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Articles

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Letter from the Editor

From the braids that adorn the famed Caryatids on the Athenian Acropolis and the 'accessible luxury' of Kate Spade and Tory Burch, to the uses of enchantment in the modern fashion museum exhibition and a consideration of the styling of an album cover of the folk-rock band Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young, issue 4.2 of *Catwalk*, offers a range of subjects and themes.

In 'Fishtail Braids and the *Caryatid Hairstyling Project*: Fashion Today and in Ancient Athens,' the art historians Katherine A. Schwab, PhD, and Marice Rose, PhD, of the Department of Visual and Performing Arts at Fairfield University, Connecticut, consider the hairstyles of the famed 430 BCE Caryatids, those beguiling sculpture maidens who serve as architectural supports for the Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis. While the Caryatids have been studied by art historians, archaeologists, and classics scholars for their poses and clothing, their unique hairstyles had been overlooked. Previous scholars have described their hairstyles simply as braided, without defining the specific braids used or whether or not the hairstyles in fact could be recreated. Using the experimental archaeology method, Schwab and Rose worked with a professional hairstylist and with Fairfield University students who served as models to demonstrate that these ancient Greek braid arrangements were not imaginary creations but actually could have been worn. The article examines the techniques and social meanings of the fishtail braid, which connect today's girls and women to their counterparts in antiquity. Not only is the fishtail braid worn regularly by women in the Balkan countries and in Southern and Eastern Europe, in the past five years it has appeared on the streets of New York and on the catwalk. In 2015, photographs of the *Caryatid Hairstyling Project* appeared in an exhibition at the Greek Consulate General in New York City and the Embassy of Greece in Washington, D.C., where thousands of visitors viewed the photographs during the annual European Union Embassies' Open House Festival on 9 May 2015.The Caryatid hairstyles discussed in the article not only open a portal into the past, they are generating new interest in ancient hairstyles and the people who wore them.

Luxury. What exactly does that label mean in an era when 'luxury' garments and accessories are marketed not only to the privileged but to the masses? In the second article of issue 4.2, 'Kate Spade and Tory Burch Are Iconic American Brands, But Are They Luxury?,' Deidra W. Arrington, MBA, considers that question. She is the right person to do it. Arrington teaches fashion merchandising at Virginia Commonwealth University, where she is a member of the Department of Fashion Design and Merchandising, and is a seasoned fashion professional with twenty years' experience as an apparel buyer and Vice President/Divisional Merchandise Manager. Her study of the two 'accessible luxury' brands, Kate Spade and Tory Burch, considers their beginnings with two young women committed to creating fashion products that embodied their lifestyles and points of view and asks whether the designers successfully engaged the buying public with their visions. The article examines the brands' founders, histories, inventiveness, and the choices they made that shaped the Kate Spade and Tory Burch names into iconic fashion brands known around the world and their impact on the American fashion brandscape. Are their brands luxury? Arrington answers that question, too.

The research focus of Ingrid Mida, MA, a dress historian and curator responsible for the Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University in Toronto, Canada, is the intersection of fashion and art in the museum. Fashion is a relatively recent phenomenon within the context of the museum exhibition, and Mida discusses how the fashion exhibition has evolved from a historical presentation of 'cemeteries' for 'dead' clothes into new forms of creative and immersive installations that incorporate light, sound, and performative elements. Through a combination of personal observation, interview, and analysis, Mida illuminates the creative practice and appeal of contemporary fashion curation by locating it in the theoretical framework of the sociologist Jean Baudrillard's notion of the 'enchanted spectacle.' The article shows how fashion's sense of frivolity creates opportunities for passion and subversion in the museum exhibition. Using the concept of

creative subversion, Mida considers three dramaturgical installations that invoke wonder: Judith Clark's *The Concise Dictionary of Dress* at Blythe House in London in 2010, Andrew Bolton's *Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty* at The Costume Institute of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 2011, and Pamela Golbin's *Dries Van Noten: Inspirations* at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris in 2014.

The styling and costuming of the 1970 *Déjà vu* LP album cover of the folk-rock band Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young is the final article of the issue. The historian Michael A. Langkjær, PhD, of the Saxo Institute, University of Copenhagen, specialises in popular material culture centred on Anglo-American youth and in rock performer fashion. He became fascinated by the Wild West costumed motif of the *Déjà vu* cover, noticing several romanticised types: the American Civil War rebel, Wild West outlaw, rifle-toting heroic frontier scout, Spanish/Mexican vaquero, and Native American. Three photographs, taken during a single *Déjà vu* photo session by the photographer Tom Gundelfinger O'Neal, were line-drawn for the present article to enable a close analysis of details of dress, weapons, props, and the shifting positions of band members. For Langkjær, the costumed images are artefacts that reveal motivating circumstances behind that which is seen in the photos; he considers the costumes and staging on three distinct levels: as a genre item, a performance, and a product. The imagery raises intriguing questions about underlying style prototypes and style influences, and about whether the costuming can be considered a pastiche of the sort suggested by the literary critic Fredric Jameson. The political, social, and cultural space of the late 1960s-early 1970s youth rebellion and counterculture are considered as influences, and contemporary editorials, interviews, articles, and advertisements in *Rolling Stone* magazine are utilised as sources.

Catwalk's reviews section is devoted to recent exhibitions and books, and we welcome its new leadership. Exhibition Reviews are now headed by Laura Petican, PhD, an art historian and Galleries Director of the Weil Gallery and the Islander Art Gallery at Texas A&M University, Corpus Christi, Texas. Our new Book Reviews Editor is Jess Berry, PhD, Lecturer, Art and Design Theory, at Griffith University, Australia. There are two exhibition reviews in this issue of *Catwalk*. Ericka Basile visited The Costume Institute of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York to consider *China: Through the Looking Glass*. Robert R. Richards reviewed *Global Fashion Capitals* after taking it in at The Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York. Following the exhibitions section are two book reviews. *Shoes: An Illustrated History*, by Rebecca Shawcross, reviewed by Ellen Sampson, and *Modern Women and Parisian Consumer Culture in Impressionist Painting*, by Ruth E. Iskin, reviewed by Jess Berry. Our reviews sections also highlight Current and Forthcoming Exhibitions and Briefly Noted Books.

Thank you Elizabeth Kaino Hopper, Melanie Reim, Laura Petican, and Jess Berry for helping put issue 4.2 of *Catwalk* together.

Enjoy!

Jacque Lynn Foltyn, PhD
Chief Editor, *Catwalk: The Journal of Fashion, Beauty and Style*

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Fishtail Braids and the *Caryatid Hairstyling Project*: Fashion Today and in Ancient Athens

Katherine A. Schwab and Marice Rose

Abstract

The fishtail braid, newly popular in the past five years on adult women on New York streets and the runway, also conspicuously adorns the famed Caryatids, or maidens, 430 BCE, from the Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis. The Caryatids have been carefully studied for their pose and clothing, but their unique hairstyles have been overlooked. Previous scholars described these ancient hairstyles simply as braided without defining the specific braids used or whether or not the hairstyle could be recreated. No one had identified the fishtail braid as the main braid down the back and as the style of some of the side braids wrapped around the heads of the Caryatids. The authors worked with a professional hairstylist and six Fairfield University student models to demonstrate that these ancient Greek arrangements of braids were not merely the creations of sculptors but could have actually been worn. Our project recreating the braids and their arrangements is a research method known as experimental archaeology, a way to test hypotheses related to antiquity by using methods as archaeologically accurate as possible, and striving for historically accurate results. The project's genesis began in 2007, with the exhibition *The Creative Photograph in Archaeology* at Fairfield University, in which detailed photographs of the Caryatids provided uncommon views of their hair. In 2009 Professor of Art History Katherine A. Schwab made an internationally-screened short film which provides the basis for further inquiry on technique and meaning. Coincidentally, at the same time, the fishtail braid began to be featured prominently on runways and in the fashion press. This article examines the technique and meanings of the fishtail braid, which connects girls and women today to their counterparts in antiquity. Students who wore the braids thought about hairstyles in an entirely new way and as a compelling portal to another time and place. Ancient Athenians were no longer a vague concept but real people whose lives were played out in the surviving art.

Key Words

Hair, fashion, Caryatid, Erechtheion, Acropolis, Athens, fishtail braid, experimental archaeology, art history pedagogy.

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1. Caryatids in Antiquity

The fishtail braid (or herring-bone braid, so-called because the pattern of the hair sections resembles a fish skeleton), the resurgence of which the media prominently recorded on New York City streets and runways beginning in 2009,[1] also conspicuously adorns the Caryatids, or maidens, from the ancient temple called the Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis. The Caryatids have been carefully studied for their pose and clothing, but their unique and complex, multi-braided hairstyles have been overlooked.

The Erechtheion is one of three temples that formed part of the ambitious Periclean building program on the Athenian Acropolis during the second half of the fifth century BCE. Located on the north side of the Acropolis, a short distance from the Parthenon, the Erechtheion is renowned for its elegant Ionic architecture and unusual configuration. The cella or main room inside the temple was originally divided into smaller sections dedicated to the goddess Athena and the god Poseidon, along with other cults and shrines. After walking through the Propylaia or grand entrance to the

Acropolis at the western end, the Erechtheion can be seen toward the left with its two large porches: the North Porch which is visible from many distant areas within the modern city of Athens, and the south porch famous for its beautiful female figures serving as columns. The six maidens or kore figures, commonly known as Caryatids, face directly toward the Parthenon's north flank (Image 1).

Image 1: Late Nineteenth Century Photograph of the Erechtheion.
No copyright – public domain

The maidens were carved c. 430 BCE and were simply referred to as *korai*, or maidens (kore refers to a single maiden) in inscriptions for several hundred years. Later, they became known as Caryatids because of a story related by the first-century BCE Roman author, architect, and engineer Vitruvius who wrote that they represented women from the town Karyae (Caryae) who were subjugated because of the town's betrayal of Greece during the Persian wars.[2] The story cannot be supported, but the name Caryatid endures and it is often used in both scholarly and tourist literature today.

Five of the Caryatids are displayed in the new Acropolis Museum (Image 2). The museum houses the original Caryatids to protect them from the elements. In 1979 the ancient sculptures, which were replaced on the Erechtheion porch with cement replicas, were placed inside a large vitrine in the old Acropolis Museum up on the Acropolis. Since 2009 these five statues have been installed in the new Acropolis Museum where visitors can walk around them for the first time. These statues are described in modern scholarship more precisely as Kore A-F. Kore C, the sixth Caryatid, was taken to London in the early nineteenth century by Lord Elgin, where it remains on view in the British Museum.[3]

The Caryatids' elegant and complex hairstyles, with their voluminous fishtail braids, were central to these maidens' identity and status within Athenian society. The intricacy and time-consuming nature of the styles, as the *Caryatid Hairstyling Project* (below) has shown, would have required attendants and leisure time, which many ancient Greeks could not afford. Taking into

account how clothing had the ability to show its wearer's inclusion and exclusion from social categories, it is likely that these braids reflect real hairstyles that were a mark of distinction belonging to a specific group – in this case, possibly *kanephoroi*. *Kanephoroi* were groups of virgins selected to perform the very important task in a religious festival of leading the ritual procession to the sacrifice. They were privileged girls – daughters of aristocrats, faultless in reputation, representatives of the highest echelon of Athenian society. The Classical Art Historian Linda Roccos identified the Caryatids as possible *kanephoroi* by their distinctive festival garment, the back-mantle pinned at the shoulders.[4] Should this identification as *kanephoroi* be correct, the very elaborately arranged braids would be a component of their festival costume, in addition to their mantles. This identification aligns with the accentuation of the Athenian aristocracy the Classical Art Historian Jenifer Neils discusses on the Parthenon frieze.[5]

Image 2: View of the Five Caryatids from the Erechtheion in the Acropolis Museum.

The maidens' hairstyles in the religious procession linked them to a tradition of past young women who played these roles, as well as to a specific, recognizable stratum of society that participated. The expense of time and labour to create these hairstyles did not contribute directly to the economy, nor did the adolescent girls wearing the hairstyle, who while their hair was being arranged were required to stay still rather than being productive. One could interpret such conspicuous leisure by elite females as economically wasteful and therefore not contributing directly to the functioning of their society, if using the lens of the sociologist Thorstein Veblen, whose sociological theories about capitalism and the exploitative and wasteful leisure class who engage in his famous term 'conspicuous consumption' remain highly influential.[6] However,

although the creation of these hairstyles may not be 'instrumental' to the economy, the elaborate hairstyles showed not only the status of a non-labouring sector of society, they identified individuals who were also part of a community ritual that functioned to hold ancient Athenian society together. These young women were visually marked as those who will soon be married and producing new Athenian citizens, essential to furthering the society, culture, and hence economy as mothers and wives. Among women themselves, cross-culturally, there is also an important community-building aspect across social divisions in the intimacy and time it takes for women to arrange other women's hair, and this community is another positive aspect communicated by these hairstyles.[7]

The Caryatids feature the only surviving ancient examples of multiple fishtails wrapped around the head and a large fishtail braid hanging down the back, further enhanced by two or three long corkscrew curls emerging behind the ear and falling onto the chest. Despite the Erechtheion's importance as a popular pilgrim and tourist destination for ancient Greeks and Romans, the hairstyles of the Caryatids are unique within surviving ancient art.[8] The fishtail braid first appears in ancient Greek art by the sixth century BCE on such examples as the female *Berlin Kore* (Berlin, Pergamon Mus. inv. Sk. 1800) in a 'reverse' fishtail braid and the male *Archaic Discus Thrower* (Athens, National Mus. inv. no. 38) which may offer a profile view of the braid. By the early fifth century BCE we can see the braid encircling the heads of the male *Artemision Bronze* (Athens, National Mus. inv. no. x15161) identified as either Zeus or Poseidon, and *Apollo*, Omphalos type (Athens, National Mus. Inv. no. 45).[9] These sculptures do not feature the fishtail braids in as complex arrangements as those worn by the Caryatids. The ancient Romans copied the stone maidens; for example, caryatids were incorporated into the Emperor Augustus' Forum and the Emperor Agrippa's Pantheon, and the Emperor Hadrian's versions can still be seen at his villa at Tivoli (these are possibly the originals from the Pantheon).[10] These Roman caryatid hairstyles, however, do not provide a precise copy of the Greek originals. The forum and Tivoli examples replicate the back fishtail, but the sides of the hair became waves or bumps that recall braids without the precision of the Greek sculptures. The Caryatid hairstyle's uniqueness in Greek art can be attributed to its signifying the specific religious procession and the special role played by elite young Athenian women. The Roman examples perhaps did not need to replicate this signifier because they were in different socio-cultural-historical contexts, and it was not necessary to spend the amount time it would have taken to carve the complicated braids. Neither was the Caryatid hairstyle duplicated in European art of the early modern period, including portraits of elite women that featured complicated arrangements of braids (usually three-strand, 'English-style') worn on or swept up onto the head.[11]

The Caryatids became ever more popular, over time becoming 'one of the primary and most familiar symbols of ancient Greek culture… continuously used as an emblem of this history, both in Greece and abroad.'[12] While their popularity increased, their elaborate hairstyles were not repeated in surviving Greek art; the ending of the pagan festivals associated with the hairstyles is the likeliest factor. The absence in European art outside of Greece can be attributed to lack of first-hand experience of them by non-Greeks; tourism to Greece in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was rare during the Ottoman occupation. The c. 1550 versions of the Caryatids by Bartolomeo Ammannati and Giorgio Vasari in Pope Julius III's villa, and the sculptor Jean Goujon's contemporaneous versions created for the musicians' platform in the Louvre palace were loosely based on the Roman versions. They did not imitate fishtail braids wrapping around the head, and veils cover the backs of their heads where single fishtails would be. Later, the Athenian Caryatids did become known outside Greece via tourists' drawings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[13] In 1820, a British visitor described the Caryatids' hair as being 'most frightfully arranged.'[14] In England, fishtail braids were called 'Grecian braids,' which is most likely a reference to the Caryatids owing to the greater number of images of the Caryatids available at that time and the presence of Kore C in the British Museum, previously taken by Lord Elgin and shipped to London.[15]

2. The Fishtail Braid in Contemporary Fashion

***Image 3**:* Models for Tory Burch, New York Fashion Week, Spring 2013.

In recent years in the United States, the fishtail braid became high fashion in New York and Hollywood, as part of a larger trend of braided hairstyles worn by young girls, teenagers of similar ages to the late-teenage Greek maidens on the Erechtheion, and adult women.[16] Although braiding had long been a feature of adult African-American male and female hairstyles in the United States, with salons dedicated to them becoming especially popular among African Americans in the early 1990s, it was rarely acknowledged by mainstream media or worn by fashion models, who are predominantly white.[17] The fashion press reported that spring 2009 was the season when different

types of braids began to be worn by female celebrities 'en masse,' in apparent imitation of styles worn by young women in downtown New York and Brooklyn. Braids were popularized on runways after Alexander Wang's Spring/Summer 2010 Ready to Wear show in New York, where the models wore single, messy over-the-shoulder three-strand braids.[18] Interest in the two-strand fishtail braid – in various forms including narrow, wide, neat, messy, single, in pigtails, hanging, or wrapped around the head – grew after Doo-Ri Chung's 2010 Fall New York Fashion Week (NYFW) show. The stylist Orlando Pita arranged the hair in two narrow fishtails gathered at the backs of the models' heads, in a style deemed 'elegant' by fashion writers and inspired, according to Pita, by the collection's classically-influenced 'beautiful intricacies and draping.'[19] As a fashion trend, fishtails, including those wrapped around the head like a Caryatid, have had remarkable staying power. In 2012, the television star Dianna Agron wore two fishtails wrapped around her head to the SAG awards. In 2013, fishtail braids encircling the head also appeared in the Christian Siriano and Viktor & Rolf runway shows.[20] Single or double fishtail braids over the shoulder or down the back have also been regular features of runways, Hollywood parties, and award shows. In 2013, the designers Tory Burch, Naeem Khan, and Nicole Miller all showed models wearing fishtail braids (Images 3-4). After runway models and the singer Rihanna wore a single fishtail braid over the shoulder, the fishtail was prominently featured on braiding websites intended for African-American hair, with the comment that 'everyone' is sporting one.[21] Thin single and pigtail fishtail braids were featured in CALLA's surfer-inspired Spring 2014 NYFW collection, for a bohemian effect. [22]

***Image 4**:* Detail of Model Wearing Fishtail for Tory Burch, New York Fashion Week, Spring 2013. © 2013. Photo courtesy of www.9to5chic.com

In the summer of 2014, braids were being called 'the New Black' in a *Vanity Fair* article about New York hairstylist John Barrett's Bergdorf Goodman salon's Braid Bar, citing the fashion model Joan Smalls' 'to-die-for' over-the-shoulder fishtail at the spring Metropolitan Museum of Art Gala. Celebrities continued to wear them on the spring 2015 Cannes film festival red carpet.[23] No longer thought 'girlish' or a last-minute hairstyle, braids, just as in antiquity, have been deemed appropriate for formal occasions, and increasingly used for special events like weddings and proms.[24] As an *NBC News* one headline proclaimed: 'Forget Pigtails: Resurrected Braid Trend is all about Glam.'[25]

The popularity of the fishtail braid in particular on New York City streets and runways (let alone US college campuses) followed the opening of the new Acropolis Museum in Athens on 20 June 2009, and the ensuing media frenzy, which led to an increased interest in the ever-popular sculptures. Currently the Erechtheion and its Caryatids are the second-most popular tourist destination on the Acropolis after the Parthenon, even though visitors are looking at the cement copies. The display in the museum gives visitors the opportunity for the first time to see the Caryatids from all sides and therefore their hairstyles. The backs of these hairstyles, particularly the fishtail braid, are relatively well preserved (Image 2).[26] The original marble Caryatids, due to the new installation, are among the museum's 'star attractions.'[27] Not all stylists or wearers might be aware of these ancient Greek examples, but some are. With regard to Dianna Agron's fishtail braid crown, the Los Angeles stylist Ian Marshall said 'fishtail plaits are making a big comeback at the moment….This Greek goddess style hair shows how a few simple plaits can create a really stunning look.'[28] As in the Victorian period, 'Grecian' or 'Greek' braids often seem to mean fishtails, but the appellation is now more fluid, ranging from imitations of Caryatid style to English braids wrapped around the head.[29]

Today's trends in braiding, sometimes consciously and sometime not, connect to the world of ancient Greece nearly 2,500 years ago. The movements of our hands creating a fishtail braid are the same as those made by men and women in ancient Greece, including those who dressed the human inspirations for the Caryatids. By connecting girls and women today to these celebrated ancient masterpieces through their hairstyles, experimental archaeology makes the sculptures come alive: they can be viewed as 'sisters' of today's young women.

3. The *Caryatid Hairstyling Project*: Overall Goals and Results

In Classical Studies experimental archaeology is increasingly used to solve questions that cannot be answered by observing or analysing available data (surviving texts, inscriptions, iconographical examples, etc.).[30] To our knowledge, nothing from antiquity survives to illuminate us about the technical or practical aspects of the Caryatids' hairstyles. In modern scholarship, their hairstyles are generally noted as being made of a series of braids in a complex arrangement, but there is nothing more specific about the kinds of braids or why these maidens wore them in this particular way.[31] Prior to a 2009 experiment at Fairfield University, no one in the field of Classical Studies had ever attempted to recreate these specific hairstyles in a historically and archaeologically accurate way using archival photographs and in collaboration with a professional hairstylist. The results from this exploration in experimental archaeology yielded many answers.

In 2009, the *Caryatid Hairstyling Project* was conducted by one of this article's authors, Dr Katherine Schwab, Professor of Art History at Fairfield University, in order to answer these questions: Were the hairstyles creative ideas generated by the sculptors or were they based on reality? How were they constructed (technically, tools, products)? How long would the styling of the braids taken? Would the styles have been uncomfortable to wear? How much hair was required? What type of hair would be best?[32]

With a modest grant from the Fairfield University Faculty Research Committee, a Connecticut-based professional hairstylist named Milexy Torres was hired to recreate the six ancient Caryatid hairstyles on six student models, ages 19-22, all from the university. Ms Torres had additional background in working with complex hairstyles for productions with theatre companies,

although she had never before worked with a Classicist to re-create actual hairstyles from antiquity. Schwab compiled numerous photographs, including archival photographs in black and white that record important details, and recent colour images from the new installation. Ms Torres studied these photographs prior to the hairstyling day. Six students were selected as models for the length, thickness and texture of their hair. The texture ranged from nearly coiled curls to slightly wavy. In each instance, Ms Torres made the decision as to which student would wear which Caryatid hairstyle on the basis of hair texture.

The styling session required approximately seven hours, one student at a time, and it was filmed for a subsequent video. The student for Kore B had the easiest hair to style and it came together faster than the others, in only forty minutes. The other hairstyles averaged about one hour, with a few taking as much as one hour and twenty minutes. Ms Torres used hair spray and a curling iron on the slightly wavy hair, otherwise, a few bands and pins held the final version in place. In a few cases she incorporated artificial hair to complete the full set of braids or to add length: braided to wrap around the heads of Kore A and B, woven into the hairline of Kore C to match a fishtail braid visible at the front of the statue, and to complete the lower unbound hair of Kore E. Final photographs were taken outside during a heat wave on 26 April 2009 when the temperature reached 33°C. Students stood in the same formation as the original statues, with the correct spacing between each figure. The heat caused the very textured hair to curl more and to shorten, whereas the heavier straighter hair could not hold its curl during final photographs. While the heat produced some unforeseen problems, it also captured a sense of summertime in Athens when the heat can be quite strong. All the student models noted that the hairstyle was unexpectedly cool and comfortable.

***Image 5**:* Samples of Braids. Left: Fishtail Braid Made with Two ‘Legs.’ Middle: English Braid Made with Three ‘Legs.’ Right: Four-Legged Braid. © 2014. Photo courtesy of K.A. Schwab

Most of us are familiar with the English braid, which is made with three 'legs' (Image 5, centre). A variation on the English braid can be made with four 'legs,' (Image 5, right). It is easy to make but looks quite complicated. In contrast, the Caryatids wear the fishtail braid, which is made with two 'legs' of hair (Image 5, left). Different looks are generated depending on the tension maintained during braiding and the size of the section of hair pulled around to the other side (Image 6). Smaller sections create a tightly woven look (as in Image 5, left), but larger sections can create the looser more textured appearance found in the original statues.

***Image 6**:* Detail of Fishtail Braid Worn by Student Model for Kore B.

Results of the experiment yielded new information that we had not known before.

Were the hairstyles based on a sculptor's creative imagination or reality? Yes, it *is* possible to recreate the hairstyles and they were indeed based on actual hairstyling practice. The discovery that the richly braided hairstyles worn by the renowned Caryatids could be replicated, which has not been attested before in the Classical scholarly literature, eliminated any lingering questions about the role of the sculptor concerning actual hairstyles worn by ancient Greek women of a certain class.

How were the hairstyles constructed (technically, tools, products) and what kind of hair is best suited for the style? Long waist-length, thick hair with some texture would be best for the hairstyles worn by the Caryatids. If examples in ancient Greek art are any indication, most females had hair with moderate to great texture. It is rare to find what appears to be fine, straight hair in Greek art. The hair would have been divided into sections to make braids beginning at the temples,

which would cross in back and then wrap around to the front, with the ends tucked under a lock of hair. The column capital above the Caryatids conceals the top of the head and these details. Locks of hair worn in corkscrew curls were formed behind the ear where the hair is more delicate and prone to curling. These long corkscrew curls would hang down in front of the shoulders. For our experiment we opted for one corkscrew curl, created with a curling iron. In antiquity, a smooth stick would have sufficed to wrap the hair while still damp after shampooing, and it would dry in a corkscrew curl. This technique to create corkscrew curls around a stick is still used in different regions around the world.[33] Additionally, while the hair was damp, the hair could be divided in sections with a stick dipped in perfumed olive oil. A fifth-century BCE Greek vase in Munich shows a young woman spreading perfumed oil in her hair with a long stick.[34] Olive oil or a mixture of olive oil and animal fat may have been the best means of shaping locks of hair to hold their curls. A similar mixture has been discovered as an application to the hair on an Egyptian mummy.[35] For hair with texture, the olive oil would have transmitted valuable moisture to the cortex of each hair strand.

How long would the styling have taken? Hair with texture and length can be styled in less than one hour. On average it takes around one hour, with more time required for heavy, less wavy hair. Today, hair of any texture can be used to create the ancient hairstyle, and hair products can assist with the overall appearance.

Would the styles have been uncomfortable to wear? The hairstyle is light, comfortable, and easy to wear. It is most ideal during the summer heat.

Why this particular hairstyle from an architectural perspective? The thick braid at the back of the strong wide neck of the Caryatid sculptures provided a good support for the head and capital directly above. After all, the Caryatids function as columns and need to support the flat roof of the south porch. Keeping in mind that the marble maidens stand at 231 cm (7.57 feet), if one were to reduce their scale to approximate the height of an average fifteen year old, the size of the braids would begin to match reality. Girls in their mid-teens would have had the greatest amount of thick long textured hair, perfectly suited for this unique hairstyle. The amount of hair required to make the historically accurate Caryatid hairstyle is substantial. A recent graduate of Fairfield University, with an unusual amount of thick long hair (a family trait as it turns out) demonstrated that it is possible to create the hairstyle.[36]

What type of hair? The *Caryatid Hairstyling Project* revealed that hair with very wavy to tightly curled texture was easiest and quickest to arrange in the ancient hairstyles. The textured hair held the braids and general shape more readily and did not need any products such as hairspray to hold it in place. All of the ancient Caryatids have textured hair, with the exception of Kore D, which has barely wavy texture. Hair has the capacity to twist into tight coils or extend in a straight line. The determining factor is the shape of the cortex inside the hair shaft. These two sections below show a round shape (left) associated with pin straight hair and an oval shape (right) associated with textured (curly) hair (Image 7).

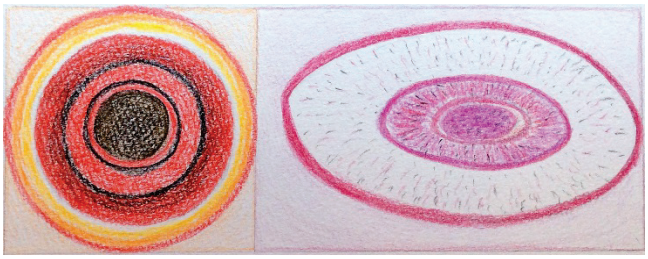

Image 7: Sections of the Hair Cortex. Left: The Round Section Creates Pin Straight Hair, Right: The Oval Section Creates Curly Hair. © 2015. Drawing courtesy of K.A. Schwab

Examples of hair, from pin straight to strongly textured, reflect the nature of the shape of the cortex as well as the follicle itself. Pin straight hair tends to be stronger and shiny from the natural oils that easily travel the length of the hair shaft. Highly textured hair, with its many twists and turns, is more difficult to keep moisturized, and its tendency toward dryness makes it delicate (Image 8).

Image 8: Hair Samples from Pin Straight at Left to Coiled Curls at Right.
© 2013. Photos courtesy of K.A. Schwab

4. The *Caryatid Hairstyling Project*: Views of Individual Models' Hair Textures, Styling Phases, and Final Outcomes

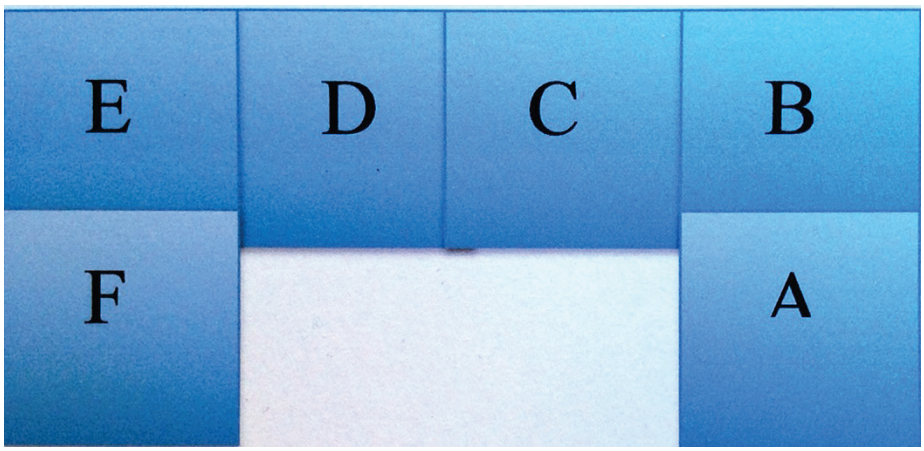

Image 9: Diagram of the Base for the Caryatids from the South Porch of the Erechtheion, as Seen from Inside the Porch. Kore A-Kore F represent the placement of the individual figures.
© 2015. Courtesy of K.A. Schwab

A. Kore A

Kore A wears a thickly-carved fishtail braid down her back, and the hair is gathered together in a series of symmetrical groupings before it is bound several inches above the ends. The ends form several thick locks carved in a wavy pattern to reflect the texture of the hair. The sculptor who carved Kore A may be the same one who worked on the hair of Kore E, for both fishtail braids are similar in design and execution. From our experiments, we concluded that the best hair texture for this Caryatid is thick with many waves. First, fishtail braids are formed near the temple on either side and wrapped around the upper part of the head. In our testing, additional hair was incorporated into this upper braid. Corkscrew curls originally emerged behind the ears before falling in front of

the shoulders, adding to the richness of the hairstyle in combination with the back-pinned mantle and belted peplos.

Image 10: Kore A. Black and white photo ©1970. Courtesy of Deutsches Archaölogisches Institut-Athens, inv. neg. no. 70/437, photo, Goesta Hellner. Colour photos
© 2014. The Acropolis Museum. Photos by K.A. Schwab.

Image 11: Kore A, Fairfield University Model S. Cimino, hair styled by M. Torres.
© 2009. Photos courtesy of K.A. Schwab

B. Kore B

Kore B has richly textured hair that is ideal for making a fishtail braid. Additional fishtail braids encircle the back of the head, forming a thickly woven texture. The maiden's central braid down the back reveals the quantity of hair necessary to produce this loosely defined two-legged braid. Her position at the corner exposed her to weathering and air pollution more than Kore A, and this has worn away more detail on the outward facing carved surfaces. In recreating this hairstyle sections were defined to begin the side braids after making the thick fishtail braid down the back. Additional hair was added to form the extensive braid wrapped around the crown of the head. The natural texture of the model's hair is ideal for this hairstyle, and the locks below the band form their own pattern. These unbound locks are almost equal in length to the fishtail braid.

Image 12: Kore B. Black and white photo © 1970. Courtesy of Deutsches Archaölogisches Institut-Athens, inv. neg. no. 70/443, photo, Goesta Hellner. Colour photo © 2014. The Acropolis Museum. Photographed by K.A. Schwab

Image 13: Kore B, Fairfield University Model D. Westrup, hair styled by M. Torres. © 2009. Photos courtesy of K.A. Schwab

C. Kore C

Kore C has thickly textured hair consisting of wavy segments that form an unusually wide fishtail braid down her back. Sharply defined fishtail braids wrap neatly around her head at the back, recalling a precision similar to cast bronze sculpture. The vertical braid is bound at the midpoint, with the loose locks forming a zigzag pattern. The state of preservation is very good

because it was among the sculptures removed from the Acropolis by Lord Elgin and transported to London at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The marble surface has less weathering than the other five Caryatids, and it clearly preserves a short braid pulled back at the hairline above the forehead. This special braid would later be cut as a dedication before marriage, alluding to the maiden's status. In recreating this short braid, additional hair was intertwined with the model's hair to achieve the same effect. Of the six Caryatids, Kore C appears to have the most textured hair, and this is matched to the model's hair.

Image 14: Kore C, Black and White Image. © The Trustees of the British Museum, Acc. No. 1816.0610.18

Image 15: Kore C, Fairfield University Model A. Nowak, hair styled by M. Torres. © a-b photos courtesy of Fairfield University, photographs, B. Angeletti.
© Photos c-d courtesy of K.A. Schwab, 2009

D. Kore D

Kore D is the only example with slightly wavy hair, and this is conspicuous in the main fishtail braid where the locks are relatively smooth. In contrast, the hair below the band forms thick loosely curving locks, possibly styled by wrapping the locks around a stick. The texture exemplified in this maiden's hair has no parallel among the other Caryatids. Kore D's braid, noteworthy for its lack of texture above the band, was copied by a nineteenth-century sculptor who carved a new head

for Kore F. The model's thick and slightly wavy hair shows the difference between the braided section and the wavy loose locks of hair below the band.

Image 16*:* Kore D. Black and white photo. © 1970, Courtesy of Deutsches Archaölogisches Institut-Athens, (inv. neg. no. 70/447, photo, Goesta Hellner. Colour photos © 2014. The Acropolis Museum. Photo by K.A. Schwab

Image 17: Kore D, Fairfield University Model, M. Giarratana Young, hair styled by M. Torres. © 2009. Photos a-d, courtesy of K. A Schwab

E. Kore E

Kore E stands at the eastern corner of the porch with her face and left side exposed to the elements and air pollution. She wears a thick fishtail braid down her back, carved in sections similar to those worn by Kore A. Braids wrap around her head, exposed at the back as two large fishtail braids overlapping one another. Her vertical braid is bound just below the midpoint. Numerous locks of very wavy hair hang below the band. The leftmost lock of hair lies flat against her back, a unique feature not found in the other Caryatids. Also, Kore E's long corkscrew curls are made of two locks, not the typical three, and of these two, one appears to be a loose corkscrew curl while the other is a zigzag pattern. Organizing the hair for this replication took considerable work, and was ideally executed thanks to a model with extremely thick and textured hair. The photographs show

early steps in the main braid leading to the completed braid, which is quite thick. Additional hair was added below the band to create the specific texture of the original.

Image 18: Kore E. © 1970. Black and white image. Courtesy of Deutsches Archaölogisches Institut-Athens, inv. neg. no. 70/451, photo, Goesta Hellner.
Colour photos © 2014, The Acropolis Museum. Photo by K.A. Schwab

Image 19*:* Kore E, Fairfield University Model C. Parker, hair styled by M. Torres. © Photos a, d courtesy of Fairfield University, photographs, B. Angeletti;
© 2009. Photos b, c courtesy of K.A. Schwab

F. Kore F

Kore F suffered from damage at different times in the history of the Acropolis. Most of her head was lost; however, some fragments have been identified and assembled to give the general appearance. Only the lower part of her fishtail braid is intact, carved directly on the back of the maiden. The locks below the band reveal a curly texture that finds parallels with Kore B and Kore C. In the nineteenth century an Italian sculptor was asked to make a new head for Kore F, and he chose to copy the fishtail braid of Kore D, the example with the least amount of texture, for the large section above the band. The relatively straight hair is distinctive and, in this case, does not match the texture of the hair below the band. In our project to recreate this maiden's hair, some inventiveness was required to suggest the appearance of the original fishtail braid, including a looser

pattern followed by a tighter braiding sequence directly above the band. Curly locks of hair below the band successfully convey the texture on the original sculpture.

Image 20: Kore F. Black and white photo. © 1970. Courtesy of Deutsches Archaölogisches Institut-Athens, inv. neg. no. 70/458, photo, Goesta Hellner.
Colour photos © 2014. The Acropolis Museum. Photo by K.A. Schwab

Image 21*:* Kore F, Fairfield University Model S. Berger, hair styled by M. Torres.
© 2009. Photos a-d courtesy of K.A. Schwab

5. Impact of the *Caryatid Hairstyling Project*

Great interest has been shown in the *Caryatid Hairstyling Project*. As a result of the project, girls and young women are intentionally trying to imitate Caryatids. A YouTube video demonstrating how to recreate the Caryatid hairstyle was based on the Fairfield University project as the video's director explains and has had over 15,700 views.[37] An article in *ARTnews* about the project has been shared over 3000 times.[38] Sometimes it is for wearing – the YouTube video creator and some commentators mention wearing it as a fun style. Often it is educational – the hairstyle and the process of creating it have been used as learning tools about ancient Greece and ancient Greek women by classics and art history professors and students, particularly after demonstrations by Schwab for middle and high school students, as well as for university students throughout the

Northeast.[39] As S. Berger, our Kore F in the video, *The Caryatid Hairstyling Project* (2009), commented, 'it is one thing to see it and another thing to wear it.'[40] All of the student models discovered that their general interest in and connection to ancient Greece was transformed by the project. They thought about hairstyles in an entirely new way and as a compelling portal to another time and place. Ancient Athenians were no longer a vague concept but real people whose lives were played out in the surviving art. Younger students, such as those at The Brearley School in New York City, read Homer's *Odyssey* in which Calypso is constantly described in terms of her beautiful braids. Learning about the Caryatids' hairstyles and watching fellow students transformed into Caryatids by Ms Torres creates a memorable experience. Students contemplate how these elaborate coiffures, including the currently popular fishtail braid, identified a select group of young women in ancient Athens who participated in their city's rituals and societal traditions (Image 22).[41]

Image 22: Milexy Torres and Katherine Schwab at The Brearley School in New York City, Flanking Students with their Hair styled as Caryatids, April 2015. © 2015. The Brearley School. Photo by E. Antanitus

Photographs of the Caryatid Hairstyling Project, a temporary exhibition at the Greek Consulate General in New York City (25 February – 27 March 2015), spontaneously prompted students from The Cathedral School to braid each other's hair into variations of the Caryatid hairstyles during their visit to the exhibition (Image 23). The same exhibition travelled to the Embassy of Greece in Washington, D.C. (30 April – 26 June 2015) where thousands of visitors viewed the photographs during the annual European Union Embassies' Open House Festival on 9 May 2015.[42] The Caryatid hairstyles have opened a portal into the past, generating new interest in ancient hairstyles and the people who wore them.[43]

Image 23: Students Wearing Fishtail Braids Inspired by the Exhibition, the *Caryatid Hairstyling Project*, at the Greek Consulate General in New York City. © 2015.
Photo courtesy of the Reverend Archdeacon Panteleimon Papadopoulos.

Notes

[1] Meredith Bryan, 'Here Come the Braids,' *New York Observer*, May, 26, 2009, accessed 29 May 2015. http://observer.com/2009/05/here-come-the-braids.
[2] Vitruvius, *On Architecture, Volume 1, Books 1*-5, trans. Frank Granger (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), 1.5.
[3] British Museum, GR 1816.6-10.128.
[4] Linda Jones Roccos, 'The Kanephoros and Her Festival Mantle in Greek Art,' *American Journal of Archaeology* 99, no. 4 (1995): 641-66.
[5] Jenifer Neils, 'With Noblest Images on all Sides: The Ionic Frieze of the Parthenon,' in *The Parthenon: From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. J. Neils (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 207.
[6] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: Macmillan, 1899; Boston: Adamant Media, 2000).
[7] For similar examples in late antique Rome, see Marice Rose, 'The Construction of Mistress and Female Slave Relationships in Late Antique Art,' *Woman's Art Journal* 29 (2008): 46-47.
[8] One of the maidens in the Parthenon east frieze (northern half) might be wearing a fishtail braid but it is not well enough preserved to determine if additional fishtail braids wrapped around her head and corkscrew curls emerged from behind her visible ear.
[9] John Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), fig. 108 (Berlin Kore), fig. 117 (Discus Thrower); John Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), fig. 35 (Artemision Bronze), fig. 66 (Omphalos Apollo).
[10] See Alexandra Lesk, 'A Diachronic Examination of the Erechtheion and Its Reception,' (PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 2004), 262-279, for discussion of Roman copies of the Erechtheion Caryatids. Other Roman examples were located in fora in Roman Corinth and Mérida, Spain.
[11] Keith Christiansen and Stefan Weppelmann, eds., *The Renaissance Portrait from Donatello to Bellini* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011).
[12] Lesk, *Diachronic Examination*, 686.
[13] Lesk, *Diachronic Examination*, 452-595.
[14] J. L. Wolfe, 1820. Cited in Lesk, *Diachronic Examination*, 863.
[15] 'The Hair. Part I: Arrangement,' *Home Book: A Domestic Encyclopædia Forming a Companion Volume to Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management* (London: Ward, Lock, and Company, 1882), 538-539.
[16] 'Braid' was the most common search term for in 2014 on the *Teen Vogue* website. Simone Oliver, 'Braids Woven to Each Personality,' *New York Times*, October 9, 2013, accessed 29 May 2015,

http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/10/fashion/Braids-Have-Become-a-Trendy-Way-to-Show-Some-Creativity-.html?_r=0.

[17] Cheikh Anta Babou, 'Migration and Cultural Change: Money, "Caste," Gender, and Social Status among Senegalese Female Hair Braiders in the United States,' *Africa Today* 55, no. 2 (2008): 8. Ironically, although African braiding salons were common in New York City, it was John Barrett's opening of a braiding bar in his Bergdorf Goodman salon in summer 2011 after seeing women in downtown New York wearing 'creative braids' (as quoted in Oliver, 'Braids Woven') that brought braids to attention of the mainstream media, as discussed below. For media paying attention to African-style braids only when white celebrities wear them, see Philip Picardi, 'The Thin Line between Fashionable and Offensive,' *Refinery29*, 8 October 2014, accessed 4 June 2015, http://www.refinery29.com/cornrows-cultural-appropriation. Another example is the corn rows worn by Bo Derek in the 1979 film *10* that started a trend among non-African Americans in the early 1980s.

[18] Bryan, 'Here Come the Braids.'

[19] 'Best Runway Hair: 2010,' *Elle*, accessed 29 May 2015, http://www.elle.com/beauty/hair/tips/g1971/best-runway-hair-fall-2010-397588/.

[20] 'Five Braided Hairstyles to Rock this Season: See the Best Fall Braid Trends for 2013,' *29Secrets*, accessed 3 June 2015, http://www.29secrets.com/beauty/5-braided-hairstyles-rock-season.

[21] 'From the Runway to the Streets: The Fishtail Braid,' *Notice Magazine*, 4 March 2013, accessed 4 June 2015, https://noticemagazineblog.wordpress.com/tag/fishtail-braid-for-black-women. 'Black Hair Ideas Part 2,' *Art Becomes You*, 2 March 2012, accessed 4 June 2015, http://artbecomesyou.com/2012/03/02/101-black-hair-ideas-part-2/; Tiffany Barrow, 'Ten Awesome New Black Natural Hairstyles,' *Latest Hairstyles*, accessed 4 June 2015, http://www.latest-hairstyles.com/black/natural/natural-hairstyles.html.

[22] 'Get the Look: Surfer Chic at Calla Spring 2014,' *Hello* Canada, 10 October 2013, accessed 2 June 2015, http://ca.hellomagazine.com/health-and-beauty/0201310112316/get-the-look-surfer-chic-at-calla-spring-2014.

[23] Alyssa Reeder, 'Braids are the New Black at John Barrett,' *Vanity Fair*, August 14, 2014, accessed 4 June 2015, http://www.vanityfair.com/style/2014/06/braids-are-the-new-black; Jackie Fields, 'The 10 Best Cannes Braid Moments… Ever,' *People*, May 11, 2015, accessed 2 June 2015, http://www.peoplestylewatch.com/people/stylewatch/gallery/0,,20922052,00.html?stitched#30333066. Barrett is a hairstylist of international stature whose clientele include personalities in film, media, fashion, and society.

[24] Oliver, 'Braids Woven.'

[25] Brooke Foster, 'Forget Pigtails: Resurrected Braid Trend All about Glam,' *NBC News*, June 27, 2011, accessed 2 June 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/news/other/forget-pigtails-resurrected-braid-trend-all-about-glam-v6958875.

[26] Laser cleaning for all five Caryatids in Athens was completed in June 2014. A short video of the project was produced by the Acropolis Museum, 'Conserving the Caryatids,' YouTube video, 1:15, accessed 2 June 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bwCNfQh8Woo.

[27] Recent cleanings have made them even more popular. Liz Alderman, 'Acropolis Maidens Glow Anew: Caryatid Statues, Restored, are Stars at Athens Museum,' *New York Times*, July 7, 2014, accessed 29 May 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/08/arts/design/caryatid-statues-restored-are-stars-at-athens-museum.html?_r=0.

[28] Yanar Alkayat, 'We Want Dianna Agron's Plaits!' *Cosmopolitan* January 31, 2012, accessed 2 June 2015, http://www.cosmopolitan.co.uk/beauty-hair/celebrity-hair-makeup/a14811/we_want_diannaagron_red_carpet_plait_updo_hair/.

[29] Styles at 2014 fall/winter London runway shows for Fendi and Dolce and Gabbana were called 'elegant Greek goddess styles' in the press; braids were included, but not fishtails. Laura Cochrane, 'Braids – this season's hair: In pictures,' *The Guardian*, 5 September 2014, accessed 2 June 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/fashion/gallery/2014/sep/05/-sp-braids-this-seasons-hair-in-pictures.
For the Metropolitan Museum of Art's 2009 Spring gala, celebrity stylist Louise O'Connor arranged model Coco Rocha's hair in four braids that crisscrossed at the back, saying: 'She had sent me a picture, she said it was Grecian, but the picture she actually sent me was, it seemed, more Renaissance, or like the Elizabethan times, a very romantic cross between curls and braids'; Bryan, 'Here Come the Braids.'
[30] For overview, see Toni L. Carrell, 'Replication and Experimental Archaeology,' *Historical Archaeology* 26, no. 4 (1992): 4-13. For experimental archaeology with weaponry, see the work of Barry Molloy, including 'Swords and Swordsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age,' *American Journal of Archaeology* 114, no. 3 (2010): 403-28. For experimental archaeology of Aegean Bronze Age cooking, see Dr Eleni Hasaki, 'Greek Kiln Project,' accessed 10 July 2015, http://aiatucson.arizona.edu/greek-kiln-project, and Janet Stephens, a professional hairdresser in Baltimore, has written an article and produced videos recreating ancient hairstyles; 'Ancient Roman Hairdressing: on (Hair) Pins and Needles,' *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 21 (2008): 111-132; YouTube channel *Janet Stephens Channel*, accessed 5 June 2015, https://www.youtube.com/user/jntvstp.
[31] Hans Lauter, *Antike Plastik*, vol. 16, *Die Koren des Erechtheion* (Berlin: Walter H. Schuchhardt, Felix Eckstein, 1976). This volume remains the most comprehensive publication on the Caryatids. It is generously illustrated, along with comparanda such as the Augustan and Hadrianic copies of the Athenian Caryatids.
[32] The project webpage with additional information and bibliography is http://www.fairfield.edu/caryatid,
[33] James Stevens Cox, *Illustrated Dictionary of Hairdressing and Wigmaking* (New York: Drama Book Pub, 1984), fig. 232.
[34] John Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Classical Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), fig. 156.
[35] Jo Marchant, 'Ancient Egyptians Used "Hair Gel",' *Nature*, 19 August 2011, accessed 5 June 2015, http://www.nature.com/news/2011/110819/full/news.2011.487.html.
[36] The student, and the women in her family, all have unusually thick and long hair. The student followed the general arrangement of the Caryatid hairstyle, with hair down to her hips. Due to having exceptionally thick hair, she had plenty of her own hair to create side braids wrapping around her head, in addition to the fishtail braid down her back. She did not attempt the corkscrew curls from behind her ear, but it was evident that she could have done this with her own hair.
[37] LaDollyVita33, 'Ancient Greek Braid Inspired by the Parthenon's Caryatids,' YouTube video, 8:16, accessed 4 June 2015, https://youtube/ZDG6uAGZDN8. One of the comments in the blog corrected the location from the Parthenon to the Erechtheion.
[38] Jenny Brown, 'Greek Revival,' *ArtNews* February 1, 2011, accessed 4 June 2015, http://www.artnews.com/2011/02/01/greek-revival/. ShareThis: 3103 and Pinterest: 2427.
[39] The Brearley School, The Marymount School, and The Cathedral School in New York City; and Amherst College and Case Western Reserve University, for the northeast.
[40] *Caryatid Hairstyling Project*, dir. Katherine Schwab, Fairfield, CT: Fairfield University, 2009, DVD.
[41] Torres, professional hairstylist for the Caryatid Hairstyling Project, has collaborated with K.A. Schwab on numerous occasions to demonstrate the Caryatid hairstyles. She includes a variation of the Caryatid hairstyle in her repertoire for bridal hairstyles she offers to clients.
[42] Over 3,500 visitors entered the Greek Embassy during the 2015 Open House celebration. Subsequently, *The Washington Post* featured an article by Celia Wren, accessed on 4 June 2015,

http://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/museums/how-did-they-do-that-do/2015/05/20/10aa6188-fd81-11e4-833c-a2de05b6b2a4_story.html.
The Independent in London republished the article, which leads with a new title including a reference to Jennifer Aniston's character Rachel, famous for her hair, on the hit U.S. TV program *Friends*, accessed 4 June 2015,
http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/history/the-rachel-haircut-of-2015-hairdos-of-the-ancient-greeks-brought-to-life-10277384.html

[43] The Bellarmine Museum of Art at Fairfield University will host an exhibition, *Hair in the Classical World*, 7 October-18 December 2015, with a broader focus on ancient Greece, Cyprus and Rome, along with a symposium on the topic on 6 November 2015, organized by the authors. For more information, visit www.fairfield.edu/museum.

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Kate Spade and Tory Burch Are Iconic American Brands, But Are They Luxury?

Deidra W. Arrington

Abstract

The Kate Spade and Tory Burch labels began with two young women who set out on a quest to create products that embodied their lifestyles and points of view. Did the designers successfully enthral the buying public with their idea of, in the case of Kate Spade, 'the perfect handbag,' or in the case of Tory Burch, fashion options that fall 'between high-end designer and JC Penney?' The answer, as this article concludes, is arguably 'yes.' Through their personal philosophies and business decisions, Kate Spade and Tory Burch chose paths that set in motion the futures of the companies they founded. This article examines the brands' founders, histories, inventiveness, and the choices they made that shaped the Kate Spade and Tory Burch names into iconic 'accessible luxury' fashion brands known around the world. Consideration is also given to the impact of the Kate Spade and Tory Burch brands in the American fashion brandscape. Their shared admiration of Ralph Lauren and the lifestyle empire he created is discussed and the likelihood that their aspirations to become lifestyle brands will come to fruition is questioned. In the process, the provocative definition of luxury and what motivates consumers to purchase luxury goods is surveyed. Lastly, the question of 'Are they luxury?' is answered. The qualitative methodology and analytical approach of this article are shaped by the author's professional experience as an apparel buyer and her teaching and scholarship in fashion merchandising.

Key Words

Kate Spade, Tory Burch, Ralph Lauren, luxury, accessible luxury, new luxury, branding, conspicuous consumption, American designers, consumer purchasing behaviours.

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1. Introduction

As a practitioner and twenty year veteran of the American fashion industry, first as an apparel buyer and divisional merchandise manager and since 2004 a member of the Department of Fashion Design and Merchandising at Virginia Commonwealth University, my approach to research comes from experience in the U.S. fashion industry. Likewise, in the classroom, I prepare students for careers in the fashion business rather than in fashion studies. The research project discussed in this article began when I noticed the similarities in the histories of the Kate Spade and Tory Burch founders and the brands they launched. An examination of their similarities led me to explore their differences as well. During the early stages of my study, the question of the brands' legitimacy as 'luxury brands' became a focus of inquiry as I examined how these young women set out on a quest to create brands that embodied their lifestyles and points of view. Through their personal philosophies and business decisions, Kate Spade and Tory Burch chose paths that set in motion the future of their companies and shaped the Kate Spade and Tory Burch names into iconic fashion brands known around the world. The design houses began similarly and both remain relevant in today's fashion brandscape; however, their road to mega success was divergent. Both are classified as accessible luxury, but are they truly luxury? The answer lies in the definition of luxury, which is explored in this article.

2. Methodology

The research for this article, qualitative in nature, was acquired through primary research gathered from personal communications, interviews, field research, and content of analysis of texts associated with the brands. Additionally, secondary research was conducted via an investigation of peer reviewed research journals, highly regarded fashion and financial periodicals, and books on branding, marketing, luxury, and glamour written by prominent experts in the field.

3. Kate Spade

A. The History

Kate Spade, credited for revolutionising the handbag business, was born Katherine Noel Brosnahan in 1962 in Kansas City, Missouri, the fifth of six children. Her father ran a construction company and her mother was a homemaker.[1] Growing up in a middle-class family in the Mid-western United States influenced Spade's fashion aesthetic. 'In the Mid-west "you have to have (an item of clothing) because you like it, not because you're supposed to have it,"'[2] Spade told Samantha Critchell for the Associated Press in 2004. Spade also acknowledges her mother as one of her greatest fashion influences because of her taste and simple approach to dressing up. Spade's love of colour emerged early in her childhood, and she often wore bright clothing purchased at thrift stores to set herself apart from her sisters.[3] Spade majored in broadcast journalism at Arizona State University, from which she graduated in 1985. During her time at Arizona State University, Spade worked at a clothing store where she met her future husband, Andy Spade. After graduating, Spade spent the summer backpacking alone through Europe before moving to New York City. In New York City, Spade landed a job at *Mademoiselle* Magazine as an editorial assistant earning $14,500 annually. Spade eventually became the accessories editor where she saw countless chic and fashionable handbags; however, she did not see a handbag that she wished to own. She recognised a gap in the market for a functional and sophisticated bag, and that was the catalyst that motivated her to design handbags. Spade's time as a fashion editor at *Mademoiselle* was a valuable experience. During her tenure there, she refined her taste and honed her design aesthetic.[4] 'Kate Spade – the brand – directly reflects the sophisticated yet down-to-earth personality of Kate Spade the designer.'[5]

The brand Kate Spade was founded in 1993 by Kate Brosnahan and Andy Spade (married in 1994). Brosnahan and Spade cashed out their retirement accounts to finance the business.[6] Friends Pamela Bell and Elyce Arona joined the company as partners in the venture. Designing the six original bags and fashioning the first prototypes from white drawing paper and Scotch® tape[7] proved to be the easy part; the real challenge was finding someone to produce the bags. A manufacturer in Brooklyn, New York agreed to produce the handbags and Barney's, the American luxury retailer, purchased them at the first trade show Spade attended. Barneys' confidence in the saleability of the bags offered encouragement to the fledgling brand; however, the purchase order did not cover the cost of attending the trade show. Before the second trade show, in what proved to be a stroke of genius, Spade moved the inside label to the outside of the bag. That small detail created the brand Kate Spade, and high end stores in the U.S., like Fred Segal and Charivari, placed orders.[8] Brosnahan and Spade worked tirelessly to deliver quality products, on time. Every order was filled and shipped out of their apartment.[9]

Early on, the Kate Spade brand was a media darling, gaining the mantra of 'iconic America brand.'[10] In 1998, Spade was named the Council of Fashion Designers of America (CFDA) winner for best accessories designer. Her square, nylon bags, desired by fashionable women across the United States, changed the handbag business. Spade's personal style has been lauded as a reason for the success of the brand. Linda Tischler, writer for Fast Company, described Spade as 'stylish without the intimidating edge of New York fashionista.'[11] Tom Julian, trend analyst for Fallon Worldwide stated, 'There is some psyche that Kate Spade is able to tap into and capitalize on. Not trendy and fashionista, but rather the purity factor of a Midwesterner turned New Yorker.'[12] Spade described her fashion philosophy to Jackie White of the Kansas City Star as, 'Dress for yourself. It's

so much more fun.'[13] In 2007, the Spades left the company to pursue other interests and spend time with their daughter.[14] Table 1 illustrates the path of the Kate Spade brand from a handbag producer to lifestyle brand.

Table 1: Kate Spade and Company Timeline @ Deidra Arrington

Kate Spade and Company Timeline							
1985	**1993**	**1994**	**1998**	**1999**	**2006**	**2013**	**2015**
Mademoiselle Magazine	Founds Kate Spade	Marries Andy Spade	Wins CFDA Award	Sell 56% share to Neiman Marcus	All shares sold to Liz Claiborne Spades exit the company	Liz Claiborne sold to Fifth & Pacific	Fifth & Pacific becomes Kate Spade & Company

B. The Brand

Kate Spade appeals to a wide demographic. Using bright hues in timeless styles projects a quirkiness that charms the young and not so young alike. Kate Spade is also known for vibrant prints that complement the bright colour palette. The Kate Spade brand is described as 'optimistic and happy' according to Craig A. Leavitt, Kate Spade Chief Executive Officer. 'It's about living life to the full,' says Deborah Lloyd, President of Kate Spade.[15]

> Our brand promise is to help our girl live an interesting life, to live her life in color, in every sense of the word, it is not just about offering colour, it is about living life to the full. Michael Kors is jet set, Tory Burch is, you were born with a silver spoon you know American aristocracy – Kate Spade is about encouraging our girl to live this colourful life.[16]

Kate Spade is positioned between upper moderate (retail prices ranging from $100-$300) and designer (retail prices ranging from $500-$5000) price zones. In the fashion industry, this level of pricing is referred to as accessible or 'new' luxury. The accessible or 'new' luxury price zone is attractive to those who aspire to buy higher end designer garments, but cannot afford them and to those who are looking to round out a wardrobe of high-end designer pieces. It is the price zone where goods are aspirational and of higher quality and taste, but still affordable to a large number of consumers.[17] Prices in the Kate Spade line range from $12 for trouser socks to $1,500 for a coat in the Madison Ave. Collection (Image 1).[18]

Kate Spade was highly successful in its early years. In 1999, the American luxury retailer Neiman Marcus bought 56 percent of the company, making Kate Spade a subsidiary of Neiman Marcus. This was the beginning of a difficult time for the brand, which went from hot commodity to near extinction for a few years. The brand faltered due to overextension through licensing agreements and the large amount of counterfeit Kate Spade goods in the marketplace. In 2006, Kate Spade was sold to the American apparel manufacturer Liz Claiborne, Inc. for $124 million, leaving the Spades and their original partners with no shares in the Kate Spade brand.[19] Under Liz Claiborne, Inc., which is now known as Kate Spade & Company, the company righted itself. In 2013, Fifth and Pacific (formally Liz Claiborne, Inc., now Kate Spade and Company) divested all other apparel company holdings to focus on the Kate Spade brand.[20]

According to company documents, business was outstanding in 2014. Kate Spade's net sales were $1,138.6 billion, a 42 percent increase over 2013.[21] According to the Kate Spade & Company Annual Report, at the end of 2014 there were 238 stores encompassing Kate Spade, Jack Spade, and outlets.[22] By 2015, the company projected 475-500 stores worldwide, with 250-300 of those in North America.[23] In early 2015, the Kate Spade Saturday and Jake Spade stores were shuttered. Kate Spade discontinued the Kate Spade Saturday brand and the Jack Spade brand is sold exclusively online.[24] According to CEO Craig A. Leavitt, 'we have set a long-term goal of about $4

billion (in retail sales), and we are confident that we have a pathway to that.'[25] According to Ike Boruchow, 'Kate Spade is the #1 growth story around.'[26]

Kate Spade brands include Kate Spade New York and Jack Spade (sold exclusively online.) The company sells direct to consumers through retail stores and online, which accounts for more than 20 percent of sales,[27] as well as to wholesale to American department stores like Nordstrom, Neiman Marcus, and Bloomingdale's. The company views business abroad as its major business opportunity. As of 2013, international sales accounted for 20-25 percent of the business. By the end of 2016 the international sales goal is one third of sales and long term, the international sales penetration goal is two thirds of sales.[28]

***Image 1*:** Chevron Aria Dress ($848) from the Kate Spade Madison Ave. Collection Summer 2015.

Citi Investment Research analysts Kate McShane and Oliver Chen predict a bright future for Kate Spade as the next major global lifestyle brand.[29] Future challenges include staying on top of

fashion trends worldwide, acquiring real estate in Asia, honing pricing strategies, and an overpopulated retail landscape.[30] According to analysts, a puzzling situation is how to grow Kate Spade into a $4 billion brand while avoiding the hazard of ubiquity. The threat of oversaturating the market with Kate Spade product is real and similar to what is currently happening at Michael Kors, the American-based global apparel and accessory brand, with widespread distribution and brand extensions in multiple classifications and what happened in the past to brands like Pierre Cardin. According to marketing experts, Michael Kors handbags are losing their appeal as the 'it' bag in the accessible price zone.[31] As Robin Lewis points out, the parallels between Michael Kors and what happened at Tommy Hilfiger in the late 1990s is undeniable. As soon as consumers realise that 'everyone' owns something from a particular brand, the line loses favour and 'Wonderful becomes awful. The brand stands for nothing for anybody – everywhere.'[32] Marketing experts deem Kate Spade's brand extension into multiple product categories as risky and overexposure in the marketplace is viewed as a threat to preserving the brand's relevancy and attractiveness. However, the recent extraction of Kate Spade Saturday, a lower price point brand, and the Jack Spade menswear brand from stores is thought a constructive step towards safeguarding the brand and refocusing on the goal of becoming the next American lifestyle label.[33] Without further deliberation, Kate Spade may be lead down the path of pervasiveness to the point of unimportance with overzealous brand extension and excessive retail distribution through its company stores, company outlets, and department store partners.

4. Tory Burch

A. The History

Tory Robinson Burch was born in 1966 in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, the youngest of three children. She had a privileged upbringing; her grandfather held a seat on the New York Stock Exchange and owned a paper cup manufacturing company, both of which were inherited by Burch's father.[34] Burch earned a BA degree in art history at the University of Pennsylvania in 1988. After graduation, Burch moved to New York City where she held several positions in fashion companies. At Ralph Lauren, she worked as a copywriter; at Vera Wang Burch, she held the position of director of public relations and advertising; and at *Harper's Bazaar* magazine, she was an accessories editor. In 1996, Burch married veteran retailer Chris Burch, thirteen years her senior. After marrying, Burch settled into domesticity and charity work. However, according to the narrative she tells about the genesis of the Tory Burch brand, she grew weary of being a stay-at-home mother, and in 2004 she launched a fashion line. Aside from a few positions with fashion brands, Burch had no formal education in fashion design or business. She was motivated by the lack of clothing options in the marketplace 'between extremely expensive designer brands – Chanel, Christian Dior, and Givenchy, for example – and far lower-priced brands, everything from Benetton and Levi Strauss to Nine West and JC Penney.'[35] (Levi Strauss, Nine West, and JC Penney are middle-tier American retailers.) Burch's placement of her products in this price zone was insightful, as research shows that the position in the marketplace between mass and high-end luxury appeals to a large base of American consumers.[36]

With a $2 million investment from her husband and contributions by friends and family, TRB by Tory Burch began in 2004. In addition to his financial investment, Chris Burch's experience in the fashion industry and his connections to factories in China were invaluable to the start-up of the Tory Burch brand, securing five Hong Kong factories to produce 50 units each of the initial products.[37] Chris Burch's experience began in the eighties when he and his brother Robert founded a preppy line of sweaters called Eagle's Eye. The sweaters, manufactured in Hong Kong, were wildly popular and were included in *The Official Preppy Handbook*, a guide to preppy dressing published in the eighties. In 1990 the Burch brothers sold 70 percent of their company for $60 million.[38] In a 2012 *Vanity Fair* interview Chris Burch stated, 'When it came to sourcing and product development and accounting and business finance and capital raising – all that *I* had to do.' Chris Burch raised $10 million from private investors[39] and touched every facet of the brand from

retail pricing, to lease negotiations, to web design. He boldly states, 'Tory Burch never could have existed without me, and it never could have existed without Tory. It was a combination of my experience and Tory's vision. That's the truth.'[40]

Burch opened her first store in 2004 in the Nolita neighbourhood of Lower Manhattan. The store opened with $100,000 in merchandise, which sold out the first day. In particular, the Tory Burch logoed flat 'Reva,' named after Tory's mother, became a fashion sensation featured prominently in fashion magazines as a fashion 'pick' (Image 2). The early prototypes for the line were made in the Burch's living room and for two years the company ran out of their New York City apartment. In 2005, Burch appeared on the *Oprah Winfrey* show and her business skyrocketed overnight.[41] In 2008, Burch won the CFDA award for Best Accessory Designer and in 2013 she became the second youngest billionaire in America.[42] Table 2 highlights Burch's progression to fashion success.

Table 2: Tory Burch Timeline @ Deidra Arrington

Tory Burch Timeline						
1988	**1996**	**2004**	**2005**	**2008**	**2013**	**2013**
Haper's Bazaar Magazine	Marries Chris Burch	Founds Tory Burch	Appears on the Oprah Winfrey Show	Wins CFDA Award	Sales exceed $1 billion	Tory Burch becomes a billionaire

B. The Brand

The public relations and advertising campaigns for the Tory Burch brand focussed heavily on Burch, herself, and her privileged life and upbringing, making a link between the glamorous Burch and her label. According to the Tory Burch website, the Tory Burch brand is 'an American lifestyle brand that embodies the personal style and sensibility of its CEO and designer, Tory Burch.'[43] Promotional material characterises the label as one of timeless classics, distinguished by fun, flair, and edge. The Tory Burch brand declares its collection is 'known for colour, print and eclectic details, includes ready-to-wear, shoes, handbags, accessories and beauty. Art, music, travel, interiors and the designer's own stylish parents are inspirations for the collection.'[44] In a *New York Times* profile of Burch, Stefani Greenfield, formally of the specialty store Scoop, noted that Tory Burch 'is pioneering the idea of new luxury in a market that is hungry for style.'[45] The socialite Gigi Mortimer, a client and close personal friend of Burch says, 'Her clothes are sexy and casual and elegant all at once, just like Tory.'[46]

Tory Burch is a privately held enterprise and Burch, who owns 38 percent of the stock, is the company's largest shareholder.[47] According to Andrew Marder of *The Motley Fool* (a U.S. based financial investment firm), Tory Burch is close to offering an initial public offering (IPO) in order to get the financing needed to expand the brand. Marder predicts a Tory Burch IPO will increase pressure on competitors, like Kate Spade.[48] Conversely, *The Business of Fashion* reported in January 2015 that through private funding and the selling of 20 percent of the company to a private equity group, the brand has steered clear of debt while allowing the company to grow.[49] Burch is fiercely protective of the company and unlike the Spades, who sold their company, is decidedly in control of every aspect of the business. In a 2013 interview Burch stated that she wants to see the company remain private. Control is precisely the reason Burch is cautious about licensing the Tory Burch brand. Currently, the company is collaborating with Estee Lauder on Tory Burch fragrances and with Fossil on a newly released line of watches.[50] Luxottica is another trusted partner for eyewear.[51]

Categories in the Tory Burch line include women's apparel, handbags, small leather goods, sunglasses, umbrellas, beach towels, fragrance, home décor, scarves, belts, jewellery, and shoes. The Reva ballet flat ($225) (Image 2) is the best-selling Tory Burch shoe with 250,000 pairs sold in

two years.[52] Price points sit in the space between better (retail prices ranging from $100-$500) and designer (retail prices ranging from $500-$5,000), or 'new' luxury. The brand's price points range from $85 for a key fob to $1,200 for an overcoat; however, most items are under $500. Tunics, the best-selling apparel item, retail for $295.[53]

Image 2: Tory Burch Reva Ballet flat ($225) is the best-selling shoe in the Tory Burch line.
© Photo courtesy of Edward Manning

In the first five years of business, the Tory Burch brand experienced rapid growth. Sales in 2008 were $200 million. Fast forward to 2013 and Tory Burch sales exceeded $1 billion,[54] about 25 percent of which came from international markets.[55] The value of the Tory Burch brand in 2015 is estimated at $3.5 billion.[56] In October 2014, Tory Burch announced the hiring of Roger Farah to serve as co-CEO, alongside Burch. According to analysts, Farah's experience and tenure at Ralph Lauren will likely enhance the brand's ability to become a global fashion empire in the affordable luxury brands category. Last year, under Farah's leadership, sales at Ralph Lauren were $7.5 billion, an impressive number made more so when noting that sales in 2000 were $2 billion.[57] The Tory Burch brand is global with stores in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Philippines, London, Dubai, Paris and the United States. The brand is sold directly to consumers through its retail stores and ecommerce website, and to wholesale retail partners. Retail distribution includes 150 Tory Burch boutiques[58] and in excess of 3,000 department and specialty stores worldwide.[59]

The rise to fashion fame is tempered by the ability of the leaders of a fashion label to lead the company into the next phase of the business cycle. Burch is focused on global markets with a long-term goal of generating two-thirds of sales outside the U.S.[60] Expansion into global markets is driving diversification of the Tory Burch brand into men's apparel and accessories.[61] Tory Burch is active on social media using various platforms to communicate the Tory Burch brand message believing that tying social media with e-commerce is important to the company's future. 'We look at online as our number one store.'[62] The company will tread carefully in the outlet store venue to avoid over saturation of the brand.[63]

5. Similarities between Founders Kate Spade and Tory Burch

The Kate Spade and the Tory Burch brands have many notable similarities. Both are named for their founders, young women who were inspired by their mothers, and were heavily influenced by their sense of fashion. Both women had no formal fashion design training. Each woman was driven to begin her line based on a perceived personal need she felt the fashion industry was not addressing. Spade desired a sophisticated and functional handbag and Burch wanted clothing that was priced 'between high-end designer and JC Penney.'[64] The Kate Spade brand is also priced between the extreme designer the lower price zone. Burch and Spade were perceptive in their decisions to operate in this price zone. A survey of 2,300 Americans earning $50,000 and above showed that 96 percent of those consumers pay a premium for at least one type of product, which equates to almost 125 million Americans with the means and desire to trade up.[65] Goods marketed in this price zone, categorised as 'masstige goods,' a sub category of 'new' luxury previously described, short for 'mass prestige,' command a higher price than their mass market competitors, but are priced more attractively than super premium or luxury goods.[66] Furthermore, the result has defied the conventional wisdom that higher prices equal lower volume. Brands in the 'new,' accessible luxury price sector have successfully increased volume with higher prices.[67] Burch and Spade's shrewd decisions to price their lines in the 'masstige goods' sub category steered the Tory Burch and Kate Spade brands to phenomenal success.

Before introducing their labels, they acclimatised to the fashion industry by working for major American fashion magazines as accessories editors, Spade at *Mademoiselle* and Burch at *Harper's Bazaar*. Both had retail experience in fashion. In the early days of their fashion journeys, they worked out of their apartments and had the full emotional and financial support of their husbands. Each line was backed financially by friends and family who invested in the fledgling enterprises. Upon completing their prototypes, each woman was challenged with finding manufacturers willing to produce products in small start-up quantities. Both women are winners of the Council of Fashion Designers of America Best Accessory Designer award, Spade in 1998 and Burch in 2008.

On their journey to fashion stardom, Kate Spade and Tory Burch conquered the trials and obstacles they encountered. Today the brands target similar customers through their price points, use of bright colours and vibrant prints, and classic, sometimes edgy, silhouettes. The lines are sold in the same department stores: Nordstrom, Neiman Marcus, and Bloomingdale's. The brands' first stores were located in Lower Manhattan and today they have stores all over the world. Each brand considers their global distribution as a growth opportunity, especially in Asia. However, the brands will continue to expand their domestic markets.

6. Differences in the Kate Spade and Tory Burch Brands

While the similarities in the biographies of the founders of both brands are striking, there are major differences in not only the personal histories of the two women, but in the histories of the brands themselves. Kate Spade started her company in 1993 with funding from her husband, family, and friends. In 1999, the company was sold to Neiman Marcus followed by a sale in 2006 to Liz Claiborne, Inc., which left the original investors with no ownership in the company. The sale of their company left the Spades completely detached and uninvolved from the brand they founded. 'It's a thing of the past for them. After cashing out, they only watch how the brand is doing "from a healthy distance."'[68] Tory Burch launched in 2004, also with funding from her husband, friends, and family. While Kate and Jack Spade are still married, Tory and Chris Burch were divorced in 2006. The divorce was contentious, but Chris Burch remains a stockholder in the company. Tory Burch is her company's largest single stockholder, owning 38 percent of the shares. The remaining ownership is held privately by family, friends, and a private investment group. Many speculate that an IPO is imminent, but as of this writing, Burch has stated that she would prefer for the company to remain private.

Another difference between the brands is in their approaches to licensing and brand dissemination. The Kate Spade brand conducts business through partnerships and licensing agreements. Products are licensed when the licensee has expertise in a particular category of goods, such as shoes and jewellery. Furthermore, as stated in the Kate Spade & Company annual report, the company will continue to pursue partnerships in an effort to expand margins.[69] Tory Burch does not seek licensing agreements or partnerships as a business strategy but does work with a few partners on specialty categories such as beauty, watches, and eyewear. The company, wary of brand dilution and loss of control, proceeds cautiously with licensing.[70]

Distribution is also an area where the brands differ. The Kate Spade label has suffered the ill effects of over distribution from the Neiman Marcus ownership days. The fashion label also expanded by offering diffusion brands (lower priced lines) in men's and women's, a decision, according to business analysts, responsible for a setback in January 2015, when Kate Spade & Company announced that all Kate Spade Saturday and Jack Spade stores would close in the first half of 2015.[71] Although its distribution is tighter, at this writing Kate Spade is planning growth in the retail outlet venue. Tory Burch, on the other hand, is treading carefully in the retail outlet arena to keep distribution tight.

These differences have contributed to triumphs and failures of each brand. Kate Spade may not exist today were it not for its purchase by Neiman Marcus in 1999. By their own admission, the Spades set out to make handbags, not build a brand. The sale to Neiman Marcus and the subsequent sale to Liz Claiborne (now Kate Spade & Company) in 2006 are reasons there is a Kate Spade brand today. However, there were missteps along the way that led to over distribution, dilution, and counterfeiting of the brand and the Spades having no ownership or control of the brand they started. The diffusion brands, Kate Spade Saturday and Jack Spade proved unsuccessful as stand-alone retail stores. Tory Burch has remained a stable and private company since its beginning in 2004. Burch had a vision to create a brand to fill a void she saw in the marketplace and in year two, the brand was profitable. In 2015, the value of the Tory Burch brand is estimated at $3.5 billion.[72]

7. The Ralph Lauren Aspiration

The women behind these powerhouse labels found inspiration in the American designer Ralph Lauren and envisioned reaching the pinnacle of lifestyle brand success obtained by Lauren. Kate Spade is aiming to grow sales to $4 billion using Ralph Lauren as a model by selling multiple categories of products including apparel, home goods, and fragrance. Kate Spade Chief Executive Officer Craig Leavitt said, 'Ralph Lauren is our business analog.'[73] Likewise, in a 2012 CNBC interview, Burch discussed her time at Ralph Lauren and the inspiration she took from that experience about public relations, marketing, and branding.[74] The Ralph Lauren Corporation has been constructed to evoke a mental image of a lifestyle swathed in luxury and sophistication. Lauren began life as Ralph Lifshitz, later changing his name to correspond with the image he wanted to project. He started with a line of ties that grew into a menswear business. When Lauren married, he started designing for women and the home. When his children were born, a line for youngsters was created. It is the opinion of this author as a fashion merchandising scholar that the success of the Ralph Lauren brand is due, in part, to its unforced progression that spared the company from contrived design and homogeneity suffered by many in the fashion business. Ralph Lauren has led the industry in lifestyle branding for 47 years, with sales in 2014 of $7.6 billion.[75] Additionally, it is the opinion of this author that critical to the Ralph Lauren brand has been the visual prominence of its founder Ralph Lauren, himself, who continues to be featured in the brand's advertising and sponsorships. Ralph Lauren's hands-on involvement keeps the Ralph Lauren brand authentic. Kate Spade lacks a public face,[76] which begs the question, without its founder, is the aspiration of becoming a genuine lifestyle brand possible for a company like Kate Spade?

Burch appears to be modelling her company and its leadership after Ralph Lauren, for whom she once worked; she remains in charge of the company she created and is relentlessly focussed on her vision and goals for the brand. The brand is intrinsically Tory Burch, the person, just as the

Ralph Lauren Brand is intrinsically linked to Ralph Lauren. The Ralph Lauren label endures by staying true to the Ralph Lauren aesthetic and by conveying a well-defined message about the brand across product categories. Likewise, Burch herself is the image of the Tory Burch brand, appearing in many advertisements, Facebook postings, Tweets, and Instagram photos. In a 2007 *Vanity Fair* Interview, Anna Wintour, the editor in chief of U.S. Vogue stated, 'Tory has been very smart about branding herself. I think she completely understands the power of image and marketing and branding….Women find her clothes accessible and now they're buying into Tory Burch herself.'[77]

8. Are Kate Spade and Tory Burch Luxury Brands?

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines luxury as something that is expensive and not necessary: something that is helpful or welcome and that is not usually or always available.[78] That said, the meaning of luxury is fluid and varied, depending on the source of the definition as corroborated through the following characterisations offered by researchers and luxury professionals. 'Luxury is a word of an uncertain signification,' argued the Scottish historian, philosopher, and economist David Hume.[79] The sociologist Thorstein Veblen was the first social theorist to systematically study luxury as a form of social differentiation and status and force of modernity. In the prescient *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), he developed a theory of 'conspicuous waste,' the most famous of which he termed 'conspicuous consumption.'[80] Veblen not only anticipated the development of what the sociologist Jean Baudrillard would later term the 'consumer society,'[81] he developed a theory of the symbolic function of clothing to indicate whether or not an individual belongs – or aspires to belong – to the leisure class who buy luxury goods, including garments.

Whereas in Veblen's time the consumption of luxury products was limited to the leisure class, that is no longer the case. In affluent consumer societies members have higher wages, disposable income, credit cards, and the belief that people of all social classes and ages not only 'deserve' luxury, they deserve it now. The fashion system has been transformed from a 'closed' to an 'open' system, as the sociologist Gilles Lipovetsky discusses in *The Empire of Fashion* (1987), and attitudes toward luxury are part of that change.[82] *In Deluxe: How Luxury Lost Its Luster* (2007), the social critic Dana Thomas traces the development of the concept of luxury to a time when it was available only to old money, aristocracy, and royalty and was a lifestyle, not simply a product, with an expectation of tradition, superior craftsmanship by family-owned businesses, and a rarefied buying experience.[83] Though elements of this luxury market and experience persist, the new luxury market is nearly unrecognisable, and is now run by global corporations focussed on profit, growth, visibility, brand awareness, outsourcing to large factories in developing world countries, where so-called luxury goods are manufactured right next to mass-market labels. Quantity, not quality is often the goal in this new luxury market.[84] In today's luxury market, luxury goods exist on a 'continuum with ordinary goods, so where the ordinary ends and luxury starts is a matter of degree as judged by consumers.'[85] Marketing scholars Glyn Atwal and Alistair Williams explain luxury as 'experiential and varied in levels of customer participation and connection.'[86] In the 2015 fashion system, perceptions of what is luxurious differ from one individual to another, which renders the definition of luxury subjective and unique. The meaning of luxury has become personal and relative to one's life experiences, expectations, and economic circumstances.

This brings us to the development of the idea of 'affordable luxury' and diffusion lines, i.e. secondary, lower priced lines of luxury fashion houses, and of designers targeting the less affluent, younger, trend- and brand-oriented consumer.[87] Lower priced versions of premium luxury garments are offered by retailers from high-end (DKNY by Donna Karan at Saks Fifth Avenue), to mass merchants (Missoni for Target). A massification strategy, diffusion lines not only increase revenues for the luxury lines with which they are associated with their lower price points, but serve to promote the desirability of the higher priced premium brands, as a result of the halo effect.'[88] According to Olga Slavkina, the managing partner of Schmoozy Fox, a branding agency in Brussels, diffusion lines claim they are a step-up in quality, part of the affordable luxury segment,

but Slavkina observes that 'this segment is already populated by businesses that count it as their core market, such as the Coach handbag brand and Victoria's Secret lingerie.'[89] Enter Tory Burch and Kate Spade, where the core market for their products is the same as the diffusion market, not the traditional luxury market.

Is the luxury good as desirable without the rarefied purchasing 'experience' associated with traditional concepts of luxury? Debatably, no. The buying experience adds value to the good purchased. But, what exactly is the luxury purchasing experience? Steve Diller, Nathan Shedroff, and Darrel Rhea, authors of *Making Meaning: How Successful Businesses Deliver Meaningful Customer Experiences* (2006) discuss it in terms of an engagement delivered to the customer through an integrated system of 'touch points' – product, packaging, message, customer service, and so on – that coveys or evokes a consistent sense of its essence.[90] Their research found that 'people had the strongest ties to products, services, and brands that evoked meaningful experiences for them.'[91]Jim Haag of Verdura, the fine jeweller and specialty retailer, notes that 'the luxury business is 20 percent advertising and 80 percent relational. The latter is enhanced through events like exclusive cocktail parties featuring well-known entertainers, trunk shows, and personal notes and letters.' According to Haag, 'luxury is about offering wealthy clients experiences that they can't buy for themselves.'[92]

The experience of consuming luxury goods, then, begins with the aspiration and dream of possessing iconic or glamourous consumer products. The anthropologist of commerce and culture Grant McCraken claims that glamourous products have 'displaced meaning,' so their purpose is to serve as 'bridges to hopes and ideals' that can never be realised in everyday life. The bridges may be luxury goods that give the consumer a glimpse of the ideal life they hope to live and offer meaning to people and their cultures.[93] There is pleasure in the pursuit of the 'dream,' at various price points and definitions of luxury. Colin Campbell, professor of sociology at the University of York (UK) calls luxury 'modern self-illusory hedonism,' or the pursuit of emotional pleasure through modern consumption.[94] In the case of Kate Spade and Tory Burch and their status as 'new' luxury, Campbell's description is apt, since 'new' luxury goods are always based on emotions, and consumers have a much stronger emotional engagement with them than other goods.[95]

'Meaningful consumption' occurs through the collection of material goods that build the reality that consumers want for themselves. When a brand recognises that consumers purchase goods and services that add meaning to their lives and shape the reality of the purchaser, they discover that they are 'co-creators' of lives rather than simply a provider of products. 'This type of bond between a company and a consumer goes beyond customer satisfaction and brand building,' according to Diller, et al.[96] B. Joseph Pine and James H. Gilmore, co-founders of Strategic Horizons, a thinking studio, introduced a framework based on customer involvement and intensity that identifies four 'experiential zones' including entertainment, education, escapist, and aesthetic. In their model, customer involvement is a measure of the interactivity between the luxury provider and the customer. Intensity is the 'perception of the strength of feeling towards the interaction.' The four experiential zones and the degree to which each is incorporated into a luxury encounter is the gauge of the richness of the encounter.[97]

Once consumers have determined the brands that create 'meaningful consumption' in their lives, they tend to become loyal to the brands. Luxury goods go beyond necessity by providing 'more image and non-functional benefits than necessity products,' according to the marketing scholars Fang Liu, Jianyao Li, and Dick Mizerski, and the marketing consultant Huangting Soh, who use the theory of self-congruity to study luxury brand loyalty and why consumers prefer certain brands over others. Brand self-congruity is comprised of three concepts: 1) brand personality congruity, 2) brand user imagery congruity, and 3) brand usage congruity. The premise behind brand personality congruity is that consumers buy brands that fit their personalities. For example, a woman looking for a dress to wear to a special occasion, like a wedding, may purchase a dress from Kate Spade because she sees herself as a cheerful person and Kate Spade as a cheerful brand. Brand user imagery congruity is the 'degree of perceived similarity a potential buyer sees of the typical

user of a brand with himself or herself.'[98] By purchasing the Kate Spade dress, the woman sees visual aspects in the Kate Spade brand that are reminiscent of traits she sees in herself. Age, gender, culture, and trappings of status are typical in brand user imagery congruity. Lastly, brand usage imagery congruity is the 'association between consumers' perceptions of the typical use of a brand and how the brand is perceived appropriate regarding the situation of use.'[99] Hence, the woman purchasing the Kate Spade dress may find the dress appropriate for a wedding, but inappropriate for work.

How consumers see themselves relative to certain brands helps explains luxury consumption, but why do consumers purchase luxury products when less expensive substitutions will fulfil the function of a luxury option? Certainly, aspiration and the status symbol, as Veblen discussed in 1899, remains critical, including with today's affordable luxury lines. Does one need a $500 Tory Burch handbag when a $24.99 handbag from Target will satisfactorily hold one's belongings? According to Milton Pedraza, CEO of the Luxury Institute, 'Even though we say we're not a class conscious society, this is a very status-conscious society, and these brands help elevate people who may not have a lot of money but want to show off these accessible luxury brands.'[100] Accessible luxury brands promote status and consumers, especially young consumers, view these purchases as necessities to advance their image, what the sociologist Erving Goffman termed 'impression management.'[101] Millennials' influence in part can be explained because they embrace affordable luxury brands far more than previous generations like Baby Boomers. As 'the inaccessible has become more accessible, the unnecessary has become a necessity.'[102]

The concept of Added Luxury Value (ALV) asserts 'the significant added value of a luxury good is the ability of a good to improve or reinforce the individual situation within the social context.'[103] ALV indicates that 'added luxury is created by distinct intrinsic and extrinsic functions of luxury, thus functions that affect the owner or consumer and functions that affect others.'[104] Intrinsic and extrinsic value is caused by a signal, such as the attention received by owning the product or the need to impress others. However, the total perceived value (functional, emotional, and ALV) of a product must align with the price.[105] The concept of ALV echoes the theory in *Making Meaning: How Successful Businesses Deliver Meaningful Customer Experiences* (2006), that people are defined by their possessions functioning as an extended self.[106] Applying Veblen's concept of conspicuous consumption to brands, professors of marketing Franck Vigneron and Lester Johnson conclude that 'the consumption of luxury brands may be important to individuals in search of social representation and position.'[107]

Luxury consumption is further impacted by changing tastes and developing trends. As brands move through their life cycles, some move in and out of favour with consumers. In today's new luxury market, the next 'it' brand is constantly sought while the last 'it' brand is discarded. Demographically, lower incomes and younger consumers invite trendiness in the new luxury industry that, as noted above, was once dominated by mature consumers and classic merchandise assortments. Kate Spade and Tory Burch cater to status conscious, price aware, brand-oriented millennials, who update their products in a marketplace demanding newness.[108] Both are astute at representing their brands through social media, blogs, and traditional advertising that reaches tech-oriented millennials.

In view of the above analysis, are Kate Spade and Tory Burch luxury brands? The assertion of this author is a qualified 'yes,' when substantiated by the expanded definition of luxury offered by Silverstein and Fiske as 'products and services that possess higher levels of quality, taste, and aspiration than other goods in the category, but are not so expensive as to be out of reach.'[109] To many consumers, the Kate Spade and Tory Burch price points are beyond the threshold of their purchasing comfort level, which makes the brands aspirational. As stated by Liu, et al, 'what one person perceives as luxury may be ordinary to another.'[110]

The Kate Spade and Tory Burch brands create what might be termed a quasi-luxury purchasing experience. Kate Spade describes its retail attitude as 'our exuberant approach to the everyday encourages personal style with a dash of incandescent charm.' Kate Spade shops are

'warm and inviting' filled with 'colourful products.'[111] The décor of Kate Spade stores is clean, bright, and cheerful. The staff is focused and thoughtful in their desire to assist customers. Tory Burch stores are designed with a residential appeal including comfortable sofas, velvet drapes, antiques, and items that reflect the location of the store. Customers are greeted upon entering the store and offered refreshments, invited to sit while the attentive staff responds to the reason for the visit. In both cases, once the customer reaches a decision, the sale is handled with care leaving the customer feeling valued and satisfied. Likewise, the Tory Burch collection is known for 'color, print, and eclectic details.'[112] Burch's canny use of the double-T log, which evokes the iconic Chanel double-C, is a repeating symbol for her products, and appears in what the sociologist, Jean Baudrillard refers to as 'consumer series,' for example, various iterations of the Reva flat and bags that attract devoted Tory Burch customers to collect multiple versions of the product.[113] The quality, workmanship, price points, and merchandising philosophy further solidify each brand's place in the luxury landscape. Although neither brand is a diffusion label for a higher end line, but rather a core line in the accessible/new luxury genre, they promote status amongst their consumers at an accessible price point. Brands operating in all genres of luxury, from super premium, premium, accessible, or new luxury, are poised for continued success based on current sales of luxury merchandise, which is an expanding global industry worth $245.7 billion in 2014, a 45.8 percent increase over 2009. The United States market is the largest market for luxury goods with a value of $71.5 billion in 2014.[114]

9. The Impact of Kate Spade and Tory Burch on American Fashion

Kate Spade and Tory Burch, with others like Michael Kors, have shaped the contemporary American brandscape and fashion industry with luxurious products and sumptuous shopping environments at accessible price points. The brands entered the market adding a layer of merchandise that was non-existent, giving validation to the notion that there is more than one type of luxury consumer, especially in a country where the annual household income of approximately 15 percent of U.S. luxury consumers is less than $60K.[115]

Millennials, the most coveted cohort for marketers, are increasingly entering the luxury products category. According to A. T. Kearney's luxury survey, 50 percent of Tory Burch consumers are under the age of 35.[116] As previously mentioned, younger consumers crave luxury and demand fashion that is hip, modern, and stylish. Through creative designs with edgy flair in understandable silhouettes, which appeal to younger consumers, Kate Spade and Tory Burch flourished during the recession that began in 2008, further substantiating their importance and position as viable brands.

10. Conclusion

This article explores the trajectory of accessible luxury brands, Kate Spade and Tory Burch. The primary objective of this research was to profile each brand and explore whether these brands are luxury in today's accessible/new luxury market. While the brands' founders shared similar inspiration and identified unmet needs in the marketplace that led to the establishment of their companies, the decisions they made took each label on a starkly different route to becoming iconic figures in the American fashion business. The exploration of the brands and their histories included defining luxury and examining consumer purchasing behaviours regarding luxury goods. This research showed that luxury goods lie on a continuum that makes defining them personal and subjective; meaning that what is luxury for one consumer is ordinary for another. Superficially, it is easy to think that consumers purchase merchandise that meets a need in a way that is aesthetically pleasing to them. However, as this article makes clear, consumer buying behaviour, particularly in the luxury category, is complex, rooted deeply in human social and psychological behaviour. Often luxury goods are aspirational purchases or used as a means to improve social status. Kate Spade and Tory Burch are decidedly accessible, 'new' luxury, masstige brands as evidenced in product,

marketing, and aspirational qualities. Kate Spade and Tory Burch are successful American fashion brand icons on an arc toward becoming iconic lifestyle brands.

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The Enchanting Spectacle of Fashion in the Museum

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Abstract

Fashion – that ephemeral notion associated with the cloth that wraps our bodies and signals or conceals our identity and gender – is a relatively recent phenomenon within the context of the museum. Fashion exhibitions have evolved from historical presentations equated to cemeteries for dead clothes into new forms of creative and immersive installations that incorporate light, sound, and performative elements. Although numerous books and articles have been written about art curatorial practice, few curators of fashion exhibitions have written expansively about the nature of their work outside of the exhibition catalogues that they produce. The concept of the enchanted spectacle as presented by the sociologist Jean Baudrillard in the 1976 essay 'Fashion, or The Enchanting Spectacle of the Code' is an unexplored thread of connection that can be used to link highly innovative and immersive displays of fashion in the museum. At its core, Baudrillard's essay presents the concept that fashion has no justification, except itself, creating a sense of frivolity and enchantment, and it is this apparent lack of utility that creates the opportunity for passion and subversion. This concept of creative subversion is used to consider dramaturgical installations of fashion that invoke wonder like Judith Clark's *The Concise Dictionary of Dress* at Blythe House in London in 2010, Andrew Bolton's *Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty* at The Costume Institute of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 2011, and Pamela Golbin's *Dries Van Noten: Inspirations* at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris in 2014. Through a combination of personal observation, interview, and analysis, this article seeks to illuminate the creative practice of contemporary fashion curation by locating it in the theoretical framework of Jean Baudrillard's notion of the enchanted spectacle.

Key Words

Fashion curation, fashion in the museum, curatorial practice, Jean Baudrillard, Judith Clark, Andrew Bolton, Pamela Golbin, enchanting spectacle, Wunderkammer.

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1. Introduction

Fashion has taken a prominent place in the museum landscape as a narrative of contemporary culture. In 2011, the *Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty* exhibition at The Costume Institute of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York brought 661,509 visitors through the door, putting it among the top ten most visited exhibitions in the museum's history.[1] In 2015, the restaging of this exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London has created a similar magnetic pull on audiences.[2] Although some have dismissed this trend as the scourge of commercial interests,[3] the critics cannot deny the popular appeal of these engaging spectacles that incorporate light, sound, and theatrical effects to create narratives around fashion. Once seen as 'cemeteries of dead clothes,'[4] these new forms of exhibition practice downplay the presentation of chronologies, contextual material, and other forms of didactics. Instead the focus is on the aesthetics of display and the creation of affect in highly staged and dramatic environments. Also in evidence is an element of creative subversion in defying historical norms of museum displays of dress that privilege historicity and pedagogy. This article attempts to illuminate the creative practice of contemporary fashion curation as expressed in selected exhibitions of fashion in the museum by drawing on the theoretical framework of Baudrillard's notion of the enchanted spectacle.

2. The Evolution of Fashion in the Museum

Although the term 'curator' has come into common parlance to define any act of selecting or styling one's possessions or self, such as curating a Twitter account or an Instagram feed, the term curator in the context of a museum connotes responsibility for the selection, documentation, and display of objects in a viewing space open to the public. The word curator is derived from the Latin *curare*, which means 'to care,' but in contemporary museum practice, this is only one aspect of the role. Curators are institutional gatekeepers and make choices that delineate the scope of the collections for which they are responsible; they also conduct scholarly research to create the narratives that define the interpretation of objects that are placed on display. In effect, when creating an exhibition the curator decides what story will be told and what objects will be used to illustrate that story. Dress artefacts are distinctly different from other types of objects, but there is no handbook of fashion curation *per se*. The absence of the living body that gives form and animates dress creates a unique set of problems for the fashion curator who must comply with museum practice standards that require static mounts and limit light exposure to preserve these inherently fragile artefacts.[5]

Although museums have been in existence in one form or another since the sixteenth century,[6] the collection and display of fashion objects is a relatively new aspect of museology. Some museum collections initially preserved garments within their textile collections or collected artefacts from aboriginal or indigenous peoples as an anthropological exercise, but the notion of collecting dress or fashion did not occur until the middle part of the twentieth century. For example, the Victoria and Albert Museum opened in 1852 and initially collected garments only as examples of textiles, but it was a great many years thereafter before fashionable garments were considered worthy of being collected in their own right. In 1946, the museum held its first exhibition of modern fashion in the *Britain Can Make It* exhibition, but 'failed to seize the golden opportunity to acquire the 1946 exhibits.'[7] The position of dress curator at the museum was created in 1957 with the appointment of Madeleine Blumstein who oversaw a Costume Court display of historic dress.[8] In 1971, the costume designer and photographer Cecil Beaton organised a landmark exhibition of contemporary couture fashion called *Fashion: An Anthology* that brought in a record 90,000 paying visitors into the museum.[9] Nonetheless, it was not until 1978 that the Victoria and Albert Museum publicly acknowledged the relevance of fashion when the Department of Textiles added the phrase 'and Dress' to its title.[10]

The story in North America is similar in that The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York opened in 1866, but The Costume Institute was not established as a curatorial department within the museum until 1946.[11] When the former *Harper's Bazaar* and *Vogue* fashion editor Diana Vreeland arrived at The Costume Institute in 1972 to serve as special consultant, she inserted an element of theatricality into the museum, and incorporated never before seen stylistic elements such as coloured mannequins, props, music, and scent.[12] Her thematic exhibitions included *The World of Balenciaga* (1973), *The Glory of Russian Costume* (1976), and *La Belle Époque* (1982). Although aesthetically pleasing, they were harshly criticised for loose interpretation of historic facts, inclusion of replicas and reproductions, and associations with commercial sponsors.[13] Nevertheless, during Vreeland's tenure, which lasted until her death in 1989, she brought an unprecedented number of people into The Metropolitan Museum of Art[14] and also contributed to the development of dress collections in museums around the world and a rethinking of the ways in which they are staged for public display.

Although Vreeland opened the door to the staging of fashion in the museum as an engaging, stylised, and dramaturgical experience,[15] the majority of exhibitions of fashionable dress have largely been oriented towards the retrospective or chronological presentation to illustrate aspects of historic dress or the work of a specific designer. The dress historian Lou Taylor traced the history of dress display in her 2002 book *The Study of Dress History* and argued that the primary goals of displaying fashion in the museum should be historical accuracy, contextual analysis, and scholarship.[16]Acknowledging the constraints around displays of intrinsically fragile fashion objects,

Taylor suggested that the public should be educated to encourage a more sympathetic understanding of the problem,' since 'there seems to be little that the curator can do to lift the gloomy impression left by conventionally sound dress displays.'[17] Dimly lit galleries, static mounts, and an emphasis on didactic presentations often resulted in such exhibitions being equated to 'cemeteries for dead clothes.'[18] In an oft-quoted passage from the seminal work *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (1985), the cultural studies scholar Elizabeth Wilson noted the element of the uncanny that was so pervasive in costume museums at the time:

> We experience a sense of the uncanny when we gaze at garments that had an intimate relationship with human beings long since gone to their graves. For clothes are so much part of our living, moving selves that, frozen on display in the mausoleums of culture, they hint at something only half understood, sinister, threatening; the atrophy of the body, and the evanescence of life.[19]

In 2008, the journal *Fashion Theory* devoted an entire issue to fashion exhibitions for the first time. In that issue, the Fashion Institute of Technology Museum Director and Chief Curator Valerie Steele wrote an article called 'Museum Quality: The Rise of the Fashion Exhibition,' in which she surveyed the history of fashion exhibitions in museums and addressed some of the contentious issues around commercial sponsorship, historical accuracy, and curatorial independence. Steele noted the rising significance of fashion in a museum context and made her opinion clear when she wrote:

> I have always believed that visitors should be – want to be – actively engaged in thinking about what they see. I also believe that the museum fashion exhibition can be a site of innovative scholarship that it can – and should –make a serious contribution to our understanding of fashion. And it does not need to be frumpy to do so. Quite the reverse.[20]

Since 2008, there has been an exponential growth in the number of fashion exhibitions. With changes in funding structures and with the rise of social media, museums must now compete for their audiences with other forms of entertainment. Exhibitions of fashion not only take place in museum, but also in other venues including department stores and designer archives. In the 'Incomplete Inventory of Fashion Exhibitions since 1971,' a chapter in *Exhibiting Fashion Before and After 1971*, the exhibition-maker Jeffrey Horsley notes that his selective compilation of the history of fashion exhibitions in museums confirms that 'fashion exhibitions are becoming ever more popular with museum audiences' and that there is a need for critical reflection on 'debate around approaches and techniques employed in the presentation of fashion in the museum.'[21]

Outside of what appears in exhibition catalogues, contemporary curators of fashion have written relatively little about the nature of their work. In a reflective article in the journal *Fashion Theory*, Maria Luisa Frisa, the curator of the Pitti Discovery Foundation in Florence, Italy, suggested that fashion curating is the 'exercise of a critical gaze, which recognises the multiple traces, symptoms and fragments that are around us.'[22] According to Frisa, fashion curation involves an element of pattern recognition, piecing together fragments and clues to imagine and tell a story. Frisa's argument about the way in which an exhibition develops borrows techniques from art and film, like montage and assemblage. Advocating an interdisciplinary perspective to enrich the curatorial process, Frisa concludes that her work attempts to 'observe the unfolding of the time as both past and present together.'[23]

The London-based independent curator/exhibition-maker Judith Clark, an architect by training, has suggested that the absence of the living body is at the heart of curating dress; her priority is not the re-enactment of history but to use dress to 'talk about other things.'[24] From 1997-2003, Clark had her own gallery space in London, The Judith Clark Costume Gallery, in which she

reconsidered the nature of dress display and stepped away from traditional presentation models. She has since created a number of innovative exhibitions that explore the temporal and symbolic connections of fashion, notably *Malign Muses: When Fashion Turns Back* at the ModeMuseum (MoMu) in Antwerp, Belgium, in 2004, which was restaged in 2005 at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and renamed *Spectres: When Fashion Turns Back*. In her 2008 article 'One Object: Multiple Interpretations,' Clark revealed that:

> curating, though its ruthless selection inevitably creates new patterns of chronology... also encourages us to read time backwards, to read it from where we are standing, always in the present, acknowledging that this is our perspective.[25]

Clark has been the subject of several articles about her curatorial practice. In a 2014 article in *Catwalk*, the authors conclude that Clark's imaginative and sometimes controversial exhibitions do not offer an 'orderly accumulation of knowledge or a linear logical understanding,' but require the viewer to engage in 'a reciprocal creation' such that the exhibition becomes 'a reflection, an interaction generated between the viewer/participant and the objects and ideas that are made present.'[26]

Andrew Bolton, the curator of numerous exhibitions at The Costume Institute of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has not published any reflective articles about his work. However, he has been the subject of many interviews and has called himself 'an accidental curator,' in reference to the fact that he originally studied anthropology. He sees his role as a fashion curator as being an interpreter of current events through fashion and argues that fashion acts as 'a barometer of our times, and a mirror of what is happening in culture' and claims that fashion 'can express complex ideas in the same way that art can.'[27] Bolton was awarded the 2015 Vilcek Prize in Fashion for his 'curatorial work that elevates fashion as an art form.'[28] In the video that was created by The Met in celebration of that award, Bolton emphasised his role in spotting cultural trends and helping to articulate that to the museum's audiences.

> I tend always to see fashion through the lens of sociology and anthropology and I think that in terms of the exhibitions we put on at the Met, I think it has to have some sort of relevance to what is going on in people's lives. And what we try to do is spot cultural trends and articulate it in a particular way. I think also that it is the idea to promote the concept that fashion as an artistic expression is as valid if not more valid than sculpture and painting and the fact that it has this immediate response to the zeitgeist – it is a barometer of our times.[29]

In assimilating the perspectives of these prominent curators, contemporary fashion curation could be interpreted as a reading of time, engaging with and interpreting objects to find patterns and to frame new readings thereof in terms of chronology, narrative, or points of view.

Other scholars have noticed the evolving nature of fashion curatorial practices. In *Dress, Time and Space: Expanding the Field through Exhibition Making* (2014), the media scholar Greer Crawley and the curator Donatella Barbieri observe a shift towards more experimental modes of presenting fashion, and note that some curators are adopting a more playful and ahistorical approach in which time is 'expanded, compressed or suspended.'[30] In the introductory chapter to the book *Fashion and Museums: Theory and Practice* (2014), the curator Marie Riegels Melchior considers the reasons why fashion has become a drawing card in the contemporary landscape of museums. She writes: 'the theme of fashion seems to dust the museum off and make it inviting, dynamic, and attractive.'[31] Melchior also notes the need for reflective critique since 'it can be questioned what relevance fashion exhibitions have beyond the entertainment value of the display.'[32] Neither article considers the immersive spectacle of fashion in the museum through the lens of theory.

3. The Enchanting Spectacle of Fashion in the Museum

In recent years, a new form of exhibition of fashion in the museum has emerged. These exhibitions are conceptually based and share characteristics of art installations that privilege affect and emotive response rather than pedagogy. This article seeks to find the threads of connection in selected recent contemporary fashion exhibitions of this type that demonstrate the qualities of an immersive spectacle. The media scholar Alison Griffiths defined the concept of an immersive exhibition as 'the sensation of entering a space that immediately identifies itself as somehow separate from the world' giving the sensation or feeling of otherness in which dimensions of time and space are absent. It is this quality of being in another time or place that defines the exhibitions being considered in this article.[33]

The word spectacle has its origins in the Latin *spectaculum* that refers to 'a public show,' with the root *specere* meaning 'to look.' The notion of looking is inherent in the concept of the museum itself, since audiences enter the space with the intention to look at what is on display. Although the idea of enchantment and its associations with magic or witchcraft is not a concept normally used in reference to museum practice, the notion of wonder was once a powerful motive in the earliest conception of the museum. During the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, the *Wunderkammer* was based on the idea that 'an entire cosmos could be controlled within the confines of a room' and celebrated curiosity and sensation. An individual would present his collection of rare and unusual objects in a designated room with the intent to invoke a sense of wonder and stimulate creative thought.[34] Objects were arranged to highlight aesthetic pleasure with a capricious lack of rational classification; sometimes optical illusions were created through mirrors and special lenses as a way of further distorting reality. The notion of the bizarre, the rare, and the precious was celebrated in the *Wunderkammer*. The cabinet of curiosities played with the same concept but on a smaller scale, generally confined to a cabinet, which revealed the collection as drawers and panels were opened. The singularity of the object was privileged as was the notion of wonder:

> The object in a wonder cabinet celebrated nothing but itself as rare, sensational, and unusual. Neither beauty nor history appear to have been promoted as a value by which to behold the housed object. Objects were judged according to the amazement they aroused largely because they were rare, uncommon, and even unthought of creations.[35]

The cabinet of curiosities format fell out of popularity in the nineteenth century when artefacts in a museum were selected and arranged in a pedagogic format to enrich their new public audiences.[36] And once again, it seems that the notion of a cabinet of curiosities has re-emerged in the exhibitions of fashion that are considered in this article. This leads to the question as to whether there is a framework by which to interpret this emerging format of fashion exhibition that is created to invoke a sense of wonder and awe?

In an essay called 'Fashion, or The Enchanting Spectacle of the Code,' the sociologist Jean Baudrillard attempts to define the system of fashion and explain its appeal.[37] Baudrillard's essay offers an explanation for the erosion of codes of meaning within the fashion system, illuminates the mining of retro looks on the catwalk, and justifies the heady frisson of frivolity associated with fashion. Baudrillard's essay was published in *Symbolic Exchange and Death* (1976) and although it predates the contemporary frisson around fashion exhibitions in the museum, the essay offers a possible framework to interpret the idea of spectacle as seen in selected conceptual exhibitions of fashion in the museum.

Baudrillard notionally defines fashion as a system of signs that relate to 'clothes, the body and objects.'[38] He begins by declaring a sense of enchantment, or alternatively, disorientation, that arises with the dismantling and rupture of meaningful referential signs in fashion. In contemporary culture, fashion has become divorced from its signifier of rank, status, or social order and no longer

has any inherent or constructed meaning. Baudrillard's declaration that fashion codes no longer exist reflects the ideology of post-modernism, because the meta-narrative of a code of fashion has been rejected. He argues that from its conception as an economic commodity, fashion implies a spectral or illusory death. It is created with the knowledge that it will not last only for its form to be resurrected at some later date. In this way, fashion always appears to be retro with a recycling of styles from the past to create the impression of novelty and change. Baudrillard argues that fashion is a profound social form affecting all aspects of identity, but the recycling of appearances creates a veil of triviality through this aesthetic of renewal. This argument is woven through the six sections of the essay which are titled provocatively as: The Frivolity of the Déjà Vu, The Structure' of Fashion, The Flotation of Signs, The Pulsion of Fashion, Sex Refashioned, and The Insubvertible.

Baudrillard declares fashion to be the emblem of modernity,[39] and in doing so, he emphasises the temporal nature of fashion in a post-modern world. He uses this observation to support the cyclical nature of fashion and the universality of its existence. The appearance of fashion is linked to ritual and spectacle through its existence an aesthetic medium. He writes: 'it is precisely the *aesthetic* perspective that allows us to assimilate fashion to the ceremonial.'[40] The combination of frivolity, charm, and fascination of fashion is also equated to a festival, where the aesthetic pleasure of fashion has nothing to do with beauty or ugliness, but rather its existence as a social fact in contemporary culture. The absence of meaning in fashion means that the sexual provocation that is often a part of fashion is secondary, and the body is only a medium for fashion, becoming a type of mannequin. He also considers the connections between fashion and the museum, noting that both exercise 'enormous combinatory freedom,' mixing cultural references and styles to create an aura of high culture and perfection.[41]

For Baudrillard, fashion as a form of frivolity or play, has supplanted fashion as a form of communication. He concludes that fashion acts as a subversive element. Unrelated to value systems, criteria, and judgment, fashion plays within and beyond the Western dualities of good/evil, beauty/ugliness, and rationality/irrationality and thus is the *diktat* or statement of modernity. He suggests that the alternative to fashion is not in freedom from fashion but in the deconstruction of both the form of the sign and the principle of signification.

At its core, Baudrillard's essay argues that fashion has no justification, except itself, creating a sense of superficiality and magic, and this apparent lack of utility creates the opportunity for passion and subversion. Baudrillard's notion of enchantment and creative subversion are the key to linking his argument to museum practice. To support this thesis, this article considers three highly original and immersive installations of fashion that I observed in person and that were presented in institutions that represent the most important costume collections in the world: the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris. In the exhibitions *The Concise Dictionary of Dress, Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty*, and *Dries van Noten: Inspirations,* the auteur curators have engaged in creative subversion by stretching or destabilising the norms for museum displays of fashion with unexpected narratives, surprising contexts, settings, and juxtapositions. In staging fashion objects in theatrical environments that suppress chronology, minimise didactic material, and exert combinatory freedom, audiences become enchanted by the spectacle of fashion in the Baudrillardian sense, and are magically transported to another time and place.

4. *The Concise Dictionary of Dress*

The Concise Dictionary of Dress was a site-specific installation (28 April 28-9 June 2010) that explored the art and language of dress within the confines of the Blythe House, a storage facility of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Commissioned by *Artangel*, the curator Judith Clark inserted clothing, accessories, cast objects, photographs in surreal and evocative tableaus within the reserve collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum housed at Blythe House. This unique and highly innovative installation was not a conventional fashion exhibition, and Clark described how she set out to disrupt the traditional pairing of object with text

in the museum. She wanted visitor to 'imagine the archivist or curator' and 'acknowledge intervention as part of interpretation' and the result was a highly unusual and theatrical behind-the-scenes museum experience where viewers were challenged to create their own meaning.[42]

Image 1: *Judith Clark and Adam Phillips, The Concise Dictionary of Dress.* An Artangel commission. Photograph by Julian Abrams. © 2010, Artangel.

To see this exhibition, visitors had to secure advance security clearance since Blythe House was operating as a working museum facility at the time. Security was tight and this meant that visitors had to leave all bags and purses behind in a locked storage cabinet. I felt a profound sense of vulnerability with this uncloaking of possessions and as part of a group of seven visitors was accompanied through the exhibition by a guide who brandished large rings of keys through the labyrinth of corridors. Talking during the tour was prohibited and there were frequent reminders to remain silent.

Labelling was virtually non-existent and the only available clues to the interpretation for the eleven installations were provided through plaque cards with definitions of dress terms written by the psychoanalyst Adam Phillips. These cards contained a single word and were held up by the guides during the tours, and no other labels or didactic information were provided about the objects on display. The words were chosen because of their association with fashion and appearance and included 'armoured,' 'comfortable,' 'conformist,' 'creased,' 'essential,' 'fashionable,' 'loose,'

'measured,' 'plain,' 'pretentious,' and 'tight'. Each word was associated with a related installation of objects and artworks situated in various locations around the facility, including the rooftop. The interpretation of the connection between text and object was left to the viewer, and there seemed to be the intention to create an intense and destabilising sense of ambiguity.

The provocative juxtaposition of fashionable garments, accessories and artworks in amongst the objects in storage and in conjunction with select words associated with fashion was a form of creative subversion of the normal codes of museum practice. In the absence of labels that delineated a history of the object or explanation of what was being presented, viewers had to create their own meanings or connections between the words and the objects of fashion. For example, the tableau created for *CONFORMIST* consisted of an embroidered calico toile on a dress form. Designed and commissioned by Clark, the embellishment on this gown was based on a Morris design for wallpaper called *Windrush* that was drawn by hand in pencil, painted, and worked in coloured stranded silk thread and a variety of metal threads and spangles. A headless mannequin with black-gloved hands supported the embroidered bodice as well as the other muslin pieces that were pinned together in the shape of a period gown with a train. The design extended onto the backdrop, enveloping the figure in the space (Image 1). The definition of *CONFORMIST* was not on display. When led to this tableau, visitors were simply shown the plaque card and left to look in silence. The exhibition catalogue articulated the definition of *CONFORMIST* as:

> 1. A state of essential simplification; safe in numbers. 2. Recipient of an un-noticed demand, complicit; choosing not to choose; compliant, and therefore enraged; unwitting double agent. 3. Blended into a selected background. 4 Committed to difference, and by it; horrified by the idiosyncrasy of desire; uniformly agreeable. 5. Accurate, diligent; wired for surprise; mourning variety. 6. Consensus as spell; idealist.[43]

The notion of conformity within this tableau was multi-layered and open to personal interpretation. Since I was not versed in the notion that Morris was so closely 'associated with the V&A and its ideas about English taste' that he is considered a 'rather excessive presence within the V&A,' the irony of this tableau was not apparent to me.[44] I interpreted this tableau in terms of the aesthetic conformity inherent in fashionable dress for women, particularly in the nineteenth century, and later read an alternate definition of this tableau being about the 'dress participating in this idea of storing taste.'[45]

The other installations inserted by Clark in the storage facility were equally as mesmeric to me. For example, the tableau for *PRETENTIOUS* was situated on the fourth floor furniture store and included rolling racks in which exquisite and expensive couture dresses were hung from forms like floating headless and limbless bodies. Although the dresses were designed by Chanel, Vionnet, Grés, Lanvin, and Poiret, they were not labelled as such, provoking questions about the signification inherent in a designer label. On the rack opposite, a wall of wax voids matched the forms of the dresses exactly (Image 2). I found this tableau to be wondrous and yet also strangely unsettling with its allusions to the absence of the living bodies that once wore these gowns.

The juxtaposition of dress and artworks alongside a 'dictionary' of emotive words of fashion in the unconventional setting of a storage facility was startling and raised many questions in my mind. Since other visitors did not have the benefit of press materials as I had, the profound ambiguity of Clark's installation might provoke a range of emotional reactions including surprise, delight, distress, and perhaps even 'vertigo' in the way that Baudrillard predicted from the erasure of meaningful signs in fashion. From start to finish, the entire exhibition was cloaked in theatricality and can be compared to a cabinet of curiosities on a grand scale. Created to invoke wonder, selected objects of fashion were imparted as a conceptual art installation, providing an incomparable and enchanted museum experience.

Image 2: Judith Clark and Adam Phillips, *The Concise Dictionary of Dress*, 2010. An Artangel commission. Photograph by Julian Abrams. © Artangel.

Clark's curatorial practices have drawn both acclaim and disapproval from her peers. Her 2004 exhibition *Malign Muses: When Fashion Turns Back* at MoMu Antwerp was described by Valerie Steele as 'paradigm shifting,'[46] but also drew sharp criticism from dress historian Lou Taylor who complained about the absence of labels 'as if text panels were the devil' and the 'lack of respect here for the selected clothes.'[47] Nonetheless, Clark's approach has since been lauded as being instrumental in providing a new grammar in which exhibitions of dress 'float free of their histories' and for using 'experimental methods of display, based on a dialogue between dress, space and ideas that privilege a conceptual approach over an instructive one.'[48]

5. *Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty*

With the exhibition *Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty* (2 May – 7 August 2011) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Image 3), the curator Andrew Bolton shifted the paradigm of fashion exhibitions by staging an immersive and multi-sensory experience akin to the charged emotional experience of being at one of McQueen's catwalk shows. In the dream-like darkness of The Met special exhibition galleries, the notion of time was suspended. The exhibit seemed designed to evoke a magical world in which Bolton's curatorial choices mirrored McQueen's catwalk spectacles.

Savage Beauty was not staged as a traditional retrospective exhibition. Instead, Bolton focussed on a thematic and ahistorical presentation of McQueen's most dramatic creations during his nineteen-year career. The exhibition included selected works from his graduate collection in 1992 at Central St. Martins in London, famously bought in its entirety by the stylist Isabella Blow, who became his mentor and friend, up to the 2010 posthumous collection that followed his suicide. About McQueen's design aesthetic, Bolton wrote:

> My personal opinion was that McQueen was channeling the Sublime through his collections. And certainly the Sublime experience was something that certainly affected the audience....McQueen often said that he didn't care whether you liked his collections or not, as long as you felt something. And the intensity of his collections came from the fact that it was often very much about his state of mind at a particular time. For McQueen, the runway was primarily a vehicle to express his imagination. He was very dark. That darkness came from a deep romanticism – the darkest side of the nineteenth century.[49]

Image 3: Title Gallery from *Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty*, 2011, Andrew Bolton. The Costume Institute of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

In curating *Savage Beauty*, Bolton used a storyboard and identified 100 ensembles and 70 accessories that fit with his thematic premise for the show: McQueen as a Romantic individualist, 'the hero-artist who staunchly followed the dictates of his inspiration.'[50] This premise was borne out

of McQueen's catwalk presentations, where McQueen, in the opinion of Bolton, 'validated emotions as compelling and undeniable sources of aesthetic experience.'[51] The galleries were thematically defined and included 'The Romantic Mind,' 'Romantic Gothic,' 'Cabinet of Curiosities,' 'Romantic Nationalism,' 'Romantic Exoticism,' and 'Romantic Naturalism.' In identifying garments to display in the exhibition, Bolton concentrated on pieces he judged to be McQueen's most exceptional, such as the dress made of duck feathers (Image 4). These were typically the finale pieces shown at the end of catwalk presentations that were not intended go into mass production and are now in museum or private collections.[52] These singular garments chosen by Bolton, showcased the designer's skill in tailoring, affinity for embroidery, and innovative use of materials like feathers, shells, horns, and alligator heads, but also served to underline his expressions of conceptual ideas around life/death, beauty/horror, history/politics, and notions of gender. These ideas, atypical as significations for fashion, can be linked to Baudrillard's premise that the appearance of fashion is linked to ritual and spectacle, since each of these themes 'assimilate fashion to the ceremonial' structures of life and society.[53]

Image 4: *Horn of Plenty* Autumn/Winter 2009-10. Dress of Duck Feathers by Alexander McQueen from *Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty*, 2011, Andrew Bolton.
The Costume Institute of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Although the exhibit opened with 'The Romantic Mind' (Image 5), a gallery that presented some of McQueen's earliest work from his graduate collection at Central Saint Martins, the exhibit did not attempt to provide a chronology of McQueen's work nor did it offer a contextual analysis. Instead, Bolton focussed on the idea of the fashion designer as an artist in that McQueen used 'fashion as a way to convey complex ideas' and also 'challenged the idea of what is fashion.'[54] To highlight McQueen's romantic role as an artist/designer, Bolton extensively quoted McQueen on the walls of the galleries. For example, the gallery 'Romantic Exoticism included the following McQueen quote to highlight his engagement with politics as inspiration for his designs:

> I want to be honest about the world that we live in, and sometimes my political persuasions come through in my work. Fashion can be really racist, looking at the clothes of other cultures as costumes….That's mundane and it's old hat. Let's break down some barriers.

In presenting McQueen as an artist, Bolton subverted the hierarchy of the arts in which fashion is considered a form of craft or applied art. As Bolton has observed,

> For McQueen, fashion was not just about utility and practicality but also about ideas and concepts. In this respect, he was an artist whose medium just happened to be fashion. Like many artists, McQueen's fashions were reflective of his personality and state of mind, and were intensely autobiographical.[55]

Like McQueen's catwalk shows where audiences came to expect the unexpected, there was a heightened sense of anticipation in the exhibition at what might be in the next gallery. Although the first gallery was bathed in soft light (see Image 5), perhaps to highlight McQueen's skills as a Savile Row tailor, thereafter the gallery spaces were dark. In crossing that boundary from light into darkness, I felt like I had been transported into an enchanted world akin to a Gothic fairy tale. The Romantic Gothic gallery was evocative of the aesthetics of a palace with highly ornamented and gilded glass-fronted cabinets befitting such a place. Materials used in other galleries, such as rusty metal, wallpaper, acrylic tiles and wood all had parallels to themes of McQueen's catwalk presentations.

The immersive quality of the exhibition was further emphasised by a multi-sensory approach to the installation. Turntables and wind effects created movement; gilded cabinetry added architectural dimension; mirrors played with the doubling of space; and music and light were manipulated to achieve a dream-like quality in the galleries. Video projections within, behind, and around the objects, and in one case on the ceiling, animated the displays. A small-scale hologram of Kate Moss recreated her ethereal presence originally presented in McQueen's fall-winter 2008 catwalk show. One of the largest galleries was given the moniker 'The Cabinet of Curiosities' and played with that concept on a large scale to showcase accessories that were created in collaboration with others such as Philip Treacy and Shaun Leane.

The *Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty* exhibition highlighted the enormous potential of not only of fashion but the museum fashion exhibition, when staged in a ways designed to enchant. *Savage Beauty* became a cultural event, was extended beyond its original run, and brought new audiences to The Met, many of whom waited for hours to get inside.[56] This innovative exhibition with its thematic emphasis on the sublime and the dialectics of beauty and horror has been called a 'game changer' for museums. The fashion journalist Hilary Alexander described *Savage Beauty* as 'an absorbing, astounding walk through the extraordinary convolutions of his mind.'[57] While in the galleries, I noticed that people overtaken with emotion while others literally wept on the steps of the museum – strong evidence of the affective quality of the exhibition.

Image 5: *The Romantic Mind* from *Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty*, 2011, Andrew Bolton. The Costume Institute of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Savage Beauty was restaged at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London from 14 March – 2 August 2015 under the direction of Claire Wilcox. In the opinion of the fashion journalist Suzy Menkes the exhibition was 'even more potent than the original version.'[58] Substantially the same in that it used Bolton's thematic premise and organising principles, there were an additional sixty-six pieces on display. In the London iteration, I observed that the gallery spaces were bigger, the text labels smaller, and the music louder, creating another degree of dislocation and vertigo in the strange other world hyper-reality of this curated space.

6. *Dries Van Noten: Inspirations*

In describing the exhibition *Dries Van Noten: Inspirations* Pamela Golbin, the chief curator at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, declared: 'It was never meant to be a retrospective, nor a fashion exhibition, nor art. It is about creativity.'[59] Golbin collaborated with the Belgian designer Dries Van Noten in a two-year conversation to create an exhibition that linked a variety of objects *a posteriori* (deduced after the fact) to garments created in the years since the launch of his fashion line in 1986. There were two iterations of the exhibition, presented first at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in 2014 (1 March – 2 November) and then restaged at MoMu in Antwerp in 2015 (13 February – 19 July). In both, the intent was to illuminate the designer's creative process through deconstruction of his aesthetic and stylistic vocabulary in thematic tableaux that juxtaposed his garments with paintings, photographs, films, video, and sculptures, as well as objects, including dress artefacts from the collection of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs.[60]

In Paris, the exhibition included approximately 180 of the designer's garments placed alongside about 100 artworks and artefacts in thematic groupings; in Antwerp, the show was about a third smaller in scale. The name of each gallery referred to the theme associated with the inspiration and the exhibition was structured into two sections or parts that reflected whether that theme had acted as a direct or indirect source of inspiration to Van Noten.[61] The first half of the show presented themes that could be directly linked as inspiration for previous collections, such as 'Punk'

for Van Noten's archetype for the female silhouette and 'Butterflies' for Van Noten's male archetype. These two galleries were presented in both iterations of the exhibition close to the entry to establish these themes as recurring elements in Van Noten's design vocabulary. Other examples of direct inspiration included the work of the painter Francis Bacon and the film *The Piano* (1993) by Jane Campion – both of which Van Noten has previously acknowledged as directly influencing his collections. The notion of indirect inspiration was presented on the second floor/part of the exhibition and reflected a more emotional or passionate response of the designer to elements of the idea of the garden as well as imaginary visits to Mexico, Spain, and India.[62] Although the progression created an ahistorical journey through the designer's work, Goblin revealed to me that the design was very carefully constructed to mirror the designer's process of regularly revisiting and reinterpreting certain themes, colours, textures, and ideas, but in a way that also allowed 'each visitor to make it his or her own story.'[63]

Image 6: *Scenography Expo Inspirations by Dries Van Noten: Inspirations,* 2015, Pamela Golbin with Karen Van Godtsenhoven. MoMu, Antwerp.
Photo by Koen de Waal © MoMu.

In both Paris and Antwerp, each vitrine presented a highly structured grouping of garments by Dries Van Noten and the linked artworks or museum artefacts. For example, in Antwerp the gallery called 'Punk' presented a vitrine that illustrated a 'break from past stereotypes of form, colour and behaviour and permit the birth of new archetypes.'[64] This tableau included a replica of the Christian Dior *Tailleur Bar* suit of Spring/Summer 1947, part of the permanent collection of the Musée des Art Décoratifs, set in the midst of six garments from the women's collection Autumn/Winter 2010-2011 and an array of creative inspirations that included a photo of the Sex Pistols by Peter Vernon, extracts of the films *Vertigo* (1958) and *Howards End* (1992), shown on video screens embedded into the glass, and the painting *Monique ant 57* by Yves Klein (1960) borrowed from the archive of Yves Klein (Image 6). The paintings and screens were not treated as wallpaper, but rather as distinct objects that appeared to float in space like freestanding sculptures

with support provided by invisible mounts.[65] Every vitrine displayed this careful consideration in terms of placement that, according to Golbin, took as much planning as creating 'the composition of a painting.'[66] Golbin also referenced her intent to evoke a sense of wonder in the exhibition catalogue, echoing Baudrillard's theoretical position: 'And when Dries Van Noten's creative process is brought to fruition, he gives us not immobile still lifes but true *tableaux vivants*, like the *Wunderkammern*, once so dear to the Northern European aristocracy.'[67]

In Paris, Golbin said she wanted to create the idea of being in a house even though the exhibition was presented over two floors that covered 15000 square feet of exhibition space. 'There is the first floor that is very intimate that presents the themes that are recurring in his vocabulary. The second floor is an incredible imaginary garden that shows all the stylistic references that tells this powerful story of Dries.'[68] Although the Paris venue was large, each tableau created a 'room' in that house, giving the desired level of intimacy.

In Antwerp, the exhibition space was much smaller and was presented on a single floor. Approximately 60 percent of the artworks and other artefacts were changed from the Paris show, offering the Antwerp Mode Museum the opportunity to refresh the second iteration of the exhibition in the designer's hometown. Even though the two venues were very different in size and configuration, the aesthetic experience within the two venues was very similar, with virtually all the walls, floor coverings, and ceilings painted black to mirror the aesthetic of the Dries Van Noten showrooms. This blackness was extended by the choice of mounts covered in black fabric – abstracted mannequins without facial features for Dries Van Noten garments, and Stockman dress forms for dress artefacts from the Musée des Arts Décoratifs. The mounts became invisible against the blackness of the space in a way that I thought highlighted the colourful palette of the designer and emphasised the sensual and haptic qualities of cloth that must be read visually and through glass. In comparing the two exhibitions, Van Noten said: 'It's two different things, because there are so many different pieces. On the other hand, it's one big dream.'[69]

Golbin also made the curatorial choice to minimise didactic text and omitted any numbering or labelling inside the vitrines. This served to sublimate chronology from the exhibition, and visitors had to seek out the adjacent wall text which provided information in a tabular format with three columns -- Left Column, listing Dries Van Noten garments; Middle Column, listing garments from the Musée des Arts Décoratifs; and Right Column, listing inspirations, related artworks or objects. Each wall panel was introduced with brief but lyrical text that originated from conversations with the designer.[70] For example, in the gallery 'Nureyev,' in Antwerp, the wall text read 'The body beautiful. Musculature and movement. The magnificence of the defiantly undone' (Image 7). Such poetic text was suggestive of connections about the designer's creative process, but was left open to interpretation. I had to read the exhibition catalogue to understand that the designer's process was formulated around 'loosely connected narratives' for an imaginary character given an entire wardrobe suitable for 'chance encounters and chance places.'[71] The symbolic choice of mounts and the minimal text may have led to some misinterpretation by visitors. During one of my visits in Antwerp, I overheard a visitor in the 'Jimi Hendrix' gallery asking a guide to identify which Dries Van Noten collection a richly embroidered eighteenth century waistcoat came from. The rich patterning of this waistcoat bore a strong resemblance to Van Noten garments and this question confirms that the juxtaposition of this historic artefact from the museum mirrored the designer's aesthetic as intended. Golbin wanted visitors to create their own experience and she told me that:

> We did not want to bog down the visitor with the analytical jargon that is typically seen in such exhibitions. Each of the vignettes could be viewed as a beautiful tableau and this was very much like the way he [Van Noten] designs. The final wearer of his clothes should appropriate what he designs and make it his own.[72]

In staging this exhibition, Golbin made curatorial choices that subverted the notions of time with her selections of artworks and objects *a posteriori*, as well as through the ahistorical

progression of the designer's work inside the exhibition itself. The dark and magical quality of the gallery spaces transported the viewer to another time and place, and the choice to minimise labels and didactics further emphasised this negation of temporality. In this exhibition, Golbin's deconstruction of the designer's creative output into thematic tableaux favoured aesthetics over chronology and didactics to create an immersive and enchanted spectacle that for some, as Suzy Menkes has observed, produced the effect of 'an emotional roller coaster.'[73]

Image 7: *Scenography Expo Inspirations by Dries Van Noten: Inspirations*, Pamela Golbin and Karen Van Godtsenhoven, 2015. MoMu, Antwerp. Photo by Koen de Waal © MoMu.

7. Concluding Thoughts

The lexicon of possibilities in the displays of fashion in the museum has been redefined with the conceptual framing of displays seen in the work of curators like Judith Clark, Andrew Bolton, and Pamela Golbin. In these new forms of conceptual exhibitions, the aesthetics of display and the affective quality of the displays are privileged over chronology and contextualisation. In 'Fashion, or The Enchanting Spectacle of the Code,' Baudrillard wrote, 'Spectacle is our fashion, an intensified and reduplicated sociality enjoying itself aesthetically, the drama of change in place of change.'[74] In the selected exhibitions examined in this paper, curatorial choices that negate chronology and pedagogy can be read as subversive strategies when compared to conventional displays of fashion in the museum, even though the apparent innovation of the displays can be traced to earlier forms of the museum such as the *Wunderkammern* that privileged wonder. These immersive and theatrical exhibitions of fashion in the museum have appeared during a period of rapid change in the role and purpose of this institution. Not only has the focus of the museum moved away from a strictly didactic role, but social media and the inclusion of new technologies in

the lexicon of museum practice has led to more democratic and entertaining experiences. As well, changes in funding structures have forced museums to compete for audiences who are increasingly sophisticated and knowledgeable about fashion, especially since they can easily watch the real-time spectacle of fashion catwalk presentations on their computer or mobile device.

Critical reflection on the exhibition trends is necessary if the role of the fashion curator is to achieve credibility that extends beyond the display of 'pretty dresses,' as scholars like Valerie Steele, Alexandra Palmer, and Jeffrey Horsley have so eloquently asserted.[75] The three fashion exhibitions analysed for this article share an element of creative subversion by invoking affective sensations of wonder. By focussing on the aesthetics of display and in the framing of the narrative for the exhibition around the negation of temporality, fashion exhibitions have evolved from chronological displays of extant garments into dramaturgical displays that invoke the notion of Baudrillard's enchanted spectacle.

Notes

[1] '661,509 Total Visitors to Alexander McQueen Put Retrospective among Top 10 Most Visited Exhibitions in Metropolitan Museum's History,' *The Metropolitan Museum of Art,* 8 August 2011, accessed 12 August 2012, http://www.metmuseum.org/about-the-museum/press-room/news/2011/mcqueen-attendance.

[2] As of 3 July 2015, the Victoria and Albert Museum announced that more than 345,000 people had visited Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty, making it the 'most visited paid-for exhibition at the museum in the last decade.' All pre-booked tickets for the remaining one month of the show's run were sold and the decision was made to release another 12,000 tickets by remaining open for 24 hours during the last two weekends of the show. 'Around-the-clock opening for final weekends of Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty, Victoria and Albert Museum, accessed 3 July 2015, http://www.vam.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/256918/Savage-Beauty-Press-Release-Late-openings.pdf.

[3] In the article 'The Degas Wears Prada,' Jason Farago warns art lovers that fashion is taking over the museum and 'is singularly positioned to fool museum directors with straitened budgets that its commerce is actually the stuff of art.' Jason Farago. 'The Degas Wears Prada; Art Lovers Beware: Fashion is Taking over Your Museums,*' The New Republic*, August 19, 2013, accessed 3 July 2015, http://www.newrepublic.com/article/114379/fashion-exhibits-big-museums-art-lovers-beware.

[4] Valerie Steele. 'A Museum of Fashion is More Than a Clothes-Bag,' *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* 2, no. 4 (1998): 334.

[5] See the International Committee of Museums Code of Ethics and Costume Committee Practice Guidelines. For an extended discussion of challenges of exhibiting costumes and textiles, see Alexandra Palmer's essay 'Untouchable: Creating Desire and Knowledge in Museum Costume and Textile Exhibitions', *Fashion Theory* 12, no. 1 (2008): 121-126. For an analysis of curatorial strategies to replicate the vibrancy of the living body, see the author's essay 'Animating the Body in Museum Exhibitions of Fashion and Dress,' *Dress* 41, no. 1 (2015): 37-51.

[6] For example, the collection of Francesco I de Medici was transferred into the public realm of the Uffizi Gallery in 1584. Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1995), 27.

[7] Valerie D. Mendes quoted by Amy de la Haye, 'Exhibiting Fashion Before 1971,' *Exhibiting Fashion Before and After 1971*, Judith Clark and Amy de la Haye with Jeffrey Horsley (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 17.

[8] Ibid., 18.

[9] Amy de la Haye, 'A Biography of the Exhibition,' *Exhibiting Fashion Before and After 1971*, eds. Judith Clark and Amy de la Haye with Jeffrey Horsley (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 74.

[10] Amy de la Haye, 'Exhibiting Fashion Before 1971,' in Clark and de la Haye, eds. *Exhibiting Fashion Before and After 1971*, 11.

[11] Harold Koda and Jessica Glasscock, 'The Costume Institute at the Metropolitan Museum of Art: An Evolving History,' in *Fashion and Museums: Theory and Practice*, ed. Marie Riegels Melchior and Birgitta Svensson (London: Bloomsbury 2014), 25.
[12] In the exhibition 'Diana Vreeland: After Diana Vreeland' in Venice (10 March 10 – 25 June 2012), Judith Clark, co-curator of the exhibition with Maria Luisa Frisa, credited Vreeland with breaking the mould of the didactic fashion exhibition. Clark suggested that Vreeland wouldn't hesitate to put a Chanel on a lacquered purple mannequin. 'Today it's hardly noteworthy, we now understand intuitively, but at the time, fashion exhibitions were slaves to historical reproductions.' In an article about the exhibit, Clark was quoted as saying: 'Can we put a Chanel on a purple mannequin? Today it's hardly noteworthy, we now understand intuitively, but at the time fashion exhibitions were slaves to historical reproductions. Let's add pizzazz to a museum. She did that in a way that can be decoded, with intense styling, lightness of touch and glamorizing of things.' Judith Clark quoted in Luisa Zargani, 'Venetian Finds: Diana Vreeland Exhibit Opens in Venice,' *WWD*, March 13, 2012, accessed 14 November 2012, http://wwd.com/eye/people/venetian-finds-diana-vreeland-exhibit-opens-in-venice-5792722/.
[13] The dress historian and curator Valerie Cumming wrote a scathing critique of Vreeland's work that reads in part: 'Vreeland's success and monstrous ego overshadowed her talented but self-effacing colleague Stella Blum, the professional curator at The Costume Institute. Riding roughshod over curatorship and colleagues, Diana Vreeland reinvented costume exhibitions as glossy extravaganzas, fashionable social occasions and introduced the concept of hagiography of living designers.' Valerie Cumming, *Understanding Fashion History* (London: Costume and Fashion Press, 2004), 72.
[14] In a 1993 profile of Diana Vreeland in *Vanity Fair,* Amy Collins quoted Met Museum Director Thomas Hoving who said: 'We had to keep the shows for nine months, there was such heavy traffic—close to a million for *Romantic and Glamorous Hollywood Design*.' Amy Collins, 'The Cult of Diana,' *Vanity Fair*, November 1993, accessed 14 November 2012, http://www.vanityfair.com/culture/1993/11/diana-vreeland-199311.
[15] For an in-depth analysis of Vreeland's impact on fashion curation, see Gabriele Monti, 'After Diana Vreeland: The Discipline of Fashion Curating as a Personal Grammar,' *Catwalk: The Journal of Fashion Beauty and Style* 2, no. 1 (2013): 63-90.
[16] Dress historian Lou Taylor makes her preference for didactic presentations evident when she notes that: 'every period and every culture has its own identifiable way of standing, walking or sitting' which defines the period or 'look of the time' and when she suggested that dress is best presented 'on lifelike, period-oriented mannequins posed with the correct stance, hair and cosmetics.' Lou Taylor, *The Study of Dress History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 29-41.
[17] Ibid., 26.
[18] Valerie Steele. 'A Museum of Fashion is More than a Clothes-Bag,' *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* 2, no. 4 (1998): 334.
[19] Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*: *Fashion and Modernity* (New York: Virago Press, 1985, reprinted 2011), 1.
[20] Valerie Steele, 'Museum Quality: The Rise of the Fashion Exhibition', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* 12, no. 1 (2008): 25.
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[22] Maria Luisa Frisa, 'The Curator's Risk,' *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* 12, no. 2 (2008): 171-180.
[23] Ibid.

[24] Judith Clark and Adam Phillips, *The Concise Dictionary of Dress* (London: Violette Editions, 2010), 110.
[25] Amy de la Haye and Judith Clark, 'One Object: Multiple Interpretations,' *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* 12, no. 2 (2008): 162.
[26] Sofia Pantouvaki and Donatella Barbieri, 'Making Things Present: Exhibition-Maker Judith Clark and the Layered Meanings of Historical Dress in the Here and Now,' *Catwalk: The Journal of Fashion, Beauty and Style* 3, no. 1 (2014): 77-100.
[27] Andrew Bolton, 'Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty' (presentation, Pratt Institute, New York City, 17 September 2012).
[28] Nancy Chilton, 'Andrew Bolton Wins 2015 Vilcek Prize in Fashion,' *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 6 February 2015, accessed 6 February 2015, http://www.metmuseum.org/about-the-museum/now-at-the-met/2015/andrew-bolton-2015-vilcek-prize-in-fashion.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Greer Crawley and Donatella Barbieri, 'Dress Time, and Space: Expanding the Field through Exhibition Making,' in *The Handbook of Fashion Studies*, ed. Amy de la Haye, Joanne Entwistle, Regina Root, Sandy Black, Helen Thomas, Agnès Rocamora (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 44-60.
[31] Marie Riegels Melchoir, 'Introduction: Understanding Fashion and Dress Museology,' in *Fashion and Museums, Theory and Practice,* ed. Marie Riegels Melchior and Birgitta Svensson (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 12.
[32] Ibid., 13.
[33] Alison Griffiths, *Shivers Down Your Spine: Cinemas, Museums, & the Immersive View* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 2-3.
[34] James Putnam, *Art and Artifact: The Museum as Medium* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2009), 10.
[35] Carol Breckenridge quoted by Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1995), 213.
[36] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1995), 33-47.
[37] Jean Baudrillard, *Symbolic Exchange and Death,* trans. Mike Gane (London: Sage, 2007).
[38] Ibid., 87.
[39] Baudrillard was not the first to consider the relationship of fashion and modernity. In 1863, the newspaper *Le Figaro* published an essay by poet and author Charles Baudelaire titled *Le Peintre de la Vie Moderne* (*The Painter of Modern Life*). In this seminal work, Baudelaire defined modernity and its relationship to fashion.
[40] Baudrillard, 'Fashion, or The Enchanting Spectacle of the Code,' 90.
[41] The notion of combinatory freedom and its impact on aesthetics was considered by Umberto Eco in his 1961 work *Opera aperta* (*The Open Work*). This collection of essays attempts to explain the radical difference between traditional art and modern works in which the artist deliberately cultivates a multiplicity of meanings through ambiguity. Umberto Eco. *The Open Work,* trans. Anna Cancogni (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).
[42] Judith Clark, 'A Series of Questions on The Concise Dictionary of Dress Posed Anonymously to Judith Clark,' in *The Concise Dictionary of Dress* (London: Violette Editions in association with Artangel, 2010), 113.
[43] Adam Phillips, 'Look it Up,' in *The Concise Dictionary of Dress* (London: Violette Editions in association with Artangel, 2010), 113.
[44] Press release: '*The Concise Dictionary of Dress*: Words, Definitions, Installations and their Meanings' (Press Packet *Artangel*, London, 2010), 2.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Valerie Steele quoted in Pantouvaki and Barbieri, 'Making Things Present', 84.
[47] Lou Taylor, 'Spectres: When Fashion Turns Back,' *The Art Book* 13, no. 1 (2006): 17-18.

[48] Greer Crawley and Donatella Barbieri, 'Dress, Time and Space: Expanding the Field through Exhibition Making,' *The Handbook of Fashion Studies*, ed. Sandy Black, Amy de la Haye et al. (London: Bloomsbury 2013), 51.
[49] 'Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty, About the Exhibition.' *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, accessed 10 May 2011, http://blog.metmuseum.org/alexandermcqueen/about/.
[50] Andrew Bolton, preface to the exhibition catalogue *Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), 13.
[51] Ibid., 12.
[52] Christina Binkley, 'When Designer Clothes Become Museum Pieces,' *Wall Street Journal Style*, 28 April 2011, D8.
[53] Jean Baudrillard, 'Fashion, or The Enchanting Spectacle of the Code,' trans. Iain Hamilton Grant (London: Sage Publications, 1993, reprinted 2007), 90.
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[61] Pamela Golbin, telephone interview by author, 8 July 2015.
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[63] Ibid.
[64] Punk Gallery Exhibition label, *Dries Van Noten: Inspirations*, MoMu Antwerp.
[65] Pamela Golbin, interview by author at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, 19 May 2015.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Pamela Golbin, 'Collector of Thoughts,' in *Dries Van Noten*. (Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs/Lannoo Publishers, 2014), 10.
[68] Pamela Golbin, 'Découvrez l'interview croisée Dries Van Noten / Pamela Golbin, *Musée des Arts Décoratifs*,' 28 February 2014, *Les Arts Décoratifs,* accessed 19 March 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WiZCZwV0hqo.
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[73] Suzy Menkes, 'Dries Van Noten: Inspired Creativity.' *New York Times*, 28 February 2014, accessed 10 March 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/01/fashion/dries-van-noten-exhibition-focuses-on-creativity.html?_r=0.
[74] Baudrillard, 90.
[75] See Steele, 'Museum Quality;' Alexandra Palmer, 'Reviewing Fashion Exhibitions,' *Fashion Theory* 12, no. 1 (2008):121-126; and Jeffrey Horsley 'Introduction to the Inventory' in *Exhibiting Fashion: Before and After 1971:* 170-246.

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Déjà vu Desperados: Embattled Survivor Imagery of Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young in the Setting of Youth Rebellion America, c. 1967-1973

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Abstract

The romanticised Wild West costumed motif of the folk-rock band Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young (CSN&Y) on the cover of their *Déjà vu* LP album from 1970 evokes the American Civil War rebel and Wild West outlaw, along with the rifle-toting heroic frontier scout, the Spanish/Mexican *vaquero,* and the Native American. Three photographs, taken during a single *Déjà vu* photo session by the photographer Tom Gundelfinger O'Neal, have been line-drawn for the present article by the design technologist and illustrator Marianne Bloch Hansen to enable a close analysis of details of dress, weapons, props, and the shifting positions of band members. The costumed images are considered as artefacts with a view to revealing the motivating circumstances behind that which is seen in the photos. This is accomplished by considering the cover costumes and staging on three distinct levels: as a genre item, a performance, and a product. The focus is on a specific political, social and cultural space, America of the late 1960s-early 1970s youth rebellion. Contemporary editorials, interviews, articles, and advertisements in the music and politics biweekly *Rolling Stone* magazine are utilised as sources. The imagery raises intriguing questions about its underlying style prototypes and patterns of style influences, and whether the costuming of CSN&Y amounts to a pastiche of the sort originally suggested by Fredric Jameson in 'Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism' (1984). Whatever significance the *Déjà vu* album cover motif has as a source for fashion history depends on 'what,' 'how,' and 'why' questions asked by the historian. It is evident that the cover motif with its costumed and heavily armed 'outlaws' is a response to an America rent by social tensions contiguous with the Civil Rights Movement, the Vietnam War, fears of revolutionary violence and of notorious murders committed by the Charles Manson 'family' for example, while also suggesting an ironic sense of failure of the youth counterculture.

Key Words

Fashion, rock groups, Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young, album covers, photography, pastiche, American Civil War, Old West, cinema, television, Westerns, memory, Civil Rights, Vietnam War, rebellion.

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1. Introduction and Methodology

Photographic images can be analysed as sources for prevailing attitudes in rock music culture. In this article, analysis is undertaken with a view to shedding some light on feelings of embattlement and survivalist attitudes behind the 'Wild West outlaw'-costumed band imagery on the cover of Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young's 1970 folk rock LP album *Déjà vu*. Several photographs of CSN&Y were taken during a single *Déjà vu* photo session, of which three were published more or less contemporaneously. There was one on the LP cover of *Déjà vu*, showing David Crosby, Stephen Stills, Graham Nash, and Neil Young, with sidemen Dallas Taylor and Gregory Reeves, released 11 March 1970 – the image which is the centre of our interest as '*Déjà vu* 1' (Image 1).[1]

***Image 1**:* Photograph of CSN&Y on the LP cover of *Déjà vu*.
© Tom Gundelfinger O'Neal- tgophoto.com.

There was an advertisement for *Déjà vu* in the 30 April 1970 issue of *Rolling Stone* magazine, henceforth designated '*Déjà vu* 2' (Image 2).[2] There was also a reproduction in the second volume of the *Neil Young Complete Music* songbook, from 1975, which shall be referred to as '*Déjà vu* 3' (Image 3).[3] All three photographs were taken by Tom Gundelfinger O'Neal, who had specialised in album cover photography for the music industry since 1967.[4] Although they would end up in three different contexts, the photographs were taken initially for the purpose of providing a motif suitable for the cover of the *Déjà vu* album. The three slightly different photographs from a single session enable us to make inferences concerning the act of producing the *Déjà vu* motif and informing it with its purposive character.

The present article contributes toward the expanding field of inter-disciplinary studies of fashion, costume, and style, by shedding light on their contextual relationships with history (especially that of politics and social relations), fine art and photography, popular music cultures, and mass media. The article's novelty lies in its analysis of costumed rock performer imagery considered as artefactual evidence. The analysis is carried out on three levels. As a *genre item*, the *Déjà vu* motif reflects prevalent convention or praxis. As a *performance*, it shows evidence of purposive intent. As *product* – a result of an action or process, it bears witness to external contextual factors affecting its appearance.

Certain details become more apparent when comparing all three versions of the *Déjà vu* motif. In Marianne Bloch Hansen's line drawings (Image 4), some members of CSN&Y have been marked with a bracketed capital letter: [A]-[C]. Particular items of dress and accoutrements have been given a numeral in parentheses: (1)-(9). The purpose is to mark out features that in some cases do not stand out clearly in the three original *Déjà vu* photos (Images 1-3). My focus is on weapons; dress including uniforms and hats; props like the guitar and the dog; and the shifting positions of the

characters in the three images. The component elements shall first be noted, turning to their significance later in dealing with the motif as performance. On all levels of analysis, the *Déjà vu* motif evinces social tension and a survivalist mind-set – a mind-set associated with a sharp decline of trust in government and loss of confidence in the viability of American society during the Johnson and Nixon administrations (1963-1974); this climate of distrust, moreover, had triggered some extreme actions by deviant members of the population like Manson and his 'family.'

***Image 2**:* Photograph of CSN&Y as advertisement in *Rolling Stone*.

In contextualising the *Déjà vu* motif, the music and politics biweekly *Rolling Stone* was the main resource used. In 1974, the editors of *Rolling Stone* described the magazine as a 'general interest magazine covering contemporary American culture, politics, and arts, with special interest in music.'[5] Termed the 'bible of rock,' it was one of the more influential periodicals of its day.[6] To the extent that American rock artists were familiar with current events, it is likely that at least some of their information would have been acquired through reading *Rolling Stone*. While hardly representative of the entire music industry press sector, *Rolling Stone* affords opportunities for placing the visual content – notably its advertisements for rock albums – within the matrix of current events and issues also treated in its columns. The focus of this article is the period of 1968-1973. Subject matter within that time frame included the ongoing youth rebellion, spiced with nostalgia for the Old West cowboy, Indian, and outlaw Americana in advertisements for folk rock albums that tied in with myths of the Frontier, the American Dream, and reflection on the Civil War. Alongside the material in *Rolling Stone*, there are old photographs and paintings, popular media, related genre imagery produced by the contemporary music industry in advertisements and on album covers, as well as images of folk rock and Old West objects, and memorabilia in museums and private collections. Looking into the origins of the 'characters' portrayed in the CSN&Y *Déjà vu* motif enables us also to delve into the fashion and costume history of the Old West.

The styled *Déjà vu* album cover motif shall also be considered in light of the mythography and collective memory of the 'Old West' and pastiche refiguration of past styles into signifiers of the present. 'The Old West' comprises the history, lore, and cultural expressions of life in the western United States between the American Civil War (1861-1865) and the end of the nineteenth century. This is the historic West of the 1865-to-1890 period, where tension between individualism and community, symbolised by rifles, six-shooters, and gun belts, contributed to defining it as 'The Wild West.'[7] The American West provided a concrete locus for nostalgia. As the historian Eric Hobsbawm has remarked, 'like Huckleberry Finn, man can imagine himself 'lighting out' when the constraints of civilization become too much for him.'[8] It was a theme manifested in Dennis Hopper's *Easy Rider* (1969) that had also formed part of the sensibility of folk rock artists. As a reviewer of that cult film put it: 'The morality of *Easy Rider* is as simplistic as a Western, except that its heroes are the outlaws, and its villains, the dangerously uptight, violent law-and-order Americans.'[9]

Image 3: Photograph of CSN&Y in the *Neil Young Complete Music* songbook.

Comparing the *Déjà vu* photos with early photographs of actual denizens of the Old West shows that the striving for an authentic reproduction was carried through down to the minutest details. This raises the question of whether one is dealing with a pastiche. The phenomenon of pastiche was treated by Fredric Jameson in the benchmark essay 'Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism' (1984).[10] Jameson's original discussion of pastiche as 'blank parody'[11] and '[an] 'historicism' [that] effaces history'[12] has been modified and further developed by Ingeborg Hoesterey and Richard Dyer.[13] Hoesterey's and Dyer's main observations partially refute Jameson's claim, and contend that pastiche is neither blank parody nor an historicist effacement of history; they can be combined into a working definition of pastiche suited for the present purpose: a pastiche is a work of art that closely and usually deliberately imitates – quoting, referencing, reproducing, copying – the style of previous work in a particular genre, so as to make of it

something formally very close to what it imitates.[14] A pastiche deforms the style of its referent by selection (e.g. clothes, weapons, positioning), accentuation (e.g. sepia tinting, embossed leatherette cover), exaggeration (e.g. number of armaments, the many different types of Old West characters), and concentration (e.g. all of the above within a single frame) so that one can speak of 'quasi-homage and parodic modes' (e.g. with respect to the myth of the Old West and Frontier values).[15] Most importantly, pastiche is always an imitation of an imitation: a kind of imitation that you are meant to know as an imitation.[16] One may also subscribe to Dyer's argument against the notion in Jameson 'that pastiche is incompatible with affect; indeed the reason for being interested in it is that it demonstrates that self-consciousness and emotional expression can co-exist.'[17] This emotional aspect attaches itself to the mythologised Old West insofar as myths are grasped at for guidance in times of stress (e.g. crisis-torn America in the 1960s and 1970s). What is equally important is that pastiche involves a 'process of refiguration, or conversion [where] the past form is converted into a sign of the present, while the present is historicised through its containment within a formal element taken from the past' (e.g. old, as opposed to contemporary, photos of 'outlaws').[18]

Alongside the message-bearing pastiche aspect of the CSN&Y *Déjà vu* motif, critical analysis of the three photos encompasses popular visual collective memory of the post-Civil War Old or 'Wild West.' How it all fits together and how it has expressed itself in the costuming and staging for *Déjà vu* goes back to a hierarchy of impulses and motives, some of them basic and subconscious, others more overtly social and political. The *Déjà vu* motif is a freeze snapshot allegorical description of events coinciding and converging in the late 1960s and early 1970s: Civil Rights, Old West revisionism à la *Little Big Man* and *Soldier Blue* (both: 1970) in connection with Vietnam, back-to-nature authenticity, a sense of outlaw and rebel camaraderie, with plenty of violent associations – and plenty of firearms. This study will be limited to considering the impacts of the Vietnam War, Civil Rights Movement(s), and Manson murders. It also opens up onto some wider questions. How and to what extent did the youth counterculture perceive itself as being outlawed or, as suggested by this study's title, being forced to become desperados? Apart from the recurrent themes of 'conflict' and 'survival,' would there be anything in the imagery and costume of *Déjà vu* reflecting back on a sense of irony with respect to a perceived failure of the youth counterculture as such?

2. From the Buffalo Springfield to Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young

The California folk rock group the Buffalo Springfield (1966-1968) was dominated by members Stephen Stills and Neil Young.[19] Folk rock was essentially folk songs with rock instrumentation, and the Buffalo Springfield captured the spirit of protest in the late 1960s in their music. The group's name, taken from that of a manufacturer of steamrollers, has Old West associations: 'Buffalo,' of course, and 'Springfield,' the name of a rifle used in the Civil War and Old West. The Buffalo Springfield was Americana personified.

Neil Young, one member of the group, appeared at times as a self-styled Hollywood Indian, wearing a fringed, buckskin, Plains tribes' war shirt.[20] Stephen Stills adopted the role of a Stetson-hatted cowboy to Young's Indian. As stated by record producer Barry Friedman 'It was planned…we came up with those trademarks – Neil the Indian, Stephen the cowboy. It was characters.'[21] According to rock'n'roll musician and founder of The Turtles, Mark Volman 'No one was going around in Comanche war jackets and Indian beads or Confederate uniforms until the [Buffalo] Springfield.'[22] With his 'Hollywood Indian'-look, Neil Young was clearly expressing his fascination with the West of media images. Young had also appeared with Buffalo Springfield on television in 1967 decked out in a full Confederate grey cavalry uniform of frock coat with Austrian knots of rank above the yellow cuffs, a wide-brimmed centre-creased slouch or 'stag' hat with gold-black officer's hat cord and brass CSA hat badge and cavalry boots.[23]

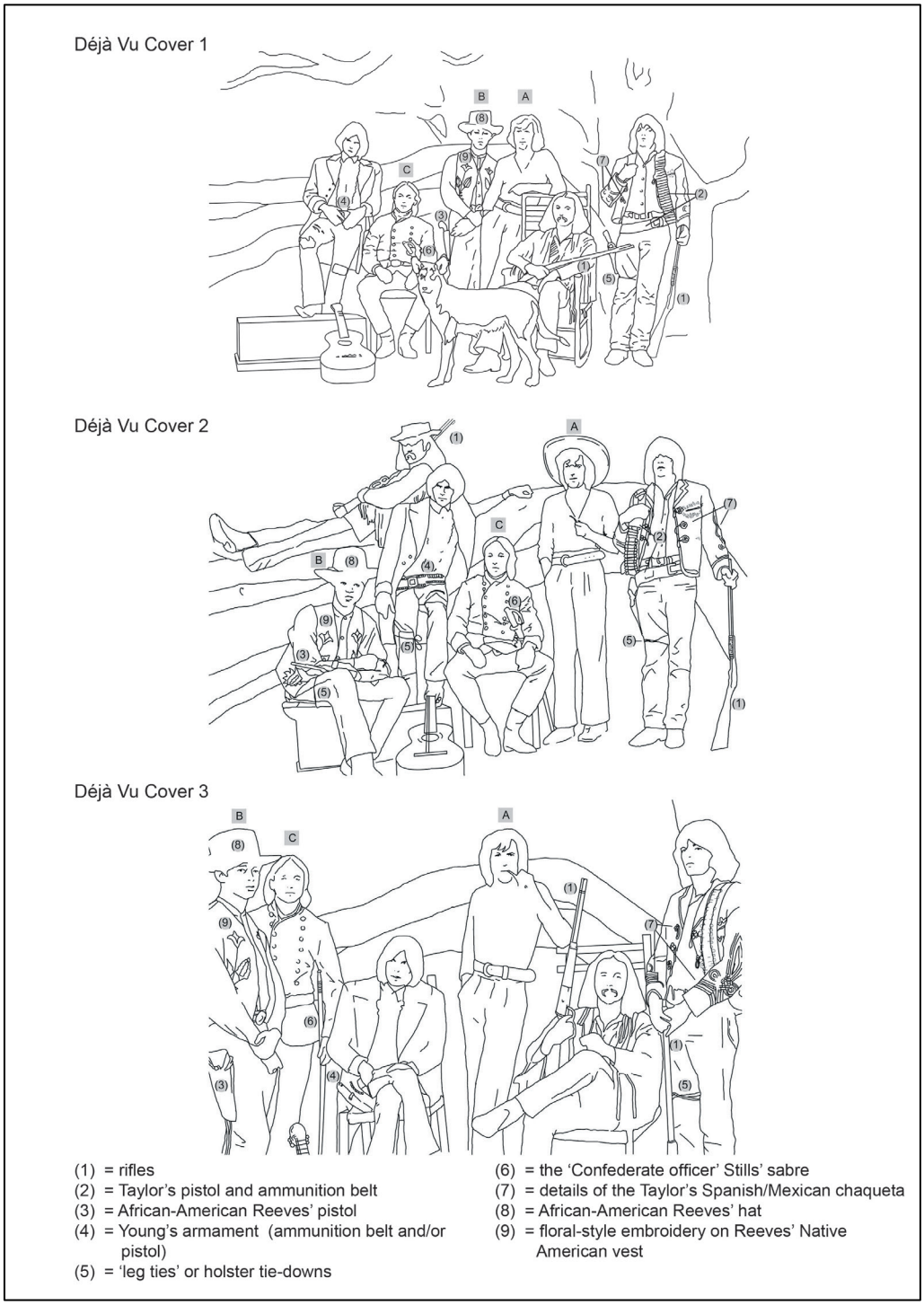

***Image 4**:* All three versions of the CSN&Y *Déjà vu* motif with details highlighted. Illustration: © Marianne Bloch Hansen.

Following the demise of the Buffalo Springfield, the interim trio Crosby, Stills and Nash/CSN was formed as an amalgamation of luminaries from fine groups that had split up: Dave Crosby, from the Byrds; Steve Stills, from the Buffalo Springfield; and Graham Nash, from the Hollies. Dallas Taylor, from Clear Light was asked to play drums. When Stills inquired whether his former bandmate and rival Neil Young might like to join his new group, adding a 'Y' to CSN, CSN&Y was formed in Los Angeles in 1968.[24] Greg Reeves was added as bassist in August 1969. Recording of the first Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young album, *Déjà vu*, began in October 1969. The title inspired the evocative album cover with the group dressed in what has been somewhat inaccurately termed 'American Civil War period costume.'[25] According to Nash, 'We tried to look like we thought our ancestors might have looked one hundred years ago.'[26]

3. The *Déjà vu* Images: Who Wore What?

With the Buffalo Springfield, the original intention of their costuming had been trademark persona characters – Neil the Indian, Stephen the Cowboy – each with his own visual 'hook' with which the fans could choose to identify. The *Déjà vu* motif took a slightly different tack, that of a photo memorial which morphed the band members into types which the group could inhabit. The sextet shoot is a tableau comprising a gallery of iconic western characters. We are told by music journalist Dave Zimmer that:

> In conjunction with art director Gary Burden and photographer Tom Gundelfinger [O'Neal], CSN&Y, Taylor, and Reeves "went back in time." […] So, after visiting a costume store, they congregated in Crosby's backyard [in Novato, just north of San Francisco, in November 1969]. Each member had been transformed: Crosby into Buffalo Bill Cody (complete with rifle), Stills into a Confederate soldier, Nash into a peasant laborer, Young into a cagey gunfighter, Taylor into a desperado, and Reeves into a servant. Gary Burden used an old camera and processing technique to further simulate a Civil War-era photograph, but the shot eventually used on the *Déjà vu* cover was actually taken with a Nikon and then doctored.[27]

In some cases, there is a question as to what Old Western type of character was actually being portrayed. What, if any, actual costume research was done in styling the session? Some costume items already belonged to individual group members, but these were not necessarily in each and every case worn by their original owners in the *Déjà vu* photos. It would appear that more than costume rental had been involved. There are indications of conscious styling with an ideological bent, as for instance outfitting African-American Reeves in a Native American vest and a 'Navajo' hat. These items of apparel were closely bound up with a personal identity both on stage and off, as was the case with Young's Native American war shirts and Crosby's buckskin fringes. They also bore unmistakeable associations with marginalised and oppressed groups with which the youth counterculture had begun identifying in earnest by the late 1960s.

Each group member wore the same costume in all three *Déjà vu* photos. Using *Déjà vu* 1 as our basis and taking each member from left to right, the history and particular details of their costume and accoutrements can be described. The bracketed letters and parenthesised numbers in the text correspond to those in Image 4.

Young was supposed to be outfitted as 'a cagey gunfighter.' Armed with a pistol (4), Young is wearing a frock coat with velvet cuffs and collar together with another style of attire which had appealed to him: a white ruffled shirt.[28] Young's ruffled shirt calls to mind an American folklore stereotype alongside that of the frontier scout, gunfighter and cowboy: the riverboat gambler. To quote from Herbert Ashbury, *Sucker's Progress*:

> Almost invariably, the sharper of the Mississippi wore a black, slouch hat, black broadcloth coat and trousers, black flowing tie, black high-heeled boots, and a white shirt with a low neck and a loose collar… The white shirt was unbelievably frilled, ruffled and frizzled, and amidst its billowing folds gleamed a diamond as large as he could afford and popularly known as 'the headlight.'[29]

For a firearm, a riverboat gambler would have preferred something discrete like a short-snouted derringer, rather than Young's pistol.[30]

Young's pistol and black frock coat raise the question as to whether his *Déjà vu* personage was modelled on legendary scout, gunfighter, and professional gambler James Butler 'Wild Bill' Hickok (1837-1876).[31] There are a large number of contemporary images of Hickok in a long black 'Prince Albert' frock coat.[32] Prototypal Western hero William S. Hart (1864-1946) appeared as a black frock-coated Hickok in his *Wild Bill Hickok* (Paramount, 1923).[33] In Cecil B. DeMille's *The Plainsman* (Paramount, 1936) a likewise black frock-coated Gary Cooper (1901-1961) as Hickok re-enacted a scene also known from American artist and illustrator N.C. Wyeth's (1882-1945) widely reproduced 1916 oil painting *Wild Bill Hickok at Cards*.[34] Here, the sharply dressed gunfighter shoves a pistol across the card-gaming table directly at a crooked dealer: 'I'm calling the hand that's in your hat!' It portrays Hickok as the cagey gunfighter to whom Young's *Déjà vu* persona perhaps was aspiring.[35] The gambler's frock coat may even be a comment on the unpredictable character of Young himself, unlike the others with their more open silhouettes.

The 'Confederate soldier' Stills [C] is equipped with a sabre (6) and wears a cadet-grey Confederate officer's uniform tunic. Stills was born of an old family of proud Southerners and recalled his days in Admiral Farragut Military Academy in St. Petersburg, Florida with pleasure.[36] The image of the post-Civil War disenfranchised Confederate rebel loner was a trope in cinema and television Westerns during the Fifties and Sixties. Johnny Yuma in the TV-series 'The Rebel' (1959-1961) was one with whom some rebellious youth in the 1960s easily could identify.[37] The American Civilisation scholar Jim Cullen has noted that the:

> South exerted a compelling symbolic appeal by the late 1960s. For some, it could be seen as a place apart, relatively free of the corruptions that had corroded modern life – sterile suburbs, mindless consumption, scarred landscapes at home as well as abroad.[38]

What makes Stills' costumed persona in *Déjà vu* especially interesting is its association with the idea of the 'lost cause' in a lingering Confederate mythology. At its core was 'an awareness of defeat, alienation from the national experience and a sense of separation from American ideals.'[39] This 'lost cause' mentality was memorialized by folksinger Joan Baez in *The Day They Drove Old Dixie Down*), albeit with a naïve disregard of the slave-holding past.[40]

Reeves was supposedly 'a servant.' Although in *Déjà vu* 2 three varieties of hat are worn, Reeves in *Déjà vu* 1 is the only figure with a hat, a Navajo Bailey or Dakota with a feather (8).[41] Reeves wore the hat in all the *Déjà vu* photos together with a vest which by its distinctive floral style spot-stitch beading is recognisable as Native American of the Plateau, Great Basin and Plains tribes (9).[42] The general consensus among students of Native American decorative arts is that floral art in Native American clothing appeared from the first half of the nineteenth century following exposure to European manufactures and Roman Catholic mission churches decorated with floral motifs.[43] Earlier, rigidly geometric and symbolic design elements of aboriginal origin had predominated. Simplified, flat, and two- dimensional floral designs would only become popular after tiny glass seed beads (of primarily Venetian and Bohemian origin) were made readily available.[44] We see examples of seed bead embroidered vests in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photographs of Native Americans.[45] Such beaded vests are still worn today at powwows where Native Americans meet and celebrate their culture.[46] Reeves' vest with its bold

and vibrant floral motif is also the most colourfully embellished textile in the group. He is the only individual rigged out in 'living colour;' the rest are outfitted in blacks, whites, and earthier shades. With his boldly patterned vest Reeves stands out in the picture.

Some have seen a cultural strategy – a subversive power of the flower – in Native American use of floral embroidery. According to art historian David W. Penney:

> When initially promoted by missionary teachers, floral embroidery represented a white cultural dominance called 'civilization.' By reconfiguring floral embroidery into ornamentation for dress clothing, Indian artists transformed the embroidery into a symbol of cultural resistance they called 'tradition.'[47]

This cultural resistance may have taken the form of a *détournement* 'extracting [of floral motifs] from their habitual associations and "reassigning them to entirely new purposes,"' such as placing them on the dress breechcloth of a male brave.[48] A flower motif is, among many other things, a sign of peace, or, as in the case of Native Americans, an outward sign of 'civilised' pacification. In the *Déjà vu* image there is also a reversal of signs: the flowered vest is being worn by an 'outlaw' obviously capable of violence. It is significant that the Native-American floral-vested African-American group member Reeves is armed (3), just as there were soldiers in Vietnam wearing peace signs on their helmets whilst toting guns.

It makes one question Reeves' 'servant' role as stated in the quote. A black cowboy, of whom there were plenty in the Old West, including some outlaws, seems more likely.[49] Cowboys appear in photos from the early part of the twentieth century wearing Native American beaded vests with either geometric or floral embroidered designs.[50] In a manner similar to Native Americans sporting floral designs on their breechcloths, Reeves could wear flowers without it detracting from his masculinity. It could be objected that these 'Indian' vests were ubiquitous and so much a part of standard cowboy wear in Westerns from William S. Hart and onward,[51] that wearing one need not have had particularly Native American connotations. Nevertheless the use of both a Native American-designed vest and a Navajo style high crown felt hat complete with feather in the hatband suggests a more pointed symbolism. Hatted and vested like a Native American, the African American Reeves could represent all oppressed minorities, whether brown, black, red, or yellow, to the extent that 'nineteenth-century native resistance provided a home-grown model for opposition to the American military imperialism that protestors saw in Vietnam.'[52]

The 'peasant labourer' Nash [A] is unarmed in all three photos; instead he holds a pipe (in *Déjà vu* 2 and 3). Apart from Nash being the most harmonious member of CSN&Y, his 'character' is in some ways the most 'authentic.' His sombrero, a hat with a low flat crown and straight brim that could be constructed of leather, cheap felt, or woven palm fibre, along with an open-at-the-neck collarless shirt and woollen trousers are all fairly close to what one might expect a sod-busting dirt farmer to have worn. Within our nineteenth-century time frame pants for Westerners were made from heavy wool, which was durable and long lasting, while canvas or denim was not popular until the 1920s.[53] The belt loops in Nash's and the others' trousers are anachronistic – suspenders were the rule in the Old West; belts were not commonly worn for holding up men's trousers in the West until the late 1890s, and belt loops were not added until 1922.[54] This would indicate that it primarily was items with an iconic signalling value such as special types of coats and jackets and typical weaponry that were used to achieve an 'authentic' Old West visual statement like that of *Déjà vu*.

Crosby wears a buckskin fringe jacket of the type associated in popular history with William F. 'Buffalo Bill' Cody (1846-1917). With his Wild West Show formed in 1883 and lasting until 1913 Cody became promoter of the myth of the Wild West that has metamorphosed into the Western.[55] It was from c. 1870 that Cody appeared in photos and posters in fringed buckskin 'scout dress.'[56] Cody, along with his friend Hickok, had achieved quasi-mythical status as buckskin-fringed frontier 'supermen' in dime novels such as those by Ned Buntline (1821?/1823?-1886).[57] They had begun wearing such scouting garb 'as if authentic' when cashing in on their dime-novel

myth as actors in scouting dramas on theatre stages back East.[58] The buckskin thus became marker of a profession for the showman-scout, and perhaps more importantly, was distinctly different from what was being worn by urban men of the metropolis.[59] Cody would then take his fringed theatrical costumes out West in order to re-confirm their authenticity as the bona fide 'Wild West' garb for scouting and Indian-fighting. Such blending of costumed history and costumed myth or 'doubling the *persona*'[60] by Cody, has been noted in the literature as an instance of historical reality imitating its own fictionalisation.[61] This early fantasy of authenticity is a remarkable precursor to the sort of pastiche-ing in which the *Déjà vu* cover motif was also involved.[62] Crosby, in particular, was a practitioner of the strenuous outdoor life of a latter day woodsman and (as will be noted further on) was proficient with both rifle and pistol. Thus, he would in *Déjà vu* be presenting an image of himself quite as 'authentic' as Cody had in posters for the Wild West Show. Cody had also, like Hickok and General Custer, worn his hair long. This was supposedly done as:

> a taunt to the scalping knife of the Indians – to come and get it…. Nothing so enraged [Cody and his compatriots] as to have the ignorant mistake long locks as a badge of effeminacy.[63]

One cannot help but imagine Crosby, Young, and the hippies at large as having had a similar attitude to 'freak-busting'[64] cops!

Taylor was supposed to be outfitted as a 'desperado.' The *Déjà vu* motif costumes him more specifically as a 'vaquerobandito' in the *chaqueta* of a *vaquero* or Spanish/Mexican cowboy, or, what seems more likely, in a *charro* jacket.[65] Today, a *charro* is a horseman performer in the *charreada*, or Mexican rodeo who wears a heavily decorated bolero-style jacket.[66] What marks Taylor's jacket as being *charro* are the relatively short cut as well as the elaborately laced braiding on the sleeves and around the frogged buttons (7). A colour photo of Stills in the jacket at a concert in San Diego back in December 1969 shows it to have been light ochre-toned suede with silver laced embroidery both on sleeves and back and on its sides surrounding 'smile' pockets with a red lining.[67] Several varieties of the same or a similar Spanish-Mexican jacket can be seen in historical illustrations of *rancheros*, *charros*, Californian *caballeros*, *hacendados*, as well as the Mexican *rurales corp*s, and *bandidos*.[68] One can also study it along with its detail of the fittings and embroidery in genre paintings by James Walker (1819-1889) from the 1870s that focused on Mexican culture of early California, in vivid pictures of hacienda *vaqueros* or *buccaros* done in the late 1880s by Frederic Remington (1861-1909), and especially in the beautifully rendered water colour and mixed media paintings and etchings of *vaqueros*, *charros*, and Spanish horsemen by 'cowboy artist' Edward Borein (1872-1945).[69] Mexicans stereotypically represented as bandit scoundrels in Westerns were outfitted in jackets of the same sort, thereby making of it a signifier of anti-hero status.[70]

Attention is now directed towards the armaments. Crosby and Taylor are holding rifles (1); Taylor's holstered pistol and cartridge belt (2) along with his rifle makes him look especially 'well heeled;' to 'be heeled' is to be armed, as when the famous gunfighter Doc Holliday was said to have warned an adversary, 'Heel yourself and stay that way.'[71] The African-American Reeves has a pistol (3). This is readily perceived in *Déjà vu* 2 where he cradles the firearm. In *Déjà vu* 3 Reeves' holster with pistol butt is nearest the observer. In *Déjà vu* 1 it cannot be seen whether Young is armed (4), but in *Déjà vu* 2 and 3 this is apparent. Yet another clue to Taylor and especially Young and Reeves having pistols is the leg ties or holster tie-downs around their right thighs facing the photographer (5). Tying the holster down to the leg with a leather thong was not authentic Wild West, but came about as a consequence of Hollywood's use from the 1920s onwards of the *Buscadero* type of holster worn low on the hips. It became mistakenly identified as the typical gunfighter's fast-draw rig from the 1870s and 1880s – at a time period long before it was invented.[72] The tie-down was needed in order for the actor to draw his gun out smoothly; otherwise the entire holster would be pulled up with the gun. Historical Old West photographs show the

'shooters ridin' high' around the actual waist where it would be the most comfortable and have meant less draw time. One would also have to untie the holster in order to ride a horse or else the gun would tip out.[73] Although it may seem a minor detail, this shows that the historical authenticity aspired to in the *Déjà vu* cover motif remained that of the cinema; the majority of viewers of the cover would have had movie Westerns as their sole reference for what was 'true West' anyway.[74]

4. *Déjà vu:* Outlaw and Nineteenth-Century Group Portraiture

Genre-item analysis is here undertaken by comparing the *Déjà vu* motif with album covers and band-advertisements characteristic of the period, registering what was typical.[75] The sepia-tinting of *Déjà vu* 1 on the cover of the actual album associates the motif with period photography of the 1800s.[76] As described by Tom Gundelfinger O'Neal:

> When initially Stephen Stills requested that I use the same photo techniques from the civil war (sic) era, I loaded a Matthew Brady type 8x10 civil war era camera with a 5x7 tintype. The exposure was two and a half minutes long. During the exposure I backed up the shot with conventional black and white plus X film. During the long exposure the dog walked in the center of the group and spontaneously became part of the photograph. The tintype in the 8x10 camera was technically not suitable for reproduction for lack of contrast. Therefore, I used a 35mm negative and made a 8X10 inter-negative which I contact printed to a special fiber board coated with chemicals; a Fox Talbot technique from the 1850's. This image was exposed in the sun, and is known as a sun print. The goal of this process was to replicate in its purest form, the original photographic process of the civil war era.[77]

As a 'blending agent' the sepia unifies the scene just as it (along with the cover's embossed leatherette 'frame') lends to it an old-time feel. There is also the role of sepia-tinting and exposure technique in unifying the 'historical' costumes with the anachronistic guitar, dog, and the positioning of the figures whether it is the reclining posture of Crosby in *Déjà vu* 2 or a juxtaposition of African American and Confederate in all three photos. Many photographs of the American Old West were recorded in sepia tones. The motif mimics 1960s' modes of dressing up, a pastiche of Old West Americana authenticity, together with the rough-and-readiness of outlaws and Confederate rebels. For the present purpose the inspirational genre-prototypes found in *Rolling Stone* album-advertisements (referred to sequentially in the endnotes) were grouped according to motifs that either evoked the lore of the gunslinger, bandit or gang of outlaws; or period photos with civilian poses, settings, costumes, and accoutrements of the mid- to late nineteenth century.

The best example of a rock band in the role of an old-time outlaw gang is an advertisement for the album *Desperado* produced in 1973 by the Eagles. The ad featured the group on the back cover laid out as dead, restaging the notorious Dalton brothers displayed after their final, fatal attempt at a bank robbery from a historical photo from 1892.[78] *Desperado* was a concept album, featuring a series of songs – 'Doolin-Dalton,' 'Bittercreek,' and 'Desperado' – that tied together the rise and fall of the infamous Wild West Doolin' Dalton Gang. As Glenn Frey of the band relates:

> We had a gunfighter's photo album….We were going to do an all-encompassing album about rebels or outlaws that didn't have a time reference…. We saw ourselves as living outside the law, just like the guys we were writing about.[79]

According to art director Gary Burden, who laid out the elaborate Wild West cover art of this album, as well as that of *Déjà vu*: 'The group saw a parallel between the gunslinger of the 1870s and the guitar player of the 1970s.'[80]

The motif sub-genre closest to suggesting a prototype for the *Déjà vu* album cover is the pastiche period photo imitating attitudes, settings, costumes, and paraphernalia of group portraiture of the late nineteenth century. Along with that genre went production processes such as sepia tinting. Pastiche period photographs are made because they suggest the look of a certain period with particular connotations in collective memory. Early covers like *Beatles '65* had set the style for the formalised group photograph; everyone rigidly posed, looking straight into the camera, and holding umbrella staves or guitar necks dead up-right in severe geometry, poking fun and exaggerating the carefully posed group picture of nineteenth-century photography.[81] Some spoofing was involved here, but there was also a wish to recapture some of the original quality of these old photos – like a page from an old family album – having a totally candid, 'objective' honesty, as well as an aggressive, penetrating presence. So the Beatles' formalised group photograph prototype was taken and given a new 'oldie,' different and delightful, but possibly also a heavily encoded twist.[82]

The Charlatans, with their rebellious attitude and choice since 1965 of late nineteenth-century fashions – boots, wide-brimmed hats, celluloid wing collars, and buttoned vests – had been an influence on the emerging hippie counter-culture San Franciscans into dressing in similarly American Gilded Age[83] era clothing.[84] The Charlatans retained their old-Western style in the 1969 advertisement in *Rolling Stone* for their eponymous debut album, where they presented themselves as a rakishly elegant Mississippi gambler and a couple of Edwardian fops in waistcoats, sporting white shirts with string-ties or wide ones with Windsor knots and with Stetson and boater hats.[85]

By then, others had caught on. The 1969 advertisement for the acid rock group Jolliver Arkansaw's album *Home* is a period portrait, a cosy Victorian family portrait of 'brothers' (one of whom holds a baby) and their 'ma' in an old-fashioned oval framed portrait behind them.[86] It is an all-male group setup remarkably similar to Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid with The Wild Bunch aka The Hole in the Wall Gang posing for posterity's sake in a famous group photograph taken of them in their Sunday best at the height of their infamy back in 1900.[87] Other examples include an Eli Radish Band poster (1970), and the advertisements for the James Gang's album *Thirds* (1971) and The New Riders of the Purple Sage's album *Gipsy Cowboy* (1973).[88]

Theatricality along with authenticity and heritage characterises the motif-types in these posters, advertisements and album covers as genre items. These motifs are at once ironical and serious as well as eye-catching in their faultless detail – signalling quality-consciousness. In so far as pastiche also involves 'forms of borrowing by artists from the archive of their tradition,'[89] then as a genre-item *Déjà vu* (1-3) represents a pastiche fusion of the outlaw and period group-photo motifs, with connotations of violence but also of simpler times gone by common to both motif-types. Were the creators of the *Déjà vu* imagery self-aware pastiche-ers? This matter of labelling has significance with respect to how we understand and respond to the implicit expressive intention of the work.[90]

5. *Déjà vu* as Performance: Signal, Hint, Irony, and Commentary

Looking upon *Déjà vu* as a real-time act or operation of visual rhetoric considers it as expressing a purposive intent, as constituting a performance. The focus of this article now turns from the 'what' to the 'how' of the delivery of the message implied by the motif. Central to this analysis is how the past merges with the present as an allegory or a metaphor. The *Déjà vu* motif is an allegorical description of political and social events coinciding and converging in the late 1960s and early 1970s. As such, it was equivalent to a displacement of cultural memory. There is irony in *Déjà vu* alongside all of that which is in dead earnest. By dint of its rhetorical performativity, CSN&Y hoped to get some points across.

First of all, there is the marginalised outlaw, badman, rebel, gambler individualist who resists or fights the system by taking up arms, whether symbolically or literally, to defend oneself and one's autonomous 'Frontier' lifestyle. We also see brothers who have put aside their differences and bonded against some internal or domestic collective threat. Seen against the background of current events, the arms borne on the *Déjà vu* cover are sending a signal.

Secondly, the three different shots from the same photo session enable us to compare more or less noticeable hats or firearms and the repositioning of people and objects; such toying with ideas might provide us with an insight into what message had been deemed important in *Déjà vu* 1 – that on the actual album. The acoustic guitars placed on the ground suggest peace along with the dog in front of the group and the unarmed Nash in the middle with the pipe. The two seemingly most vulnerable people in the group, the unarmed 'farmer' Nash [A] and the African-American Reeves representing civil rights minorities [B] are in *Déjà vu* 1 centrally placed, surrounded and protected by their armed and ready compatriots (in *Déjà vu* 2 it is Stills [C] and in *Déjà vu* 3 it is Nash [A] alone who is centrally placed). Together in *Déjà vu* 1 Reeves and Nash dissolve the tensions implied by the firearms and outlaw-belligerence: brotherhood across racial and social lines. (This was missing in *Déjà vu* 2 and 3). However, Reeves [B], who was centrally placed together with Nash in *Déjà vu* 1, is also standing behind Stills who is seated in Confederate uniform [C], thereby constituting historically incongruous elements making for rhetorical contrast.[91] Could it be a hint of the tensions actually characterising the American society in both the 1860s/70s and the 1960s/70s timeframes? In view of the fraught atmosphere surrounding the Civil Rights Movement, perhaps the *Déjà vu* 3 image showing the visibly armed and alert Reeves [B] standing in front of a seemingly detached, passively resigned Confederate Stills [C] that ended up in the *Songbook* may have been too forthrightly contentious to put on the original LP album cover.

Thirdly and finally: the performance is informed in an ironical mode. CSN&Y are earnestly paying homage to a mythic set of genuine values and a basic lifestyle – living 'off the grid' and by your own code. The *Déjà vu* motif expresses a self-consciously performed utopian nostalgia as well as some regret. By costuming themselves as historically doomed outlaws, CSN&Y would have reflected back on the presumptuously utopian attitudes of the contemporary American youth movement as yet another instance of the irony of history. To sum up: the CSN&Y *Déjà vu* post-Civil War Old West costumed period-motif is at once an ironic and wary – tense – commentary on conditions in America both inside and outside the youth movement anno 1970. Why was this so?

6. *Déjà vu* as Contextual Product: Vietnam and Manson

Analysis of the *Déjà vu* album cover motif as a product focusses on it as the occasioned result of motivated actions. The disposition, styling, costuming, accessories, and staging, of the individuals pictured in *Déjà vu* are in reaction to the conflicts, tension, guilt, paranoia, and violence connected with the youth rebellion in 1968-1973.[92] My focus now turns to the 'why' behind the 'what' and the 'how.' This calls for contextual analysis. We have already touched on the Southern rebel as connected with a romantic 'lost cause.' However, there is another side to that metaphor. Cullen has remarked on the South as representing 'an experience of defeat, one that could take on metaphorical connections – or, with the pall of Vietnam hanging over the nation, more direct ones.'[93] As the nation's most costly war in terms of national mobilisation and human life, the Civil War had become a point of reference for all subsequent wars in which Americans had fought, which includes Vietnam.[94] Indeed, the 'corrosive cynicism that [Vietnam] engendered,'[95] worked retrospectively back on the Civil War as visual metaphor with Australia's first country rock band Axiom. Axiom had made a video clip for their first single 'Arkansas Grass' from 1969 of group-members staggering confusedly in Confederate uniforms (along with some possible dope-smoking) that went together with lyrics obviously meant to be protesting against the war in Vietnam, in which also Australia took part as an ally.[96]

Much description and commentary on current events was written as these events were happening, describing what then seemed as uncertain and dangerous times. As Michael Rossman, an organiser of the Free Speech Movement phrased it in a themed issue of *Rolling Stone* entitled 'American Revolution 1969:' 'The authorities grow increasingly terrified of losing control. A great repression gathers. On both sides violence multiplies its forms.'[97] According to the film director Arthur Penn, films from the period include *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) and *Little Big Man* (1970),

'There seems to be, within this country, a kind of instant identification with the outlaw, outcast' and there is:

> an American phenomenon which says if you are not part of the kind of system which is guilt-inducing, then you find yourself guilty before the fact. You're guilty of not being innocent. You're not just freaking. There is somebody coming after you, you just have to know who it is. But there is someone coming.[98]

Any outlaw symbolism must therefore also be seen as apart from whatever boyish fantasies sprang out of gunslinger Davy Crockett and Civil War 'entertainment,' and apart from what film historian Buck Rainey has characterized as 'the romantic flavour of a haunting nostalgia for a more individualistic and flamboyant past.'[99]

Music in that era reinforced a culture of opposition to authority that was important.[100] However, when in 1967 the Buffalo Springfield captured the restless, confrontational mood of a generation railing against the establishment with Stills' song 'For What It's Worth,' with its lyrics: 'There's something happening here/What it is ain't exactly clear/There's a man with a gun over there/ Tellin' me I've got to beware,' it involved more than a mere demonstration of artistic freedom.[101] It was also an expression of the general atmosphere of anger, anxiety, and fear. 1968 was the year of the Democratic convention in Chicago.[102] There is a huge significance to the convention as marking the onset of a 'law and order' backlash and a heightened feeling of being 'outlawed' by the youth movement and counterculture; it caused the novelist Norman Mailer to think that 'if it came to civil war, there was a side he could join.'[103] 1968 was also the year of the heaviest casualties in Vietnam, the murders of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy, and when Andy Warhol was shot and wounded by a radical feminist. 1969 was the year of People's Park[104] and Altamont,[105] as well as of My Lai becoming public,[106] and of the Manson killings. By 1970 it had reached a crescendo with the killing during campus demonstrations of two black students by patrolmen at Jackson State and four students by National Guardsmen at Kent State Universities and was showing no signs of abating.[107] It was an atmosphere caught in the lyrics of Buffalo Springfield: 'You'd better stop, hey/what's that sound? Everyone look what's going down'[108] and those of another rock band, the Mothers of Invention: 'Cop killa freak, pow pow pow.'[109] The contemporary perception of a society in crisis and coming apart at the seams is substantiated by a June 1970 listing of the 'Rolling Stone top 40' incidents of dissent, violence, confrontation, and/or tension, including an inset map marking out 'Battlefields across the face of the Giant,' across the United States.[110]

'Paranoia strikes deep,' sang the Buffalo Springfield, 'into your life it will creep.'[111] Charles Manson represented a frightening new phenomenon.[112] The Tate-Labianca murders in 1969 sent shivers of fear throughout the film and rock communities, and society at large, and some of the West Coast rock élite began arming themselves in earnest.[113] CSN&Y shared the prevailing sense of foreboding and even paranoia, as far as revealing that they preferred individual freedom safe within the capitalist 'System'[114] to all out anarchy and revolution. According to Stills:

> There will always be a governing sort of something, particularly as long as there are people within the society who cannot control themselves and have to go out and kill people, and go out and rob people and go out and even tear up somebody's house or just generally make a nuisance of themselves, with their fellow men.[115]

It could call forth a frontiersman's response, for, as Crosby warned:

> If they burn the bank I've still got my two hands, and I ain't scared of it. I've done it, a lot. I've caught my own fish and ripped their own stomachs out, and cleaned them, and cooked them. And done the same for the animals.[116]

Crosby pondered further:

> A rifle is a handy little thing. It's called a lunch gun, you know. It gets you lunch or keeps you from being somebody else's. Now, in this country, a weapon is another thing. In this country my rifles might buy me…ten minutes, and that might be the ten minutes that I got away in. Look, I don't want to get into it from the level that that's what I expect is happening. I think that we might end up just with 'business as usual' for a long time. But, man, 'It can't happen here' is number one on the list of famous last words.[117]

An interviewer's remark that 'Within four or five years there might be a very violent revolution, man, that will stop every wheel turning!' elicited from Young the possibly tongue in cheek reply that:

> I can dig it. I hope not though, 'cause if it is I'll be in Big Sur. I'll be in Big Sur with my guns …Yeah, I'll get a big cannon if they're gonna have a revolution. I'll sit up on top of my studio there, with my material gains after the game, and uh, contemplate my future.[118]

South-West and West Coast hippies considered themselves as people whose choice of a life out on the margins of established mainstream society would also enable them to cope as post-decline-of-the West 'survivalists,' armed and ready if need be – an attitude unequivocally voiced by buckskin-fringed Crosby.

In reaction to the conformity and tameness of mainstream society, some wished to identify with the individualism and rigor of life in the 'Old West.' Testimony to this is the degree to which hippies and others in the late 1960s emulated the style of the Native American and frontier scout. In the *Déjà vu* motif, this is best exemplified by the costumes worn by Crosby and Reeves (as well as by Young's war shirts mentioned earlier in the article). However, just as the Western reaffirmed order and social structure, so would the true-gritty outlaws on the cover of *Déjà vu* reincarnate this where it concerned threats to a free lifestyle of 'peace, love and harmony' perhaps best represented by Nash. This, along with the costumes of marginalized characters that were worn by Young, Stills, and Taylor, serves to remind us that the relations between Western heroes/outlaws and society at large is consistently ambiguous. It also forms part of the self-contradictory message of *Déjà vu*.

7. Concluding Remarks

In this article, each of the costumes pictured in the image on the CSN&Y *Déjà vu* album-cover was examined closely. In order to address the possibility of the cover motif being a pastiche, a working definition was formulated with a view to resolving the matter through empirical analysis. Particular attention was paid to the question of authenticity in the costumes and relationship of each group member to his costumed character. On this initial level, there were already clear indications that the outfitting of certain members of CSN&Y in certain costumes was hardly accidental; this was most apparent in the case of Native American-costumed African American Reeves.

Source analysis was applied on three distinct levels – those of the genre-item, the performance, and the product – in order to determine what lay behind the appearance of the *Déjà vu* costumed cover motif. On the level of genre-item and in answer to the question of 'what,' it was found that *Déjà vu* was in many ways a typical album cover, with respect to both choice and treatment of its motif. Old images of gunslingers and nineteenth-century group photos, had, together

with representations of similarly period-attired and staged groups on other contemporary album covers, furnished a model. On the level of performance and in answer to the question of 'how,' it was found that *Déjà vu* conveyed three strong statements: youth marginalisation, interracial brotherhood, and a firm resolve to defend one's chosen lifestyle out there on the cultural and social frontier edge of mainstream American society. Along with the identification with 'doomed' outlaws and rebel 'lost causes' went a sense of history's irony with respect to a youth counterculture that by 1970 had already been showing signs of disintegration. On the level of product and in answer to the question of 'why,' it was found that the choice for *Déjà vu* of a post-Civil War Wild West outlaw theme was apropos to perceptions in contemporary America of conflict. This would have been particularly so in the years 1968-1970, immediately prior to the release of *Déjà vu*. That went along with paranoia occasioned by, among other things, the Vietnam War, authority clampdowns on hippies and student protestors, and not least the fears of the 'enemy within' the counterculture itself, personified by the murderous rampages of Manson.

As it turns out, the costumed characters of *Déjà vu* were not historically speaking authentic in precisely all details, but they are quite faithful to what might be considered the most 'salient' or 'obvious' elements of a collective *mediatised* visual – or better: *envisioned* – memory of the Old West. Even if what was generally acknowledged by collective memory as being 'Old West' was not always historically precise, there appears to have been a very good sense of the symbolism and connotations. What it comes down to is an awareness of 'history' that, together with an ironic self-reflection, had been called forth by serious current issues. This meant that the *Déjà vu* motif involved more than just boys having cowboy fun; which is significant when we view the imagery in its aspect of being pastiche.

The workings of pastiche could be seen on all three levels of empirical analysis. By its very nature the pastiche was most evident on the 'genre-item' level, that of deliberate imitation. But on the level of performance too, we see pastiche as evident in the refiguration of the Hollywood 'Old West' as a self-consciously historicising sign *of* as well as *for* the present. Finally, the product level of analyses has given us a demonstration of pastiche as containing an emotional aspect with regard to that which it was imitating; in the present case: the mythologised, and by that very same token *affective*, Old West. The *Déjà vu* motif affects desire and nostalgia for having undergone or being capable of undergoing Old West-style frontier exigencies and violence. It is mythological and removed outside of individual time, while at the same time definitely of a historical time; it reflects mythologies or mythological beliefs about the types depicted, as well as responding to current events. The heuristics of sourcing a costumed album-cover image as an artefact have been demonstrated in order to show just how they provide a witness to history.

Notes

[1] Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young, with Dallas Taylor & Greg Reeves, *Déjà vu*, Atlantic Records SD 7200, SD 19118; ATL 50 001 (New York: Atlantic Recordings Corp, 1970). The cover photography was by Tom Gundelfinger; art direction and design was by Gary Burden.
[2] '[*Déjà vu* Advertisement],' *Rolling Stone*, April 30, 970, 5.
[3] Neil Young, *Neil Young. Complete Music*, Vol. II (1969-1973) (New York: Warner Bros., 1975), 18-19.
[4] 'Tom G. O'Neal Biography,' *Tgophoto.com*, accessed 22 July 2009, http://tgophoto.com/pages/rock2.htm; Dave Zimmer, *Crosby, Stills, & Nash: The Authorized Biography* (Cambridge, MA, and New York: Da Capo Press, 2000), 114.
[5] '[Rolling Stone Advertisement],' *New York*, July 22, 1974, 5.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Janice H. Rushing, 'Mythic Evolution of "The New Frontier" in Mass Mediated Rhetoric,' *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 3, no. 3 (September 1986): 272.
[8] Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), 131.

[9] Frederic Tuten, 'Easy Rider,' *Film Society Review* 4, no. 9 (May 1969): 36.
[10] Fredric Jameson, 'Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism,' *New Left Review* 1, no.146 (July-August 1984): 53-92.
[11] Ibid., 65.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ingeborg Hoesterey, *Pastiche: Cultural Memory in Art, Film, Literature* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001); Richard Dyer, *Pastiche* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).
[14] Ibid., 21.
[15] Hoesterey, *Pastiche*, 83, quoted in Dyer, *Pastiche*, 37.
[16] Dyer, *Pastiche*, 2.
[17] Ibid., 4.
[18] Daniel Barbiero, '"Dark Art" into Allegory: From Transfiguration to Refiguration,' *M/E/A/N/I/N/G* 8 (1990): 11, quoted in Hoesterey, *Pastiche*, 14-15.
[19] John Einarson and Richie Furay, *For What It's Worth: The Story of Buffalo Springfield* (New York: Cooper Square Press), 2004, 11-13.
[20] Elliot Blinder, 'Neil Young,' *Rolling Stone*, April 30, 1970, 40; Jimmy McDonough, *Shakey: Neil Young's Biography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2002), 161, 208; Joseph D. Horse Capture and George P. Horse Capture: *Beauty, Honour, and Tradition: The Legacy of Plains Indians Shirts* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts/Washington, D.C.: The National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 14-25, 27, 32-33, 35, 51, 98, 114-115, 138-145.
[21] Friedman quoted in Johnny Rogan, *Neil Young. Zero to Sixty: A Critical Biography*, 2nd ed. (London: Calidore Books, 2001), 93; Einarson and Furay, *For What It's Worth*, 105.
[22] Volman quoted in Einarson and Furay, *For What It's Worth*, 104.
[23] Ibid., 168-169, 181, 249; *Neil Young Complete Music,* Vol. I (1966-1969) (New York: Warner Bros. Publications, 1974), n.p.
[24] McDonough, *Shakey*, 245.
[25] Rogan, *Neil Young*, 229.
[26] Nash quoted in Zimmer, *Crosby, Stills & Nash*, 113.
[27] Dave Zimmer and Henry Diltz, *Crosby, Stills & Nash: The Authorized Biography* (London and Sidney: Omnibus Press, 1984), 113. See also David Browne, *Fire and Rain: The Beatles, Simon & Garfunkel, James Taylor, CSNY, and the Lost Story of 1970* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2011), 89-91.
[28] Zimmer and Diltz, *Crosby, Stills & Nash*, 116; Evans, *Neil Young*, 68, 121.
[29] Herbert Ashbury, *Sucker's Progress: An Informal History of Gambling in America from the Colonies to Canfield* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1938), 233-234.
[30] Jim Hicks, *The Old West: The Gamblers* (Alexandria, Virginia: Time-Life Books, 1978), 48.
[31] Joseph G. Rosa, *Wild Bill Hickok: The Man and His Myth* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1996), 3-25.
[32] Ibid., 29; Mildred Fielder, *Wild Bill and Deadwood* (Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1965), frontispiece, 10, 41, 50, 57, 59, 64, 132.
[33] William K. Everson, *A Pictorial History of the Western Film* (New York: The Citadel Press, 1969), 42.
[34] William K. Everson, *The Hollywood Western: 90 Years of Cowboys and Indians, Train Robbers, Sheriffs and Gunslingers, and Assorted Heroes and Desperados* (New York: Citadel Press, 1992), 193.
[35] Rosa, *Wild Bill Hickok*, 180-186; Col. Wm. F. Cody, *The Great West that Was: Buffalo Bill's Life Story, Reprinted from Hearst's Magazine*, (New York: Palmer & Oliver, 1916), 29; Colonel W.F. Cody, *An Autobiography of Buffalo Bill* (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1920), illustration between pp. 56 and 57.

[36] Zimmer and Diltz, *Crosby, Stills, & Nash*, 4-7.
[37] Cecil Smith, 'The Rebel Coming With Hit Material,' *Los Angeles Times*, July 16, 1959, A12; Seymour Korman, 'The Young Man of the West,' *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 31, 1959, C5.
[38] Jim Cullen, *The Civil War in Popular Culture: A Reusable Past* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 9, 117.
[39] Thomas L. Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows, *God and General Longstreet: The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 137.
[40] Ibid., 145-146; Cullen, *The Civil War in Popular Culture*, 120-122.
[41] William Foster-Harris, *The Look of the Old West* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2007), 103-106.
[42] Deward E. Walker, Jr., *Plateau*, vol. 12, *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 320: fig. 5; 340: fig. 9; 356: fig. 6; 409: fig. 9; 432: fig. 8; 548: fig. 2.
[43] Joyce M. Szabo, 'The Importance of Embroidered Arts of the Plateau, Great Basin, and Plains in the William P. Healey Collection of Gauntlets,' *Real Western Wear: Beaded Gauntlets from the William P. Healey Collection*, ed. Joyce Szabo and Steven Grafe (Athens, GA: Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia, 2007), 17; Lois S. Dubin, *Floral Journey: Native North American Beadwork* (Autry National Center of the American West, Los Angeles/Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2014), 11-12, 124.
[44] Szabo, 'The Importance of Embroidered Arts,' 12-13; Dubin, *Floral Journey*, 11-12.
[45] Szabo, 'The Importance of Embroidered Arts,' 14: fig. 2.
[46] 'Vest,' as in Josephine Paterek, *Encyclopedia of American Indian Costume* (Denver, Santa Barbara, and Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 1994), 470.
[47] David W. Penney, 'Floral Decoration and Culture Change: An Historical Interpretation of Motivation,' *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 15, no. 1 (1991), 71
[48] Ibid., 69, 71; Paterek, *Encyclopedia*, 221.
[49] William L. Katz, *The Black West*, 3rd ed. (Seattle, WA: Open Hand Publishing, 1987), 143-166.
[50] Tyler Beard, *100 Years of Western Wear* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1993), 29, 132.
[51] Everson, *A Pictorial History of the Western Film*, 38, 101, 162.
[52] Philip Deloria, 'Counterculture Indians and the New Age,' in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture in the 1960s and'70s*, ed. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 164.
[53] Jeremy Agnew, *The Old West in Fact and Film: History Versus Hollywood* (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London: McFarland & Company, 2012), 124-126.
[54] Jane Marie Gaines and Charlotte Cornelia Herzog, 'The Fantasy of Authenticity in Western Costume,' in *Back in the Saddle Again: New Essays on the Western*, ed. Edward Buscombe and Roberta E. Pearson (London: British Film Institute, 1998),' 179; Agnew, *The Old West in Fact and Film*, 125.
[55] Sarah J. Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets, and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, Contributions to the Study of Popular Culture 14 (New York, Westport, London: Greenwood Press, 1986), 1-9.
[56] Joseph G. Rosa and Robin May, *Buffalo Bill and His Wild West: A Pictorial Biography* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1989), 30, 47, 48, 54, 86, 103, 105, 142, 148, 178, 203.
[57] Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1978 (1970, 1950)), 102-111.
[58] Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 153-189.
[59] Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 18; Jill Condra, 'Clothing in the Gilded Age, 1877-1899,' in *Clothing*

through American History: The Civil War through the Gilded Age, 1861-1899, by Anita Stamper and Jill Condra (Santa Barbara, Denver, Oxford: Greenwood, 2011), 335.
[60] Smith, *Virgin Land*, 104-105.
[61] Ibid., 107-108; John Shelton Lawrence and Robert Jewett, *The Myth of the American Superhero* (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans, 2002), 50-51; 54-58.
[62] Gaines and Herzog, 'The Fantasy of Authenticity in Western Costume,' 172-174.
[63] Dixon Wecter, *The Hero in America: A Chronicle of Hero-Worship* (USA: Ann Arbor Paperbacks, The University of Michigan Press, 1963, 1941), 356; Fielder, *Wild Bill*, 25, caption.
[64] 'Freak' was a self-denigrating term used by hippies to describe themselves; 'bust' meant 'to arrest;' John Bassett McCleary, *The Hippie Dictionary: A Cultural Encyclopedia (and Phraseicon) of the 1960s and 1970s* (Berkeley and Toronto: Ten Speed Press, 2004), 78, 191.
[65] Jerald Underwood, 'The Vaquero,' in *Vaqueros, Cowboys, and Buckaroos*, by Lawrence Clayton, Jim Hoy, and Jerald Underwood, M.K. Brown Range Life Series 20 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 1-65.
[66] Ibid., 2; José Alvarez del Villar, *Men and Horses of Mexico: History and Practice of 'Charrería'* (Mexico City: Ediciones Lara, 1979), 40.
[67] Evans, *Neil Young*, 103.
[68] José Cisneros, *Riders across the Centuries: Horsemen of the Spanish Borderlands* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1984), 99, 114, 122, 145, 155, 173, 177, 178, 186, 198.
[69] William H. Goetzmann & William N. Goetzmann, *The West of the Imagination* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1986), 81, 84; Harold McCracken, *The Frederic Remington Book: A Pictorial History of the West* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1966), figs. 263, 266, 296; Henry C. Pitz, *Frederic Remington: 173 Drawings and Illustrations* (New York: Dover Publications, 1972), fig. 113; Harold G. Davidson, *Edward Borein Cowboy Artist: The Life and Works of John Edward Borein 1872-1945* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1974), 32, 33, 48; colour plates between pp. 64-65, 78-85 and on pp. 141 and 145.
[70] Juan José Alonzo, *Badmen, Bandits, and Folk Heroes: The Ambivalence of Mexican American Identity in Literature and Film* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), 82: fig. 6; Everson, *A Pictorial History of the Western Film*, 60; Everson, *The Hollywood Western*, 162.
[71] Heel, as in Win Blevins, *Dictionary of the American West* (Fort Worth, Texas: TCU Press, 2001), 181.
[72] Agnew, *The Old West in Fact and Film*, 138-139.
[73] Ibid., 140; Richard C. Rattenbury, *Packing Iron: Gunleather of the Frontier West* (Santa Fe: Zon International Publishing Company, 1993), 194.
[74] Tony Thomas, *The West That Never Was* (New York: Citadel Press, 1989), 160-161; Michael Parkinson and Clyde Jeavons, *A Pictorial History of Westerns* (London, New York, Sidney, Toronto: Hamlyn, 1972), 58, 66, 68, 74, 111, 126, 144, 150, 168, 185, 206, 209; Rattenbury, *Packing Iron*, 199, 202.
[75] Thomas Albright, 'Visuals: The New Album Art,' *Rolling Stone*, April 6, 1968, 18-19.
[76] Reddish-brown sepia toning or tinting (derived from the ink-sac of the common cuttlefish *sepia*) was used in earlier monochrome photographs either for visual effect (a warmer tone) or to enhance their archival qualities (by converting the metallic silver in the print to a sulfide compound thereby making it more resistant to the effects of environmental pollutants).
[77] 'Tgo/Photography by Tom O'Neal: (66) *Déjà vu* Album Cover, 1969: Tom G. O'Neal, Portfolio,' *Tgoportfolio.com*, accessed 15 January 2011, http://www.tgoportfolio.com/store/index.php?main_page=product_info&cPath=40&products_id=276). See also David Browne, *Fire and Rain: The Beatles, Simon & Garfunkel, James Taylor, CSNY, and the Lost Story of 1970* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2011), 89-91.
[78] '[Eagles Desperado Advertisement],' *Rolling Stone*, July 5, 1973, 33; Marc Shapiro, *The Story of the Eagles: The Long Run* (London, New York, Paris: Omnibus Press, 1995), 60; Anthony Fawcett,

California Rock, California Sound: The Music of Los Angeles and Southern California (Los Angeles: Reed Books, 1978), 130-131; James D. Horan, *The Authentic Wild West: The Outlaws* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1977), 152-153.
[79] Shapiro, *The Story of The Eagles*, 60; John Einarson, *Desperados: The Roots of Country Rock* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2001), 252.
[80] Photographer and artist Gary Burden quoted in Einarson, *Desperados*, 252.
[81] 'Beatles '65,' *Wikipedia.com*, accessed 12 July 2015, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beatles_%2765.
[82] Albright, 'Visuals,' 18. Late 1960s bands who capitalized on the old-time Western image were Blood, Sweat & Tears, Quicksilver Messenger Service and The Mad River Blues Band. See '[Blood, Sweat and Tears Advertisement],' *Rolling Stone*, March 15, 1969, 23; '[Quicksilver Messenger Service Advertisement],' *Rolling Stone*, April 5, 1969, 19; '[Mad River Advertisement],' *Rolling Stone*, September 6, 1969, 23.
[83] The so-called 'Gilded Age' was the period between 1870 and the mid-1890s characterized by among other things extreme contrasts of wealth and poverty in the American metropolis coextensive with the post-Civil War 'Wild West.'
[84] Walter Medeiros, 'Mapping San Francisco 1965-1967: Roots and florescence of the San Francisco counterculture,' in *Summer of Love: Psychedelic Art, Social Crisis and Counterculture in the 1960s*, ed. Christoph Grunenberg and Jonathan Harris, Tate Liverpool Critical Forum 8 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press & Tate Liverpool, 2007 (2005)), 319-320; Michael Lydon, 'Charlatans, start of it all, now in the dark hole of hip,' *Rolling Stone*, 9 March 1968, 4-22; Geoffrey Link, 'The Charlatans,' *Rolling Stone*, February 21, 1970, 30-32; Alec Paleo, *The Charlatans: 'The Amazing Charlatans.'* CDWIKD 138. Big Beat Records, 1996: 1-27 (CD-booklet).
[85] '[Charlatans Advertisement],' *Rolling Stone*, July 12, 1969, 29.
[86] '[Jolliver Arkansaw Advertisement],' *Rolling Stone*, July 26, 1969, 2.
[87] Frank H. Goodyear, III, *Faces of the Frontier: Photographic Portraits from the American West, 1845-1924* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press/Washington D.C.: The National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2009), 145: fig. 102; Richard F. Selcer, *Hell's Half Acre: The Life and Legend of a Red-Light District* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1991), 257-263.
[88] Deanna R. Adams, *Rock'n'Roll and the Cleveland Connection* (Kent and London: The Kent State University Press, 2002), 167; '[James Gang Advertisement],' *Rolling Stone*, May 27, 1971, 7; '[New Riders of the Purple Sage Advertisement],' Rolling Stone, January 4, 1973, 31.
[89] Hoesterey, *Pastiche*, 80.
[90] Dyer, *Pastiche*, 47.
[91] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Vintage, 1993), 47.
[92] James E. Perone, *Music of the Counterculture Era* (Westport, Connecticut, and London: Greenwood Press, 2004), ix, 1-10, 16, 62-63, 138-142.
[93] Cullen, *The Civil War in Popular Culture*, 117.
[94] Ibid., 9.
[95] Ibid., 5.
[96] 'Axiom (Brian Cadd) - Arkansas Grass – Original Promo Clip 1969,' *Youtube.com*, accessed 28 October 2011, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fCQjBC4DM4o; John O'Donnell, Toby Creswell and Craig Mathieson, *The 100 Best Australian Albums* (Prahran, Victoria: Hardie Grant Books, 2010), 194.
[97] Michael Rossman, '"The Sound of Marching, Charging Feet,"' *Rolling Stone*, April 5, 1969, 6.
[98] Jacoba Atlas, 'A Conversation with Arthur Penn,' *Rolling Stone*, March 19, 1970, 44.
[99] Buck Rainey, *The Reel Cowboy: Essays on the Myth in Movies and Literature* (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London: McFarland & Company, Publishers, 1996), 6; Arthur F. McClure and Ken D. Jones, *Heroes, Heavies, and Sagebrush: A Pictorial History of the 'B' Western Players*

(Cranbury, New Jersey: A.S. Barnes, 1972), 11; Bruce Chadwick, *The Reel Civil War: Mythmaking in American Film* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), 232-262.
[100] Richard A. Lee, 'Protest Music as alternative media during the Vietnam War era,' in *War and the Media: Essays on News Reporting, Propaganda and Popular Culture*, ed. P.M. Haridakis, B.S. Hugenberg, and S.T. Wearden (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London: McFarland & Company, 2009), 24-40.
[101] John Einarson with Richie Furay, *There's Something Happening Here: The Story of Buffalo Springfield. For What It's Worth* (London: Rogan House, 1997), 6, 16; Baron Wolman, *Classic Rock & Other Rollers: A Photo Portfolio by Baron Wolman* (Santa Rosa, Calif.: Squarebooks, 1992), 22, 132.
[102] At the Democratic National Convention (Chicago, 24-29 August 1968) Vietnam War protesters were beaten and maced outside Chicago's convention centre; see McCleary, *Hippie Dictionary*, 128-199; Gene Marine, 'Chicago,' *Rolling Stone*, April 2, 1970, 38-58.
[103] Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 4; Norman Mailer, *Miami and the Siege of Chicago* (New York: World Publishing Company, 1968), 197-198.
[104] People's park was the scene of a major confrontation between student protestors and police in May 1969; see McCleary, *Hippie Dictionary*, 394-395; John Burks, John, John Grissim, Jr., and Langdon Winner, 'American Revolution 1969: The Battle of People's Park,' *Rolling Stone*, June 14, 1969, 24-30.
[105] Altamont near San Francisco, where, at a free concert by the Rolling Stones on December 6, 1969, the Hells Angels 'security' stabbed to death Meredith Hunter, a black member of the audience; see McCleary, *Hippie Dictionary*, 15; Lester Bangs et al., 'Let it Bleed,' *Rolling Stone*, January 21, 1970, 18-20, 22-28, 30-32, 34, 36.
[106] 'Nation: The My Lai Massacre,' *Time*, November 28,1969, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,840403,00.html.
[107] The student demonstrations on 14 May 1970 at Jackson State College had been for civil rights and anti-war, and those at Kent State University, Ohio on 4 May 1970 had been anti-war; see McCleary, *Hippie Dictionary*, 272-273, 286; John Lombardi et al., 'Jackson State: 1,000 Rounds in 7 Seconds,' *Rolling Stone*, June 11, 1970, 1, 6-23.
[108] 'What's happening, man? What's going down?' See McCleary, *Hippie Dictionary*, 213.
[109] Lyrics quoted in Rossman, '"The Sound of Marching, Charging Feet,"' 5.
[110] 'The Rolling Stone Top 40,' *Rolling Stone*, June 11, 1970, 9.
[111] Lyrics quoted in Rossman, '"The Sound of Marching, Charging Feet,"' 2.
[112] David Felton and David Dalton, 'Book One: Year of the Fork, Night of the Hunter,' *Rolling Stone*, June 25, 1970, 24-26.
[113] Rogan, *Neil Young*, 211, 217, 337-338; David Downing, *A Dreamer of Pictures: Neil Young: The Man and His Music* (London: Bloomsbury, 1994), 110; McDonough, *Shakey*, 288; Elizabeth Campbell, 'Easy Rider,' *Rolling Stone*, September 6,1969, 19; David Crosby with Carl Gottlieb, *Long Time Gone: The autobiography of David Crosby* (London: Heinemann, 1989), 249.
[114] McCleary, *Hippie Dictionary*, 510: 'short for the "capitalist system."'
[115] Stills cited in Allan R. McDougall, 'A Conversation with Stephen Stills,' *Rolling Stone*, March 4, 1971, 33.
[116] Crosby cited in Ben Fong-Torres, 'The Rolling Stone Interview: David Crosby,' *Rolling Stone*, July 23, 1970, 23.
[117] Ibid., 27.
[118] Young cited in Elliot Blinder, 'Neil Young,' 40.

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China: Through the Looking Glass

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Curated by Andrew Bolton and Harold Koda of the Costume Institute, with the Department of Asian Art, Maxwell K. Hearn, Douglas Dillon Chairman; Denise Patry Leidy, Curator; and Zhixin Jason Sun, Curator

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By way of the Latin *mirari*, meaning 'to wonder at,' we arrive at the word *mirror*, whose first known use occurred sometime in the thirteenth century, over one thousand years after the first recorded contacts between China and the West. The lure of the East has for centuries been alive in the minds of aesthetes who have wondered at China; despite its spatial and cultural distance, it has been seen as a source of rare opulence and beauty, like a faceted, reflective jewel in which a different version of the material world could be realised. It is this act of looking and deciphering as it relates to the Western imagination that make the reflecting glass a fitting metaphor for this fascination with the East Asian country. In *China: Through the Looking Glass* curators Andrew Bolton and Harold Koda of the Costume Institute at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, in collaboration with curators from the Met's Department of Asian Art, explore the connections between China and the sartorial West, where high fashion, film, art, Chinese costumes, and decorative objects serve to demonstrate the enduring influence of China upon Western fashion designers. In addition, organisers tapped renowned Chinese filmmaker Wong Kar Wai as the show's Artistic Director, who utilises cinematic representations of China as a medium throughout the exhibition.

Taken from the title of the classic nineteenth-century Lewis Carroll novel, *Through the Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found There,* the exhibition spans the Anna Wintour Costume Center and the MET's Chinese Galleries, which have been transformed into a sprawling jewel box of black, red, and purple lacquer. Just as Alice's entry into the looking glass brings her to a fantastical place which is a mirror image of her own, the more than 140 pieces of haute couture and avant-garde ready-to-wear garments included in the show are representative of Chinese art and costume through Western eyes – topsy-turvy imagination of the east made real.

The exhibition focusses on three main periods of Chinese history, the aesthetic of which Western fashion designers have fastidiously drawn upon: Imperial China, Nationalist China, with a focus on Shanghai in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, and the People's Republic of China. The first set of rooms in the Anna Wintour Costume Center's Lizzie and Jonathan Tisch and Carl and Iris B. Apfel Galleries display these first two eras in a dazzling introduction of light and glass. In the first space angled partitions of rectangular and circular mirrors are illuminated by crimson, green, and golden light while flanking two imposing video walls screening scenes from Bernardo Bertolucci's *The Last Emperor* (1987). These long rows of black lacquer and looking glass stretch the entire gallery length, displaying the luxury of high-end ready to wear juxtaposed with the richness of formal and semi-formal imperial robes (Image 1). Manchu robes, in an array of surface decorations exemplary of imperial authority, peek from behind silk satin gowns enlivened with polychrome threading and paillettes by Tom Ford for Yves Saint Laurent. Beside these sits a circa 1930 Chanel evening jacket in blue embroidered silk gauze.

Image 1: Gallery View, Anna Wintour Costume Center, Imperial China.
Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

In an evolutionary step from the Manchu robe, the modern qipao is given center stage in the Apfel galleries. Staggered glass boxes filled with versions of the dress style lead to a screen with rotating excerpts of films such as *The World of Suzie Wong* (1960) and Wong Kar Wai's *In the Mood for Love* (2000). Marrying a sense of tradition with modernity, the clothes as objects and the films that depict them reflect both Eastern and Western sensibilities, and highlight the influence of Hollywood and the reigning queens of cinema on fashions of the day. 1930s era Cheongsams in cream silk lace worn by the famous Chinese actress Hu Die (Butterfly Wu) are on display as well as versions by Jean Paul Gaultier and Marc Jacobs for Louis Vuitton. Gaultier's black lacquered silk satin qipao from his Autumn/Winter 2001-2002 haute couture collection is visible only from the back, where nude tulle serves as a weightless backdrop for a lively scene of black silhouettes in three-dimensional embroideries.

Outside of the Anna Wintour Costume Center a nearby gallery explores the Mao suit as the last sartorial signifier of the People's Republic of China. The simplicity of the uniform and its evocation of utopian communist life has led Western designers to incorporate the look into garments with both political and pop culture references, such as Vivienne Tam's 'Mao Portrait Dress,' a shift covered in the famous Andy Warhol printed images of the leader. A green cotton twill Red Guard uniform from the late 1960s rounds out the theme alongside ensembles from Vivienne Westwood and John Galliano. Here, as in the previous galleries, filmic representations of China lend a narrative backbone to the story that the objects are telling. Behind the garments on view an epic Technicolor of the communist ballet *The Red Detachment of Women* (1970) plays to the stirring beat of the Revolution.

Through the lens of cinema Western audiences have created their own internal narratives about China and with the artistic direction of Wong Kar Wai, *China: Through the Looking Glass* proves itself to be not only a sweeping overview of Chinese and Chinese-inspired fashion, costume, art, and decorative objects but a lovely homage to the medium of film. This aspect of the exhibition,

with its sound and moving pictures may be the most powerful of all. Because the silver screen is smoke and mirrors, its illusory nature lends itself perfectly to the idea of China realised via the Western imagination. In fact, many of the films included in the exhibition have been direct inspirations for fashion designers in their recreation of the wonder and enchantment of the Orient. The Astor Forecourt, part of the Asian Art galleries, highlights Anna May Wong as the most influential film actress to shape Western designers' ideas of Chinese dress. In spot lit displays with her image reflected above corresponding garments, a silk charmeuse dress worn by the actress is displayed alongside gowns by Yves Saint Laurent, Ralph Lauren, and John Galliano for Dior.

As previously mentioned, film excerpts in the show's introductory galleries play an important role in contextualising the pieces on display. Moving into the Asian galleries, they continue to do so throughout the exhibition with increasing intensity. In the Douglas Dillon galleries, two distinct gowns in towering vitrines face one another; both literal embodiments of the show's title as they face a pair of carved and gilded mirrors. An eighteenth-century silk Chinoiserie delight in blue, white, silver, and gold brocade and an ensemble by John Galliano for Dior haute couture, 2003, are doubled in ornament and volume through reflective glass as Ennio Morricone's tear-inducing score for the film *Once Upon A Time in America* (1984), with its prohibition era New York gangsters and opium dens, weaves through this and the surrounding galleries.

The guttural emotions of unrequited love conveyed by Morricone's composition are parlayed into a striking scene in the museum's Astor Garden for one of the show's most compelling spaces, 'Moon in the Water' (Image 2). As explained by the curators, the exhibition's subtitle, 'Through the Looking Glass,' finds its Chinese translation in this phrase, which alludes to Buddhism and also suggests love lost, or a beautiful object 'that cannot be grasped.' In this gallery, darkness envelopes like the night sky and a surreal moon projection fades in and out of colour as it reflects on a glassy black pond. Like skipping stones strewn across the water otherworldly looks from Galliano's Dior Spring/Summer 2003 haute couture collection are spot lit through the shadows. Silk jacquard, organza and brocade, metallic threads and tinted tulles illuminate the room as viewers on a wooden footbridge peer out into the water garden.

Image 2: Gallery View, Chinese Galleries, Astor Court, Moon in the Water.
Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Nearby, a room of blue and white Chinese porcelains and crisp cobalt and cream gowns bathed in cool light engage in a graphic dialogue alongside a sanguine tinted gallery filled with Ming furniture and Valentino. Fiery red silk tulle and lace gowns from the designer's 2013 'Shanghai' collection enliven the space as excerpts of Zhang Yimou's *Raise the Red Lantern* (1991) and *Farewell My Concubine* (1993) among others flicker warmly in the background. The still elegance of Chinese silks is explored nearby in two galleries with early twentieth-century Chinese shawls, 1960s era Balenciaga evening dresses, an orientalist red silk velvet jumpsuit by Paul Poiret, and both American and French examples of the eighteenth-century *Robe à la Polonaise*. And following the exhibition's steady dialogue between decorative objects and garments, around the corner from export silks lay the decorative allure of Chinese calligraphy translated into and literally printed onto Dior's lavish 'Quiproquo' cocktail dress from 1951; the inky characters on silk inspired by a nineteenth-century rubbing of a tenth-century stone carving about a stomachache.

In its final gallery, paying tribute to Wuxia, a 2000 year old Chinese literary genre revolving around the adventures of martial arts heroes, a glowing open space with a sculptural bamboo forest displays some of the museum's earliest examples of Buddhist art along with minimal, futurist ensembles from Craig Green and Jean Paul Gaultier in a stark palette of black or white (Image 3). Floating warriors fight in scenes from the *House of Flying Daggers* (2004) in a dramatic end to the show.

Image 3: Chinese Galleries, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Wuxia Ensemble, Jean Paul Gaultier, (French, born 1952), Autumn/Winter 2001-2; courtesy of Jean Paul Gaultier.
Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

In its stirring entirety, *China: Through the Looking Glass* has so many objects and juxtapositions, so many emotion-inducing sounds, images and works of art, so many aspects of cultural fascination, interpretation and reflection, that its themes regarding the creative fantasies of culture seem as large and expansive as China itself. The exhibition takes the sometimes troubling issues of appropriation and chooses to focus on the oft un-politicised aims of fashion designers who

do all merely for the sake of beauty, containing all on display in a dizzying hall of mirrors, itself held in a perfect black lacquer box. As China and its designers, artisans, garment industry, and consumers' pocketbooks become an increasing global force in the current fashion landscape we can only hope that this dialogue continues, and that Western eyes maintain a humble appreciation and respect for what is through the looking glass.

Ericka Basile is a visual artist and fashion scholar living and working in Brooklyn, New York. She holds an MA in Visual Culture: Costume Studies from New York University's Department of Art & Art Professions.

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Global Fashion Capitals

Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology,
Fashion & Textile History Gallery, New York
2 June – 14 November 2015
Organised by Ariele Elia and Elizabeth Way

Upon entering the gallery to view The Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology's exhibition titled *Global Fashion Capitals*, one is dazzled by the first visual presented, a stunning dress and quilted jacket from 2014 which both look as if they have been struck by lightening. Is it Oscar's? Is it Karl's? Is it Prada? One wonders, but no –reading the accompanying description, it is revealed that the ensemble was designed by Arzu Kaprol, a notable contributor to Istanbul's thriving fashion industry (Image 1). As one proceeds throughout the artfully lit displays, there are more fresh, unfamiliar names – Manish Aurora from New Delhi, India; Alexandre Herchcovitch from São Paulo, Brazil; Carla Fernández and Ricardo Seco from Mexico City, Marina Hoermanseder from Berlin, Germany, and Anton Belinsky, from Kiev, Ukraine, among others. The visitor is now in a brave new world; fashion explodes from every corner of the planet, shown here on faceless mannequins.

Global Fashion Capitals has selected sixteen of the most active fashion cities and one to three designers from each to define this new polycentric fashion system. Stockholm, Sydney, Copenhagen, Istanbul, New Delhi, São Paulo, Mali, Madrid, Mexico City, Shanghai, Beijing, Melbourne, Johannesburg, St Petersburg, Moscow, and Lagos are now producing daring, influential clothes and hosting fashion weeks in hopes of attracting international attention and sales to boost their local and national economies. As films and music attract wider and wider global audiences, fashion follows. The exhibition teems with riotous prints, vast bows, sweaters stretched to the floor, bustiers made of plastic or wood, lace as thick as whipped cream, ingenious beadings and embellishments, fringe, luxurious silks and woollens; all the components beloved by fashion connoisseurs and clients are re-defined here looking young and desirable.

Parisian haute couture of the mid-nineteenth to the twentieth centuries inspired many of these now-worldwide trends and 'designer fashion' is still inseparable from the image of Paris. During the 1970s, New York and Milan challenged Paris' sovereignty over the fashion world, pioneering innovative ready-to-wear design and triumphed, supported by strong manufacturing capabilities.

London had become famous during the 1960s for its swingy, mini-skirted lifestyle with designers like Mary Quant, Zandra Rhodes, and Ossie Clark leading the parade while Vidal Sassoon re-invented hairstyle concepts with his graphic, geometric haircuts. Tokyo emerged as a fashion capital during the 1980s when its avant-garde designers, led by Rei Kawakubo, launched the 'Japanese Fashion Revolution' with its eccentric, highly personal design concepts. Although the most influential Japanese designers have always shown their collections in Paris, Tokyo today is considered to be the world's fifth major fashion capital, following London, New York, Paris, and Milan.

Image 1: Entrance of the exhibition featuring Istanbul. Left: Zeynep Tosun, Fall 2015, right: Arzu Kaprol, Fall 2014. Photo © The Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology.

The curators of *Global Fashion Capitals* have contextualised this historiography of fashion in the display of works by the contemporary global designers included in the exhibition. Toward the end of the exhibit there is a group of important designs from the past. A torturously ruched iridescent taffeta gown from 1938 by Nettie Rosenstein suddenly looks dated. A stunning forest green chiffon, one-shoulder gown by Halston from the 1970s, because of it subtle, innovative cut, appears much simpler than it actually is. This piece represents American design at its most masterful (Image 2). From the 1990s we see a see-through, bias cut, black lace gown by Azzedine Alaïa, accompanied by its very own flesh coloured (we are not told whose flesh colour) bra and panties. The three pieces offer a brief history of twentieth-century eveningwear that gives historical perspective to the contemporary work. The opening night crowd seemed to be especially entranced by the Halston and the Alaïa, indicating that among all the forward-thinking fashion on view, the classics still maintain their place in the fashion pantheon.

In recent years several cities in Northern Europe have gained traction as active fashion centres. Marina Hoermanseder's sculptural designs have put Berlin on the style map. In the Nordic region, Stockholm and Copenhagen are dual Scandinavian fashion capitals. The Swedish designer Ann-Sophie Back and Danish designer Henrik Vibskov are known for androgynous, edgy clothes designed for big city life. Despite political and economic unrest in Russia and Ukraine, their cities continue to produce innovative fashion. Of Russia's two fashion capitals, St. Petersburg is creative and daring while Moscow style is refined and opulent. In Australia, Sydney style is regarded as sporty and sexy, while Melbourne is more sophisticated. Although Istanbul is a newcomer to fashion, its rich culture gives designers a wealth of inspiration.

Image 2: Installation view, New York platform, *Global Fashion Capitals*.
Photo © The Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology.

Image 3: Big Park, *dress*, cotton denim and synthetic satin, Spring 2015, Seoul. Gift of Big Park. Photo © The Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology.

During the 1990s São Paulo rose as Latin America's fashion capital and within the last decade Mexico City's fashion industry has grown along with its economy. Carla Fernández and Ricardo Seco incorporate the work of indigenous Mexican artisans into their sportswear concepts. African cities are newcomers in the global fashion industry. Lamine Kouyaté of Xuly Bët, a Mali-born designer based in Paris, brought early recognition to African designers. Johannesburg fashion emerged after apartheid ended in 1994. In Lagos, Nigeria's booming economy has helped designers who incorporate locally made African fabrics into their internationally appealing clothes. Seoul has risen as one of Asia's most exciting fashion capitals during the last decade; indeed, the South Korean government prioritises fashion as a cultural export. Local brands such as LIE SANGBONG and Big Park are rapidly breaking into the international fashion scene (Image 3). India and China have both developed fashion industries from powerful manufacturing bases. Mumbai has eclipsed New Delhi as India's fashion capital by creating contemporary as opposed to traditional, intricately embellished designs.

Walking home away from the throng of high heeled fashionistas crowding the opening night festivities at the FIT exhibit, one wonders if any work of the new designers will ever replace or equal the icons that have been cherished for entire eras. Is there a Chanel among them? An Yves Saint Laurent? Anyone who can even exert the lasting influence of the non-designer-fashion enthusiasts among us whose looks and influence still permeate the atmosphere? To this day the streets are full of young girls playing at being Brigitte Bardot, tossing their bottle-blonde manes and gazing at the world though smudgy, black eye make-up. Young men strut around in tight jeans and white T-shirts emulating the men in the erotic drawings of the artist Tom of Finland. From Marlon Brando to James Dean, he taught them how they wanted to look when they themselves did not know how they wanted to look.

As fashion is always in transition, one wonders what 'the next big trend' will be. We shall see, and globalisation makes the future look very promising. Ariele Elia and Elizabeth Way curated *Global Fashion Capitals*, which is on at The Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York City until November 4.

Robert R. Richards was born in Maine and has been drawing fashion and celebrities in New York, Paris, Milan, and Los Angeles for more than five decades. He is an avid follower of fashion and trends and has curated major art exhibitions at The Museum of the Society of Illustrators and The Leslie-Lohman Museum, both in New York. He is grateful to have remained in demand after all these years and intends to continue writing and drawing for as long as possible.

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Current and Forthcoming Exhibitions

Jacqueline de Ribes: The Art of Style

(Anna Wintour Costume Center, The Costume Institute of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 19 November 2015 – 21 February 2016)

Centred on the life and creative vision of internationally renowned style icon Countess Jacqueline de Ribes, this exhibition traces the evolution of a personal fashion archive from the mid-twentieth century to the present. Alongside examples of haute couture and ready-to-wear garments from de Ribes' own collections are examples of gowns she altered herself for fancy dress balls, as well as other ephemera and photography that document the legacy of her creative expression and professional life as television producer, designer, and philanthropist.

Shoes: Pleasure and Pain

(Victor and Albert Museum, London, 13 June 2015 – 31 January 2016)

From an historiographical and global perspective, *Shoes: Pleasure and Pain* features examples of footwear from ancient Egypt to the present, highlighting the role of shoes as markers of social, political and cultural significance. Organised into thematic categories of 'Transformation,' 'Status,' 'Seduction,' 'Creation,' and 'Obsession,' the evolution of shoes is mapped from their use of precious materials and craftsmanship, the implications of technology on their form and function, their collectability for enthusiasts and celebrities, to their place in folklore and popular culture.

***High & Mighty shoot, American Vogue*, (model: Nadja Auermann), Dolce & Gabbana suit, Summer 1995, February 1995 © Estate of Helmut Newton/Maconochie Photography**

Audrey Hepburn: Portraits of an Icon

(National Portrait Gallery, London, 2 July 2015 – 18 October 2015)

This exhibition documents the history of actress Audrey Hepburn as one of the twentieth century's most iconic fashion personalities. Assembling a variety of archival materials ranging from magazine covers, film stills, and photography by Richard Avedon, Cecil Beaton, Terry O'Neill, Norman Parkinson, and Irving Penn, the exhibition traces Hepburn's life and career in creative and public roles as actress and philanthropist.

Liberty in Fashion

(Fashion and Textile Museum, London, 9 October 2015 – 28 February 2016)

As a celebratory event to mark the 140th anniversary of the British design company, this exhibition will put on display a range of archival materials that attest to Liberty's enduring presence in the realm of textile and decorative arts since 1875. Parallel to important developments in the cultural movements surrounding nineteenth-century Orientalism and Aestheticism, to the twentieth-century evolution toward Art Nouveau and Art Deco, Liberty's designs have remained central to collaborations with contemporary designers including Cacharel, Yves Saint Laurent, and Vivienne Westwood. This exhibition documents this history with a collection of over 150 garments and objects.

La Mode Retrouvée, Les Robes-Trésors de la Comtesse Greffulhe

(Palais Galliera, Musée de la Mode de la Ville de Paris, Paris, 7 November 2015 – 20 March 2016)

This exhibition situates the historical significance of Countess Greffulhe (née Élisabeth de Caraman-Chimay, 1860-1952) and her renowned wardrobe in the context of France's Second Empire, the Belle Époque, and the Roaring Twenties. As a leader of Paris Society (le *Tout-Paris*) and founding President of the Société des Grandes Audition Musicales, the Countess' public appearances were occasion for displays of elegance, theatricality, and fantasy, shown here with over fifty examples of designs by Worth, Fortuny, Babani, and Lanvin.

Korea Now! Design, Craft, Fashion and Graphic Design in Korea

(Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, 19 September 2015 – 3 January 2016)

As an emerging fashion capital, Seoul, Korea, is highlighted in this exhibition as a centre of innovation and cross-cultural influences. In partnership with the Korea Craft & Design Foundation, the Musée des Arts Décoratifs will display over 700 recent designs by a range of artists, artisans, and fashion and graphic designers that attest to the eclecticism and creativity of Korea's contemporary cultural milieu. The exhibition presents a view onto a vibrant design scene of which little is known in the context of the European and North American fashion industries.

2Fik: Mix & Match

(Weil Gallery, Texas A&M University, Corpus Christi, 8 October – 4 December 2015)

In the context of a university gallery, this multidisciplinary exhibition presents several performances and an installation of photographic works by contemporary Montréal-based, 'stateless' artist 2Fik. Interrogating notions of identity, gender, language, and ethnicity, works in the exhibition explore the concept of being 'lost in translation,' using fashion as both material and subject matter. High heels, prom dresses, wigs, and make-up are deployed by this artist who uses their familiarity as the apparatus of identity formation to assert new and limitless meanings for fashion's evolving cultural significance.

Swinging Sixties London: Photography in the Capital of Cool

(FOAM, Amsterdam, 12 June – 2 September 2016)

With youth culture and social evolution marking the zeitgeist of London in the 1960s, this multidisciplinary exhibition documents the role of rock stars, fashion models, socialites, and political activists in a range of film, magazines, fashion, and design. London's advance toward becoming an 'International Epicentre' in the mid-1960s is captured in photography by Terence Donovan, Brian Duffy, John French, Norman Parkinson, James Barnor, John Hopkins, John Cowan, Eric Swayne, and Philip Townsend, in which fashion designers, celebrities, and musicians shape the 'cool' of that turbulent and dynamic era of the twentieth century.

Fashion Underground: The World of Susanne Bartsch

(Special Exhibitions Gallery, The Museum at The Fashion Institute of Technology, New York, 18 September – 5 December 2015)

From the perspective of New York in the 1980s, this exhibition features designs by John Galliano, Jean Paul Gaultier, Alexander McQueen, Thierry Mugler, Rick Owens, and Vivienne Westwood, among others, as a platform to highlight the seminal cultural role played by nightlife queen Susanne Bartsch. In the context of late-twentieth-century fashion, creativity, and the uptown/downtown party scenes, Bartsch's presence for over thirty years as an icon of underground fashion is documented in a display of garments worn at her apartment at the Chelsea Hotel, and club nights at Savage, Copacabana, and Le Bain.

Denim: Fashion's Frontier

(Fashion & Textile History Gallery, The Museum at The Fashion Institute of Technology, New York, 24 November 2015 – May 2016)

As a democratising material, denim has been witness to a dynamic social history that has seen it evolve from the fabric of work wear, to a symbol of youth rebellion, to a marker of status, and to its omnipresence as the wardrobe staple of nearly half the world's population. This exhibition will document the social significance of denim and jeans and examine how contemporary fashion designers have explored their limits with luxury treatments and experimentation with its forms and functions.

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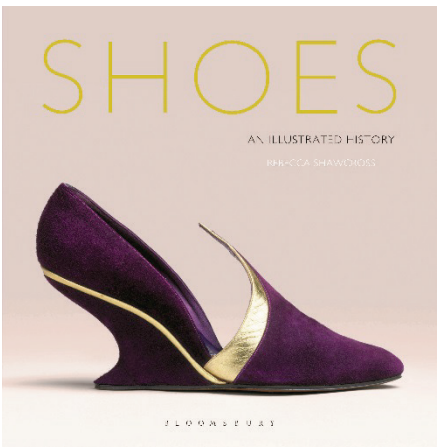
ISSN: 2045-2349

Book Reviews

Shoes: An Illustrated History

Rebecca Shawcross
London: Bloomsbury
2014, 256 pages, $50
Illustrated, with index
ISBN: 978-1-472-53100-1



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It would seem that footwear is having a moment: the humble shoe – that most quotidian of garment – has been elevated to the status of art object. This garment, once described by Alexandra Sherlock as 'the Cinderella of fashion theory,' is suddenly centre stage. Shoes are the theme of three major exhibitions in London this summer, with the Victoria and Albert Museum's *Shoes: Pleasure and Pain*, The Design Museum's *Life on Foot*, and The Fashion and Textile Museum's *Rayne: Shoes for Stars.* All of these cater to the public's interest in decorative, designer, and functional forms of footwear.

With a renewed focus on the significance and history of footwear, Rebecca Shawcross' volume *Shoes: An Illustrated History* could not have come at a more appropriate time. Shawcross is Shoe Resources Officer for The Shoe Collection at Northampton Museum, home to world's largest collection of footwear and shoe heritage. As custodian of an archive of 13,000 shoes and shoe-related materials, she is in the perfect position to author this beautifully illustrated overview of 5,000 years of footwear history.

In recent years, there has been a spate of footwear-focussed texts from major publishers. Generally image heavy, they have veered towards coffee table rather than intensive historical or social analysis. They feed the seemingly insatiable public interest in shoes and are, one suspects, highly profitable for their publishers. *Shoes: An Illustrated History* sits somewhere between the very best of those well illustrated coffee-table tomes, and an authoritative social-historical analysis and survey of the design history of shoes. It should appeal to fashion historians, designers, theorists, and footwear fanatics alike.

Recent publications such as the design and art writer Ivan Vartanian's *High Heels: Fashion, Femininity and Seduction* and the historian Valerie Steele's and the accessories curator Colleen Hill's *Shoe Obsession* have focussed on a particular style of shoe, while the designer Al Fingers has focussed on a particular brand in *Clarks in Jamaica.* By contrast, Shawcross' book presents an historical survey of footwear, starting with the earliest known shoes and ending with the work of contemporary designers such as Manolo Blahnik, Jeffery West, and Christian Louboutin. The aim of the book is to give a complete history of shoes, albeit one painted in broad strokes. In this aim, it is not unlike the fashion historian Jonathan Walford's excellent book *The Seductive Shoe: Four Centuries of Fashion Footwear*. However, in addressing shoes from as far back as 3500 BC (the oldest known shoe, made of hide, which was found in a grave in Armenia in 2010), its scope is far broader. Considering the vast array of books on contemporary footwear design, Shawcross' book is most interesting in two aspects: firstly, its focus upon mediaeval and pre-eighteenth-century footwear and, secondly, for the social and industrial insights that she weaves into those histories. Many of the shoes that illustrate this volume are sourced from Northampton Museum's archive. Shawcross' extensive and detailed knowledge of these particular artefacts is apparent from the start.

Image 1: Shoes (Latchet-tie shoes) 1700-1720. Photo courtesy © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Brooklyn Museum Costume Collection. Gift of the Brooklyn Museum, 2009; Gift of Herman Delman; Photographed by Lea Christiano.

The book is divided into ten chronologically organised chapters. The first four chapters cover shoes from the Iron Age to the Enlightenment and are titled 'The First Shoes,' 'From the Middle Ages to the Renaissance,' 'European Renaissance,' and 'Towards the Age of Reason.' Shawcross discusses the evolution of footwear by looking both at courtly dress and more pedestrian apparel. A particular focus on shoemaking and makers provides an insight into the status afforded to cordwainers (shoemakers) during this period. Sections on more obscure items, such as gambodes (hinged shoes for keeping riders' legs clean), the history of shoelaces, or the advent of shoe sizes, prove particularly interesting. Specific mention here must be given to the beautiful images of silk brocade latchet tie shoes illustrating the chapters on Renaissance and Enlightenment footwear (Image 1). Some of these shoes, housed in Northampton Museum, are particularly good examples of the images included in the book

The next chapters cover more well-trodden ground and are perhaps less fascinating to the fashion historian: 'Return to Simplicity,' 'Mechanization of the Industry,' 'The Turn of the Twentieth Century,' and 'Austerity Years.' However, the chapter on the mechanization of shoe making is strong and details how technologies have altered the styles and quantities of shoes we wear. While the sections on plimsolls and sport footwear delve into the history of Indian rubber, it might have been more interesting to link the colonial histories of rubber producers to those of our own commonplace objects.

The final section looks at twentieth-century and contemporary footwear design in two chapters titled 'A New Era' and '1980s to the Present' respectively. This covers post-war styles and some contemporary big name designers. Considering Shawcross' interest in shoemaking and the shoe industry, it seems a shame not to have discussed the impact of emergent technologies such as 3D printing, crowd-sourced designing, or new materials in the footwear industry. It might also have

proved fruitful to include some emerging or less well-known designers, those at the cutting edge of shoe design, such as Andreia Chaves and Chau Har Lee.

This book does not focus on contemporary or extreme footwear as many recent publications have, nor is it an attempt to theorise shoes, which books such as *Shoes: A History from Sandals to Sneakers* by the design historians Peter McNeil and Giorgio Riello, and *Footnotes* edited by the literary historians Shari Benstock and Suzanne Ferriss do. It is a history, entwining social, technological, and aesthetic aspects to examine one of our most habitual items of material culture.

The book contains a wealth of information and with its simple short essay format is easy to dip in and out of. Some of the highlights are those sections that stray from the chronological history of shoes and instead focus upon the quirks and peculiarities of footwear culture and history. Sub-sections on particular cultural phenomena such as shoe superstitions and concealed shoes prove particularly interesting.

Overall, this is a meticulously researched and beautifully illustrated book that attempts to do the impossible: distil twenty centuries of footwear design and culture into a single volume. As an overview of footwear design and production throughout the ages, it will provide an invaluable resource. This book would make an excellent addition to any university library where footwear fashion or the history of design is taught. Very useful additional sections such as listings for shoe museums and a glossary of footwear terms will make this book of great use to footwear design students and fashion historian alike.

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Ellen Sampson is an artist, shoemaker, and curator whose work explores the relationships between bodily experience, memory and artefacts. Her work addresses the manner in which material objects can become records of lived experience and how the traces of these experiences can be read. Ellen is currently undertaking a PhD at The Royal College of Art, London.

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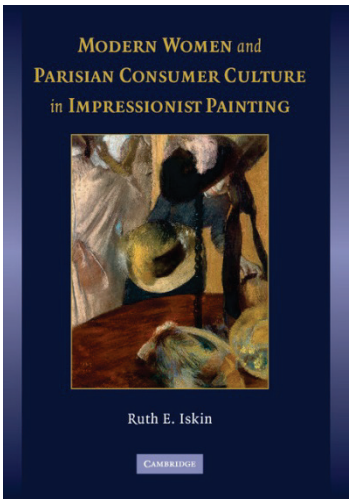
Modern Women and Parisian Consumer Culture in Impressionist Painting

Ruth E. Iskin
Cambridge University Press
Paperback edition 2014, 293 pages, $47.95
Illustrated, with an index and bibliography
ISBN: 978-1-107-67246-8



Courtesy Cambridge University Press
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The mythical status of Paris as the world's fashion capital represents one of the longest-standing reifications of place in the modern cultural imagination. The 'Chic Parisienne' has become an icon of femininity and fashionability, constituting the superiority of the French nation in matters of taste and style from the fin-de-siècle to the present day. The importance of Paris to our understanding of the fashion system and the cultural economy of cities has been the subject of numerous scholarly texts in the last decade or so, with both historical and contemporary accounts highlighting how systems of production, consumption and representation have contributed to the style site par excellence. The art historian Ruth E. Iskin's *Modern Women and Parisian Consumer Culture in Impressionist Painting* has been recently re-issued in paperback format, making it more widely accessible to its audience. Fortuitously, it falls on the heels of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the Musée d'Orsay, Paris blockbuster touring exhibition *Impressionism, Fashion and Modernity* (2013). As such, it contributes to a significant discourse that focusses on the role of women, consumptive practice, and the arts in establishing Paris as the premier city of pleasure, beauty, and elegance. Iskin's emphasis, which is the visual culture of consumption, provides important context in illuminating women's participation in modernity and in articulating the relationship between fashion and art. This unique set of circumstances would see Paris emerge as the style capital of the world. Throughout the book, she provides close analysis of how an array of Impressionist paintings, as well as advertising posters and fashion illustrations, contributed to a visual culture of consumption. As such, there is much here of interest for art and design historians as well as fashion studies scholars.

The introductory chapter 'Impressionism, Consumer Culture and the Modern Woman' sets out Iskin's parameters for the study, which is based on the analysis of paintings by Édouard Manet, Edgar Degas, Camille Pissarro, Auguste Renoir, Mary Cassatt, and Gustave Caillebotte, as well as interpretations of advertising and illustration from 1860 to 1900. Iskin's central concerns are to understand the role of the modern woman in the newly emergent consumer society as well as to consider the changing conditions of spectatorship. Her identification of the plurality of the gaze, both masculine and feminine, inscribed in these representations, is particularly significant to her interpretation of the material presented. She raises a range of questions as to women's role in public space and the sexual politics of looking during the Belle Époque. These observations are framed by critiques and interpretations of the experience of modernity, as identified in the works of Walter Benjamin, Charles Baudelaire, and Émile Zola, among others. The remainder of the book is organised around a set of images through which the author explores the themes of seduction and spectatorship, consumer culture and issues of class, the city as a site for consumptive practice, the market place, and the Parisienne's importance to French national identity.

Chapter Two, 'Selling Seduction and Soliciting the Eye,' focusses on a case study of Manet's *Bar at the Folies-Bergere* (1882). Here, Iskin provides a detailed analysis that foregrounds the consumer display of objects on the counter of the bar, and their equation with the body of the barmaid as another object to be consumed. Through a comparative framework, which includes

examples such as Emile Levy's *Folies-Bergere* poster of 1875 and illustrations including '*Mlle Théo, en marchande de parfums, dans la Grand Kermesse* (1879), Iskin identifies important concepts that are revisited throughout the text, in particular, the framing of women as consumer spectators as linked to social changes that occurred during the second half of the nineteenth century. As such, Iskin argues that while woman's position as an object of seduction appears to be a prevalent figure in much of the visual culture of the period, there is also evidence for the role of woman as spectator and consumer, which, she argues, is one of agency and reflected women's evolving rights in matters of education, work, marriage, and participation in the public sphere.

Edgar Degas's numerous paintings of milliners form the basis of Chapter Three, in which Iskin interprets the world of fashion consumption, the consumer culture of display, and the roles and experiences of bourgeois women consumers and working-class *modistes* (shop girls). These images are considered in the context of Baudelaire's call for the *flâneur* painter to observe modern life and the appropriateness of women's changing fashions to convey the fleeting moment of modernity. Of interest here to the fashion scholar is the author's discussion of the significance of hats and accessories to women's attire in the late 1800s, as well as the fashionable dress of the *modiste* as a result of the democratisation of fashion and the promotion of women's dress as a form of artistry. Insightfully, the author provides the social context for interpreting Degas's milliner paintings as well as Jules Cheret's and Henri Thiriet's posters, which assist in understanding characterisations of social class difference. Zola's characterisation of women's consumer desires as dangerous and excessive is also significant to this argument, which is framed in relation to Marxist conceptions of the fetishisation of commodities. As such, Iskin explores how the advertising of the era addressed a specific female audience, which, in turn, produced a set of circumstances that would commodify images of women.

In Chapter Four, 'Inconspicuous Subversion,' Iskin explores the city as spectacle. Here she provides a discussion of the Haussmannisation of Paris and its impact on the consumer environment. Using examples of works by Caillebotte, Renoir, Manet and Pissarro to explore the presence of capital in daily life as represented by urban consumer culture, Iskin makes the argument for a perceived ambivalence to signs of Parisian consumer culture through approaches to painting, including cropping, obscuring, and fragmentation. As such, the author proposes that the Impressionist images of alienation are in opposition to the popular discourse of glamorising consumptive practice as exercised in advertising posters of the period despite their similarity in subject matter.

'Nature and the Marketplace' is the subject of Chapter Five, which provides further discussion of the Impressionists' response to consumerism. Through the comparison of paintings by Pissarro and Caillebotte in particular, Iskin considers differing approaches to the goods on display and the working-class women represented, framed by a discussion of Zola's *Le Ventre de Paris* and its descriptions of Les Halles central food market. In relation to the overall themes and central argument of the book, this chapter is the least convincing, for, while the subject matter of the marketplace as a spectacle of consumer culture can be observed in the works cited, the significance of the modern woman to this set of examples is a cursory concern.

The final chapter, 'The Chic Parisienne,' was of most interest to this reader. In it, Iskin draws on a wide range of images by Impressionist painters, fashion illustration, and advertising posters to establish how this iconic figure became a symbol of French fashion, femininity, and national identity. The importance of the Parisienne image to the promotion of France's fashion industry was vital to the country's economy, and, as history tells us, remains so until the present day. While not new, Iskin's analysis of the origins and promotion of this figure, offers a range of interesting examples and observations as to how 'Parisienne Chic' came to embed the mythology of France's superior taste in matters of dress in the cultural imagination. Along with discussion of examples such as Monet's *Woman with a Parasol* (1875), Renoir's *La Parisienne* (1874), and Mary Cassatt's *Portrait of the Artist* (1876, Image 1), the author makes further reference to Baudelaire and Zola in interpreting the representation of fashion in Impressionist painting as a particular concern of

modernity. In addition to the paintings, posters and illustrations that contributed to positioning the Parisienne as an iconic figure, Iskin draws attention to the integral role of this image to the Exposition Universalle of 1900 at which La Parisienne, dressed in the designs of Jeanne Paquin, became a national monument. The author concludes that not only did the Chic Parisienne become an integral symbol of modernity for the nation but also promoted an image of agency for women who were seen to have participated in the making of the nation through consumptive practice.

Image 1: *Portrait of the Artist,* 1876, by Mary Cassatt. Photo courtesy © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Edith H. Proskauer, 1975 (1975.319.1)

Modern Women and Parisian Consumer Culture in Impressionist Painting is a significant addition to the range of literature that explores the role of the modern woman in shaping modernity,

and the vital relationship between fashion and art that occurred during the Belle Époque. While there are problematic aspects to the author's argument, in which the modern woman disappears in the chapter dedicated to the marketplace, and the challenge of claiming women's agency through consumption is not completely resolved nor nuanced in its approach, these shortcomings do not detract from the range of sources and evidence that Iskin supplies for arguing the centrality of the modern woman and her Parisienne Chic iconic image as a mythic construct integral to France's fashion identity.

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Briefly Noted Books

Fashion Victims: Dress at the Court of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette

Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015, 352 pages, illustrated, $60, ISBN: 978-0-300-15438-2.

This lavishly illustrated volume is the outcome of a twenty-year project of the fashion historian Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell. It examines the sumptuous and extravagant costumes during the reign of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. While this is a much researched period in fashion history, the book features previously unpublished archival sources as well as images of rare surviving garments to examine the outlandish and imaginative styles of eighteenth-century France. The book is organised into four main sections, 'Court and City,' 'New and Novel,' 'Fashion and Fantasy,' and 'Revolution and Recovery' to provide a comprehensive understanding of the French fashion industry in relation to politics, the arts, philosophy and popular culture of the period.

Stephen Sprouse: Xerox/Rock/Art

Carol McCranie, and Javier Magri, eds. Bologna: Damiani, 2015, illustrated, 208 pages, $50, ISBN: 978-8-862-08370-6.

Stephen Sprouse's graffiti art was incorporated into Louis Vuitton product lines in 2001, making his edgy design works visible to a new audience of luxury fashion clients. This book revisits Sprouse's

prolific design output from the 1970s to the 1980s at a time when he was heavily involved in New York's East Village's Punk and Disco scenes. Sprouse's original drawings, colour Xeroxes, and swatch references are presented in full colour, providing a revelatory look at his contributions to the world of fashion.

Traditional Couture: Folkloric Heritage Costumes

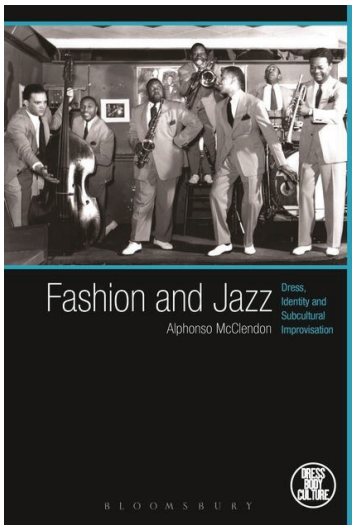
Robert Klanten, Gregor Hohenberg, and Annett Hohenberg, eds. Berlin: Gestalten, 2015, illustrated, $68, 320 pages, ISBN: 978-3-899-55572-1.

Based on the extraordinary images of German fashion photographer Gregor Hohenberg, this dazzling coffee-table book provides a unique look at the craftsmanship and cultural heritage of traditional German folkloric fashion. These distinctive garments, characterised by exquisite embroidery, pearls, beads, and colourful fabrics, embody the cultural traditions of regional dress and continue to be worn by young and old alike. The accompanying text provides a history of Tracht (traditional national costume of German speaking countries) and its associated festivals and ceremonies. As such, this unique book offers significant insight into a neglected topic that has the potential to inspire fashion designers in a contemporary context.

Fashion and Jazz: Dress, Identity and Subcultural Improvisation

Alphonso McClendon. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015, 216 pages, illustrated with a bibliography and index, $34.95, ISBN: 978-0-857-85127-7.

Exploring the distinct style and aesthetic of jazz culture, Alphonso McClendon develops a wide array of case studies, from the singer Billy Holliday to the dandy icon Chet Baker, to examine the political and social histories of race, class, and gender that underpinned the subculture's subversive strategies. Presenting a critical analysis of jazz performers as modern fashion icons, the book provides an important discourse on the overlooked influence of this African-American subculture on fashion and glamour.



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Plucked: A History of Hair Removal

Rebecca M. Herzig. New York: New York University Press, 2015, with bibliography and index, $29.95, 280 pages, ISBN: 978-1-479-84082-3.

The historian Rebecca Herzig draws from sociology, anthropology, and psychology to examine the techniques Americans have used to remove bodily hair. From the science of depilation and X-ray removal to tweezing, shaving, waxing, and electrolysis, the pressures of hair-free conformity are tightly bound to issues of gender, racial purity, and evolutionary development. Herzig considers how hair removal, once only practiced by 'savage men' before the Civil War, became the expectation for women by the turn of the twentieth century. As well as considering how hair removal has been used as an act of torture and humiliation, various agendas and influences are considered from pornography to colonialism and the political economy of waxes.

The Battle of Versailles: The Night American Fashion Stumbled into the Spotlight and Made History

Robin Givhan. New York: Flatiron Books, 2015, 310 pages, $27, ISBN: 978-1-250-05385-5.

The contemporary fashion spectacle of the entertaining catwalk show owes much to a watershed moment in 1973. The Battle of Versailles, a fundraiser that pitted French couture against American ready-to-wear, saw American designers Halston, Oscar de la Renta, Bill Blass, Anne Klein, and Stephen Burrows present an energetic parade of African-American models dancing down the runway to music by Liza Minnelli, Barry White, and Al Green. The journalist Robin Givhan's book explores this pivotal moment through extensive interviews with the designers, models, and journalists who were present at Versailles. Givhan represents the narratives of the American cohort as well as the French participants, Hubert de Givenchy, Marc Bohan of Dior, Pierre Cardin, Emanuel Ungaro, and Yves Saint Laurent, in the context of the cultural revolution of the 1960s and 1970s that led to widespread social changes that would ultimately influence the ready-to-wear industry.

Maker and Muse: Women and Early Twentieth Century Art Jewelry

Elyse Zorn Karlin, ed. New York: Monacelli Press, 2015, illustrated, 256 pages, $50, ISBN: 978-1-580-93404-6.

Accompanying an exhibition of the same name at The Richard H. Driehaus Museum, Chicago, this catalogue is illustrated with hundreds of examples of art jewellery, including examples by Lalique, Julia Munser, and the Weiner Werkstätte. The accompanying essays emphasise the considerable contribution women have made to jewellery production and design, as well as the social milieu of the Suffragists and Rational Dress Society in shaping the Art Jewellery movement in the early twentieth century.

The Glass of Fashion

Cecil Beaton, New York: Rizzoli Ex Libris, 2014, 400 pages, illustrated with an index, $29.95, ISBN: 978-0-847-84385-5.

This reissue of the iconic photographer's classic text is a delightful, light-hearted set of vignettes that provides witty insight into Beaton's fashion influences and inspirations from the Edwardian age to the 1950s. Illustrated with the photographer's line drawings of key silhouettes and fashionable luminaries, this is an intimate look at the icons of fashion history by one of its great observers.

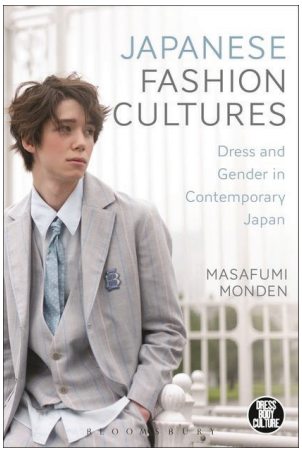
Dance and Fashion

Valerie Steele, ed. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014, 368 pages, illustrated, $50, ISBN: 978-0-300-20885-6.

In this collection of essays edited by the fashion historian Valerie Steele, the reciprocal relationship between fashion and dance is examined, focussing on how designers have been influenced by costume as well as collaborations with choreographers. Consideration is given to how individual garments, the tutu and the pointe shoe, have appeared in the collections of a range of couturiers throughout the twentieth century, along with the significant influence of the Ballets Russes costume on fashions, from Paul Poiret to Yves Saint Laurent. Essays examine a range of dance practice from flamenco, tango, ballet, and African American steppers along with designs by Christian Dior, John Galliano, Rodarte, Jean Paul Gaultier, Valentino, and Comme des Garçons.

Japanese Fashion Cultures: Dress and Gender in Contemporary Japan

Masafumi Monden. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014,
216 pages, illustrated, $39.99, ISBN: 978-1-472-53280-0.



Contributing to the expanding discourse that examines contemporary global fashion cultures, the fashion studies scholar Masafumi Monden looks to the unique fashion style tribes that have emerged from Japan. Well-known street fashions such as Lolita and Kawaii are examined alongside Ivy League and Milkboy dandyism to illuminate issues of gender and sexuality in contemporary Japanese society.

Stitched Up: The Anti-Capitalist Book of Fashion

Tansy E. Hoskins. London: Pluto Press, 2014, with a selected bibliography and index, 264 pages, $26, ISBN: 978-0-745-33456-1.

The journalist and activist Tansy E. Hoskins dissects the fashion system to expose its devastating social and environmental consequences. Drawing on Marxist polemics, Hoskins presents a compelling argument as to how the fashion system hides its mechanisms of exploitation behind novelty and glamour. Tracing the fashion system's development from the Industrial Revolution to the present, Hoskins considers how fashion reinforces inequality and oppression in its exploitation of workers, the environment and consumers.

Crafting Allure: Beauty, Culture and Identity

Jacque Lynn Foltyn, ed. Oxford: Inter-disciplinary Press, 2014,
illustrated, £7.95. ISBN: 978-1-84888-299-7.

The edited collection explores the complexity of physical beauty, the kind we can see in human beings, their representations, and in nature. From the self-presentations of eighteenth-century English ladies, to that of Civil Rights era African-American protestors, Afro-French women, and contemporary Asian-Indians; to the meanings of mannequins, retail beauty work, eating disorders, and hair; to a reconsideration of naturalised beauty in architecture, the embodiment of truth as a beautiful women, and what the appearance of Amerindians symbolised for Europeans of the Age of Exploration, culture and identity thread their way through the book. *Crafting Allure* consists of eleven chapters divided into four parts: Fashioning Beauty Cultures, Beauty Workers, Racialising Beauty, and Beauty in Architecture and Allegory.