

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI[®]

NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI[®]

Making History, Picturing Hysteria:
Archaeology, Ficto-criticism, and the Critical History of
Nicole Jolicoeur's La vérité folle

Elizabeth Kalbfleisch

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

October 2000

© Elizabeth Kalbfleisch, 2000



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-54347-1

Canada

Abstract

**Making History, Picturing Hysteria:
Archaeology, Ficto-Criticism, and the Critical History of
Nicole Jolicoeur's La vérité folle**

Elizabeth Kalbfleisch

For two decades, the work of Montréal artist Nicole Jolicoeur has been centred around medical photographs documenting the hysterical patients of Dr. Jean-Martin Charcot at the Salpêtrière hospital in late nineteenth century France. Jolicoeur's work is explored in the context of the constructed nature of both hysteria as an illness and the photograph for adeptly representing reality. Through her work, Jolicoeur performs a Foucauldian archaeology as she researches and re-assembles a visual history of hysteria. Using historical photographs, she proposes a new and critical history of hysteria that can be termed ficto-criticism. Both archaeology and ficto-criticism are explored as strategies for producing alternative histories. Archaeology and ficto-criticism allow for the artist to question the authority of Charcot and the medical establishment, and to tell the story of the oppression of the hysterical woman in a way that may be more truthful and satisfying than what has been offered by more traditional histories.

Acknowledgements

Many graduate students will agree that writing a thesis can be a very solitary, alienating experience. While at times it may have felt so, I am very grateful for all the support and friendship I have been offered from the Department of Art History, and from my friends and family.

First, I must extend my sincerest gratitude to Nicole Jolicoeur, who generously invited me into her studio, and whose insight was so helpful in thinking and writing about her work. I must thank Jeanne Randolph for her interest in my thesis, and for discussing her work with me. I wish to acknowledge the staff at McGill University's Osler Library and the reference librarians and the staff of Interlibrary Loans at Concordia Libraries for their invaluable assistance. A special mention to Cheryl Tom for translation help.

My supervisor, Dr. Olivier Asselin, has offered me unparalleled guidance for the past year and a half. I feel very privileged to have worked so closely with Dr. Asselin, without whose input I would not have explored many critical avenues that proved both helpful and exciting for me.

I am indebted to the other members of my thesis committee, Dr. Johanne Lamoureux and Dr. Joan Acland. Dr. Lamoureux' interest in my work gave me new confidence. Dr. Acland's support and encouragement has been especially important, as she has instilled in me the desire and determination to pursue my studies further. I cannot fully express how significant her presence has been.

My sister, Catherine Kalbfleisch, and my father, John Kalbfleisch, have been incredibly supportive in ways big and small. I would also like to thank my friend and colleague Lesley Brock, whose critical input and interest in all stages of my thesis was so generous, as is her friendship.

Lastly to Nikiforos Iatrou, without whose unrivalled skills as editor I could not have made it beyond the early drafts, and whose support and faith in my abilities have been so meaningful.

Table of Contents

List of figures	vi
.....	
Introduction	1
.....	
Chapter 1: Hysteria at the Salpêtrière	9
.....	
Chapter 2: Charcot and Photography: Capturing the Hysterical Body at the Salpêtrière (1870-1893)	30
.....	
Chapter 3: Nicole Jolicoeur's <u>La vérité folle</u>	48
.....	
Chapter 4: The Artistic Production of Nicole Jolicoeur as Archaeology	65
.....	
Chapter 5: Nicole Jolicoeur and Ficto-criticism: A Strategy for Reading, Writing and Working	84
.....	
Conclusion	102
.....	
Figures	110
.....	
Bibliography	131
.....	

List of Figures

1.	Nicole Jolicoeur, <u>Femmes en hystérie (d'après Charcot)</u> . 1982. Detail.	110
2.	Nicole Jolicoeur, <u>Charcot: 2 concepts de nature</u> . 1988. Detail.	111
3.	André Brouillet, <u>Un leçon clinique à la Salpêtrière</u> . 1887. Oil on canvas.	112
4.	Nicole Jolicoeur, <u>La vérité folle</u> . 1989. Installation shot.	113
5.	Nicole Jolicoeur, <u>La vérité folle</u> . 1989. Installation shot.	113
6.	Nicole Jolicoeur, <u>La vérité folle</u> . 1989. Detail.	114
7.	Nicole Jolicoeur, <u>La vérité folle</u> . 1989. Detail.	115
8.	Nicole Jolicoeur, <u>La vérité folle</u> . 1989. Detail.	116
9.	Nicole Jolicoeur, <u>Stigmati Diaboli</u> . 1992. Detail.	117
10.	Nicole Jolicoeur, <u>La voie parfaite</u> . 1994. Detail.	118

11. William Hogarth, The rake's progress: the rake in Bedlam. 1735. Oil on canvas.
.....119
12. Rigaud, L'Hopital Royal de la Salpêtrière. c.1779.
Engraving.
.....120
13. Paul Richer, "Tableau synoptique de la 'grande attaque hystérique complète et régulière', avec positions typiques et 'variantes'. Etudes cliniques sur la grande hystérie ou hystéro-épilepsie. Planche V. Paris: Delahaye & Lecrosnier, 1881.
.....121
14. Paul Régnard, "Les attitudes passionnelles: extase. Photographie d'Augustine." Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière. Tome II. Planche XXIII. 1878.
.....122
15. Paul Richer, "Variété démoniaque de la grande attaque hystérique: contorsion." Les Démoniaques dans l'art. Paris: Delahaye & Lecrosnier, 1887.
.....123
16. "Attaque: crucifiement." Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière. Tome I. Planches VI & XI. 1876.
.....124
17. Albert Londe, "Suggestions par le sens dans la période cataleptique du grand hypnotisme." Nouvelle iconographie de la Salpêtrière. Tome IV. Planche VII. 1891.
.....125
18. Paul Régnard, "Hystéro-épilepsie: contracture." Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière. Tome II. Planche XXX. 1878.
.....126
19. Tony Robert-Fleury, Pinel Freeing the Insane. 1876.
Oil on canvas.
.....127

20. Antoine-Jean Gros, Napoleon Bonaparte Visiting
the Plague Stricken at Jaffa. 1799. Oil on canvas.
.....128
21. Nicole Jolicoeur and Jeanne Randolph, La vérité folle.
Exhibition catalogue. 1989. Details.
.....129
22. Nicole Jolicoeur and Elise Turcotte, La Dormeuse. 1993.
Detail.
.....130

Introduction

Silence: silence is the mark of hysteria. The great hysterics have lost speech. . . . Their tongues are cut off and what talks isn't heard because it's the body that talks and man doesn't hear the body.¹

It was indeed the idea of a talking body that moved Dr. Jean-Martin Charcot to photograph hysterics. It was his hope to record the signs of a largely unknown illness in order to give legitimacy to a highly nebulous disorder. Paradoxically, the women who appear in those photographs were mere vessels for a language of hysteria that was created by Charcot, their images served to propagate fictions that, rather than liberating them through diagnosis and treatment, imprisoned them by yet another model for dominance by men, institutions, and discourse.

Since 1980, Montreal artist, Nicole Jolicoeur has produced photography-based installations that address the visual record of women patients in the hysteria ward of the Salpêtrière hospital in late nineteenth-century France, and

¹ Hélène Cixous, "Castration or decapitation," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 7.2 (1981) 49.

the man behind those visual records, Dr. Jean-Martin Charcot. Charcot had his patients meticulously photographed and sketched, in order to know and record the signs of their illness. These images have left an expansive document about hysteria, science, art, history, patriarchy, and fiction-making. Through her work, which involves photo-transfer, photo-montage, and the assembly of text, drawings, and photography, Jolicoeur has studied hysteria, and attempted to reveal aspects of its discourse that are not immediately apparent. She unites and transforms the documents of science and of art as well as the institutional spaces that support each of them. Each of her works function independently, and yet each is a part of a larger corpus that is her career's work, and seeks to reveal something of the fictions of hysteria propagated by Charcot and to explore the hysterics' "silence"-- that which he did not hear.

It is in light of this, that I seek to understand the relationship between Jolicoeur's practice and the history of science and critical discourse. *Archaeology* and *fictocriticism* are strategies that are concerned with history and criticism as constructs, and offer alternatives from traditional methods. As Jolicoeur's work seeks to examine and

overthrow an established history, it is appropriate to discuss that work in light of critical theories that enable such action.

Nicole Jolicoeur's work is fascinating because although the work has changed and developed, its focal point has remained constant for twenty years. As most of Jolicoeur's projects are connected to Charcot and hysteria, it is difficult to talk about one work without taking the larger body of the artist's work into consideration. In this thesis, I focus on La vérité folle (1989), but I examine it in the context of her oeuvre as a whole, as it provides a platform to discuss the theoretical issues that interest me. There is not the space to give other works their due analysis, though their importance is not secondary. I will contextualize her production by surveying Jolicoeur's most important works chronologically in these introductory pages. Although limited, this will highlight both the artist's longstanding commitment to the issues that drive her work, and how thorough a study of hysteria she executes through her art.

Nicole Jolicoeur was born in 1947 in Beauceville, Québec. In the late 1960s, she pursued her artistic training at the École des Beaux-Arts de Québec. She then spent ten

years teaching, first at C.É.G.E.P. de Jonquière, and then in the visual arts department of Université de Laval in Québec City. Between the years 1978 and 1981, Jolicoeur worked towards a Master of Fine Arts degree at Rutgers University in New Jersey, under the supervision of the renowned American artist, Leon Golub. Since 1990, she has been part of the fine arts faculty at the Université du Québec à Montréal.

In 1981, Jolicoeur exhibited her first series of work dealing with Charcot. Exhibited in New Brunswick, New Jersey,² Femmes en hystérie (d'après Charcot) (fig. 1) was a series of gouache, tempera and colour pencil drawings that illustrated the different hysterical postures that Charcot had recorded, named, and identified in his patients. These paintings were done on a large roll of paper, and, in a parallel act of arbitrary labelling, were marked with musical notations attributed to German composer Karlheinz Stockhauser: "mélodie," "harmonie," "écho," etc.³ Four years later, Jolicoeur would revisit the subject of Charcot in a

² Walters Hall Art Gallery.

³Jo-Anna Isaak, "Mapping the Imaginary," PsychCritique 1.3 (1985) 198.

significant art project that brought her more critical acclaim.

Charcot: deux concepts de nature (1985) (fig. 2) was an installation and bookwork⁴ that was shown in Montréal, New York, and Toronto.⁵ This large project examined Charcot's mapping of hysteria and women's bodies, juxtaposed against Charcot's son, polar explorer Jean-Baptiste Charcot's mapping of nature and Antarctica.⁶ Basing her research on Charcot and his family, Jolicoeur produced the drawings and watercolours for the book, as well as the text which narrativized details about Charcot's family, and approached the work of the respective Charcots from a fictionalized, internal voice.

Jolicoeur's interest in photography, and particularly its working philosophy in the nineteenth century, by which the photograph was received as an impartial reproduction of reality, extends beyond the photograph itself. Jolicoeur's 1987 installation at the Public Library of Sault Ste-Marie,

⁴ The project was shown as a large-scale bookwork in 1985. In 1988, an abbreviated version was published in standard book form.

⁵ Galerie Powerhouse, Montréal; A.I.R. Gallery, New York City; YYZ Artists' Outlet, Toronto.

⁶ Béland 9-14.

1987 installation at the Public Library of Sault Ste-Marie, Les leçons de Charcot, makes this quite apparent, as its centre point is not a photograph, but André Brouillet's 1887 painting, Une leçon clinique à la Salpêtrière (fig. 3). Jolicoeur mediates a large scale reproduction of this painting with her drawings; she also draws images of hysterics onto the library windows. Light streaming through the windows projects these images on to the library walls, distorting the female figures in the process. Thus, by means of this light, the photographic process is conjured. The spectator is compelled to contemplate the distortions of photography, and question photography's nineteenth century status as truth-teller.

In 1989, Jolicoeur exhibited La vérité folle (figs. 4-8) which will be addressed at length in chapter three. It is here that Jolicoeur began to incorporate Charcot's photography into her work. The two major works that followed, Stigmati Diaboli (1992) (fig. 9) and La voie parfaite (1994) (fig. 10), use photo-transfer to incorporate the Charcot-era photographs of women diagnosed with hysteria directly into the installations. The photographs are cropped and enlarged, and draped in gauzy veils, an increasingly important element

in Jolicoeur's later work.⁷

Jolicoeur's work rests on the notion of destabilizing the context of Charcot's medical photographs, thus an examination of the history of hysteria and the contextualization of Charcot at the Salpêtrière are essential before approaching her work. Therefore chapter one will provide a brief account of hysteria's place in medical history, and situate Charcot's position and involvement with this disorder. Chapter two will isolate Charcot's relationship to photography, and photography's impact on the study of hysteria.

Once this background is established, I proceed to an examination of La vérité folle in chapter three. The fourth and fifth chapters provide two different views of theoretical frameworks that are operational in, and helpful in understanding, Jolicoeur's work. In chapter four, I propose that Jolicoeur's work functions as an archaeology, in Foucault's sense of the word. By means of archaeology, we can

⁷ The veils, and other imagery of the Roman Catholic tradition are dealt with at length in Nicole Jolicoeur and Johanne Lamoureux, "Dialogue" trans. Donald McGrath, Traité de la Perfection (Québec: VU, 1986) 57-64. While I acknowledge that this kind of imagery is significant in Jolicoeur's work, it is not the focus of this thesis, and will not be examined further.

make sense of the extended inquiry that is Jolicoeur's project, and read her transformation of Charcot's images in a meaningful way.

In chapter five, I investigate Jolicoeur's work as it relates to the emerging discourse of ficto-criticism. Ficto-criticism hybridizes fictional and critical texts, and engages a multiplicity of voices and critical positions. It is the manner in which Jeanne Randolph writes about Canadian contemporary art, and specifically, Jolicoeur's La vérité folle. Ficto-criticism will be defined and explored as an appropriate means for writing about Jolicoeur's work, but also as a strategy employed by the artist in her own writing and artistic production.

While Jolicoeur's installations and exhibitions have been very well-received by critics, her work has not yet secured as much academic consideration as it is due. Nicole Jolicoeur is a prominent and important artist, whose work offers a great deal of insight in the continuing exploration of women's history and the mechanisms of contemporary art practice.

Chapter 1:
Hysteria at the Salpêtrière

Hysteria has a long and complex history as a disease that is both medically and culturally relevant, and that readily obscures the boundaries between these two spheres. Some discussion of hysteria in the nineteenth century provides context for the examination of the visual imagery associated with the condition. Jean-Martin Charcot established himself at the crux of contemporary discourse surrounding hysteria by constructing and defining hysteria through visual imagery during his tenure at the Salpêtrière Hospital. In navigating through the history of hysteria, the disease is situated and explored vis-à-vis its significance to the context of cultural history. I must preface this examination by stressing that this historical context is intended to frame the discussion of Charcot's photographic practice at the Salpêtrière; it is by no means a thorough account of the disease. My interest here is cultural, not medical, and whatever I garner from an account of the latter is considered in light of the former.

Although hysteria is most often associated with the nineteenth century, this era actually follows nearly forty centuries of medical discourse about the hysterical condition.¹ Hippocrates² made an indelible contribution to medical history by being the first to use the term *hysteria*. Derived from the Greek *hysteria*, or uterus, this term has continued to associate the medical disorder with that which is essentially feminine. Long after medical practitioners ceased to adhere to Hippocrates' theory of the wandering womb³, the uterus, whether physically or in language alone, remains at the centre of this discourse.

In all of its incarnations, hysteria has imposed physiological fictions on the body. Galen's⁴ humors, which significantly impacted the way the human body was mapped, distinguished black bile, yellow bile or gall, blood, and phlegm from each other. These humors, hidden from view within

¹ The earliest medical record that mentions such a disorder is the Egyptian *Kahun Papyrus*, circa 1900 B.C.

² 460-377 B.C.

³ Hippocrates believed hysteria was associated with the free floating of the womb inside the woman's body. The womb was also referred to as a roving beast.

⁴ The second century Greek physician.

the body, were said to control the health of the individual, and were the basis for diagnostic medicine for centuries. Black bile was the only one of the four which is entirely a physiological fiction, with no ulterior reality in the modern body. This black bile is always contained, unlike the other bodily humors which can be expelled from the body and into plain view. Not surprising then, that it was an excess of black bile in the body that was said to induce hysteria⁵: a condition which was unseen and perplexing was associated with this most mysterious and frightening of humors. Furthermore, it is not difficult to imagine the association between insanity and race, a link facilitated by the very essence of hysteria: veiled in obscurity and darkness, *black bile*. Both race and madness were identified visually, and this physical difference identified the body as both other and lesser.

Although European medicine developed and changed through the centuries, the typologies of madness remained largely intact. In the thirteenth century, madness could be identified with one of four categories, and treated

⁵ Sander L. Gilman, Seeing the Insane (Lincoln and London: U of Nebraska P, 1982, 1996) 4-5.

accordingly: mania, epilepsy, melancholy, and frenzy.⁶ The study of madness was largely shrouded in darkness, and diagnosis was quite often attributed to one of these typologies, or a variation thereof, for several hundreds of years. Similarly, these typologies were rendered visually by artists along much the same reductive lines. Medical illustrators repeatedly articulated examples of madness: mania, dementia, idiocy, and so on. Artists borrowed these models, often including several types in one work. For example, the painting The rake in Bedlam (1735) (fig. 11) for William Hogarth's popular series The Rake's Progress, included representations of identifiable characters of madness.

A body possessed by an unwanted spirit or the devil was believed to be at the root of hysteria in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, producing fits and strange behaviour in targeted women. Later, in the eighteenth century, hysteria was believed to strike women mainly of the leisure class, brought about by the "vapours" that accompanied the

⁶ Gilman, Seeing the Insane, 21.

overindulgent habits of rich, idle, urban women.⁷

This diagnosis based on class, and a privileged class at that, was a departure from earlier suspicions of mental illness and hysteria. Physiognomy, the practice of judging character from the face or body, has been popular at various points in history. Physiognomic study was largely used to draw conclusions about race, but also sexuality, criminality and madness. The history of madness is peppered with the publication of prominent texts on physiognomy.⁸ Predominant is the belief that while its symptoms are readily displayed on the body's surface, madness is induced by mysterious and often random causes hidden by the opacity of the body. Associating madness with a specific physiognomy of insanity became commonplace by the end of the eighteenth century.⁹ The new century begins with Phillippe Pinel's physiognomic comparison of the idiot with the maniac, and Thomas

⁷ Martha Noel Evans, Fits and Starts: a Genealogy of Hysteria in Modern France (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1991) 1-2.

⁸ These included, notably, those by Neopolitan Giovanni della Porta (1586), Vaenius (1662), and Charles Lebrun (1698), among other important texts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

⁹ Gilman, Seeing the Insane, 72.

Holcroft's study of the heads of madmen and idiots.¹⁰ These studies, among others, reinforce the position of the insane among the social degenerates of the day: criminals, racial and ethnic minorities, homosexuals and sexual deviants. Throughout the history of madness, visual imagery is used to convey its physical manifestations. Furthermore, this imagery was used to help typify and classify, lending some order to the largely chaotic obscurity of madness. Thus, this imaging served both to illustrate and to construct typologies of madness, inextricably tying seeing and naming. Prior to the invention of photography, madness' effects on the body were documented visually by drawing the subject.¹¹

While the signs of hysteria were recorded in the interests of medicine, interest in hysteria extended beyond the domain of science. Hysteria, in the nineteenth century, was not simply relegated to the medical discipline. In the 1860s, it had captured the public's imagination, figuring in

¹⁰ Phillipe Pinel, Traité médico-philosophique sur l'aliénation mentale, ou la manie (Paris: Richard, Caille, et Ravier, IX, 1801), and Thomas Holcroft, ed. and trans., Essays on Physiognomy for the Promotion of the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind (London: Whittingham, 1804).

¹¹ Sander L. Gilman details a chronology of the imagery surrounding madness in Seeing the Insane.

literature, the popular press, journals, salons, and the street. By the 1880s, hysteria was a prominent theme in the French novel. Hysteria had outgrown its niche within medicine, and was

[a]ppropriated by the intelligentsia and later by the general public, the medical term became an aesthetic and then a more general sociocultural category. Figure of femininity, label of disorder and difference, hysteria was available for a wide and often contradictory range of aesthetic and political purposes: instrument of misogyny, agent of differentiation, magnet diagnosis of society's multiple ills, emblem of creative frenzy, identification of the writing self as Other, designation of the century's marginalized symbolic centre.¹²

This popularization of hysteria, or "hystericization of culture,"¹³ coincided with its promotion to the forefront of medical discourse. It is difficult to surmise if renewed medical interest prompted a cultural fascination with hysteria, or whether the popularization of hysteria motivated medical research at this time. In the nineteenth century, more medical theses were written on hysteria than on any other psychiatric condition, and nearly half of these were

¹² Janet Beizer, Ventriloquized Bodies: Narratives of Hysteria in Nineteenth-Century France (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1994) 8.

¹³ Beizer 8.

written during Jean-Martin Charcot's tenure at the Salpêtrière Hospital.¹⁴ This remarkable period of medical and popular obsession with hysteria is marked by Charcot's leadership at the Salpêtrière during the 1870s and 1880s: this period is known as the "golden age of hysteria."¹⁵ It is worth noting, that while much of Paris was under the spell of Charcot, the doctor was not without his dissenters: the belief that Charcot was cultivating hysteria resounded with the burgeoning French feminist movement, whose supporters concluded that hysteria provided a new outlet for male domination.¹⁶

While hysteria had always been a component of madness, it was not until the nineteenth century that we see a virtual explosion of hysterical diagnoses occur. This surge coincided with a major shift in the philosophy and practice of medicine that is identified by Michel Foucault. This development was

¹⁴ Jann Matlock, Scenes of Seduction: Prostitution, Hysteria, and Reading Difference in Nineteenth-Century France (New York: Columbia UP, 1994) 128.

¹⁵ Beizer 6.

¹⁶ Jan Goldstein Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987), 375.

that of the clinic, and its medical significance is explored at length by Foucault in the Birth of the Clinic.¹⁷ The clinic united two aspects of medicine under one roof: a space for housing and treating the sick, and a space for medical research, teaching, and training.

Historians frequently identify the authorization of dissection and the subsequent development of pathological anatomy as being at the root of medicine in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Foucault alleges that pathological anatomy does not represent as great a shift as these medical historians would claim. He insists that dissection was a regular practice, albeit a covert one, and its permissibility at this time was not indicative of a radical change in medicine. The transformation that medicine underwent within this new space of the clinic, was far more significant, resonant, and transformative. Unquestionably, the space of the clinic fostered the relationship between Dr. Jean-Martin Charcot and hysteria, and permitted and encouraged the bizarre relationships that were created between this single figure and the thousands of women he

¹⁷ Michel Foucault, The Birth of the Clinic: An Archeology of Medical Perception. Trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith. 1994 ed. (New York: Vintage-Random House, 1973).

treated.

Jean-Martin Charcot was born in Paris in 1825, and studied medicine at Université de Paris. He was made physician at the Salpêtrière at the age of thirty-seven, and in 1862, he was promoted to Chief of the Clinic.¹⁸ Under his leadership, the reputation of the Hospital grew, along with its population of hysterics, until both Charcot and the Salpêtrière became synonymous with hysteria.

Under Charcot's leadership, the notoriety of hysteria grew, along with a significant increase in diagnoses of hysteria. In 1841-42, about 1% of women admitted involuntarily to the Salpêtrière were recorded as suffering from hysterical illnesses, whereas forty years later, after Charcot had assumed his position at the hospital, the percentage of women diagnosed with hysteria was nearly 18%.¹⁹ It is ironic that as Charcot worked to define and contain hysteria, to distinguish it from other disorders, more women were diagnosed, and with a wider range of behavioral justification. Women from all walks of life were diagnosed, but most often they were women of the new class of the

¹⁸ Chef de service à l'hospice de la Salpêtrière.

¹⁹ Goldstein, Console and Classify, 322.

industrial age: factory workers, shop girls, young women often prostituting themselves to survive in the city, women worn out by fatigue and poor diet.²⁰ This new class emerged from the boom in industry and public attention to hysteria may have reflected a fear of social change, as well as the shift in the position of women and the new autonomy experienced by urban, working women. Women were committed by their families, their employers, or arrested by the police, practices that were not so different from past means of social exclusion, whereby women were sent to convents, or imprisoned at the will of family members. Hysterics were alienated as they always had been, isolated by being involuntarily committed, by the treatments they endured, and by the language used to describe their condition. Gilles de la Tourette writes:

L'hystérique (femme) représente. . . un type extraordinairement complexe, d'une nature toute particulière, versatile à l'excès, remarquable par son esprit de duplicité, de mensonge, de simulation. Nature essentiellement perverse, l'hystérique ne cherche qu'à tromper ceux qui l'entourent, de même qu'elle a des impulsions qui la poussent à voler, à accuser sans cause, à incendier sans raison. . . . Hystériques les

²⁰ The patient register at the Salpêtrière lists occupation. Only very occasionally was a woman a part of "la petite bourgeoisie," and in some years, not at all. Goldstein, Console and Classify, 325.

voleuses dans les grands magasins, hystériques les incendiaires, hystériques celles qui s'entourent d'animaux et sont atteintes de la 'folie antivivisectionnistes,' autre stigmate de dégénérescence mentale, hystériques ces femmes à perversion sexuelle. . . . Nous n'exagérons pas et nous pourrions étiqueter les observations.²¹

Subversive, illegal, immoral, or eccentric behaviour by women was often grounds for a hysteric investigation and commitment to a mental facility, all without the consent of the targeted woman.

When I refer to hysterics, I am referring to women, as twenty times more women than men were diagnosed. That being said, it is important to note that there were some men diagnosed with hysteria. These were almost exclusively the victims of a physical trauma, quite often railway accidents.²² Male hysterics were, however, in the minority, and there was debate at the time as to whether men could actually be hysterical. It was not until 1888 that a photograph of a

²¹ Gilles de la Tourette, "Considérations sur les Ecchymoses spontanées et sur l'état mental des hystériques," Nouvelle iconographie de la Salpêtrière (Paris: Lecrosnier at Babé, 1890) 52-54. Emphasis in the original text.

²² Evans 28-29.

hysterical man's body at the Salpêtrière was published.²³ In any case, the surrendered, weakened body of the hysterical man was a feminized body, revealing the gendered nature of this condition. Because of the highly gendered vocabulary around hysteria, and the fact that this investigation is to provide historical context to Nicole Jolicoeur's work using photographs of female hysterics, I am containing my discussion to the women patients. The hysteric body is a woman's body.

Unlike other scientists and physicians of the day, Charcot did not pursue his research into hysteria by opening up the body. Charcot was interested in how the disease had exhibited itself on the body, that is, by an investigation of hysteria's symptoms. The theatrical tendencies of the illness kept Charcot's interest outside of the body. The symptom is defined by Foucault as the visible form in which the disease is presented. It represents the disease in its most essential form.²⁴ When the disease is manifested on the body, or alluded to corporeally, access is given to its perplexing and hidden

²³ Georges Didi-Huberman, Invention de l'hystérie (Paris: Éditions Macula, 1982) 82.

²⁴ Foucault, Birth of the Clinic, 90.

nature. The clinic space enables a visual encounter between physician and patient that allows access to this symptom.

Charcot did not penetrate the body through dissection. That which was visible, that which exhibited itself on the corporeal surface, revealed the most for him about hysteria. The symptom allows the clinician's gaze to read the disease without entering the body. Just as the establishment of the clinic fostered the gaze, the gaze enabled symptomatic medicine. The medical establishment -- and the Salpêtrière itself as a highly respected institution -- afforded Charcot the authority of the gaze. Within the clinic, the interpretative powers of that gaze are paramount. Foucault contends that ". . . in clinical medicine *to be seen and to be spoken* immediately communicate in the manifest truth of the disease of which it is precisely the whole *being*. There is disease only in the element of the visible and therefore the stutable."²⁵ The symptom is a means of alluding to the disease using visual language. As Foucault would have it, visual signs and symptoms are an integral part of the clinic's workings.

²⁵ Foucault, Birth of the Clinic, 95. Emphasis in the original text.

The clinician's gaze is enabled by his authority as a physician, and by the authority of the institution in which he works. In the case of Jean-Martin Charcot, the institutional authority of the Salpêtrière functions on both psychic and physical levels. As perhaps France's oldest and most respected hospital, it possesses the power and influence that is born from tradition. This very omnipotence is reflected in its physicality: an austere structure that commands respect. Grey stone and sprawling, it is an intimidating structure (fig. 12). Charcot's observations, the act of the clinical gaze, function of their own accord, without needing to refer to any particular standards of interpretation. Within the confines of the clinic, according to Foucault's model, Charcot held court unchallengeably.

The clinic was guided by a sensory authority: this was not, however, the physical touch that initiated an excavation into the body. Despite the sickness' manifestation on the surface of the body, its symptoms were not to be accessed by touch. The power of the clinician's gaze was to override the need for physical contact. It took on the sensory properties of touch, in so much as, "[l]e coup d'oeil clinique, c'est donc un *contact*, déjà, à la fois idéal et percutant, c'est un

trait qui va droit au corps du malade; presque, il le palpe."²⁶ Furthermore, the ability of that gaze to surmise the meaning and context of the symptom, through visual means alone, polarized dialectically the sick from the well, the weak from the strong, and necessarily, the female from the male. Upon entering the hospital patients became completely subjected to the role of patient, no matter the extent of their illness, or the reason behind their having been committed. Once an initial diagnosis of hysteria was applied, the patient's history and own identity was nearly obliterated as she came to stand for one or many of the faces of hysteria.

Charcot's position at the Salpêtrière impacted the study and treatment of hysteria in two identifiable ways. First, he shaped hysteria into a veritable mental illness unto itself, isolating it from epilepsy with which it was closely associated. Second, Charcot created a visual discourse around hysteria, rendering hysteria wholly inseparable from the imagery of the hysterical body. Charcot's fascination with visual imagery, and the play of symptoms on the body, has become synonymous with the photographed body of the hysteric.

²⁶ Didi-Huberman, Invention de l'hystérie, 31.

Charcot placed a great deal of emphasis on the four periods of hysteria and their respective demonstrative postures (fig. 13). These phases of "la grande attaque" were ordered as follows: tonic rigidity, followed by clonic spasms or "les grands mouvements," proceeded by "les attitudes passionnelles," which were lively states of extreme emotion (terror, love, or ecstasy for example) (fig. 14), and finishing with delirium, exemplified by tears and laughter.²⁷ During the four phases, the hysterical body ran the gamut of religious expression, from "demoniacal" incarnations (fig. 15), where the hysteric tore at her hair like a wild beast, to the adoption of a stance of crucifixion (fig. 16), to the catatonic rigidity where the patient remained motionless for days, her behaviour likened to the religious ecstasy of the mystics.²⁸

Hysteria was rewritten in the nineteenth century, its causes and symptoms were re-evaluated. For one, a return to ancient links between hysteria and female sexual organs was launched. While the uterus was no longer the "roving beast", as characterized by Hippocrates, hysteria was still

²⁷ Goldstein, Console and Classify, 326.

²⁸ Goldstein, Console and Classify, 370.

associated with "female sexual voracity."²⁹ This being said, it was the intense study of hysteria over the course of this century in France that ultimately fostered its greatest shift, that from body to mind. Hysteria was impacted most significantly by Charcot through his initiation of a shift from the uterus to the brain. While Charcot began that move, he was by no means completely successful: uterine theory continued to be propagated well into the 1880s, a telling sign that the passage from gynaecological to neurological was hardly a straightforward one. Vestiges of genital theory are prevalent in Charcot's work, a trait particularly apparent in his identification and perpetuation of hysterogenic zones around the ovaries and mammary glands, and his use of ovarian compressors to control hysterical seizures.³⁰ In this respect, while Charcot is looked at as reinventing hysteria, he is more accurately described as a bridge from the physiological to the psychic, paving the way for Sigmund Freud, who was his

²⁹ Evans 2.

³⁰ Beizer 6.

student at the Salpêtrière.³¹

Freud is as closely associated with hysteria as Charcot is, yet he propagated a different notion of the disease. Freud dealt with hysteria as strictly a nervous disorder, and treated it through psychotherapy, abandoning the physical treatments that Charcot had favoured, and certainly giving no credence to his mentor's practice of representing hysteria's manifestations on the body. While Freud sought to distance himself from a number of Charcot's theories and practices surrounding hysteria, in many respects their work mirrors each other's. The certainty with which each held onto pre-established patterns of hysteria, despite evidence to the contrary in individual cases, suggests an overwhelming desire to make their systems of hysteria work.

Charcot rediscovered hysteria. He redefined hysteria, separating it from other mental afflictions: first, physically, dividing up the ward that had housed the hysterics with the epileptics, and second, diagnostically, identifying the symptoms of these patients who were not truly

³¹ While Freud studied with Charcot for less than six months, the short period had a great influence on him. Although Freud dramatically reworked hysteria, disapproving Charcot's methods and fascination with the visual, he repeatedly stated his debt to Charcot.

epileptic. He isolated the symptoms of hysteria, and isolated those patients in their own ward. Charcot, along with his colleagues, is credited with rendering hysteria acceptable as an illness, like all others; that is to say, he brought hysteria into the realm of modern science.³² Charcot's impact on hysteria was so significant that while hysteria's medical value has been nullified, and the term is no longer applied diagnostically, it is a word that remains culturally entrenched as a derogatory term used to describe women's behaviour.

Experimental science flourished in the nineteenth century. Charcot practiced medicine in an age of reason, one which defined the importance of science, observation and of the scientific method. Charcot was guided by principles of the scientific method, investing great authority in his powers of observation and the clinical setting. Charcot's practice, like much nineteenth century medicine, was largely centred around the authority of the clinical gaze. Foucault opines that this gaze has the power to purify and separate truths, to extract the most essential truths. It was no

³² Étienne Trillat, Histoire de l'hystérie (Paris: Éditions Seghers, 1986) 137-138.

longer enough for the clinic to read the visible; rather, the clinician was to uncover that which was veiled.³³

Guided by his times, it is clear that Charcot wanted to fully understand hysteria. He was living in an age of incredible medical discovery, where feats of science were unfolding at an astonishing rate. The development of photography in the nineteenth century radically changed visual culture. The collision of this technology with Charcot's medicine would produce a phenomenon that would both alter the understanding of hysteria, and the medical potential of photography.

³³ Foucault, Birth of the Clinic, 107-123.

Chapter 2:
Charcot and Photography:
Capturing the Hysterical Body at the Salpêtrière (1870-1893)

Having surveyed the state of hysteria up to and including Dr. Jean-Martin Charcot, this chapter turns to the clinical photography of the Salpêtrière. The photographs taken of the hysterical patients have become synonymous with Charcot, and his study of hysteria. The emerging visual imagery both informs and is informed by the hysterical body. Charcot created, shaped, and employed this imagery as part of his scientific enterprise. The imagery also maintains a place in the history of photography, and a history of representing madness.

In an age where medical discovery was marked by a journey inside the body, where scientific knowledge was amassed by opening up the body, Charcot was faced with the unique and more challenging task of mapping a quasi-nervous disorder. Charcot was forced, as much as one could, to reconcile clinical observation with pathological medicine in an attempt to know the hysteria. Charcot's medicine involved a deliberate and thorough study of the illness' symptoms. The

symptoms were of pre-eminent importance, assuming a stature that pre-empted the subjectivity of the patient involved.

Foucault recognizes this order, in so much a

[p]aradoxically, in relation to that which he is suffering from, the patient is only an external fact; the medical reading must take him into account only to place him in parentheses. Of course, the doctor must know 'the internal structure of our bodies'; but only in order to subtract it, and to free to the doctor's gaze 'the nature and combination of symptoms, crises, and other circumstances that accompany disease.'¹

Charcot desired to know hysteria, yet to do so without touching the sick body of the hysteric. As Foucault explains, the stethoscope was invented so that the physician could examine the patient without touching her, a strategy that gives the patient some dignity, but more importantly protects the physician from having to touch that which is "disgusting."² The analogous tool that enabled Charcot to observe and still distance himself from the diseased body, and the strategy that is the focus of this discussion, was photography. The systematic use of photography, under the guidance of an esteemed physician such as Charcot, within the confines of the most pre-eminent medical institution in

¹ Foucault, Birth of the Clinic, 8.

² Foucault, Birth of the Clinic, 163-64.

France, was seen as a means of documenting rational, impartial, scientific observation.

Charcot's powerful position at the Salpêtrière, in the medical establishment, and in society at large, versus the relatively powerless and inautonomous position of the patients he was treating, creates doubt as to the credibility of the purely scientific nature of the resulting imagery. Martha Noel Evans characterizes this relationship as one in which

[t]he patients were turned into manipulatable objects as their convulsions became a series of still-life portraits collected in albums by Charcot's assistants. Charcot's periodization of attacks and the photographs he took mutually reinforced each other in producing an effect of stasis and control over the untamed, tumultuous fits of hysterics.³

In his book, Invention de l'hystérie,⁴ Georges Didi-Huberman provides the most critical and close-ranged study of the nature of Charcot's body of photography. His position, in part, suggests that Charcot's use of photography thrust

³ Evans 24.

⁴ Georges Didi-Huberman, Invention de l'hystérie (Paris: Macula, 1982).

scientific observation into the realm of voyeurism.⁵ The gaze, within the confines of the clinic, is endowed with the power of/to order, as Foucault recounts, to see, to isolate, to recognize, to regroup, and to classify.⁶ The photographs taken at the Salpêtrière became an integral part of how Charcot saw the body of the hysteric. Observing and recording his subject became much the same process when enacted through the camera's lens. The camera aided Charcot to elevate his stature as scientist: photography enabled him to see what the naked eye could not.

The photograph was introduced to western Europe in 1839, and held the reputation throughout the nineteenth century as "the ultimate means of creating an objective reproduction of reality."⁷ Given this belief, it was a natural consequence that photography be used to document scientific discovery. The photograph was always an important tool for recording scientific discoveries, and in time, it was used in the study of the medical patients. In a century whose medical

⁵ Didi-Huberman, Invention de l'hystérie, 29-31, 165-172, 179-181.

⁶ Foucault, Birth of the Clinic, 89.

⁷ Gilman, Seeing the Insane, 164.

establishment so greatly valued pathological medicine, and knowledge gained from dissection, the practice of photographing a disorder inside the body from the outside seems ambitious if not inconceivable. As the study of symptoms grew, so did the relevance of photography to medicine. After the 1850s, the camera had extended its utility to become a tool which "apprehended and delineated the signs of madness."⁸

The pioneer of medical photography was the Englishman Hugh W. Diamond, whose practice included photographing his psychiatric patients at the Female Department of the Surrey County Lunatic Asylum, of which he was the head, in the 1850s. While the field of psychiatry may not have seemed like the most natural arena in which to explore medical photography, Diamond, in addition to the body of photographs he produced, wrote about the benefits of the practice. Diamond argued that the camera's function is three-fold. First, the photograph records the corporal manifestation of mental illness for further study. Second, Diamond believed that showing the patient an "incontestable" image of her

⁸ Suren Lalvani Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1996) 128.

state was useful for treatment. Third, having photographs of patients simplified the process of identifying and readmitting them in the future.⁹

Charcot took up what Diamond had begun, instituting photography as a guiding presence at the Salpêtrière. A photographic laboratory was established in the hospital, assistants hired, and Albert Londe invited to the position of Director of the photographic service.¹⁰ The photographic facilities were set up as a hospital service, with sophisticated, scientific equipment and appropriately spartan, clinical facilities. These steps were seemingly taken to strip photography of its artistic and social attributes, and present it as part of clinical operation.

As it was believed that the insane were visibly different than society at large, physically identifiable as "other," there was cause to document them visually.

Photography's proponents argued that the photograph "was a

⁹ Diamond presented these ideas in a paper to the Royal Photographic Society in 1856. Sander L. Gilman, The Face of Madness (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1976) 7-8.

¹⁰ Directeur du service photographique de la Salpêtrière. Albert Londe lived from 1858 to 1917. Prior to his appointment at the Salpêtrière, he was a chemist. Denis Bernard and André Gunthert, L'instant rêvé, Albert Londe (Laval, Qc: Éditions Trois, 1993).

totality, uncontaminated by the interpretive problems inherent in language."¹¹ Based on this reasoning, they insisted that the photograph must replace, or at least compliment the patient's record. Photography constituted a powerful form of observation and recording, one which was believed to circumvent the possible biases of language. Conversely, photography served Charcot by bolstering his research with scientific credentials.

Albert Londe took many of the photographs of Charcot's hysterics, his assistants took others. There is no mention, in any of the literature on the subject, of Charcot ever having stepped behind the camera. The role that Charcot played is easily likened to that of a stage director,¹² while Londe played the role of the technician. Photographs were taken not in the photographic laboratories (Londe's domain), or in the wards (the patients' domain), but in Charcot's office. This is significant, because while Londe is attributed with having been the photographer of many of these

¹¹ Sander Gilman, Seeing the Insane, 189.

¹² Didi-Huberman alludes to this frequently in Invention de l'hystérie. While more in the context of the theatricality of the hysteric's assumed positions, this is at the will of "le maître," Charcot, who conducts them by virtue of his power.

images, the photographs are Charcot's. While I wish to acknowledge Londe's role at the Salpêtrière, it is certainly Charcot who is the photographs' principal author.

Charcot's view of hysteria was premised on the belief that the hysteric was unable to free herself from the pre-conceived notion of paralysis. The hysteric was not able to reconcile her body with her own understanding of it. Using still images, Charcot identified the different postures the hysteric assumed, and based on these postures, he identified and analyzed hysteria's symptoms. Here, the camera was a scientific tool, the photograph medical evidence. Londe believed that the photograph could be more revealing than observations by the naked eye alone, as the sensitivity of the retina could obscure vision.¹³ Furthermore, the ephemerality and temporality of the hysteric crisis was well suited to the relative speed of photography, as the photographer could capture a sequence of postures (fig. 16).¹⁴ Photography provided the means to chronologically capture the

¹³ Georges Didi-Huberman, Invention de l'hystérie, 36.

¹⁴ Albert Londe was responsible for developing "instant photography". For a thorough investigation of the impact of Londe's innovations, see Bernard and Gunthert, Instant rêvé, Albert Londe.

hysteric crisis. Evidenced by his extensive use of the photograph, Charcot would likely agree. According to Didi-Huberman,

L'image photographique a valeur d'*indice*, au sens d'une pièce à conviction; du mal elle désigne le coupable, elle préjuge de son arrestation. C'est comme si la photographie nous rendait accessibles à l'origine secrète du mal; elle relèverait presque d'une théorie microbienne de la visibilité. . . .¹⁵

Didi-Huberman identifies the three functions that photography had for Charcot. First, it was an experimental procedure, a laboratory tool; second, it was a museological procedure, a kind of scientific archive; third, it was a teaching procedure, a communications tool.¹⁶ Didi-Huberman less generously suggests that Charcot was also, "le grand metteur en scène des symptômes," orchestrating a scenario so that the symptoms respond to him.¹⁷ Charcot and his assistants did not seem concerned that patients would perform for the camera based on their doctors' expectations.¹⁸ The possibility

¹⁵ Didi-Huberman, Invention de l'hystérie, 36.

¹⁶ Didi-Huberman, Invention de l'hystérie, 33.

¹⁷ Didi-Huberman, Invention de l'hystérie, 27.

¹⁸ Gilman, Seeing the Insane, 202.

remains that patients learned what their physicians sought, and either desired the positive reinforcement of having pleased them, or wanted the photographing session to finish as quickly as possible. Charcot denied cultivating hysteria at the Salpêtrière; rather, he claimed that using the camera, he recorded what he saw.¹⁹

The significance of the photograph to the study of hysteria in the latter half of the nineteenth century should not be understated. Since its inception, the photograph has made celebrities out of innumerable people who would otherwise remain largely unknown. Undeniably, it made a celebrity out of Charcot, a concept to be developed further later. Charcot published the photographs of the Salpêtrière hysterics extensively throughout his career at the hospital, and they continued to be photographed after his death. From 1876 to 1880, he published the serial the Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière, edited by photographers Desiré Magloire Bourneville and Paul Regnard.²⁰ The publication was resumed in 1888, under the title the Nouvelle

¹⁹ Didi-Huberman, Invention de l'hystérie, 32.

²⁰ Desiré Magloire Bourneville and Paul Regnard, Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière (Paris: Aux Bureaux du Progrès médical/ Delahaye & Lecrosier, 1876-1880).

iconographie de la Salpêtrière²¹, this time edited by Charcot himself with the help of Paul Richer, his colleague at the Salpêtrière.²²

The Nouvelle iconographie included articles written by Charcot's colleagues, at the Salpêtrière and elsewhere, as well pages of photographs to illustrate the disorders discussed.²³ The photographs were both a means to exhibit and analyze the symptoms of disease, as well to be exhibited themselves. This was a forum to showcase the evidence of their labours; to unveil not only the symptoms and manifestations of hysteria to the world, but also to demonstrate the great strides in clinical observation that were taking place inside this old and established madhouse. It was an opportunity to justify their methodology, and extol the scientific validity of the camera as a clinical tool. In the introduction to the 1888 edition, it is written:

²¹ Jean-Martin Charcot and Paul Regnard, Nouvelle Iconographie de la Salpêtrière t.1-28, 1888-1918.

²² The Nouvelle Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière continued publication after Charcot's death in 1893, ceasing only in 1918.

²³ Articles dealt with aspects of nervous pathology other than hysteria, but nearly always pertained to their physical symptoms.

Lorsqu'un malade présente objectivement quelque intérêt -- ce qui arrive souvent: atrophies, contractures diverses, attitudes spéciales, déformations, etc., -- il est immédiatement dessiné ou photographié et l'on peut même dire qu'avec l'aide de la photographie instantanée on arrive à fixer, à décomposer sur le papier sensible des mouvements anormaux, par exemple, qu'il eût été impossible d'analyser avec toute la précision désirable à l'aide du simple examen clinique. Ces clichés forment aujourd'hui, à la Salpêtrière, une collection de grande importance.²⁴

Photography was not only a tool of scientific methodology, it was an effective means of reaching the public that reflected the fashion of the times. Photography defined visual culture in the second half of the nineteenth century. The public's imagination was captivated by photography, just as it was by hysteria. Photography enabled the circulation of evidence of Charcot's work, and consequently, brought him distinction in scientific and medical circles, and beyond. The prominent visual component of the Iconographie photographique and the Nouvelle iconographie drew readers for whom a standard medical journal would hold little interest.

As the nature of hysteria was further developed, the precision of the hysteric postures demonstrated by patients

²⁴ Paul Richer, Gilles de la Tourette, and Albert Londe, Nouvelle iconographie de la Salpêtrière (Paris: Lecrosnier et Babé, 1888) i-ii.

for the camera became increasingly important. These photographs were demonstrations of how scientific Charcot's processes were. Some patients were more accommodating to the camera's presence than others, and some embodied more typically hysteric postures, making them more popular subjects for observation. One such patient was "Augustine," whose positioning pleased Charcot both in its "authenticity" vis-à-vis his theories of hysteria, and in its forthcomingness. Her striking beauty and youth, as well as her accommodating attacks, which coincided with the photographer's or audience's presence, made her a favourite of Charcot, readers of the Nouvelle iconographie, and attendees of the lectures he gave on Tuesdays.²⁵

What began as a weekly lecture for Charcot's medical students and colleagues turned into a high-drawing public series, attracting much of Paris' elite and famous.²⁶ The public flocked in anticipation of the performative elements of these lectures, where Charcot and his assistants hypnotised patients, and "real" hysterical fits and postures

²⁵ Didi-Huberman, Invention de l'hystérie, 119.

²⁶ Charles Baudelaire, Sarah Bernhardt, and Henri Toulouse-Lautrec's muse, Jane Avril, all attended at some point.

were witnessed by the thrilled onlookers. This scene captured the attention of artist André Brouillet, who painted Une leçon clinique de Charcot à la Salpêtrière in 1887.

It is not difficult to surmise that these performances were outside the realm of science, given the sheer theatricality that they conjure. Augustine's postures are often likened to the dramatic poses of famous stage stars of the day (fig. 18).²⁷ The desire to please *le maître* was strong enough to incite the appropriate responses in the women in the ward. If the threat of his power was not enough, a few coins from an assistant often were.²⁸ In light of the performative nature of these scientific demonstrations, science's objective, stoic authority is subverted, as the esteemed scientist and establishment indulge in theatrics.

In Birth of the Clinic, Foucault articulates that verbal expression is an important part of clinical function, that hearing and speaking are functions of the gaze.²⁹ It is the

²⁷ Elaine Showalter, The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture 1830-1980. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985) 152.

²⁸ Didi-Huberman, Invention de l'hystérie, 249-50.

²⁹ Foucault, Birth of the Clinic, 115.

split between the visible and the expressible that demonstrates the two domains of the clinic: the hospital domain and the teaching domain. Charcot's Tuesday lectures exemplify how these domains function simultaneously, and are interdependent. Charcot's lecture clearly fulfils his clinical obligation to teach, as well as verbally articulating his knowledge and authority. Charcot transforms the visual into the verbal, as he straddles these two domains. That he imports the objects of his gaze, his patients, into the teaching theatre is an active unification of these domains.³⁰

In 1887, Charcot published Les démoniaques dans l'art, with his colleague Paul Richer.³¹ This text surveys images of madness in the history of western art, concluding with a chapter about his own work at the Salpêtrière. This was not Charcot's only foray into the fine arts. Almost every issue

³⁰ Foucault writes in Birth of the Clinic that the hospital domain and the teaching domain of the clinic are united (109), and that interrogation and examination work together, each filling the absences of the other (111-112).

³¹ Jean-Martin Charcot, and Paul Richer, Les démoniaques dans l'art, suivi de "La foi qui guérit". Ed. Pierre Fédida and Georges Didi-Huberman. Rpt. Of Les démoniaques dans l'art (Paris: Delahaye & Lecrosnier, 1887. Paris: Editions Macula, 1984).

of the Nouvelle iconographie contained an article by Charcot about some issue of madness and art. For example, an article titled, "Le Mascaron grotesque de l'église Santa Maria Formosa à Venise et l'hémispasme glosso-labié hystérique," compares gargoyles to the facial expressions of the hysterics under his care.³² Charcot surrounded himself with the visual precedents for his visual vocabulary for hysteria. On the walls of his consultation room at the Salpêtrière were photographs and primitive Italian and Spanish paintings of saints in prayer, of ecstasies, convulsionaries, and demoniacs.³³ Interestingly, in an article written several years after his death, Charcot's former student Henry Meige eulogizes Charcot as an artist as well as a physician. By Meige's account, "le médecin est inséparable de l'artiste. L'un guide l'autre; ils s'entraident mutuellement."³⁴

Though Meige celebrates Charcot's artistic eye, critical knowledge, and drawing abilities, he does not mention the

³² Jean-Martin Charcot and Paul Richer, in Nouvelle iconographie de la Salpêtrière (Paris: Lecrosnier et Babé, 1888) 87-92.

³³ Goldstein, Console and Classify, 372.

³⁴ "Charcot artist," Nouvelle iconographie de la Salpêtrière, (Paris: Lecrosnier et Babé, 1898) 505.

great body of photography at the Salpêtrière. One can only speculate as to whether this is because Charcot did not actually take the photographs, or because the medium was not of the same calibre as drawing. Meige recounts that Charcot's father gave him the option of studying art or medicine: art because he showed talent at drawing, and medicine because he was a hard worker. Not without some deliberation did Charcot begin his medical training.³⁵ There does not seem to be any doubt that Charcot succeeded in integrating his two interests. Charcot wanted to maintain his interest in art while he pursued a medical career, and consequently, he sought to unite the domains of art and science. He believed that for "...le grand profit de tous, l'art et science marcher de concert et se donnant la main."³⁶ While Meige's anecdote provides some biographical insight, it is not entirely clear what drove Charcot to so deliberately link medicine and art history. One can speculate that the well-constructed history of art, with all of its heroes, appealed

³⁵ Meige, Nouvelle iconographie, 490-91.

³⁶ Jean-Martin Charcot, in Paul Richer, "Du Role de la Graisse dans la conformation extérieure du corps humain," Nouvelle Iconographie de la Salpêtrière, (Paris: Lecrosnier et Babé, 1890) 20.

to Charcot, and he sought to apply the same to science.

It is in light, therefore, of the constructed nature of hysteria that we are to look at the photographs of the Salpêtrière hysterics. Just as Charcot built hysteria, he built these photographs. Additionally, the developing capacity of photography to produce images quickly and easily had a direct impact on the hysteria project. As a result, the images speak of Charcot and his cultural climate, and equally, of the exploitation of his patients and the state of science in the nineteenth century as a gendered power.

Chapter 3:
Nicole Jolicoeur's La vérité folle

Science and art, truth and fiction, power and subordination, male and female: these are the kinds of polarities that concern Nicole Jolicoeur in her production. Her much lauded installation of 1989, La vérité folle, explored the boundaries of these categories and the space that exists between them. Jolicoeur reconsiders these grey areas and in so doing, forces the viewer to contemplate the legitimacy of science and its practices of treating women -- specifically, Jean-Martin Charcot and hysteria -- in the late nineteenth century.

Between April 8 and May 7 1989, Presentation House Gallery in North Vancouver was host to this exhibition of Nicole Jolicoeur's work. Curated by the gallery's director, Karen Love, La vérité folle was a "multidisciplinary installation"¹ that presented Jolicoeur's intervention with Charcot's drawings and photographs of the Salpêtrière

¹ As termed by Guy Bellevance, "Des arts plastiques aux arts visuels: Nicole Jolicoeur et l'art de l'expression," Plaques sensibles, Bilan de l'année photographique 1990-91 (Montréal: Editions Les Herbes rouges, 1992) 67.

hysterics (fig. 4).

Upon entering the gallery, the spectator is presented with a large reproduction of André Brouillet's painting of 1887, Une leçon clinique à la Salpêtrière at the right (fig. 5).² The painting is not reproduced untouched and in its entirety: rather, two parts of the original painting are presented accurately, surrounded by missing figures drawn in by Jolicoeur. The sections that are unmarred by the artist are a cropped view of Charcot speaking as the hysterical patient collapses into the arms of an assistant, and a partial section of the audience that watches the spectacle. The drawings are rendered as black, contour lines, tracing human figures, furniture, and window panes. The drawings are to scale with the fully rendered reproductions, yet the entire piece is much larger than Brouillet's original. This part of La vérité folle measures 16 by 12 feet.

The spectator continues to move through the gallery, led by a long banner of photographic paper that winds along the gallery wall at eye level. Printed on this roll of paper, at intervals, are photographs of Charcot-era hysterical women.

² This painting is sometimes identified as Charcot at the Salpêtrière.

They parade the postures by which Charcot delineated and defined hysteria: *les attitudes passionnelles*. On top of the banner, the artist has fixed a glass plate, upon which she has reproduced Charcot's drawings of the hysterics' postures (figs. 6-8). Like her extension drawings of Brouillet's painting, these sketches are just silhouettes. Fine silver lines contour women's bodies, contorted in identifiable postures of an hysterical attack. Just as Charcot labelled drawings and photographs with the identified posture's name, Jolicoeur, too, labels her images. The text that runs beneath the images reads: "Une histoire de... contracture... de rictus... de lévitation... de blasphème... d'arc-de-ciel... d'extension du torse ... d'écume aux lèvres... d'ouverture démesurée de la bouche... de dons des langues... de poses plastiques...." The drawings are spare enough for the spectator to make out the photograph that lies beneath the glass plate. Thus, the silver drawings are like ghostly interventions that only slightly disrupt the spectator's engagement with the photographed image.

The dismantled Brouillet painting and the sequence of hysterics assembled by Jolicoeur play off of each other. Situated physically on opposite walls, they represent

opposing realities of masculine and feminine, of control and subordination. In this respect,

[l]a parole et le corps s'affrontent dans l'oeuvre de Brouillet ainsi que dans celle de Jolicoeur, mais dans des directions opposées. On le sait, la parole est le lieu privilégié du pouvoir masculin, qu'il soit médical ou autre. Le corps en est ainsi réduit à des contorsions grotesques pour faire accepter son existence; spécifiquement le corps féminin.³

By erasing sections, figuratively muting some of the figures, Jolicoeur acknowledges Charcot's (and thus, science's) power to silence. Charcot's voice is symbolic of the privileged male voice. The bodies are present only for their formal properties: the hysteric postures that Charcot's work sought to define and defend. By erasing the men's images, the practice of eliminating women's identity and subjectivity is highlighted. Jolicoeur's practice of framing, displaying, and obliterating -- all conventions of photography -- stands metaphorically for scientific analysis. In a parallel act, Charcot obliterated the identity (psychic and legal), personality, self-determination, and history of his patients through his pointed imaging of them. Given names were not important, family history and circumstances were twisted or

³ Pascale Beaudet, "Affronter l'hystérie," ETC Montréal 9(1989) 71.

forgotten. The control that Charcot and his colleagues (male) had over their patients (female) demonstrates a gross imbalance between the sexes, that informed the ease with which these women were categorically denied humanity.⁴ That Jolicoeur can so easily wipe out the faces of some of the men in the audience in the painting points to the ease with which Charcot could do the same (figuratively) in his imaging of the hysterics. The disparity between genders is thus unveiled.

The larger section of the painting that Jolicoeur leaves unaltered features Charcot calmly addressing his colleagues as the hysterical woman collapses, mid-fit, behind him. Jolicoeur has successfully seized the essence of power relations and gender division at the Salpêtrière. Brouillet's painting was a tribute to Charcot; Jolicoeur questions that generosity by restructuring and re-contextualizing the painting. The cropping of the painting draws attention to the subjectivity of the artist, and the act of framing. André Brouillet presented us with *his* interpretation of this scene,

⁴ Of course, much of the patients powerlessness results from the fact that they were incarcerated mental patients. However, as addressed in the first chapter, the hysterical body was a feminized body, and gender stereotypes were closely mirrored by stereotypes of madness.

his formalized and framed image. We are aware of the famed Tuesday lectures that Charcot gave, accompanied by "live" hysterical displays, and therefore, we accept that this is the accurate representation of a scene that actually occurred. However, we also know of the liberties that an artist takes, consciously or otherwise, based on his or her gender, politics, social position, and training. Jolicoeur draws attention to that subjectivity by re-framing the painting. Françoise Legris suggests "d'aborder la photographie par ses marges, non son cadre, ni son cadrage, mais son hors-champ, ce qui l'interpelle, ce qu'elle interpelle, ce qui la contamine, ce qu'elle contamine à son tour, ce par quoi elle fuit en elle."⁵ Jolicoeur's continued concern for the production of the images, the circumstances surrounding them, and what is left outside of them is thus reflected.

Pascale Beaudet suggests that the act of erasing large sections of Brouillet's painting can be interpreted in two ways. Either it can function as an act of iconoclastic erasing in the style of Robert Rauschenberg, or as a partial

⁵ Françoise Legris, "La photographie contemporaine: son hors-champ, ses pratiques migratoires," Plaques sensibles 2 (Montréal: Les Herbes rouges, 1993)

reconstruction that dismantles the mechanisms at work.⁶ Jolicoeur disrupts the integrity of the painting. The spectator is still able to recognize and understand the painting as a whole, but not without interruption and contemplation of the fractured images. Reduced to silhouettes, the "erased" figures are rendered alike, indistinguishable. They cannot be identified, and their blank faces reveal nothing. These figures form a ghostly audience for Charcot; it is impossible to tell, without looking at it against the original painting, who each figure is supposed to be. Just as Charcot reduced individual women under his care to the embodiment of specific hysteric postures, Jolicoeur reduces previously identifiable men in the painting to an assembly of blank figures, a blinded audience for the still visible figure of Charcot. The hand of the artist matches that of the physician. In this symbolic gesture that both retraces and inverts Charcot's, Jolicoeur strips these figures of their subjectivity to illustrate her project, just as Charcot eliminated the identities of his patients, valuing them only as they illustrated his theories. This is an act by which the artist appropriates Charcot's work in order to

⁶ Beaudet, 70.

"disappropriate" their initial meaning.⁷

One can also interpret Jolicoeur's erasing as a means of focusing on what remains. Just as it is significant that Jolicoeur erases certain elements of the painting, what she does not remove deserves equal attention. Jolicoeur strips away the "window-dressing", and leaves the very performative interaction between doctor and patient for the spectator's scrutiny. Charcot in speech, Charcot in mid-spectacle: this central aspect of Brouillet's painting is highlighted by Jolicoeur. Given Charcot's penchant for classification, this cropped image draws attention to *his* posture and *his* performance. Charcot's authority is thus subverted by Jolicoeur who has made him the object of inquiry. Similarly, as Jolicoeur has obliterated Charcot's audience, following her model of subversion, the spectators of La vérité folle assume the place of the new audience. Jolicoeur does not deny the theatrical and performative aspects of Charcot's work at the Salpêtrière, or try to silence them.

The allusions to photography in the Brouillet component of La vérité folle are evident. The cropping of the two sections of the original painting, and the consequent erasure

⁷ Beaudet, 72.

of the surrounding section recalls the very deliberate act of framing a photograph, whereby that which is outside of that frame is disregarded, and is not recorded. Jolicoeur has forged deliberate links between photography and history painting in La vérité folle, demonstrably as explicitly constructed forms. Both maintain pretensions of recording, truth-telling, and memorializing, though their respective histories indicate how they have fallen short or how the form has been manipulated.

Photography, for Charcot, functioned as a scientific tool. That which appeared in a photograph was a kind of evidence: it was important, therefore it was collected and preserved by means of the photograph. That which was not important lay outside of the frame. The photograph captures a moment in time, giving that moment a kind of eternal life while that which is beyond the framed image is lost. Daniel Béland writes "[c]'est le caractère subjectif du cadrage photographique, la découpe fragmentaire et donc la partialité de la photographie qui se trouve ici dévoilée [sic]."⁸

⁸ Daniel Béland, "Quand le dessin se pointe," Vanguard 18.2 (1989) 40. Béland is actually writing about another work by Nicole Jolicoeur, A chescun oysel son nid si semble bel (1987), displayed as part of the drawing biennale organised by the Dalhousie Art Gallery of Halifax in 1989, in which she

Jolicoeur's erasure points to the arbitrariness of that which is collected and lost by means of photography.

Jolicoeur's reworking of Une leçon clinique à la Salpêtrière (fig. 3) is not without precedent. André Brouillet's painting is regarded as a reworking of Tony Robert-Fleury's painting of 1876, Pinel Freeing the Insane (fig. 19). Charcot, evidently, held this work in high regard. Freud wrote that

[i]n the hall in which [Charcot] gave his lectures there hung a picture which showed the 'citizen' Pinel having the chains taken off the poor madmen in the Salpêtrière. The Salpêtrière, which had witnessed so many horrors during the Revolution, had also been the scene of this most humane of all revolutions.⁹

The painting held symbolic value for Charcot, as it represented the new compassion within the medical profession for the insane. It seems fitting then, that Brouillet chose

draws over reproduced photographs of Charcot's house. However, in this article, Béland alludes to another series which, based on his description, could be the early stages of La vérité folle.

⁹ "Charcot," in The Standard Editions of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud (London: Hogarth Press, 1953-1974) 3: 17-18. As quoted in Sander L. Gilman, Seeing the Insane (Lincoln and London: U of Nebraska P, 1996) 213. Gilman notes, however, that Freud was wrong about the location of Pinel's painting. On page 212 Gilman identifies Pinel's painting as being set in the courtyard of the Bicêtre.

or was instructed to acknowledge Charcot's own role in this new humanity by staging Une leçon clinique à la Salpêtrière in a way that alludes directly to Pinel Freeing the Insane. The central grouping in both paintings is strikingly similar. Robert-Fleury places the passive woman (positioned in a posture of the hysteric) to the right of Pinel, being unchained by Pinel's servant. Brouillet maintains this triad, with the hysterical woman, probably one of the better known patients, Blanche Wittmann, collapsing in the arms of Charcot's colleague Joseph Babinski. The light streams into the clinic's auditorium from the windows behind, just as sunlight illuminates the dark courtyard in the earlier painting. Sander L. Gilman ascertains "[t]he analogy to Pinel implies Charcot's position as the new liberator of the insane, in this case from the chains of hysteria."¹⁰

By reworking an existing painting in her own work, which in turn reworks an older painting, Jolicoeur is implicating herself, as critic, in the visual tradition of representing madness. The paintings by Robert-Fleury and Brouillet can be considered to document "the late nineteenth century sense of the positive nature of treatment and the potential for [the

¹⁰ Seeing the Insane, 213.

insane's] reentry into society."¹¹ The resulting paintings served both as heroization of the scientist, and as a moralizing of the medical profession and society at large. Just as Robert-Fleury and Brouillet painted to illustrate the new humanity in medicine, Jolicoeur appropriates Brouillet's painting to illustrate the inhumanity they did not acknowledge.

The paintings executed by Robert-Fleury and Brouillet are not themselves without precedent. In 1804, Antoine-Jean Gros, a student of David, painted Napoleon Bonaparte Visiting the Plague Stricken at Jaffa (fig. 20). This painting depicts Napoleon during the Syrian campaign in 1799. Decorously dressed as a war hero and great leader, Napoleon's hand is outstretched to a sickened man. They are flanked by twisted, diseased figures, writhing on the ground, obscured by shadows. The figure of Napoleon, and naturally, the contaminated leper he touches, are flooded with light. The painting, needless to say, immediately gives context to Robert-Fleury's Pinel Freeing the Insane. Napoleon, in Gros' painting, evokes two traditions of painting simultaneously. For one, religious painting, as he recalls in a conflated

¹¹ Gilman, Seeing the Insane, 213.

gesture, Christ healing the sick with his touch and Thomas touching Christ's wound, and second, history painting, wherein a great hero is recognized at the site of his battle. Here is presented not Napoleon the conqueror, but Napoleon the courageous healer, a tireless humanitarian, visiting the diseased without fear of contagion. It is this model of social hero that is emulated in the paintings of Pinel and Charcot. To Charcot, with his knowledge and appreciation of the history of art, such a comparison would be most ingratiating. Just as Blanche Wittman, represented in the throws of a hysterical attack renders a stereotypical aspect of the feminine, Charcot embodies, symbolically, the healer and leader.

Jolicoeur's reworking of Brouillet's painting is placed in the larger context of the installation as a whole. The Brouillet images work within a space that also privileges the other side of hysteria, the "unofficial" portraits of the patients. These images hold strong value for Jolicoeur. She says of Charcot's sketches,

[u]n jour j'ai trouvé les dessins de femmes en hystérie, faits au 19e siècle, dans Les Démoniaques dans l'art. Chaque pose était identifiée par un terme, ce qui nourrissait mon intérêt pour les classifications. J'ai repris ces images en les reconstituant à ma façon, en leur donnant une autre structure que celle que Charcot

leur avait donnée.¹²

By layering the images, drawing upon photographs, Jolicoeur is fracturing the spectator's sightline and perception of the image. The act of seeing is rendered self-conscious, as the spectator cannot look without the realization that the artist is obscuring that clear line of vision. Still, Jolicoeur has placed the banner of images at eye level, so that they are accessible to all. This accessibility, however, is not without complication, as Jolicoeur confounds the spectator's access to the images:

[l]es photographies renversent la fonction de la lumière qui est de rendre clairement son objet, en devenant source d'aveuglement pour le spectateur. Tout dans le travail de Jolicoeur semble tenir de l'excès: débordement de l'image photographique par le dessin, pénétration du dessin dans le champ photographique, surexposition ou sousexposition.¹³

The drawings are not simply superimposed images on the photographs. They become enmeshed in the photographs, their lines tangled in photographic discourse. Whereas Jolicoeur outlined the absent figures in the Brouillet installation in black, these figures are outlined in silver, a direct

¹² As quoted in Claire Gravel, "Nicole Jolicoeur 'La théorie est une production de l'imaginaire,'" Le Devoir, 13 mai 1989, C11.

¹³ Béland, "Quand le dessin se pointe," 40.

allusion to the history of photography. The glass plate recalls early photographs that were also on glass. The images, thus, become situated and read within a specific history.

The silver outline on a transparent surface makes the figures difficult to make out at first. They are ghostly apparitions whose posturing would have them darting wildly along the banner. Daniel Béland suggests that these are demonic apparitions that function as a metaphor for the possession of the hysterical body by the medical establishment.¹⁴ Certainly, it is an appropriate metaphor, as Charcot was intent on situating the hysterical body in his terms alone. The hysteric was only recognized in so much as her body performed according to his medical ideology for hysteria.

It is interesting that Jolicoeur interrupts the field of photography -- the imagery by which we have come to know hysteria -- with Charcot's drawings. Through Jolicoeur's installation we are reminded that there is no objective drawing, just as there is no objective photography. This is particularly poignant in the context of medical drawings, the

¹⁴ Béland, "Quand le dessin se pointe," 40.

corpus from which Jolicoeur extracts these sketches. That the drawings would command an authority based on medical impartiality seems absurd when they are dislocated from that ideology. Furthermore, re-presented by Jolicoeur, the images that imprisoned the women of the Salpêtrière are somewhat liberating. Printed on glass, the ghostly outlines articulate a certain ethereal beauty. Photography, the means by which "truth" is captured, appears ephemeral. As Guy Bellevance would have it

On est dans une sorte de zone grise, entre l'histoire de l'art et de la science, à se demander si le geste qui consiste à laisser s'introduire dans le champ artistique un regard hétéronome à portée psycho-médicale n'est pas tout compte fait plus subversif que celui qui consiste à dévoiler, et éventuellement dénoncer, cette page plus ou moins refoulée, ou plus simplement ignorée, de l'histoire des sciences et des femmes (de la science faite aux femmes).¹⁵

In order to denounce such a history, Jolicoeur participates in it. Charcot, firmly entrenched in the discourse of medical science, was working towards an enterprise of truth. Jolicoeur's revisionism subverts that truth which is perhaps, in practice, the articulation of another truth. Jolicoeur cannot know the personal histories of the thousands of women who lived and died at the Salpêtrière; she can, however,

¹⁵ Bellavance, 70.

dislodge what we accept as truth, and reveal the seminal elements of a parallel history.

Chapter 4:
The Artistic Production of Nicole Jolicoeur
as Archaeology

Nicole Jolicoeur's investigation into the visual documents of hysteria at Charcot's Salpêtrière certainly set her apart from other contemporary artists. The persistence with which she strips down the hysteria construct and continues to tell another version of history cannot be understated. One possible interpretation of Jolicoeur's project is that her work functions as an *archaeology*, as elaborated by Foucault.

In this chapter, this archaeology will be defined, in so much as it is relevant to Jolicoeur's work. It will also be considered in light of Georges Didi-Huberman's eminent book on the photography of the Salpêtrière hysterics, Invention de l'hystérie. A climate that may have inspired or encouraged Jolicoeur to produce the work she did will be elaborated by examining the writings and art of her contemporaries at the time when the artist would have been establishing herself professionally.

In The Birth of the Clinic, Michel Foucault explores one

aspect of medical history by means of the method of historical investigation he favoured in his early writings. Foucault's archaeology, explored methodologically in The Archaeology of Knowledge¹ is a method of historical inquiry that focuses on statements and their effects. In The Birth of the Clinic, Foucault sought to uncover the unspoken structure that held together the practices, discourses and experiences of the nineteenth century clinic. Foucault writes that an archaeology seeks "[t]o describe statements, to describe the enunciative function of which they are the bearers, to analyze the conditions in which this function operates, to cover the different domains that this function presupposes and the way in which those domains are articulated. . . ."2

This discursive method, so closely interested in texts, exists in contrast to traditional histories of ideas which are based on a history of human subjects. Like a traditional history, Foucault's archaeology begins with the study of documents, but by contrast, rather than using those documents

¹ Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982).

² Foucault, Archaeology of Knowledge, 115.

to amass a history of a subject's life, Foucault studies those documents as *objects in their own right*. In this sense, these "objects" are monuments, rather than documents.³ Moreover, Foucault's histories reveal structures and ruptures, and seek to avoid causal explanations in favour of structured description.

The archaeologist, as designated by Foucault, rejects accepted notions of truth and aims to present a history of discourses. Such an archaeology is not hampered by the structure and boundaries of traditional histories or intellectual projects. It ". . . tries to define not the thoughts, representations, images, themes, preoccupations that are concealed or revealed in discourses; but those discourses themselves, those discourses as practices obeying certain rules."⁴ In this respect, it is a descriptive enterprise that seeks to reveal a deep, underlying structure that communicates a grander narrative. The archaeological

³ My understanding of Foucault's archaeology is aided by Gary Gutting, Michel Foucault's Archaeology of Scientific Reason (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge UP, 1989) 227-260.

⁴ Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge & The Discourse on Language, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Tavistock-Pantheon, 1972) 138.

discourse to knowledge, power, and social organization.⁵

Jolicoeur's project, as she researched and constructed La vérité folle, was not to create images, but to revisit existing ones. As she investigates the discourse, Jolicoeur points to the constructed nature of Charcot's hysteria. Jolicoeur reinvents the imagery she presents and in so doing, offers a new construction of hysteria that Charcot did not reveal. Mined by the artist, Charcot's images become part of the *history* of hysteria, rather than the *story* of hysteria, as designated by Charcot. Those photographs are a part of hysteria's past, assisting in our understanding of it, but not its totality. Through his self-conscious musings about art and art history and their relationship to science, and particularly their relationship to his vision of hysteria, Charcot was writing himself into history. Charcot maintained, with absolute certainty, that he was revolutionizing medicine by imaging a symptomatic hysteria. It is absolutely appropriate then, to look at the three tiers of *writing* (or recording) the history of hysteria, with Charcot, as physician/scientist, Didi-Huberman as art historian, and

⁵ Such a relationship is emblematic of Foucault's genealogical approach, yet is still relevant to what we consider an archaeology.

Jolicoeur as artist.

As she investigates the discourse of hysteria, Jolicoeur reinvents the imagery she presents and in so doing, offers a new construction of hysteria that ironically, Charcot's work reveals unintentionally. François Delaporte reports that "[w]here the historian sees boundaries or cracks that must. . . be filled in, the archeologist sees ruptures and difference to be explored in depth."⁶ The documents of hysteria that are Charcot's legacy do not enable a complete reconstruction of the past. As archaeologist, Jolicoeur mines these documents to uncover their common structures, and relates them as they had not been previously.

Jolicoeur's exploration of hysteria of nearly two decades in many ways mimics the commitment, and perhaps obsession of Charcot himself. In this respect, Jolicoeur's work is archaeological in the ordinary sense of the word. Jolicoeur returned repeatedly to the Salpêtrière -- the site of her investigation -- and accumulated evidence on research trips to France and the United States. She states that she collected images and objects that concerned Charcot and his family, the Salpêtrière, and hysteria, whether or not she had

⁶ Delaporte 141.

an immediate use for them in her work. She cites period postcards of hysterics, a caricature of Freud and Charcot at the Salpêtrière, and later postage stamps bearing Charcot's likeness as some of the more interesting finds she had not yet incorporated into her work.⁷ Jolicoeur also bought copies of documents from Freud's archive at Columbia University as part of her research.⁸ Accordingly, the archaeologist stays at one site, and digs in all directions.

This kind of procedural research and continued study proved to be somewhat draining on the artist:

Il y a beaucoup de choses qui sont arrivées comme ça. Il me semble que quand j'ai fait ma recherche j'ai tellement regardé des vieux livres, des bibliothèques. Quand j'y pense j'aurai pas envie de la refaire. C'est devenu de plus en plus dry, sévère. [. . .] Au debut c'était très excitant parce que c'était dans l'abondance. A la fin, surement quelques images étaient là mais. . . c'est devenu moins stimulant.⁹

However, this research is just the initial step in Jolicoeur's production. It is this artist's -- and the

⁷ Nicole Jolicoeur, in J-P Gilbert, "L'art inquiété par le document? Nicole Jolicoeur, Alain Paiement, Laurent Pilon, Rober Racine," ETC Montréal 9 (1989) 44.

⁸ Claire Gravel, "Nicole Jolicoeur, 'La théorie est une production de l'imaginaire,'" Le Devoir 13 May 1989 C11.

⁹ Nicole Jolicoeur. Personal interview. 12 April 2000.

archaeologist's -- mandate to build from this "found" material.

François Delaporte insists that the (Foucauldian) archaeologist is not producing a fiction, but a construction.¹⁰ The images and research from which Jolicoeur's project is inspired are not imagined or invented: she is inspired by a veritable time and space. By assembling them in the manner that she does, she calls into question and reveals the systems that produced and presented the imagery. What Jolicoeur uncovers in her pursuits is "another point at which the regularities of discourse can be described and analyzed, one which refuses to take the standards of validity of established knowledge as the filter or framework for the organization of history."¹¹ This refusal on the part of Jolicoeur is at the nucleus of her work. Her resistance to the existing discourse of hysteria, and her refutation of the meta-narratives that supported, protected and legitimized science in the nineteenth century, is at the heart of her construct.

¹⁰ Delaporte 142

¹¹ Mitchell Dean, Critical and Effective Histories: Foucault's methods and Historical Sociology (London and New York: Routledge, 1994) 31.

As Jolicoeur selects the "documents" of Charcot's hysteria for the gallery space, she does handle them as if they were monuments. The photographs and drawings she has gathered for La vérité folle are lined up and pieced together as if they were evidence. The images are not exhibited as a means to the inner life of the actual women shown. That information may be inaccessible, if available at all, and certainly very painful. The images, and the intervention by Jolicoeur, are of interest in their own right, as testament of Charcot's hysteria, and of the greater context of that history's constructed nature. The "monuments" that Jolicoeur examines are assembled as a discourse on hysteria that had not been previously revealed.

Importantly, it is not the project of the archaeologist to prove the discourses she presents to be true or to make sense.¹² Jolicoeur does not come to any definitive or prescriptive conclusions about her area of inquiry, rather her intervention and the change of context allows for a revealing study of the discourse. Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow sum up the outcome of archaeological analysis, stating that "[o]nce we treat the languages and practices of

¹² Dreyfus and Rabinow, xxiv.

a discipline from another age as mere meaningless objects, we can gain access to a level of description that shows that what remains incomprehensible is not without its own systematic order."¹³ We may continue to be mystified by Charcot's undertakings, but after viewing Jolicoeur's work, his strategies are brought to light and can be critically examined as they were not during his lifetime.

In 1982, two years after Jolicoeur had begun work on the same corpus, (then virtually unknown) art historian Georges Didi-Huberman published Invention de l'hystérie. Didi-Huberman's engagement with the subject matter is quite different from Jolicoeur's. He writes extensively about the theatrical and performative aspects of the photographs, and is not as concerned with the social history of the institution or the patients. Notably, Didi-Huberman is not motivated by the feminist issues upon which the artist's work is predicated. Furthermore, Jolicoeur herself vehemently denies any correlation between her work and Didi-Huberman's. She suggests that the artist's project (her own) is visual, and his is textual: a difference so fundamental that it immediately sets the work apart. "Il en y a rien

¹³ Dreyfus and Rabinow, 13.

d'apparent. . . . Je n'ai jamais comparé," says Jolicoeur, while still acknowledging that, "[Didi-Huberman] travaille beaucoup sur le langage. Il m'a aidé beaucoup parce que. . . . [Invention de l'hystérie] est un livre qu'on peut prendre n'importe où. Ça nous transforme plus que ça nous informe."¹⁴

Yet, despite this opposition, the fact that these two investigations of the body of Charcot's work occurred in the early 1980s is remarkable, and demands some attention. Jolicoeur read Invention de l'hystérie, though this was based on topical interest, rather than ideological or theoretical kinship. Jolicoeur once met the art historian, and discussed her work with him in Paris.¹⁵ In spite of their differences, what can be culled from the projects of the artist and the art historian by way of parallel histories or archaeologies is noteworthy.

Didi-Huberman refers often to the work of Foucault in Invention de l'hystérie; his own work emerging from this tradition both in terms of its theoretical framework, and topically, as a more pointed investigation of one of

¹⁴ Nicole Jolicoeur. Personal interview. April 12 2000.

¹⁵ Nicole Jolicoeur. Personal conversation. October 1 1999.

Foucault's fields of inquiry.¹⁶ Foucault mentions Charcot in his discussion of nineteenth century sexuality, pointing out the "systematic blindness [at the Salpêtrière]: a refusal to see and to understand. . ." and that

[c]hoosing not to recognize was yet another vagary of the will to truth. Let Charcot's Salpêtrière serve as an example in this regard: it was an enormous apparatus for observation, with its examinations, interrogations, and experiments, but it was also a machinery for incitement, with its public presentations, its theatre of ritual crises, carefully staged. . . . The important thing in this affair was not that these men shut their eyes or stopped their ears, or that they were mistaken; it is rather that they constructed around the apropos of sex an immense apparatus for producing truth. . . .¹⁷

In this respect, the timing of Didi-Huberman's book can be somewhat accounted for, as Foucault highlights in this passage the genus of Didi-Huberman's project. Similarly, while their motivations are different, both Didi-Huberman and Jolicoeur seek to understand and explain the relationship between patient and physician, and the complicated web of truth and lies that constituted that relationship.

If Didi-Huberman, like Foucault, undertakes a *textual*

¹⁶ Nineteenth century medical history in France, and the inner workings of the clinic.

¹⁷ Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, vol.1. Trans. Robert Hurley. 1990 ed. (New York: Vintage-Random House, 1978) 55-56.

archaeology to uncover Charcot's hysteria, then in La vérité folle, Jolicoeur uses a visual archaeology to approach that discourse. Both textual documents and visual documents are of equal value for Foucault's purposes; the former is not privileged over the latter in a discursive hierarchy. The precedent for Jolicoeur's visual work can be found with several artists who were influential for her, just as Foucault was so for Didi-Huberman in his textual endeavour.

Jolicoeur's work does not stand alone, but emerges from an identifiable climate in feminist art production of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Artists like Nancy Spero (introduced to Jolicoeur by Spero's husband and Jolicoeur's teacher, Leon Golub), and Mary Kelly were influential for Jolicoeur, and also engaging in archaeologies of sorts at this time. Not only did Spero eschew the practice of painting on canvas in favour of paper as a means of subverting the traditional fixtures of a patriarchal art history, but as of the mid-1970s, she chose to use only the images of women in her work. Equally the work of Spero and Mary Kelly locate sexuality as controlled by patriarchal discourse. Thematically, at this time, Spero was concerned with the subjectivity of women's bodies, under the oppression of

patriarchy. Her work of 1974, Torture of Women in Chili, intermingles text with fragmented women's bodies to demonstrate the torture of women and the implied control over their bodies.¹⁸

Mary Kelly's Corpus, of 1985, executed after Jolicoeur had begun her work on Charcot, addresses femininity and representation in part by displaying nineteenth century images of hysterics; Interim, the larger work of which the former is a part, uses Charcot's labels for hysterical positions to identify images Kelly has photographed. In creating this work, Kelly is concerned with a feminine identity constituted through representation that resists an aesthetic gaze. She, like Jolicoeur, seeks to avoid situating woman as object.¹⁹ Both Spero and Kelly use visual documents in an altered context to comment on the social position of women and patriarchy. Like Jolicoeur, by assembling visuals as fragmented documents, they point to the underlying webs

¹⁸ Whitney Chadwick, Women, Art, and Society, rev.ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996) 359-360.

¹⁹ For the feminist context of Mary Kelly's work, I am indebted to Patricia A. Mannix "Feminine Identity Otherwise: Moving through the Latticework of Mary Kelly's Interim," Feminist Aesthetic Practices, Uncommon Senses: An Interdisciplinary Conference on Art and Culture, 28 April 2000.

that support systems of control and dominance. Images are collected and manipulated, the result constitutes a criticism.

Griselda Pollock, whose writing Jolicoeur was reading at this time,²⁰ strongly advocated a move away from the visual pleasure of the female body, which when directly imaged, is easily digested as a male viewing pleasure. The fear of participating in this tradition, coupled with Jolicoeur's own initial horror at photographs of hysterics, may have inhibited the artist from working with the photographs directly until the late 1980s. The trend in feminist discourse in the early 1980s was a move away from an essentialist feminism²¹ -- which anchored the female identity through sexual difference -- which had been definitive ten years prior. Dissatisfied by the inherent reductiveness of the essentialist model, some feminists hybridized Marxist theory with Lacanian psychoanalysis. This climate may have

²⁰ Nicole Jolicoeur. Personal interview. April 12 2000. Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, Old Mistresses: Women, Art, and Ideology [1981], rev.ed. (London: Rivers Oram P, 1996).

²¹ This period also saw the move of constructivist feminism to the fore.

motivated Jolicoeur to explore the socially constructed relationship between physician and patients via the material evidence that was left behind.

It must be said that Jolicoeur has an ambivalent relationship with theory. She enumerates at great length the texts that she has read and that were important to her, yet she is hesitant to concur with the critical premise that her work is strongly rooted in theory. She elaborates:

Donc souvent quand on m'a dit que mon travail est très informé par la théorie, j'ai eu tendance à dire, 'Non, pas vraiment,' parce que j'ai connu vraiment des artistes dont le travail était influencé par la théorie puis c'était vraiment radical. Puis c'était pas du tout le modèle dans lequel je voulais aller. . . . [J]e cherchais un rapport très obscur finalement, et non avec une démarche claire.²²

Perhaps it can be best explained that her work is influenced by the theory that she reads, but that it does not directly reference a specific school of feminism, or is not demarcated by psychoanalytic theory. The artist notes that she read a great deal of British feminism while in the United States, but upon her return to Québec she reverted to French

²² Nicole Jolicoeur. Personal interview. 12 April 2000.

writers.²³ This shift, and the range of writers she read, may in part explain her reluctance to be closely -- and restrictively -- connected with any one of them. Jolicoeur insists that her work is not buttressed by theory; "[d]onc la théorie était là mais elle n'était jamais quelque chose pour me rassurer."²⁴

Perhaps rather than being there to support her work, theory is for Jolicoeur a *material*. Rather than being a framework for her work, she uses it to construct her work, alongside photography and drawing. The theory that she reads is a tool for the artist in the same way that those images are in creating her installations. Contemporary theory is a document that together with visual documents she produces her final works. Jolicoeur, like many other contemporary artists, was trained in a university, with great access to contemporary theory, and an informed knowledge of its implications for art. The artist, thus, has learned to handle theory as she has been trained to handle her materials.

Jolicoeur's work is not simple and straightforward; nor

²³ Notably, Catherine Clément, but also Foucault, Roland Barthes, Hélène Cixous, Julia Kristeva, and Claude Lévi-Strauss. Nicole Jolicoeur. Personal interview. 12 April 2000.

²⁴ Nicole Jolicoeur. Personal interview. 12 April 2000.

is it always easy to look at. The fact that it is so closely associated with the cruel and oppressive practices at the Salpêtrière makes it difficult to separate Jolicoeur's work from that of Charcot and his photographers. Spectators necessarily contemplate how Jolicoeur's work differs from Charcot's, or if she is being exploitive of the women in the photographs. Jolicoeur's continued interest in the imagery surrounding hysteria invites a comparison to Charcot's persistent practice of photographing and drawing his patients.

Jolicoeur acknowledges this concern, but denies that her work perpetuates Charcot's manipulations or further degrades women who were not in control of their bodies or minds, or the circulation of their own images. Jolicoeur resolutely insists that images are not absolutes, and cannot be read literally. She has said that each time she produces a new installation, she is creating a new discourse. To read the images as "des objets finis, absolus, pointés et jugés" is to inhibit a full understanding of them.²⁵ She also wonders if spectators are reacting to her work, or the subject matter itself. Because of the sensitive nature of the photographs,

²⁵ Nicole Jolicoeur. Personal interview. 12 April 2000.

she says that: “‘[j]’essaie, par contre, de ne pas présenter des photographies qui ont déjà été fortement médiatisées, qui possèdent déjà une histoire.”²⁶ She has transformed and transported them in such a way that they are no longer framed as Charcot framed them, and cannot be judged in the same way.

In what is a wholly transformative act, Jolicoeur displaces the documents of hysteria from the medical clinic to the gallery, thus decontextualizing and recontextualizing the images from the institutions of science to the institutions of art. The images are now to be viewed and evaluated by a different audience, with different expectations, and thus acquire new meanings. Simultaneously, Jolicoeur’s archaeology of Charcot’s practice presents an archaeology of the images art and art history: the images that Jolicoeur brings to the gallery space reveal the gendered power relations involved in the representation of women in artistic imagery.

Jolicoeur’s work, as an archaeology, “. . . does not treat discourse as *document*, as a sign of something else, as an element that ought to be transparent, but whose

²⁶ Nicole Jolicoeur, in Gilbert, 48.

unfortunate opacity must often be pierced. . . ."²⁷ Foucault writes that archaeology

. . . does not try to repeat what has been said by reaching it in its very identity. It does not claim to efface itself in the ambiguous modesty of a reading that would bring back, in all its purity, the distant precarious, almost effaced light of the origin.²⁸

The archaeology is a rewriting, a transformation of what has already been written. This is, perhaps, the best means to understand what it is that Jolicoeur accomplishes with La vérité folle.

²⁷ Foucault, Archaeology of Knowledge, 138.

²⁸ Foucault, Archaeology of Knowledge 139-140.

Chapter 5:
Nicole Jolicoeur and Ficto-criticism:
A Strategy for Reading, Writing and Working

. . . [W]e could not resist the camera. Something, we reasoned, that was under our control, would get recorded by the camera no matter how adamantly the photographer specified what he wanted from us. On the one hand we would at last be able to enact all their voluminous, inhumane phantasies for posterity to judge. And on the other hand there was the possibility, remote as it was, that something about us we knew and that they did not know would be picked up by the camera.¹

So writes Jeanne Randolph in La vérité folle, the accompanying publication to Nicole Jolicoeur's exhibition of the same name. In this text (fig. 21), which is interspersed with details from Jolicoeur's installation La vérité folle, Randolph assumes the voices of different "characters" that figure in the work. In the above quotation, Randolph writes as an unnamed patient diagnosed with hysteria at the Salpêtrière. On other pages, she writes in the voice of Jean-Martin Charcot and his colleagues, Sigmund Freud, and contemporary psychoanalysts, though never identifying the

¹ Jeanne Randolph, in Nicole Jolicoeur and Jeanne Randolph, La vérité folle (Vancouver: Presentation House, 1989).

voices *per se*. These first person accounts are punctuated by actual quotations of Freud, Charcot, and Melitta Schmideberg. As a catalogue essay, this technique may seem a little unusual; it is the norm that such essays explore the artist's biography, or present a thematic or theoretical discussion of the exhibition. Yet for Randolph, Assistant Professor of psychiatry at the University of Toronto, practising psychoanalyst, and respected figure in Canadian art criticism, this technique is exemplary of her writing that explores relationships between art and psychoanalytic theory. Over the past seventeen years, Randolph has been producing writing about art in a mode that has been identified as *ficto-criticism*.

In this chapter, I will define *ficto-criticism*, and discuss it as an emerging discourse, based on selected texts which write about it or employ it. I will examine how *ficto-criticism* was an appropriate method for the catalogue text for La vérité folle, and how Jolicoeur's practice functions visually as a *ficto-criticism*.

In the introduction to The Space Between: Australian Women Writing Fictocriticism, Amanda Nettleback suggests that *ficto-criticism* is

. . . hybridized writing that moves between the poles of fiction ('invention'/'speculation') and criticism ('deduction'/'explication'), of subjectivity ('interiority') and objectivity ('exteriority'). It is writing that brings the 'creative' and the 'critical' together -- not simply in the sense of placing them side by side, but in the sense of mutating both, of bringing a spotlight to bear upon the known forms in order to make them 'say' something else.²

Thus, Nettleback identifies the key components of ficto-criticism: a multiplicity of voices, and the element of fiction or fictional voice. The text from which this passage is quoted is the first collection of essays devoted exclusively to ficto-criticism.³ Nettleback argues that ficto-criticism is more than a writing style, that it is a new form of discourse with particular strategies. When invoked, these strategies are useful for writing from a feminist or postcolonial standpoint, disenfranchised positions that have

² Amanda Nettleback, "Notes towards an introduction," in The Space Between: Australian Women Writing Fictocriticism, Heather Kerr and Amanda Nettleback, eds. (Nedlands, West Australia: U of Western Australia P, 1998) 3-4.

³ While I wish to contain my discussion of ficto-criticism to a context of Canadian art, several of my sources are Australian. There is an unparalleled interest in ficto-criticism in Australia, though it is primarily a literary movement. Nevertheless, I am confident that the Australian material is relevant, having been referred to Amanda Nettleback and Heather Kerr's The Space Between: Australian Women Writing Fictocriticism by Jeanne Randolph.

been neglected by more traditional scholarship.

Fictocriticism emerges as a timely and relevant form of discourse. As modernist certainties like historical truth, methodological objectivity, and disinterested historians are routinely questioned, there is room for highly narrativized accounts subverting the paradigm of history as recorded fact -- and room for a form of criticism that seeks new avenues in order to be satisfying and relevant.

Marrying fiction and criticism as a literary strategy is not new: Rosalind Krauss' theory of the paraliterary was articulated along similar lines twenty years ago,⁴ expounded as "the space of debate, quotation, partisanship, betrayal, reconciliation; . . . not the space of unity, coherence or resolution that we think of as constituting the work of literature."⁵ This "paraliterary", is used by Krauss to describe writings -- she refers specifically to Barthes and Derrida -- that are critical, yet not so, because of their "un-critical" voices. Needless to say, hybridized writing

⁴ See, Rosalind E. Krauss, "Poststructuralism and the Paraliterary," in The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths (Cambridge, Mass. & London: MIT P, 1986) 291-95.

This essay was first published in 1981.

⁵ Krauss, The Originality of the Avant-Garde, 292.

practices have always occurred.⁶ Be that as it may, this discussion is based on the contemporary body of critical writing on art in Canada, traceable to Jeanne Randolph in the mid-1980s.⁷

Anne Brewster proposes that ficto-criticism defamiliarizes genre, and questions how academic knowledges are constructed.⁸ Ficto-criticism does not obey traditional rules of literary convention, or maintain those categorical

⁶ One only needs to look to the critical reviews of the Salons in eighteenth century France and the prevalence of fictional narratives and dialogues in those texts to find precedence. Diderot, for example, describes works of art as fictional experience, and writes criticism in the form of fictional dialogue. See, Else Marie Bukdahl, "Description et appréciation," (tome I, chapter II) Diderot, critique d'art, Tome 1, chapter II (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1980) 297-374.

⁷ Jeanne Randolph began writing critical texts on art in this manner in 1983. According to Helen Flavell (Murdoch University, Australia), the earliest use of the term "ficto-criticism" in Canada is in Frederic Jameson, "Andrea Ward Speaks with Frederic Jameson," By Andrea Ward, Impulse 13.4 (1987) 8-9. As related by Jeanne Randolph, "Re: Nicole, ficto-criticism," e-mail to the author, 26 Jan. 2000.

⁸ Anne Brewster, "Fictocriticism: Pedagogy and Practice," in Crossing Lines: Formations of Australian Culture, Ed. by Caroline Guerin, Philip Butterss, and Amanda Nettleback. Proceedings of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature Conference, Adelaide, 1995. (Adelaide: Association for the Study of Australian Literature Ltd., 1996)90.

distinctions. Brewster defines ficto-criticism as

. . . an alternative model of knowledge production which foregrounds issues of relativity, hybridization, contradiction and uncertainty by defamiliarising the conventions of genre, enacts the *process* of thought, of learning, of writing and reading, and the *digestion* (or non-digestion) of knowledge. The open endedness and sometimes collage-like strategies of ficto-criticism allow for the incorporation of troubling discursive problematics of language that conventional narratives of academic knowledge often elide, such as its non-referentiality, contradiction, exclusion, difference, doubt, inconclusiveness and ambivalence.⁹

Accordingly, the ficto-critical text demands a different convention of writing: one in which open-ended and multi-vocal qualities, and a non-linear narrative must be accommodated.¹⁰ This approach is well-suited to writing about art, the catalogue essay in particular, as it avoids the convention so prevalent whereby the all-knowing critic or art historian ruminates on the work with a unwavering authority. In the case of Jeanne Randolph and Nicole Jolicoeur, Randolph destabilizes any hierarchy or prescribed relationship between artist and critic by refusing that voice, and attempting to access the work from a variety of positions. Such a tactic suitably accords with Jolicoeur's endeavour, as she too seeks

⁹ Brewster 90.

¹⁰ Brewster 90.

to vocalise a suppressed voice, and tell another story.

Heather Kerr insists that ficto-criticism involves the ready passage between academic disciplines and fiction, resulting in a work with multiple subject positions, and privileging the (sometimes fictional) 'I'.¹¹ Despite this, theory is not dismissed: the first person and fictional positions co-exist with theory, interacting as the discursive boundaries and hierarchies of writing have been elided. As Kerr wonders: "Is theory an armature, the toughstuff that gives consciousness, even, can we say, an ethical/ principled imperative to the fleshy 'ficto' part?"¹²

On the other hand, it is not always clear if ficto-criticism is theory "corrected" by fiction, or vice versa. Frederic Jameson looks at it from the inverse position from Kerr in his endorsement of ficto-criticism, stating that:

. . . theory can't exist without telling little narrative stories and then at this point of criticism, criticism seems very close to simply telling stories. (Ficto-criticism) is an advanced and energetic form of conceptual criticism.¹³

¹¹ Heather Kerr, "Fictocriticism, the 'Doubtful Category' and 'The Space Between'," in Crossing Lines, 94.

¹² Kerr 94.

¹³ Jameson 9.

Ficto-criticism demands rigorous thinking, as the reader cannot process a text along the lines that he or she would normally interpret theory or criticism, and fiction and personal anecdote. Through the ficto-critical text, Randolph places the burden of interpretation on the reader/spectator, stating:

I wanted to put the gallery-goers who were looking at art, and I wanted to put my readers into that position where I was not interpreting the art-work for them. I wanted to leave them to their own devices in terms of what the work was about.¹⁴

Equally, the reader must trust the writer to engage that text.¹⁵ This implies an ethical undertone that must be adhered to. Appropriately, Randolph acknowledges a responsibility, but questions who holds the power of interpretation in a discipline which seeks to disrupt the subject versus object

¹⁴ Jeanne Randolph, "Technology and the Meaningful Body," in Symbolization and its Discontents (Toronto: YYZ, 1997) 44-45.

¹⁵ Jeanne Randolph. "The Ethics of Ficto-criticism," Ficto-criticism: Fantasy, Desire, and the Everyday in the Practice of Writing on Art. University Art Association Conference, Ontario College of Art, Toronto, 4 Nov. 1999.

binary.¹⁶

There is a strong relationship between the work of Jolicoeur and ficto-criticism that is manifested in three distinct ways. First, Jolicoeur's work accommodates a ficto-critical analysis, as is demonstrated through Randolph's writings for La vérité folle. Second, Jolicoeur herself resorts to ficto-criticism in her own writings, as exemplified by a text prepared for a conference, "Le je/nous Madeleine."¹⁷ Third, Jolicoeur's work is itself a form of fictocriticism, albeit a visual one. These three strategies remain to be explored.

The aspects of ficto-criticism addressed in the previous paragraphs -- its ability to destabilise hierarchies of thought and the ethics of representation -- are two issues that relate to Jolicoeur's work, and have been discussed in previous chapters. Randolph's textual strategies resonate so well when paired with Jolicoeur's images because ficto-criticism is, indeed, an entirely appropriate way to approach the artist's work.

¹⁶ Randolph, "The Ethics of Ficto-criticism."

¹⁷ L'art inquiet, Motifs d'engagement conference, Université de Québec à Montréal, Montreal, February 1998.

As Randolph uses quotations along side of fictional, first person accounts in La vérité folle, the authority of the quoted voice over the Randolph-produced voice is rendered ambiguous. For example, Randolph quotes Freud on the topic of Charcot,

'While he was still a student he happened to engage a maid-servant who suffered from a peculiar tremor and could not find a situation on account of her clumsiness Charcot kept this interesting servant, although she cost him a small fortune in dishes and plates. When at last she died he was able to demonstrate from her case that the *paralysie choréiforme* was the clinical expression of multiple cerebro-spinal sclerosis.'¹⁸

On the opposite page, Randolph writes:

We championed the autopsy, the objectification of flesh, and gave dissection authority over production. We claimed our knowledge over their cerebra, their spinal cords, was most significant. Nothing was to take precedence over an objective analysis of them [T]hey had deliberately made their living gestures and the spectacle of their vivid skin, so unaccountable, so enigmatic, that our preoccupation with the post-mortem began to wane.¹⁹

Both short texts are offered without extended context, save details from Jolicoeur's work on the preceding and following pages. The images have already served to upset authority and reliability: Randolph furthers this with the written word, as

¹⁸ Randolph, La vérité folle, n/p.

¹⁹ Randolph, La vérité folle, n/p.

we cull information equally from both texts, and relativize it for ourselves. In the context of this text, the mediated (quoted) voice is no more authentic than the introspective, fictional voice. Each text is presented equally on its own page, neither more importantly than the other. The ficto-critical text demands that the reader questions how different writing strategies have been hierarchisized, and how specific voices have been dismissed and silenced when others are given credence.

As a result of Jolicoeur's work images are disrupted and we can no longer rely on established methods of recognition and interpretation. The images are destabilized to provide a different perspective on history. Highly mediated by the artist, the original photographs and drawings take on new meanings and tell another story. It is appropriate to extend this desire for a new method of expression and understanding to the criticism of that work, and thus, ficto-criticism is an exciting and appropriate method for writing about Jolicoeur.

Because Jolicoeur's practice has been overwhelmingly centred on the same area of inquiry, all of her projects bear consideration. In 1998, Jolicoeur gave a presentation as part

of a colloquium, titled "Le je/nous de Madeleine." The text Jolicoeur wrote is a fictional, first-person account of a Salpêtrière patient she identifies as Madeleine. The text serves as a vocalisation of the re-appropriated imagery of La vérité folle, and of Jolicoeur's other photo-based installations. The voice of Madeleine articulates,

Je dois poser pour eux pendant de longues heures ennuyeuses. (. . .) Des clichés, ils ont pris des centaines. Ils les ont classés au fur et à mesure, jour après jour. . . . De longs pans de ma vie ont été ainsi rabattus et datés. De longs pans de vie sont ainsi préservés, disent-ils. Mais que disent-elles de moi ces photographies?²⁰

This text both addresses Jolicoeur's art and expounds further on her field of interest: hysteria in nineteenth century France and the subjectivity and identity of women. It is a fictional narrative, but it is presented within a critical forum, and thus straddles the seemingly opposed genres of fiction and criticism.

In a collaborative project with Elise Turcotte, Jolicoeur produced a project that ran for three consecutive

²⁰ Nicole Jolicoeur, "Le je/nous de Madeleine," L'art inquiet. Motifs d'engagement, ed. Louise Déry avec Monique Régimbald-Zeiber (Montreal: Galerie de l'UQAM, 1998) 132.

days in Le Devoir, titled La dormeuse (fig. 22).²¹ For this project the same photograph was run each day, each time with a different text. Each text describes Marie, the woman photographed, and does so not in the language of science or journalism, as might be expected given the context of the photograph or its presentation in a daily newspaper.²²

Certainly, this project is ficto-critical. Marie's voice is not her own, but a third-person descriptive voice. In this way, Jolicoeur establishes another position. Sheena Gourlay writes that

. . . The use of the third person and the openness and playfulness of the narrative construct a place outside of both the authoritative discourses of medicine and journalism where the 'truth' is constructed, and outside of an identity politics that produces the speaker as the origin and guarantor of the 'truth' of a statement. It instead presents both multiple positions within the texts and a play of language and representation.²³

Associating the term ficto-criticism with Jolicoeur's visual production is entirely appropriate given her work's very nature and structure. In order to denounce a history that grossly abused women, Jolicoeur participates in it.

²¹ April 22, 23, 24, 1993.

²² Gourlay 11.

²³ Gourlay 11.

Charcot, firmly entrenched in the discourse of medical science, was working towards an enterprise of truth. Jolicoeur's revisionism subverts that truth which acts as the articulation of another truth. Jolicoeur cannot know the personal histories of the thousands of women who lived and died at the Salpêtrière; she can, however, dislodge what we have accepted as truth, and reveal the seminal elements of a parallel history. Charcot broke down the hysteric attack into specific steps. When that attack was not completed by the patient, Charcot assembled documentation from other attacks to produce the narrative he sought. Likewise, Jolicoeur brings together documentation from different sources to project a narrative.²⁴

Jolicoeur's work simultaneously exposes the power structure that existed around hysteria in the nineteenth century, the intervention of photography (historical, with Charcot's, and contemporary, with her own), and fictional accounts of "real" women. She destabilizes Charcot's imaging of hysteria, and, taking exceptional liberty with his work and the images of his patients, she presents a new view of

²⁴ Sheena Gourlay, "Notes on the Work of Nicole Jolicoeur: Penser la réalité autrement" Matriart: A Canadian Feminist Art Journal 3.4 (1993) 6-9.

hysteria that is neither true nor untrue. As quoted earlier, Anne Brewster suggests that “. . . ficto-criticism can expose the underbelly of intellectual endeavour, namely the inadequacy of language as a site of knowledge. . . .”²⁵ By working visually, Jolicoeur points to the insufficiency of a textual inquiry, and more broadly, traditional methods of addressing history.

As scholarship has gradually acknowledged the absence of multi-vocality and diversity in its traditional critical enterprise, emerging discourses of feminist and postcolonial theories have been afforded more attention. The erased narrator, with its implied omniscience, is not a satisfying voice for many. It is the voice of “objective” science, the prescribed rhetorical stance of objectivity. The erasure of a subjective narrative voice neutralizes gender, class, and power relations, and denies their expression. Consequently, many writers have chosen to use the first person and to tell their own stories where master narratives have failed them. Certainly, the suggestion of truth-telling accompanies the “I”, as it insinuates the confessional. The “corrective” nature of feminist and postcolonial discourses is such that

²⁵ Brewster 90.

alternatives to accepted "truths" are evidenced.

No one voice can offer a definitive truth: Nicole Jolicoeur presents a feminist interpretation of Charcot's working milieu and photographs. The third person voice in La dormeuse is not the same descriptive and appropriating voice of Charcot. Jolicoeur is establishing another position to provide for a multiplicity of positions. Thus she expands the oppositional poles of Charcot and the hysterics.

Jolicoeur suggests a new voice, literally through "Le je/nous de Madeleine", and visually with La vérité folle. The artist does not presume to speak for those women, but to "speak" critically in a manner that acknowledges their subjectivity. Jolicoeur's appropriation of the voice of Madeleine or others is symbolic. The act of fiction-making alludes to the silencing of that voice by acts of patriarchy, alienation and subjugation. The ficto-critical model gives Jolicoeur the creative means to open up what is difficult and complex material. Novelist Nicole Brossard, in her own ficto-critical book²⁶, She would be the first sentence of my next

²⁶ Nicole Brossard does not use the term "ficto-criticism" to describe her writing style. She extemporizes at length about her concerted refusal of categories of writing, preferring the open-ended term "prose". She does, at one point, describe her work as "theoretical fiction". I am,

novel, writes of the importance of women's voices, stating that

There is no point in speaking up to reinforce the landscapes of the status quo. It is through Man's fiction that we have become fictional, so let us exit via fiction. We will exist in the story of our own design. But we will need formidable anger, desire more wild than all the Surrealist desires put together, curiosity such that it leads to committing terrific indiscretions, to pursuing difficult inquiries. We will have to learn to go too far.²⁷

By this token, fiction assumes a truth-telling and critical role.

Ficto-criticism is only beginning to locate itself as a significant contributor to Canadian art criticism. Still, if this case study is any indication, it promises to assume a place of great importance in the cultural and critical landscape. Randolph's work, as well as the tenets of ficto-criticism at large, contextualize Jolicoeur's art in a

however, indebted to Brossard: the links I was able to draw between She would be the first sentence of my next novel and the work of Nicole Jolicoeur initiated my research into ficto-criticism. I believe what Brossard is doing in this book can be described as a ficto-criticism in the literary [Australian] sense.

²⁷ Nicole Brossard, Elle serait la première phrase de mon prochain roman / She would be the first sentence of my next novel, trans. Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood (Toronto: Mercury P, 1998) 97-99.

significant way, offering the reader/spectator the context and frame of mind to understand her images in a profound manner. Similarly, by using ficto-criticism as a model for Jolicoeur's practice, we can overcome any ethical discomfort with viewing these disturbing and de-contextualized photographs, and situate the artist's strategies within a theoretical framework that is as critical rigorous as it is sensitive and creatively liberating.

Conclusion

In his book Deconstructing History, Alan Munslow provides that the paradigm of history as recorded fact obscures its real character as a literary undertaking.¹ While *literary* implies that the resulting history is a written composition or occupied with texts and fiction, perhaps the fixation with history as recorded fact obscures a range of other undertakings that can be considered histories, or ways of telling stories of the past. By this tenet, other forms of history that deviate from the prevailing model -- and are more literary in nature -- are valuable and can be learned from. Nicole Jolicoeur's La verité folle is one such history.

Jolicoeur uses visual documents to compile a history and tell a story of cultural and historical significance. Her application of the visual document is thoughtful and precise, and is part of an extended revisiting of Charcot's analysis of hysteria. Sheena Gourlay has written that Jolicoeur's repeated use of certain materials and processes creates a

¹ Alan Munslow, Deconstructing History (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 11.

visual vocabulary.² With this working vocabulary, the artist "writes" a history that is accessed visually in a gallery, rather than textually, ostensibly in a library.

Although his work is viewed in an entirely different context, Charcot was also working with visual media. His hysteria was constructed and defined visually, with its precedents to be found not only in the history of science, but also in the history of art: Charcot was inspired by religious paintings and sculpture of mystics, demons, and the insane, when he identified the hysteric's postures. It was, however, through the institution of science that Charcot built his career and thus found his work legitimized. By contrast, Jolicoeur works completely within the domain of visual arts, her training -- albeit in a university -- is one of fine arts and not of science, she is by profession an artist and not a physician, and lastly, she is a woman and not a man. These differences situate her and Charcot on opposite ends of a spectrum of legitimacy.

Despite these differences, drawing comparisons between Jolicoeur and Charcot is inevitable. In so doing, we explore

² Sheena Gourlay, "Notes on the work of Nicole Jolicoeur: penser la réalité autrement," Matriart: A Canadian Feminist Journal 3.4 (1993) 9.

our social prejudice against their differing places in society, and how that affects a judgement of their work. Women's secondary status in society both interests Jolicoeur ideologically in her work and affects her personally as a woman artist. Women's art is valued less based on polarities of sexual difference, in so much as

[a]ll of these oppositional couplings (masculine/ feminine, culture/ nature, active/ passive, master/ slave, man/ animal) invariably rest on the domination of one of the terms by the other. . . . This polarization of terms consigns women, children, the mentally ill, the poor, slaves, non-whites, to the opposite (under) side of the One (the Same), the white adult male, healthy, rich and masterful, and constructs its negative pole, the Other.³

Despite the hundred years that separate Jolicoeur and Charcot, a disparity still exists between the sexes and classes that contributes to a scepticism of Jolicoeur's project, and the acceptance (in his own time, and in the annals of history) of Charcot's. This disparity is widened by the hierarchy of professions that gives more credence to the voice of a scientist than to that of an artist. Furthermore, Jolicoeur notes that "[w]omen's art is often the object of a

³ Nicole Jolicoeur "Of words, women, and art," trans. Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood, Feministe toi-même, féministe quand même. (Québec: Chambre Blanche, 1986) 45.

form of skepticism," and is frequently regarded as "non-significant."⁴

The visual nature of Jolicoeur's project revises both a history, and how that history is told. Foucault writes that archaeology aims "to operate a decentering that leaves no privilege to any centre."⁵ Likewise, Jolicoeur forgoes Charcot's self-centred history of hysteria in order to provide one she believes to be more legitimate -- an account that seeks to highlight the experience of those who had no voice, as well to examine the position of those who did, like Charcot and his colleagues.

As spectator, we are reluctant to look too closely at Jolicoeur's images because we are fascinated and attracted and simultaneously repelled by the photographs' exploitive roots. Jolicoeur examines this exploitation visually, occasionally provoking the criticism that she is being exploitive as well. Interestingly, this criticism might be circumvented if this was a body of work that appealed to other senses, or took a written form. For example, Didi-

⁴ Jolicoeur, "Of words, women, and art," 45. Italics mine.

⁵ Foucault, The Archeology of Knowledge, 205.

Huberman, in his textual investigation of the same body of work, has not been similarly accused of exploitation. It seems that the visual artist is open to a kind of criticism that the scholar is not, because she works directly with visuals as opposed to texts. Yet, as Jolicoeur explains, she is using her abilities as artist to approach issues of representation, and not out of a desire to exploit the image content:

C'est comme artiste que je m'intéresse à ce matériel; non par souci d'esthétisme, mais bien par un désir de comprendre comment et dans quelles conditions on produit de la "réalité," de saisir comment on construit du sens selon le choix et l'usage que l'on fait de certains codes de représentation dans un contexte et un temps donnés.⁶

The artist's contemporary understanding of science and photography is divorced from the nineteenth century cognizance which implied objectivity and truth.⁷ Out of that context, the photographs are no longer read literally.

The contemporary reference points by which Jolicoeur's work is grounded, specifically, her feminist politics, enforce the difference between Jolicoeur and Charcot.

⁶ Nicole Jolicoeur, "Le théâtre de la Salpêtrière," Photo Communiqué 10.1 (1988) 24.

⁷ Gourlay 9.

Jolicoeur's work is about representation; it is a history of representation. Jolicoeur studies the visual document, and presents it to be studied visually. In so doing, she examines the document visually with the same scrutiny that Charcot does, adopting his motto, "'regarder, regarder, regarder toujours et encore!'"⁸ Ironically, and to different ends, both look within to see without: Charcot projected his own will onto his subject, Jolicoeur, her feminist concerns regarding women's subjectivity and voice.

Both Foucauldian archaeology and ficto-criticism are critically rigorous ideologies and ways of writing, yet both provide deliberate alternatives to traditional forms of scholarship. Jolicoeur is not alone in her archaeological pursuits: a number of contemporary artists are engaged in work that reclaims history, specifically of the nineteenth century, and whose work could also be considered archaeologies. Using Jolicoeur as a case study has demonstrated why such an approach can be satisfying.

It is appropriate to use such theories in conjunction with Jolicoeur's work which concerns itself so apparently with the problems of traditional and patriarchal

⁸ Gourlay 6.

discourses. While Foucauldian archaeology provides for Jolicoeur's selecting of documents and proposes another history, ficto-criticism allows her to impose her own subjectivity on to the project. With respect to Jolicoeur's work, archaeology and ficto-criticism are complimentary. Foucauldian archaeology is associated with critical, investigative science, while ficto-criticism provides for a subjective position. Given that Charcot's photographic project so blatantly displays the collision of science and subjective will, it is entirely fitting that these two discourses are correlative when placed in the context of Jolicoeur's project.

Ficto-criticism furthers the archaeological enterprise by addressing something archaeology often fails to address: the archaeologist's own position. Ficto-criticism provides for a self-conscious, or self-aware critical enterprise. The fictional elements, and the pairing of disciplines, necessarily point to the author (or artist), because the textual flow of critical writing is disrupted by the personal. Similarly, the substantial altering of historical imagery in Jolicoeur's visual projects reverts attention to the artist: her politics, her culture, and her own voice.

Examining Jolicoeur's work in terms of archaeology and ficto-criticism reveals a new account of history, and a definitively innovative and open-ended means of articulating that history. Archaeology provides Jolicoeur a methodological context in which to explore a wealth of material; ficto-criticism allows her to interpret it and present it in a new and provocative light. In her examination of this chilling chapter in history, Jolicoeur stretches categorical boundaries, providing for the Salpêtrière hysterics, that what they endured not be forgotten or misconstrued, and for the voices of women, artists or otherwise, that they continue to be heard and valued.

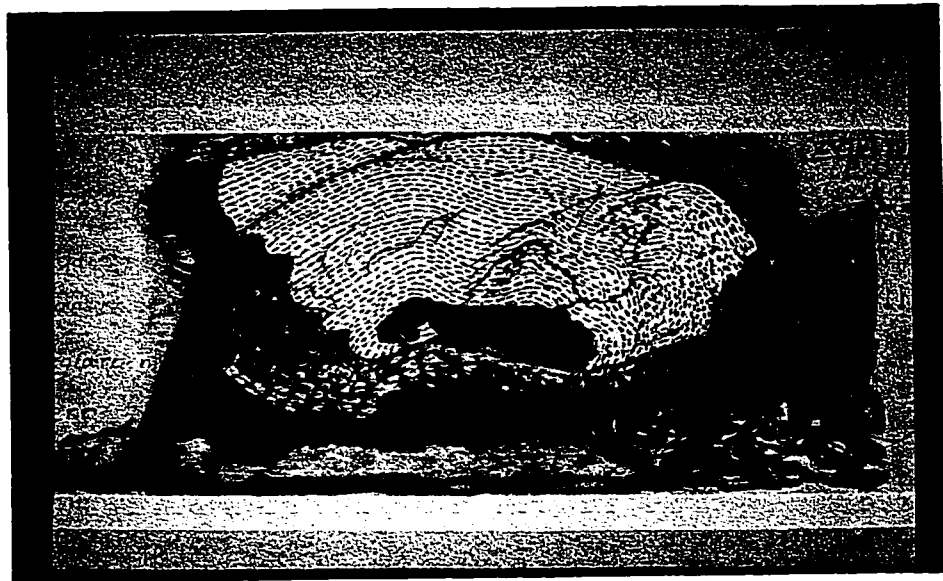
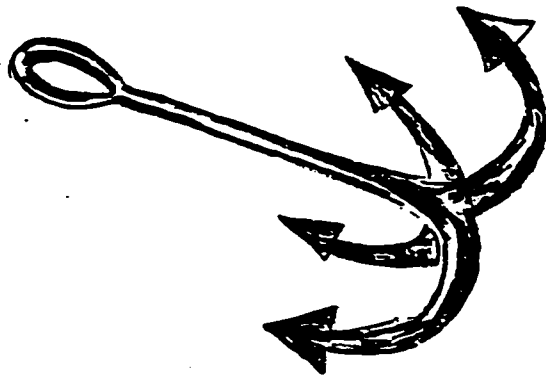
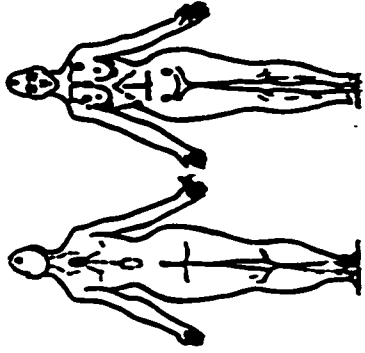
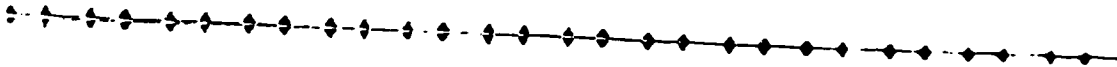


Fig. 1



Il fallait l'ancrer.



"Vous avez les points hystérogènes, il faut vous en servir."

Et il créa la carte idéale.

Fig. 2



Fig. 3

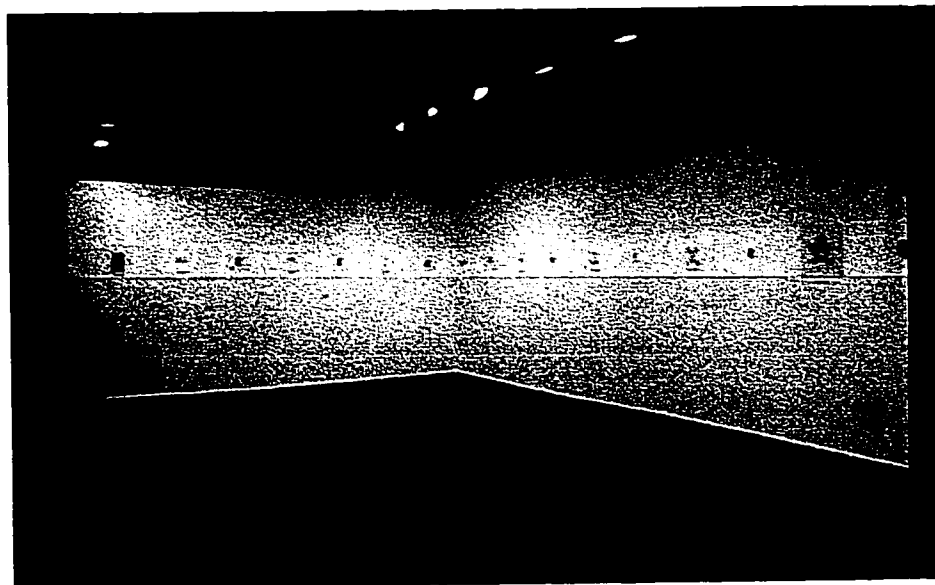


Fig. 4

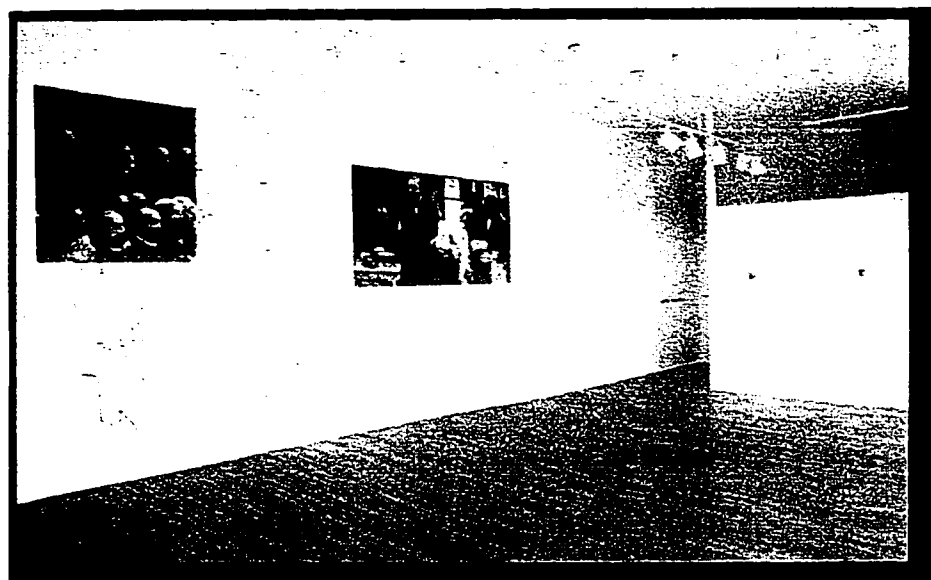


Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

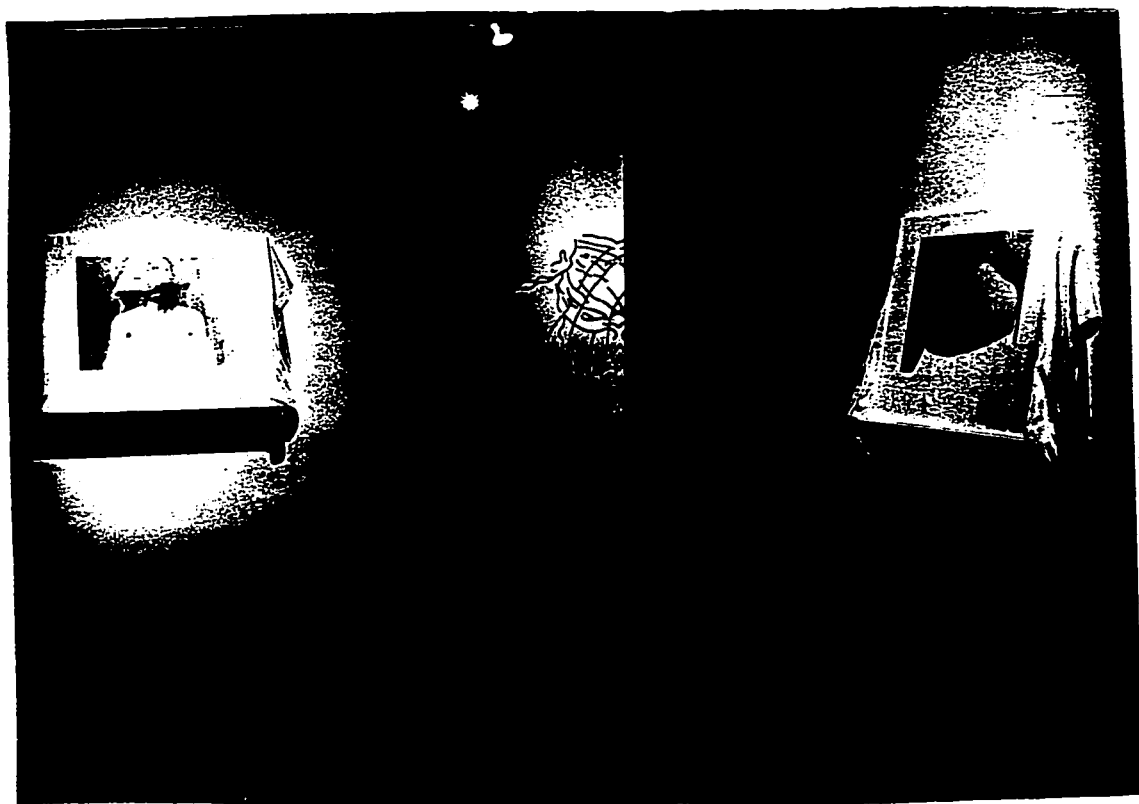


Fig. 9

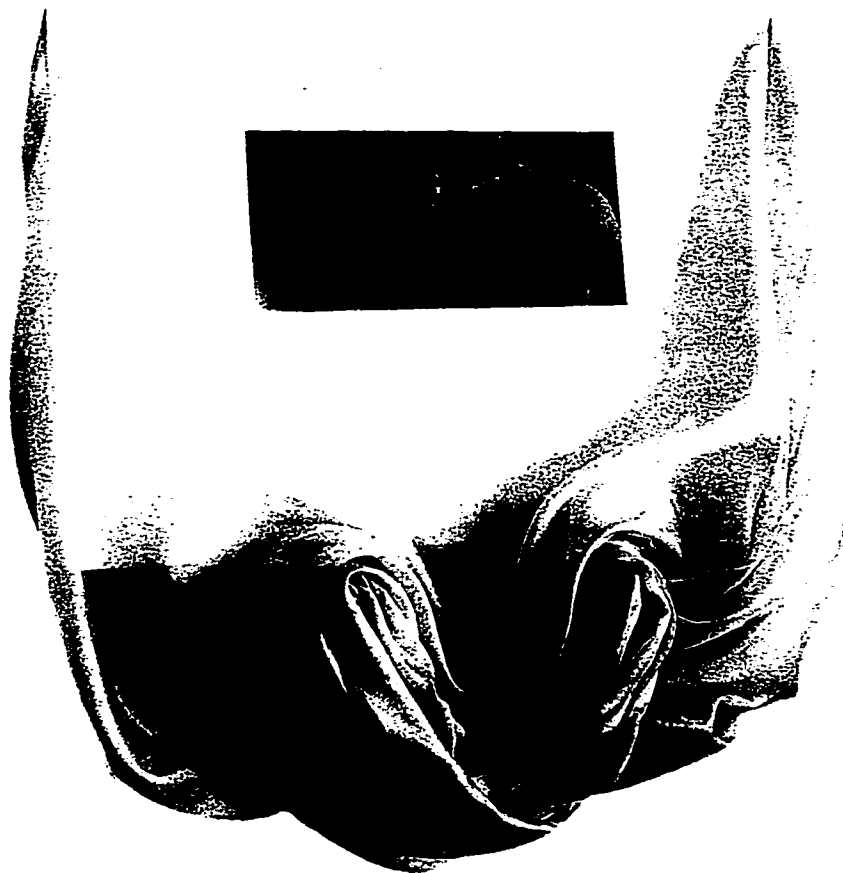


Fig. 10



Fig. 11



VUE DE L'HOPITAL ROYAL DE LA SALPETRIERE
du Hôpital général hors de Paris à une petite promenade de la porte Saint Bernard

Fig. 12

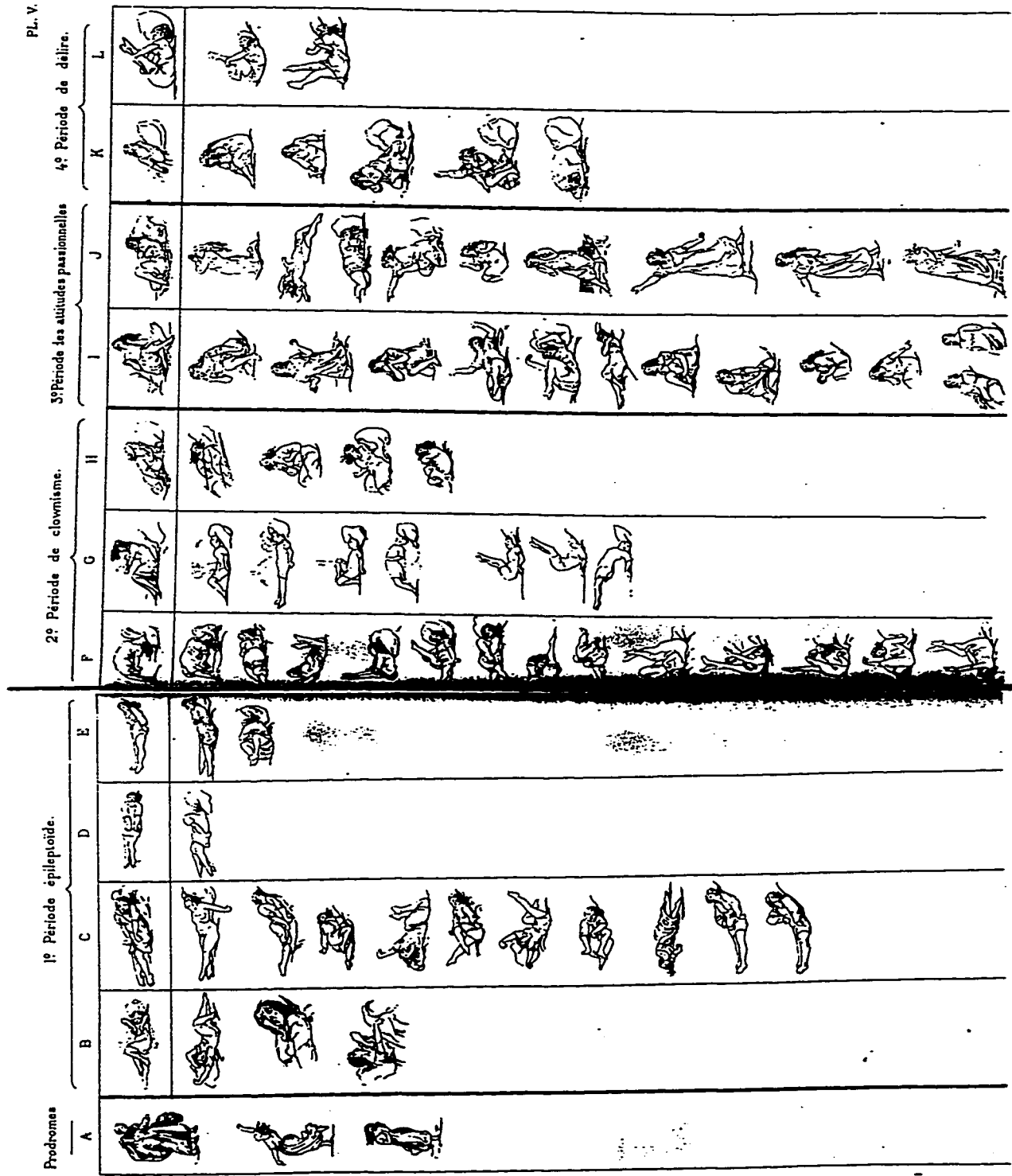


Fig. 13



Planche XXIII

ATTITUDES PASSIONNELLES

EXTASE (1878).

Fig. 14



VARIÉTÉ DÉMONIAQUE DE LA GRANDE ATTAQUE HYSTÉRIQUE
Contorsion.

Fig. 15



Planche VI.



Planche XI.

ATTAQUE : CRUCIFIEMENT

Fig. 16



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3

PHOTOTYPE NÉGATIF A. LONDE.



FIG. 4

PHOTOCOLOGRAPHIE CHÈNE & LONGUET.

SUGGESTIONS PAR LES SENS DANS LA PÉRIODE CATALEPTIQUE
DU GRAND HYPNOTISME

Fig. 17



Planche XXX.

HYSTÉRO-ÉPILEPSIE

CONTRACTURE

Fig. 18



Fig. 19

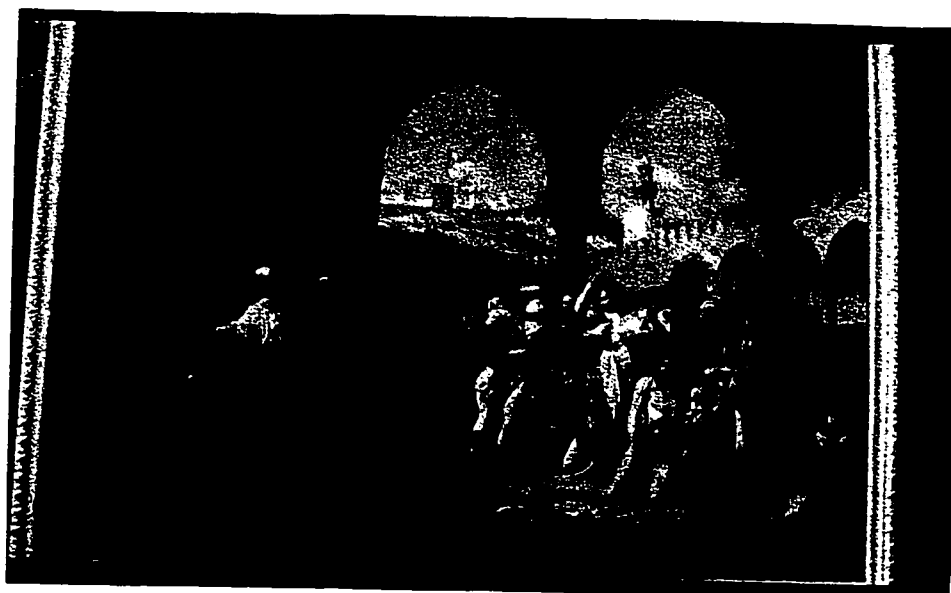


Fig. 20

TANT DE CHOSES N'ONT PAS ÉTÉ CONSIGNÉES DANS LES ARCHIVES. ENTRE NOUS, BIEN SÛR, SI QUELQU'UNE DÉCRIVAIT UN PHÉNOMÈNE À QUELQU'UNE D'AUTRE, L'AUTRE L'APPRÉCIAIT ET LE RACONTAIT À QUELQU'UNE D'AUTRE À SON TOUR. NOUS AVIONS AINSI ACCUMULÉ ENORMÉMENT DE SAVOIR. NOUS AVIONS TIRÉ DES CONCLUSIONS. NOUS AVIONS PRIS DES DÉCISIONS. MAIS NOUS N'AVIONS AUCUN POUVOIR POUR TOUT DOCUMENTER NOUS-MÊMES. ON POURRAIT MÊME DIRE QUE, PAR TRADITION, NOUS CROYIONS QUE TOUT CE QUE NOUS AVIONS APPRIS PERDRAIT DE SA VÉRITÉ UNE FOIS COISÉTÉ DANS LES MODÈS D'EXPRESSION HAUTEMENT PRISÉS PAR L'HOMME CIVILISÉ. EN DÉPÎT DE CELA, NOUS NE POUVIONS RÉSISTER À L'APPAREIL PHOTOGRAPHIQUE. QUELQUE CHOSE, PENSIONS-NOUS, SUR QUOI NOUS AVIONS LE CONTRÔLE, SERAIT ENREGISTRÉ PAR CELUI-CI, MALGRÉ L'INFLEXIBILITÉ AVEC LAQUELLE LE PHOTOGRAPHE SPÉCIFIERAIT CE QU'IL ATTENDAIT DE NOUS. NOUS AVONS DÉCIDÉ DE TENTER L'AVENTURE. D'UNE PART, NOUS SERIONS ENFIN EN MESURE D'INCARNER LEURS FANTASMES ENVAHISSANTS ET INHUMAINS AFIN QUE LA POSTÉRITÉ PUISSE EN JUGER. D'AUTRE PART, IL Y AVAIT TOUJOURS LA POSSIBILITÉ, AUSSI VAGUE FUT-ELLE, QUE QUELQUE CHOSE DE NOUS QUE NOUS SAVIONS, ET QU'ILS NE SAVAIENT PAS, SOIT CAPTÉ PAR L'OBJECTIF AVANT L'AVÈNEMENT DE LA PHOTOGRAPHIE, NOUS AVIONS PEINE À CROIRE QUE NOS DÉCOUVERTES S'INSCRIRAIENT UN JOUR DANS L'HISTOIRE. C'ÉTAIT PEUT-ÊTRE NAÏF DE NOTRE PART MAIS NOUS AVONS AJOUTÉ FOI, UN PEU DE FOI, À L'ÉPREUVE PHOTOGRAPHIQUE. OR, EN FIN DE COMPTE, NOUS ACCORDIONS PLUS QU'UN PEU DE FOI AUX GENS QUI, DES DÉCENNIES SINON DES SIÈCLES PLUS TARD, FERAIENT UNE INTERPRÉTATION DE CES CLICHÉS. QUAND ON NOUS VERRAIT REPRÉSENTÉES, NOUS ESPÉRIONS QU'ON RECONNAÎTRAIT QUE NOUS AVIONS SCIEMMENT CHOISI UNE MÉTHODOLOGIE QUI NE CHOSIFIAIT PERSONNE.



Fig. 21

Il y a une autre Marie. Son histoire est enfermée dans
une boîte. Elle est assise dans un jardin.

Elle déchire une photographie
parce qu'elle n'y retrouve
plus son visage.

Enfance de Marie.

Soupirs de

Marie.

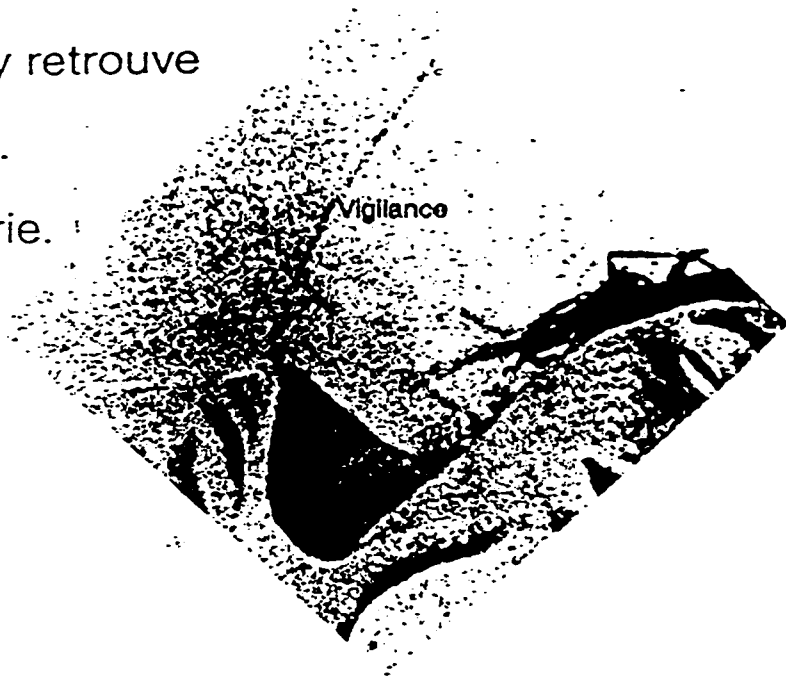


Fig. 22

Selected Bibliography

1. Publications by the artist

1.1 Books and artist projects

Jolicoeur, Nicole. "On naming: Charcot the Father and Charcot the Son 'explore the non-representable and non-represented." Artist project. Border/lines 6 (1986). 22-25.

_____. "Untitled." Artist project. Perspectives: écrit sur l'art 1.2 (1987). 5-6.

_____. Charcot: Deux concepts de nature. Artist book. Montréal: Artexte, 1988.

_____. "Untitled." Artist project. Parachute 50 (1988). 34-35.

_____. "Untitled." Artist project. Location (April 1989) Toronto: Women's Art Resource Centre (WARC). N/P available.

_____. "Rosalie." Artist project. Les Cahiers de la Femme (CWS) 11.1 (1990). 10.

_____. "Madeleine." Artist project. Impulse 16.1 (1991). 37.

_____. "La belle indifférente." Artist project. Tessera 10 (1992). N/P available.

_____. "Jeux délicieux." Artist project. Harbour 1.4 (1992). 30-31.

_____. Les Exercices de la Passion = Aura hysterica. Artist project. Montréal: Nicole Jolicoeur, 1992.

_____. "Scènes de séduction." Artist project. Trois, revue d'écriture et d'érudition 8.4 (1993). 159-168.

_____. "La Salpêtrière." Artist project. Souvenir écran. Québec: VU, 1994. 15-17.

_____. De humani corporis fabrica. Collaboration/ Artist project. Montréal: Arttexte, 1988.

_____. "Perpétuel baiser." L'art inquiet. Motifs d'engagement. Montréal: Galerie de l'UQAM, 1998.

Jolicoeur, Nicole, and Johanne Lamoureux. Traité de la perfection. Montréal: Vu, 1996.

Jolicoeur, Nicole, and Jeanne Randolph. La vérité folle. Exhibition catalogue. Vancouver: Presentation House Gallery, 1989.

_____. "Y-a-t-il une démarche hystérique?" Artist project. Q 24 (1990). 23-26.

Jolicoeur, Nicole, and Elise Turcotte. "La Dormeuse." Artist project. Le Devoir (Montréal) 22, 23, 24 April 1993. A3, B9, C13. Produced with Contaminations and La Centrale.

1.2 Essays

Jolicoeur, Nicole. "Le temps vu." Réseau art-femmes (traces). Exhibition catalogue. Québec: Musée de Québec, 1982. N/P available.

_____. "...un cheval, mais un oeil...." Bulletin de la Chambre Blanche. 12 (1985). 14-15.

_____. "Of words, women and art." Trad. Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood. Feministe toi-même, féministe quand même. Exhibition catalogue. Québec: Chambre Blanche, 1986. 44-47.

_____. "Thinking Race, Gender, and Class in Photography,"
(Paper presented at Talking Pictures/ Photo Communiqué
conference, Toronto, October 18 1987) Canadian Museum of
Contemporary Photography, Ottawa.

_____. "Le Théâtre de la Salpêtrière," Photo Communiqué
10.1 (1988). 24-29.

_____. "Combustion lente." Possibles 14.1 (1990). 9-19.

_____. "Vagabondages." Corpus. Exhibition catalogue.
Saskatoon, Sk: Mendel Art Gallery, 1995. 76-77.

_____. "Le je/nous de Madeleine," L'art inquièt. Motifs
d'engagement. Conference proceedings, Montréal, 1998.
Montréal: Galerie de l'UQAM, 1998. 130-145.

Jolicoeur, Nicole, and Nell Tenhaaf. "Defying the death
machine: an interview with Nancy Spero." Parachute 39
(1985). 50-55.

Jolicoeur, Nicole, Astrid Lagounaris, Suzanne Lemerise, et
al. "Comment arrêter la boucherie?" La Presse (Montréal)
16 December 1991. B3.

1.3 Interviews

Jolicoeur, Nicole, and Johanne Lamoureux. "Treatise on
Perfection." (Dialogue) Trans. Donald McGrath. Traité de
la perfection. Montréal: Vu, 1996. 59-64.

Jolicoeur, Nicole. Personal conversation. 1 October, 1999.

_____. Personal interview. 12 April, 2000.

1.4. Files on the Artist

Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto

Artexpte, Montréal

Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, Ottawa

Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, Médiatèque, Montréal

National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

2. Publications on the artist

Aquin, Stéphane. "Vérités et mensonges." Voir (Montréal) 30
September 1993. 28.

Arbour, Rose-Marie. "Arts engagés (2): Nicole Jolicoeur et
Barbara Steinman." Possibles 13.1-2 (1989). 169-178.

Beaudet, Pascale. "Affronter l'hystérie." ETC Montréal 9
(1989). 70-72.

Béland, Daniel. "Quand le dessin se pointe." Vanguard April-
May 1989. 40-41.

_____. "Charcot 2: à la manière." Bulletin de la Chambre
Blanche 16 (1987). 9-14.

Belisle, Marie. "Corps et Jouissances: images et
représentation." Deux ou trois choses que je sais
d'elles. Conference proceedings. Rimouski: Musée
Rimouski, 1986. 5-9.

Bellavance, Guy. "Des arts plastiques aux arts visuels:
Nicole Jolicoeur et l'art de l'exposition." Plaques
Sensibles, Bilan de l'année photographique 1990-1991.
Exhibition catalogue. Montréal: Editions Les Herbes
Rouges, 1992. 65-73.

Bérard, Serge. "Nicole Jolicoeur." Parachute 57 (1990). 36-
37.

Boulangier, Chantal. Reseau Art-Femme, (traces). Exhibition
catalogue. Québec: Musée du Québec, 1982.

- Boyer, Gilbert. "Nicole Jolicoeur." Parachute 92 (1998). 48-49.
- Bradley, Jessica. "Corpo Realities: From Postminimalism to Postmodernism." Corpus. Eds. Jessica Bradley, Bruce Grenville, and Nicole Jolicoeur. Exhibition catalogue. Saskatoon, Sk: Mendel Art Gallery, 1995. 70-75.
- Corbeil, Carol. "Nicole Jolicoeur, drawings and bookwork at YYZ." Globe and Mail (Toronto) 17 April 1986. D6.
- Crevier, Lyne. "Cartel d'audace." ici (Montréal) 9 September 1999. 33.
- Cron, Marie-Michèle. "Le voyeurisme l'emporte sur la pudeur." Le Devoir (Montréal) 19 June 1993. C16.
- _____. "La photo s'éclate à Montréal." Le Devoir (Montréal) 3 September 1993. B6.
- _____. "Ces espaces qui s'incarnent aussi." Le Devoir (Montréal) 25 September 1993. C14.
- Delagrave, Marie. "Féministe toi-même...féministe quand même!" Le Soleil (Québec) 19 May 1984. C6.
- _____. "'Oui, il faut continuer'." Le Soleil (Québec) 19 May 1984. C6.
- _____. "La pointe de l'iceberg de l'activité de Jolicoeur; des dessins et un livre." Le Soleil (Québec) 21 September 1985. C12.
- _____. "Reflexion sur l'autorité du discours scientifique." Le Soleil (Québec) 21 September 1985. C12.
- _____. "Au musée du Québec: le dessin actuel, source de remarquables 'errances'." Le Soleil (Québec) 17 December 1988. E16.
- _____. "La vérité folle de Nicole Jolicoeur: un commentaire piquant sur la 'vérité' scientifique." Le Soleil (Québec) 20 January 1990. E11.

Déry, Louise. Les lieux incertains. Montréal: Département d'arts plastiques de l'Université du Québec à Montréal, 1995.

_____. "The core of the exhibition: a wandering desire." La traversée des mirages: photographie du Québec: Champagne-Ardenne, été, 1992. Ed. Louise Déry, Gâetan Gosselin, Denis Lessard, et al. Exhibition catalogue. Troyes, France: Transfrontières, 1992. 74-87.

Dubois, Christine. "L'oeuvre collection, de la taxinomie du visible à l'utopie." Parachute 54 (1989). 47-51.

Dumont, Jean. "La photographie et l'art contemporain." Le Devoir (Montréal) 14 November 1992. C14.

_____. "Les patientes images." Le Devoir (Montréal) 13 October 1991. C10.

Duncan, Ann. "Canadian photo artists cover a lot of ground." The Gazette (Montréal) 25 September 1993. J4.

Fraser, Marie. "Letter from Montréal." Ç 62 (1999). 46.

_____. "Nicole Jolicoeur: Convulsions of the Image." Trad. Jeffrey Moore. L'Excès. Rimouski, Qc: Musée Régional de Rimouski, 1998. 25-28.

Gagnon, Monika. "Nicole Jolicoeur: 'Charcot: deux concepts de nature'." Parachute 44 (1986). 62-63.

Gilbert, J-P. "L'art inquiété par le document? Nicole Jolicoeur/ Alain Paiement/ Laurent Pilon/ Rober Racine." ETC Montréal 9 (1989). 42-49.

Godley, Elizabeth. "This gallery of grotesques not for the faint of heart." Vancouver Sun 13 April 1989, D8.

Gosselin, Gâetan. Souvenir Ecran. Exhibition catalogue. Quebec: Vu, 1994.

_____. "Constellation of voices." Trans. Michael Bailey. Traité de la perfection. Montréal: Vu, 1996. 57-58.

- Gourlay, Sheena. "Penser la réalité autrement: notes on the work of Nicole Jolicoeur." Matriart 3.4 (1993). 4-11.
- _____. Intimité. Exhibition catalogue. Rueil-Malmaison, France: Centre d'art contemporain de Rueil-Malmaison, 1995.
- Gravel, Claire. "Une photographie canadienne particulièrement riche." Le Devoir (Montréal) 8 April 1989. C10.
- _____. "'La théorie est une production de l'imaginaire.'" Le Devoir (Montréal) 13 May 1989. C11.
- _____. "L'extase photographique quelques photographes Montréalaises." Vie des Arts 136 (1989). 44-47.
- Greenberg, Reesa. "Nell Tenhaaf and Nicole Jolicoeur at Powerhouse." Vanguard September 1985. 34-35.
- Hakim, Mona. "Le redoutable monde des apparences." Le Devoir (Montréal) 7 November 1993. C12.
- Isaak, JoAnna. "Mapping the Imaginary." Psychcritic 1.3 (1985). 187-203.
- _____. "Mapping the Imaginary." Feminism and Contemporary Art - The Revolutionary Power of Women's Laughter. London & New York: Routledge, 1996. 156-181.
- Johnson, Lorraine. "Multiple Narratives in 'The Zone': an Interview with Cheryl Simon." Views 7.3 (1990). 6, 16.
- Koplan, Steven. "Media of Immediacy." Woodstock Times (New York) 12 April 1990. N/P available.
- Lachapelle, Francois. "Lorsque l'image informe et la forme reflète." Bulletin de la Chambre Blanche 14 (1987). 3-6.
- Laing, Carol. "Nicole Jolicoeur, Charcot: deux concepts de nature (livre d'artiste)." Parachute 55 (1989). 70.

- _____. "How can we speak to painting?" Sightlines: Reading Contemporary Canadian Art. Eds. Jessica Bradley and Lesley Johnstone. Montréal: Artexte Editions, 1994. 354-363.
- Lamarche, Bernard. "Le corps mis à nu: à Ottawa, quatre expositions sont consacrées au corps et à sa représentation." Le Devoir (Montréal) 23 November 1996. D11.
- _____. "L'art engagé. De l'art et ses rapports au politique." Le Devoir (Montréal) 15 February 1998. D5.
- _____. "Sur les traces de Mead et de Bateson: une scénographie impressionnante à partir d'un champ de fouilles." Le Devoir (Montréal) 13 February 1999. D7.
- Lamoureux, Johanne. "Back to School." Canadian Art 13.3 (1996). 44-45.
- _____. "French Kiss from No Man's Land." Arts Magazine 65.6 (1991). 48-54.
- Landry, Jacqueline. "Nicole Jolicoeur - Charcot: deux concepts de natures: regard sur le travail de l'artiste et réflexion sur la relation entre l'image et l'écriture." Perspectives: écrit sur L'art 1.4 (1988) 12-16.
- Larivée, Suzi. "Zones d'Extase" (exhibition leaflet). Quebec: Vu, 1994.
- Laurier, Marie. "L'art québécois envahit les Ardennes!" Le Devoir (Montréal) 15 July 1992. 11.
- Martin, Elizabeth & Vivian Meyer. "Nicole Jolicoeur." Female Gazes: Seventy Five Women Artists. Toronto: Second Story P, 1997. 144-145.
- Mays, John Bentley. "Outdoor artworks displayed." Globe and Mail (Toronto) 15 August 1987. C11.

- Mongrain, Claude. Le dessin errant. The Nineth Dalhousie Drawing Exhibition. Exhibition Catalogue. Halifax: Dalhousie Art Gallery, 1988.
- McGrath, Jerry. "Art in the Soo." Vanguard 17.1 (1988). 10-13.
- Miller, Marcus. "I've got my I on you: turning over anthroplogy." Hour (Montréal) 4 February 1999. 24.
- _____. "Turning on a paradigm: going back to the future with photography." Hour (Montréal) 16 September 1999. 34.
- Paquet, Bernard. "Detour par Bali." Vie des Arts 174 (1999). 56-58.
- Pope, Robert. "Le dessin errant, the Nineth Dalhousie drawing exhibition." Arts Atlantic 32 (1988). 15.
- Quine, Dany. "A la galerie Zanettin: Quatre artistes font chanter les formes et les couleurs." Le Soleil (Québec) 10 October 1992. C12.
- Randolph, Jeanne. "La vérité folle." Symbolizations and its Discontents. Toronto: YYZ Books, 1997. 153-159.
- Rivet, Christine. "Women's identity focus of Quebec artist's installation." Sault This Week (Sault Saint Marie, ON) 18 August 1987. N/P available.
- Ross, Rollande. "D'un continent a l'autre." Deux ou trois chose que je sais d'elles. Rimouski, Qc: Musée régional de Rimouski, 1986.
- Simon, Cheryl. The Zone of Conventional Practice and Other Real Stories. Montréal: Optica Gallery, 1989.
- St-Pierre, Gaston. self-defence. London, ON: London Regional Art and Historical Museums, 1993.
- St-Laurent, Francine. "88 artistes du Québec exposent leurs cartes de Noël." Le Devoir (Montréal) 8 December 1984, 41.

Taylor, Kate. "Art questions neurologist's sexism." London Free Press [ON] 21 June 1986. N/P available.

Therriault, Normand. "Jalonnement du terrain culturel au Quebec, Mapping Cultural Space." Fuse 14.1-2 (1990). 31-39.

Toupin, Gilles. "De l'art à Orford." La Presse (Montréal) 28 July 1973. D14.

Tregebov, Rhea. Work in Progress. Building Feminist Culture. Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987.

Viau, René. "Malgré un 'été show', l'art québécois demeure méconnu en France." La Presse (Montréal) 18 July 1992. D3.

_____. "L'art québécois sur la Rambla." La Presse (Montréal) 20 March 1999. D16.

Vogels, Josey. "Mall art: 'Des bruits et des rumeurs' takes the issue of violence on a multimedia tour of Montreal and Quebec." Hour (Montréal) 8 April 1993. 20.

3. General references

3.1 Books

Apter, Emily. Feminizing the Fetish: Psychoanalysis and Narrative Obsession in Turn-of-the-Century France. Ithica and London: Cornell UP, 1991.

Baron Antoine-Jean Gros, 1771-1835: painter of battles, the first romantic painter: [exhibition], the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, the Cleveland Museum of Art, in cooperation with Jacques Seligmann & Co. Inc., Under the Patronage of the Association française d'action artistique. Exhibition catalogue. New York: J. Seligmann, 1955.

- Beizer, Janet. Ventriloquized Bodies: Narratives of Hysteria in Nineteenth Century France. Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1993.
- Bernard, Denis, and André Gunthert. L'instant rêvé, Albert Londe. Laval (Qc): Éditions Trois, & Nîmes: Jacqueline Chambers, 1993.
- Bourneville, Désiré Magloire, and Paul Regnard. Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière. Paris: Au bureau du progrès médical/ Delahaye & Lecrosnier, 1876-1880.
- Brossard, Nicole. Elle serait la première phrase de mon prochain roman / She Would Be the First Sentence of My Next Novel. Trans. Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood. Toronto: The Mercury P, 1998.
- Bukdahl, Else Marie. "Description et appréciation." Diderot, critique d'art. Tome I, chapter II. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1980. 297-374.
- Chadwick, Whitney. Women, Art, and Society, rev. ed. London: Thames and Hudson, 1996.
- Charcot, Jean-Martin, and Paul Regnard. Nouvelle iconographie de la Salpêtrière. 1-28. Paris: Lecrosnier & Babé, 1888-1918.
- Charcot, Jean-Martin, and Paul Richer. Les démoniaques dans l'art, suivi de "La foi qui guérit". Ed. Pierre Fédida and Georges Didi-Huberman. Rpt. of Les démoniaques dans l'art. Paris: Delahaye & Lecrosnier, 1887. Paris: Editions Macula, 1984.
- Clément, Catherine. The Weary Sons of Freud. Trans. Nicole Ball. London and New York: Verso, 1987.
- _____. Syncopé: The Philosophy of Rapture. Trans. Sally O'Driscoll and Deirdre M. Mahoney. Minneapolis and London: U of Minnesota P, 1994.
- Dean, Mitchell. Critical and Effective Histories: Foucault's Methods and Historical Sociology. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.

- Didi-Huberman, Georges. Invention de l'hystérie. Paris: Editions Macula, 1982.
- Dreyfus, Hubert L., and Paul Rabinow. Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics, 2nd ed. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1983.
- Evans, Martha Noel. Fits and Starts: A Genealogy of Hysteria in Modern France. Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1991.
- Foucault, Michel. The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language. Trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Tavistock-Pantheon Books, 1972.
- _____. The Birth of the Clinic: An Archeology of Medical Perception. Trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith. 1994 ed. New York: Vintage-Random House, 1973.
- _____. The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, vol.1. Trans. Robert Hurley. 1990 ed. New York: Vintage-Random House, 1978.
- Freud, Sigmund. "Charcot." The Standard Editions of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. London: Hogarth P, 1953-74. 3: 17-18.
- Gilman, Sander L., ed. The Face of Madness: Hugh W. Diamond and the Origin of Psychiatric Photography. New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1976.
- _____. Seeing the Insane. 1982. Lincoln and London: U of Nebraska P, 1996.
- _____. Picturing Health and Illness: Images of Identity and Difference. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1995.
- Goldstein, Jan. Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987.
- _____., ed. Foucault and the Writing of History. Oxford and Cambridge, Mass: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1994.

- Holcroft, Thomas, ed. and trans., Essays on Physiognomy for the Promotion of the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind. London: Whittingham, 1804.
- Krauss, Rosalind, and Jane Livingstone, with Dawn Ades. L'amour fou: Photography and Surrealism. New York: Abbeville P, 1985.
- Lalvani, Suren. Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies. Albany: State University of New York, 1996.
- Larguier, Léo. La Salpêtrière. Lyon, France: Les Laboratoires Ciba, 1939.
- LeBrun, Charles. Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner les passions. Hildesheim, Zurich, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1982.
- Masson, Jeffrey Moussaieff. A Dark Science: Women, Sexuality, and Psychiatry in the Nineteenth Century. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 1986.
- Matlock, Jann. Scenes of Seduction: Prostitution, Hysteria, and Reading Difference in Nineteenth-Century France. New York: Columbia UP, 1994.
- Munslow, Alun. Deconstructing History. London and New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Pinel, Philippe. Traité médico-philosophique sur l'aliénation mentale, ou la manie. Paris: Richard, Caille, et Ravier, IX, 1801.
- Poster, Mark. Cultural History and Postmodernity: Disciplinary Readings and Challenges. New York: Columbia UP, 1997.
- Randolph, Jeanne. Symbolization and its Discontents. Toronto: YYZ Books, 1997.
- Rosenblum, Naomi. A World History of Photography. Rev. ed. New York: Abbeville P, 1981.

Russett, Cynthia Eagle. Sexual Science: The Victorian Construction of Womanhood. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1989.

Showalter, Elaine. The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture 1830-1980. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985.

Sontag, Susan. On Photography. New York: Delta, 1973.

Trillat, Étienne. Histoire de l'hystérie. Paris: Editions Seghers, 1986.

Veith, Ilza. Hysteria: The History of a Disease. Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1965.

3.2 Articles

Brewster, Anne. "Fictocriticism: pedagogy and practice." Crossing Lines: Formations of Australian Culture. Eds. Caroline Guerin, Philip Butterss, and Amanda Nettleback. Proceedings of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature Conference, Adelaide, 1995. Adelaide: Association for the Study of Australian Literature Ltd., 1996. 89-92.

Charcot, Jean-Martin, and Paul Richer. "Le Mascaron grotesque de l'église Santa Maria Formosa, à Venise et l'hémispasme glosso-labié hystérique." Nouvelle iconographie de la Salpêtrière. Tome 1. Paris: Lecrosnier et Babé, 1888. 87-92.

_____. "Les malades dans l'art." Nouvelle iconographie de la Salpêtrière. Tome 2. Paris: Lecrosnier et Babé, 1889. 146-154.

Cixous, Hélène. "Castration or decapitation," Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society 7.2 (1981). 41-59.

- de la Tourette, Gilles. "Considérations sur les Ecchymoses spontanées et sur l'état mental des hystériques." Nouvelle iconographie de la Salpêtrière. Tome 3. Paris: Lecrosnier et Babé, 1890. 49-72.
- Didi-Huberman, Georges. "Une notion du 'corps-cliché' au XIXe siècle." Parachute 35 (1984). 8-14.
- Guerin, Caroline, Philip Butterss, and Amanda Nettleback, eds. Crossing Lines: Formations of Australian Culture. Proceedings of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature Conference, Adelaide, 1995. Adelaide: Association for the Study of Australian Literature Ltd., 1996.
- Jameson, Frederic. "Andrea Ward Speaks with Frederic Jameson." By Andrea Ward. Impulse 13.4 (1987) 8-9.
- Kerr, Heather. "Fictocriticism, the 'Doubtful Category' and 'The Space Between.'" Crossing Lines: Formations of Australian Culture. Eds. Caroline Guerin, Philip Butterss, and Amanda Nettleback. Proceedings of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature Conference, Adelaide, 1995. Adelaide: Association for the Study of Australian Literature Ltd., 1996. 93-96.
- Krauss, Rosalind. "Poststructuralism and the Paraliterary." The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths. Cambridge, Mass: MIT P, (1985) 1996. 291-295.
- Nettleback, Amanda. "Notes towards an introduction," The Space Between: Australian Women Writing Ficto-Criticism. Eds. Heather Kerr and Amanda Nettleback. Nedlands, Australia: Western Australian P, 1998.
- Richer, Paul. "Du role de la graisse dans la conformation extérieure du corps humain." Nouvelle iconographie de la Salpêtrière. Tome 3. Paris: Lecrosnier et Babé, 1890. 20-26.
- Richer, Paul, Gilles de la Tourette, and Albert Londe. Preface. Nouvelle iconographie de la Salpêtrière. Paris: Lecrosnier et Babé, Tome 1. 1888. i-ii.

Robb, Simon. "Academic divination is not a mysticism: fictocriticism, pedagogy and hypertext." Crossing Lines: Formations of Australian Culture. Eds. Caroline Guerin, Philip Butterss, and Amanda Nettleback. Proceedings of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature Conference, Adelaide, 1995. Adelaide: Association for the Study of Australian Literature Ltd., 1996. 97-101.

3.3. Papers

Mannix, Patricia, A. "Feminine identity Otherwise: Moving Through the Latticework of Mary Kelly's Interim." Feminist Aesthetic Practices, Uncommon Senses: An Interdisciplinary Conference on Art and Culture. Montréal. 28 April, 2000.

Randolph, Jeanne. "The Ethics of Ficto-criticism." Ficto-criticism: Fantasy, Desire, and the Everyday Practice of Writing on Art. University Art Association Conference, Ontario College of Art. Toronto. 5 November, 1999.

4. Statements

Jeanne Randolph. E-mail to the author. 26 January, 2000.