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Ghost Stories: Democracy, Duplicity and Virtuality in the Work of Candice Breitz

I.

I almost think we're all of us Ghosts... It's not only what we have inherited from our father and mother that „walks“ in us. It's all sorts of dead ideas, and lifeless old beliefs, and so forth. They have no vitality, but they cling to us all the same, and we can't get rid of them. Whenever I take up a newspaper, I seem to see Ghosts gliding between the lines. There must be Ghosts all the country over, as thick as the sand of the sea. And then we are, one and all, so pitifully afraid of the light.¹

II.

The marriage of reason and nightmare which has dominated the 20th century has given birth to an ever more ambiguous world. Across the communications landscape move the specters of sinister technologies and the dreams that money can buy. Thermonuclear weapons systems and soft drink commercials coexist in an overlit realm ruled by advertising and pseudoevents, science and pornography. Over our lives preside the great twin leitmotifs of the 20th century – sex and paranoia.²

III.

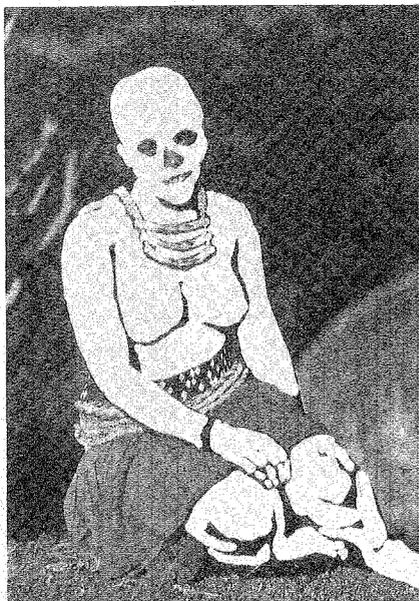
Ghosts

We stand at the threshold of a new millennium surrounded by ghosts. They come to us as specters of memory, both personal and collectively inherited. Their intelligibility depends upon their being conceived in material terms: through the ordinary myths that root us to the landscape, to the nation, and to one another; in the images of otherness devoured daily by an ever-globalizing media; in the stereotypes interred in the exquisite corpses of late twentieth century commodity fetishism. The haunting images of this century's greatest tragedies – genocide, war, famine, disaster – take their place in the mass media archive next to those of celebrity, advertisements, and popular cinema. They merge in and through one another, becoming at times indistinguishable. Thus operates the political economy of the commodity sign, enmeshing us in an 'emotional politics of consumption' during a historical moment in which experience is saleable. It is through such signs that we consume the world – our history, our culture, our selves. But it is more than the image that dominates our vision, it is the ideology behind the photogenic surface that locks are focus, pinning us to the page. These fetish-phantoms cling to our

every assumption, shadow our actions, steal the breath from our lips. Superstitious precedence gives fleshy substance to their ghostly forms, at times impeding our ability to imagine alternative possibilities, dragging their ethereal truths at our heels like great weights into a new century.

Never, perhaps, are we more susceptible to such hauntings than in times of transition or uncertainty, for the ghost represents that which seeks to remain, to be whole. It references an original body, but appears before us doubled as a mere apparition, a distillation of a perceived essence. Its manifestation may vary in apparent solidity from a fine translucence, a faint hint of the real, to an exact likeness. It is an illusion wrought from anxious longing, guilt, or bereavement – it comes to us to fill an absence or to demand retribution. Through mimicry the ghost keeps alive that which threatens extinction or amnesia. As a double, it bears close resemblance to the wraith, the doppelgänger, the twin, the surrogate – all of which make ambiguous the relationship between the signifier and signified; trickster-forms acting as decoys to the real.

South African artist Candice Breitz has based half a decade's work around such spirited doubles. Given their propensity for thresholds, it is little wonder that Breitz's ghosts made their inaugural appearance in the wake of the first South African democratic elections in 1994. The *Ghost Series* (1994–1996), which continued to evolve through the painful unfolding of the Truth and Reconciliation hearings, marks a disquieting moment of a newly emergent nation struggling to create a sense of collective unity in the face of immense social fragmentation and histori-



cal trauma. The body – both nationalized corpus and corporealized nation – here emerges as historically contingent ethnographic spectacle. Traditional postcard images depict 'indigenous' South African women positioned languidly in front of the lens in classical poses. 'Correction' fluid (otherwise known as tipex, liquid paper or 'white out') has been used to thickly paint over the figures' skin leaving only their brightly colored ethnic regalia exposed intact within thin flesh outlines of the body. These macabre apparitions come to appear almost skeletal in negative relief. The act of blocking out, re-covering the surface as *tabula rasa*, uncomfortably references historical processes of (neo)colonial erasure, ethnic cleansing, pornographic exploitation and political censoring. And yet the ghost, and its act, is undeniably here a creature of both spiritual and economic (re)possession; it stands as much for the absent-presence of the subject, as it does for the projective longing of the viewer. The ghost, in re-possession, thus takes back an imagined 'original' that paradoxically only ever existed as 'truth' in staged facsimile – the smiling docile native, bare-breasted in primitive ceremonial dress, representing the perceived purity of tradition lost to the Western voyeur. Importantly, these postcards are not surplus from a bygone colonial era, but are contemporary re-productions manufactured for a global tourist market in ethnicity. Though mass-produced commodities, they continue to function as originals in reference to the identities they profess to capture, glibly signifying an 'innocence lost' and compensating for our post-Enlightened, late capitalist disillusionment with industrialisation and the corrupting culture of the copy. In 'ghosting' such images and re-photographing them, Breitz makes them larger than life – both literally and figuratively – thus transforming the once pocketable commodity into the singular 'master'-piece.

These images of otherness, however, were ghosts even before Breitz expunged their surface, for they function to portray the perceived 'essence' of an other, to carry forward a romanticised if defunct portrayal of cultural identity and transparency, to reify and complete that which is necessarily fragmented in order to create the illusion of transcendence upon which identity politics rely. Breitz brings such ghosts to the surface in order to exorcise them – challenging their sanctification as fetishes by both the tourist-consumer (who preserves their essence in continued consumption of the generalizable other) and the cultural critic (who preserves their essence in decree against the alteration, repetition, or re-appropriation of such stereotypes). Breitz's particular practices of appropriation, though at times unsettling, work through processes of counter-possession in order, as Hal Foster writes, „to break apart the mythical sign, to reinscribe it in a critical montage, and then to circulate this artificial myth in turn“³, thus undermining the efficacy of the signifier.

The *Ghost Series*, in combination with the succeeding *Rainbow Series* and *Whitewash Series* (1996), provide a wry and importantly controversial commentary on Rainbow nationalism and utopian aspirations in the 'new' South Africa. Relying upon strategies of aggressive and even violent interruption of the image-surface through erasing, splitting, tearing, deleting, and reconfiguring/disfiguring the

'original', these works consciously provoke discomfort, embarrassment, and anxiety – not only in the viewer, but admittedly in the artist herself. In the *Rainbow Series*, for example, the traditional postcard images of African women witnessed previously are here spliced onto sexually explicit centrefold images of white women. The resulting insect-like hybrids sport multiple limbs; parts vary radically in scale, forcing the eye to adjust to the images' uncomfortable, nonsynchronous congruity. They make us shift nervously, avert our eyes, force us to look away and yet seduce us back again at a glance. We are drawn to them despite ourselves.

Elsewhere, I have made reference to the obvious correspondence between these collaged images and those of Berlin Dada artist, Hannah Höch. Indeed, along with Raoul Hausmann, Höch is often credited with the first artistic manipulation of photomontage for political ends⁴. Working from 1918 through the 1920s, Höch's works responded to the culture industry with cunning irony. Her photomontage technique, in its de-emphasis on craftsmanship, stresses the ephemerality of the commoditized image. Höch emerges during this period as an early feminist attempting to engage with and critique the contradictory representations of the 'New' Woman in German society during the years of the Weimar Republic – liberating images of women in media and popular advertisements, grafted alongside more traditional (yet equally commoditized) representations of the feminized subject. Such 'schizophrenic' representations of the 'New' German Woman were likewise occasionally juxtaposed by Höch against exoticized fetish images of the 'primitive' feminine other gleaned from German colonial propaganda. The viewer's own discomfort in viewing is bolstered and exaggerated by the drastically shifting scale and the lack of historical and cultural synchronicity of the images. As Spector writes: „By these means, the superficiality of much of the source material is exposed, the simple acceptance of the seductive surface of reality that the photograph advances is shown to be mistaken, and the possibility of new realities (literally new combinations of thought) is offered up to the viewer“⁵. While Höch is credited with vigorously challenging patriarchal oppression and forwarding the feminist cause, it is likewise important to note that she has (since) been accused of uncritically appropriating and blindly reproducing negative stereotypes of the black body in her attempt to challenge popular representations of white female subjectivity/subjectation. So too has Breitz fallen prey to like critique.

Like Höch, however, Breitz is not attempting to propound unnatural solutions or reconciliations of disparate bodies and representations. Rather, Breitz is offering these images as a challenge to the limitations of democracy and the (im)possibilities for recovering an intact, (self-)sovereign body. Significantly, she does not digitally alter her images or suture them together electronically, but claims to have been rather determined to „hold onto visible ruptures and seams“ via the crude pastings of collage⁶. Through such means, Breitz shows up the contradictions of cultural hybridity, while weighing the possibilities for reconciliation against seemingly irreconcilable difference. It would seem that such concerns trace their origins to the point of 'contact' between the 'native' and the 'foreigner'. The process of acculturation, as represented metaphorically through processes of grafting and

collage, is always unequal, necessarily implying compromise and (super)imposition, and often involving violence. The graft, as a metaphor of this superimposition, plays upon notions of uneasy suturing, imperfect fits, jarring camouflage, regenerative invention. As Colin Richards explains, the graft (like the collage) involves „traumatic incision“: „In cutting into and across 'difference', 'graft' enjoins the discourse of 'hybridity' without disavowing the violence and the desire which underpins cultural fusion“⁷. The graft is not merely a fantastical imaging of spatial interpolation and interpretation, but represents, rather, a historically processual corporeal kaleidoscope of (situated) bodies merging and emerging. Breitz's images react against an essentialist understanding of identity, where 'generic' whiteness or blackness appears as 'an essential way of being'⁸, undifferentiated and unmarked by the imbrication of class structure, disparate histories, and conflicting political ideologies.

Thus can we ask, following Brian Keith Axel's lead⁹, is the artist, in 'deriding' the Rainbow, not also attempting to image the impossibility of a Lefortian monstrous democratic body? Is Breitz aiming to produce successfully hybrid bodies, or is she, rather, striving to show up the contradictions in such graftings; the inability of these 'stereotyped' images to cohere into totalized, prosthetic Rainbow bodies? Is Breitz not attempting to challenge white male patriarchy? In Breitz's words, borrowed in part from Surrealism, she writes: „The South African subject... is a violently constituted exquisite corpse, fragmented and scarred, traversed by race, gender, class and language. Currently *de rigueur* notions of hybridity both recognize and romanticize such a body. At a time when discrimination is allegedly a thing of the past, a time when porn is (relatively) freely available in South Africa for the first time in decades, a time when inner Johannesburg maintains the dubious distinction of having one of the highest rape rates in the world (though the latter is by no means causally related to the former), this series is a perverse gesture at the composite subject making up the imaginary tribe which populates the New South Africa“¹⁰.

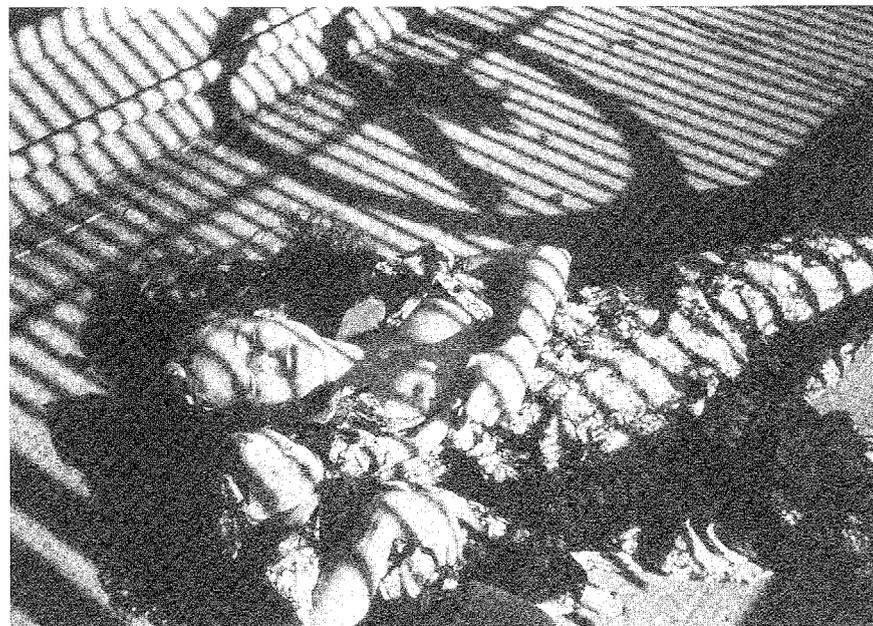
There is little question that this work is influenced by and plays off the conceptual framework set by Surrealism – the (post-)Marxist disillusionment with capitalist mass consumerism and bourgeois complacency; the critique of modernism and suspicion of political hegemony. Indeed, Surrealism as a revolutionary discourse has had a significant historical influence on contemporary bourgeois cultural production in South Africa, most prominently witnessed during the years of the struggle. But we can also see the residue of this influence in the work of a younger generation of politically minded artists, like Breitz, whose mentors and teachers are of the struggle generation. While these young artists may be influenced by or adopt the language of resistance, however, their 'cause' is of a different order, often serving to shift the utopian imagery of the struggle to dystopic critique of the 'rainbow nation'. Surrealism has long appealed to left-leaning youth intent on rebelling against the limitations of tradition – in this case, however, the desire is often to create a certain degree of distance from both the easily detestable legacy of apartheid, as well as the publicly vaunted history of the struggle. In the

wake of democratic reconstruction, apartheid has become relatively easy to distance oneself from, particularly for a generation which feels it did not play a primary role in its violent unfolding. The struggle, in contrast and seemingly paradoxically, at times bears a greater burden for many politically conscious youth, for the expectations and pocket-books of an international art market lean decidedly in favor of forms of cultural production which carry forth the tradition of overtly political and socially 'responsible' commentary. In post-apartheid South Africa, the struggle has thus become the defining discourse of contemporary cultural production, borne out in the continuing endurance of Surrealism as a language of political resistance. However, the Surrealist movement's global adaptability, endurance and capacity for seemingly endless resurrection is partly (and somewhat ironically) guaranteed by the discontent of youth and the predilection of emerging generations to reject the blinding assumptions of inherited conventions – the ghosts that haunt, so to speak – including those of the struggle.

Each instance of rebellion, of course, is always unique and site-specific. The embrace of Surrealism by struggle artists working through the 1980s in South Africa, and indeed by many other artists and intellectuals working against colonialism in the Third World (post-World War II), was motivated by the immediate crisis over gross oppression, the violation of basic human rights, and the utopian desire for universal emancipation as overtly influenced by Marxist discourse. In contrast, the 'new' Surrealism in South Africa is considerably less urgent and utopian in its motivation, certainly less cohesive as a discourse, and predictably more self-indulgent. Wary of the stigma associated with the failings of liberalism, a younger generation of middle-class intellectuals hesitantly court the (post)Marxist and psychoanalytic discourses of their predecessors, flirting with the bits that appeal (like feminism, social empowerment, and the critique of commodity fetishism), while shunning the socialist agenda. Presently, Surrealist imagery when it is employed by younger artists is not so much adopted as a radical revolutionary discourse intended to mobilize society toward utopian emancipation, but is rather employed as a language of satire, dystopic critique, and *post*-revolutionary disillusionment. But the commitment to democratic change and social responsibility is still in strong evidence, if it at times appears less idealistic in its approach.

Twins

Since moving to New York in 1995, Breitz has gradually expanded her interest in identity politics beyond (though not excluding) the South African subject, while continuing to examine the relationship between capitalism and democracy, and the tensions within and between individual agency and collective consensus, self-sovereign singularity and multi-cultural pluralism. America as self-proclaimed land of the 'free', cultural melting-pot, model and guarantor of democracy, home to venture capitalism and protectorate of the copy serves as the perfect playground for Breitz. In this, her Surrealist-influenced preoccupation with simulacra



continues to rear its doubled head in works exploring the reproducibility and commoditization of the body as prostheticized sign. Surrounded by simulacra, she is like a child let loose in a toy shop – quite literally at times. In 1996, for example, Breitz responded to an ad promoted by the My Twinn® doll company in Colorado, which manufactures exact doll-twins of and for children. Pretending to hover at the threshold of puberty (the maximum age and dimensions of twinning within the company's regulations), Breitz duly ordered a clone of herself by sending in her photograph and measurements for reproduction. The miniature Breitz then accompanied the artist on a play-date through New York city; the two dressed alike in their matching mail-order flowered frocks, pink hairbands, and bright red lipstick. The resulting documentation of their dioramic excursion, *My Twin Series*, takes the form of large-scale photographs (60" x 40") depicting the two poised coyly in awkward embrace within overtly staged settings: at the park, doing the shopping, standing in front of the car wash. Perhaps the most successful of these depicts the two captured in Man Ray-esque slumber on the sidewalk under the silhouetted lines of a railing in stark sunlight. These lines following the contours of the bodies further sensualize the image (as Man Ray himself perfected), appearing as liquid bars imprisoning the two in a shadow-cell, pinning them to the ground, and ultimately inviting subtle masochistic readings of their innocent sleep. These photographs censor the spontaneous and replace it with the staged, the apparently spied upon, the spectacle of fantasied expectation.

There is a distinct if softly pornographic overtone to these images. Wearing a dress intended for a child, Breitz's breasts remain partly exposed by a puerile costume/image she seems to be fast outgrowing, thus blurring the boundary between child and mother through the dual exposure of breasts as sexual signifiers versus breasts as functional appendages. These unnervingly sexualized stagings are explicit reminders that we live in an age in which adult feminine beauty is prosthetically sold to us in the seamlessly packaged-bodies of fourteen year girls. Self-reflection is here doubled against alienation, biological procreation against mechanical reproduction. The twin-doll functions in this work as corporeal ready-made, uncanny duplicate akin to the ghost in its plays on possession, witnessing the grotesque mimicry of the subject by the object, the animate by the inanimate. Indeed, the ability of the copy to appear more real than the original is disturbingly illustrated by the My Twinn® company's promise to create „dolls that are more child-like than doll-like“. Furthermore, while the emphasis of the company is on the uniqueness of each twin (surely a contradiction in terms), they are produced from a limited number of templates, and consequently remain heavily reliant upon superficial resemblances (matching clothes, hair length and color, etc.) to maintain familial affinity. The individuality of the identical twin is always precluded by its other.

Historically, twins have been regarded with superstitious apprehension as biological rogues and unnatural exceptions to the majority of singular births. Yet even for those of us who are resigned to our birth as singletons, the twin may fulfill a deeply rooted Platonic desire for wholeness through 'soul-mate' companionship. Here, as in Plato's *Symposium*, the twin makes its appearance as the lost half of our original selves, as compensation for primordial separation, loneliness, loss, and inevitable mortality. There have been some who have argued that all of us begin life as twins, but that the dominant individual overpowers its weaker double in the womb, reabsorbing all trace of the twin within its own body which may later reassert itself as an inner growth, a cyst or tumor. This persistent double may thus manifest itself as repressed symptom of a psyche divided, unconsciously accounting for our deeply rooted anxiety in regards to fragmentation. As Hillel Schwartz writes:

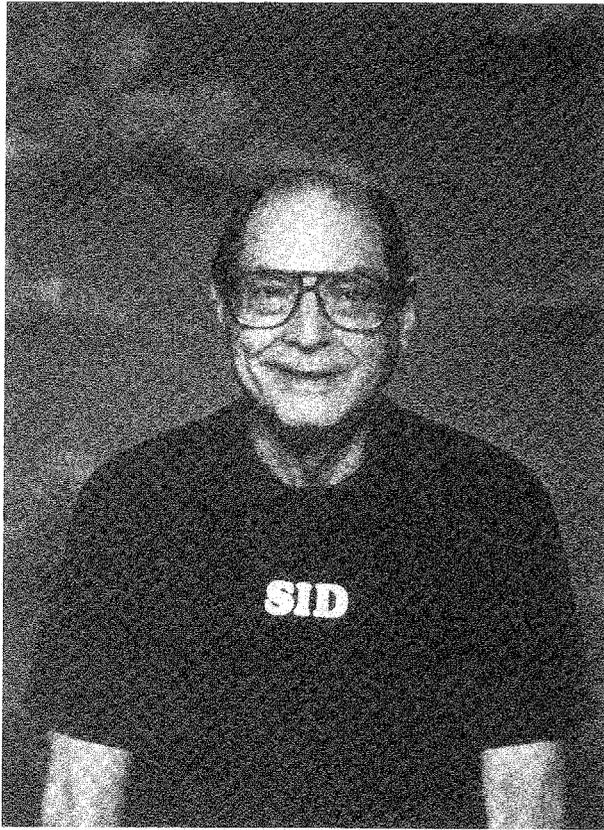
The emergent legend of the vanishing twin makes of ourselves our own kin. Surrounded by forgeries and facsimiles, we look to that primitive twin for affidavits of faithfulness and apologies for faithlessness. In one body, at one and the same time, we may carry and confute our own nearest sister, closest brother. While vanishing twinship assures us of a sempiternal human link, it affords us also the pathos of inexpressible loss¹¹.

At the close of the millennium, the twin stands in for our angst in relation to the ever-prolific copy – referencing our uncanny ability to reproduce ourselves and our world to an unprecedented degree through the simulation of both our image (via increasingly sophisticated electronic processes) and our bodies (with the help of genetic modification, DNA cloning, biological finger-printing, etc.). And yet, it simultaneously makes us all the more cognizant of our fragile and expendable positions in the world.

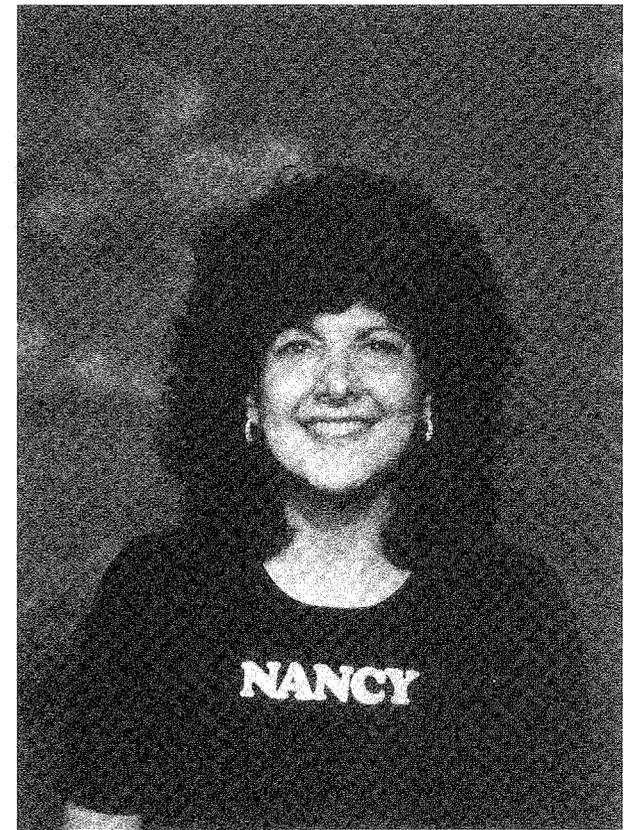
Surrogates

The ongoing *Surrogate Portrait Archive*, initiated by Breitz in 1998, further explores this notion of interchangeable identities through the reproducible double. In this, Breitz playfully challenges the problematics of a representation which functions as though representative, necessarily exposing the striking chasm between speaking *for* and speaking *of* an other. Like the twin, the surrogate practices a special form of mimicry, yet while the twin doubles an individual to become two paradoxically unique yet identical bodies, the surrogate stands in for an original (or set of originals), ultimately replacing and making singular all bodies which fall within its frame of reference. The surrogate here appears as the stereotype reduced to its most basic and unreliable referent of idiosyncrasy – the name as antecedent signifier to all other processes of typological classification: age, gender, race, class, status, etc. As the artist writes of the project: „The intent is to produce a 'Surrogate Portrait' for all names in existence – a surrogate 'Ron' portrait that might serve as a placebo for all Rons, a surrogate 'Nancy' portrait that might serve as a placebo for all Nancys“. In fact, as witnessed in this example, the namesakes become more meaningful when positioned in relation to one another – Ron (Reagan) in relation to Nancy (Reagan). Moreover, the signified changes through various combinations, so that Nancy (Reagan) becomes Nancy (Vicious) when taken from away from Ron and placed beside Sid. The Surrogate Portraits thus function through associations mediated by an increasingly globalized media archive of publicly consumable celebrity identities. Significantly, however, the image is here made superfluous to its moniker, the signified rendered redundant in relation to its signifier, so that the namesake remains anonymous, generic even, until viewed in named combination. Disturbingly, while the Surrogate Manifesto specifically bars the inclusion of those individuals whose reputations precede them (prohibiting, as the artist tells us, „the very individuals who have traditionally had exclusive access to the genre of portraiture“), the surrogates themselves only function in relation to such excluded iconic identities, for it is popular consciousness that defines the subjectivity of the surrogate, limiting or expanding their interpretation and circumscribing their possibilities. Thus, there is no functional surrogate for anonymous Nancy, and indeed no surrogate for the surrogate herself. Furthermore, the artist's reference to these proxy-portraits as placebos further emphasizes the extent to which they function in lieu or compensation. Ultimately, the surrogate acts as a measure for truth, prescribed as a substitute for or in reference to an original, yet having no quantifiable efficacy except on the collective psyche.

Breitz's play on portraiture through the surrogate image takes an interesting turn in this volume's *Group Portraits Series* (1999). In this latest body of work, the artist explores the fantasy of familial togetherness and national consensus as imaged through a prosthetically commoditized and falsely individualized portrait of the 'imagined community'. Lifted from the pages of popular magazine advertisements and mail-order catalogues, these images of unity – whether represented by smiling middle-class American families or racially balanced and harmonious



peer-groups – are sold to us through the products they represent and vice versa. Companies like J. Crew, for example, create their target market through the promotion of surrogate referents so that the consumer comes to identify or imagine the desired-self in relation to a prosthetic other seen sporting or promoting consumable material-markers of that identity. Thus does J. Crew stage its group portrait around a Christmas tree – the product here is promoted through a conservative image of familial harmony in ritualistic celebration of a holiday which simultaneously signifies both religious sanctity and profane consumerism (the latter purified through the former). Similarly, Tommy Hilfinger's group portrait pictures a selection of exuberant youths posed triumphantly beneath an American flag, marketing sportswear alongside youth and democracy, while Sketchers and Frederick's of Hollywood rely upon images of sexuality to drive their products home. In a culture built upon late twentieth century capitalist desire, utopian aspirations are increasingly sold to us on the auction-block.



The products in these images have been deleted with correction fluid, bringing us full-circle back to the *Ghost Series*. The ghosts here, however, are not those of the body but rather of the commodity-fetish. Without the products which hold these group portraits together, we are left with a series of splintered signifiers, a fragmented tableau of incoherent parts – flailing limbs and impossibly smiling faces submerged within a swirling, thickly painted field of white. In a period in which hegemony is acceptable as regards democratic consensus and collective remembrance, Breitz urgently sets out to unsettle bourgeois complacency in the face of an ever more regulating and normalizing international marketplace. She reminds us – in this and all her works discussed herein – that the main contradiction of democracy is that although it purports to celebrate difference, it ultimately requires that which is fundamentally heterogeneous to become homogeneous.

With this in mind, Breitz does not merely set out to challenge the utopian claims of democracy, but likewise aims to create a space for dissent within civil so-

ciety – for democracy may only function effectively in the face of opposition. Her images make us uncomfortable, get our backs up, exhaust us with their at times painful effrontery – but whether we love them or deplore them they prompt us to respond, and in so doing force us to question our fundamental assumptions and challenge the ghosts, the twins, the surrogates, the spirited doubles that fix our attention on the past and prevent us from moving forward. After all, it is unease that prevents us from naturalising our positions, and thus slipping too readily into a false sense of security – and political apathy.

- 1 Henrik Ibsen, *Ghosts and Other Plays*, translated by Peter Watts (London: Penguin 1964).
- 2 J.G. Ballard, *Crash*, 1973, London: Jonathan Cape Ltd. 1973.
- 3 Hal Foster, *The Return of the Real* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: The MIT Press), p. 93.
- 4 Refer to Maud Lavin, *Cut With the Kitchen Knife: The Weimar Photomontages of Hannah Höch* (New Haven, Connecticut and London, England: Yale University Press 1993). Refer also to Matthew Gale, *Dada & Surrealism* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd. 1997).
- 5 Jack Spector, *Surrealist Art & Writing 1919/39* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press 1997), p. 130.
- 6 As cited in Colin Richards, „Bobbits Feast: Violence and Representation in South African Art“, in Brenda Atkinson and Candice Breitz, eds., *Grey Areas: Representation, Identity and Politics in Contemporary South African Art* (Johannesburg: Chalkham Hill Press 1999), p. 176.
- 7 Colin Richards, *Graft in Okwui Enwezor*, ed., *Trade Routes: History and Geography*, 2nd Johannesburg Biennale 1997 (Johannesburg: The Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council and the Prince Klaus Fund 1997), p. 234.
- 8 Refer to Okwui Enwezor, „Reframing the Black Subject: Ideology and Fantasy in Contemporary South African Representation“, in *Third Text*, no. 40 (Autumn 1997), p. 26.
- 9 Refer to Brian Keith Axel, „Disembodiment and the Total Body: A Response to Enwezor on Contemporary South African Art“, in: *Third Text*, No. 44, Autumn 1998. Also republished in: Brenda Atkinson and Candice Breitz, (eds.), *Grey Areas: Representation, Identity and Politics in Contemporary South African Art* (Johannesburg: Chalkham Hill Press 1999), pp. 41-63.
- 10 Candice Breitz, „Rainbow Series“, in: *Interzones: A Work in Progress*, catalogue for exhibitions in Copenhagen and Uppsala, curated by Octavio Zaya and Anders Michelsen, (1996), p. 50. Also cited in: Axel, op cit., p. 11, fn. 48.
- 11 Hillel Schwartz, *The Culture of the Copy: Striking Likenesses, Unreasonable Facsimiles* (New York: Zone Books 1996), p. 21.