in association with Fairleigh Dickinson University. "It was the first museum exhibition to be chosen with the participation of several hundred women artists--the first, it is hoped in a series of large museum shows which will continue to survey the range and scope of women's art." See Women in the Arts, "History of an Exhibition," in Women Choose Women (New York: New York Cultural Center in association with Fairleigh Dickinson University, 1973), p. 4. That exhibition also included many women artists who are well known today: Vija Celmins, Betsy Damion, Agnes Denes, Audrey Flack, Mary Frank, Buffie Johnson, Joan Mitchell, Alice Neel, Faith Ringgold, Sylvia Sleigh, Joan Snyder, Nancy Spero, Pat Steir, May Stevens, Michelle Stuart, and Hannah Wilke.

[71] I confirmed the date and title of Professor Buckberrough's spring and summer course, Themes in Art History: Women Artists of the 20th-Century, in the University of Iowa Schedule of Courses, pp. 45, 53.

[72] Buckberrough, interview, Hartford, 13 June 1994.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Lippard, "Introduction," From the Center, p.1.

[75] Ibid., p. 11.

[76] Linda Nochlin, "Why There Are No Great Women Artists," Art News (January 1971): 22-39.

[77] An asterisk following the artist's name indicates that Lippard wrote a chapter on the artist in From the Center.

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[78] My conclusion derives from the long list of questions I presented to former students whom I interviewed.

[79] Sandy Skoglund, a painting student in the M.F.A. program until May 1972 at the university did not learn about Miriam Shapiro's and Judy Chicago's co-founding of the California Institue of the Arts, Feminist Art Program in 1972 at the time she was at the university. She learned about that program after she left the university and moved to New York. Skoglund, interview, New York, 9 November 1994. Bill Rowley (telephone interview, 6 July 1995) remember learning about Judy Chicago toward the end of the 1974, but he cannot recall the context for discussing her work.

[80] This view of Mendieta was held by all the women I interviewed.

[81] Sheila Kelly, Mendieta's friend from Briar Cliff College from fall 1966, belonged to the group that organized the Rape Hotline. She said that Mendieta and she had lots of arguments about women's rights. For those reasons Kelly perceived Mendieta as being anti-feminist during those years. Kelly, telephone converstion, 1 December 1994.

[82] Hans Hacke introduced Breder to Lippard when she was with Charles Simmonds who was at the time in the M.F.A. program at Rutgers University. Breder invited Simmonds, Ted Victoria, and two other graduate students to the University of Iowa to show their work at the Student Union before Multimedia existed.

[83] Kirkwood was one of sixteen elementary schools in the school district at the time Henry Sabin Elementary School began in 1972. James Thomas, telephone interview, 4 February 1997.

[84] Thomas, ibid. Paul Davis, telephone interview, 26 February 1997. Thomas worked at Sabin until the end of the 1974-75 school year when he became the principal of Kirkwood. Davis was principal of Kirkwood from the 1971-72 through the 1974-75 school years. At the end of the 1975 school year Davis was officially assigned as principal to Sabin, and Thomas became the principal at Kirwood where he tried to initiate similar changes in that school's curriculum and methodology.

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[85] Kay Ries, telephone interview, 11 February 1997. During the years Mendieta taught in Sabin and Kirkwood, Ries was art coordinator for the secondary art department for the junior and senior high schools in the district. She was also an art teacher for seventh, eighth, and ninth grades in Central Junior High School.

[86] Nancy Noyer, interview, Iowa City, 9 December 1994.

[87] Helen (McGreevy) Hoff, journal entry, 15 January 1975. (McGreevy) Hoff had taken multimedia courses in 1972 and 1973. She did her student teaching at Kirkwood in January, February, and March 1975 under Mendieta.

[88] Julia Burton Varn, telephone interview, 5 March 1997.

[89] Thomas, ibid. Sabin began as a demonstration school in 1972 when James Thomas was hired as the principal. Davis was sympathetic to the new teaching and learning approaches pioneered by Sabin, but he was not able to convince his staff at Kirkwood to accept these changes. With the exception of changes made in art, the language arts areas, and in part of the science program, Kirkwood remained a traditional school.

[90] Thomas, ibid. As it turned out, the other elementary schools in the district did not want to initiate the kinds of changes pioneered at Sabin and Kirkwood. Sabin closed at the end of the 1975-76 school year.

[91] Joan Bunke, "Step Right Up and Buy Some Knowledge," Des Moines Sunday Register 6 May 1973, pp. 5, 6, 7, 9.

[92] This view was conveyed to me by Kay Ries (ibid.) and Nan Mercier (ibid.). Mercier began her career as an art teacher in 1972. In the late 1970s she became the art coordinator for the elementary school program within the Iowa City Community School District.

[93] Thomas, ibid.; Davis, ibid.

[94] Kay Ries (ibid.) said that she began to hear parents' complaints around 1970. The nature of the complaints varied: some parents felt that students were not given enough freedom to make art; others criticized teachers for overly controlling the art process in

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order for the product--whether paintings, prints, or drawings--to be turned out; still other parents felt that their children were not receiving adequate attention.

[95] Thomas, ibid.

[96] Kay Ries (ibid.) said that the elementary art program encouraged children to produce a work of fine art--drawing, painting, prints, sculpture. During Ries's experience she knew of many instances when teachers who were dissatisfied with a child's work painted over it or told them how to do differently the next time. Ries remembers an elementary art teacher who told her that she/he never let the kids mix their own colors, presumably because they got muddy.

[97] Burton Varn, ibid.

[98] Burton Varn, ibid.

[99] Ries, ibid.

[100] Burton Varn, ibid.

[101] Burton Varn, ibid. Kay Ries also remembers seeing Mendieta's plaster mask projects from these years.

[102] Burton Varn (ibid.) told me that prior to her going to Sabin in the fifth grade, one of the routine art projects involved drawing animals from models that an art teacher brought to class.

[103] (McGreevy) Hoff, lesson plan, week of 27 January 1975.

[104] M. Joanne Bruegger, "Sabin Youngsters High on 'Outdoor Experience' at Camp Daybreak," Iowa City Press-Citizen, n.d.; n.p. From James Thomas's personal files.

[105] Burton Varn, ibid.

[106] Jane Noble, telephone conversation, 7 June 1996.

[107] Raquelín Mendieta generously loaned me the photographs from the artist's files. I identified the year by examining the date on the license plate of the pick-up truck in one of the photographs. I identified the place by showing the photographs to several people including Breder, Byron Burford, Jane Gilmor, and David Van Allen. Breder identified

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Ann Zerkel and helped me locate her. Zerkel, a friend of Mendieta and Breder, assisted the artist in her performance. Zerkel discussed the performance with me which she remembered took place in late June 1975.

[108] According to Zerkel, (ibid.) who was registered in the class. Ann Zerkel, telephone conversation, 26 September 1997.

[109] Because Mendieta feared driving in the heat with a heavy ape costume from Iowa City to Cedar Rapids, Zerkel suggested that Mendieta use the facilities of Kirkwood Community College to change.

[110] The xeroxed chapter is in the artist's files. No further information identifies the course Mendieta took at the time or the title of the book she used to altar the found images.

[111] Some of that documentation appeared in Lippard's "Transformation Art," Ms (Oct. 1975): 33-39. Both Antin and Menidieta were written about in that article.

[112] Eleanor Antin, "On Self-Transformation," Flash Art, 44-45 (March-April 1974): 68-70.

[113] Karen Soteco confirmed that she and her friends, including Ana, went to the All Iowa Fair in Cedar Rapids during their teens. Soteco, telephone conversation, 5 October 1997.

[114] As Professor Burford pointed out, large country fairs such as the All Iowa Fair had a carnival section with freaks, sideshows, and amusement rides. Telephone conversation, 5 October 1997.

[115] Burford, ibid., 5 October 1997.

[116] Jane Gilmor, interview, New York, 12 September 1994.

[117] Burford, telephone interview, 5 October 1997.

[118] Burford, interview, Iowa City, 5 December 1994.

[119] Burford, telephone interview, 8 October 1997.

[120] Roberta Smith, "On Becoming a Dog By Acting Like One," New York Times (18 April 1997.

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Chapter 7

The Final Years: Looking toward New York from Iowa, Fall 1975 through Fall 1977

Introduction

Mendieta chose to remain in the graduate program at the University of Iowa through spring 1977 when she presented her M.F.A. thesis. During that period she saw herself as an independent artist rather than as a graduate student. Maintaining graduate status was largely a matter of convenience.[1] It enabled her to participate officially in the artistic environment of university life and gave her access to the art department's facilities and equipment. She continued doing her indoor work in the Multimedia studio and using the super-8 camera to film her outdoor pieces. She rarely attended Breder's classes as she had done previously.[2]

During the final years in Iowa, Mendieta evolved a beautiful corpus of outdoor work using elements from nature. Her performance pieces consisted of her body or its outline, the landscape, and a temporal action. She attached great importance to the phenomenological aspects of merging with nature. Each performance enabled her to vivify nature's rhythms, its life cycle. In seemingly infinite ways, she combined earth / dirt, sand, stones, flowers, leaves, and trees to form an image of her body which she referred to as her silueta, or silhouette. The image of her body endowed nature with a human form, thereby personifying it. Prior to 1976, Mendieta's performative pieces were guided by an unwritten script; from 1976 she made drawings and wrote her "ideas" (ideas) for many pieces in small sketchbooks.[3]

Before Mendieta moved to New York in January 1978, she produced a prolific body of work, some of which was reviewed in local and national publications. She

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participated in several exhibitions in this country as well as abroad. Her work was first brought to national attention in a series of articles that Lucy Lippard wrote on women artists. In the wake of those initial articles, a group of feminist critics and curators responded to her work and included her in group exhibitions.

At the end of 1977, shortly before the artist left for New York, she received a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts. She also had her first solo show at Corroboree: Gallery of New Concepts at the university. In a review of that exhibition in the local newspaper, Mendieta said she used "her body as a kind of medium [form], as an earth goddess kind of thing" to explore the relationship between herself, the earth, and art.[4]

The artist supported herself as a full-time art teacher in South East Junior High School until her move to New York. Toward the end of her tenure at the school, she expressed her thoughts on teaching art to students who chose art as an elective. Those thoughts also summarize her views of her artmaking.

> It's interesting to work with kids who have something definite in mind. . . . I'm conscious of not pushing my aesthetics on them. I push the idea of creative problem solving and thinking, rather than teaching a technique or specific-point of view. I teach an approach to art and let students deal with ideas in their own ways. It's a lot easier to tell them what to do, but creativity has to be your own problem solving and investigation. Many students aren't used to making decisions, but that's what artists do all the time.[5]

1. Fall 1975 and Spring 1976

When Mendieta began her outdoor pieces in fall 1975, the premier years of the Center for New Performing Arts were over. Although the CNPA continued in operation until 1978, the program functioned in a drastically reduced fashion.[6] The university was not able to provide the substantial funds equivalent to those of the Rockefeller Grant. The interdisciplinary experimentation among the diverse areas--Art, Creative Writing, Dance,

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Film and Television, Music, and Theater within the College of Liberal Arts that was typical in the program's early years--had ended. During the remaining years, no productions on the scale of Robert Wilson's Deaf Man's Glance were commissioned. The visiting artist program continued, on a smaller scale, under the aegus of the CNPA for the 1975/1976 year. During the second half of the 1976/1977 academic year, however, the visiting artist program was administered by the Multimedia Program through the newly formed Corroboree: Gallery of New Concepts.[7] The CNPA continued to provide some funds to indvidual artists invited by the Corroboree.[8] However, in the overall downsizing, traveling productions were no longer organized. Therefore the Multimedia Program and the CNPA no longer collaborated in intermedia events and performances.[9] In the absence of public venues, Mendieta found alternative places to perform--in nature, generally without an audience.

Mendieta's Genesis Buried in Mud and Alma Silueta en Fuego (fig. 145) were among the artist's first pieces in fall 1975. Pivotal to the artist's development, they look back on Burial Pyramid and Ocean Bird Washup, summer 1974, as they point to the new directions in body-earth sculpture. The 1974 pieces were among the first in which the artist attempted to merge with nature; they also illustrate her interest in empirical experience. From fall 1975, Mendieta's outdoor work was characterized by her immersion in or with nature, temporality, and ephemerality.

Genesis Buried in Mud, October 1975, is an especially beautiful and dramatic earth-body piece. Documented only on super-8 film, it features the artist buried beneath a low mound that rises slightly above ground level. Her body outline, defined by her arms uplifted and extended away from her shoulders, is visible beneath the soil. During the performance, the camera focused on the image of the silhouette palpitating beneath the surface. The artist's breathing, which intensified over time, caused the earth to move gently, suggesting the life-giving force of mother nature. Mendieta acknowledged the animated spirit of the earth, which she identified as female, by personifying it with the

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image of her body.[10] Her body silhouette depicted in a position similar to the well-known image of the Snake Goddess of Knossos[11]--arms uplifted and extended away from the shoulders--became one of her two hallmark images. It defined many of her body-earth pieces throughout the mid-to-late 1970s.

Burial Pyramid, 1974, (Yagul) (fig. 107), the artist's first earth-body piece, was an important antecedent for Genesis Buried in Mud. There are formal similarities between the two pieces. In the earlier work, the artist's body also remained above ground where rocks were placed over her. In the 1975 piece, the artist similarly constructed the piece so that the soil also covered her body to form a mound. In the same way that her body moved the rocks in Burial Pyramid, it moved the soil in Genesis Buried in Mud. The artist's intention in both pieces was to suggest earth's movement, its life-force. Genesis Buried in Mud distinguishes itself from the earlier piece in that the human form personifies the earth. The personification of mother earth as depicted in Genesis Buried in Mud became the leitmotif in her outdoor work. Both pieces transformed ideas originating in monumental earth works into a personal idiom that expanded what she perceived to be an intermedia language combining aspects of body sculpture, performance, and small-scale earth work into a distinctive genre.

How did the iconographic image of the artist's silueta evolve; and in particular, how did the image of her silueta with arms uplifted establish itself in her work? What might have been the storehouse of imagery that informed her selection of that motif? As discussed in the previous chapter, the artist first rendered her body outline or body prints in a series she generically titled Body Prints (March 1974). In one of those pieces, she registered her print by extending her arms upward at shoulder height and then dragging them along the wall.[12] A few months later, Mendieta adopted a similar body position when she had her outline traced on the floor in Burial at Yagul (summer 1974). After the outline was traced on the ground, the artist poured red tempera to fill it, at which time she added raylike images to the body imprint. Mendieta, who had long been interested in making

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references to archaeological figures in her work, seemed to be adopting the iconography of the pictograph at the site of Caballito Blanco near Yagul.[13] I suggest that when she examined the documentation of Burial at Yagul, she realized that the body outline configured with outstretched and uplifted arms produced a strong visual portrait, one that was more interesting than a body outline with her arms at her side, for example. Mendieta had certainly decided on the uplifted arm motif by the time she did her pieces in fall 1975. By that time, she had acquired many images of historical figures depicted in that fashion or very similarly.

As has been documented in previous chapters (Chapters 2 and 5), the artist also looked at a wide variety of idols and goddesses in varied body positions in art history textbooks, ranging from material presented in Introduction to Primitive Art, to basic art history books published by Janson and Gardiner. In Michael Kampen's class, she became familiar with hollow clay female figures from Veracruz which are depicted with the arms upraised and extended outward.[14]

Mendieta catalogued late Aztec figurine fragments in Field Research in Archaeology in San Juan Teotihuacán, Mexico. The small ceramic Aztec female figurines that the artist examined generally did not have their arms extended away from their bodies, probably for the purely practical reason that they would have broken too easily. However, she did work on a figurine mold fragment in which the one extant arm was upraised at its side. She made an impression from the mold and then fired it to make a copy for herself (fig. 146). On that trip, Mendieta also saw the Great Goddess image, or the Water Deity, as she is alternately identified, in the Tlalocan mural from the Tepantitla complex at the Teotihuacan archaeological site. The image of the deity features her arms extended away from her body at the waist, but the arms are not upraised at shoulder level.

Mendieta also looked at deity images in Tantra art, which Breder was interested in (fig. 147).[15] In fact, Mendieta chose an illustration of the deity Devi as Durga from Tantra

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art for the cover of the exhibition announcement at the Corroboree: Gallery of New Concepts in December 1977 (fig. 148).

Alma Silueta en Fuego (Soul Silhouette on Fire),[16] another beautiful and dramatic piece, was executed that same fall. The work began when Mendieta and her friend Jane (Noble) Hedrick dug out a soft area of ground near the Iowa River on the private property of Julius Schmidt, a friend and a professor of sculpture at the university.[17] They reused a cleared area that (Noble) Hedrick and she had prepared for a previous piece, Silueta sangrienta.[18] When Mendieta performed Alma Silueta en Fuego she placed her silueta made out of corrugated cardboard inside the image of the dirt silueta on the ground. The silueta model was wrapped in a white cloth to which she added a combustible liquid. The super-8 film and 35mm slide documentation featured the silueta slowly consumed by fire. After the flames died out, the outline remained on the ground filled with ashes. The camera remained focused on the ashen silueta while the surrounding leaves blew on top of the depression in the earth.

Alma Silueta en Fuego introduced several interesting formal innovations. The piece was among the first in which the artist used a model as a substitute for her actual body. It was also the first documented piece of a long series of burning pieces.[19]

Mendieta devised the model because she knew that much of her work would be done without the help of an assistant. Therefore the model provided her with a degree of self-sufficiency when she worked alone in nature and needed to depict her outline. The model also enabled her to suggest her presence through its trace in the same way that her empty garments had acted as a surrogate body in an untitled piece (fig. 63) featuring discarded jeans in spring 1973.[20] Furthermore, by using a model of her body, her work displayed or imparted a self-referential quality.

Although Mendieta's work had already embraced three of the four elements --air, water, and earth--this piece was the first to introduce fire.[21] In subsequent pieces, the artist used pyrotechnics. The artist's use of fire in Alma Silueta en Fuego, as well as the

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iconography of the uplifted arms motif, were intended to suggest a well-known religious subject, that of purgatory in Catholic belief. Alma Silueta en Fuego, which translates as Soul Silhouette on Fire, is the soul in purgatory.[22] The Catholic Church teaches that the soul goes to purgatory until it is purified of its sins by means of fire.[23] In art and popular culture, the image of the soul in purgatory (fig. 149) is portrayed as consumed in flames. Mendieta orchestrated a compelling visual narrative symbolizing that belief. In all likelihood, the artist drew on several sources for the illustration of that subject. The subject is popularly depicted in Mexican churches as well as on devotional cards.[24] One of the images of the soul in purgatory that Mendieta, in all probability was familiar with, is found in the church of Patrocina María Santísima in Oaxaca.[25]

In spring 1976 Mendieta took a leave of absence from teaching with the Iowa City Community School District. She spent most of that winter and spring in New York and various European cities with Hans Breder who was on a sabbatical.[26] Soon after arriving in New York, Mendieta and Breder went to 112 Greene Street, a well-known alternative artists space in Soho.[27]. During their conversation with an artist whom Breder knew, Mendieta showed her portfolio, and as a result, she was invited to do a piece there.[28]

Mendieta installed Ñañigo Burial (fig. 150) and presented Filmworks from 21 February to 4 March.[29] She exhibited her works together with four other artists. In the documentation of the exhibition published in 112 Workshop / 112 Greene Street, the Mendieta piece is described as follows: "Ana Mendieta's Ñañigo Burial consisted of an arrangement of large candles placed on the floor resembling the outline of a person lying down with arms outstretched. The candles were lit and the floor pattern of melted wax remained throughout the installation period."[30] In preparing for Mendieta's ephemeral installation, she and Breder went to a store near Houston Street to buy "voodoo" candles.[31] Once they were in the gallery, Breder traced the artist's silhouette on the floor; then she placed tall candles on the outline.[32] Mendieta lighted the candles (fig. 151) at the opening, at which time she also showed Filmworks. The silueta image, constructed of forty-seven

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tall, thick black candles, was documented in super-8 and in 35mm slides.[33] The Abakuá, a secret-all male society in Cuba, were familiarly referred to as Ñañigos.[34] In choosing a subject as specific as ñañigo burial, however, we can assume that Mendieta consulted for points of departure an authoritative source such as Lydia Cabrera's Anaforuana: ritual y símbolos de la iniciación en la sociedad secreta Abakuá (Anaforuana: Ritual and Symbols in Initiations of the Secret Society of the Abakuá). Cabrera's landmark publication of 1975 documents firsthand accounts and reproduces Abakuá hand-drawn signs (firmas) used in rituals and religious ceremonies, including death rites.[35] Anaforuana features an elaborate diagram of the three funerary rooms with the placement of the objects required in the ceremony.[36] That diagram also indicates the specific room reserved for the deceased, whose body is not surrounded by candles as is suggested in Mendieta's artistic reconfiguration. Although a candle is placed in one of the sacred rooms during the Abakuá funerary celebration, it seems that the artist was more directly inspired by the widespread use of candles in Oaxacan celebrations. She wrote about the use of candles in those ceremonies in the following way:

> In the village of Teótitlan del Valle / in Oaxaca there are 3 candle makers. / This [sic] special candles are used for / the important festive occasions / The day of the mayordomo (fill church with candles) (Village Saint's day) / for the Feather Dance (a mass is said at 6 a.m. and each dancer brings a / candle to the mass.) Afterwards they dance in the atrio (atrium) of the / church with the candle. / Also for a wedding (steal the bride) the man's side of the family each / brings a candle to the church ceremony. / For the engagement / the candles are made of bee wax / the flowers are hand crafted the petals (cut / with a scissors & hand crafted) from / a cast shape.[37]

Although Ñañigo Burial was the artist's first piece with an Afro-Cuban title,[38] Mendieta apparently did not discuss the meaning of or the motivation behind the piece with Breder.[39] The iconography of Mendieta's Ñañigo Burial does not correspond to or even attempt to reproduce the hand-drawn signs used in funeral ceremonies. She freely drew

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upon diverse sources to create a piece evoking elements of ritual and ceremony. She used her own silueta to suggest the form of the deceased, although she would most likely have known that women were excluded from all Abakuá ceremonies. The artist's silhouette does not identity a female form, per se, for the outline itself is not rendered in Abakuá ceremony as documented in Anaforuana. Ñañigo Burial illustrates the artist's use of artistic license. In that piece as in earlier ones, Mendieta freely drew upon diverse sources to evoke elements of ritual and ceremony.

No matter how far from actual practice Mendieta departed, she chose an Afro-Cuban subject to identify her interests in the New York piece. Evidently the artist wanted to communicate an aspect of Cuban ritual, no matter how far removed her own lived experience was from the specifics of that ritual. Her artistic reconstruction was an attempt to communicate, at least in her mind's eye, a larger view of Cuba, one that in reality she was in the process of investigating. Her ongoing archaeological researches through the years helped her maintain her Cuban identity in exile while at the same time she continued to learn about Cuban culture and history.

According to Mendieta's testimonies, she received positive response to her work while she was in New York.[40] She met many new people, in part through Breder who was very well connected to the art scene.[41] During their New York stay, Breder showed one of his videos at the Anthology Film Archives New York, for which he too received positive feedback.[42]

Breder and Mendieta left for Europe in late March. In anticipation of his research trip, Breder had made arrangements to show his Film and Video Works 1971-1975 in museums and universities in Hamburg and Gutersloh, Germany; Antwerp, Belgium; Cumbria, Great Britain; and Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Breder had also made arrangements for Mendieta to show her work. As a result, she did slide presentations at the Hochschule für Bildende Kunst, Hamburg, at the Kunstverein Kreis in Gutersloh, and at the LYC (Li Yuan-Chia) in Brampton, Cumbria, England. She did performances of Blood and

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Feathers at the International Cultureel Centrum, Antwerp and at the Studentski Kulturni Centar, Belgrade.[43]

Shortly after Mendieta and Breder returned to Iowa in May, the artist's work was included in an article written by Lucy Lippard which appeared in Art in America.[44] Aside from the broad national attention the article brought to her work, which was at the time unknown in larger artistic circles, it located her work within a group of feminist artists who were doing body art. As discussed in earlier chapters, Lippard referred to Mendieta's rape pieces, her "regeneration" piece in a stone grave in Mexcio, her "white cock, voodoo fetish piece," and pieces in which she outlined her silhouette with flowers, flames, earth, and candles. In the Art in America article, Lippard wrote about such artists as Hannah Wilke, Carolee Schneemann, Lynda Benglis, Martha Wilson, Eleanor Antin, Adrian Piper, Marina Abramovic, Annette Messager, and Mary Beth Edelson. In the historiography of feminist writing in the mid-seventies, that article is especially noteworthy because it is among the early ones to cite examples of women artists whose imagery relates to the Great Goddess, a connection that Lippard made when writing about Mendieta in subsequent articles.[45] As a result of that article and its two later reprintings in Lippard's From the Center: Essays on Feminist Art and in the exhibition catalogue N.E. Thing Co.: A Celebration of the Body, both published in 1976, Mendieta's name and work were introduced to a circle of artists whom she began meeting on trips to New York while she was still living in Iowa.[46]

2. Summer 1976

Oaxaca

Mendieta returned to Oaxaca with Breder and a small group of Multimedia II students.[47] She again felt captivated by the changing terrain of the Oaxaca Valley, its archaeological monuments, churches, Indian festivals, markets, shops, and roadside shrines.[48] The artist photographed religious images, including calveras (skeletons), took notes on ceremonies, and enjoyed the ways in which humble Mexicans marked their

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possessions with images of the Virgin and saints.[49] Religious imagery decorated the doorways and windowsills of houses, the dashboards and fenders of motor vehicles. In Mexico, everyday life and religion were integrated.[50] Mendieta's art embraced that dialogue between art and life as she searched to interweave religion, history, and the life cycle in her performative outdoor pieces.

Mendieta continued developing her site-specific pieces in the Cuilapan church, in archaeological monuments, and in the landscape. The reductive image of her silueta or the image of her figure characterized by the uplifted arms identified her work. Judging from the large body of unprinted documentation in the artist's archives from summer 1976, Mendieta remained open to experimentation. The sites, which she carefully chose, often conveyed the subject of the work.[51]

Breder took the Multimedia and Intermedia group to the fishing village of La Ventosa on the peninsula of Salina Cruz on the Gulf of Tehuantepec for a few days at the beginning of the trip. Mendieta did a new series of site-specific works on the beach there. On previous occasions she had modeled for Breder by the shoreline in one of his mirror pieces. She also did Bird Run and Ocean Bird Washup in Salina Cruz. In the former she ran down the beach at the water's edge. In the latter, she floated in the ocean until the waves pushed her body--transformed into a bird--to the shore. One of several new pieces featured the silueta made in the sand (fig. 152). Once the image was dug out, the artist poured red pigment over part of it so the figure appeared to be in a scarlet-colored dress. Mendieta planned the work so that when the tide rose, it washed away the figure. She annotated her idea in her sketchbook in this way: "Make a silueta at the edge of the ocean. Leave the figure so the water flows into it and then empties out. Also fill the silueta with blood or red tempera so that it empties in the ocean and disappears. Over time document the erosion of the figure."[52] This piece, similar to her earlier performances, had a clear narrative with a beginning, middle, and end. It symbolized nature's life cycle, defined by birth, life, and death.

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"Silueta with Red Tempera" was an important piece documented in twenty-three 35mm slides. Ellen (Leich) Moon, a Multimedia student on the trip, who was also Breder's model, remembers Mendieta talking about the pieces she did on the beach early in the morning as the tide came.[53]

Two variations on that theme were "Silueta of White Cloth on Driftwood" and "Silueta of Red Flowers." With these three works, the artist hit a new note, one that sings with delicacy, beauty, and ephemerality. The subject of the life cycle, suggested in the 1973 piece Imagén de Yagul aka Flowers on Body (fig. 66), had reached a fuller level of expression wherein the stages of life were personified through the ebb and flow of the tide.

Another remarkable piece of a different nature was "Cactus" (fig. 153). The artist planned its conception in her sketchbook. Next to the drawing she wrote: "Find a cactus that looks like this and cut parts of it so that it looks like a silueta."[54]

Mendieta expanded upon the Duchampian legacy of finding an object in the everyday world and removing it from its context to claim it as a work of art. As if to subvert, even if slightly, those intentions, she found the element, embellished it, and then left it in its natural habitat. In spite of her manipulation of the original form of the cactus, after a short time it would have returned to its former shape. Again the artist liked the idea of leaving her artistic images for unsuspecting people to happen upon. How would someone react to seeing a cactus or a silueta-sculpture of dried pods or one of moss growing between rocks?[55]

"Cactus," together with other pieces characterized by the slight alterations of the natural elements, began to assume a special place in her work. The artist experimented with the same ideas and similar materials for a piece titled Silueta Tehuana (fig. 154). The silueta was formed out of natural vines growing on the beach in La Ventosa.[56] Silueta Tehuana, together with Imagén de Yagul (1973), was one of three works for her M.F.A. thesis in March (1977).

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The title refers to the matriarchal society of Tehuana women who come from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, an area Mendieta and Breder visited every summer when they went to La Ventosa on the peninsula of Salina Cruz. The artist had also become accustomed to seeing the tall, stately women, dressed in their beautiful garments, in the Saturday market in Oaxaca. From an art historical context, the Tehuana were frequently the subject of Mexican modernists, such as the painters Diego Rivera, Frida Kahlo, Rufino Tamayo, as well as the photographers Hugo Brehme and Tina Modotti. Mendieta would have been familiar with their appearance in the paintings of Rivera and Kahlo whose work she saw every summer she visited Mexico. Silueta Tehuana--of momentary duration--seems to be an unexpected homage to Tehuana women, their culture, their beauty, and their respected place in Mexican art history.

She returned to work in the Cuilapan church where she had done pieces in the niche, holy water font, and baptismal font. Employing such mundane materials as bed sheets, branches, and animal hearts, the artist continued to reinvest traditional religious subjects with contemporary ideas and nontraditional media.

She made an ephemeral silueta sculpture of branches with thorns. She placed the piece in three different places in the unfinished part of the Cuilapan church: in a niche (fig. 155), on a pedestal, and behind the baptismal font so that the figure looks like a religious statue with its arms raised. In all locations, the silueta-sculpture refers to religious art that decorated churches. Mendieta had several sources in mind before she realized the pieces in situ. She made a drawing of the piece in her sketchbook, and next to it she wrote (fig. 156): In the Cuilapan monastery, make the dancers depicted on the stone slabs out of roots of tree branches.[57] Earlier in 1973 Mendieta had had a photograph taken of herself in front of one of the bas-relief figures, the Danzantes (Dancers) in the Gallery of the Danzantes at Monte Alban. The photo was reproduced in the brochure announcing the Multimedia II class in Oaxaca in summer 1976.[58] On her return trip to the Cuilapan church, the artist reconstructed that historical image in the niche in the church built over a Zapotec ruin.

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Mendieta's "dancer" image also connects to an earlier one the artist did in the church niche at which time she covered herself with a sheet and posed in several modern dancelike positions.

The artist did another piece in the same niche. The Untitled work featured a sheet with an image of the artist's body contour on it (fig. 157). The cloth covered the height and width of the recessed area; branches were placed below the sheet on the ledge. The silueta imprinted in red tempera recalls the popular images of calaveras, skeletal figures, found in high and low art in Mexico. Mendieta was very familiar with calavera iconography from having seen it in religious art, in 20th-century Mexican murals, in Frida Kahlo's paintings, as well as on everyday objects.[59] The motif of the branches recalls the use of palm fronds in Palm Sunday celebrations as a reminder of Christ's entry into Jerusalem, part of the events of Passion Week.

Mendieta returned to the archaeological sites to do pieces as she had done in previous summers. At Yagul she did a delicate, almost fugitive piece and placed it in three different places in the complex.[60] One of the pieces features the white cloth silueta on the wall of a ruin, another on the floor of a tomb, and the third at the portal of the tomb (fig. 158). Mendieta used the upper part of a silueta made in pressboard and wrapped in strips of white cloth. This fragment of a silueta was left from the original piece executed on the beach in Salina Cruz. Mendieta did a drawing for the piece in the entrance of the tomb in her sketchbook. She also wrote some notations next to it. "In Oaxaca (Zaachila), record on video or super-8 camera. Use a flashlight to light up the passageway to the tomb. At the entrance of the tomb place a hollow silueta."[61] Although the artist specified the possibility of doing the piece at the entrance of a tomb in Zachilla, it appears she located her silueta on the floor at the entrance of Tomb 30 in Yagul.[62] In Mendieta's rough sketch, she indicated the two small stone heads located on the wall at either side of the entrance. She also drew the step-fret motif that flanks the doorway. Mendieta inserted the partial figure as a kind of historical remnant, a kind of palimpsest. In blending with the worn patina on

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the stone, the frayed cloth fragment also recalled the remains of wall paintings in some of the Oaxacan sites.

Mendieta's intentions to bridge the gap between art and life continued to engage her creative strategies. Silueta de Cohetes (Silueta of Fireworks), one of the artist's most dazzling pieces, illustrated on the covers of several publications, is yet another of the many examples examined in this study (fig. 159).[63] Mendieta commissioned the piece from one of the fireworks makers in Oaxaca. Ellen (Leich) Moon remembers the shop where the piece was made.[64] It was a company that made big bamboo structures for fireworks that were used for religious celebrations. Their warehouse was near the central market. Mendieta took a couple of photos of the shop for her files. One of them showed a triangular design surmounted by a cross, and another showed the front of the shop which was decorated with religious scenes of Christ on the cross and the Virgin of Guadalupe (fig. 160), among others. During Mendieta's visits to Oaxaca, she had seen many fiestas which were celebrated with fireworks, one of the most characteristic features of popular Mexican celebrations.[65]

Evidently the artist decided to have a fireworks piece made along the lines of various figures made for popular Mexican celebrations that would echo ritualistic components of popular Mexican celebrations. To execute the piece, Breder drew Mendieta's outline on paper, which she then took to the fireworks shop.[66] Unfortunately, she had to wait more than a month until the artisan completed the armature.[67] When ready, he accompanied Mendieta and Breder to a spot the artist chose on an empty stretch of flat land with a view of the mountains. It was sundown when the fireworks maker ignited the powder on the armature (fig. 161). For the three-minute duration, Mendieta documented the piece on 35mm slides, and Breder filmed it on super-8. The artist brought the bamboo structure back to the States.[68] The film and the thirty-six consecutive shots of the piece, in the context of the artist's other work, suggest the life-cycle, complete with that magical moment of birth, and the slow fading of life's light.

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As was characteristic of the artist's working methods, she made a drawing and annotated the details of the piece in her sketchbook: "Idea for a firecracker piece made out of bamboo. Have it made in my size, of five feet. Make each part so that it lights up at different times. Film it on the beach. If it works out, make another and bring it to the States. Do it outside."[69]

Mendieta never did another piece with fireworks, although she had to begin work with pyrotechnics in summer 1977 when she employed an explosive mixture in her pieces. She continued, however, to be interested in people who used fireworks in their folk festivals and ceremonies. Some years later, in 1983 when Mendieta was preparing the application for the Prix de Rome, she stated that she had experimented with fireworks in sculpture for the first time in 1976 during a trip to Mexico.[70] She noted therein her long-held interests in ritual and in ways of expressing ritualistic content in her art. In elaborating on those two thoughts, she said that several friends who were familiar with Italy knew about several religious festivals in which fireworks were used. "For instance," she noted, "in Florence during the spring season fireworks are used in conjunction with a mass to determine the outcome of the year's crop." She concluded her narrative by expressing the hope that she would be able to continue research and experimentation with fireworks in Italy in order to produce a body of work there. She also stated that she needed to improve her skills in the use of technical pyrotechnics.

3. Fall 1976 and Spring 1977

In early September Mendieta did a piece that has become iconic in the artist's oeuvre. Tree of Life was prepared and documented at Old Man's Creek when Breder and two other people were present.[71] The artist covered her entire body, from head to toe, with the soft mud from the shoreline along Old Man's Creek. Several extant photographs document Mendieta preparing herself for this earth-body sculpture. One of the shots

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includes an unidentified young woman assisting the artist by helping her cover her head with mud.[72] In two others Mendieta is kneeling on the soft ground applying mud to her upper body. In the fourth the artist is lying face down on the wet ground. When the preparations were over, Mendieta stood in her silueta position against a large old tree on the Troyer property. Breder documented the piece on a role of 35mm film. There were two views that the artist printed in her life: one is a close-up in which her body is seen against the width of the huge tree (fig. 162). In the other, Breder captured her with a wide-lens shot which revealed the steep embankment and extensive root system in front of the old tree. The tree's roots became integral to the framing of the overall image. In the wide-lens angle, the artist, pictured from the waist up, becomes one with the surrounding virgin landscape (fig. 163). In that distant view, Mendieta appears attached to the tree whose roots are visible in the earth. That frame of the artist's body in the landscape is especially effective because it suggests the personification of nature through the vivification of the tree of life and, by extension, one's beginnings, heritage, and lifeline. Perhaps that image, more than any to date, corroborates phenomenologically the artist's interest in keeping her memories of her homeland alive through the actual creation of pieces that allowed her to connect to the earth, the symbolic site of one's roots. The Tree of Life pieces are paradigmatic of the symbolic union that Mendieta spoke about in many subsequent occasions when she remarked that she had been working with a human silhouette image representing herself made out of natural materials constructed in the landscape.[73]

That piece and its many subsequent variations were of special significance for the artist made several drawings and written annotations in her sketchbooks of works which featured her united with a tree. None of the visual annotations exactly corresponds to the version of the Tree of Life that Mendieta did in early September. One sketch, however, presents a fairly close description of the piece she actually did. It reads: "sentada / en el tronco de un arbol / unite [sic: "unite" was written in English or it is a Spanish spelling

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error for únete] mi / cuerpo con barro al arbol." (Seated on the trunk of a tree, unite or bind my body covered with mud to the tree).[74]

At about the same time that Mendieta did the performative piece against the old tree, she also did another earth-body sculpture in which she bonded with nature on a tree (fig. 164). In that work, the artist, totally covered with mud, lay across a tree that had fallen on the ground in Old Man's Creek. In her characteristic method of searching for the right elements, she found a felled tree with a long indentation that accommodated her body, which was all but camouflaged next to the tree bark. It is difficult for the viewer to decipher her body because the color and texture of the mud are so close to those of the tree. One can imagine that a passerby would probably never have detected the artist's performance, a reminder of how Mendieta courted mystery in her artistic production.

She wrote about that work in the same sketchbook: "En el rio O M Creek - con barro hecha [hecho de barro] / el Mazapan de Mtzas [Pan de Matanzas] / en el tronco de el [sic] arbol." In Old Man's Creek, made with mud [as if it were or? in the shape of] the Pan of Matanzas [which evokes a female figure, lie] on the trunk of the tree.[75] There is a well-known series of hills called Pan de Matanzas which are near the city of Matanzas in the Province of Matanzas.[76] Those hills, which resemble a reclining woman, were the source for the artist's piece on the trunk of the fallen tree in Old Man's Creek. Mendieta later referred to their form when discussing her piece with Gloria Orenstein who was preparing an article on the Great Goddess.[77]

What might have been one of Mendieta's sources for the tree of life theme? Aside from the Catholic sources of the tree of life and the representation of that image in the popular arts in Mexico,[78] it is very possible that she thought about the many times over the years when she did tarot readings with the Tree of Life method.[79] She and her friend Jane (Noble) Hedrick read tarot cards intermittently for several years, beginning when they first lived together.[80] Mendieta was a great believer in the power of tarot cards to reveal aspects of one's life. Mendieta also owned The Tarot Revealed and the cards which demonstrate

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that particular method of tarot reading (fig. 165).[81] At some point, she gave the book and cards to (Noble) Hedrick as a gift.[82]

After the Tree of Life pieces, the artist evolved works in nature that look back on such pieces as "Cactus" and "Silueta with Red Tempera" from the previous summer. The untitled work of a silueta (fig. 166), made by arranging yellow flowers in a grassy area into the desired form, recalls "Cactus" (fig. 153). Mendieta discovered many possibilities for reforming nature's elements into a minimal motif of the silhouette, which symbolized the attributes of mother earth.

Spring term 1977 brought a wide range of opportunities for Mendieta that continued to the end of the calendar year. Her work was included in several group exhibitions in different parts of this country: she was written about in several articles which located her work in contexts that began to define the critical framework for her work. As a result of her inclusion in group shows, articles, and catalogue essays, Mendieta's work came to the attention of an ever-expanding circle of women artists, many of whom identified themselves as feminists.

In January Mendieta was one of thirty artists selected for the exhibition "Contact: Women and Nature" at the Hurlbutt Gallery in Greenwich, Connecticut.[83] The catalogue section of the brochure lists Mendieta's pieces as the Silhouette Series, 1974-6, 35mm slide works. Lucy R. Lippard, the curator, stated that the exhibition "has to do with the relationship of women artists to nature. The work included ranges from sensuous body identification with natural forms and processes, to rituals recalling ancient regenerative myths, to architectural enclosures, constructions made of natural materials, more and less direct observation of nature, and references to scientific sources."[84] At the time Lippard organized the exhibition, she had focused her critical attention on women artists in several articles, and books as well as in an exhibition.[85] Many of the thirty artists in "Contact" were artists Lippard had previously documented.[86] Lippard's show was archaeological in the sense that it attempted to refocus attention from male artists working in nature, who were a

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known quantity, to women artists producing in nature, who were an unknown quantity. Although not all of the women artists in the exhibition considered themselves feminists, Lippard selected them because their work responded to and interacted with nature.[87] Furthermore, many of the artists' explorations in nature incorporated aspects of ritual, which, the critic asserted, reinvested art with both private and public meaning. Lippard expressed the need to analyze in subsequent writing how the perception of woman as nature is altered when reflected in art and ideas by women. She seemed to be moving toward a feminist interpretation of women artists working with nature when she wrote: "To make the personal public, and to stress the importance of feelings (nature) within a cultural framework, is a feminist credo."[88]

In early March Mendieta was one of four students who participated in the group exhibition "Mexico '76" at the new Corroboree: Gallery of New Concepts at the university.[89] The exhibiting students who were in Multimedia had gone to Oaxaca in summer 1976. Judith Rew, who was in Oaxaca with Breder's group, wrote an article on the opening of the gallery.[90] Rew noted that the exhibition inaugurated the gallery along with two performances by the visiting American West Coast artist Guy de Cointet. The new gallery, constructed out of the existing space in the large Multimedia studio, was established to encourage projects in performance, environments, and events. Rew's review announced that work in music and concrete poetry would also be part of the gallery's programming. From that point on, the visiting artist program, once a vital component of the Center for New Performing Arts, was established in the Corroboree.[91]

Breder selected the name Corroboree from an Australian aborigine expression meaning a kind of meeting or festival. Since the name infers a "coming together of a variety of ideas from various artistic disciplines,"[92] Breder thought it appropriate for the interdisciplinary and intercultural work undertaken by Multimedia. Although there is no extant documentation listing the titles of the works exhibited, it is quite probable that Mendieta included Silueta de cohetes in her selection.[93] Rew's review noted that each of

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the students' diverse works, featuring actual sculptural pieces or their documentation, reflected an interaction with the objects, customs, and culture in Oaxaca.

In addition to Mendieta's participation in the Corroboree show, which introduced her work to younger students, she also completed her final work for the M.F.A.[94] In April, she did several versions of a body-sculpture piece titled Ix-Chell in the Multimedia studio where the artist had often worked since 1972. With the assistance of another person(s), Mendieta was wrapped in strips of black cloth so that the resulting figure resembled a mummy (fig. 167). The Ix-Chell piece(s) was the artist's second exploration of the Pre-Columbian subject of a mummy. In an untitled work of June 1975 (fig. 142), the artist, wrapped like a mummy, sat in a fetal position in the sand. For the M.F.A. thesis, Mendieta did a series of pieces in which the artist as a mummy was placed on a white cloth which she had previously marked with prints of her hands and arms. As Mary Jane Jacobs correctly noted, the markings were reminiscent of her earlier Body Tracks (December 1974).[95] The Ix-Chell version which Mendieta included in her thesis "Siluetas" was an image of her body wrapped in black cloth strips and placed on an unadorned cloth.[96]

In Mayan culture Ix-Chell is the old goddess of weaving, medicine, and childbirth.[97] Mendieta's piece was the first in which the artist adopted the name of a specific deity, albeit a Mesoamerican one. Her two other works--Silueta Tehuana, 1976, (fig. 154) and Imagén de Yaagul (sic), 1973 (fig. 66), were also executed in Mexico. The three pieces in her selection affirm her deep interest in Mexico, in Pre-Columbian cultures and their continuity after the conquest. Interestingly, however, in her written statement for her M.F.A. thesis, she did not cite her previous artistic researches in archaeology or Pre-Columbian art and history for having provided her with starting points for her intermedia explorations. Instead Mendieta's brief thesis statement, consisting of one and a quarter pages, privileged her background as a Cuban from a country where "a mixture of Spanish

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[Catholic] and African Cultures make up the heritage of the Cuban people."[98] Mendieta wrote:

> It is perhaps in my childhood in Cuba when I first became interested in primitive art and cultures. It seems as if these cultures are provided with an inner knowledge, a closeness with natural resource. And it is this knowledge which gives reality to the images they have created.
>
> It is this sense of magic, knowledge and power which primitive art has that has influenced my personal attitude toward artmaking. I confront the problem by duplicating my body and my state of mind.
>
> In my work I am in a sense re-living [sic] my heritage. My sources are memories, images, experiences and beliefs that have left their mark in me. Through my work, I make sense and find meaning in them -- by re-living them.
>
> By using my self-image in my art, I am confronting the everpresent [sic.] art and life dichotomy. It is crucial for me to be part of all my art works. As a result of my participation, my vision becomes a reality and a part of my experiences.
>
> The viewers of my work may or probably have not had the same experiences as myself. But perhaps my images can lead the audience to speculations based on their own experiences or what they may feel I have experienced. Their minds can then be triggered so that the images I present retain some of the quality of the actual experience.[99]

Mendieta stated, somewhat qualifyingly, that she became interested in primitive art and cultures in Cuba. Her statement poses two problems: on one hand, it suggests that she had a more direct exposure to and knowledge of Afro-Cuban culture and art than she actually did at age twelve; on the other, it does not mention her academic work and artistic explorations of primitive art, both Mesoamerican as well as African. It is difficult to determine if the artist was predisposed to studying African art soley because of her memories of Cuba, a country defined in part by aspects of its strong Afro-Cuban culture, or if while studying African art, including some of its ongoing traditions in the New World, she became interested in deepening her knowledge of while simultaneously incorporating references to that part of her collective background.

Although Mendieta did not account for her interests in Mesoamerican art and culture, she expressed her appreciation, even debt, to all areas of primitive art in her thesis

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statement: "it is this sense of magic, knowledge and power which primitive art has that has influenced my personal attitude toward artmaking."

Mendieta also attempted, in a very general way, to express the fact that she inserted elements of autobiography in her work. In stating her desire to be part of her art work, she failed to express, however, her debt either to larger contemporary contexts of conceptual body work or to the interdisciplinary work at the heart of Multimedia, two intertwining strands that contributed to shaping her thinking and production. In her thesis statement, Mendieta also stated, as she had in 1973 in a CNPA production brochure, to engage the viewer in her work by thinking about her experiences as well as their own.[100] Mendieta evidently felt sufficiently satisfied with the content of the M.F.A. text, for she used that text, either in its entirety or portions of it, for several subsequent exhibitions and grant proposals during the next two years.

Although Mendieta had been consistently interested in adopting transcultural references in her body performative pieces as well as in embracing the notion of comparative myths in her work, it is significant that she chose the name of a Maya deity as the title of one of her pieces precisely at the time she did. I suggest Mendieta chose the title of a Maya deity, in part, because her work had just been critically viewed, in two articles, as relating to the iconography of the Great Goddess. Lippard's "Art Outdoors, In and Out of the Public Domain," in Studio International (March-April) and "Quite Contrary: Body, Nature, Ritual in Women's Art," in Chrysalis (June) discussed Mendieta's work in that light.[101] Although the artist had studied, even analyzed, the attributes of Pre-Columbian deity figures in previous fieldwork, she had not yet adopted the names of goddess or deity figures in her own work until she was linked to a broader circle of feminist artists who were specifically addressing the subject of the earth-goddess in explicit ways.

In the first article, Lippard noted that the artist executed earth-body works in which her silhouette, characterized by her "arms raised in the incantatory gesture of the Great Goddess, is dug into the ground, or set on fire, or is barely visible as a breathing mound

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beneath the grass."[102] In addition to Lippard's claim that Mendieta's imagery was analogous to the Great Goddess, the critic also claimed a new territory for her by locating her work in the company of artists who did outdoor sculpture in the countryside where its relationship to nature was a critical aspect of its conception. Thus Mendieta's work was cited together with well-known male artists such as Charles Simonds, Richard Long, Christo, Dennis Oppenheim, Robert Smithson, and Hans Haacke and women artists such as Alice Aycock, Michelle Stuart, Mary Miss, Christine Oatman, and Nancy Holt, some of whom Lippard had featured in the earlier January exhibition "Contact: Women and Nature." Lippard wrote that the most effective artistic efforts, in her view, were achieved when artists did not try to compete with nature but placed their work in a subordinate relationship with nature, using natural materials, rather than "trying to battle it out with large size and brilliant color."[103]

Lippard's second article "Quite Contrary: Body, Nature, Ritual in Women's Art," elaborated on many of the points made in "Art Outdoors, In and Out of the Public Domain." Mendieta was again located in the context of "artists who conceive of artmaking as ritual process."[104] Lippard discussed women artists who incorporated goddess imagery in their art, among whom were Carolee Schneemann, Judy Chicago, and Colette; women artists such as Mary Beth Edelson whose art reinstated ancient women's mythology and its connections to nature; and women artists such as Alice Aycock whose underground chambers are dedicated to the goddess Rhea and whose castration rites were celebrated; women artists, such as Jody Pinto, for example, whose work recalls ancient burial places.

Sometime during the spring of 1977, possibly when Mendieta was on spring vacation from her job at South East Junior High School, she and Breder made a short trip to New York.[105] During that trip, she met Mary Beth Edelson, an artist whom Lippard had recently written about in several articles and essays. According to Edelson, Lippard asked her to meet Mendieta who might benefit from talking to her, especially as Edelson was a member of the A.I.R. Gallery in New York.[106] Although Edelson does not recall exactly

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when she and Mendieta first met. I deduce from circumstantial evidence that it must have been sometime in the spring of 1977. During their first meeting at her studio, Edelson remembers discussing her interest in the great goddess with Mendieta. Edelson said that in those days she was "on a holy mission about the great goddess." She talked to everyone she could about the great goddess because, in her view, the subject was intended as a political statement to empower women.[107] Edelson remembers that Mendieta was extremely responsive to and interested in what she had to say regarding her incorporation of the great goddess in her work. According to Edelson, Mendieta did not tell her about her former archaeological fieldwork or her knowledge of deity figures in Mesoamerican art.[108] Mendieta may have felt reserved about sharing that part of her background during her first meeting with an artist who was very articulate about her own goddess explorations. During their first meeting, Mendieta also showed Edelson her portfolio. Based on its merit, she invited Mendieta to participate in the forthcoming group exhibition organized by the A.I.R. Gallery in May-June of that year (1977).[109] The "A.I.R. Out-of-New York Invitational" presented the works of ten artists.[110] Although the A.I.R. Gallery archives do not have an exhibition checklist of the works presented, they have a copy of Mendieta's artist's statement which was the same as her M.F.A. thesis statement.[111] A later review of that exhibition, however, describes the artist's photographs as featuring female forms created in a variety of landscapes: red powder in a depression in sand or snow, plants of a forest floor, stones, and a photograph of a mud-covered person standing against a tree (Tree of Life).[112] The A.I.R. exhibition provided Mendieta with another opportunity to show her work in New York in a new prestigious venue which attracted a significant public as well as critical coverage.[113] Inclusion in the A.I.R. exhibition also enabled the artist from Iowa to continue building new connections with future colleagues, prior to her imminent move to New York.

Sometime in May, Ana did two beautiful pieces in nature. One of the untitled pieces featured the outline of the artist's silueta in mud (fig. 168) constructed at the edge of

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Old Man's Creek. When the artist documented it, the mud silhouette was already partially submerged in water. The ephemeral image was frozen in time just at the point when it was being reclaimed by nature itself. Part of the beauty of the shot is a result of the touches of color from the yellow petals or leaves against the dark, mud background.

In another untitled piece, Mendieta dug the image of the silueta in the soft ground so it appeared as a negative image. She then placed a border of grass around it together with strips of grass connecting the border to the concave figure carved into the ground (fig. 169).[114] The piece suggests an open gravesite with an imprint; it was one of a larger series of burial pieces produced during May and June. According to Breder, Mendieta scooped out the earth with a small shovel, dug up the ground cover from another area, and then brought it over to simulate the kind of ground covering often found in Mexican cemeteries where poor people, who are without resources for an elaborate tombstone or statue, decorate their families' gravesites with ephemeral materials.[115] Mendieta showed the untitled piece in her one-person exhibition at the Corroboree Gallery the following December at which time it was reproduced in Marlene Perrin's review of the show.[116] At some later point the artist titled the piece Incantation a Olukun-Yemaya on the back of a black and white undated print.[117] It is possible that Mendieta decided upon the title of the two Santería deities soon after she arrived in New York, even before she did a performance titled La Noche, Yemaya at Franklin Furnace in March 1978.[118] Nevertheless, the title affirms Mendieta's interests in providing her works with the names of deities, in this case Olukun, deity of the ocean, and Yemaya, the Santería deity of the ocean and all waters, who is coidentified with the Virgin of Regla, patron saint of the port of Havana. She chose to do this for several reasons: in part, to express her kinship with feminist artists who, like Mary Beth Edelson, were looking for historical archetypes with which to identify or establish their collective matriarchal lineage; in part, because Mendieta was also interested in inscribing her work in a transcultural context, one that broadly related to her roots as a Cuban in exile, who created art in this country.[119]

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4. Summer 1977

During the summer months, while Mendieta was on vacation from South East Junior High School, her artistic production remained characteristically high. In Iowa as well as in Mexico, the artist did several extraordinary pieces in nature which were documented on 35mm slides. In early June Mendieta received a letter from Printed Matter in New York informing her that it did not have the financial resources to undertake publication of her proposed artist's book.[120] A few months later, Mendieta discussed the project with the director of the Iowa Arts Council.

At the beginning of the summer, Mendieta did a series of four pieces she titled Fetish Series. Each image was constructed in the sandy soil near Old Man's Creek. It appears from the 35mm slide documentation that the artist traced her silueta, with her arms at her sides, and then built the figure in high relief. One of the pieces features a sand figure decorated with red ideographic markings on it, somewhat reminiscent of body drawings on on many non-Western peoples (fig. 170). Another piece has sticks impaled in it; and two others feature black decorative markings on the top of the figure. Precisely when Mendieta titled the piece is unclear. Breder said that when she showed him the documentation of the pieces, she did not refer to them as fetish figures.[121] Nevertheless, Mendieta had long been familiar with fetish figures, both African and Native American, from the Museum of Art at the university well as from her course Primitive Art Africa.[122] She knew that power figures, as they are also known, contain magical substances that have been attached to or inserted into the objects to activate them.[123] Because Mendieta had studied African art, one is inclined to associate these figures with African or diasporic African objects. However, Mendieta worked in Old Man's Creek, an area rich in references to Native American history. The land around Old Man's Creek that Mendieta knew had been a Native American hunting preserve.[124] The artist knew about the history of the area and how the Indians were said to have sought protection from warring tribes for their elderly, young,

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and squaws along the "groves" of the creek, hidden from sight, deep in the virgin forestland.[125] She drew upon the history of that site in the making of those pieces.[126]

The Fetish Series offers another example of Mendieta's interest in making art with generalized references to transcultural myths, practices, and history in a form that synthesizes aspects of body and earth art, process, and ephemerality. I suggest the artist intended to mark the site, however temporarily, with figures in the shape that recalled Native Americans who had inhabited those parts. Her pieces serve as a kind of private memorial of special note as they expand her exploration of sites formerly occupied by native peoples. In her evolution, the Fetish Series occupies an intermediary position in her investigations which began in Mesoamerican sites and were followed in 1981 by her body-earth excavations, dedicated to the Taino culture, in the Caves of Jaruco, outside of Havana.

Another unusual series of earth sculptures were the individual graves made of mud also at the edge of Old Man's Creek (fig. 171). The artist constructed approximately six rectangular graves, about three to four feet long.[127] They were not measured in the size of the artist's body. The tops of the graves were decorated with diverse motifs simulating decorations on gravestones. One of them had a series of hand and arm motifs; another featured a cross; several contained differently rendered outlines of the human silhouette.

Breder recalls watching Mendieta construct some of the graves and seeing them while they were drying and after they had cracked in the hot Iowa sun. Eventually the water from the creek rose and absorbed them. Prior to their disappearance, one or more unidentified passersby dug into them as if interested in knowing whether or not something was buried beneath the mounds.[128] When Mendieta discovered the intrusion, she was very amused. The artist's reaction recalls her earlier wishes that a passersby would discover her pieces whether in City Park or the alleyway next to her apartment building or the mattresses in the abandoned farmhouse.

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Mendieta was motivated to do work that was conceptually grounded in several sources. In general, she liked to discover new sites with which to reinvestigate former subjects. As elucidated in this study, the artist had been exploring the possibilities for tomb art and burial pieces since 1973.[129] The outdoor graves at Old Man's Creek were part of a larger exploration which included Ix-Chel, the untitled piece (aka Incantation a Olukun-Yemaya), and its variations. For several years Mendieta and Breder had visited cemeteries in Mexico where people take great pride in decorating tombstones in very personal ways. On one of the early trips to Oaxaca, Mendieta took pictures of a tombstone from a cemetery outside of the city.[130] In Iowa City the artist knew, as did local people in general, about the apocryphal tales of the Black Angel, a tombstone in the Oakland Cemetery. Among the different tales, one holds that the original bronze tombstone of a deceased woman turned black at the same time her former lover's tombstone moved itself next to her grave.[131] In the 1970s the Black Angel tombstone had become a popular meeting place for young lovers.[132] Breder recalls that many Multimedia students, including Mendieta, did films and other intermedia projects at the site of the Black Angel.[133]

Mendieta may also have been bolstered to do this specific series at Old Man's Creek after seeing Lippard's reproduction of a cemetery in Auckland, New Zealand, which the critic included as an example of art outdoors in the public domain.[134] Mendieta, who was always attentive to art-historical sources, seems to have responded to both the image and idea with her own series of graves intended as art in the private domain.

At the end of July, Mendieta and Breder went to Mexico for a few weeks. Mendieta planned the itinerary to the Maya sites of Chichen Itza and Uxmal in the Yucatan peninsula.[135] After visiting those ruins, they went to Oaxaca. Mendieta did a piece in Dainzu, a site near Mitla. The untitled piece ("Hand, Dainzu") (fig. 172) featured the image of the artist's hand together with part of her lower arm. According to Breder, who was present when Mendieta created the work, she found dark soil with which she drew the outline of her hand.[136] She documented the image against the large stones of the ruins.

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This blending of Catholic imagery in a Pre-Columbian site suggests the overlay of cultures that informed Mendieta's explorations. The image is one of many of la mano poderosa, the powerful hand, in Catholic iconography that Mendieta did beginning in May and continuing in diverse terrains for the next couple of years.

After Mendieta returned to Iowa from Mexico, she did two pieces with a pyrotechnic mixture which were among the first in which the artist used pyrotechnics as a medium. One of the untitled pieces consisted of the image of a closed silhouette (fig. 173) on the trunk of a fallen tree stretched across part of Old Man's Creek. The artist poured a pyrotechnic mixture in the form of a closed silhouette and ignited it.[137] Although we do not know the composition of the mixture used, the artist was looking for various effects produced by fire, smoke, and odor. Mendieta wrote two different notations in her sketchbook, one for a volcano piece, another for a piece etched in rock. The volcanic form is described: "To make a volcano: Magnesium metal / ribbon like a wick / Ammonium Dichromate $(NH_4)_2\ Cl_2O_7$ / 30 cm in a metal cone. To etch an image in rock: Muriatic Acid / Phosphoric Acid (not too strong) / Acidic Acid - fodder or vinegar / mix with water)."[138]

The other untitled piece (fig. 174) features the image of a closed silhouette formed by three bands of burned "gunpowder." The artist documented the piece after the bands burned on the ground. She selected it for reproduction for the invitation of her show at the Corroboree Gallery in December.[139] This image is fundamental in her work for it contains the markings of the human presence, the trackings or evidence of the artist's gesture, and ultimately the figure inscribed in the landscape.

Both burning pieces were intended to reveal the power of nature as a force of renewal. Those artistic pieces evoked nature's energy, her destruction of overgrown foliage to enable new growth in the life cycle.

5. Fall 1977

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Fall 1977 was an unusually busy period for the artist. Not only was it her final term for teaching art at South East Junior High School, but it was also a period of intense preparation for her move to New York.[140] Together with Breder, she met and cohosted several visiting artists who were invited by the Corroboree Gallery, including Martha Wilson, Lynda Benglis, Luis Camnitzer, and Suzy Gablik.[141] She wrote to a New York gallery to see if there was interest in presenting a show of her work; prepared a budget for the Iowa Arts Council for a prospective exhibition and catalogue; maintained active correspondence with people in the art world in New York; organized her work for a solo show at the Corroboree Gallery; and received a Visual Artist Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Arts.

In anticipation of her impending move, Mendieta wrote to an unidentified gallery director in an attempt to secure a venue in New York.[142] In a draft the artist stated she had been scheduled to have a one-person show at Hundred Acres Gallery in February (1978), but that the gallery had to close because of a fire.[143] Mendieta described her work in the following way: "I have been working with a human silhouette image representing myself made out of different natural materials constructed in the landscape. I started working with this concept in 1974-75." She also noted the size of her photographs: the color photos were 16 x 20 inches and the environmental sculptures were 24 x 36 inches.

Gloria Orenstein, a professor of literature and women's studies at Douglass College, wrote to Mendieta informing her of some of the feminist activities in New York at the time.[144] In particular Orenstein related her excitement regarding Mary Beth Edelson's performance on 31 October [1977] at A.I.R.[145] Orenstein noted the feeling of sisterhood that occurred when the group communally reclaimed the goddess energy while mourning the death of the many women burned for witchcraft. Orenstein also acknowledged receipt of Mendieta's visual material which was included in her 1978 article "Reemergence of the Archetype of the Great Goddess in Art by Contemporary Women," for Heresies: The Great Goddess issue.[146] That publication further contributed to Mendieta's becoming

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known as an artist associated with the emerging goddess iconography and a "feminist" content in her work.[147] Because of Orenstein's work on the visionary experiences of Leonora Carrington, the writer interpreted the work of the artists in her article in a similar light.[148] Therefore Mendieta, and others, were discussed as having gone through "transpersonal visionary experiences, . . . bringing to light energic [sic] psychic forces, symbols, images, artifacts and rituals whose configurations constitute the basic paradigm of a new feminist myth for our time."[149] In illustrating Imagén de Yagul (which was titled therein Silv[u]eta del Laberinto), Orenstein asserted that when Mendieta left the labyrinth, her image was imprinted upon the earth, suggesting that through a merging with the Goddess, spirits are evoked that infuse the body and cause such occurrences as out-of-body journeys or astral travel. Furthermore, Orenstein stated: "In Earth Sorcery, of which all her works are examples, the Earth Goddess is the shaman and the spell is invoked through a magical rite in which unification with the Earth Mother transpires."[150] In my discussions with Orenstein she did not recall having had any specific conversations with Mendieta regarding the artist's ideas or interpretations of the goddess in her work. Orenstein does remember, however, that the artist was very enthusiastic about the proposed article, and she assumes Mendieta selected the slides she felt were appropriate examples of goddess iconography. The writer's overarching interpretation of Mendieta's use of goddess imagery in terms of alchemy and visionary experiences is miscast and it fails to account for the artist's many diverse sources--art historical, personal, and multidisciplinary--that informed her iconography as well as the selection of sites.

In early December Mendieta had her first one-person show, "Silueta Series," at the Corroboree: Gallery of New Concepts. The work included 16 x 20 inch color photographs mostly of the pieces executed in nature during the last year.[151] The extant documentation includes an exhibition invitation with an image of a closed silueta (fig. 174) with three burned rings outlining the form, a flyer with a Tantra image on the cover (fig. 148), and an artist's statement.[152] Although the text of the statement is very similar to the

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one Mendieta wrote for her M.F.A thesis, there is an interesting inclusion. "For the past five years, I have been working out in nature, exploring the relationship between myself, the earth, and art. Using my body as a reference in the creation of the works, I am able to transcend myself in a voluntary submersion and a total identification with nature. Through my art, I want to express the immediacy of life and the eternity of nature." Those statements provide a fuller view of her aims in relation to their connections with nature than did her earlier thesis statement. I suggest the artist attempted to express the notion that by using her body to merge with the earth, she could imbue nature with a human form, one that was greater than her individual identity or self. The Press-Citizen reporter, who reviewed her show, quoted the artist: "The work is experimental in nature. I use my body as a medium. It's an earth goddess kind of thing. I'm exploring the relationship between myself, the earth and art."[153] That statement appears to be the first in which the artist refers to an earth goddess form in her work. Mendieta used her body as an artistic medium, a vehicle through which she expressed the notion of the earth as a living organism, and in that sense a female force that she articulated as "goddess like." Because Mendieta was in the process of experiencing a common bond with other women artists who were exploring and incorporating goddess ideas and iconography in their work, she seems to have been inclined, at that juncture, to articulate her notion of mother nature with the word "goddess."

Mendieta's subsequent thought, reported in that article, best summarizes the artist's directions and explorations of her last several years. "Through my art, I want to express the immediacy of life and eternity of nature."[154] Mendieta meant that she attempts through her work to express the pulsating rhythm of life, which is enacted through the artist's performance, as well as her perception of nature as a temporal force. Many of her pieces have a beginning, middle, and end, and are ritualistically repetitious because they strive to symbolize nature's life cycle, which by definition is eternal.

In another review of Mendieta's exhibition of the "Silueta Series," the artist was reported to have said that she did not object to her work being "labeled women's art or

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feminist art."[155] The article reported that Mendieta commented that her work is about her and that she is a woman. "Men artists working with nature have imposed themselves on it. Definitely my work has that feminine sensibility. I can't think of may men who would use a heart image in a serious way."[156]

During the fall, Mendieta worked out the details for a prospective publication of her silueta work. The proposed book may have been the one she submitted to Printed Matter the previous spring. Her correspondence indicates that she had conversations regarding the possibilities of an exhibition with an accompanying publication with Bruce Williams, Visual Arts Program Director, Iowa Arts Council. In a letter dated 29 September 1977, Mr. Williams encouraged the artist to apply for a Projects Grant for funding for an exhibition in the category of Photography Exhibition Aid.[157] In preparing the budget for the grant, Mendieta received a quotation from a printing company for the costs of a "top quality high-contrast printing job" for a proposed exhibition catalogue to accompany her show.[158] The proposal is interesting for, in terms of her artistic accomplishment, it indicates the importance the artist ascribed to her silueta work at the time, and, in terms of her career ambitions, it tells us something about her aspirations for a quality publication. The artist conceived of Ana Mendieta: Siluetas as a small book, $8^{1/2}$ by 11 inches, in a run of 3,000 copies. It would have a one-page introduction by Lucy Lippard, a full-size photo on each of the thirty pages, printed on both sides, and a one-line caption for each photo similar to those in Robert Smithson: Drawings.[159]

In conversation with Williams, he informed me that he had written to several museums in Iowa to see if there was interest in showing Mendieta's work. If he had received a commitment from three or four venues in the state, the Iowa Arts Council would have organized the exhibition and supported the publication, which Mendieta had planned.[160] Since Williams was not able to secure any venue, the exhibition and publication of the silueta works did not take place.[161]

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Before the end of the fall-winter, Mendieta received a Visual Artist Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Arts. The fellowship in the category of conceptual / performance / new genre was based on an artist's past work. The $3,000 grant was meant to encourage artists to continue working in innovative, alternative formats and media.[162] The award must have contributed to Mendieta's sense of confidence regarding the directions achieved in her work to date. Certainly it also provided her with some income so that she could stop teaching and move to New York where she reorganized her artistic practice.[163]

The artist produced a brillant body of work during her final two years in Iowa. The image of her body's silhouette--either with its arms uplifted or with its arms at her sides--became the leitmotif defining the visual form of her earth-body pieces. Although she had almost no opportunity to perform pieces live in front of an audience as she had in previous years, she carried over aspects of performance in her emphemeral body work. In the same ways she drew upon diverse periods and objects in art history for a prototype for the image of a deity figure with arms upraised, she also drew upon varied beliefs and costumes of many cultures for her own art. These sources ranged from ideas grounded in Catholic traditions to those grounded in Afro-Cuban, Native American, and Mesoamerican cultures. She made notes on Oaxacan candlemakers and their ceremonies, on the danzantes (dancers) in the Gallery of the Danzantes at Monte Alban, and on the tombs at Zaachila. She took photographs of calaveras, religious art in Catholic churches, and fireworks makers in Oaxaca. She located her silhueta in archaeological sites, in sand, dirt, and grass where it vivified nature. References to nature's life cycles--their beginnings, middles, and ends--are symbolized in pieces where the elements reclaim them. The artist executed work in which her longing for and memories of her homeland are evident. In formal terms, Mendieta's work was reductive--a single image--but, in conceptual terms it was ambitious because of its multiple layering of references. By the time the artist left Iowa, her idiom

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was characterized by an intermedia language, combining aspects of body sculpture, performance, and small-scale earth work into a distinctive artistic exploration.

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[1] Wallace Tomasini (interview, Iowa City, 6 December 1994) expressed this view to me when we discussed Mendieta's supposed reasons for continuing in the program once she finished most of her course work.

[2] Douglas Allaire, Richard Rew, and Ellen (Leich) Moon, who studied Multimedia and Intermedia between fall 1975 and spring 1977, recall that Mendieta very seldom attended either class during that time. Douglas Allaire, telephone conversation, 28 May 1997; Richard Rew, telephone conversations, August and September 1997; Ellen Moon, telephone conversations, September and October 1997. These former students represented a new generation in the program who considered Mendieta as an artist whose work was more mature than theirs.

[3] The notebooks from this period are in Galerie Lelong, New York. According to Jane (Noble) Hedrick, Mendieta always carried a notebook to record her own thoughts, reflections, conversations with other people, as well as to sketch images. (Noble) Hedrick

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commented that when she first met Mendieta in 1970, she was found it curious that Mendieta was so "compulsive" about her notebooks. On several occasions during the course of the next several years, (Noble) Hedrick asked her friend why she liked to record her thoughts in a notebook. Mendieta said that they became her references for projects and pieces. Written communication, 7 November 1997. If these early notebooks have survived, they have not turned up yet.

[4] Marlene Perrin, "Ana Mendieta Works with Nature to Produce Her Art," Iowa City Press Citizen (2 December 1977), p. 5A.

[5] Perrin, ibid. Mendieta's teaching methodology was influenced, to some degree, by Breder's hands-off approach to teaching art. He was known for his "nonteaching." Rather than specifying particular techniques or methods, he encouraged students to find their independent paths.

[6] The Center for New Performing Arts Records document the many changes that occurred when the Rockefeller Grant ended. Professor Wallace J. Tomasini, Professor Samuel Becker, and Martha Letterman provided very useful comments regarding the restructuring of the Center. Tomasini (telephone conversation, 31 March 1997), emeritus director of the University of Iowa School of Art and Art History, and Becker (telephone conversation, 5 October 1997), emeritus chair, Department of Communications and Theater, were involved during the transition period as well as the second phase of the CNPA. Letterman (telephone conversation, 13 October 1997) was Director of the CNPA from 1975 to 1978.

[7] The proposal for the new visiting artist program is documented in a Letter, 23 April 1976. CNPA Records. I discussed the readministration of the program in conversations with Professor Tomasini, 31 March 1997, Martha Letterman, 13 October 1997, and Hans Breder, 3 November 1997.

[8] Letterman, ibid.

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[9] According to the CNPA Records, the Multimedia Program did not perform in CNPA events after fall 1975.

[10] In writing about Mendieta's work in nature, Petra Barreras observed that Mendieta searched relentlessly for images that would capture the power of nature. See Petra Barreras, "A Historical Overview," Ana Mendieta: A Retrospective. New York: New Museum 1987, p. 41.

[11] For a reproduction of that image, see Helen Gardiner, Art through the Ages, 4th ed., (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959) 1970, 5th ed., p. 103. I am grateful to Jane (Noble) Hedrick for bringing these texts to my attention. (Nobel) Hedrick told me that Mendieta and she frequently talked about goddesses and deity figures when they were apartment mates in 1971.

[12] As discussed in Chapter 5, the artist explored a series of body prints using tempera on her arms and hands to register her outline on the wall in the Multimedia studio. In the second untitled piece in Three Short Film Ideas, the artist extended her arms at shoulder height prior to making her body prints with her hands and arms.

[13] See my discussion of that motif in Chapter 5.

[14] A hollow clay female figure is reproduced in Miguel Covarrubias, Indian Art of Mexico and Central America (plate XXXVI), a book that was on reserve for Kampen's class.

[15] According to Breder, she probably looked at these in Ajit Mookerjee's Tantra Art (New Delhi: Kumar Gallery, 1966), in a book that Breder owned.

[16] The translation is the author's. The artist titled it in Spanish only.

[17] (Noble) Hedrick, telephone conversation, 21 September 1996.

[18] (Noble) Hedrick assisted her with Silueta sangrienta. This piece, which is poorly edited and thus difficult to follow in its sequencing on super-8 film, features the artist lying face down on the ground where the silueta has been formed. After a brief interval, she stood up and then placed a red heart on top of the carved-out image in the dirt.

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[19] According to (Noble) Hedrick, Mendieta tried to do an earlier burning piece in the same dug-out spot. She placed sticks and leaves in the ground form of the silueta and lighted the materials with a match. However, she was not satisfied with either the quality of the film or the potency of the fire, and therefore searched for another solution.

[20] I discussed this piece in Chapter 4.

[21] There are divers sources that formed her storehouse of images and processes. Although it is not possible to pinpoint any one specifically, there are a few well-known examples of art that utilized the four elements that Menideta knew. These are worth noting in this context. "Kineticism: Systems Sculpture in Envionmental Situation" was an early exhibition in which several artists did conceptual pieces with the elements. For example, Breder did a piece with water; René Dubos did a piece titled Fire; Preton Mc Clanchan did Sand Room and Smoke Room; Robert Morris did Steam Room. Although the catalogue essay and reproductions illustrate the artists' use of the elements, the official title Kineticism. Systems Sculpture in Environmental Situations of the catalogue did not. Accordng to Breder there was a poster made for the event that featured the words Air, Earth, Fire, Water. Telephone conversations with the author, 15 November 1993 and 19 September 1997. Due to the popularity of Lippard's Changing: Essays in Art Criticism, Mendieta was probably aware of Klein's smoke, water, and fire sculpture. Lippard noted that Klein showed his smoke, water, fire sculptures in the Iris Clert gallery in April 1958. See Lippard in Changing: Essays in Art Criticism, p. 26. Mendieta also knew about Hans Haacke's air experiments and water pieces from the time he was a visiting aritst at the University of Iowa.

[22] I am grateful to Ernesto Pujol and Ester Morales for their discussions with me regarding this figure.

[23] In the Latin Church it is generally maintained that pain is imposed in purgatory through real fire. However, this, is not essential to belief in purgatory. If the souls in purgatory

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suffer from actual fire, it is held to be a purifying fire. New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 11 (New York, St. Louis, etc.: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), pp. 1038-39.

[24] Susan Aberth, doctoral candidate in Art History at the Graduate Center, CUNY, collects images of the soul in purgatory from devotional cards. She supplied me with several so that I could see the variety of poses common to its depiction.

[25] A reproduction of Soul in Purgatory is found in Eliot Porter and Ellen Auerbach, Mexican Churches (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), pl. 44.

[26] Breder received a research grant from the School of Art for the spring 1976 semester. Vito Acconci was invited to teach his Multimedia course in Breder's absence. While there Acconci reviewed student work, talked about recent artistic developments related to his own work, and presented performances. See Wallace J. Tomasini, Hans Breder, Stephen Bundy, "A Proposal to the Center for the New Performing Arts," 12 April 1975. CNPA Records.

[27] 112 Greene Street opened its first exhibition in October-December 1970. It was one of the early not-for-profit artists spaces that created a network of places that made for an extraordinarily lively performance world. In writing about places such as Judson Church, the Mercier Arts Center, and 112 Greene in the early 1970s, Roselee Goldberg said that those spaces characteristically presented performances that were diverse in terms of content, form, and intention. See Goldberg, "Performance: The Golden Years," in Battcock and Nickas, p. 79.

[28] Artists often went to 112 Greene Street without a prior appointment and asked the person in charge if they could do a work. Although a schedule was set somewhat in advance, slots were left open so that the space could respond to special needs. Billy Apple ran the space during the 1975-1976 season with the help of Carol Parkinson, Dina Ghen, and Juliet Weber. See Robin Brentano, ed., 112 Workshop / 112 Greene Street (New York: New York University Press, 1981), xi.

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[29] See "February 21-March 4, 1976 / Kirsten Bates, Bill Beirne, Dieter Froese, Ana Mendieta, and Virgina Piersol," 112 Workshop / 112 Greene Street, pp. 90-92.

[30] Ibid. p. 91.

[31] Mendieta called them "voodoo" candles. She bought many boxes which she later took back to Iowa. They were eventually used for outdoor parties, thereby providing still another example of Mendieta's merging art materials with everyday activities. Breder, telephone communication, 23 October 1997.

[32] Breder, ibid.

[33] See Charles Merewether, "From Inscription to Dissolution: An Essay on Expenditure in the Work of Ana Mendieta," Ana Mendieta (Galicia, Spain: Centro Gallego de Arte Contemporanea, 1996), p. 118, n. 83. The author wrote that Ana Mendieta used forty-seven candles because the number symbolized the word bird in the Cuban number-game of charada. He attributed the artist's decision to use forty-seven candles to information provided by Raquelín Mendieta in her essay on Ñañigo Burial. In that essay Raquelín Mendieta infers that her sister chose forty-seven candles because the number symbolized the word bird in the Cuban number-game of charada. See Raquelín Mendieta, "Homage to Sikan and Ana, for the Burial of Ñañigo (Entierro del Ñañigo)," in America Bride of the Sun: 500 Years Latin America and the Low Countries (Antwerp: Royal Museum of Fine Arts, 1992) p. 373. When I spoke to Raquelín Mendieta concerning the source(s) for her references to the Cuban number-game, she told me that in the early 1990s the Cuban-American artist Luis Cruz Azaceta had told her about the symbolic meaning of forty-seven. In attempting to establish whether or not Ana Mendieta had been aware of this game at the time she installed Ñañigo Burial, Raquelín Mendieta told me that she did not know if her sister Ana knew about the esoteric relationship between the number forty-seven and bird because her sister had never mentioned the game or the number to Raquelín. Conversation with the author, 6 November 1997

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[34] As discussed in the previous chapter, Mendieta saw examples of elaborate Abakuá costumes at her great-uncle's natural history museum when she was a young girl. While she could not have learned about the specific celebrations or beliefs of their secret confraternity, she evidently remembered seeing their examples of the Abakuá exotic dress.

[35] For the account as well as the hand-drawn funerary signs elaborating the ceremonies for death, see Cabrera, Anaforuana, pp. 377-453.

[36] See Cabrera, ibid., p. 379.

[37] Ana Mendieta, Ideas 1976, 1977, 1978 (sketchbook), n.p. The sketchbook is in the artist's file, Galerie Lelong. The day of the mayordomo is the Village Saint's day.

[38] Ñañigo Burial was the artist's first work to carry an Afro-Cuban title. Although Charles Merewether (ibid., p. 109) stated that Mendieta had titled a 1975 piece with the Afro-Cuban title Silueta de Yemaya, the original slide of that work is untitled. Mendieta's first documented piece with reference to Yemaya, deity of the ocean and all the waters, is Incantation a Olokun, Yemaya, 1977.

[39] Breder (ibid.) does not remember discussing the content of the piece with Mendieta. He assumed it had something to do with "voodoo" since she bought candles that she referred to as such.

[40] Application for the Cintas Fellowship, 1979, section 16, Curriculum Vitae. Box: Letters: Art Letters and Business 1978-1979, Section C. Artist's file.

[41] For example, Lucy Lippard suggested that Mendieta meet Christina Oatman, one of the artist's in From the Center. Breder, telephone conversation, 13 November, 1997.

[42] Breder showed Intertext which attempted to interweave literary and art historical commentary by Stavros Deligiorgis, Mona de Vinci, and Stephen Foster. In Breder's letter to Martha Letterman, he noted the positive reception for the piece. See Written correspondence, 28 March 1976. CNPA Records.

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[43] On Mendieta's first resume written before she went to Europe, datable late 1975 or early 1976, she listed three places under Forthcoming Exhibitions. They included: Alexandra Monet Gallery, Brussels, Belgium; Li Yuan-Chia, Brampton, Cumbria; and the Université de Paris, Paris. The Brussels and Paris venues never took place. Although she listed filmworks at the Li Yuan-Chia, apparently she only did a slide presentation. Breder assisted me in documenting the work shown in those venues as well as the two performances which were not cited on the artist's early resume.

[44] Lucy R. Lippard, "The Pains and Pleasure of Rebirth: European and American Women's Body Art," Art in America (May-June 1976): 73-81. The article is prescient for it documents a diverse group of women artists, on both sides of the Atlantic, who use their bodies to make Conceptual art. Lippard suggests that men and women artists' explore their bodies for different reasons and in different ways.

[45] Lippard, ibid., p. 138. Therein the critc noted that Judy Chicago's butterfly iconography was visually similar to the Great Goddess' double-edged ax. Lippard's referencing of Mary Beth Edelson's Woman Rising was presumably interesting to Mendieta who had already done Burial Pyramid, 1974. Lippard noted that in the photographs of the piece, Edelson herself was the symbol of Woman Rising from the earth, from the sea, her body painted wiht ancient ritual signs, thereby adapting those images to a new feminist mythology.

[46] Lippard's "The Pains and Pleasure of Rebirth: European and American Women's Body Art," was reprinted in N.E. Thing Co.: A Celebration of the Body, exhibition catalogue (Kingston, Ontario: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1976): n.p. The publication of that article reached different audiences and thus broadened the art-going public's knowledge of the recent history of women artists' participation in body art. The catalogue also reprinted Willoughby Sharp's article "Bodyworks" from Avalanche (Fall) 1970, which documented male artists working in that new genre.

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[47] The Class List for Multimedia II, signed on 23 July 1976, lists six students; the Class List for Intermedia lists five. There were a total of seven students from both classes, four of whom were registered in both courses.

[48] Judith Rew went to Oaxaca with her husband Richard. She wrote two articles on Oaxacan markets. See especially Judith Rew, "Festive Marketplace," Chicago Tribune, 21 May 1978, Travel 14, Section 14.

[49] Breder remembers the many photographs of religious imagery Mendieta took during her trips to Oaxaca. Breder, telephone conversation, 28 October 1997. The 35mm slides are in the artist's files at Galerie Lelong.

[50] Donna Pierce, "A Living Ritual," Mexican Celebrations (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), pp. 9-16.

[51] Sue Rosner, a professor of psychology at the University of Iowa, was a friend of the artist. Rosner said Mendieta often discussed her work during conversations in a social context. Mendieta spoke about her trips to Mexico commenting on the fact that she did art work in sites that were important to her. Telephone interview with the author, 11 November 1997.

[52] All translations in English of the artist's writings in Spanish are by the author. "En el mar: Hacer la silueta a la orilla - Dejarle / que se llene de agua (y vacie) / y tambien llenarlo de / sangre o pintura roja y que / se vacie en el mar y se / esparza - Por largo tiempo / documentar la erud cion [sic, erosión] / de la figura." Mendieta, Ideas 1976, 1977, 1978 (sketchbook), n.p.; all translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

[53] Ellen (Leich) Moon, written correspondence, 30 September 1997 and telephone conversation, 6 October 1997.

[54] "Con el cactus / de este / tipo / cortar partes para que luzca / la silueta." Ana Mendieta, Ideas 1976, 1977, 1978 (sketchbook), n.p. Artist's file, Galerie Lelong.

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[55] Among the many other pieces Mendieta did in Mexico that summer were a silueta piece of dried pods on the sand and another fashioned from moss on large rocks.

[56] Cécile Panzieri, associate director of Galerie Lelong, identified the vinelike elements of the piece with me as she had noted the prevalence of this growth on Mexican beaches. Telephone conversation, 26 November 1997.

[57] "En Cuilapan -- monasterio / con los raices de arboles / Hacer los danzantes de muro." Mendieta, Ideas 1976, 1977, 1978 (sketchbook), n.p.

[58] Breder, conversation, New York, 28 October 1993.

[59] Images of calaveras are common in churches. See the Porter and Auerbach illustration of skeletal images of death in the former Dominican mission church of Santo Domingo, Yanhitlán, Oaxaca, in Mexican Churches, pl. 43. Breder and Mendieta went to Mexico City after their Oaxaca trips. There they visited Frida Kahlo's house, now a museum, in Coyoacán where they saw Kahlo's collection of calaveras, and Rivera's mural of the Day of the Dead in the Ministry of Public Education, among other collections. The Multimedia group saw marzipan desserts in the form of calaveras in the markets when they were in Oaxaca. These desserts are especially popular around the time of the celebrations for the Day of the Dead, or All Soul's Day, on 2 November. During the 1976 trip to Mexico, Mendieta photographed a statue of a calavera riding a bucking bronco. According to Breder, the photo was taken in a museum of folk art in Juanajuato. The original slide, dated August 1976, is in the artist's files, Galerie Lelong.

[60] The identification of the site is the author's.

[61] "En Oaxaca (Zachila) [sic.] con el video o Sp. 8 camara usar una linterna iluminando (una tumba misteca) el laberinto hasta la tumba. A la entrada de la tumba que se vea la silueta hueca." Mendieta, Ideas 1976, 1977, 1978 (sketchbook), n.p. Artist's file, Galeria Lelong.

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[62] I tentatively identified the location based on the reproductions in Charles R. Wicke's "Tomb 30 at Yagul and Zachilla Tombs," in Ancient Oaxaca: Discoveries in Mexican Archaeology and History, ed. John Paddock (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1966), pp. 338, 341.

[63] Silueta de Cohetes is illustrated in the following publications: Ana Mendieta 1948-1985, exhibition catalogue (Helsinki: Helsinki City Art Museum, 1996), wherein the piece is titled Anima (Alma/Soul) Firecracker silueta; Madre Selva: From Life to Spirit, playbill (New York: Córdova & Villegas Enterprises, 1996). Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, eds., The Power of Feminist Art: The American Movement of the 1970s, History and Impact (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers, 1994); Ana Mendieta: The "Silueta Series 1973-1980 (New York: Galerie Lelong, 1991).

[64] Ellen (Leich) Moon, telephone interview, 6 October 1997.

[65] Miguel O. de Mendizábal wrote an interesting article on the popularity of fireworks in Mexican festivals. Much of that article is devoted to discussion of Oaxacan fireworks shops and the master craftsmen who make them. Although fireworks artisans covetously guard their formulas, which are passed down from father to son, the writer managed to find out some of the basic mixtures for different color fireworks. See Miguel O. de Mendizábal, "Polvora que mata y polvora que divierte / Powder That Kills and Powder That Amuses," Mexican Folkways 3:1 (1927): 5-17.

[66] Breder, telephone conversation, 2 December 1997.

[67] Richard Rew remembers that Mendieta was angry at the Mexican man she hired because he was inebriated much of the time and therefore delayed completing her piece. Rew, telephone interview, 19 September 1997.

[68] The bamboo structure is in Galerie Lelong. Fairly recently it illustrated the cover of the exhibition catalogue Ana Mendieta: The "Silueta" Series 1973-1980 (New York: Galerie Lelong, 1991).

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[69] "idea de firecracker / hecho de bamboo / Hacerla de mi / tamaño / 5 pies / que cada parte differente / se ilumine / a diferente / tiempo." Filmarlo en la playa / Si resulta hacer otro / y traerlo a E.U. / Hacerlo afuera." Mendieta, Ideas 1976, 1977, 1978 (sketchbook), n.p. Artist's file, Galerie Lelong.

[70] Undated draft narrative for the Prix de Rome application. Original material loaned to the author by Raquelín Mendieta in September 1993. Artist's file.

[71] Breder, telephone conversation, 2 December 1997.

[72] Despite the fact that I showed the photographs to several people whom I thought might have been able to identify the woman assisting the artist, no one has recognized her.

[73] In a note written to a gallery in New York, Mendieta stated that she had begun working with the silhouette image in 1974-75. Mendieta, original handwritten, undated note. See Box: Letters: Art Letters and Business 1978-1979. Artist's files.

[74] Ideas 1976, 1977, 1978 (sketchbook), n.p.. Artist's file, Galeria Lelong.

[75] Mendieta, ibid.

n[76] I was able to identify the exact name of the hills, Pan de Matanzas, and their geographical location in a conversation with César Trasobares (21 December 1997) who also remembered studying that particular geographical feature of Cuban geography in school. Further to this, I discussed this reference with Raquelín Mendieta who also remembered seeing them from the Via Blanca, the highway the Mendietas took when traveling to Cardenas to visit their grandparents. Although Raquelín Mendieta did not recall their exact name, she remembered their "female" form. Telephone conversation, 5 January 1998.

[77] Gloria Orenstein. "Reemergence of the Archetype of the Great Goddess in Art by Contemporary Women," Heresies: The Great Goddess (Spring 1978), p. 77. That article also refers to the mountain as La Mazapan de Matanzas, which "is in the shape of a reclining woman."

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[78] The tree of life image is a very popular one in Mexican crafts. For discussion of trees of life by Mexican artisans, see Marian Harvey, "Tree of Life," in Crafts of Mexico (New York and London: Macmillian Publishing Co. and Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1973), pp. 150-155.

[79] In Mary Jane Jacobs' essay, she first makes the point that in Santería belief there are sacred trees associated with the orishas or spirits. The writer then asserts that Mendieta becomes the tree of life in her piece Arbol de la vida (Tree of Life). Once Mendieta becomes "woman and tree at once," Jacobs interprets Mendieta as the personification of the orisha with her hands raised in a gesture of benediction or homage. See Mary Jane Jacobs, "The 'Silueta' Series, 1973-1980," in Ana Mendieta: The "Silueta" Series, 1973-1980 (New York: Galerie LeLong, 1991), p. 13.

[80] (Noble) Hedrick, telephone conversations during 1996 and 1997.

[81] See Eden Gray, The Tarot Revealed (New York: New American Library, Inc., 1969), p. 222.

[82] (Noble) Hedrick generously sent me the book to examine. Mendieta's interest in tarot cards continued in later years. She and César Trasobares did a couple of readings together, but more often they discussed the books on tarot that Trasobares owned as well as the archetypal aspects of the card set.

[83] Susan Ferris, Public Information Officer at the Greenwich Library, sent me a copy of the in-house exhibition brochure Contact: Women and Nature (Greenwich, Connecticut: Art Committee of the Friends of the Greenwich Library, 1977).

[84] Lydia Tyner Anderson, "Introduction," Contact: Women and Nature, n.p.

[85] See Chapter 6.

[86] Lippard included many women artists in the exhibition "Contact" whom she had been following from 1971 in her curating, lecturing, and writing. Among those included were Alice Aycock, Louise Bourgeois, Audrey Hemenway, Pat Johanson, Buffie Johnson, Ana

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Mendieta, Mary Miss, Christine Oatman, Jody Pinto, Carolee Schneemann, Pat Steir, Michelle Stuart, and Hannah Wilke.

[87] Lippard, ibid., n.p

[88] Lippard, ibid., n.p.

[89] I thank Mel Andringa for sending me a copy of the invitation announcement which listed the students--Ellen Leich, Ana Mendieta, Steve Moon, and Richard Rew, the dates--11 March to 2 April [1977] at Corroboree: Gallery of New Concepts in the Old Music Building, South Hall at the University of Iowa.

[90] Judith Rew, "Multimedia, 'Plays' Distinguish Opening of New Art Gallery," Daily Iowan. 14 March 1977.

[91] Breder, telephone conversation, 2 December 1997. Also see Breder and Foster, "Preface," Intermedia, p. 6. The board of directors included Hans Breder, who initiated the idea for the gallery; Stephen Bundy, an instructor in the Multimedia Department; Stavros Deligiorgis, a professor in the Department of Comparative Literature, who had also been active in intermedia performances in the CNPA; and Stephen Foster, a professor of art history. Dottie Attie, a painter from New York, was also invited to have an exhibition in spring 1977.

[92] Rew, ibid, n.p.

[93] Breder remembers that Mendieta showed a selection of her Oaxacan work that most likely included Silueta de cohetes. Telephone conversation, 19 December 1997. Neither Richard Rew nor Ellen (Leich) Moon remembers the pieces any of them showed.

[94] A letter from Wallace J. Tomasini of 16 December 1976 confirmed that Mendieta had been cleared for M.F.A. candidacy. In the official letter, Tomasini added a handwritten note: "Ana--your work provided a very moving aethestic experience." Artist's file. According to Mendieta's transcript, her final course in Multimedia prior to receiving the M.F.A. was Independent Instruction Multimedia, spring 1977.

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[95] Mary Jane Jacobs, "Untitled," Ana Mendieta: The Silueta Series, 1973-1980, New York: Galerie Lelong, 1994," p. 14.

[96] Ana Mendieta, "Siluetas," submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Fine Arts in the School of Art and Art History in the Graduate College of the University of Iowa, 14 May 1977. Hans Breder was the thesis supervisor; the other faculty members on the thesis committee consisted of Byron Burford, Stephen Foster, Julius Schmidt, and Dr. Wallace Tomasini.

[97] See Michael Coe, The Maya (London: Pelican Books, 1971), p. 177. The author also identified her as the moon goddess, and noted that the snakes in her hair, and the claws with which her feet and hands are tipped prove her the equivalent of Coatlicue, the Aztec mother of gods and men.

[98] Mendieta, ibid., p. 1.

[99] Mendieta, ibid., pp. 1, 2.

[100] I refer to the Center for New Performing Art's "Evening of Video, Film & Dance," when Ana Mendieta performed with her Sabin School Students on 9 November 1973, at 119 1/2 East College Street. See Chapter 5.

[101] Lucy R. Lippard, "Art Outdoors, In and Out of the Public Domain." Studio International (March-April 1977): 83-90; and "Quite Contrary: Body, Nature and Ritual in Women's Art," Chrysalis (June 1977): 31-47.

[102] Lippard, "Art Outdoors, In and Out of the Public Domain," p. 89. Once again the reproduction was mistakenly titled Rape (slide piece), 1975. The image was in fact an untitled silueta from fall 1975.

[103] Lippard, "Art Outdoors, In and Out of the Public Domain," p. 86.

[104] Lippard, "Quite Contrary: Body, Nature and Ritual in Women's Art," p. 32.

[105] Although Breder does not have a record of his visits with Mendieta to New York, he recalls having made several trips with her after 1976. Conversation, 2 December 1997.

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[106] Mary Beth Edelson, interview, New York, 22 December 1997. In conversation with Edelson, she informed me that Lippard called her to tell her about a wonderful young artist from Iowa who was in New York and who did body work that reminded Lippard of Edelson's work. Edelson said that in those days of the women's movement, feminist artists tried to network for each other. As members of the A.I.R. Gallery, they saw work by artists who lived in different parts of the United States; and whenever possible, they tried to help their colleagues in various ways.

[107] Edelson told me: "I was on a holy mission about the great goddess in those days. I talked to everybody about it, because to me it [the subject of the great goddess] was a political statement to empower women. . . . I definitely introduced her [Ana Mendieta] to this idea [the subject of the great goddess], there's no question about that. I gave her books at that time to read."

[108] Ibid.

[109] Edelson clearly remembers that Mendieta went to her studio and showed her a portfolio of her work. They spent a long time talking during that first meeting. Ibid.

[110] In telephone conversation with Alissa Schoenfeld, director A.I.R. Gallery, 10 December 1997.

[111] Schoenfeld of the A.I.R. Gallery sent me a copy of Mendieta's artist's statement.

[112] Ellen Lubell, "Invitational," Arts Magazine (Octobre 1977): 26. Also see David Bourdin, "There's a New Kid (or Two) in Town," Village Voice (13 June 1977), p. 68.

[113] For a comprehensive overview of the historical development of the A.I.R. Gallery, the first women's cooperative art gallery in New York, from its inception through the first five years of its institutional life, see Corinne Robins, " 'Artists In Residence': The First Five Years," Woman Art (Winter 1977-78): 5-7, 42.

[114] Mendieta did many versions of this piece which are documented extensively in 35mm slides in the artist's files at Galerie Lelong. Some of the pieces were printed during her

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lifetime. In the artist's original box of slides, she wrote Ix-Chell outdoors as a descriptive title on the identifying paper in the slide box. As a result, Galerie Lelong uses that title when reprinting photographs from that series.

[115] Breder, interview, New York, 28 October 1993.

[116] Perrin, "Ana Mendieta Works with Nature to Produce Her Art," p. 5A.

[117] Although the artist titled only one piece with that name, the series of related works are now titled Incantation a Olukun-Yemaya because Raquelín Mendieta believes they are variations of the same piece. Raquelín Mendieta, telephone conversation, 18 February 1998.

[118] Mendieta presented filmworks from 1975-1977 from Mexico and Iowa. Her performance La Noche, Yemaya was body tracks. A draft of the artist's statement for Franklin Furnace in addition to the official announcement was part of the Franklin Furnace Archive, Inc. when I reviewed it in November 1993. The archive now belongs to the Artist File Franklin Furnace, Museum of Modern Art Library, Museum of Modern Art.

[119] Mendieta may have chosen the name Yemaya because it was the spiritual deity that guided her beloved friend Ina Sicar whom the artist often saw in New York after she moved there. As I discussed in chapter 1, Ms. Sicar had been the beloved Afro-Cuban house servant of Mendieta's grandparents, the Otis. Although Sicar was not initiated in Santería in Cuba or New York, she grew up knowing that Yemaya guided her. Sometime after Ms. Sicar moved to New York, she investigated her spiritual lineage in a more formal way. According to Ms. Sicar, she informed the artist of her spiritual connections to Yemaya sometime after Mendieta went to New York. Ina Sicar, interview, New York, 18 August 1996.

[120] There is no copy of Mendieta's letter to Printed Matter in her file. However, Medrie MacPhee's letter to the artist states that Printed Matter was not in a financial position to

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accept any new book proposals. For a copy of the MacPhee letter, see Box: Letters: Art Letters and Business 1978-1979. Artist's file.

[121] Breder told me that he never heard Mendieta use the word "fetish" to describe them and that she most likely titled them later, possibly, when she was consciously adopting Santería titles. Interview, New York, 15 November 1993.

[122] See Chapter 6.

[123] Some years after Mendieta had executed the figures in sand, she was interviewed by the performing artist Linda Montano who asked her if she used death/burial images consciously. Mendieta answered that she did not think that death and life are separate from each other. In that context Mendieta referred to the sand image with sticks in 1976 (actually 1977): ". . . it was a fetish piece. That summer my mother had a cancer operation and I didn't consciously set out to help her, I just did the piece, but I think it was connected to death imagery." See Linda Montano, "An Interview with Ana Mendieta," Sulphur 22 (Spring 1988): 67.

[124] Diane (Troyer) Pederson (telephone conversation, 29 September 1997) first told me about the historical significance of Old Man's Creek. At her recommendation I spoke with her mother, Miriam (Williams) Troyer, who sent me two articles from her personal files. Each provides a historical account of Old Man's Creek and the Native Americans who inhabited the area. The Native American hunting preserve included the stretch of country running a little west of Iowa City in Johnson County to the center of Iowa County. See "White Hawk, The Old Man's Creek Chief," Iowa City Daily Press, Diamond Jubilee Edition 1841-1916, 14 December 1916, section 2, p. 3.

[125] Troyer, ibid. The article "A Fact a Day about Iowa City: 'Old Man's Creek' " (Iowa City Press Citizen, n.d., n.p.) reports that the local Musquakies ("Fox-Sac reds") used to shelter the aged, weak, or very young nonfighters along Old Man's Creek where they were

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protected from sight. The article from the Iowa City Press Citizen is from Miriam (Williams) Troyer's personal files.

[126] In making the relief figures in sand, Mendieta may also have considered the animal or effigy mounds from eastern Iowa which are found as far south as Dubuque where she once lived. For a discussion of the mounds in the Woodland Period, see Lynn Marie Alex, "Woodland Period," in Exploring Iowa's Past: A Guide to Prehistoric Archaeology (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1980): 122-127.

[127] Breder, telephone conversation, 3 January 1998.

[128] Breder, interview, New York, 15 November 1993.

[129] See Chapter 4.

[130] The author discovered the unprinted negatives among the artist's files. Breder confirmed the locale as the one he used when doing work there with two models in summer 1973. Breder, telephone conversation, 8 January 1998.

[131] Ibid. Ann Zerkel and Helen (McGreevy) Hoff have each recalled different versions of the legend to the author during conversations. Also see, Lori Erickson, "The Black Angel," in Ghosts of Johnson County (Fort Madison, Iowa: Quixote Press, 1987), pp. 57-61 for a compliation of stories about that subject.

[132] Marlene Perrin, telephone conversation, 3 January 1998.

[133] Breder, 4 January 1998.

[134] Lippard, "Art Outdoors, In and Out of the Public Domain," p. 83.

[135] Breder, telephone conversation, 20 March 1997. Kay Ries, a colleague of Mendieta at South East Junior High School, also traveled to Mexico with her and Breder. However, Ries did not see Mendieta do any of her pieces on that trip. Kay Ries, telephone conversation, 4 January 1997.

[136] According to Breder, Galerie Lelong mistakenly describes the piece as having been carved in the earth. Telephone conversation, 4 September 1996.

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[137] Although Breder thought that Julius Schmidt helped Mendieta with formula(s) for making gunpowder, Schmidt has no such recollection. He told me he doubted that Mendieta made gunpowder, a highly explosive mixture of potassium nitrate (75 percent), sulphur (10 percent), and carbon (15 percent) in the form of charcoal. It is possible, however, that Mendieta used Thermit, a pyrotechnic mixture that Schmidt had demonstrated to his students in the sculpture studio. Had she used this, it would have burned in a more controlled manner. Julius Schmidt, interview, Iowa City, 7 December 1994 and telephone conversation, 10 January 1998.

[138] "Para hacer el volcano: Magnesium metal / ribbon como mecha / Ammonium Dichromate $(NH_4)_2\ Cl_2O_7$ / 30 cm en un cone de metal. "Para etch imagen en roca: Muriatic Acid / Phosphoric Acid (no tan potente) / Acidic Acid - foder or vinagre / mix con agua." Ideas 1976, 1977, 1978 (sketchbook), n.p.

[139] Thanks to Mel Andringa for sending me a copy of that invitation. Further evidence that Mendieta was pleased with the piece is the fact that she gave a slide of that image to Joan Marter, professor of art history at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, for lectures and a proposed exhibition. Professor Marter generously loaned me her set of Mendieta slides when I spoke to her about the artist's work, 15 June 1994. Mendieta also gave Nancy Spero that image, one of many examples of the work from that period. Spero also loaned me Mendieta's slide for this study when I spoke to her about the artist's work, 16 March 1994.

[140] Andringa returned to the University of Iowa in summer 1977 as Breder's assistant at which time he got to know Mendieta quite well. He remembers that she was very involved with preparations for her move. Interview, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 8 December 1994.

[141] In October Martha Wilson performed Beast , and Lynda Benglis presented slides of her performance The Amazing Bow-Wow in a lecture on her work. Luis Camnitzer had an exhibition from 14 October to 11 November 1977. Suzy Gablik also gave a lecture in

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collaboration with the Art History Colloquium. In spring 1978, Dennis Oppenheim did an installation, Ben Vautier did a performance, Ken Friedman did a performance, and Liliana Porter had an exhibition. I compiled this list of invited artists during the 1977/78 year from two sources: invitations for the Corroboree Gallery of New Concepts, sent to me by Mel Andringa, and the list VISITORS ACADEMIC YEAR 1978/1979. That list provides the artist's name, date of visit, area (sculpture, multimedia, painting, ceramics, drawing, etc.), and funding source (Ford, NEA). The Administrative Office, School of Art and Art History, provided me with a copy of that list.

[142] Artist's handwritten draft. Box: Letters: Art Letters and Business 1978-1979. Artist's file.

[143] Barbara Toll was the former director of Hundred Acres Gallery. She suggested that Mendieta contact a gallery regarding her work. However, Toll no longer remembers the name of the gallery she had once suggested. Barbara Toll, telephone conversation, 12 December 1997.

[144] Gloria Orenstein did not recall exactly when she met Mendieta in New York. Telephone interview, 11 November and interview, New York, 3 January 1998.

[145] On 31 October 1977, Edelson did Memorial Performance to 9,000 Women Burned as Witches in the Christian Era. It was the first performance by an A.I.R. member at the gallery. For that citation, see Robins, " 'Artists In Residence': The First Five Years," p. 6.

[146] Orenstein, "Reemergence of the Archetype of the Great Goddess in Art by Contemporary Women," pp. 74-83. For discussion of the year-long process involved in conceptualizing, planning, and editing the issue, see "The Great Goddess Collective Statement," verso of the cover.

[147] Orenstein also discussed such artists as Mary Beth Edelson, Carolee Schneemann, Mimi Lobell, Buffie Johnson, Judy Chicago, Donna Byars, Donna Henes, Miriam Sharon, Betsy Damon, Betye Saar, Monica Sjoo, and Hannah Kay. Artists whose visuals of

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goddess images were reproduced as a photo essay include Louise Bourgeois, Frail Goddess; Joan Jonas, Hills; Susanne Wenger, Oshun, Yoruba Fertility Goddess; and Anne Healy, Hecate.

[148] Gloria Orenstein, "Leonora Carrington's Visionary Art for the New Age," Chrysalis 3 (1977): 65-77.

[149] Orenstein, "Reemergence of the Archetype of the Great Goddess," p. 74.

[150] Ibid., p. 77.

[151] Breder, ibid. Also Perrin, ibid.

[152] Mendieta appropriated the image from the cover of Ajit Mookerjee's Tantra Art. Breder, interview, New York, 29 October 1993. The title of the show is on the artist's statement, a copy of which is in Galerie Lelong. Artist's file.

[153] Perrin, "Ana Mendieta Works with Nature to Produce Her Art," p.5A.

[154] Ibid.

[155] See Kittredge Cherry, "Mendieta Incorporates Herself, Earth and Art," Daily Iowan, 6 December 1977, p. 7.

[156] Ibid.

[157] See letter from Bruce Williams, Visual Arts Program Director, Iowa Arts Council, State Capitol Building, Des Moines, Iowa. Box: Letters: Art Letters and Business 1978-1979. Artist's file.

[158] See Vernon Perry, salesman, Vernon Printing Company, letter, 13 December 1977. See documentation in Box: Letters: Art Letters and Business 1978-1979. Artist's file. In addition, the front cover would feature a color photograph; the printing would take several months, and the cost would be funded by a grant.

[159] Julin Printing Company in Cedar Rapids sent the artist a letter, 13 December 1977, with the tentative specifications for printing. See documentation in Box: Letters: Art Letters and Business 1978-1979. Artist's file.

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[160] Williams, telephone conversation, 6 January 1998.

[161] As it turned out, Mendieta never submitted the application to the Iowa Arts Council in early 1978, probably because she learned from Mr. Williams, before the deadline of January 1978, of the lack of interest at that time in a show of her work.

[162] Wendy Clark, Visual Arts Specialist, National Endowment for the Arts, in telephone conversation, 6 January 1998.

[163] In Mendieta's Application for the Cintas Fellowship, she wrote that the grant from the National Endowment for the Arts provided her with the funds to move to New York and do her work. See Application for Cintas Fellowship, 1979. Box: Letters: Art Letters and Business 1978-1979, Section C. Artist's file.

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CONCLUSION

Ana Mendieta's art established a dialogue between art and life as she searched for an artistic language to interweave history, religion, myth, and autobiography and to represent the earth as a living organism. In tracing the artist's development throughout her formative years, beginning in mid-1969 and continuing through 1977, we can now identify the stages of a prodigiously talented young woman. Mendieta's paintings, few as there are, incorporate motifs, address subjects, and draw on sources that prefigure her performance pieces, sculptural objects in site-specific locations, and body-earth works. The paintings hint at her interest in the self-portrait, Catholic subjects, and Precolumbian art and archaeology. While not ultimately satisfied with her expressionistic figuration, even abstracted imagery, she soon became convinced of the value of representing the self as subject and object in art. The first experimental pieces in the Multimedia studio (1972) demonstrated the artist's bravura, daring, and willingness to explore physical and material transformations. She internalized the then current ideas that the body could function alternately as a field or surface (even a substitute canvas), where she remapped, reconfigured, and re-presented her physiognomy.

During her first return trip to Mexico in 1973, she explored the possibilities of working in archaeological sites. Her burial piece, Imagén de Yagul, is paradigmatic of her ability to layer her work with diversely rich references and sources. Because the artist's body is placed in a grave, the documented image alludes to death. However, because of the budding flowers placed on the body, the final image also alludes to life and, by extension to the continuum between life and death. Although the piece responds directly to Hans Breder's first tomb pieces in Oaxaca, it departs from it in formal and iconographic terms. The artist chose to work in archaeological sites because they provided her with the

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idea of place as a record of human activity. Archaeological sites were ideal for site-specific work for they were imbedded with the historical overlays she sought.

The following summer Mendieta did an untitled piece in a trench where she exposed parts of her limbs above the ground line. Her artistic invention synthesized aspects of her study of artifacts collected from the ground surface of archaeological sites near San Juan Teotihuacán (summer 1971). That piece established a three-part equation, combining aspects of burial, archaeology (thus, search and discovery), and contemporary body art that would distinguish many of her works. A couple of years later, she responded to the ancient history of the area by doing a piece with a partial human image made out of white cloth. Located alternately on the wall and the floor in an excavated tomb at Yagul, the artist intended the image to function as a historical remnant, a kind of palimpsest that blended with the worn patina on the stone as well as the remnants of wall paintings in some Oaxacan sites.

Mendieta responded to the spiritual aura of Oaxaca with pieces based on her Roman Catholic upbringing. The first explored the subject of religious imagery in a church. In niches reserved for holy images, she performed a body-sculpture as a reference to religious statues draped in cloth during Holy Week. In another instance, she crafted a sculptural object with an animal's heart supported by branches to suggest the iconographic representations of the disembodied heart of Jesus. She made art, as Gerardo Mosquera has observed, that appropriated religious practices for artistic aims widened to include the religious.[1]

In the mid-1970s Mendieta constructed an image of a woman out of branches and placed it in a niche in the Cuilapan Monastery. She referred to the image as a danzante (dancer), referring to bas-relief figures from the Gallery of the Danzantes at the Monte Alban archaeological site. Its recontextualization in the former monastery, however, conferred a Christian referent. The artist often choreographed pieces that layered Precolumbian and Christian imagery, reflecting both the earlier history of the area and the

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later period of Christianization. These works, among others, affirm her ability to combine irony and respect, tradition and innovation, as she searched for ways to harmonize the sacred and the profane.

At the end of the Iowa years, Mendieta did a series of sand figures with markings, pieces, I suggest, referring to Native Americans who formerly inhabited the area along Old Man's Creek where she worked in private for many years. The artist's interest in former cultures was a recurrent theme in her life's work. The sand figures prefigure earth carvings of 1980 in Mexico, and the latter in turn foreshadow the rock carvings in the Steps of Jaruco outside Havana the following year.[2]

Mendieta also drew on everyday life for subjects. She explored such diverse themes as rape, violence, and death as specific responses to actual occurrences. In the light of subsequent writings on contemporary artists, Mendieta's explorations can now be located within a larger corpus of explorations that addressed similar concerns.

With equal intensity, Mendieta created body performance pieces in nature. In the belief that art could be experiential, she submerged herself in the soil, under rocks, and in water to feel nature's properties, to unite, on many levels, with the earth's rhythm. She cut flowers, repositioned stones, and trimmed cactus leaves in the shape of a female to personify nature, which she identified as female. With equal imagination she performed pieces using a model of her body or its silhouette to symbolize the life cycle.

Mendieta used two forms to represent the femaleness of nature: the closed form with arms at the sides and the silhouette with the uplifted arms. The artist had been familiar with the iconography of small ceramic Aztec female figurines since 1971, the same year she visited and photographed monumental statuary such as the Great Goddess (also called the Water Deity) at the Teotihuacan archaeological site. Coincidentally, the artist's final paintings appear to have incorporated the abstracted image of monumental columnar statues. And she appropriated a Tantric image for the announcement of her one-person show at the University of Iowa in December 1977. Long interested in transcultural myths

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and the mythic role of female deities, the artist appropriated the iconography of the pictograph at the site of Caballito Blanco near Yagul for her Laberinth Blood Imprint. Subsequently she titled a piece Silueta Tehuana, in acknowledgment to the matriarchal society of Tehuana women. In addition, Mendieta titled one of her M.F.A. pieces Ix-Chell, Mayan goddess of weaving, medicine, and childbirth.

Before Mendieta had been included among artists who were interested in the subject of the goddess, her references to deity figures had evolved without her having named them. Once she was critically located within a national context, she chose to make explicit her references in acknowledgment of what had otherwise gone unnamed. By 1977 there were aspects of her investigations that interested such feminist critics as Lucy Lippard as well as artists such as Mary Beth Edelson. In a sense, by being located in the larger group of women artists who explored nature, landscape, or great goddess themes, Mendieta's own private explorations were suddenly thrust into a new light. Through those critical writings, she too discovered larger contexts for her work. Nevertheless, Mendieta had been expressing in her art the notion of the earth as a living organism prior to having been recognized critically in print. She did, I suggest, begin to verbally articulate her relationship to the female force in nature in her art toward the end of 1977. She had been included in several articles that began to provide her with a critical language with which to speak about some of the important layers in her work.

We cannot underestimate the fact that Ana Mendieta considered herself a Cuban living in the United States. She never covered or hid her Cubanness. On the contrary, she was proud to be of Cuban birth and articulated that sentiment many times to people she knew in Iowa. However, one should not intrepret all her pieces, especially those executed in nature, as exclusive attempts to reconnect with her native soil or as a return to her homeland, figuratively or metamorphically. Although in her later years, Mendieta spoke dramatically of the dialogue between the earth and her body as having been caused by her uprooting from Cuba and her need to return to the maternal womb, she may have

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overstated her intentions.[3] To interpret Mendieta's pieces exclusively in terms of reconciling her feelings for loss, is to reduce the artist's enormous conceptual abilities to devise pieces that responded to a host of sources and, at different times, overlayed discrete messages, content, and intent.

Nevertheless, there were many instances in which Mendieta communicated, obliquely or directly, her Cuban identity. Pieces such as Blood and Feathers (1974) and Ñañigo Burial (1976) are only two examples. I suggest that those pieces attempted to communicate in very different ways, a larger view of Cuba, one that in reality she was in the process of investigating at the time. Her ongoing archaeological researches--whether in Mexico or Iowa--through the years helped her maintain her Cuban identity in exile while at the same time she continued to learn about Cuban culture and history.

Tree of Life, more than any other work, corroborates phenomenologically the artist's interest in keeping her memories of her homeland alive through the actual creation of a piece in which she connects to nature, the symbolic site of one's roots. Her body and the tree are united in the artist's performative piece. She uses her body to personify nature by vivifying the tree of life and, by extension, one's beginnings, heritage, and lifeline.

It was Mendieta's extraordinary ability to collapse multiple references, sources, and forms that gave her work the power it has. This study has attempted to articulate the broad range of perspectives the artist imbedded in her work. If it had not been for those rich layers, then the artist's work would not speak as compellingly as it does today.

When Ana Mendieta arrived in New York in late January 1978, her artistic reputation was just emerging, but her work was already mature. She slowly began to meet other artists and performed a version of the 1974 body tracks called La Noche, Yemaya at Franklyn Furnace. That same month she was a visiting artist at the University of Hartford and also part of a small group show at the State University of New York at Old Stonybrook, where she a indoor piece with nature's elements which she brought into the

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gallery. Mendieta was also invited to do a work-in-progress in C Space, an alternative site. She returned to Mexico in the summer and was a visiting artist at the University of Iowa the following September at which time she did work outdoors. She was awarded a Visual Artist Grant from the National Endowment for the Arts and an artists' grant from the Creative Artists Program Services (CAPS) in 1979. Mendieta also began to meet artists who were members of the A.I.R. Gallery which she joined in that year. Her connections to that group and the accomplished work she produced until her tragic death in 1985 are worthy of a separate study.

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[1] Gerardo Mosquera, "Ana Mendieta," Regarding America (Ante América) (Bogota: The Banco de la República and Polarities, Inc., 1993), p. 36.

[2] The most complete study of the Jaruco work is Bonnie Clearwater, Ana Mendieta: A Book of Works (Miami Beach: Grassfield Press), 1994.

[3] In 1981 after Mendieta had made several trips to Cuba, she wrote: "I have been carrying on a dialogue between the landscape and the female body (based on my own silhouette). I believe this has been a direct result of my having been torn from my homeland (Cuba) during my adolescence. I am overwhelmed by the feeling of having been cast out of the womb (nature). My art is the way I re-establish the bonds that unite me to the universe. It is a return to the maternal source. Through my earth/body sculptures I become one with the earth. . . . I become an extension of nature and nature becomes an extension of my body. This obsessive act of reasserting my ties with the earth is really the reactivation of primeval beliefs . . . [in] an omnipresent female force, the after-image of being encompassed within the womb, is a manifestation of my thirst for being." See Ana Mendieta, 1981, Unpublished statement. Cited by John Perrault, "Earth and Fire," Ana Mendieta: A Retrospective, exhibition catalogue (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1987), p. 12. In 1982, Mendieta wrote a statement for her one-woman show at the Loew Art Museum in Miami in which she expressed herself in an almost

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identical manner. Mendieta used the words "void" and "orphanhood" for a proposal she submitted to Bard College in 1984. That proposal is in the artist's files in a folder dated 1983-1984 by the New Museum.

In Charles Merewether's essay, "From Inscription to Dissolution: An Essay on Expenditure in the Work of Ana Mendieta," Ana Mendieta, he cites a series of statements written on different occasions by Mendieta in the following way: "All detachment or separation provides a wound. A rupture, whether it is with ourselves or what surrounds us or with the past or present produces a feeling of aloneness. In my case where I was separated from my parents and my country at the age of 12, this feeling of aloneness indentified itself as a form of orphanhood. And it manifested itself as consciousness of sin. The penalties and shame of separation caused me necessary sacrifices and solitude as a way of purifying myself. You live it, like proof and promise of communion." See Merewether, ibid, p. 98, n. 28. Although the critic identifies Octavio Paz's ideas of sacrifice in the Mexican writer's book The Labyrinth of Solitude as being the impetus for Mendieta's ideas expressed in her undated statements, he incorrectly dates the artist's unpublished notes to sometime between 1973 and 1975. Furthermore, Merewether has not provided his readers with the location of the artist's individual notes nor has he indicated which ones were written on separate pieces of paper. Had Merewether provided this information, the reader would have a more accurate picture of the artist's conceptualization process. I have not yet been able to find the individual passages in the artist's files. Nevertheless, based on content and stylistic expression of the compiled notes presented by Merewether, I would date them from 1981.

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FIGURES



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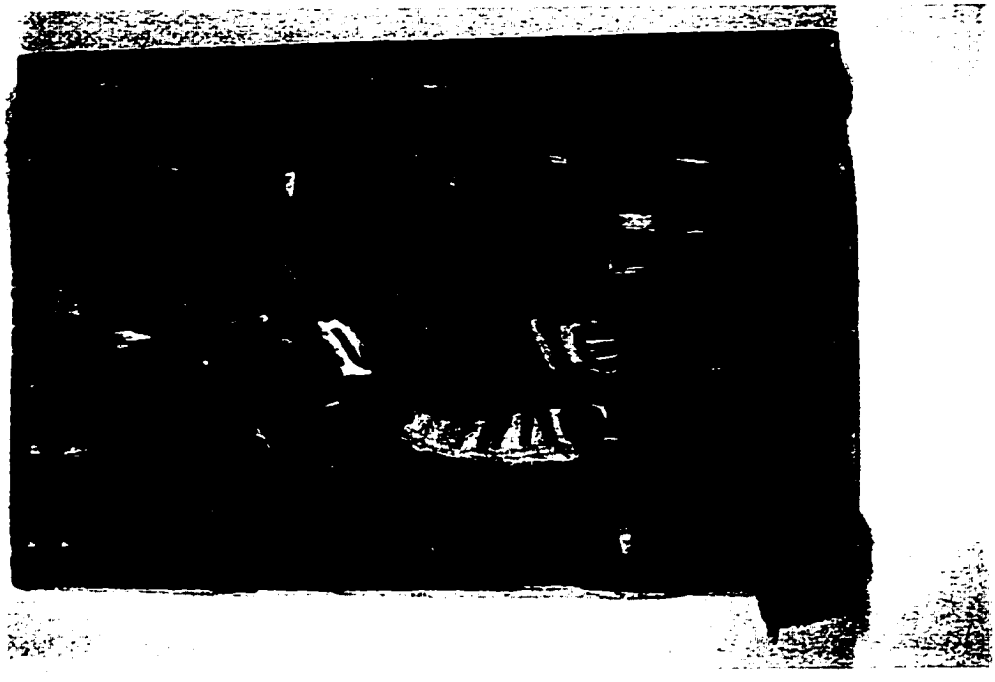


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Fig. 4



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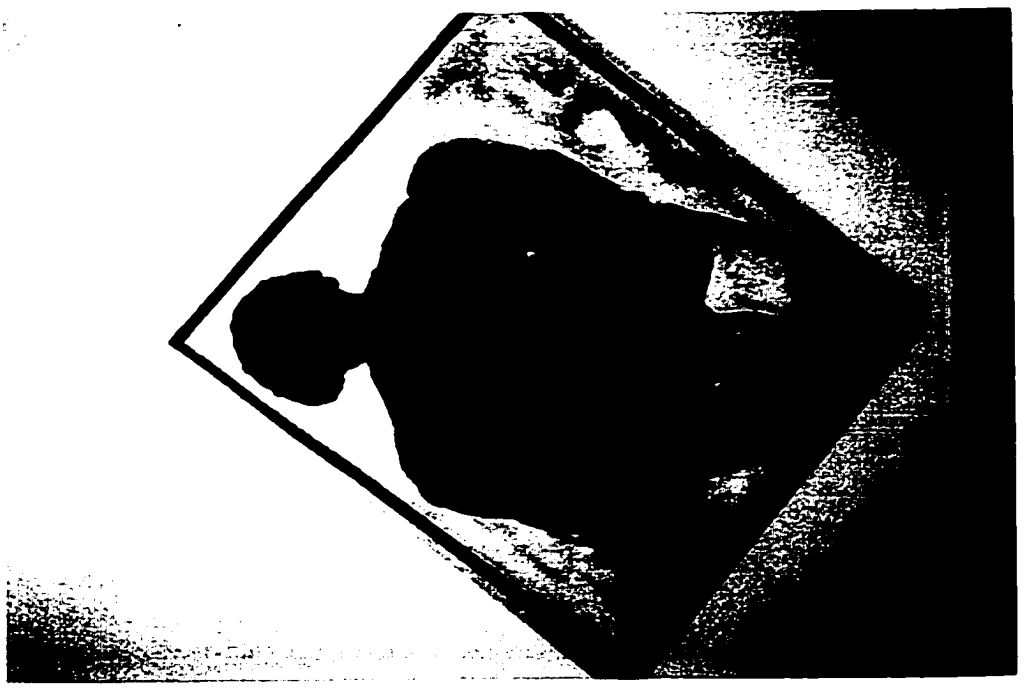


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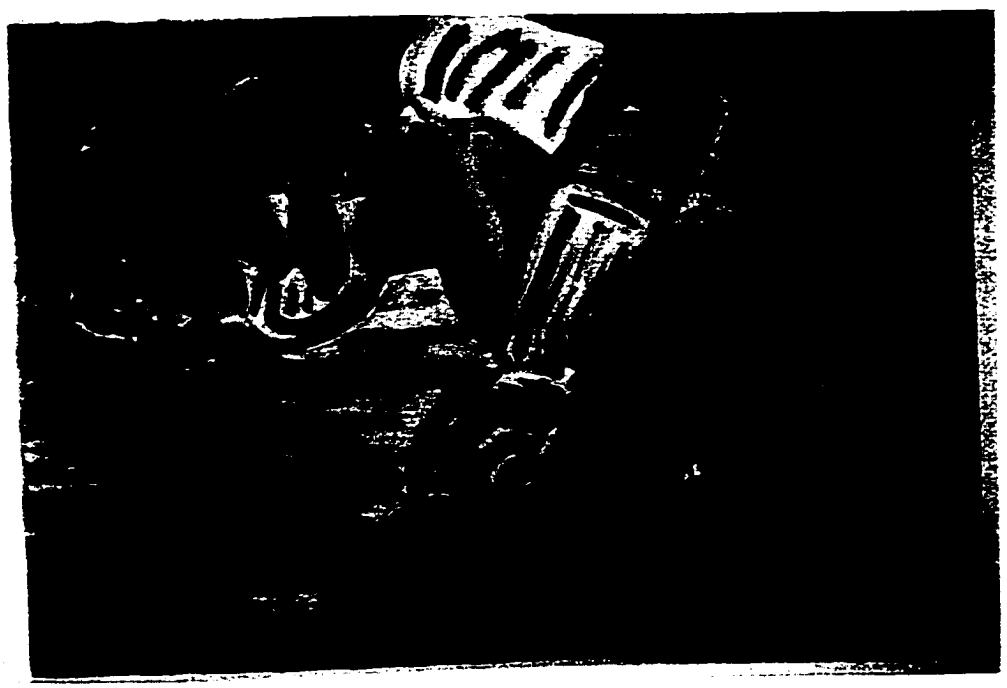


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Fig. 8

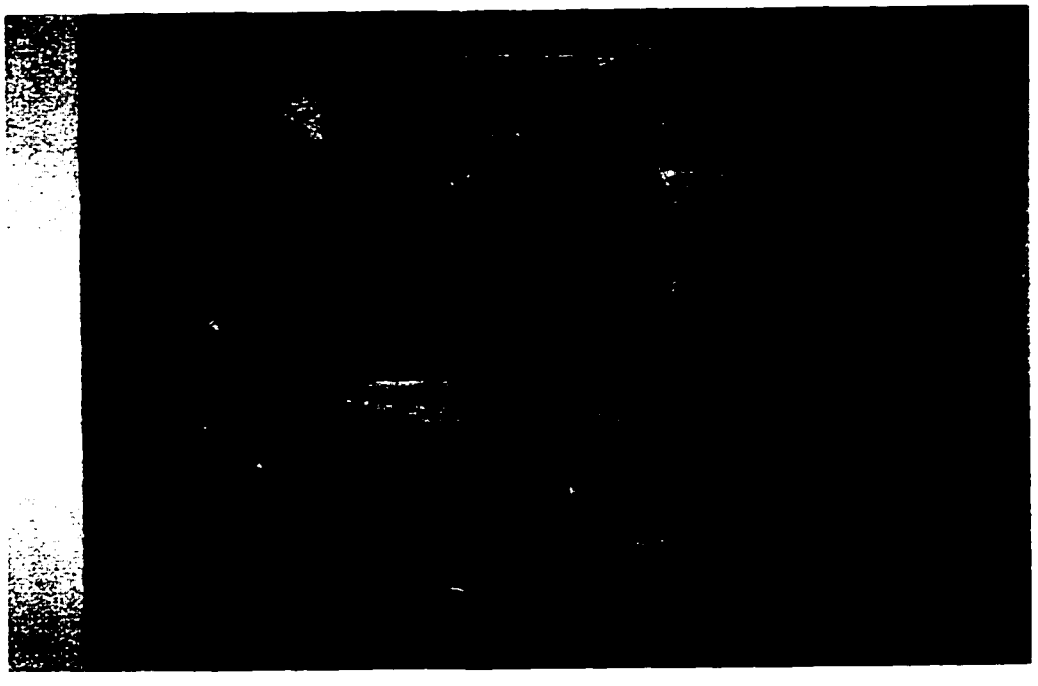


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Fig. 10

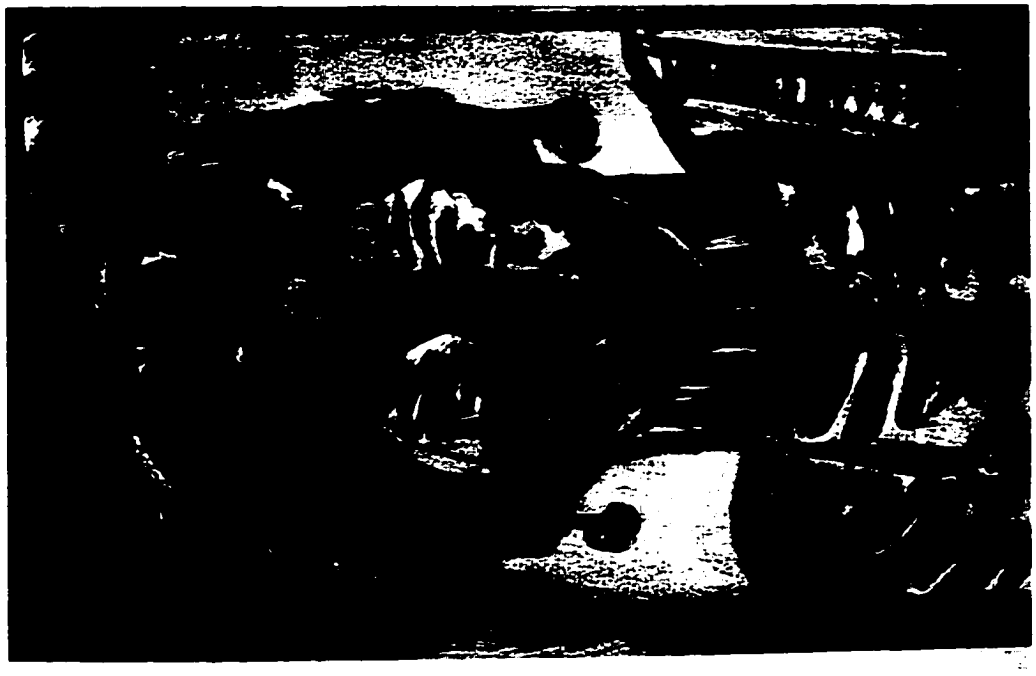


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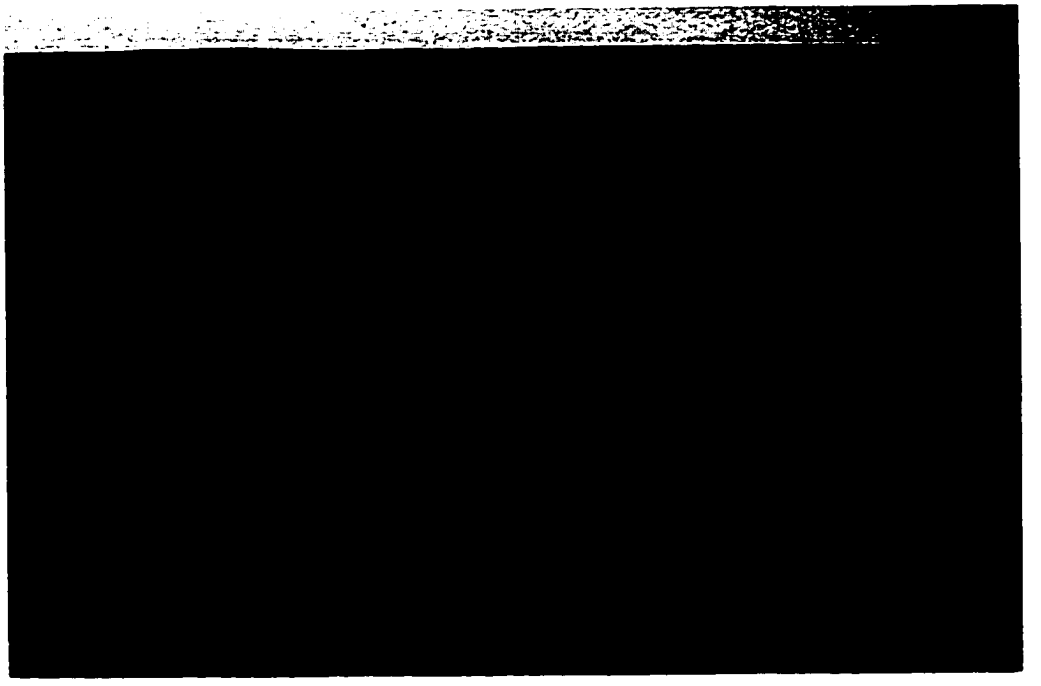


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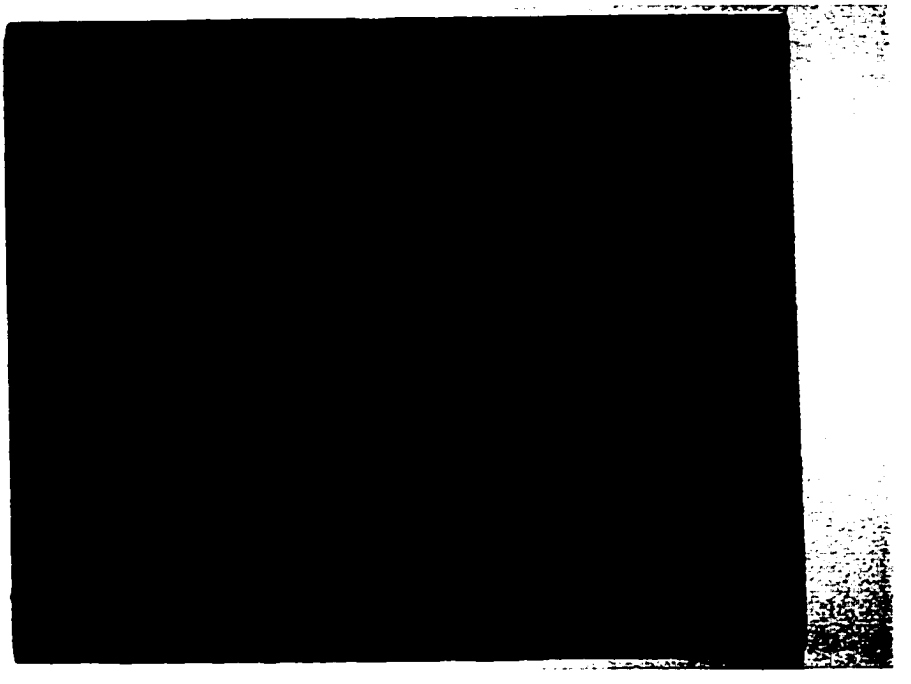


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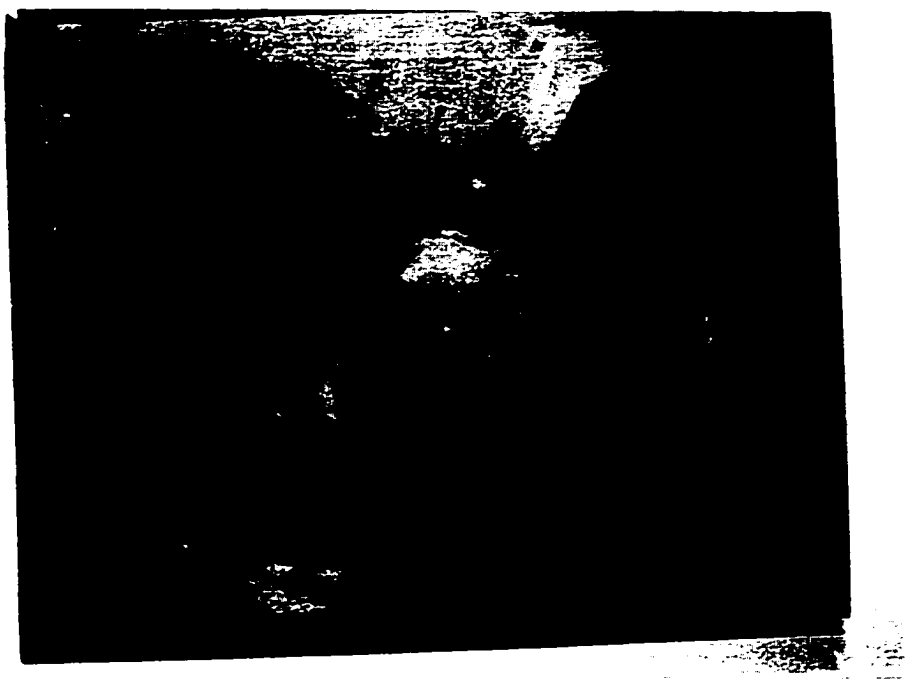


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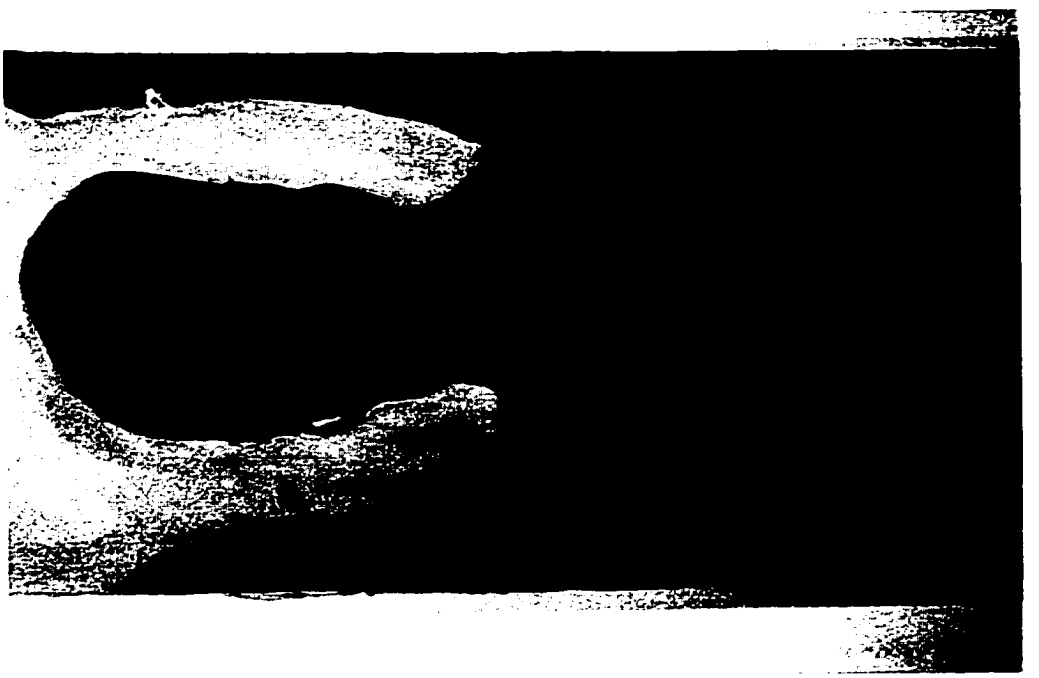


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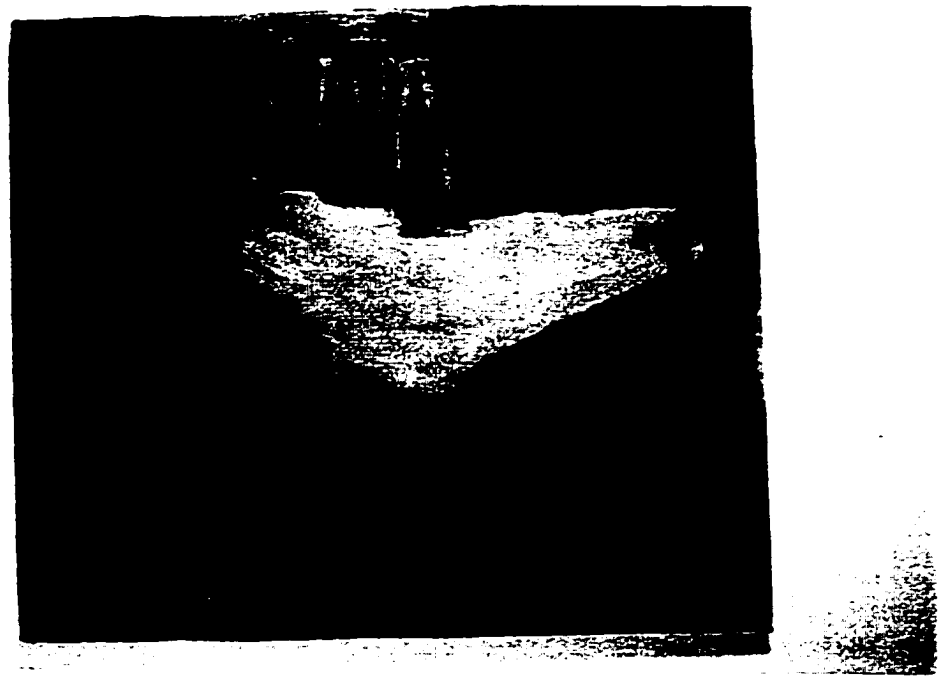


Fig. 16



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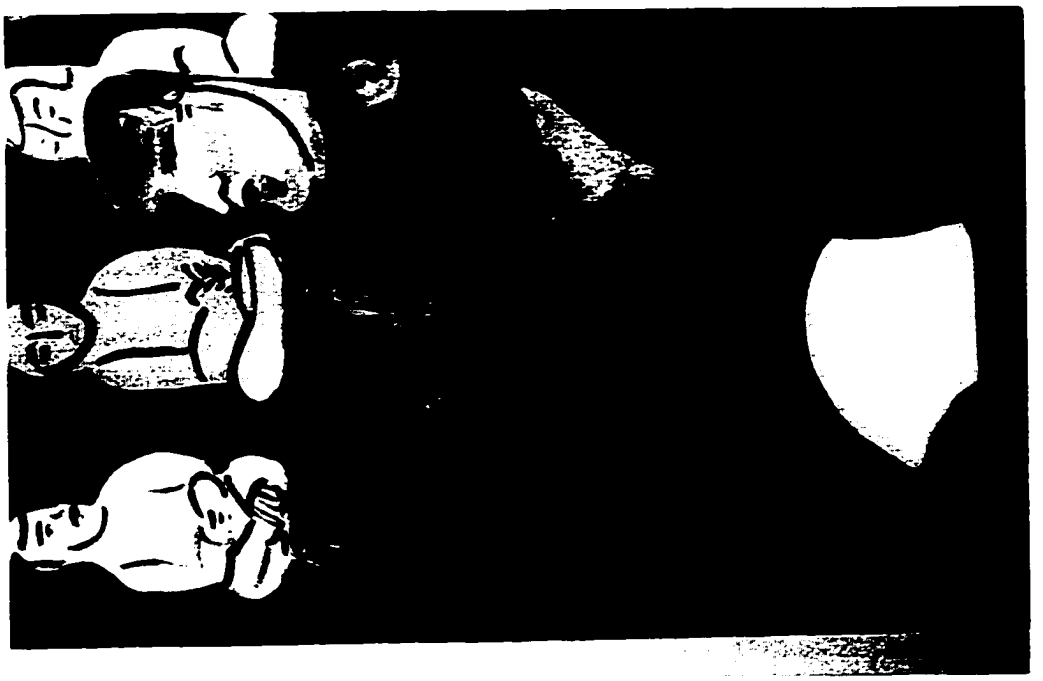


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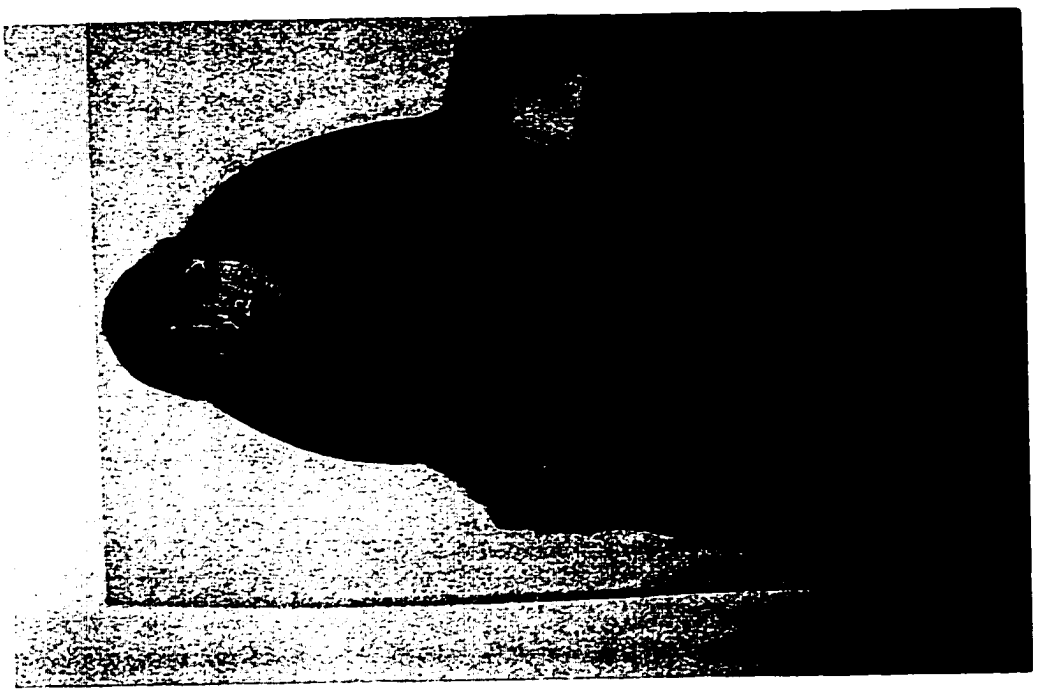


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Fig. 20

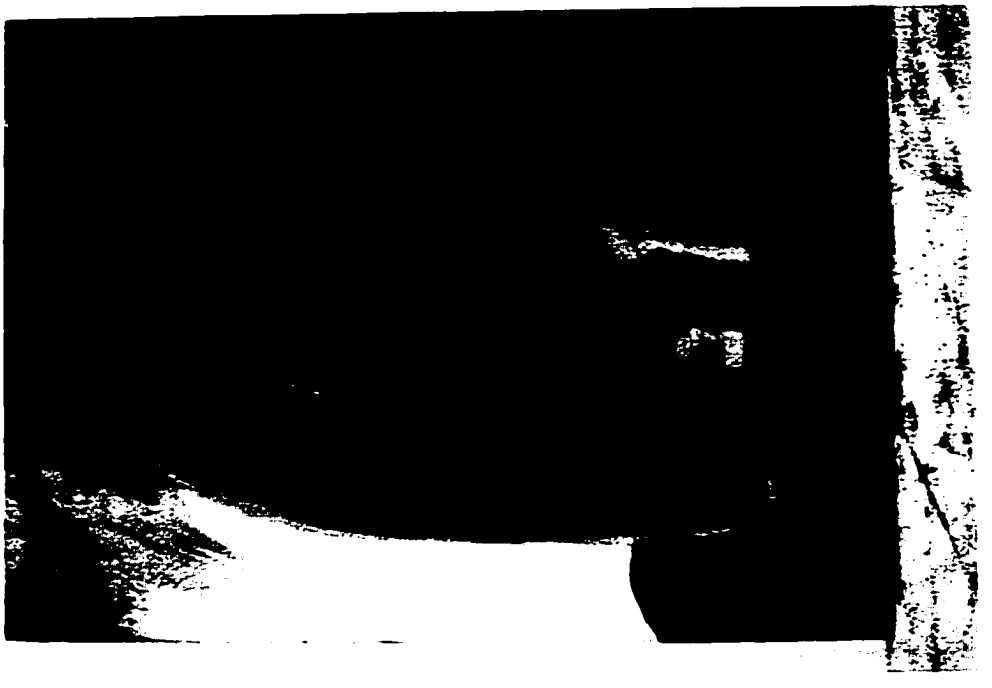


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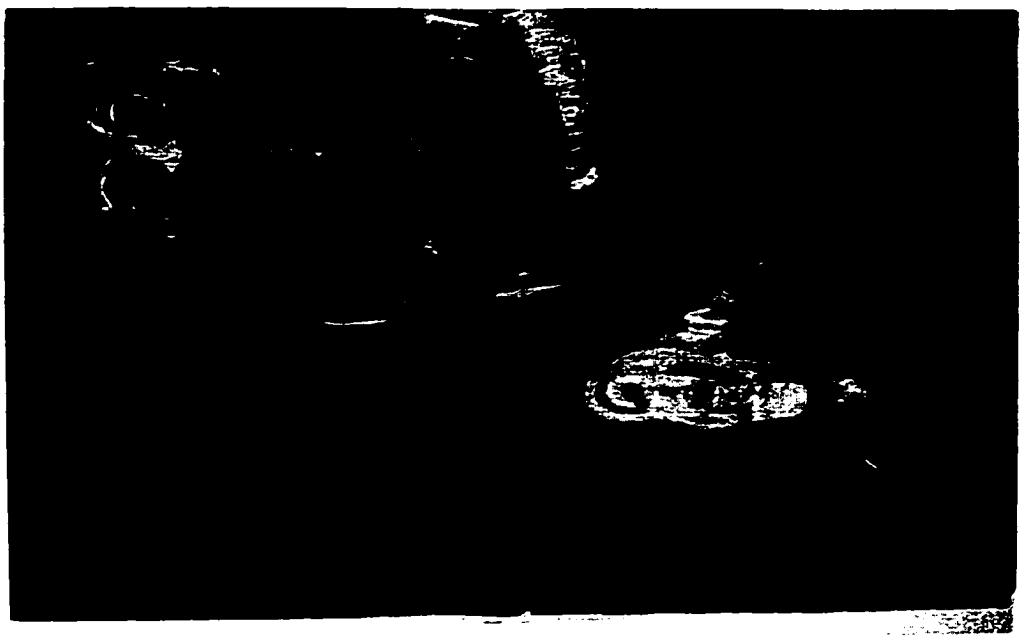


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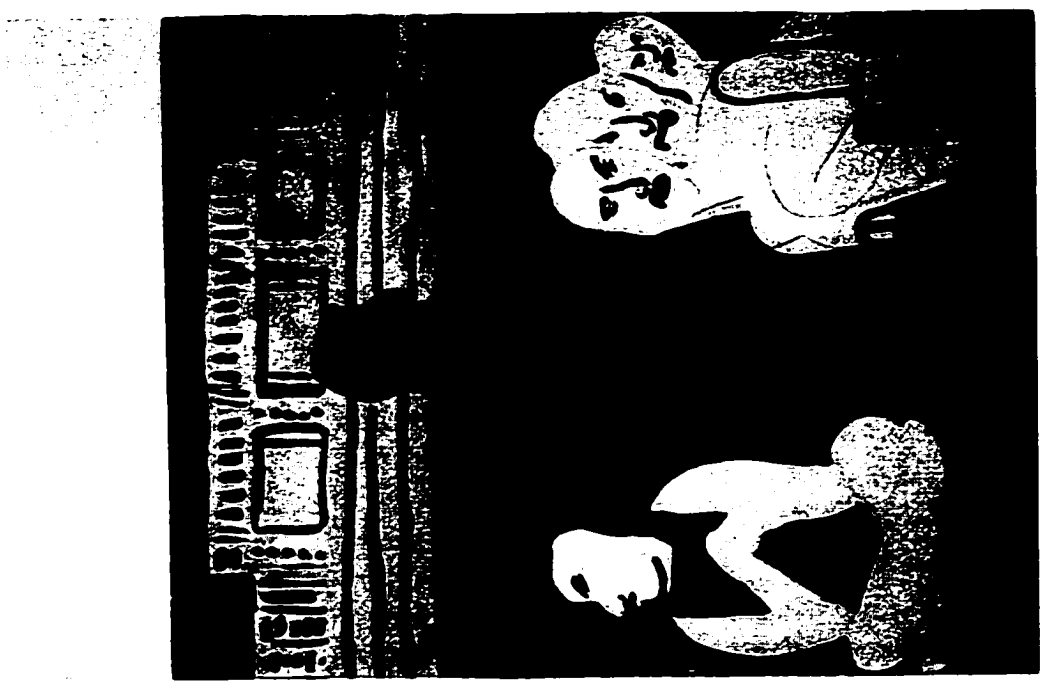


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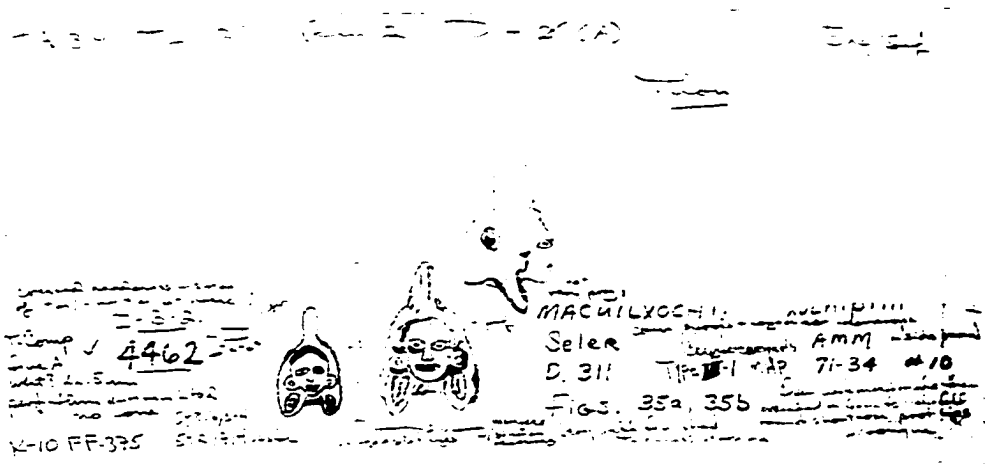


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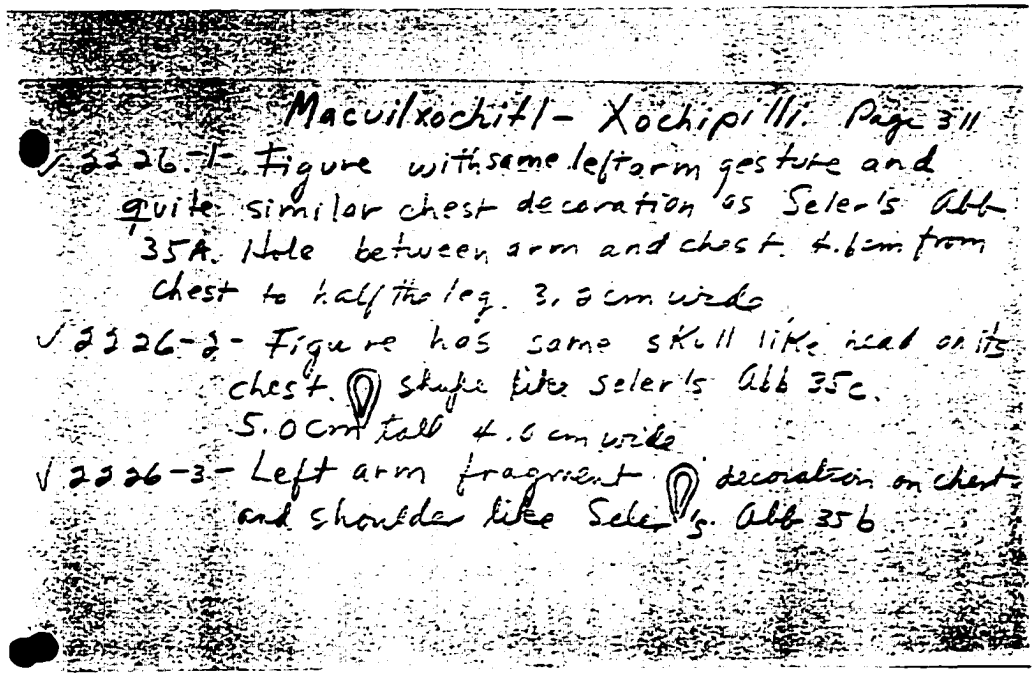


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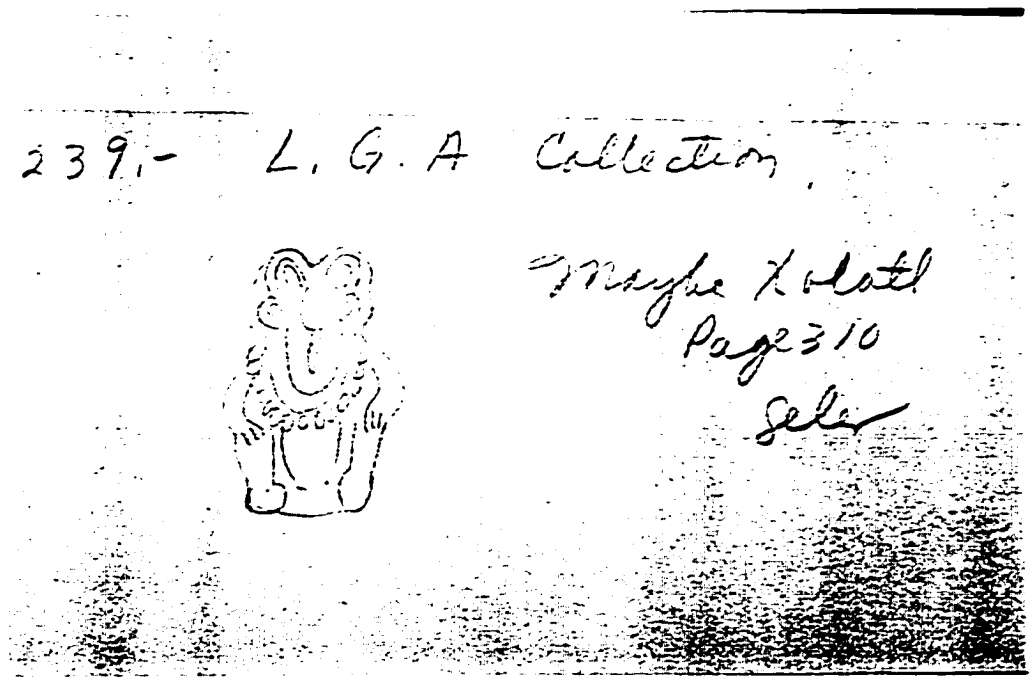


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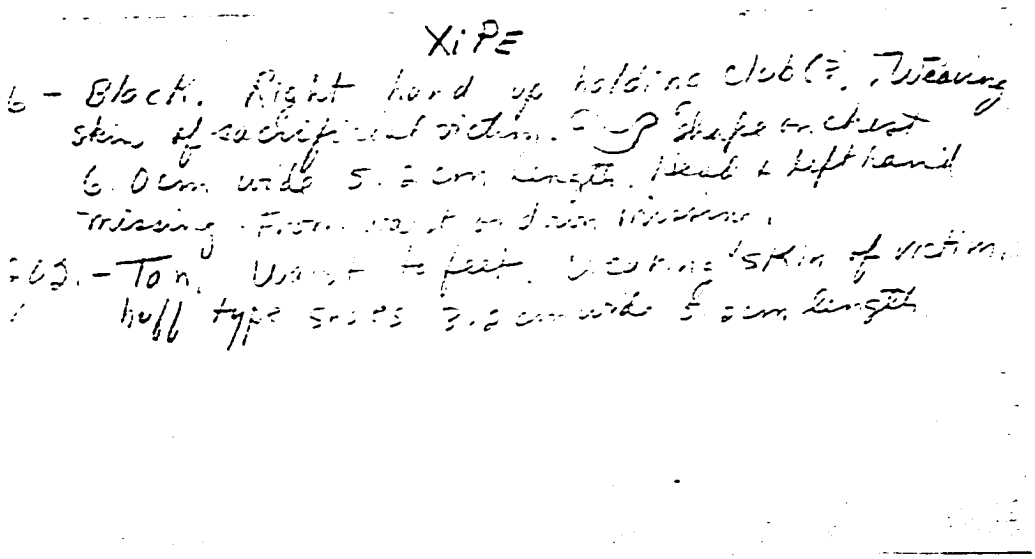


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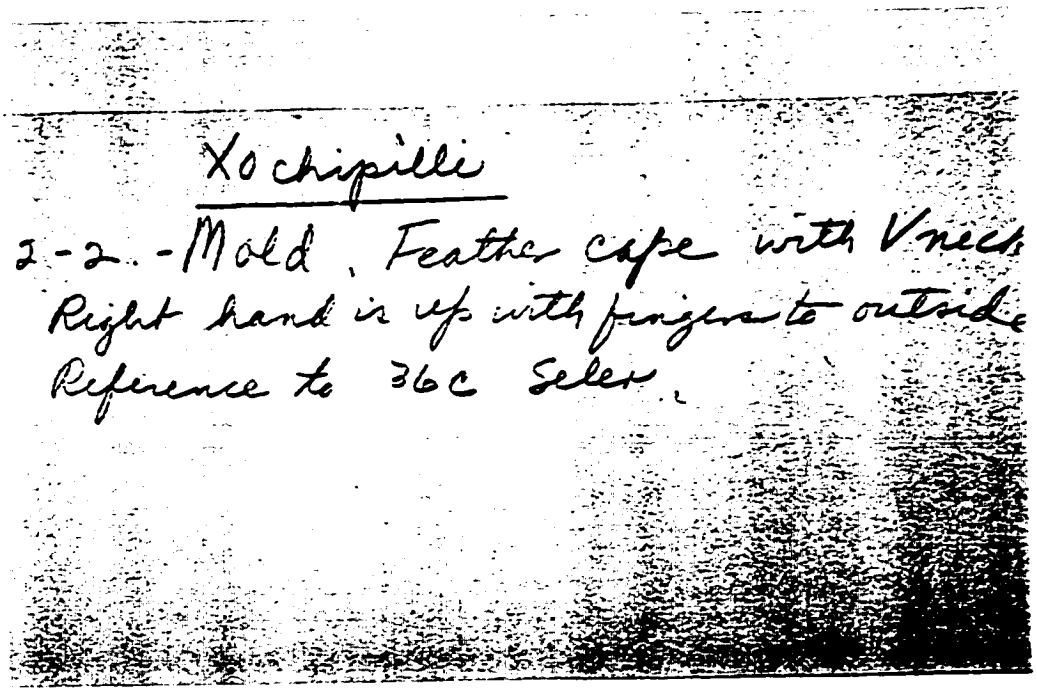


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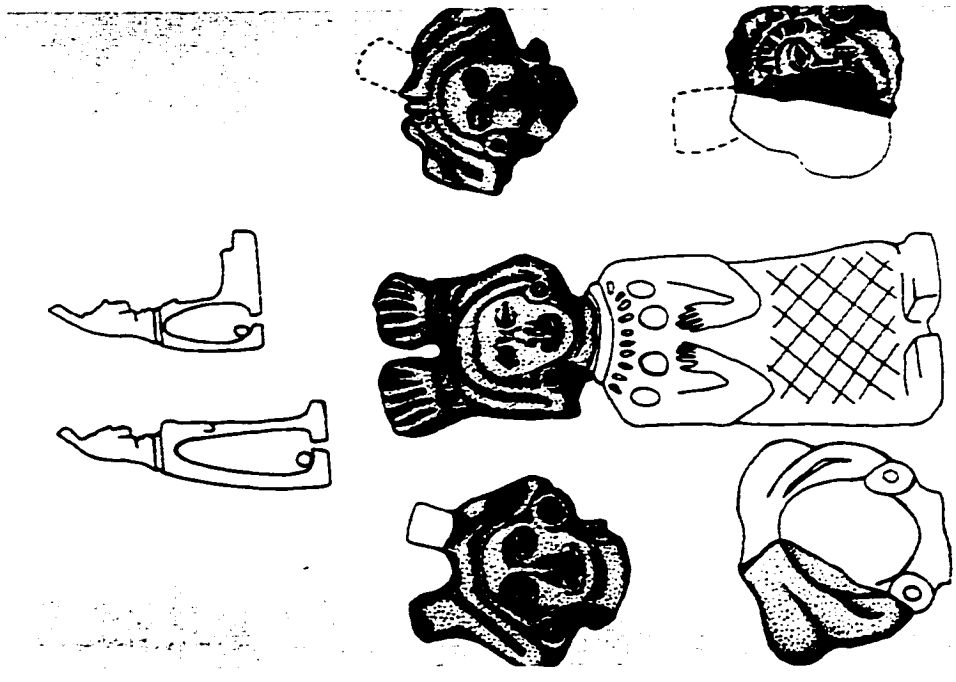


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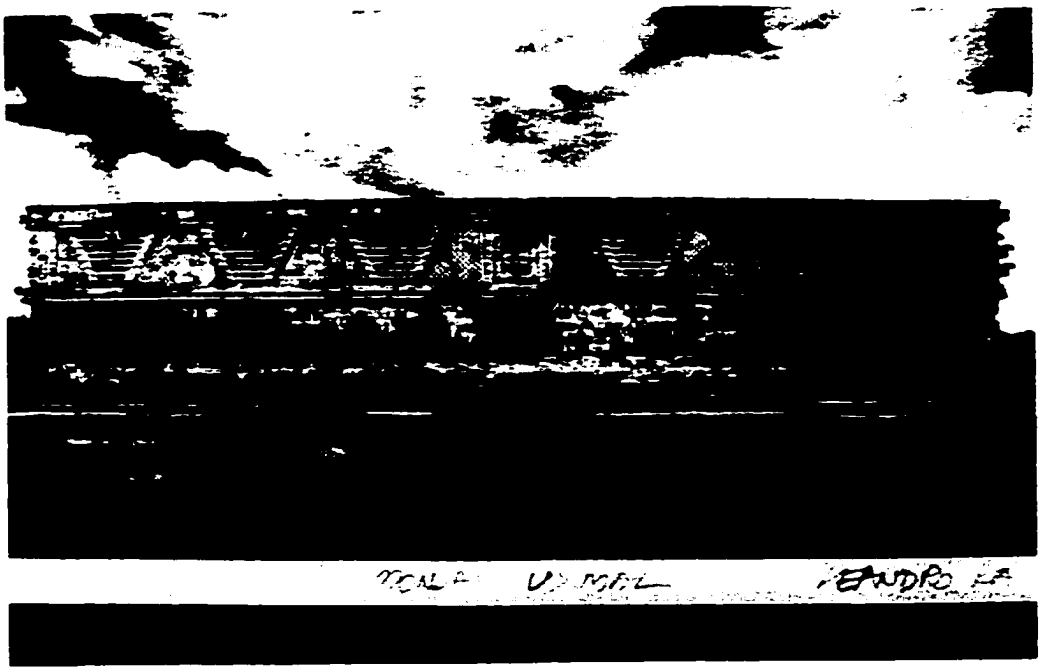


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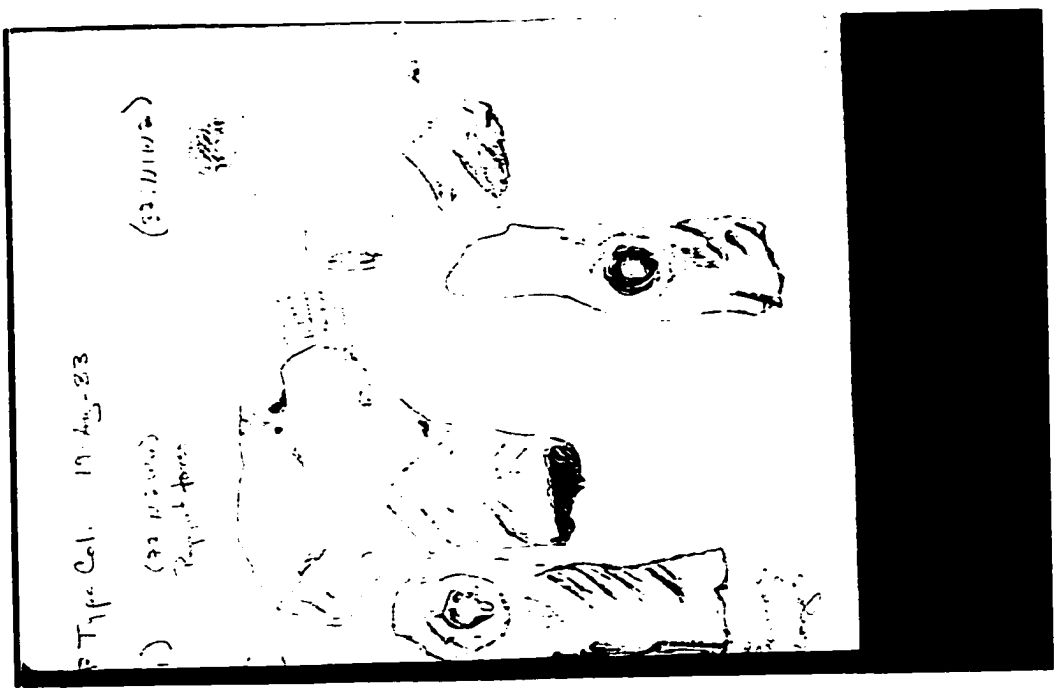


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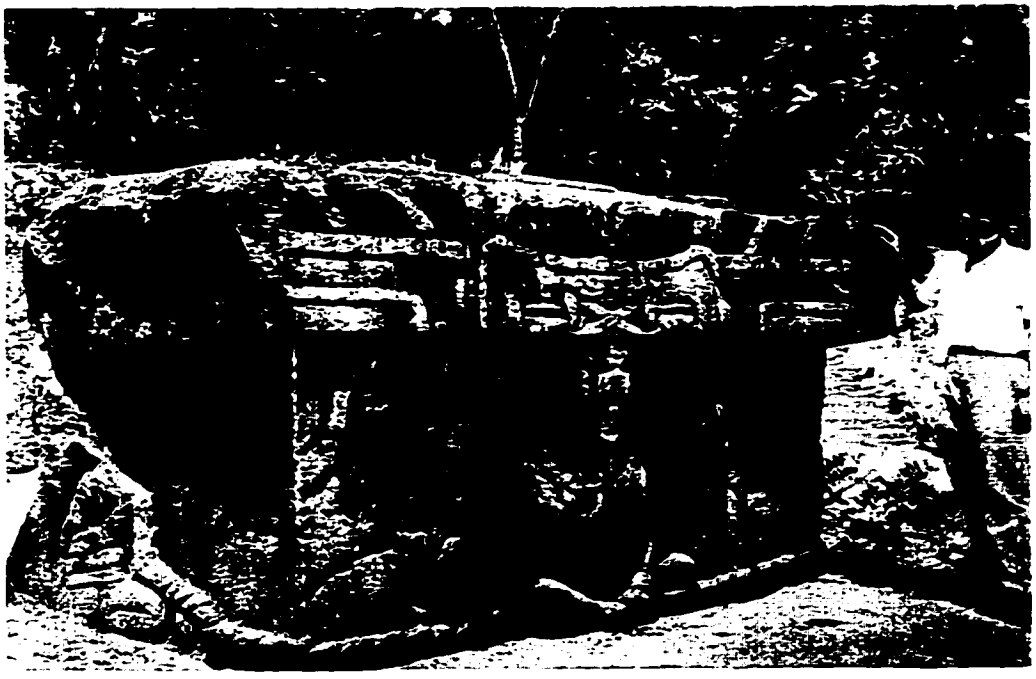


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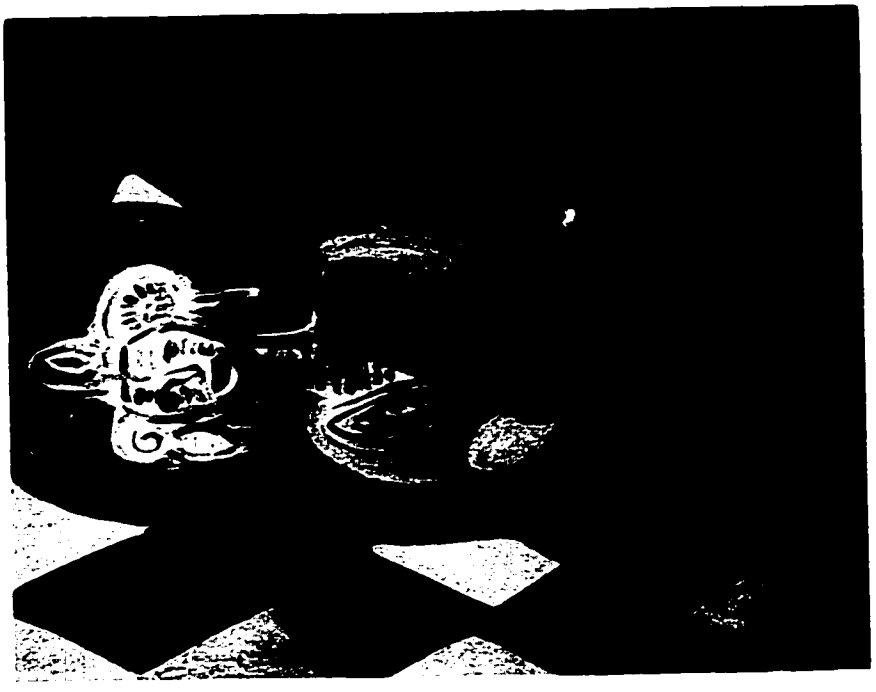


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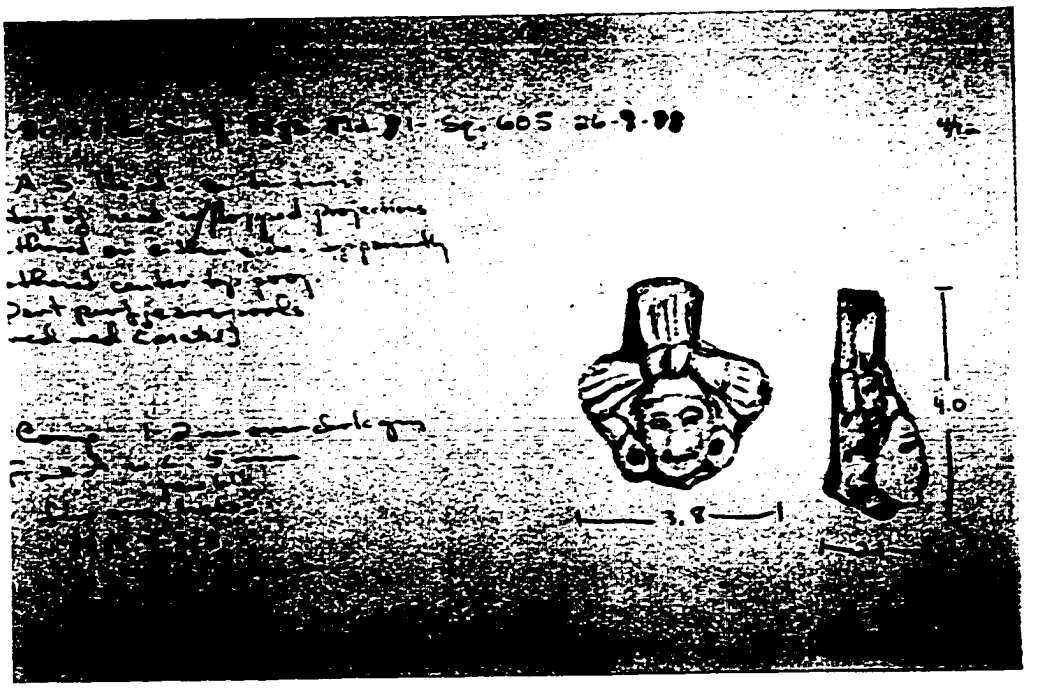


Fig. 34



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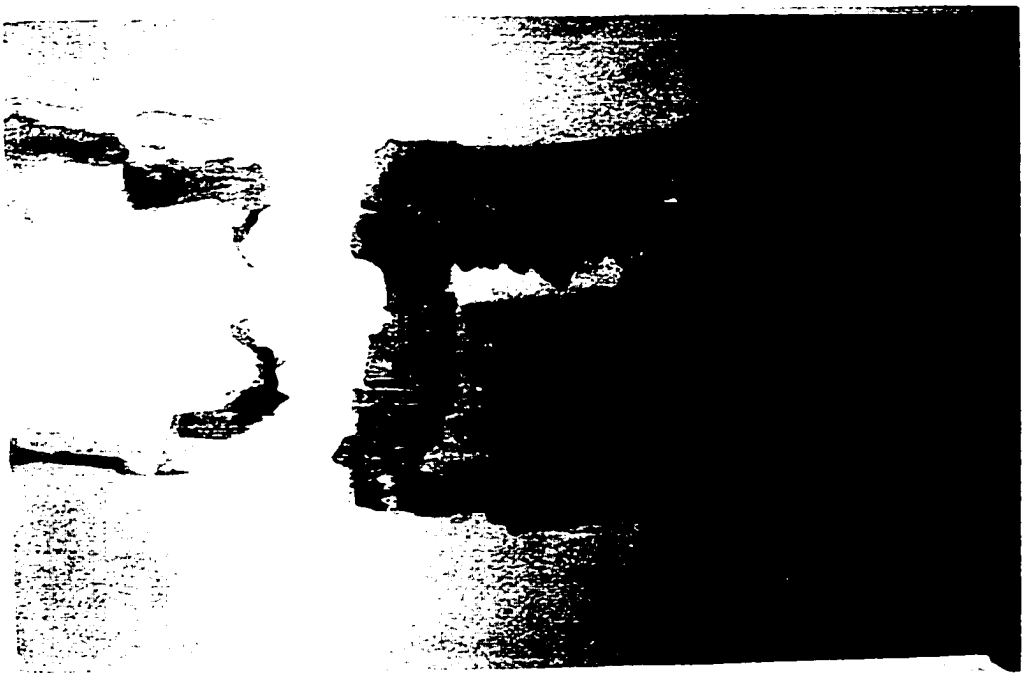


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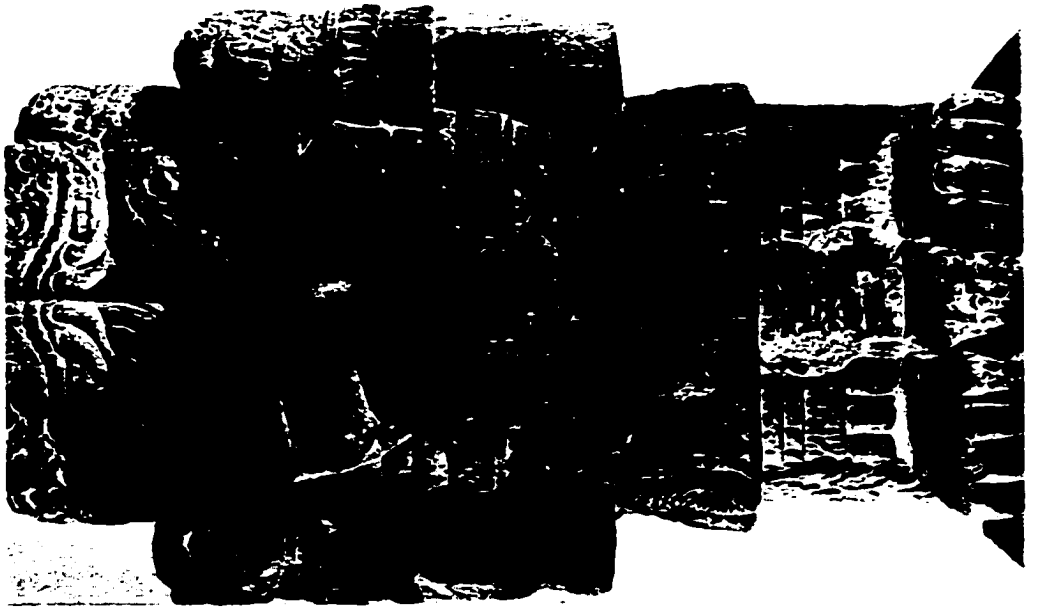


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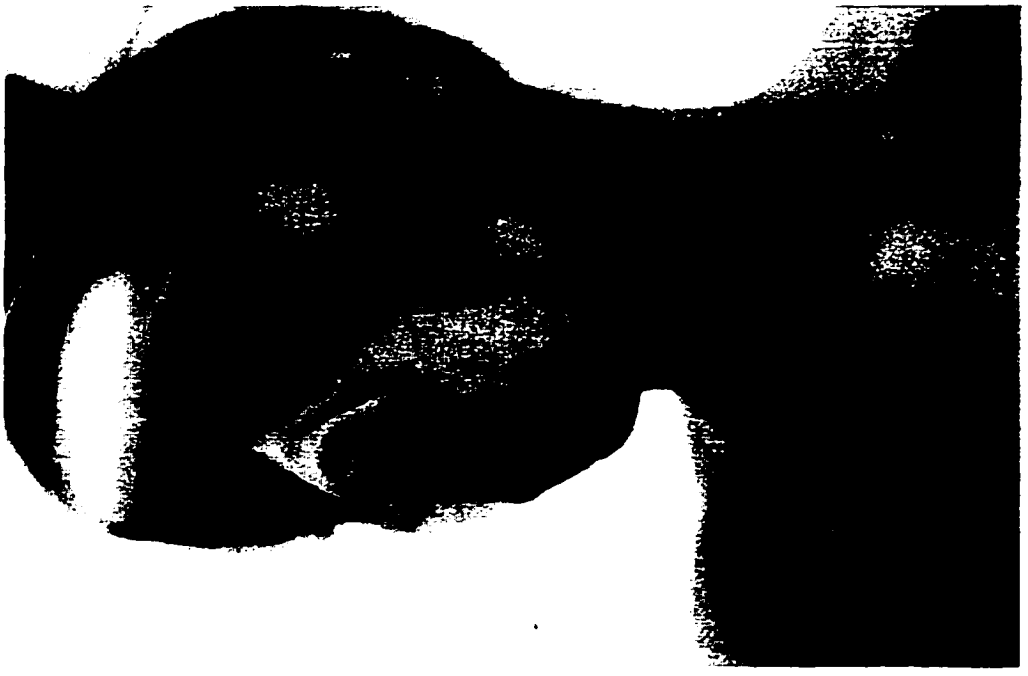


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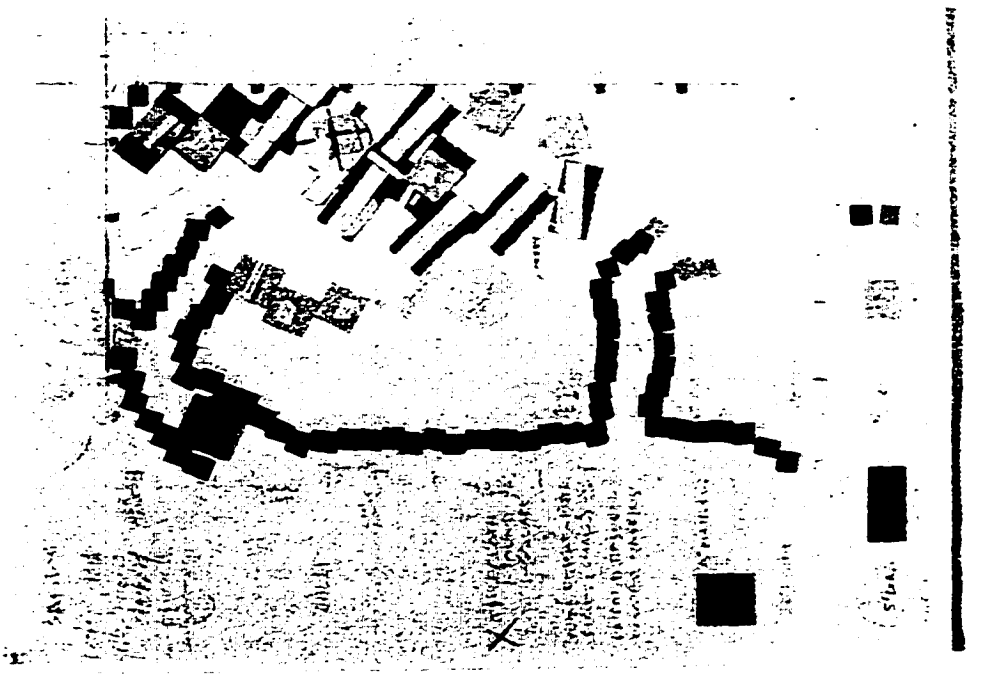


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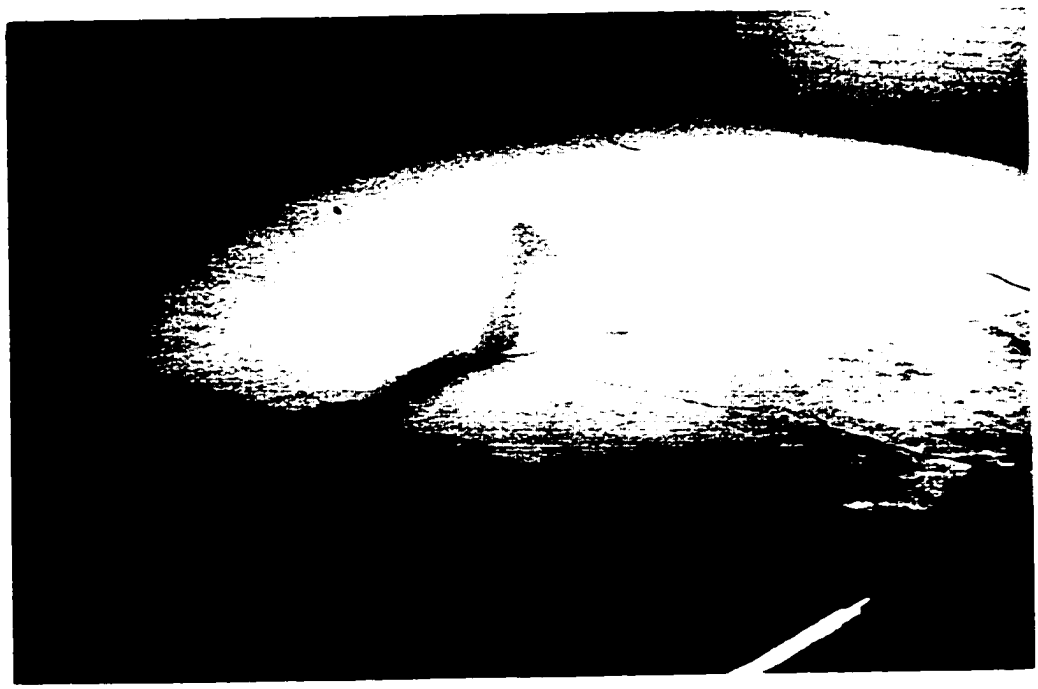


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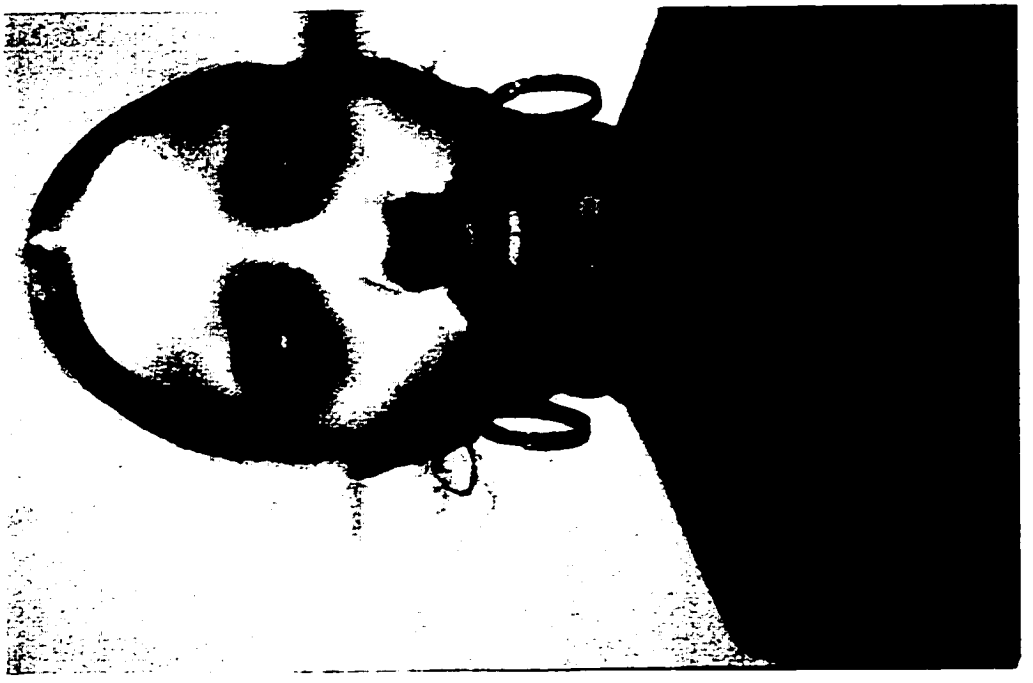


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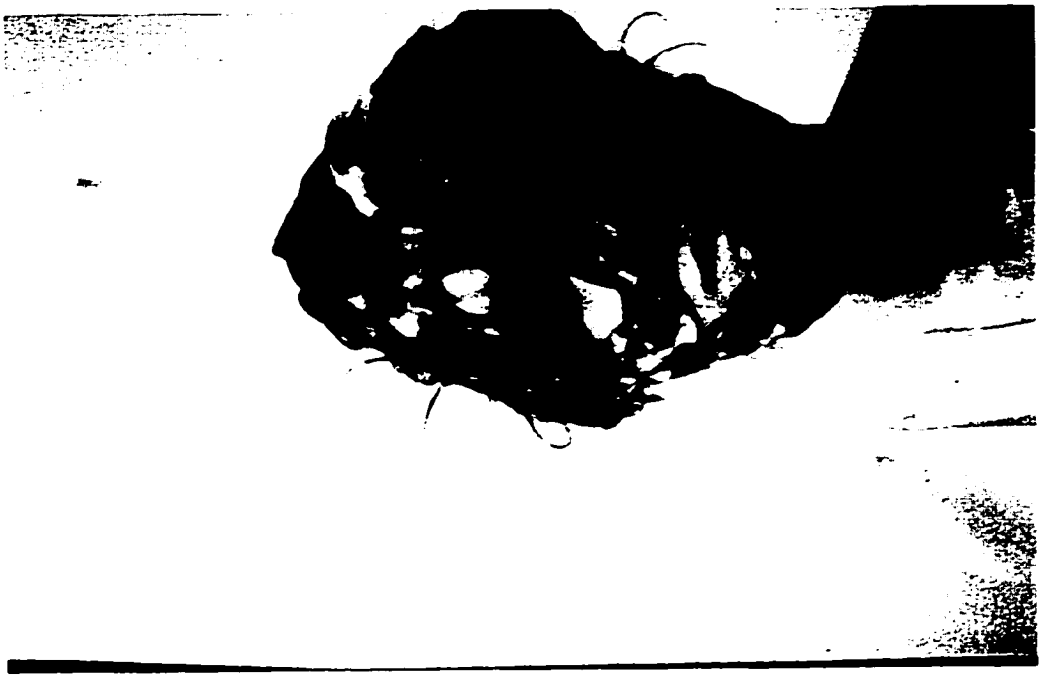


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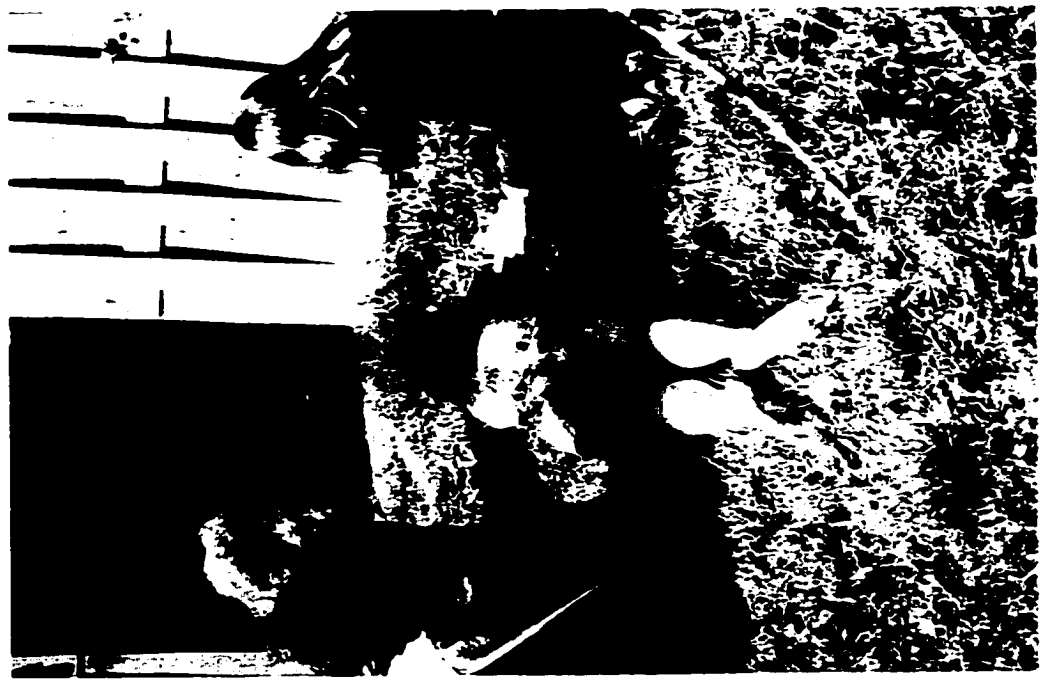


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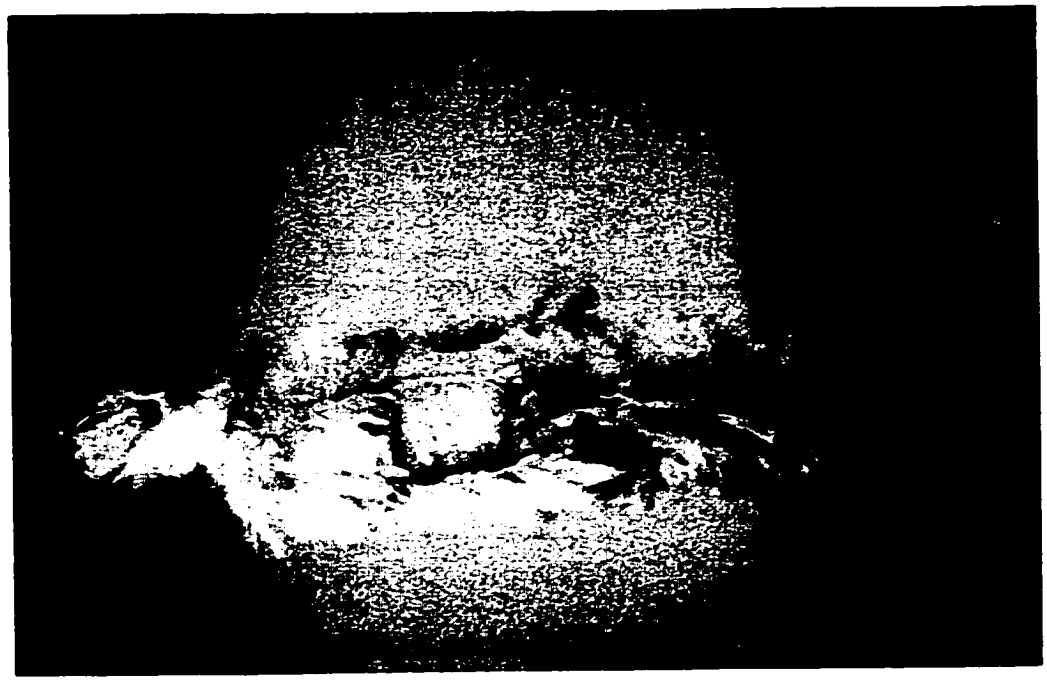


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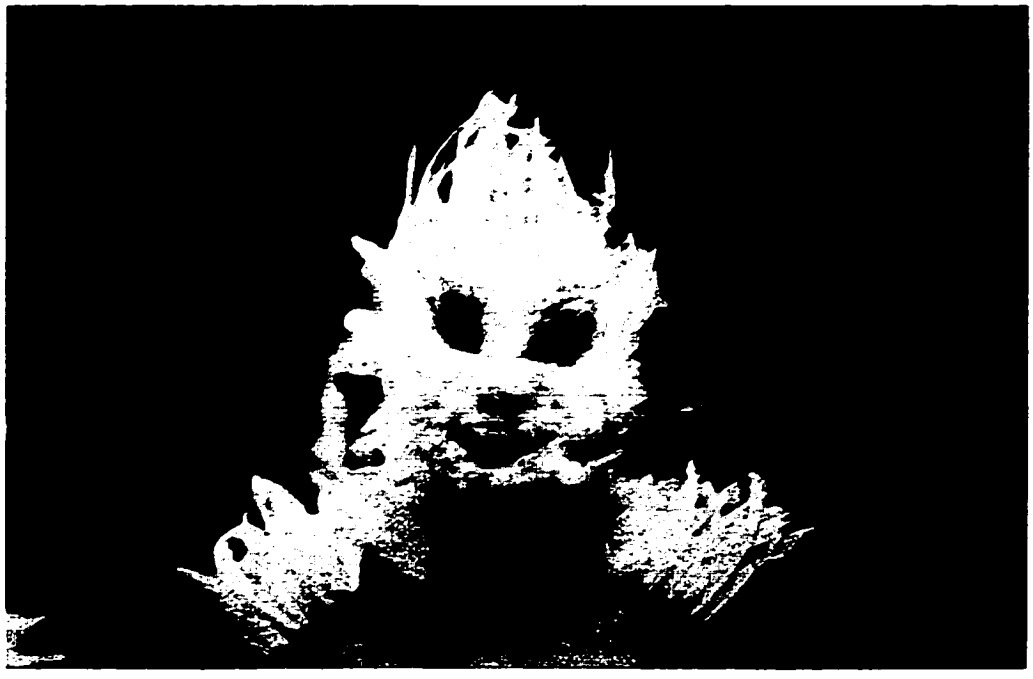


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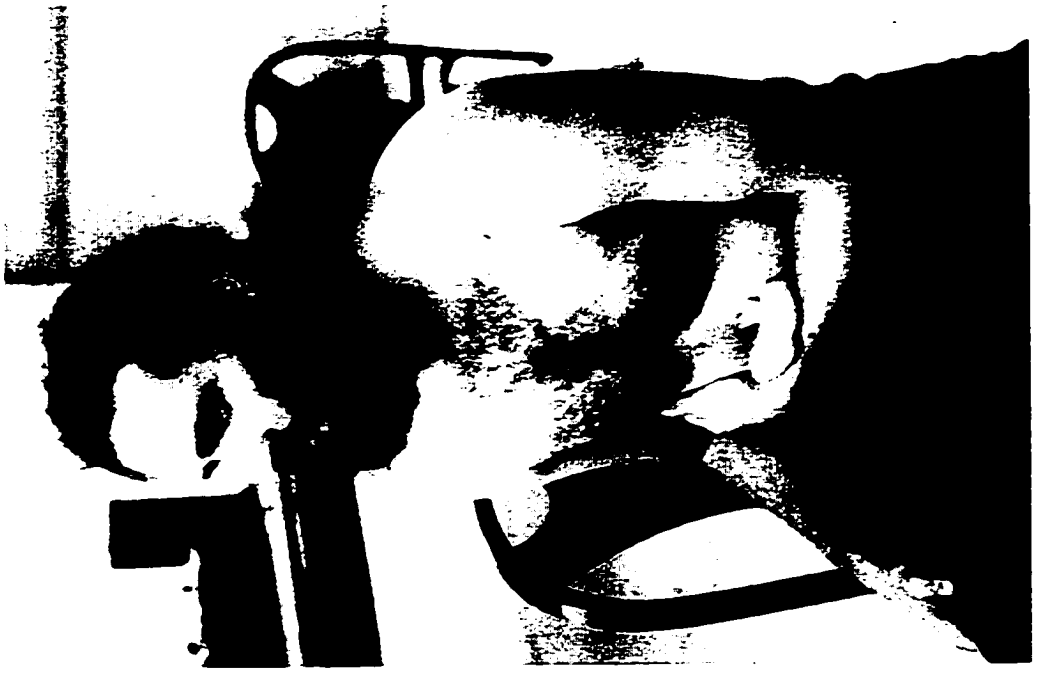


Fig. 74



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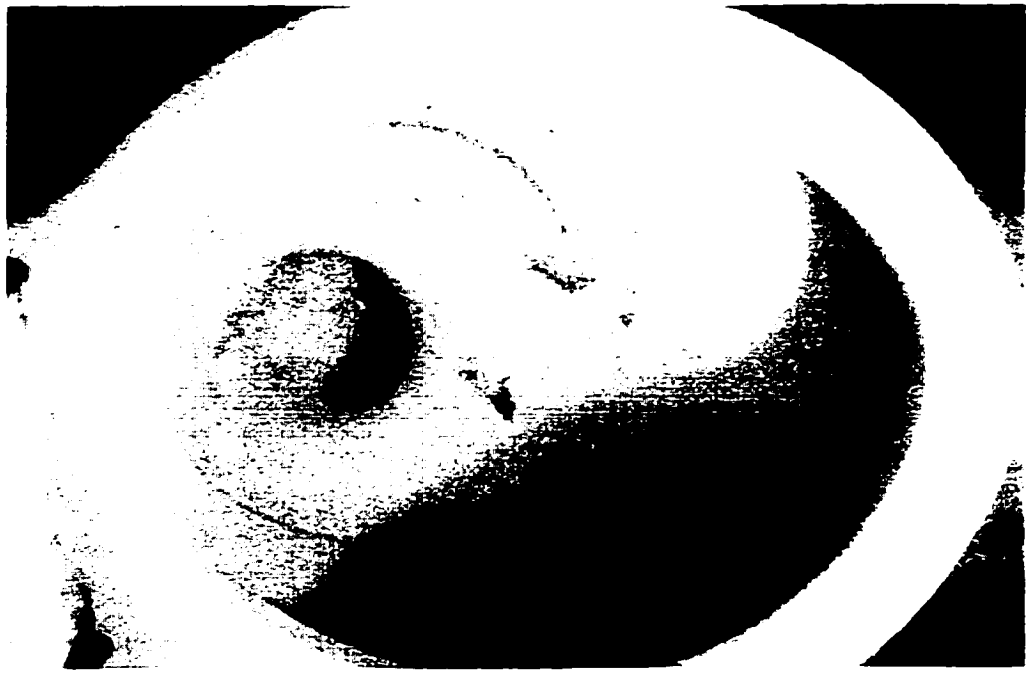


Fig. 76



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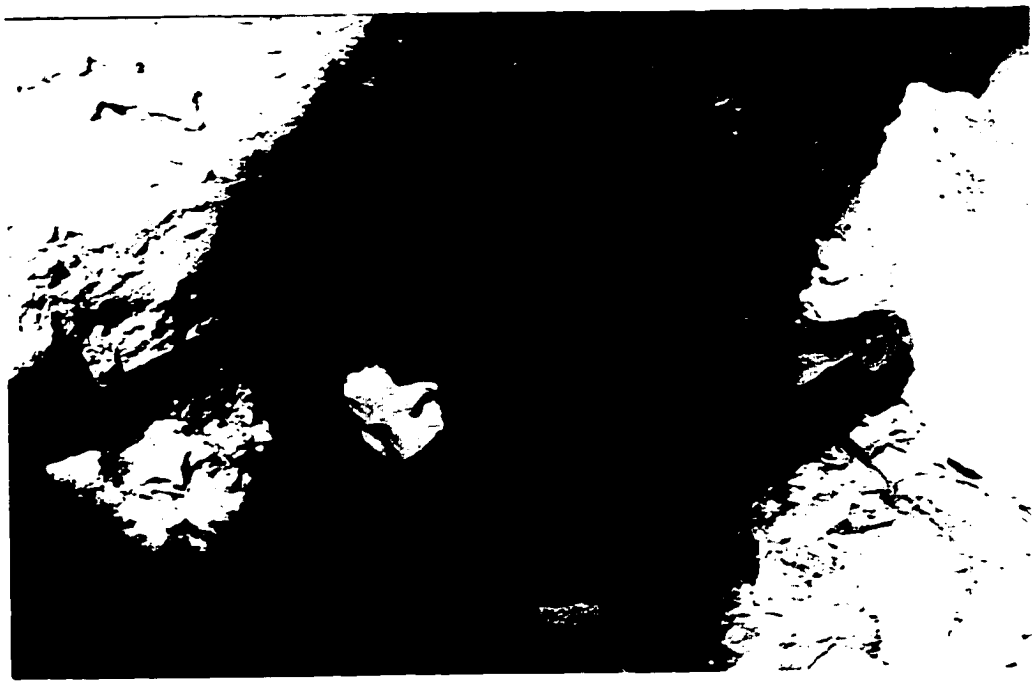


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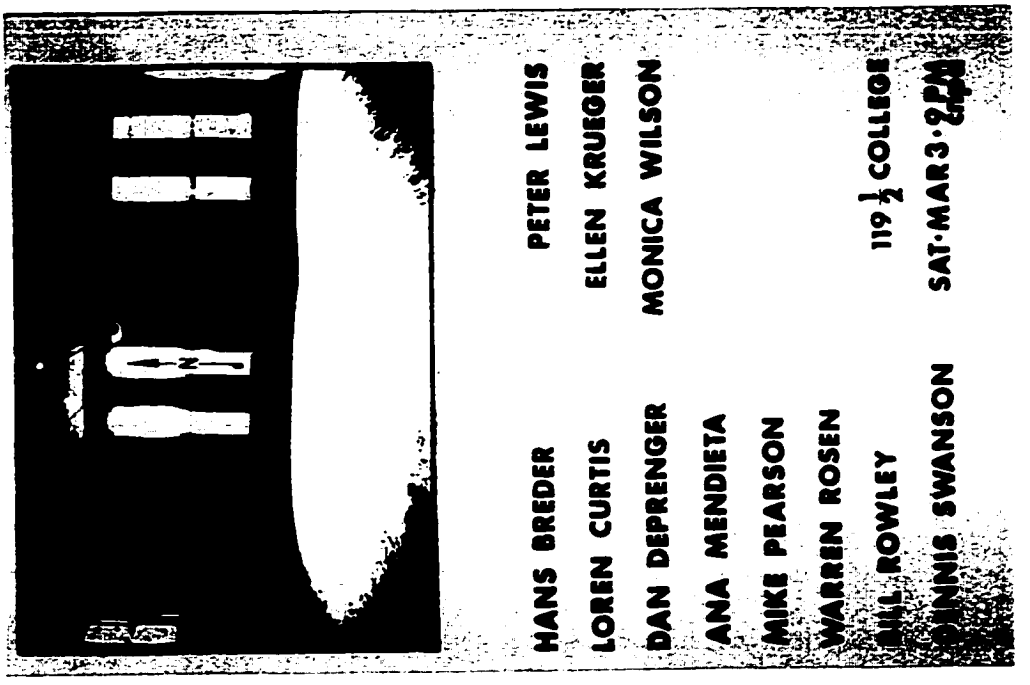


Fig. 84

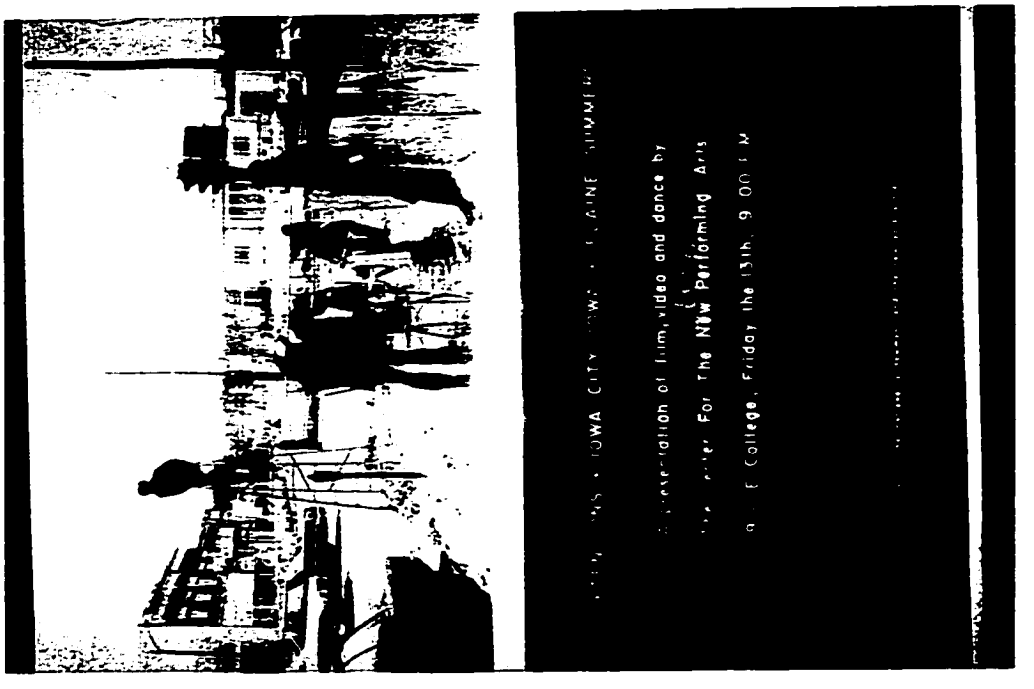


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Fig. 86



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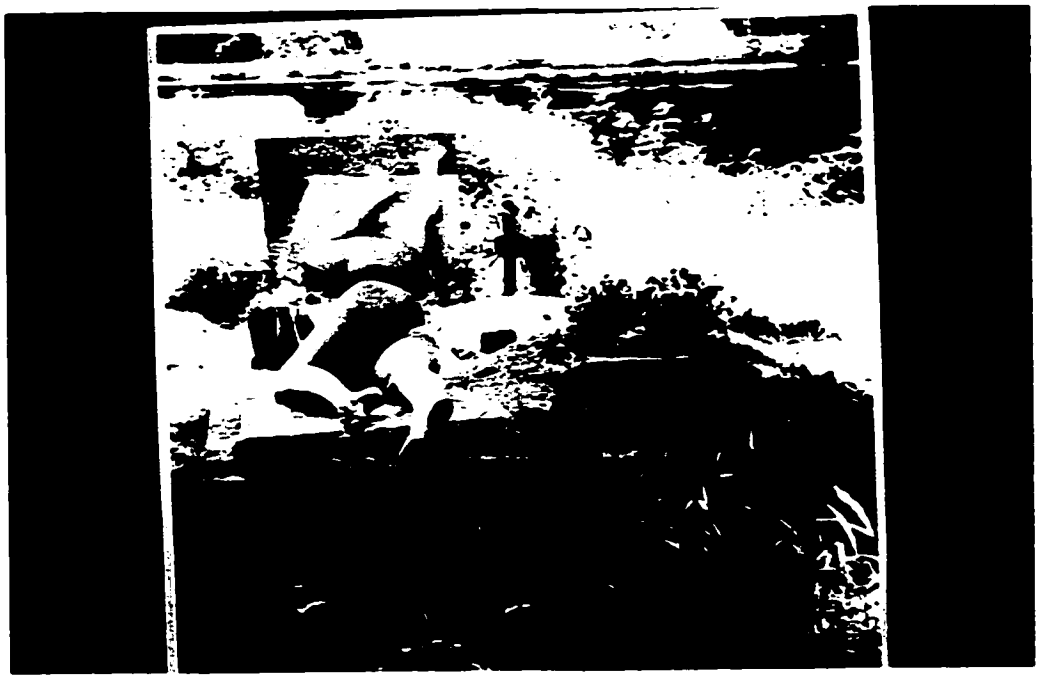


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Fig. 90

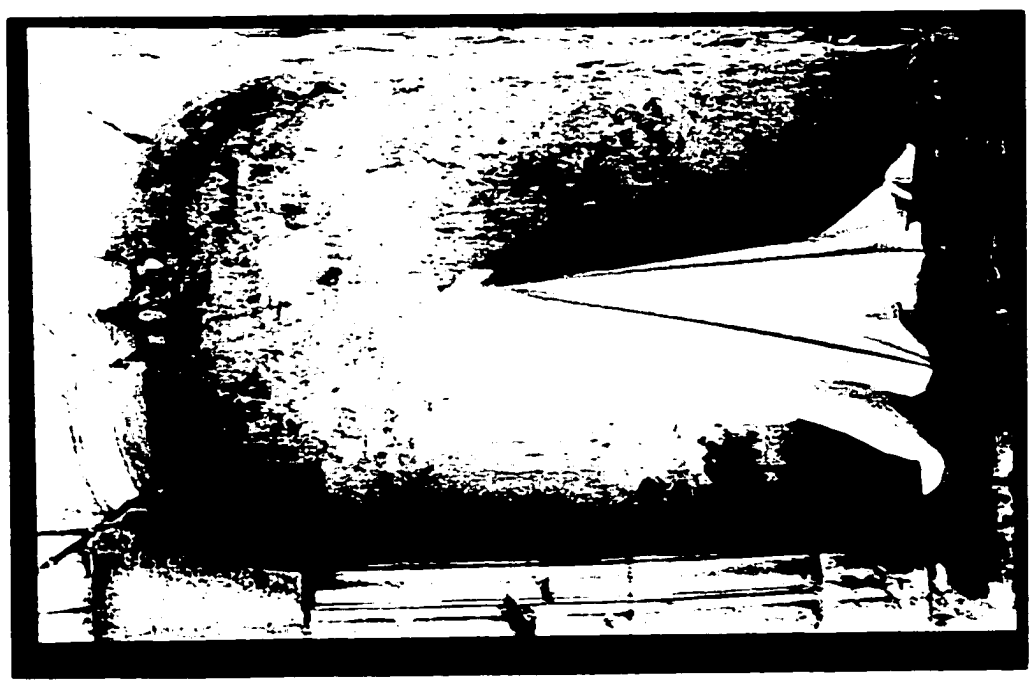


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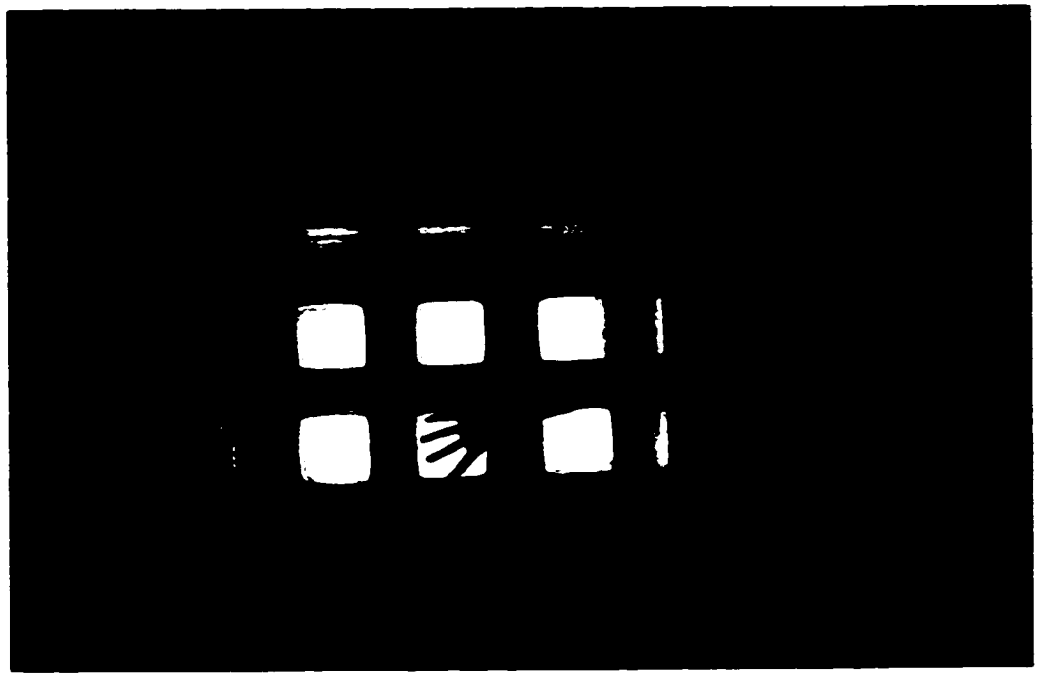


Fig. 97

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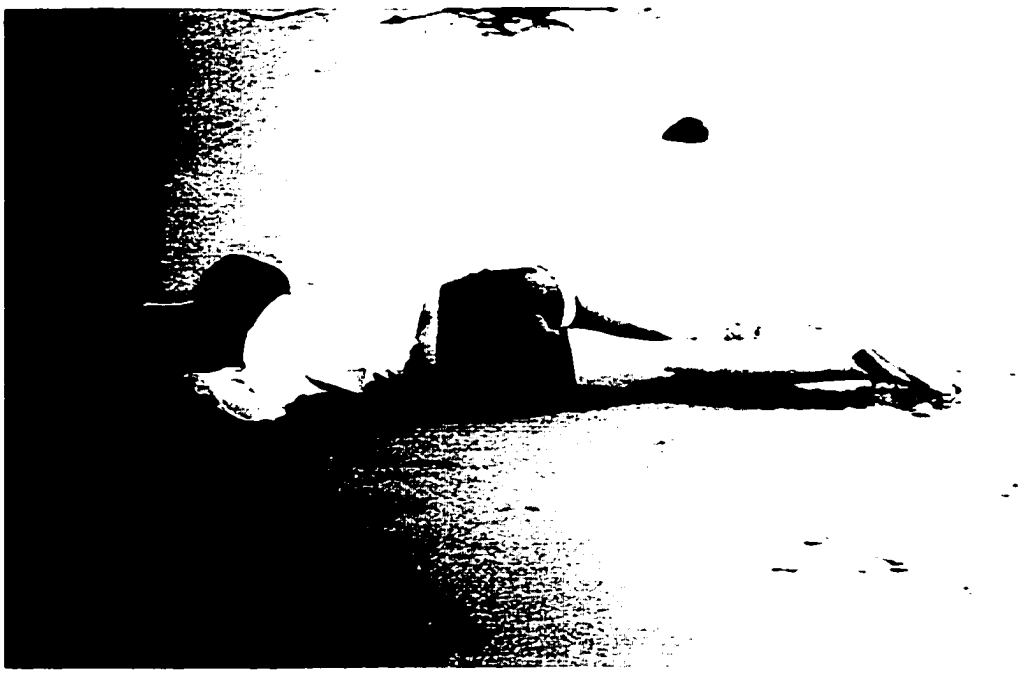


Fig. 98



Fig. 99

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Fig. 100

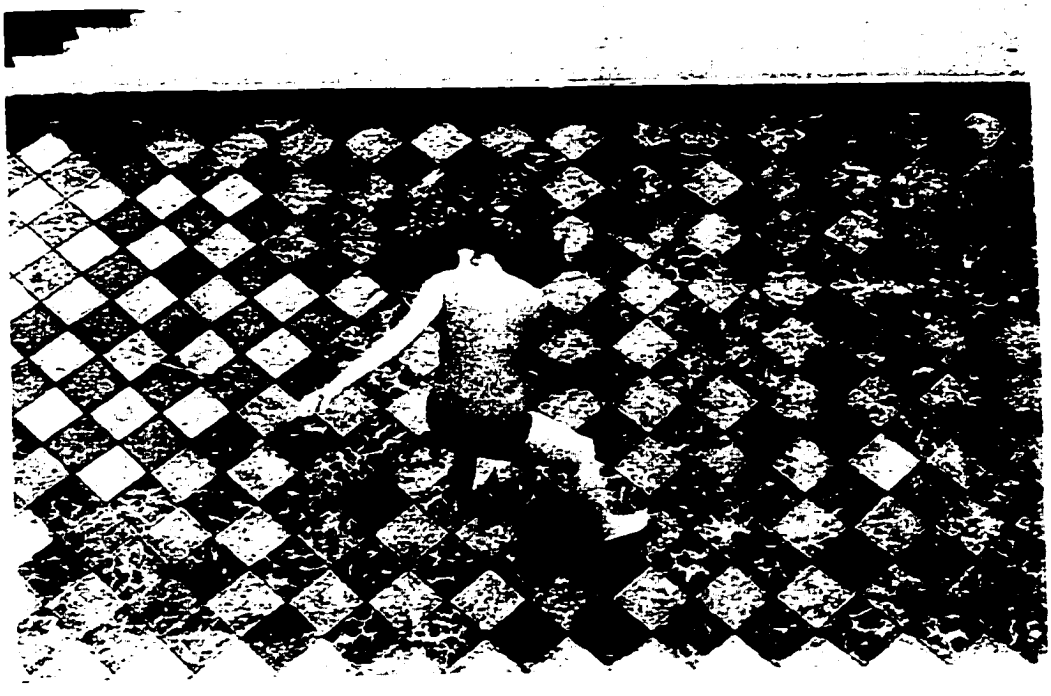


Fig. 101

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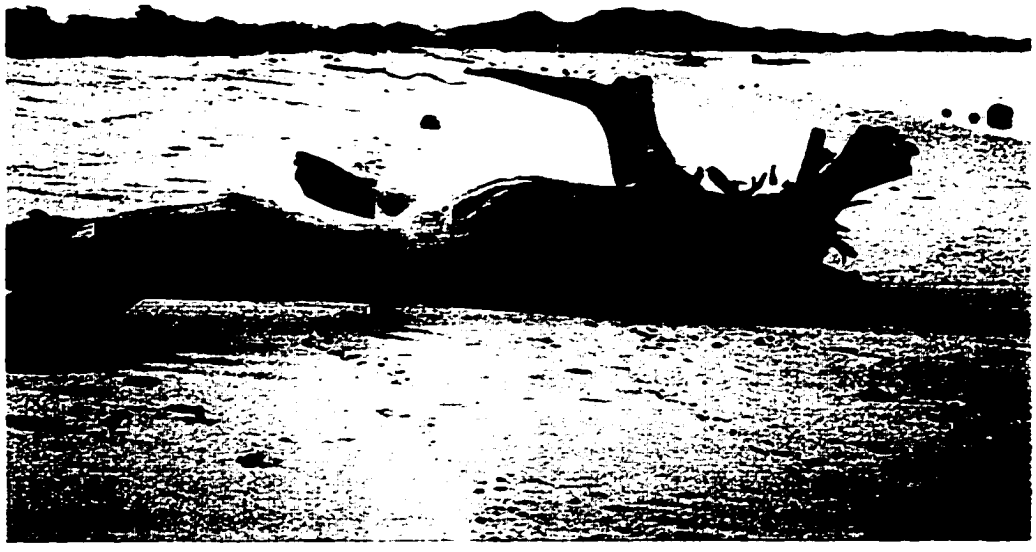


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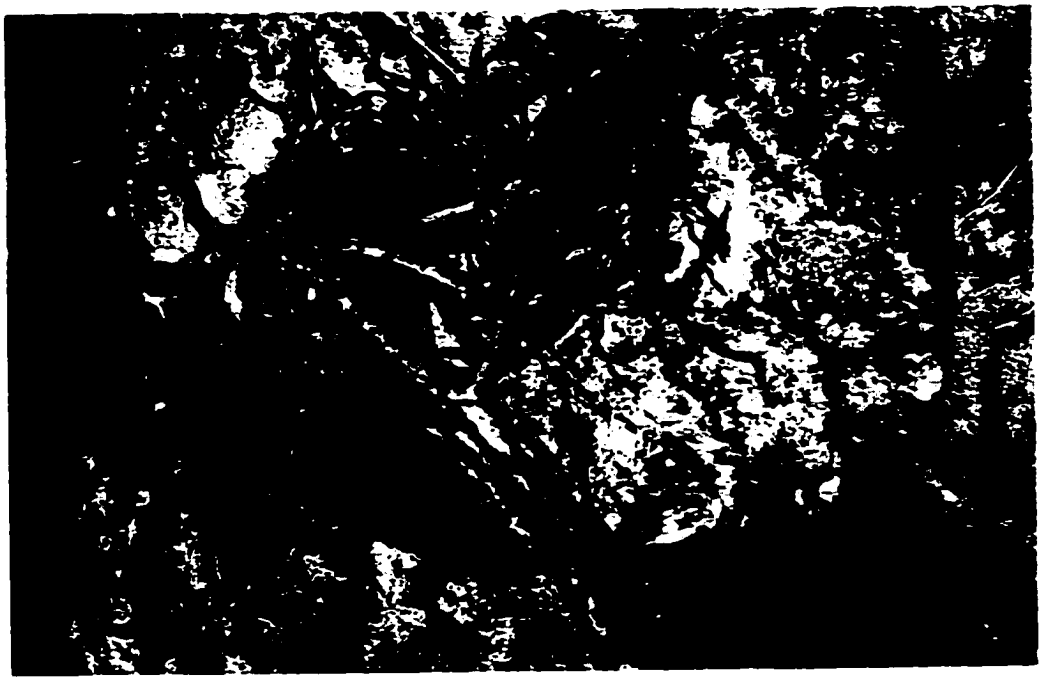


Fig. 103

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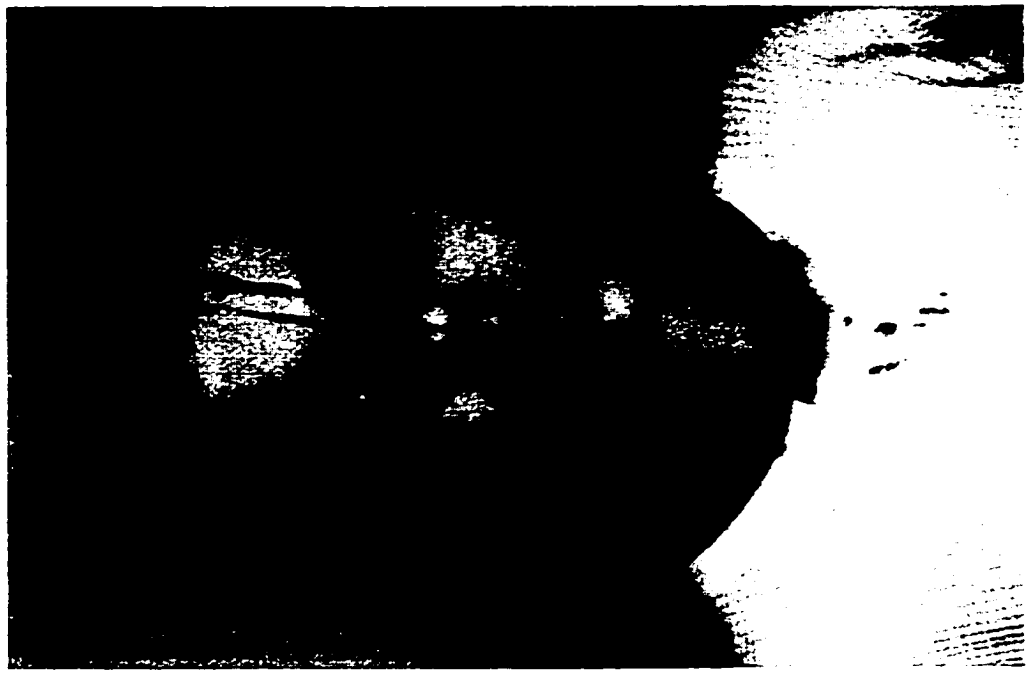


Fig. 104



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Fig. 106



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Fig. 108



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Fig. 110



Fig. 111

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Fig. 112

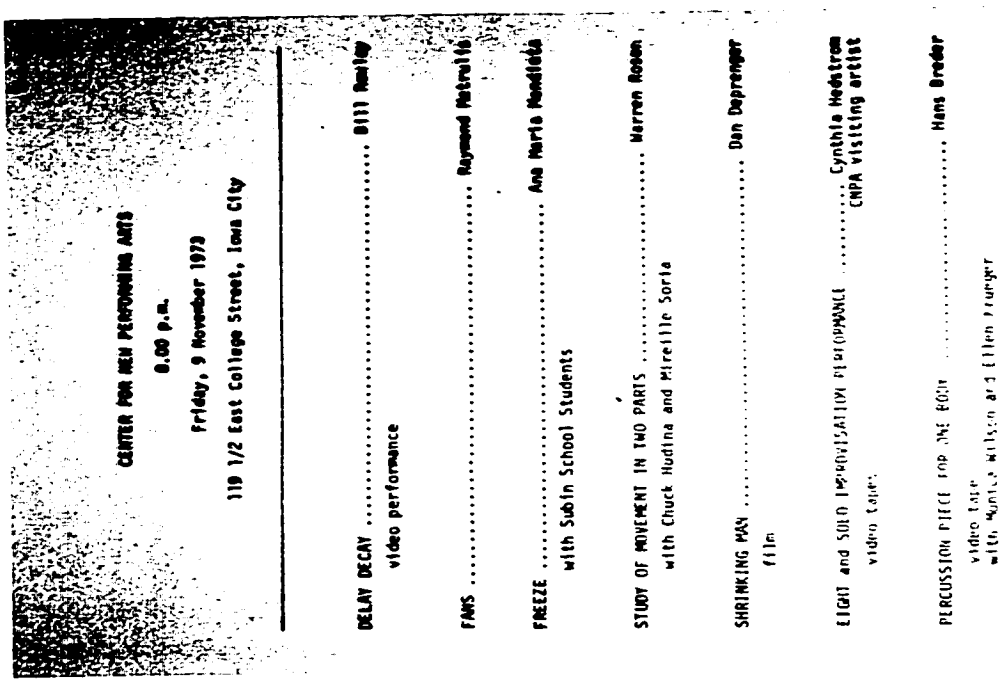


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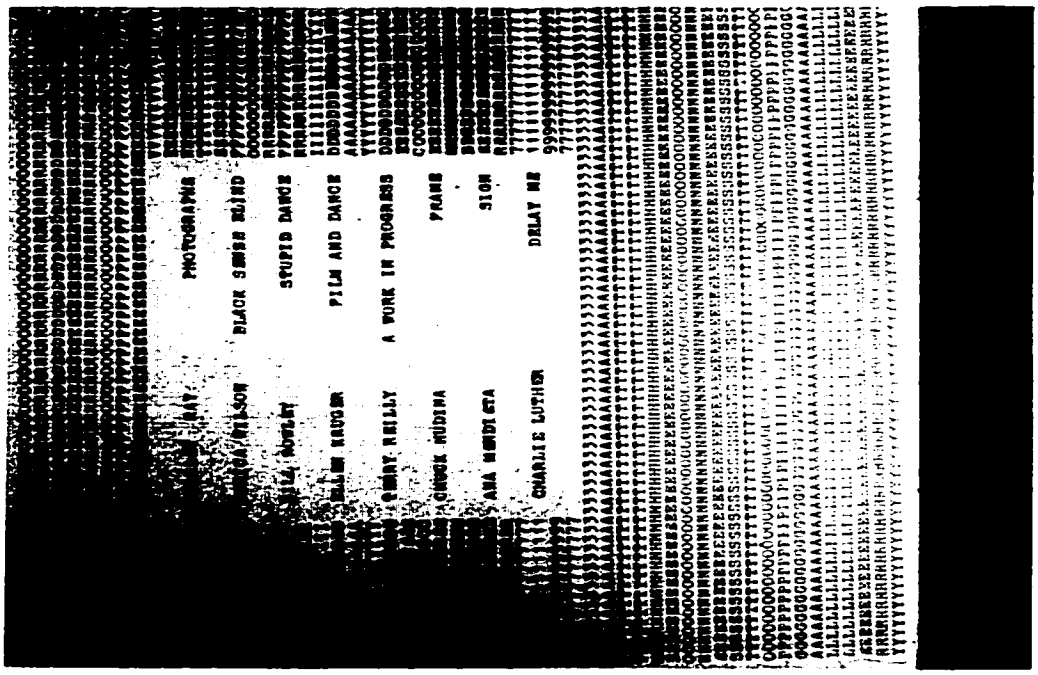


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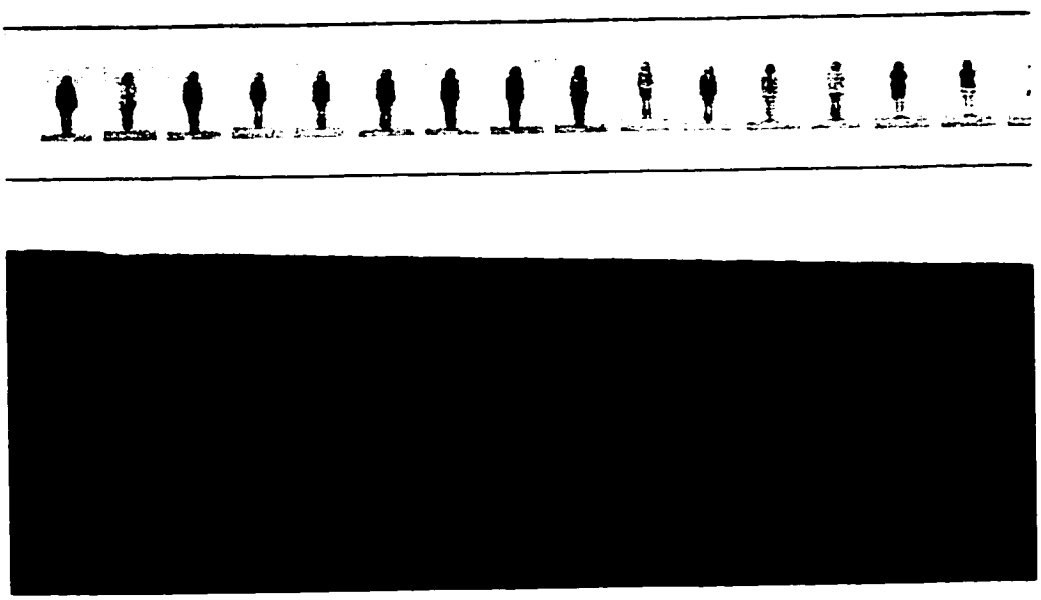


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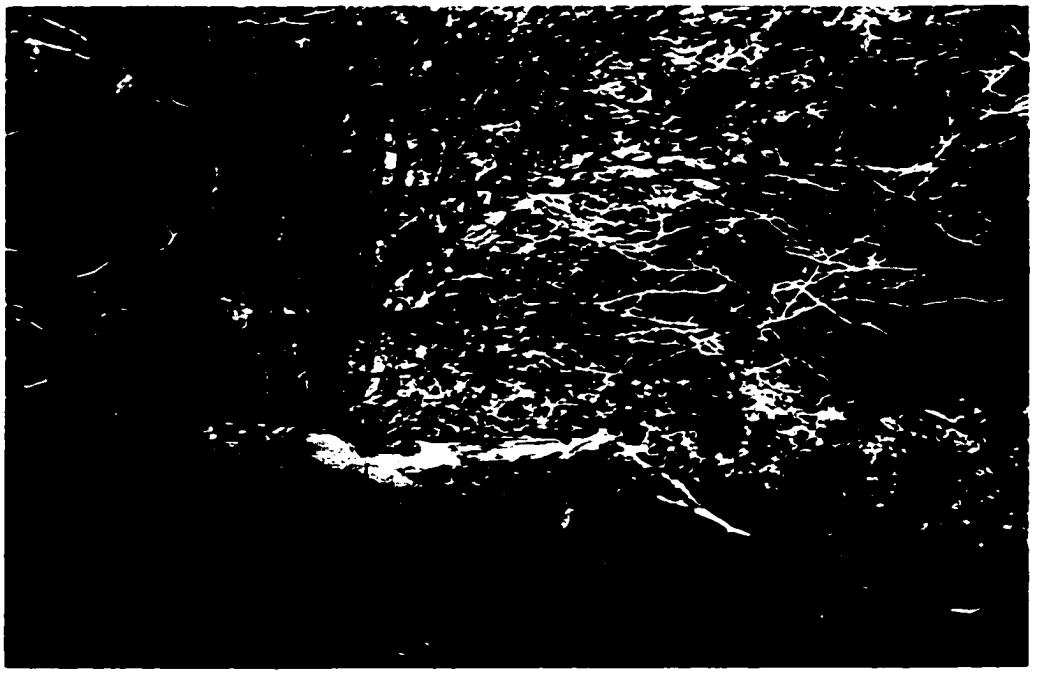


Fig. 116



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Fig. 118



Fig. 119

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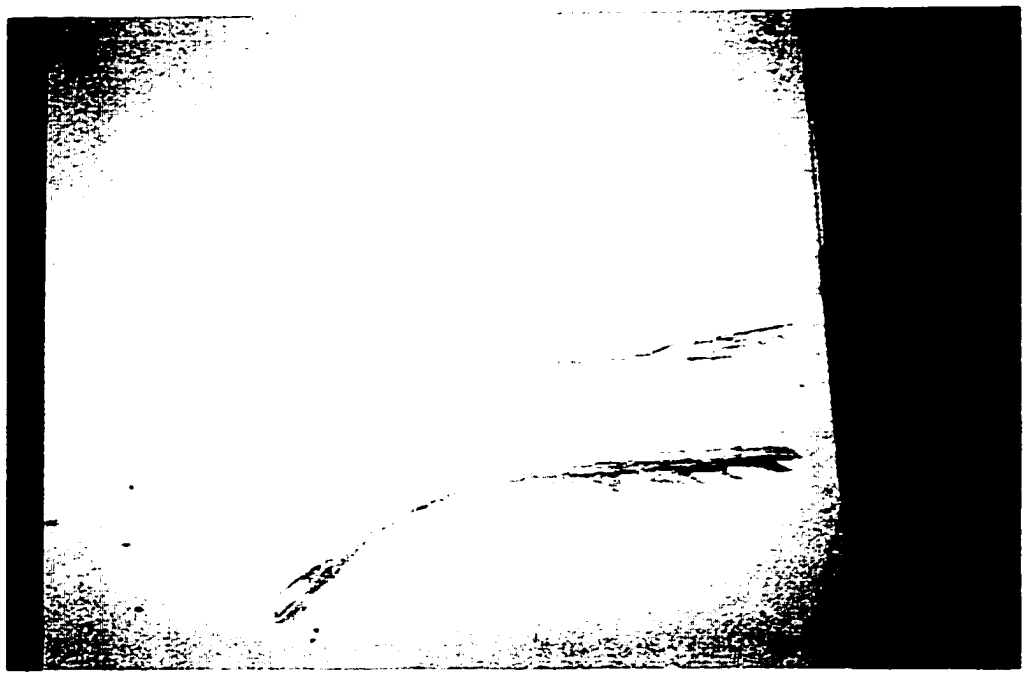


Fig. 120

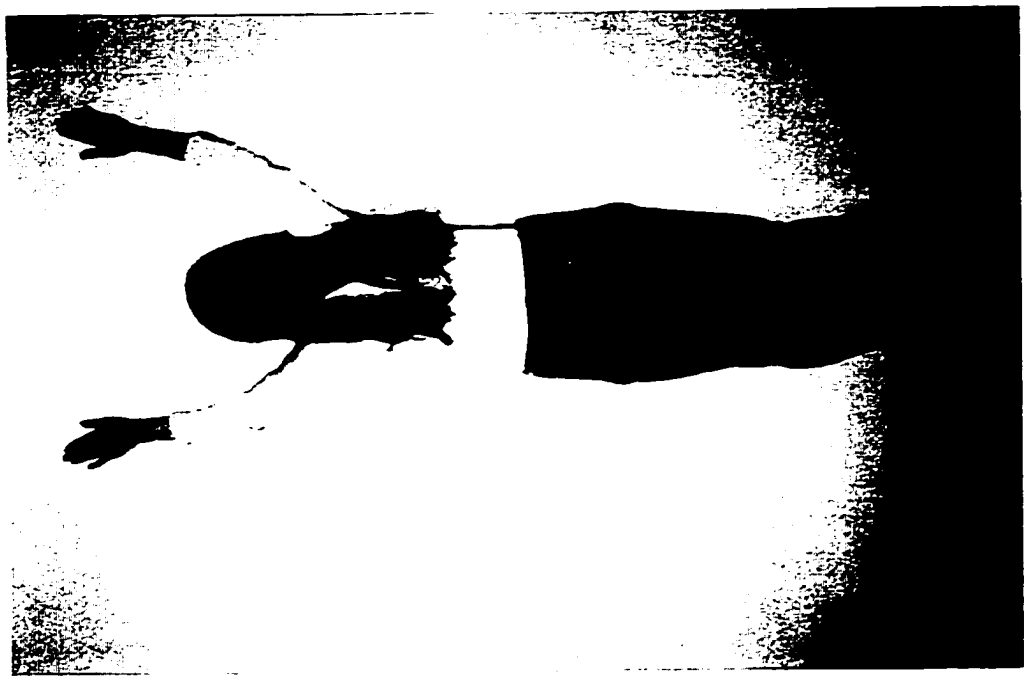


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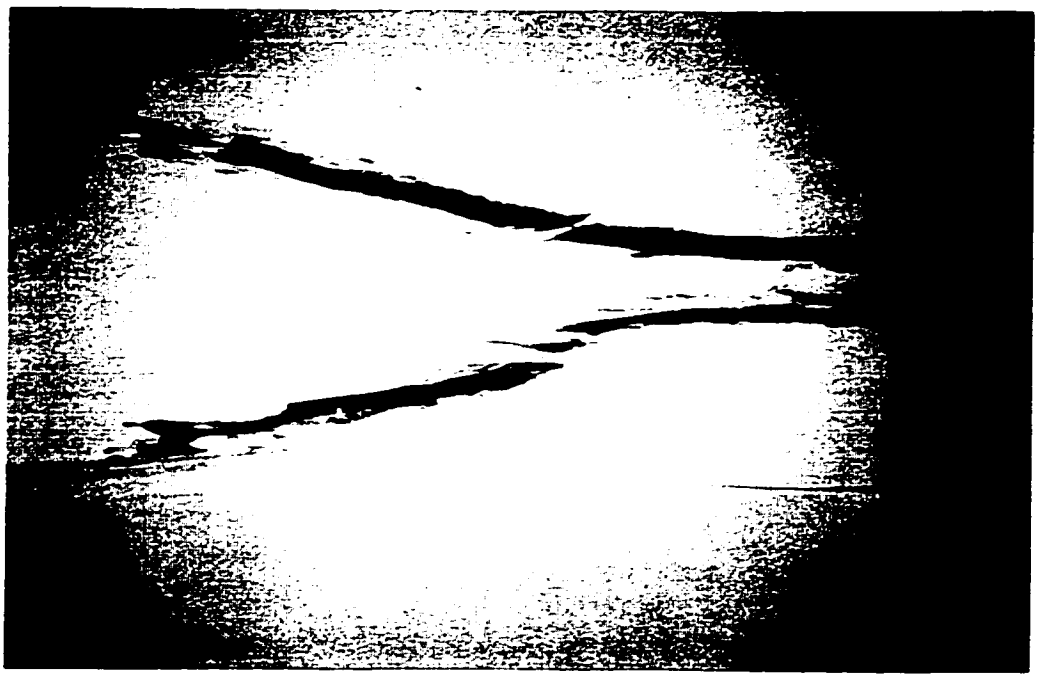


Fig. 122

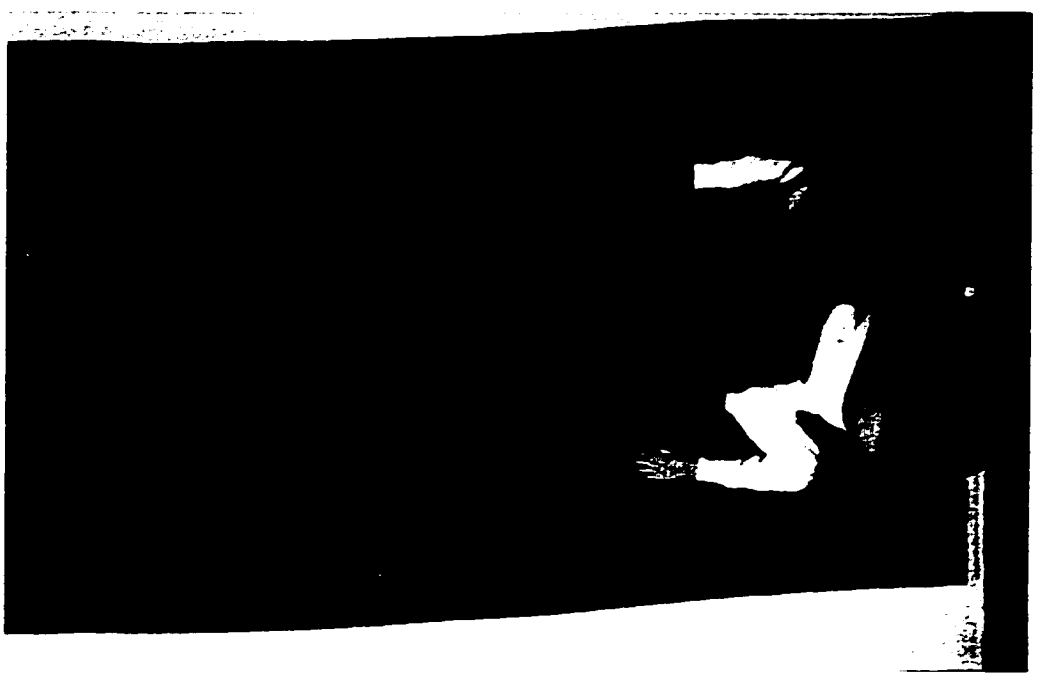


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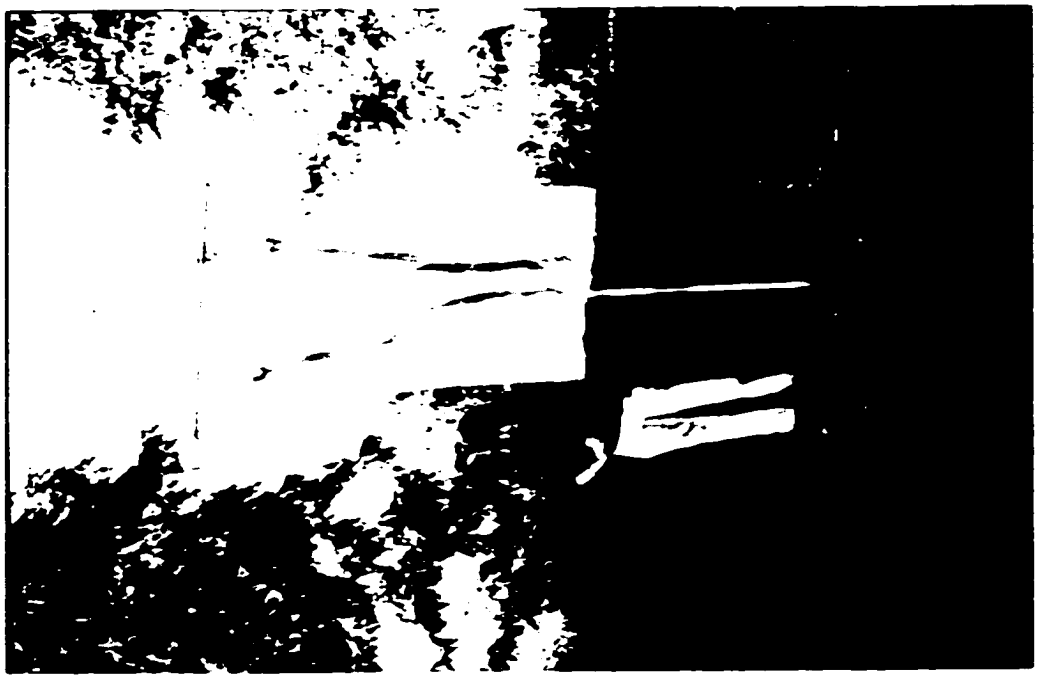


Fig. 124



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Fig. 130

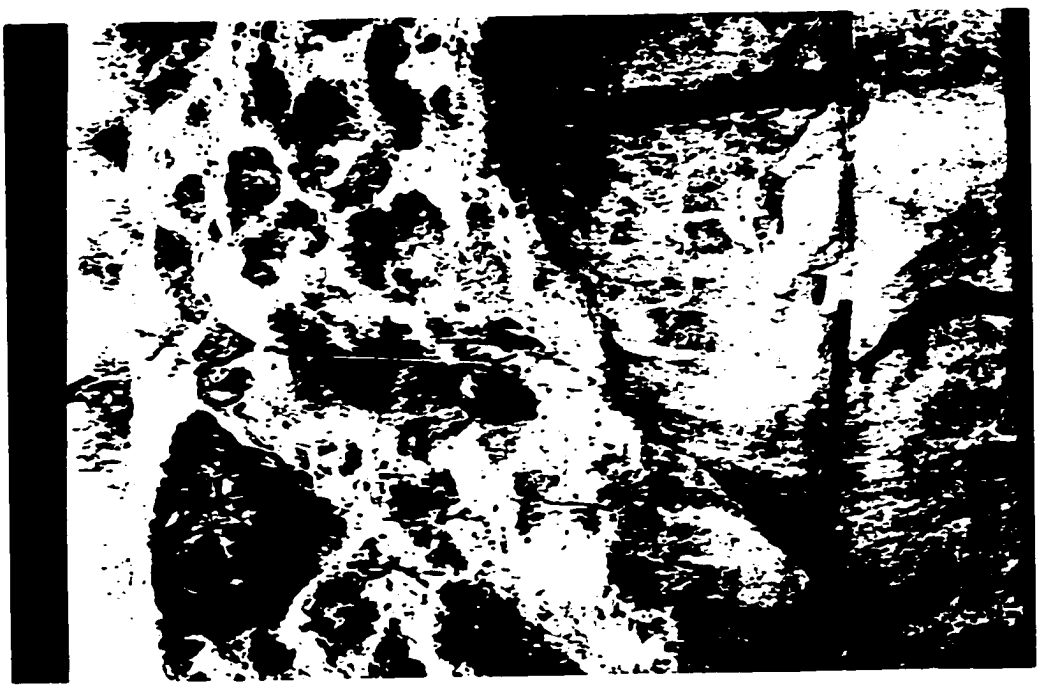


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Fig. 132



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Fig. 136



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Fig. 138



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Fig. 141

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Fig. 142



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Fig. 144

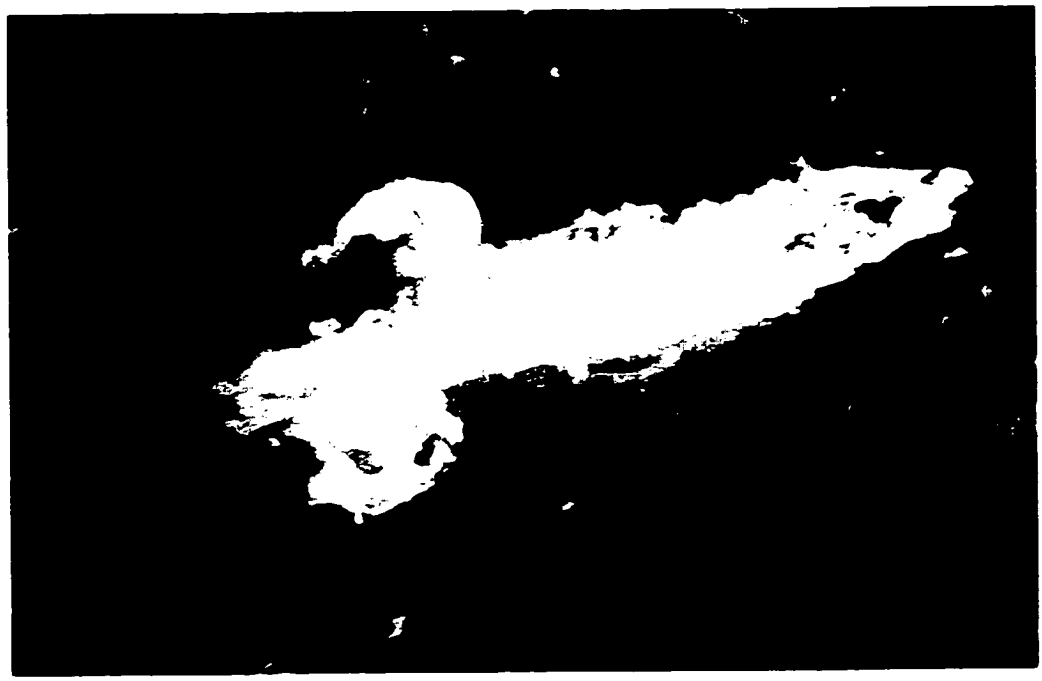


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Fig. 146

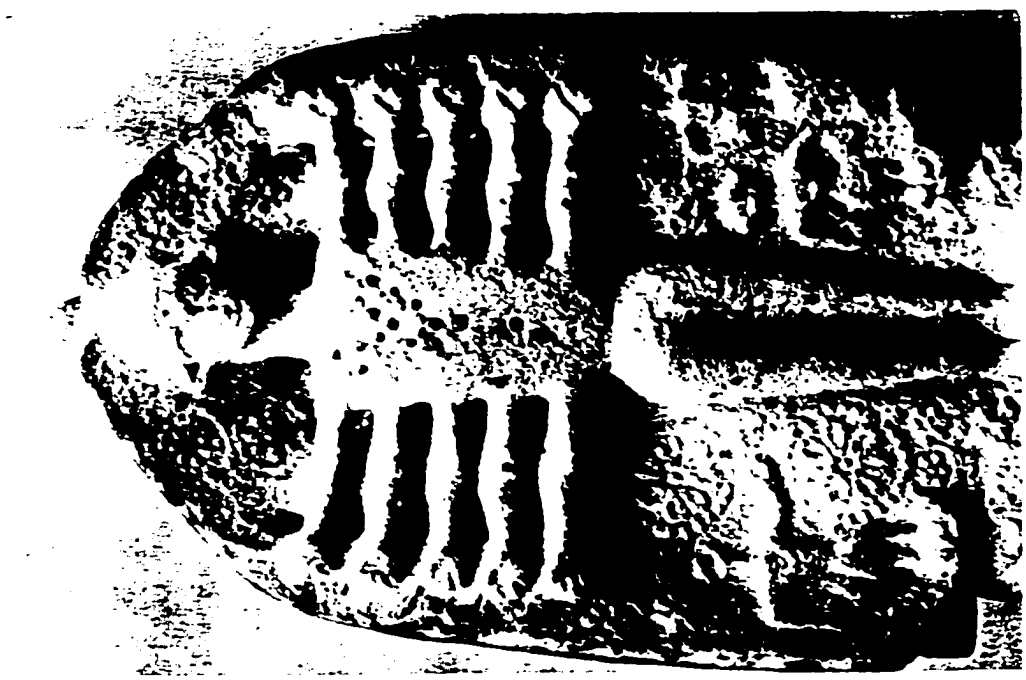


Fig. 147

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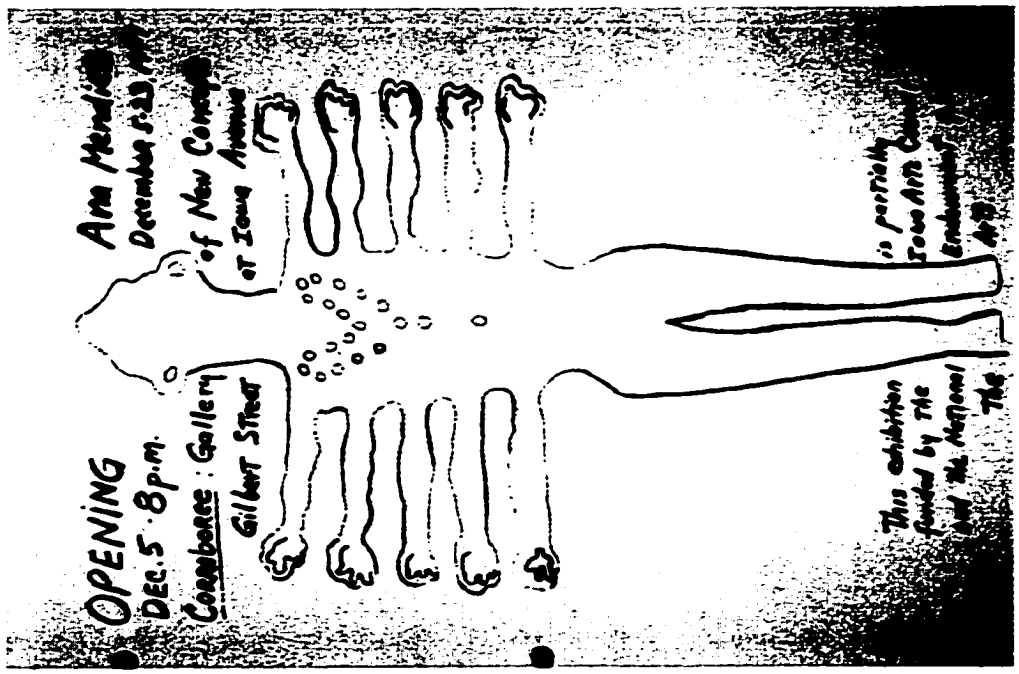


Fig. 148



Fig. 149

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Fig. 150

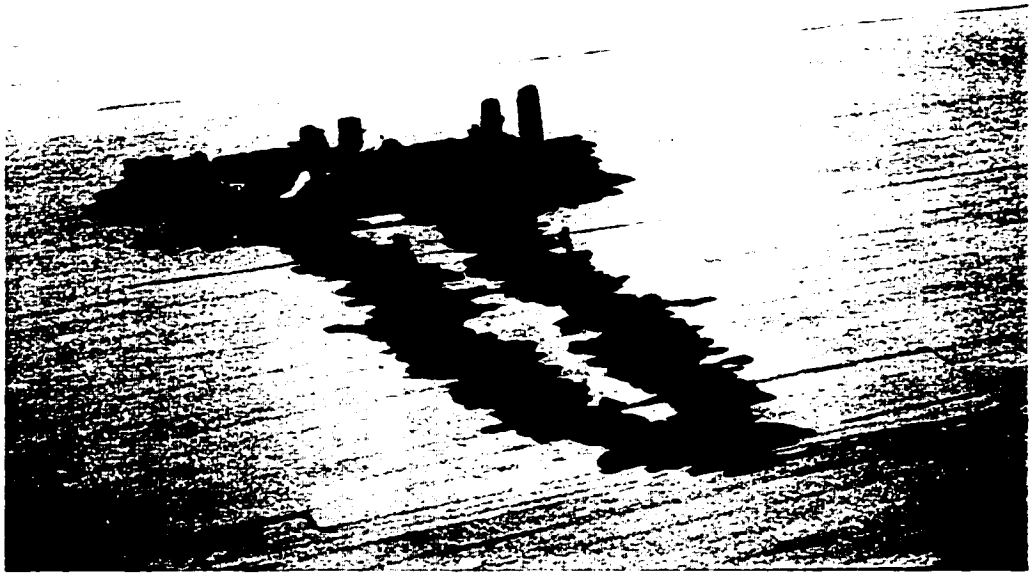


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Fig. 152



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Fig. 154

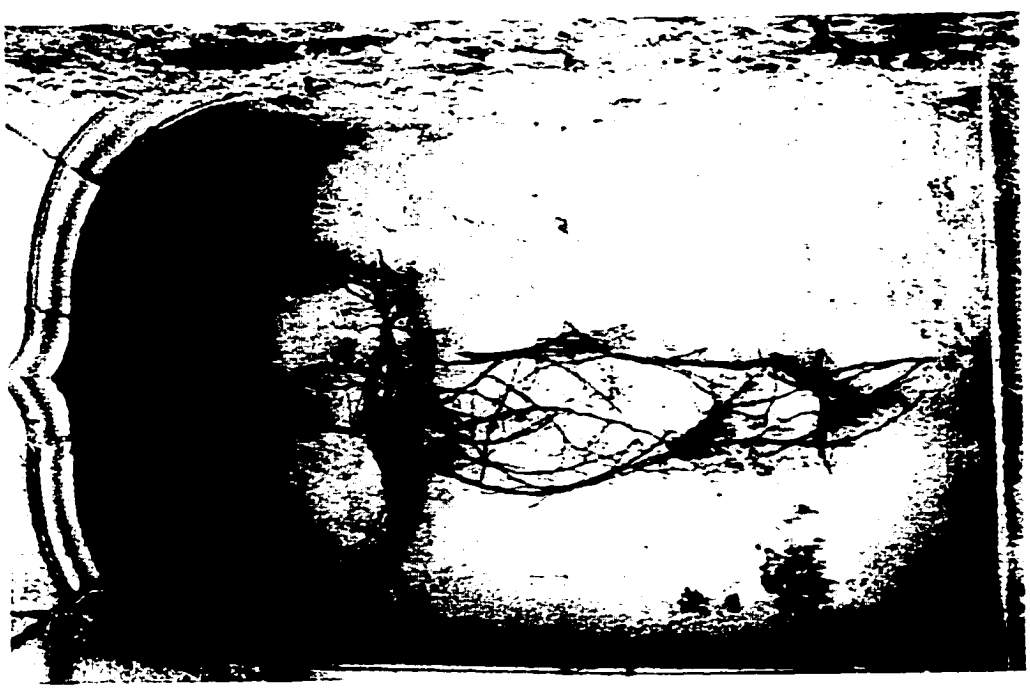


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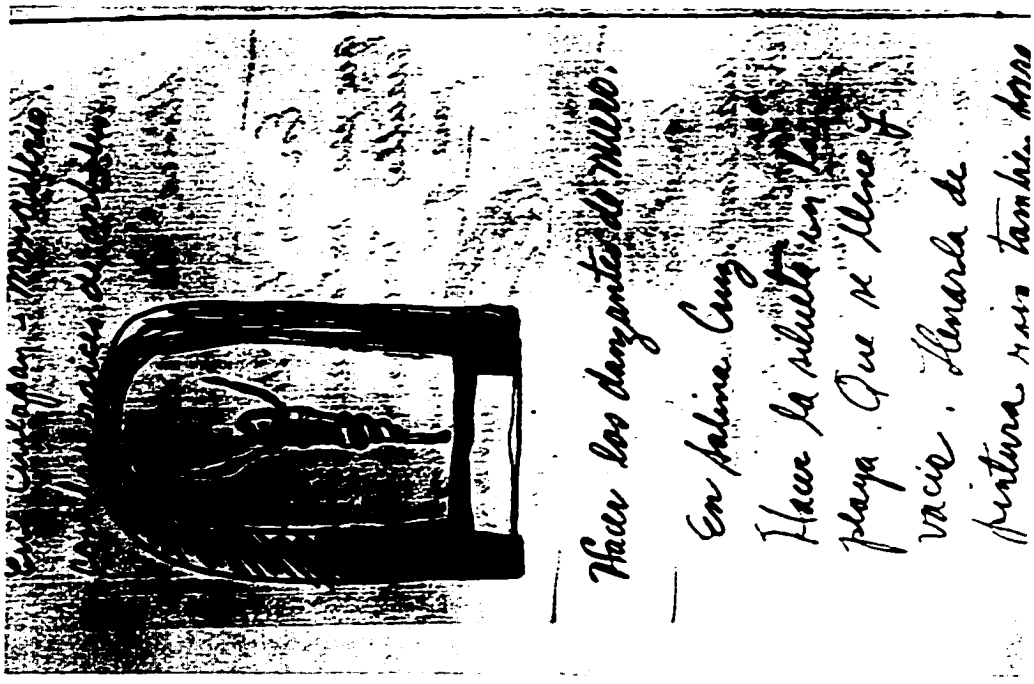


Fig. 156



Fig. 157

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Fig. 158

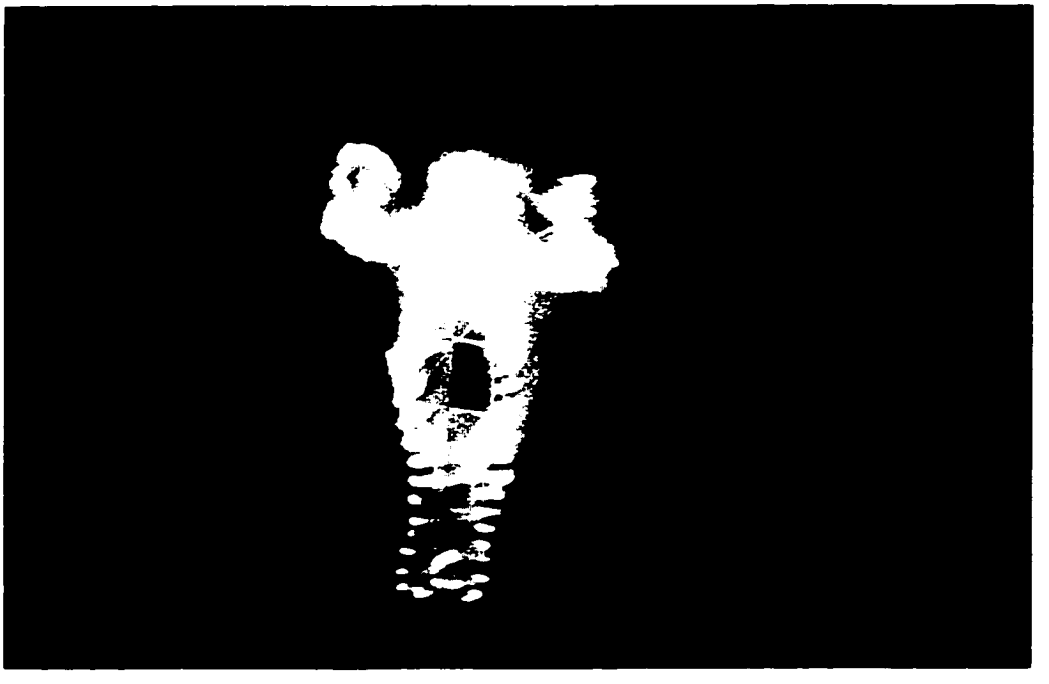


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Fig. 160



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Fig. 162



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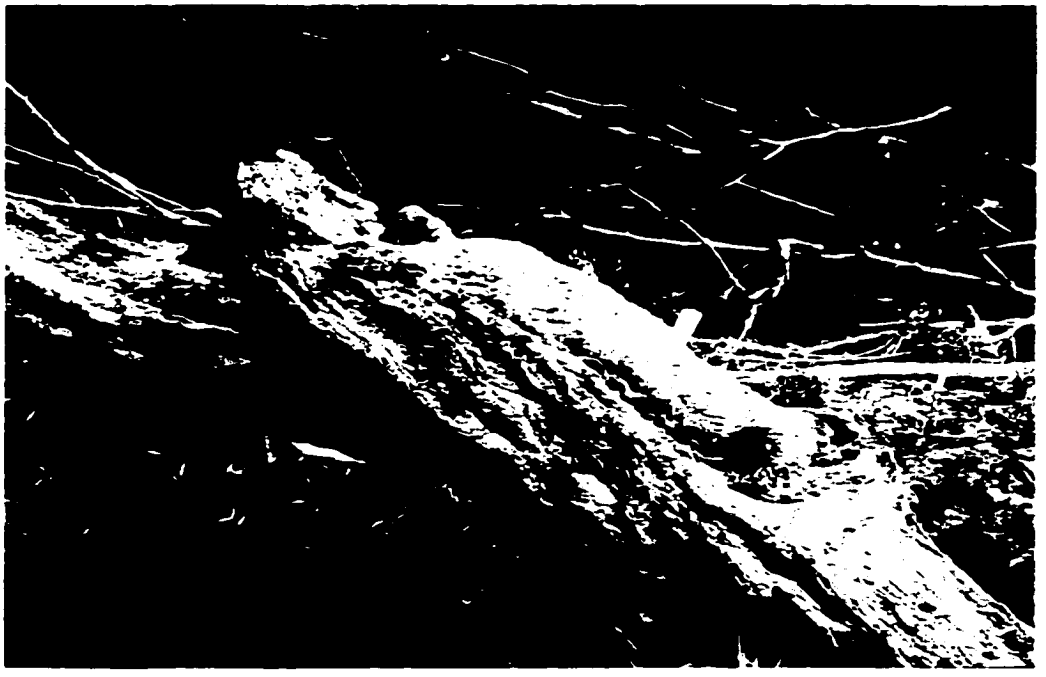


Fig. 164

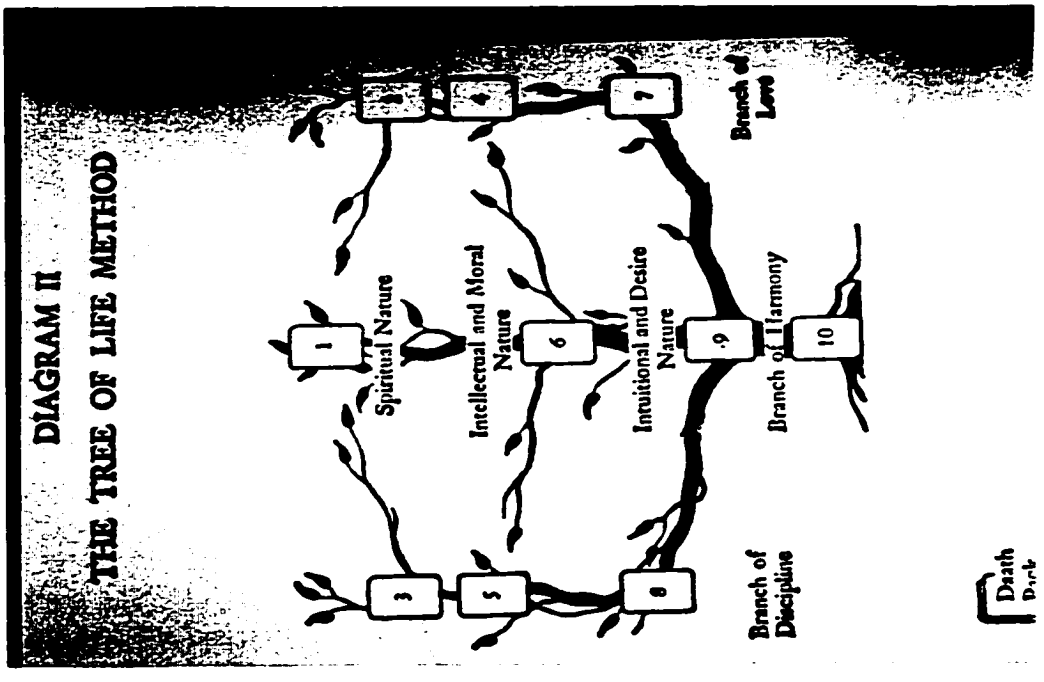


Fig. 165

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Fig. 166

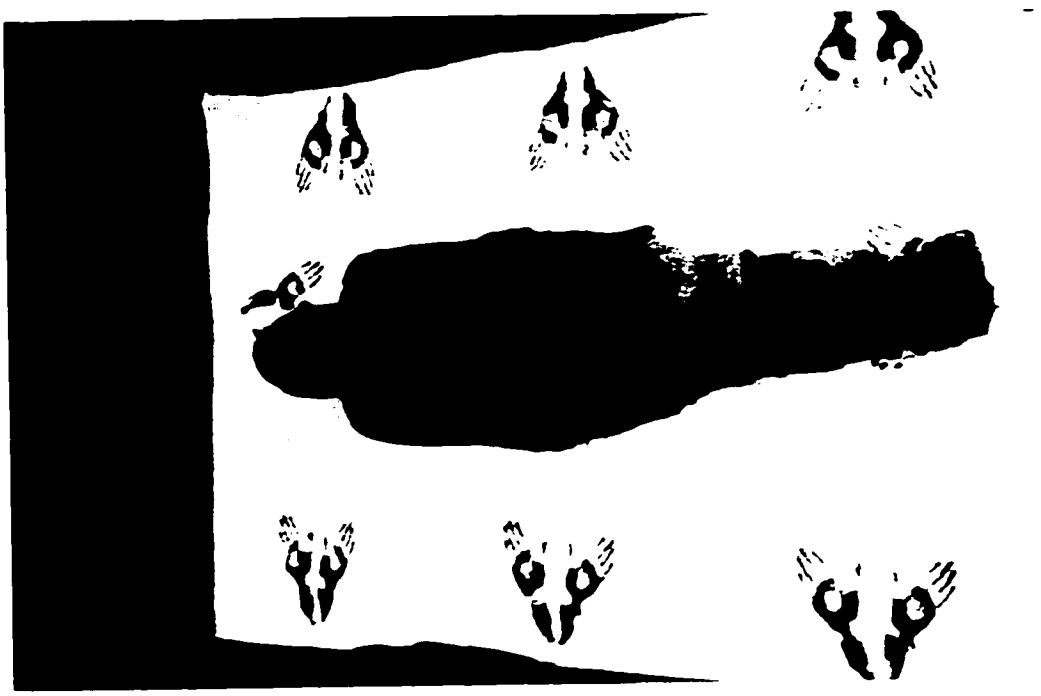


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APPENDIX 1

Chronology, 1961-1966

1959	1 January	Castro assumes power in Cuba: gradual exodus of Cuban refugees to Miami begins
1960	29 June	Foreign-owned oil refineries in Cuba confiscated
	6 August	U.S. owned sugar mills seized
	October	Series of community meetings in Miami to alert government officials to needs of Cuban refugees
	November	President Eisenhower appoints Tracey Voorhees to examine Miami refugee situation: one million dollars allocated for emergency aid
		First Cuban refugee child in need of foster care arrives at the Catholic Welfare Bureau, Miami
		Welfare Planning Council of Dade County adopts resolution calling for government funding of a special foster care program for unaccompanied Cuban refugee children under the auspices of Miami child welfare agencies
	December	Cuban refugee center opens in Miami
	12 December	James Baker, headmaster of Ruston Academy in Havana, arrives in Miami seeking help for unaccompanied Cuban children to come to the United States
	26 December	First two unaccompanied Cuban children arrive in Miami under undisclosed code name, Operation Pedro Pan

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	29 December	First shelter, the Cuban Boys Home (old Ferré house), for unaccompanied Cuban children opens in Miami The Welfare Planning Council requests funds from the federal government for the care of Cuban children
1961	3 January	United States breaks diplomatic relations with Cuba
	9 January	Visa waiver program approved by U.S. State Department
	25 January	First unaccompanied Cuban children relocate from Miami to Philadelphia
	3 February	President Kennedy assigns responsibility for all Cuban refugee programs to U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
	April	Bay of Pigs Invasion
	April-July	Catholic schools closed
1961	11 September	Ana Mendieta leaves Havana. arrives at Camp Kendall, Miami
	5 October	Arrives at St. Mary's Home, Dubuque, Iowa: begins ninth grade at Whalert High School, Dubuque
1962	July	Lives with first foster family, the Butlers, Dubuque
	August	Begins tenth grade at Whalert High School, Dubuque
	22 October	Cuban Missile Crisis: last commercial flight between Havana and Miami signals the end of Operation Pedro Pan
1963	January	Ana leaves the Butler family: returns to St. Mary's Home
	February	Arrives at Our Lady of Angels Academy, Clinton, Iowa
	May	Finishes tenth grade at Our Lady of Angels Academy
	June - August	Arrives at the Children's Home, Cedar Rapids, Iowa
	August	Lives with second foster family, the Saddlers, Cedar Rapids; begins eleventh grade, Regis High School, Cedar Rapids;

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1964	August	Lives with third foster family, the Mulherins, Cedar Rapids; begins twelfth grade, Regis High School
1965	4 June	Graduates Regis High School
	September	Begins Briar Cliff College, Sioux City, Iowa
1966	February	Reunites with mother, Raquel Oti Mendieta, and brother, Ignacio, in Cedar Rapids

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APPENDIX 2

"HANDBILL"



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STAFF FOR THE BYRD HOFFMAN FOUNDATION, INC. ROBERT WILSON, PRESIDENT ELAINE LUTHY ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTOR. ANDREW DAVIS de GROAT VICE PRESIDENT / TREASURER ADVISORS: JEROME ROBBINS, NOEL MONOD, JANE HOCKEL, AND WILLIAM FITZSON.



. THE BYRD HOFFMAN FOUNDATION, INC IS GRATEFUL TO MR PAUL LEPERCQ FOR HIS GRANT ENABLING US TO CONTINUE OUR WORK.



MUSIC: (PROGRAM) & SOUND ALAN LLOYD, JULIE WEBER / HAYSTACKS: GUISEPPE VERDI "AIDA" / JOHANN STRAUSS "THE BEAUTIFUL BLUE DANUBE" / SPEAKING TAPE: KENNETH KING



CAST.

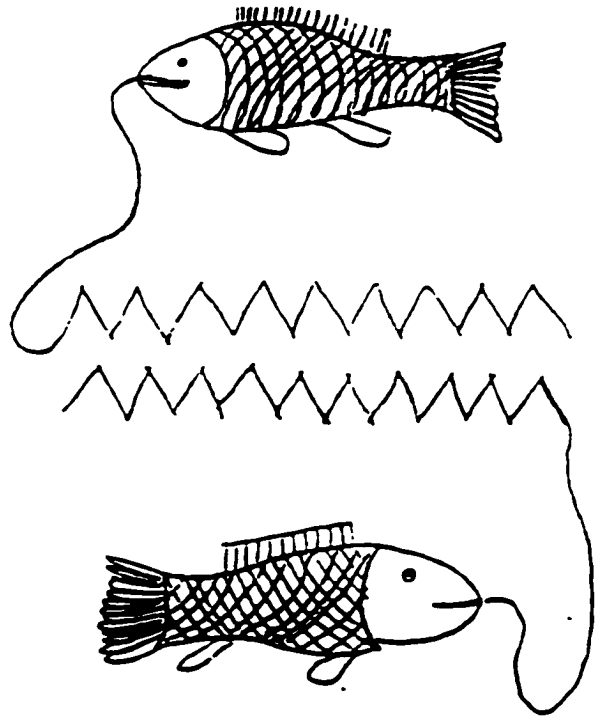
JOE ABRAHAM
KITTY ALICE
MEL ANDRANEA
BARB BERRY
SANDY BROWER
KEVIN BURFORD
CHIP CONWAY
TINA CORSETTA
JOHN D'ARCANGELO
DAVID DEHL
GABY MUNK
EVELYN de BUHR
S.K. DUNN
CARROLL DUNN
EILENFELDS & CHILD
BOBBY ERNST
JESSIE GILBERT
EMILY HULM
GEORGE KOHN
BOBBIE KRASNER
ALAN LLOYD
THOMAS MACAULAY
ANA MARIA MENDIETA
CAROL MULLINS
MARY PEER
BERNIE ROBERT
DAF SCHEIN
MICHAEL SOKOLOFF
SANDY STEELUND
BOBBIE DEAN THOMPSON
JOHN THOMPSON
PETER THOMPSON
SETH TOMASLINI
DONNA THURMAN
VALERIE
TOM VANUCZMARK
AMY WALL
JULIE WEBER
JEFFREY WEINSTEIN
ROBERT WILSON
TRENA WORTHAM
RICK ZANK

SPECIAL THANKS TO: HANS BREDER, ULFERT WILKE, GUSTAVE VON GROSCHWITZ, DAVID DENNIS, MRS. ONEY KAFFERTY, NAGEL LUMBER, WEYERHAUSER LUMBER, "THINGS," NORTHWESTERN BELL TELEPHONE, AND TONY UNDERHILL FOR USE OF CAR.

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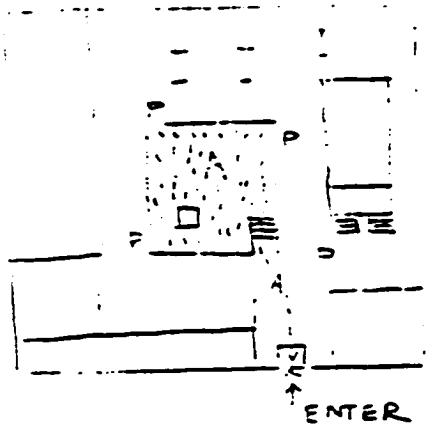


'HANDBILL' IS DEDICATED TO MR. PAOLO SOLERI, ARCHITECT, IN SUPPORT OF THE WORK HE IS DOING TO PROTECT LAND AND BETTER MAN THROUGH MORE EFFIENT AND HUMAN URBAN DESIGNS



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HANDBILL (1)



GROUND PLAN

A — AUDIENCE

P — PERFORMERS

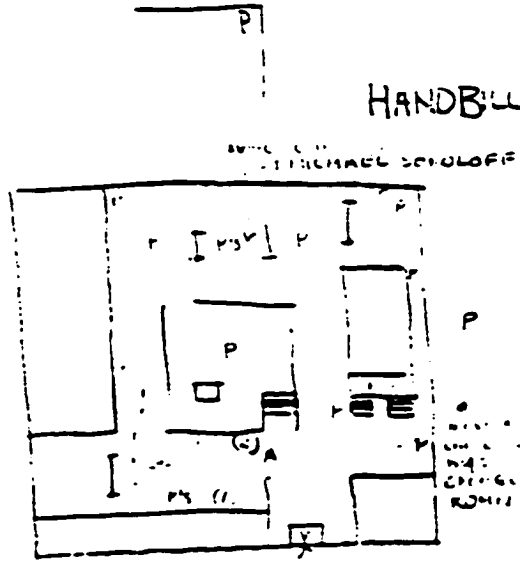
AUDIENCE ENTERS AND SITS IN LOWER SCULPTURE COURT

- PERFORMERS MOVE FROM OPENING

SECTION 30 MINUTES LONG

AUDIENCE MOVES WITH CHANGE OF LIGHTS

HANDBILL (2)

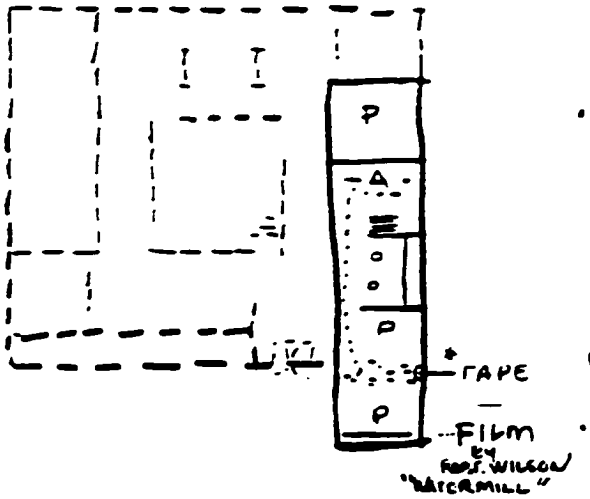


GROUND PLAN

- AUDIENCE MOVES FREELY ABOUT THE MAIN FLOOR OF THE MUSEUM
- PERFORMERS IN DESIGNATED AREAS OR ZONES
- SECTION 20 MINUTES LONG
- AUDIENCE MOVES WITH CHANGE OF LIGHTS

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HANDBILL (3)

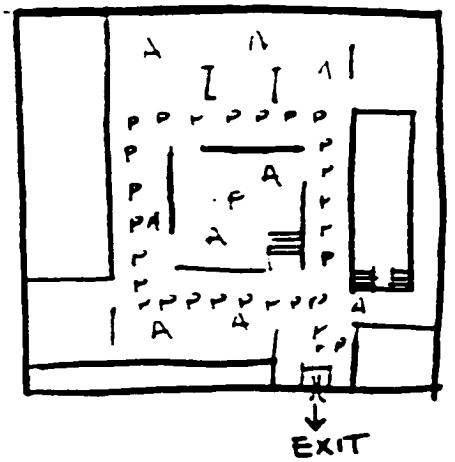


SUB GRADE FLOOR PLAN

(lower gallery area)

- AUDIENCE MOVES FROM LOWER GALLERY THROUGH FOYER TO AUDITORIUM. AUDIENCE IS FREE TO SIT ON THE FLOOR IN FILM ROOM, TAPE: "THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF MOVEMENT— BEING IN PERPETUAL MOTION" (ROUGH NOTES) KENNETH KING
- PERFORMERS IN LOWER GALLERY, FOYER, AND AUDITORIUM (FILM)
- SECTION 20 MINUTES LONG
- AUDIENCE MOVES WITH CHANGE OF LIGHTS

HANDBILL (4)



GROUND PLAN

- AUDIENCE MOVES FREELY ON MAIN FLOOR
- PERFORMERS IN DESIGNATED AREAS
- SECTION 10 MINUTES LONG / END OF "THE BEAUTIFUL BLUE DANUBE" TERMINATES EVENING

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APPENDIX 3



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"DEAFMAN GLANCE"

by

Robert Wilson

Performed by the Byrd Hoffman School of Byrds in association with the Center for New Performing Arts, University of Iowa

December 15 and 16, 1970
Iowa City, Iowa

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Lighting Design and Production Manager	Richard Nelson
Scenery Design	Fred Kolouch
Scenery Construction	Duncan Curtis Mel Andringa Darryl Cushman
Props	James Mitchell Lucia Ruedenberg Greg Dailey
Film	Franklin Miller
Music	Alan Lloyd Julie Weber Art Rosenbaum Ollie Gilbert The Sacred Harp Singers Igor Demjem Beethoven Faure Pierre Ruiz
Director	Robert Wilson
Cast:	
Raymond Andrews	Boy
Mel Andringa	Ape
Barbara Berry	Lady in White, Bee Forest Mover, 18th Century Woman
Barbara Bailey	Singer
Forrest Bailey	Singer
Liba Bayrak	Woman
Joyce Blunk	Ape
Lee Boehner	Singer
Martha Boehner	Singer

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Kevin Burford	Man in Bins
Nana Burford	Woman in Bins
Sandra Brower	Gray Figure
Geraldine Brussel	Builder (Woman)
Frank Chip Conway	Gold Mover
Duncan Curtis	Frog
Greg Dailey	Mover
John W. D'Arcangelo	Angel, 18th Century Man
Andrew De Groat	Forest Mover
Igor Demjem	Man
Carroll Dunn	Old Man Following the Ox
S.K. Dunn	Forest Mover
Phyllis Eilenfeldt	Woman
Michael Eilenfeldt	Man
Carl Eldeen	Man with Large Eye
Nancy Ernst	Princess
Nancy Frank	Mover
Robert Funk	Fisherman
Richie Gallo	Star
Jessie Dunn Gilbert	Girl Building Pyramid
Stefani Gordon	Dwarf with Large Head
Julia Hall	Woman
Kris Helm	Girl in Bins
Kenneth Helm	Boy in Bins
Page Henry	Singer
Brian Jackson	Child
Ted Jordan	Man with Black Face
Sue Jordison	Woman in White Coat
Catherine Kabela	Raker, Earth Mover
Valerie Kent	Woman
Marijo Kodros	Mover
Bobbi Krasner	Lady in White, Forest Mover
Lou Kohl	Lady in White, Mother
Mark Lindahl	Mammie with Staff
Cindy Lubar	Goat Woman
Tom Macaulay	Mover, Lover
John Maddy	Mammie
Connie May	Lady in White, Forest Mover

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Ana Mendieta	Grey Figure
Susan Meyers	Mover
Gaby Monk	Mover
Carol Mullins	Ape, Mover
James Neu	Ape, Man in Black Face
Connie Nicholson	Earth Woman
Jane Noble	Mover
Mary Parker	Figure in Black Dress
Ben Patrick	Child
Joseph Patrick	Singer
Genie H. Patrick	Singer
Mary Peer	Old Woman in White
Lloyd Quibble	Man in White Coat
Alex Robinson	Child
Duffy Robinson	Singer
William Robinson	Singer
Gretchen Rogovin	Mother
Bernice Rohret	Lady in White, Forest Mover
Art Rosenbaum	Singer
Margo Rosenbaum	Earth Woman, Singer
Neil Rosenbaum	Child
Lucia Ruedenberg	Forest Mover
Ania Schmidt	Mover
Julias Schmidt	Builder (Man)
Frank Seiberling	Prince
Franklin Seiberling	Man with Black Face
Nancy Seiberling	Lady in White, Mother
Shelley Shakas	Woman in Bins
Susan M. Sheehy	Woman Setting Table
Mark Shafer	Man with Glass
Sandy Skoglund	Bound Figure
Mary Louise Smith	Gray Figure
Scotty Snyder	Lady in White, Woman with Dirt at Table
Michael Sokoloff	Man with Top Hat, Forest Mover
Lynn Soloway	Earth Woman
Billy Stewart	Cow
Sheryl Sutton	Mother,Byrdwoman

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Marcella Taylor	Woman Writing with Handbag
Seth Tomasini	mover
Bobbie Bean Thompson	Lady in White, Rabbit Forest Mover
John Thompson	Ape
Kenneth Thompson	Boy Builder
Peter Thompson	Ape
Donna Thurman	Mover
Tom Van Demark	Ape
Julie Weber	Lady in White
Jeffrey Weinstein	Man with Black Face
Grace Williams	Nurse with Baby, Smiling Woman
Petrina Williams	Child
Robert Wilson	Announcer, Man with top Hat, Mammie
Irena Woodham	Woman with Glass, Hand and Light at Table
Andy Zima	Mover

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APPENDIX 4

SELF PORTRAITS

by

Ana Maria Mendieta

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
in the School of Art and Art History
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

May, 1972

Thesis supervisor: Professor Byron Burford

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Graduate College
The University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

MASTER'S THESIS

This is to certify that the Master's Thesis of

Ana Maria Mendieta

has been approved by the Examining Committee for the thesis requirement for the Master's of Art in the School of Art and Art History at the May, 1972 graduation.

Thesis committee: Robert Morris
Thesis supervisor

Member

Frank Stella
Member

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF FIGURES.....	iii
THESIS STATEMENT.....	1
THESIS WORK.....	3

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THESIS STATEMENT

Hair has always fascinated me. The way it grows, where it grows and the significance past civilizations placed on it.

The egyptian priests shaved their heads as a sign of celibacy and sexual abstinence, as a symbol of self castration. Samson lost his strength by having his hair cut. The American Cheyenne Indians scalped enemies to proof their bravery and manhood. Catholic priests wear a tonsure as a symbol of celibacy. Even after death hair grows and does not decay.

In 1919, Marcel Duchamp drew a moustache and a beard to a color reproduction of the Mona Lisa. He stated: " The curious thing about that moustache and goatee is that when you look at it the Mona Lisa becomes a man. It is not a woman disguised as a man. It is a real man, and that was my discovery, without realizing it at the time."[1]

As an extension of Duchamp's piece, I asked my friend Morty Sklar to cut his beard off and to give me the hairs. I attached the hairs on my face in the same place where he had cut them off his face.

What I did was to transfer his beard to my face. By transfer I mean to take an object from one place and to put it in another. I like the idea of transferring hair from one person to another because I think it gives me that person's strength.

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After looking at myself in a mirror, the beard became real. It did not look like a disguise. It became a part of myself and not at all unnatural to my appearance.

For my thesis I submit three self portraits. One with Morty's beard, one with Morty's moustache, (done through the same process as the beard.) and a plain one to illustrate the above statements.

1.- Crehan, Herbet. "Dada". Excerpts from an interview with Duchamp in "Evidence" (Toronto). No. 3 (Fall, 1961), pp. 36-38.

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THESIS WORK



Figure 1. SELF PORTRAIT WITH BEARD

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Figure 2. SELF PORTRAIT

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Figure 3. SELF PORTRAIT WITH MOUSTACHE

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Mel Andringer; Hans Breder; Sherry Buckberrough. Ph.D; Margarita Cano; Thomas H. Charlton. Ph.D.; Cynthia Otis Charlton; Dan De Prenger; Jane (Noble) Hedrick; Thomas Macaulay; Joan Marter. Ph.D; Helen (Hoff) McGreevy; Ellen (Leich) Moon; John Perrault; Marlene J. Perrin; Judith Rew; William Rowley; Dennis Swanson; James Thomas; Cesar Trasobares; Miriam Troyer; Alma Villegas; Monica Wilson.

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