Death, Commemoration and Memory: An Exploration of Representation, Concept and Change.

24th and 25th June 2010, St. Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh.

Conference Schedule

Thursday 24th June

9.15-9.45 Registration: Tea/Coffee and Refreshments.

9.45-10.00 Welcome

10.00-11.00
(Concert Hall)
Keynote Lecture: Professor Dana Arnold, University of Southampton.

11.00-11.15 Tea/Coffee and Refreshments.

11.15-12.45
Panel 1: The Dead and the Living
(Laigh Room)
Chair: Catriona Murray

David Howarth, University of Edinburgh: *Veiled Allegories: Peter Paul Rubens and the Death of his Wife*.

Clare Gittings, National Portrait Gallery: *Framed: Portraits of the Dead within Portraits of the Living*.

Susan Cody, Ryerson University. *Death in Two Rembrandt Etchings: A Public Offering, A Private Encoffining*.

Panel 2: Media and Memory
(Concert Hall)
Chair: Kirsten Lloyd

Debra Ramsay, University of Nottingham: *Marketable Memories: Commemoration and Commercialisation in Band of Brothers.*

Chris Speed, Edinburgh College of Art: *Mobile Ouija Boards.*

Marlène Monteiro, Birkbeck. *The Inscription of Death in the Articulation between Painting and Film*.

12.45-1.30 Lunch

1.30-3.00
Panel 3: Languages of Commemoration
(Laigh Room)
Chair: Dana Arnold

Aleksandra McClain, University of York: *Commemoration and the Local Elite: The Use of Medieval Cross Slab Grave Monuments in Expressions of Memory, Identity, and Place.*

Ursula Rothe, University of Edinburgh: *Funerary Monuments and Identity in Rome's Northern Provinces.*

Benjamin Greenman, Glasgow School of Art: *Experience and the Immemorial: Interpreting the Minimalist Rhetoric of Peter Eisenman's 'Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe'.*

Panel 4: Memorialising Tragedy
(Concert Hall)
Chair: Harry Weeks

John Lennon, Glasgow Caledonian University: *Selective Interpretation and Museum Practice at 'Dark Tourism' Sites.*

Elly Bavidge, Queen Mary University: *Heterotopias of Memory: Roadside Memorials and the Transformation of Space.*

Teresa Leopold, University of Sunderland: *Constructed Disaster Memory on Kho Phi Phi, Thailand.*

3.00-3.30 Tea/Coffee and Refreshments

3.30-5.00
Panel 5: The Architecture of Death
(Laigh Room)
Chair: Kirsten McKee

John Lowrey, University of Edinburgh: *Architecture, Status and Memory: Greyfriars Kirkyard.*

Alex Bremner, University of Edinburgh: *Death by a Thousand Cuts: Commemoration by Committee in Nineteenth-Century Britain.*

Hannah Malone, University of Cambridge: *The Architecture of Death in Nineteenth-century Italy.*

Panel 6: Identity and Loss
Chair: Chris Speed
(Concert Hall)

Peggy Larcom, University of St. Andrews: *A Space for Death, A Space for Life: Art Installations by Anselm Kiefer*.

Naomi Banks, University of Durham: *'All would be swept away': Paul Muldoon and Modern Elegy*.

Catherine Essinger, University of Houston: *Beauty in the Void: Wabi Sabi, the Japanese Aesthetic of Impermanence*.

6.00-7.00 Wine Reception

7.30 Conference Dinner at Howie's Waterloo Place

Friday 25th June

9.30-10.00 Tea/Coffee and Refreshments

10.00-11.00
(Concert Hall)
Keynote Lecture: Dr. John Troyer, University of Bath.

11.00-11.15 Tea/Coffee and Refreshments

11.15-12.45
Panel 7: Death and the Body
(Laigh Room)
Chair: (TBA)

Jenny Nyberg, University of Stockholm: *A Peaceful Sleep and a Heavenly Celebration for the Pure and Innocent. The Graves' Testimony to Attitudes towards Death in Early Modern Sweden.*

Pamela Walker, University of Manchester: *'Look at me and pray for me': Fashioning Memory on Medieval Funeral Monuments.*

Karine Varley, University of Edinburgh: *Changing Treatment of the Dead in the European Wars of the Nineteenth Century.*

Panel 8: Memory and Place
(Concert Hall)
Chair: Alex Bremner

Susan Buckham, Independent Researcher: *Delusions of Grandeur? The Influence of Civic Pride, Private Sentiment and Business Practice upon the Cemetery Landscape at York.*

Tom Nickson, University of York: *The Memory of Ferdinand III in Seville Cathedral.*

Nicole Sierra, University of Oxford: *Racialising Lieux de Mémoire: Literary Memory and the African Burial Ground.*

12.45-1.30 Lunch

1.30-3.00
Panel 9: Death and Display
(Laigh Room)
Chair: John Troyer

Lucy Audley-Miller, University of Oxford: *Iconoclasm and Commemoration: Statues and Death.*

Marisa Costa, University of Lisbon: *Commemoration of a Prince's Life: The Tomb of Afonso of Portugal (15th Century).*

Seumas Spark, University of Edinburgh: *Different Memories: Britain's Second World War Military Dead.*

Panel 10: Memory and Biography
(Concert Hall)
Chair: David Howarth

Philip Cottrell, University College Dublin: *John Donne, Undone, Redone – John Donne's Memorial Monument in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.*

Erika Kvistad, University of York: *'The Body is Described as Perfect': Representing Elizabeth Siddal.*

Hannah Frith, Jayne Raisborough, Orly Klein, University of Brighton: *Reality Check: Media Accounts of the Death of Jade Goody.*

3.00-3.30 Tea/Coffee and Refreshments (Thanks).

3.30-5.00
Panel 11: Characterising Death
(Laigh Room)
Chair: Tom Tolley

Sophie Oosterwijk, University of St. Andrews: *Dead Kings and Dancing Corpses: Commemoration and Morality Combined?*

Tony Seaton, University of Bedfordshire: *Transformations of the Medieval Dance of Death in Nineteenth century Graphic Culture.*

Grant MacAskill, University of St. Andrews: *'The Sound of Her Wings': Neil Gaiman and the Transformation of Death.*

Panel 12: Literary Mausoleums
(Concert Hall)
Chair: John Lowrey

Claire Wood, University of York: *The Living Grave-stone: Charles Dickens's Monumental Anxieties.*

David McAllister, University of York: *'The opening of that burial heap blazes strangely in my thoughts': Carlyle, Cromwell, and the Naseby Excavations.*

Judith Woolf, University of York: *Memory and Monuments in Giorgio Bassani's Garden of the Finzi-Contini.*

Abstracts

Panel 1: The Dead and the Living

David Howarth
Professor of Art History, University of Edinburgh.

Veiled Allegories: Peter Paul Rubens and the Death of his Wife.

This paper will look at a celebrated landscape by Rubens to argue that it represents a veiled elegy for his dead wife, Isabella Brant. *Landscape with Philemon and Baucis* (Vienna) is generally regarded as a masterpiece in a genre which Rubens regarded very highly. What there is much less consensus about however, is the date of the picture; scholars differ widely as to a possible chronology for it. 1626 is certainly acceptable in terms of the style and brushwork. Congruent with that argument is the separate issue which I believe provided the stimulus, and thus the *terminus post quem*. This was the death of Isabella also in 1626. Briefly I shall go on to consider the painting as a necessary conduit for the expression of personal feelings; something denied 'public' artists by the rhetoric and conventions of letter writing in the age of Justus Lipsius, the dominant neo-Stoic philosopher of the age.

d.j.howarth@ed.ac.uk

Clare Gittings
Learning Manager, National Portrait Gallery, London and Visiting Research Fellow, CDAS, University of Bath.

Framed: Portraits of the Dead within Portraits of the Living.

This paper will look at a number of British portraits from the sixteenth century to the present where the sitter has deliberately chosen to include a framed or sculpted image of someone who no longer is alive. Unlike the well-known seventeenth-century portraits of the Aston and Saltonstall families, there is no attempt to include the deceased as a sitter or on to portray them on their deathbed. Instead, the selected image shows the deceased as they were in life with no suggestion that it is anything other than an artwork being depicted. This type of representation still regularly confronts us in the media, where a bereaved person is often shown holding a photograph of their deceased relative.

The paper will explore some of the various compositional techniques for incorporating the chosen artwork, and will set these portraits within a wider art historical context of related compositions. One of these is tomb sculpture showing a cartouche of the deceased being viewed by a weeping relative, as in the work of Roubiliac. Another is the inclusion of classical busts within painted or photographic portraits.

Turning to specific examples, the paper will question in what circumstances a sitter chooses a composition featuring the image of someone deceased – can any trends be observed or any changes over time discerned? Examples will include Hans Eworth's

redoubtable Lady Dacre battling to restore the family fortunes after her husband's execution by Henry VIII, and an extraordinary set of photographs of Queen Victoria on her oldest son's wedding day performing her grief by orchestrating members of her family around a marble bust of Prince Albert. The portraits will also be interrogated in the context of the theories of Silverman, Klass and Walter about continuing bonds and the creation of memory, looking at how their relationship with the deceased has become central to the identity of these sitters so as to feature prominently in their portraits. This research is still in its early stages and I would warmly welcome comments and suggestions on this topic from other conference participants.

cgitting@npg.org.uk

Susan Cody
Associate Professor, Faculty of Communication & Design, Ryerson University.

Death in Two Rembrandt Etchings: A Public Offering, A Private Encoffining.

On June 14, 1642, Rembrandt's wife Saskia died, six months after giving birth to her fourth and only surviving child, Titus. She was buried five days later in the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam, in a private grave marked only with her first name and her date of burial.

In the eight years of their marriage, Rembrandt had painted Saskia in traditional roles such as Flora and as a pastoral shepherdess. As her illness progressed, he etched and drew her, bed-ridden and wasting, depictions in the last years of her brief life that are startling for their contrast with the vibrant young woman represented as Flora, goddess of fertility and spring. Through the portraits, Saskia became, in effect, the property of public life, contributing to Rembrandt's standing among his contemporaries and the illustriousness of his reputation in successive centuries. Did he leave unmediated the contrast between the two sets of representations—the one, radiant, gorgeous followed by the graphic, disturbing records of her suffering and debilitation— passing the prerogative of its resolution to the public domain, to the hands of connoisseurs and collectors?

This paper argues that Rembrandt's solution to the tension between public and private in this most delicate, complex of crises appears in two compelling and celebrated etchings traditionally understood as landscapes, *The Three Trees* (1643) and *The Omval* (1645). In each a deeply recessed, secret pair of lovers has been detected, but a specific and private commemoration expressed through them withstands the scrutiny and commercial intricacies of the print market.

scody@ryerson.ca

Panel 2: Media and Memory

Debra Ramsay
PhD Candidate, Institute of Film and Television, University of Nottingham.

Marketable Memories: Commemoration and commercialisation in Band of Brothers.

This paper explores the intricate links between the DVD and Blu-Ray box sets of *Band of Brothers* (a ten-part mini-series co-produced by HBO, Playtone and DreamWorks SKG in 2001) and processes of memorialisation. Demonstrating that these box sets are marketed as mementos of commemorative processes whilst simultaneously being inscribed within those processes, the paper explores how the life of the series becomes extended through the box sets and considers these as commemorative objects in themselves with their own distinct relationship to memory. The series negotiates the space between the memories of the actual veterans of Easy Company (American soldiers who served in the European Theatre during World War II) and a larger-than-life elegy to their generation. It underscores its claim to being the 'real story' of Easy Company through the use of veteran testimony whilst simultaneously utilizing the presence of the veterans to add cultural weight to its narrative. Its footage is thus represented as both memory and history.

This paper will show how the aim of 'honouring' the memory of World War II veterans in the case of *Band of Brothers* becomes a commercial exercise in linking brands to social and national values inherent in public acts of commemoration. Examination of the packaging and presentation of the sets illustrates how they are positioned as 'artefacts' of World War II, whilst analysis of the 'special features' on the sets demonstrates how they allow producers to accentuate the cultural significance of the product through emphasising the connections between the series and notions of memorialisation. Rather than focus on the moment of broadcast, however, as most studies of the relationship between television, history and memory tend to do, this paper demonstrates the role played by DVD technology in facilitating the inscription of the series into highly personalised rituals of commemoration.

aaxdr@nottingham.ac.uk

Chris Speed
Reader in Digital Spaces, Edinburgh College of Art.

Mobile Ouija Boards.

Ten years ago, at the Habitus 2000: A Sense of Place conference in Perth, the cultural geographer Steve Pile articulated the potential for cultural events within cities to bring back the dead and remind us of the past. During his talk, Pile described the occasion of an anti-capitalist march that had taken place on May the 1st in London, and how a series of national monuments had been defaced. Pile drew the delegates attention to some graffiti that had been spray painted on to a war memorial. He described how two doors had been painted on to the side of the memorial; one with a female symbol and the other with a male denoting that they were toilet doors. Pile went on to describe how the editorials read in the newspapers that featured the images of the toilet doors.

Whilst the damage to the familiar capitalist targets such as Macdonalds and Starbucks was taken as par for the course, the desecration of a war memorial was a step too far and had stirred the memories of the many thousands of people who had lost their lives during the Second World War. Pile described how the spray painted doors had actually unlocked a passageway to the past, and following their inscription; the ghosts of thousands of soldiers could be 'seen' to walk through them into the consciousness of the public.

This paper reflects upon Piles anecdote that was later explored in more detail through his article 'Spectral Cities: Where the Repressed Returns and Other Short Stories' published in 2004, and places the phenomenon of 'haunting' into the context of locative media. The advent of affordable smart phones that come equipped with data free contracts and location services has meant that people are beginning to access memories of places as they walk around. The author focuses upon the mobile application Walking Through Time, that allows users to replace a contemporary Google map of the city with a map from 1850's. Technology such as this allows people to bring ghosts of the past into the present and walk streets that no longer exist. This paper explores the implications for mobile phones to become portable Ouija boards and access the dead.

c.speed@eca.ac.uk

Marlène Monteiro
Ph.D. Candidate, Birkbeck College, University of London.

The Inscription of Death in the Articulation between Painting and Film.

Marianna Otero's film *Histoire d'un Secret* (France, 2003) deals with the sudden and mysterious death of her mother when she was five years old, and of which she has no recollection. By piecing together relatives' and friends' testimonies, she follows the trace of her mother who was a painter. The film takes the shape of an investigation of the past, in which the secret is eventually revealed, and concludes on a retrospective exhibition of the work of Otero's mother, like a commemoration ritual, a sort of reburial of the deceased.

If, as Barthes once said, the photographic image is literally an emanation of the referent, why do the paintings of Otero's mother, which pervade the film, acquire an emblematic significance in embodying her death, more than photographs might have done? In a different way, French filmmaker Vincent Dieutre explores paintings of Caravaggio in one of his films and combines the pictorial and cinematic image to prefigure his own death. Using these specific examples, this paper will try to explore painting's ability to represent the unrepresentable, death, beyond its symbolic nature and rather, paradoxically, through its indexical property, indexicality being examined here, not in terms of physical *analogy* but in terms of *trace*, as the physical mark of its author.

In *Death 24x a Second* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), Laura Mulvey re-examines the relationship between the still(ed) image and death, whereby the latter arises from the movement stilled. In a certain sense, death similarly arises from the duration inscribed in the paintings contained in the films described. In other words, if it is essentially an instantaneous 'having-been-there' that emanates from the photograph,

what, among other things, can also characterise the painting is the duration of its inscription, in the same way as, for Leo Bersani, the presence of death in Caravaggio's bodies shapes all activities of life.

marlene.mdc@gmail.com

Panel 3: Languages of Commemoration

Aleksandra McClain
Lecturer, Department of Archaeology, University of York.

Commemoration and the Local Elite: The Use of Medieval Cross Slab Grave Monuments in Expressions of Memory, Identity, and Place.

‘Cross slab’ grave monuments are the most common surviving form of pre-Reformation commemorative sculpture in the British Isles, in many regions far surpassing medieval brasses and effigies in terms of frequency, range of distribution, and dates of use. Yet they have frequently been neglected in studies of death and burial in the Middle Ages, primarily because of the tendency to focus on monuments of outstanding artistic quality, or those with inscriptions which can be associated with named patrons or elite families. However, cross slabs are valuable sources of evidence particularly because they can inform us about memorial practice in a level of society below the highest nobility. The range of status and occupation indicated by iconography and occasional inscriptions on cross slabs suggests that the manorial elite and emergent ‘middle classes’ were frequent patrons of cross slab monuments, and they used the material culture of death and memory to define themselves and their legacies. Cross slab monuments thus became an important means of materially constructing the local and regional socioeconomic relationships on which their social standing depended, and a way of tying themselves to particular buildings, locales, and regions in the medieval landscape.

This paper will explore these issues through an analysis of the corpus of cross slabs in medieval England, particularly in the northern counties, where they were most common. It utilizes an archaeological methodology which stresses that funerary monuments should not be considered as isolated, anecdotal examples, but that large-scale and long-term spatial and chronological patterns of distribution are key to understanding their implementation and social role. By gaining an understanding of the purpose and meaning of cross slab monuments, we will be better informed about the ways in which commemorative practice was used to materially structure death, memory, and secular power in the Middle Ages.

anm102@york.ac.uk

Ursula Rothe
Leverhulme Early Career Research Fellow, Classics, University of Edinburgh.

Funerary Monuments and Identity in Rome's Northern Provinces.

For the native inhabitants of Rome's northern provinces (Britain, Gaul, the Germanies and the Danube provinces), the custom of erecting a monument in stone with an inscription and a portrait as a funerary commemoration was new when the Romans brought it to the region in the 1st cent. BC. However, it quickly caught on and developed into an important medium of self-expression for a wide range of individuals and their families. Far from being quiet, secluded places, Roman graveyards lined the roads leading out of towns, and funerary monuments jostled for a place close the road,

where they could be seen by the largest number of passers-by. The inscriptions themselves and remarkable documents like the so-called 'Testament of the Lingon' testify to the amount of thought that was put into these monuments while the people concerned were still alive. It follows that the style of the monument, the clothing and attributes depicted in the portrait and the information included in the inscription were considerations of the utmost importance in the way these people wished to be remembered. In this context it is interesting that, for instance, native dress prevails in portraits, and that in many regions there appear to have been quite individualised choices for designs and scenes depicted. There are unique depictions, for example, of a family's children at school, or the family dog on its mistress's lap. This paper will look at the role of funerary commemoration in Roman provincial society and ways in which the deceased were remembered.

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ursula.rothe@ed.ac.uk

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Benjamin Greenman
Part-time Lecturer, Historical and Critical Studies, Glasgow School of Art.

Experience and the Immemorial: Interpreting the Minimalist Rhetoric of Peter Eisenman's 'Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe'.

This paper considers Peter Eisenman's 'Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe,' Berlin, as the most significant recent example of a distinctly minimalist architecture/sculpture that commemorates the mass dead. Minimalism, as a previously advanced, non-representational art, has in the past three decades become part of the language of the modern memorial; for instance, Maya Lin's *Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (1982), Jochen Gerz's *Monument Against Fascism* (1985) and *2146 Stones – Monument Against Racism* (1990-1993) and Rachel Whiteread *Holocaust Memorial* (2000), to name the most obvious examples. There are perhaps clear reasons why this is the case: the seeming matter-of-factness and primacy of this non-representational art has an austerity and even dignity that is seen as appropriate by a contemporary audience to its symbolic function. Nevertheless, this distinct tendency in modern art and the contemporary memorial opens up a conflicted relationship between memory, experience and the process of historicisation.

This paper considers the way in which Eisenman's monument invokes the phenomenological discourse that was originally connected with Minimalism in the 1960s. In its conception and reception the kinaesthetic experience of the monument has been understood as in some sense analogous to the experience of the persecuted victims to whom the monument is dedicated. Arguably, this rhetoric makes of the work something more than merely a memorial and belongs to a specific trope of historicisation. This paper considers the problematic nature of this public work by re-examining the phenomenological discourse that it invokes in the context of the reception of the Holocaust since 1945, and the changing notion of its historicisation by subsequent generations. It is in marked contrast to the first-generation articulation of their experience in which the fragment, silence, the inimitable and the immemorial characterised and delimited the notion of experience itself. As Theodor Adorno suggested the art of this generation was 'permeated by the shame of art in the face of suffering that escapes both experience and sublimation.' By pointing to aspects of

phenomenology that have been overlooked in art discourse, specifically the contrary notion of a lived immemorial past, the paper seeks to bring out the complexity of the function of the contemporary memorial.

B.Greenman@gsa.ac.uk

Panel 4: Memorialising Tragedy

John Lennon
Director of the Moffat Centre for Travel and Tourism Business Development, Glasgow Caledonian University

Selective Interpretation and Museum Practice at 'Dark Tourism' Sites.

The phenomena known as dark tourism and thanatourism has received significant attention in recent years from authors in tourism and allied areas in the social sciences (cf Ashworth and Hartman, 2005; Lennon and Foley 1996, 2000; Seaton 1999, 2004; Rojek, 1997: Sharkley and Stone, 2009). It explores the attraction of sites of death, disaster, mass killing, and execution as leisure activities. Many of these sites that serve as 'dark' attractions are identified as museums and heritage sites and their interpretive content and nature of displayed is frequently selective and partial in content and narrative (in the context of holocaust sites see Cole, 2000). The nature of such interpretation is often controversial and frequently ideological in content, form and funding. This paper will explore practice in museums at a number of international sites that are associated with tragic events and the death. Specific reference will be made to three international case studies: Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crime, Phnom Penh, Cambodia; the Jewish Museum, Vilnius, Latvia and the 'Gypsy' Camp, Lety , Czech Republic. In each instance dichotomies between interpretation and history will be explored and the context of ethical interpretation will be explored. These cases are built upon international case work conducted by the author since 1996 in this area and emergent indicators of the centrality of such museums in the preservation of memory and their difficult relationship with historical authenticity will be explored.

jjle@gcal.ac.uk

Elly Bavidge
Part-time Lecturer, Queen Mary University.

Heterotopias of Memory: Roadside Memorials and the Transformation of Space.

Roadside memorials have been criticized as sentimental, crass and morbid because of the way they employ commodities - the ultimate signs of reification and amnesia - to express private grief in public spaces. Although it could be argued that they represent one of the most topical and active forms of memorializing, there has been very little academic interest in roadside memorials in England.

This paper demonstrates how these highly personalized, ephemeral and transitory sites of memory can illuminate the broader characteristics of contemporary memory spaces. Using Michel Foucault's concept of heterotopia I challenge the assumptions that formulate memory as lost in a placeless world. These sites are not simply the arbitrary placement of objects. They produce intimate topographies of personal memory that until recently were contained within domestic spaces. In so far as personal memory was allowed public expression, it has been restricted to the controlled institutional environment of church or cemetery. The memorials share the iconography of private remembrance in a way that enacts a collapse between private

and public space. As spaces that are transformed by death, they introduce a sacred landscape into the ordinary and the everyday and act as thresholds for the communication between the living and the dead.

The paper does not follow the romanticism of other works by celebrating roadside memorials only for their aspects of 'marginality' or 'subversion'. The sites may represent a gentle critique of traditional forms of memorializing, but they do not negate them entirely. In fact, the significance of roadside memorials comes from the way they are in dialogue with, and incorporate aspects of, other memorial spaces that they exist alongside. The particular contribution that the paper makes is that it tests the power of the concept of heterotopia to explain how the form of memory spaces reflects their special function in the peculiarity and particularity of their physical realizations.

ellybavidge@hotmail.com

Teresa Leopold
Senior Lecturer, Business School, University of Sunderland.

Constructed Disaster Memory on Kho Phi Phi, Thailand.

Five years after the Indian Ocean Tsunami caused widespread death and destruction along many coastal regions, the disaster still hangs heavily over some affected areas. Recovery actions in Thailand saw the rebuilding of many destroyed infrastructure and the emergence of numerous memorials dedicated to the disaster. Visually quite diverse, these sites reflect on past experiences and encourage visitors to commemorate, re-experience and reflect on the disaster (Young 1993). The intimate and complex relationship individuals and communities have to public forms of remembrance need to be considered when exploring the social and cultural construction and experience of disaster memory (Ashplant *et al.* 2000). Thus, many people, who are in some way attached to, or involved with, a memorial, often contribute to the development of these places in order to come to terms with any personal loss or horrific event they may have experienced in the past (Ashplant *et al.* 2000), as they "constantly refer to a lost or an absent image, an image of loss and death that gives sense and direction to the ongoing act of display" (Azoulay 2001:4).

This paper explores three memorial sites, which were built to remember the disastrous consequences of the tsunami disaster on the island of Koh Phi Phi, an island in Southern Thailand. These sites of memory are analysed regarding their social and physical reconstruction based on the believe that the production of meanings through social exchanges, experiences, interactions, image creations and memories forms the basis for the social construction of a tourist destination (Low 1996). While consideration is given to where and by whom the memorials are constructed and what memory they are presenting.

teresa.leopold@sunderland.ac.uk

Panel 5: The Architecture of Death

John Lowrey
Senior Lecturer, Architectural History, University of Edinburgh.

Architecture, Status and Memory: Greyfriars Kirkyard.

Greyfriars kirkyard, from an architectural point of view, is most famous as the location of some of the most spectacular of Scottish seventeenth century graveyard monuments. It is the place to study the influence of an eclectic, mainly northern, Renaissance classical language, associated with the early seventeenth century in Scotland and with a vigorous Master Mason tradition, which stylistically, finds its supreme expression in the Heriot's Hospital, adjoining the kirkyard.

This paper will focus on the involvement of some of the most important master mason/architects at Greyfriars, in particular, on the Mylnes – Master masons to the Crown over several generations – and the Adams – whose architectural dynasty was less durable but whose contribution to eighteenth century architecture in Scotland and beyond was of even greater importance.

This paper will consider the sources and significance of two monuments associated with these families, as well as attempting to decode what they tell us about the families themselves and the status of the architect in the eighteenth century.

j.lowrey@ed.ac.uk

Alex Bremner
Lecturer, Architectural History, University of Edinburgh.

Death by a Thousand Cuts: Commemoration by Committee in Nineteenth-Century Britain.

This paper will explore the problems surrounding the design and erection of public memorials in Britain during the nineteenth century. It had become common practice by mid-century for the design of memorials to great British statesmen and soldiers to be opened up to international competition and judged by 'committees' comprising 'gentlemen of note' such as politicians, architects, educators, industrialists, and high-ranking military officers. This process inevitably led to dispute and compromise as competing interests vied for influence in forming the 'public face' of national posterity. Several projects will be considered, including the Wellington Memorial, the Albert Memorial, and the various proposals for extending Westminster Abbey as a 'national mausoleum.'

alex.bremner@ed.ac.uk

Hannah Malone
M.Phil Candidate, History of Art and Architecture, University of Cambridge.

The Architecture of Death in Nineteenth-century Italy.

In 1806, Napoleon prohibited burials within the boundaries of Italian cities, bringing to an end the general practice of internment within churches and overcrowded urban graveyards. This edict, together with the effects of the Enlightenment, a weakened clergy, and rising standards of hygiene, prompted the construction of monumental cemeteries on the outskirts of many Italian cities. These differed from earlier burial grounds in that were planned, relatively large, suburban, publicly owned, and multi-denominational. In effect, they constituted a new urban element whose planning and architecture reflected wider changes in Italian society and politics.

My paper will focus on the social and political meanings that were carried by the artistic, architectural and urban characteristics of the new cemeteries. Stylistically, the Italian cemeteries of the nineteenth century drew on a wide architectural vocabulary to express the power and status of the city and the nature of its emergent social structure. They symbolised civic pride, the new nationalist identity, and the aspirations, patriotism and political consciousness that surrounded the unification of Italy in 1861. They also mirrored the rise of the bourgeoisie following a period of prosperity in the 1840s, and expressed the status and ideology of the middle classes.

Drawing on examples taken from the nineteenth-century graveyards in Milan, Genoa and Rome, issues of type, meaning and memory in funerary architecture will be explored. The cemetery fulfils an important role in Italian society as a bearer of cultural and ideological meanings. This paper will cover how meanings that are socially generated and embedded in the collective memory are expressed through specific architectural typologies and aesthetic configurations.

hom22@cam.ac.uk

Panel 6: Identity and Loss

Peggy Larcom
M.Litt Candidate in Museum and Gallery Studies, History of Art Department, University of St. Andrews.

A Space for Death, A Space for Life: Art Installations by Anselm Kiefer.

At the beginning of Anselm Kiefer's career as a visual artist, he spent three weeks in meditation with the Dominicans of La Tourette, the monastery designed by Le Corbusier. At La Tourette, concepts concerning the ways art and architecture can direct thoughts and shape lives as humans seek immortality began to germinate. Throughout the rest of 1960's and the 1970's, Kiefer investigated these themes through imagery referencing his Germanic heritage and the still taboo subjects of National Socialism and the Holocaust. Throughout the 1980's and 1990's, Kiefer's exploration of the crisis of German identity and what it meant to create art after the recent atrocities broadened to an exploration of the crisis of human identity and what it meant to create art after centuries of atrocities.

Life, death, resurrection, the degraded, and the exalted are all present and interconnected within Kiefer's recent installations. The vastness of these concepts is mirrored in the immensity of the installations of paintings, sculptures, and mixed media works that physically overwhelms visitors. I will elaborate on ways Kiefer breaks the traditional relationship between the artist who creates and the viewer who looks at the finished image or object, as viewers become participants, encountering each part of the work through movement and time. I will further explore how the physical journey through images of the continuous cycle of life, death, and rebirth parallels the metaphysical journey Kiefer experienced while creating the art and the metaphysical journey participants are encouraged to experience as art becomes a microcosm of life itself.

Layered with subtle, ironic, and contradictory meaning, Kiefer's work is relentless in its challenge to the public to contemplate and draw conclusions about the meaning of his art, and by extension, the meaning of life.

pl254@st-andrews.ac.uk

Naomi Banks
PhD Candidate, Department of English Studies, University of Durham

'All would be swept away': Paul Muldoon and Modern Elegy.

Elegy, broadly defined, is poetry that deals with death. More specifically, elegy is intended to work through the mourning process, providing space for lamentation and commemoration, as well as allowing the mourner some form of consolation in the face of grief and loss. This much is made clear in Peter Sacks's *The English Elegy*, a text-book for critics of elegy since its publication in 1985.

However, Sacks deals with poetry ranging from Spenser to Yeats, and the poetry which follows Yeats has had to deal with new and extreme experiences of loss: mass death in modern warfare, and civilian involvement in violence in areas of political

unrest. Jahan Ramazani's study of modern elegy, *Poetry of Mourning*, begins with the statement that 'elegy survives the twentieth century's challenge to inherited forms'. Although it 'survives', the elegy has had to adapt to the changing ways in which the dead are mourned. The idea of consolation becomes problematic in a secular context, and when dealing with situations in which there seems to be no clear resolution.

One area of twentieth-century history which has been marked by extreme violence and human cost is the conflict in Northern Ireland known as the Troubles. Perhaps unsurprisingly, many poets from this region have tended to write in an elegiac mode. One such poet is Paul Muldoon, who writes poems that engage with modernity and post-modernity while simultaneously taking into account the historic genre of elegy, with its long established conventions and traditions.

This paper will consider a number of Muldoon's elegiac poems, building on recent work undertaken by critics like Matt Campbell and Iain Twiddy. I will seek to demonstrate how Muldoon reacts to personal loss in the wider context of the Troubles, and how he both engages with, and rewrites, the traditional genre of elegy.

naomi.banks@dur.ac.uk

Catherine Essinger
Architecture and Art Library Coordinator, University of Houston.

Beauty in the Void: Wabi Sabi, the Japanese Aesthetic of Impermanence.

Wabi sabi has served as Japan's national aesthetic since the 16th century. The compound phrase links the loneliness of rural poverty with a word meaning desiccation, wear, and an appreciation of all things which are damaged by age and nature. While decay, melancholy, and poverty have negative connotations in the West, wabi sabi suggests an unusual and transcendent beauty in Japan. Wabi sabi artifacts are simple, show their age, and often reference the seasons or other natural phenomena. Rust, cracked pottery, and dying flowers are therefore considered beautiful within this paradigm.

Wabi sabi has its origins in Zen Buddhism, which teaches the positive impact of an impermanent life. Zen Buddhism encourages its followers to appreciate every stage of the life cycle. Death is a place of both permanent end and infinite possibility. Wabi sabi, therefore, recognizes the beauty in death, dying, and all natural processes. It provides the philosophical basis for the tea ceremony, where ritualized behavior and equipment reference the season and other signs of natural order.

In the West, wabi sabi is often simplified to mean the beauty of anything broken, impermanent, conventionally ugly, or otherwise imperfect. Even so, it has become an increasingly popular style concept, particularly in the United States. While typically separated from its Buddhist foundation, the Western understanding of wabi sabi continues to embrace the cycle of creation and death. Wabi sabi-influenced artifacts in Europe and North America often expose their own crafting. Made from natural or fragile materials, they also expose their own age and eventual dissolution.

This presentation will relate the history of the movement in Japan and its adoption in the West. It will explore its rituals, aesthetic counter-points, and expressions of beauty found in dying and destruction.

Panel 7: Death and the Body

Jenny Nyberg
PhD Candidate in Archaeology, University of Stockholm.

 A Peaceful Sleep and a Heavenly Celebration for the Pure and Innocent. The Graves' Testimony to Attitudes towards Death in Early Modern Sweden.

The purpose of my PhD project is to explore the attitudes towards death in early modern Sweden (AD 1500-1800) by studying the grave material. During the Early Modern Period dying and preparation of the dead body for the funeral was done at home. This enabled the bereaved to physically relate to the dead body before the separation of burial. By looking at how the bereaved dressed, adorned and equipped the dead I hope to reach emotional attitudes towards death as well as the relationship between the living and the dead over time. In this paper I will present and discuss the results of a study based on the archaeological evidence of 18th century burgher and noble burials.

A fruitful way of reaching attitudes to death is through the study of metaphor in material culture. The metaphors of peaceful sleep and heavenly celebration are evident in the 18th century graves and the sensory impressions of the dead body are manipulated to make these metaphors credible. These metaphors redescribe the abstract and unintelligible death in terms of well known, familiar, safe and even joyous concepts from daily life.

Emotional reactions and responses can be highly individual but they are canalized, restrained and at the same time legitimised by the collective of the ritual. Questions to be discussed in this paper are what and how the metaphors can tell us of the emotional attitudes to death in the burgher and noble society of the 18th century. What can the material patterns reoccurring in graves tell us of the reflected or unspoken collective emotional attitudes to death? And are deviations to those patterns signs of individual emotional responses not necessarily performed or supported within the collective context of the ritual?

jenny.nyberg@ark.su.se

Pamela Walker
PhD Candidate, Art History and Visual Studies, University of Manchester.

'Look at me and pray for me': Fashioning Memory on Medieval Funeral Monuments.

My research involves the study of women's clothing as represented on medieval funeral monuments and focuses on the motivation behind the choices made in relation to costume. This paper will focus on the period following the Black Death and I will suggest that that changes in attitude to death are extended to the choices of funeral monument and the clothing depicted on them.

The visual evidence which can be taken from funeral effigies and monumental brasses can provide much information about medieval clothing. However, I believe that many dress historians have simply detached the clothing from the medium in order to build up a chronological picture of the development of costume during the Middle Ages.

I argue that there is a danger of using visual sources for evidence without analysing their social and cultural context in relation to the costume being worn.

In this paper I will discuss clothing on brasses and effigies as being clothing in a particular context as a representation of a deceased person. Thus the clothing has to be seen as not reflecting an outside influence but as reflecting an internal choice, which cannot be separated from the medium of representation.

Using content analysis of funeral monuments from across the UK, I will argue that the change in attitude after the Black Death was not immediate, and this is reflected in the choices made for clothing on monuments. However after this time delay, I suggest that there is a distinct style of extravagant and over-sized clothing which appears on brasses and effigies.

Using medieval memory theory, and in particular the ideas of Thomas Bradwardine, I will argue that clothing did not just mirror real-life fashions but that much more thought went into how women were commemorated. The clothing was an integral part of the memorial and had to be noticeable in order to attract attention and thus prayer for salvation from Purgatory.

Pamela.Walker@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

Karine Varley
Teaching Associate, School of History, Classics and Archaeology, University of Edinburgh.

Changing Treatment of the Dead in the European Wars of the Nineteenth Century.

This paper explores the changing treatment of those who died in European conflicts during the nineteenth century. The key focus will be to analyse why despite shifts in the nature of armies and warfare brought by the French Revolutionary Wars, it took until the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 to establish precedents in relation to the treatment of the dead, with widespread commemoration, permanent graves, and war memorials being devoted to rank and file soldiers for the first time in Europe. The French Revolutionary Wars transformed the nature of armies across Europe with the call to mobilize the nation in arms. Nevertheless, it took many decades for changing attitudes towards the value of soldiers to translate into improved treatment of the dead. Until the mid-nineteenth century, men continued to be buried in mass unmarked graves, their sacrifices not honoured in any specific, meaningful manner. My paper will analyse how these developments were part of a much wider cultural evolution in attitudes towards death in war, where the loss of young men came to represent at once the loss of a valued citizen and a human tragedy. It will situate this within the broader nineteenth-century European 'culture wars' between religion and secularisation. It will therefore explore the shifts in commemorative practices, their functions and how late nineteenth-century conflicts set precedents for the First World War.

Karine.Varley@ed.ac.uk

Panel 8 : Memory and Place

Susan Buckham
Independent Researcher.

Delusions of Grandeur? The Influence of Civic Pride, Private Sentiment and Business Practice upon the Cemetery Landscape at York.

This paper offers a case study of burial and commemoration at York Cemetery from 1837 to 1901. The cultural significance of cemeteries is embodied by their design as a specific form of burial landscape and by their use as an arena to express social relationships as signified by the selection of a burial plot, funeral service, memorial and inscription and by visits to the gravesite. York Cemetery's own unique history was embedded within the nationwide – indeed international – movement to establish modern cemeteries. A study of burial and commemoration patterns reveals that throughout the1900s patronage by the local community together with the York Cemetery Company's business practices created an unusual level of material harmony and homogeneity within the cemetery landscape.

At York, the archaeological and documentary sources reveal that the deceased's family or representative could select from a series of possible options at each stage of burial and commemoration. Whilst the cemetery owners ultimately regulated the extent of choices, the selection of a particular burial or commemoration option nonetheless enabled individuals and families to voice affiliations to specific social and familial groupings. Particular attention is paid to the role of religion, class, age and family within burial and commemoration behaviour. In addition, by studying the evidence of gravestones alongside the burial registers it is clear that commemoration could be used to offer an account of social relationships that was in direct conflict with the treatment of the deceased through burial practices.

The study concludes by making the case that at York, in contrast to case studies of other cemeteries, private sentiments and familial relationships rather than competitive social display proved more influential to the evolving design, management and use of the site.

susan.buckham@yahoo.co.uk

Tom Nickson
Lecturer in Medieval Art and Architecture, University of York.

The Memory of Ferdinand III in Seville Cathedral.

A late thirteenth-century chronicle records the crowds of people that gathered in Seville cathedral to mark the anniversary of the death of king Ferdinand III of Castile and León. Forty years earlier Ferdinand had captured Seville from its Almohad rulers and its principal mosque had been converted into the cathedral of Seville, the largest city in Andalucia. Present for the anniversary celebrations were emissaries from the Islamic rulers of Granada, who were surely amongst the intended viewers of Ferdinand's polyglot epitaph, written in Arabic, Hebrew, Latin and Castilian. This paper first draws on a range of visual evidence to reconstruct the appearance of Ferdinand's

tomb (destroyed in the seventeenth century), demonstrating in particular how the effigy of the seated king drew on Iberian traditions of depicting St James. Second, it considers how such effigies could serve as a prompt for requiem masses and the physiognomic descriptions embedded in fourteenth-century royal biographies. Third, it analyses the tomb in relation to Christian-Muslim relations in the peninsula in the thirteenth-century. How should we interpret the presence of Arabic inscriptions in the cathedral interior? What was the significance of the tomb's resonances with images of St James *Matamoros* (Moor-slayer)? How are we to understand the image of the crusader king against the message of peaceful co-operation that was promoted by the Marian miracle stories sung annually in the cathedral and illustrated in the manuscripts of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* that were kept nearby? How was Ferdinand's memory manipulated and developed in response to changes in Muslim-Christian relations in the Iberian peninsula, especially in periods of heightened tension in the 1340s and 1490s? In addressing these questions this paper examines commemorative performance and the nature of its diverse audiences.

tn530@york.ac.uk

Nicole Sierra
D.Phil Candidate, Faculty of English, University of Oxford.

Racialising Lieux de Mémoire: Literary Memory and the African Burial Ground.

Slave narratives and contemporary literature have been memorialised in a conscious attempt to make the invisible visible and reconstruct black American history and memory. Literary memory has become for the African-American "community" what French historian Pierre Nora calls *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory. While literature has assumed this function and continues to be the primary *lieu de mémoire* for contemporary black American culture, in 1991 during the construction of a federal building in lower Manhattan there was a rediscovery of a physical historical site, the Negro Burial Ground. This reclaimed 17th and 18th century burial place of slaves and free blacks, constitutes just 15,000 square feet of the seven acres of "common land" that were used for black interment. On the 6th of October 2007 the federally memorialised and renamed African Burial Ground National Monument opened to the public equipped with green spaces and an engraved twenty-five foot granite monument. This paper will explore, through Nora's theoretical framework, if the African Burial Ground is "history" or "memory" or *lieux de mémoire*, or perhaps a combination of realities. What effect does this rediscovery have on the tradition of African-American literary memory? Also interrogated is how the memorialisation of the African Burial Ground serves to spatialise race, writing itself on the cityscape and on African-American consciousness.

nicole.sierra@ell.ox.ac.uk

Panel 9: Death and Display

Lucy Audley-Miller
Junior Teaching Fellow at St John's College, University of Oxford.

Iconoclasm and Commemoration: Statues and Death.

Around the Roman Empire traditions in funerary commemoration developed, which ensured that the dead in many provinces were remembered through portrait images that depicted them. Such acts of portrayal served in many cases as an attempt to make the absent individual present through sculpture. This practice of portraying the dead was a cultural choice which was endlessly manipulated to suit local concerns, so that it represented the deceased subject with a body language and personal style which the living deemed prestigious and a fitting way of formulating memory. However, this was not the only way that images were adapted to suit local contexts. I hope to show the hugely varied creation of memory seen around the Empire, not only in terms of how the dead were depicted, but also showing how responses to sculpture of the deceased varied according to different cultural preferences.

Some images in tombs were fed by those that came to visit, while others statues were carefully moved from one monument to another. In one area, statues with a 'Roman body typology' appear to have been deliberately broken up and interred within a tumulus mound, alongside the carefully treated remains of the deceased. If we were to examine typology alone, then these individuals would appear to epitomise a cultural change, whereby local people have wholeheartedly adopted Roman body styles to remember the deceased. By examining the life of the image, it becomes clear that, in this area of the empire, the destruction of images might serve as an important aspect in commemoration: enacting an object death which mirrored the demise of the deceased. The statues from this tumulus mound reveal a form of parity between subject and image, which would otherwise have been overlooked. It is only through examination of the treatment of images in context, and examination of their object-histories, that we can see these different, changing, cultural constructs. Aspects of Roman portrait practice were embraced in many regions, but local demands regarding how best to shape the memory of the deceased were extremely varied. This is telling of processes of cultural change, and indicative of widely varied uses of statuary in processes of bereavement and the creation of social memory.

lucy.audley-miller@sjc.ox.ac.uk

Marisa Costa
Scientific Researcher, University of Lisbon.

Commemoration of a Prince's Life: The Tomb of Afonso of Portugal (15th Century).

The Braga cathedral, in Portugal, owns in its treasure a tomb from the fifteenth century which commemorates prince Afonso (1390-1400), the heir to the Portuguese throne, as he was the first-born son of King João I. Although this monument is little known, it is of exceptional quality and of international significance, since it combines a series of unique features, totally unprecedented in European funerary art.

The tomb comprises a gilt, cast copper-alloy effigy of the prince lying on a draped cloth. His face is silvered as is the inside of his tunic's pleats. The tomb-chest supporting the effigy has a wooden core entirely covered with gilded copper friezes and panels richly embossed with vegetal elements, as well as zoomorphic elements. Yet, the visual form of this medieval natural world also displays an unusual secular imagery consisting of 'drôleries' and a prolific variety of beasts. This 'marginal' type of decoration is clearly a foreign influence in Portuguese artistic language.

The tomb's commission has traditionally been believed to be Flemish, due to the wedding in 1429-30 of Afonso's sister Isabella to the powerful duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good. Nevertheless, there is no supporting evidence for this tradition. More surprisingly, such tradition has never been questioned, let alone investigated, either to reinforce the presumption of a Flemish provenance or to refute it and thus start paying attention to other hypotheses.

Happily, as a result of a long-term research project we can now count on solid arguments regarding a potential artistic influence from England, namely in the effigy's representation. After all, not only was Afonso's mother the daughter of an English royal duke, but by 1399 his maternal uncle had ascended the throne as Henry IV. Moreover, his half-sister Beatrice was to marry Thomas Fitzalan, the 12th earl of Arundel and Surrey, in 1405. With the tomb of Richard II providing the strongest visual links to Afonso's monument, it is possible to determine an English imprint in the concept of life and death commemoration and power display, as it happened to royal tombs.

costa.misc@gmail.com

Seumas Spark
History Department, University of Edinburgh.

Different Memories: Britain's Second World War Military Dead.

Almost nothing is known about the treatment of the British military dead of the Second World War. It is one of the few aspects of the conflict that has not been afforded attention by scholars. This is remarkable given that death is the most profound and important consequence of war.

The first part of my paper shows that shortcomings in the planning and administration of Second World War burial and graves operations resulted in the loss of the remains and identities of thousands of British servicemen.

The second part builds on this little-known story to explore the profound social consequences of these failures. The paper examines the importance of having a grave by which to mourn and seek catharsis. In so doing it shows how the actions of the few men who did seek out and bury the battlefield dead very often determined the pattern of bereavement, and the nature of mourning and commemoration, in wartime and post-war Britain. Indeed, the relatives of servicemen whose bodies were never found suffered a different, 'untold agony', as one father put it, from those who knew the fate of their relatives.

The third part of the paper examines dichotomies between history and memory in British remembrance of the Second World War. In the immediate post-war years, the poor treatment afforded the British military dead threatened to develop into a significant national scandal, but as it happened, the military and political establishment

managed to suppress this story. The paper shows how, in contemporary Britain, this has resulted in the collective perception of the treatment of the Second World War dead differing considerably from the experiences and memories of those who were bereaved in that conflict. In detailing the significance of this development, reference is made to British involvement in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and contemporary attitudes towards death in modern British society are examined.

seumasspark@hotmail.com

Panel 10: Memory and Biography

Philip Cottrell
Lecturer, School of Art History & Cultural Policy, University College Dublin.

John Donne, Undone, Redone – John Donne's Memorial Monument in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

Nicholas Stone's marble effigy of the poet and preacher John Donne (1572-1631) in St. Paul's Cathedral, London is one of the more extraordinary survivals of 17th c. English sculpture. Installed within 18 months of its subject's death in March 1631, its appearance is unforgettably bizarre: although upright, Donne is shown almost fully enveloped in a body-hugging burial shroud which has been gathered into two tightly-wound decorative ruffs at the head and feet. According to Donne's earliest biographer, Izaak Walton, with death close at hand, the ailing, emaciated Donne personally modeled for the statue, clad in his own winding sheet, and teetering on a wooden urn specially fashioned for the purpose.

This paper re-examines this bizarre episode within the context of the evolving funerary practices in post-Reformation England. The impact of the loss of Purgatory in Protestant belief and a focus on the resurrected body are among those forces that shaped Donne's monument. Also of interest are the performative aspects of the episode, and the evolutionary stages of the statue's development. These highlight a macabre form of surrogacy: as Donne felt his life ebbing away, he sought a means of gradually recreating himself within a more durable simulacrum. In examining these issues, it is also necessary to take greater account of Donne's position as an art patron and collector and acknowledge the intimate role played by art in the deathbed rituals of the period. Seen in a wider, art-historical, context, the conception and evolution of Donne's statue reflects a well-established relationship between 'art' and the 'art of dying' in early modern Europe.

philipcottrell@hotmail.com

Erika Kvistad
PhD Candidate, Department of English, University of York.

'The Body is Described as Perfect': Representing Elizabeth Siddal.

A century and a half after her death, Elizabeth Siddal's dead body may be the best-known thing about her. She was the model for Millais's drowned *Ophelia*, and the story of how she nearly met Ophelia's fate while posing for it is repeated in almost every critical work that mentions her, as is the less verifiable story of her husband exhuming her seven years after her death to find her body unchanged and her red hair grown to fill the coffin. This paper will examine how Siddal is imagined both in her own time and in ours as a victim of what Elisabeth Bronfen calls her "courtship with death", and how these readings, even those that act as advocates for Siddal, may ultimately obscure the way she herself explored death as an active and creative subject.

Much of Siddal's art and all of her poems deal with death in some way; the poems were described by Christina Rossetti as "almost too hopelessly sad for publication". But though they are often interpreted autobiographically as presages of her early death or even as literary suicide notes, her poems can be read as a series of direct confrontations with her own death-like representation in the paintings that made her famous. Reading the history of Siddal's artistic, mythical and critical representations alongside her poetry, I will argue that rather than obsessively retracing the victimising, objectifying images others made of her, the poems engage with and resist them by investing the women in these images with their own narrative and subjectivity. In considering the way Siddal imaginatively approaches her own death, I will also explore a history of representation that effaces female agency by privileging the interpretation of the dying woman as passive victim and aesthetic object.

ejk503@york.ac.uk

Hannah Frith
Senior Lecturer in Psychology, University of Brighton.
Jayne Raisborough
Senior Lecturer in Sociology, University of Brighton.
Orly Klein
Lecturer in Psychology, University of Brighton.

Reality Check: Media Accounts of the Death of Jade Goody.

Twenty-seven year old, reality TV star, Jade Goody died on Mothering Sunday 2009 amid a storm of media commentary. Although there was a steady stream of celebrity deaths in 2009, predominated by Michael Jackson's demise in June, several factors call attention to Jade's death. Unlike other late celebrities whose fame sprung from their acting skills (Natasha Richardson, Farah Fawcett Majors), musical abilities (Michael Jackson) or through their contribution to literature (John Updike), Jade was amongst the swelling tide whose celebrity was based on *being herself.* Emblematic of the democratisation of celebrity, a phenomena forced in part by the prevailing dominance of reality TV (Skeggs, 2009), Jade found fame and some infamy following her success in Channel 4's *Big Brother* and its spin offs. In this regard, in the UK at least, Jade Goody was the first 'home grown' reality *star*. More than this, from the moment that Jade first heard of her cancer whilst in the diary room of the Indian version of *Big Brother* and her devastated response was televised, the stage was set for the reality-documentary filming that was to follow her through her illness. As such, Jade's was also, to some degree, the UK's first reality TV *death.*

This controversial media event - variously presented a human freak show played out in the glare of the paparazzi and gutter press or as a poignant tribute to a brave young mother of two - mirrored debates about the blurring of boundaries between the public and the private, and between taste and vulgarity, for which reality television itself is often vilified. By analysing media accounts from her diagnosis to her death and funeral, we firstly argue that contestations over the appropriateness of the media coverage reflect and reinforce normative ideals of a 'good death' which echo debates within medical discourse. Secondly, we chart the cultural labours necessary to recast Jade's death as good at best, or ambivalent at worse. Specifically, we argue that a 'good

death' follows a good life, situated in terms of neo-liberal traits of responsibility, autonomy and control. In this we note a heroicised narrativisation of Jade which draws heavily on notions of class struggle and upward mobility, and a gendered recasting of Jade's life in romanticised discourses of femininity and motherhood. While drawing heavily on moral registers of dignity and privacy, Jade's death was troubled by classed / gendered sensibilities of taste and decorum that threatened to write the manner of her demise as bad/ undignified and as a vulgar spectacle, but to many was recast as a 'good' and morally appropriate.

H.L.Frith@brighton.ac.uk,
J.Raisborough@brighton.ac.uk,
O.Klein@brighton.ac.uk

Panel 11: Characterising Death

Sophie Oosterwijk
Teaching Fellow, School of Art History, University of St. Andrews.

Dead Kings and Dancing Corpses: Commemoration and Morality Combined?

The image of death is perhaps most strikingly represented in the late-medieval and early modern period by the cadaver effigy, an unusual form of memorial that depicts the deceased not with the trappings of their earthly status but as a humble corpse in a shroud. Often popularly linked with the Black Death, the roots of this type of 'macabre' imagery go back to before the arrival of the plague in Europe but there are also links with another type: the *danse macabre*.

The first appearance of cadaver effigies virtually coincided with the earliest known mention of the *danse macabre* in a French poem of 1376. Yet whereas the cadaver effigy combines the customary prompt for prayers with a clear didactic message for the beholder, the *danse* has always been regarded by scholars as a combination of morality and social satire without commemorative aspects: its key message appears to be that all mankind must die, both pope and pauper, young and old. The memory of a secondary meaning embodied in two of the earliest and most famous examples of the *danse* in France and England appears to have faded rapidly.

The (lost) *danse macabre* mural in Paris was begun in 1424, barely two years after the deaths in quick succession of Henry V of England and Charles VI of France had left both kingdoms deeply traumatised. John Lydgate produced a Middle English translation of the French poem that in turn was incorporated in a painted scheme in London. Close reading of the text of both poems and the related imagery suggests that the French and English *danse* not only offered a didactic mirror to beholders in each country, but also a vivid reminder of their late monarch in the form of a cryptoportrait and as an image of a royal cadaver.

so21@st-andrews.ac.uk

Tony Seaton
Emeritus Professor of Tourism Behaviour, University of Bedfordshire.

Transformations of the Medieval Dance of Death in Nineteenth century Graphic Culture.

The Dance of Death, or Danse Macabre, an artistic or literary representation in which both the dead and the living take part, was one of the best known *memento mori* displays in the popular culture of the Middle Ages. First recorded in the late 14th century, it was transmitted for over two centuries in poems, prose works, manuscripts and printed books, paintings on wood, stained glass windows, sculptures, embroidery, tapestry, engravings and architectural embellishments in churches and monasteries until end of the 16th century.

Predominantly a product of European culture it has been the subject of academic studies (e.g. Douce 1833; Langlois 1851, Kastner 1852, Green 1869 and Huizinga 1924).

What has received no significant attention is the revived vogue for the Dance of Death long after it had died out, in the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century. The revival comprised academic studies and newly engraved book versions of medieval originals, particularly of Holbein's celebrated 1538 Dance of Death series, by artists that included the Scottish engraver Francis Douce and the great woodcut reviver, Thomas Bewick. More surprisingly it also included the production of completely new and extended series adapting the Dance to nineteenth century life, the most astonishing being the 72 plate work in two volumes by the caricaturist, Thomas Rowlandson.

This illustrated paper assesses the nature of the nineteenth revival, its cultural and social significance, and some of its legacies in modern times. Questions explored include: how was the medieval *memento mori* tradition adapted to a modern age of science and technology? How do the figures featured in later versions compare with the old, and what do they tell us about perceptions of social and occupational structure in the nineteenth century. Why did a fashionable artist like Rowlandson, whose entire output embraced his own time not the past, find inspiration in a defunct medieval form?

vseaton@tiscali.co.uk

Grant MacAskill
Lecturer in New Testament Studies, University of St. Andrews.

'The Sound of Her Wings': Neil Gaiman and the Transformation of Death.

Death is a recurring theme in the eclectic work of critically-acclaimed novelist Neil Gaiman, occurring in both his adult writing and children's fiction. Standing, as he does, in a tradition of great texts and mythologies, and reformulating themes and images from these constantly, the author repeatedly forces his readers to re-evaluate the significance of death and to face contemporary Western society's aversion to it.

This paper will focus on Gaiman's sprawling series of *Sandman* graphic novels, which describes the Endless, a family of god-like projections of human identity and experience: Dream, Despair, Desire, Destiny, Delirium (who was once Delight), Destruction and Death. Gaiman himself has summed up the plotline of this series in a single neat sentence: "The Lord of Dreams learns that one must change or die, and makes his decision." Crucial to the story is the figure of Death. Gaiman subverts the traditional associations of this figure by casting her as the quirky sister of Dream, a beautiful young woman whom, in the end, no-one regrets meeting. Death is portrayed as an affirming, necessary part of our identity. In the end, even her immortal brother must embrace what she represents or lose his identity.

In affirming her, however, Gaiman avoids a naïve glorification of Death: a profound awareness of her tragic aspects permeates the story and is brokered to the reader both through narration and through the unique ability of the graphic novel to combine or juxtapose this with visual impact. The context of the story, and particularly the experience of AIDS in the late 80s and early 90s, anchors this in hard reality. The result is a much-needed contemporary tragedy: a powerful reflection on mortality as a constitutive part of human identity by one of today's most popular writers.

gm37@st-andrews.ac.uk

Panel 12: Literary Mausoleums

Claire Wood
PhD candidate, Department of English and Related Literature, University of York.

The Living Grave-stone: Charles Dickens's Monumental Anxieties.

In *Oliver Twist* (serialised 1837-9) Charles Dickens repeatedly insists that physical monuments for the dead are neither necessary nor desirable. However, in the closing chapters he creates two remarkable memorials that redress the novel's transgressive women. The first is the ghost of Nancy, who becomes a 'living grave-stone' for her murderer Bill Sikes and indirectly causes his death. The second is the cenotaphic marble plaque for Oliver's unmarried mother, Agnes, which elides the narrative of her sin and suffering. Agnes has little actual existence in the novel after expiring on the third page, but she is perpetuated in material forms: the plaque; a locket similarly inscribed with her forename and the date of her (social) death, ('within a year before the child was born'); and a painting that reproduces her image. Nancy's class position and the manner of her decease allow no such material legacy: her own traumatised body, 'its epitaph in blood', is the only available commemoration. The living tombstone is impermanent: Nancy is conspicuously unremembered at the denouement. In contrast the pure, stabilising form of the white marble tablet summons forth Agnes's ghost to preside as the novel's final image. These monuments indicate anxieties about the role of material commemoration and the dichotomy between bodily reality and memorial reconstruction.

Following a sustained reading of these memorials, this paper explores Dickens's lifelong ambivalence towards funerary monuments through examination of the author's verbal and material commemoration of his beloved sister-in-law Mary Hogarth; his refusal to subscribe to the public memorial of Thomas Hood; and his own emphatic direction not to be made the subject of 'any monument, memorial, or testimonial whatever'.

cew113@york.ac.uk

David McAllister
Teaching Fellow in Nineteenth-Century Literature, Department of English and Related Literature, University of York.

'The opening of that burial heap blazes strangely in my thoughts': Carlyle, Cromwell, and the Naseby Excavations.

When Thomas Carlyle visited the site of the Battle of Naseby in May 1842, as part of his research for a book he was planning on the Commonwealth era, he found it to be sadly 'unintelligible'. Despite his best efforts to trace the ebb and flow of the battle on the rural Northamptonshire landscape, and to find some point of imaginative connection there with the dead Hero Oliver Cromwell, he was no nearer to finding a way to make the past speak to the present: 'Alas, alas! never in all my days, with a natural proclivity towards the Impossible, have I got so deeply sunk, covered over head and

ears, in that element as even now! The dumb Oliver, I often fear, will have to remain forever dumb.'

Some months later, Carlyle met Edward Fitzgerald, whose family owned the land, and who pointed out that Carlyle had missed the actual Naseby battlefield, misled by a memorial obelisk that had been erected some distance from the battlefield, but which Carlyle had assumed marked its centrepoint. At Carlyle's request, Fitzgerald visited the proper site and excavated some high ground which had long been reputed to hold the remains of the Naseby dead, and in which he unearthed the remains of dozens of soldiers. Carlyle never visited Naseby again, but this discovery made the unintelligible intelligible, by bringing the past into communication with the present:

> The opening of that burial-heap blazes strangely in my thoughts: these are the very jawbones that were clenched together in deadly rage, on this very ground, 197 years ago! It brings the matter home to one, with a strange veracity,—as if for the first time one saw it to be no fable and theory but a dire fact. I will beg for a tooth and a bullet; authenticated by your own eyes and word of honour!

Carlyle wrote his *Cromwell* with a shinbone from Naseby on his desk, and two teeth in his drawer. It was indeed a work that allowed 'the dumb Oliver' to talk; rather than writing a straight biography, Carlyle published his letters and speech with his own 'elucidations' linking them together. This paper will examine this unusual episode, drawing on Derrida's writings on mourning and ethics to analyse the link between Naseby's relics and Cromwell's literary remains, and identifying what Carlyle's response to the relics tells us about his view of the relationship between the present and the past.

dmcallister@gmail.com

Judith Woolf
Senior Lecturer, Department of English and Related Literature, University of York.

Memory and Monuments in Giorgio Bassani's Garden of the Finzi-Contini.

The Italian writer Giorgio Bassani described his most famous novel, *The Garden of the Finzi-Contini*, as having been written '*sullo sfondo di Buchenwald*' [against the background of Buchenwald], yet it is the most oblique of literary Holocaust memorials. What could appear on a casual reading to be simply the story of a frustrated love affair, set during the years leading up to the Second World War, is framed by two brief references to the eventual fate of its heroine, the beautiful and elusive Micòl, which tell us little more than that she and her family were 'deported to Germany in the autumn of '43', where 'who can say if they found any sort of burial at all?' Writing only a decade and a half after the end of the war, and in a country in which both the surviving Jewish community and the general population had reasons to wish to evade the memory of the recent past, Bassani's own apparently evasive text explores issues of grief and denial partly through the ironically recurring symbolism of funerary monuments. This preoccupation with mausoleums and gravestones is both literal, through the inclusion in the novel of the Etruscan necropolis at Cerveteri, and of the Jewish cemeteries of

Ferrara and Venice where the deportees will never find burial beside their ancestors, and literary, through a pervasive network of allusions which range from the *Vita Nuova* to the autobiography of the seventeenth century Venetian rabbi Leone da Modena, written as a gift to his dead son, and the mortuary poems of Emily Dickinson. My paper will look at why Bassani chose this way of addressing the subject of Buchenwald, and how the novel's funerary references create a sense of the necessity and yet the impossibility of creating a fitting monument to the dead Micòl.

jrw11@york.ac.uk