

Female Desire and Transformed Masculinity: Imogen Cunningham's Photographs of the Male Nude*

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Abstract

This paper explores how Imogen Cunningham boldly envisioned woman-made, white masculinity and parodic subversions of the normative gender roles in her pioneering photographs of male nudes, which have received little attention in gender studies. Of special interest to me will be investigating the collusion and collision of Cunningham's gaze with the New Woman's gaze toward the woman-made men in the early-twentieth-century dance culture in theater and dance hall. My argument is that the New Woman's emergence as the primary figure in the consumption of the ethnically-other type of androgynous masculinity, gradually established in dance culture, inspired Cunningham to articulate her own fascinations and desire for the male nude through her photographs. However, her most innovative performative intervention, I believe, lies in directly offering a startling transformation of gender norms through shooting the sexually desirable white, male body without dissimulating her fantasy around the liminal Oriental scenarios. I would also like to apply Judith Butler's gender theory to further interpret how Cunningham created a radical New Woman's alternative visual practices for female desire and pleasure, which enacted a feminist deconstruction of the normative gender roles of the white man and woman in her day.

Keywords

Imogen Cunningham, male nude, Anne Brigman, Vaslav Nijinsky, dance culture, Judith Butler, gender parody

* I would like to thank Mieke Bal, Ernst van Alphen, and Daiwie Fu for their invaluable feedback and Joel Stocker for his editing of an earlier version of this article. My thanks also go to the anonymous reviewers for their perceptive comments. This work was financially supported by the Ministry of Science and Technology, formerly the National Science Council in Taiwan (NSC 99-2410-H-010-005).

Imogen Cunningham (1883-1976), one of the best-known photographers of the twentieth century, was a pioneering photographer who boldly photographed male nudes, often in landscape settings and notably from a woman's perspective. Her husband, Roi Partridge, frequently posed for her early tableaux of nude male bodies. The most innovative photographs are of Partridge's dance-like performances in Cunningham's *On Mount Rainier series* (1915). Three years later, Cunningham captured Partridge's nude body with dance-like poses again in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail series* (1918). The groundbreaking *On Mount Rainier series* exhibits Cunningham's sustained fascination with male nudes, which continued throughout her nearly seven-decade career.¹ Her contribution to the changing discourse on male nudes has received little attention in gender studies, even while being applauded by feminists since the second wave of the women's movement.

In the Cunningham literature, scholars have only barely engaged with the gender implications of her exploration of her husband's physical charms. Abigail Solomon-Godeau has pointed out that Cunningham's goal of photographing nude Partridge was "to take the authoritative convention of the female nude in nature, a convention underwritten by the construction of femininity *as* nature, and reverse its gender." She continued that "[t]he awkwardness of this transposition, its lack of persuasiveness, is not fundamentally related to any aesthetic deficiency on Cunningham's part. The problem, rather, has to do with the non-reversibility of the convention that associates the body and image of the woman with nature" (261; emphasis in original). Judith Fryer Davidov also mentioned that "[r]eversing the given construction of the female form *as* nature and inviting the spectator to gaze upon the erotically charged male body amounted to a transgression of conventions" (331; emphasis in original). Both Solomon-Godeau and Davidov succinctly stated Cunningham's innovative approach of gender inversions without further elaborating their gender significances, let alone contextualizing her innovation through the inspirations of Vaslav Nijinsky's dance and Anne Briggman's dance-oriented photographs of the female nude.

Richard Lorenz, followed by researchers, suggested that the titles and poses of both *The Bather* and *The Faun* in the *On Mount Rainier series* connect them with Nijinsky's performance of the faun in the Ballets Russes's 1912 production of *L'Après-midi d'un faune* (Imogen Cunningham: *On the Body* 17). However, the

¹ Cunningham's noted series of male nudes include photographs of the performances of her artist friend John Butler with an African mask in the early 1920s and modern dancers John Bovington and José Arcadio Limón in landscapes from the late 1920s to the 1930s, as well as Rainwater's performances in the series *On Oregon Beach* (1967).

gender significations of such a connection still need to be further discussed. Although Lorenz and Daniell Cornell assert that several of Cunningham's photographs in the *On Mount Rainier series* and *Roi on the Dipsea Trail series* summon the Narcissus images (Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: Ideas without End* 19; Cornell 132-33, 137), they do not notice that Partridge's dance-like poses might find inspiration from Nijinsky's performance, not to mention the gender overtones of such an inspiration. In addition, even though scholars have noted the influence of Brigman's female nude on Cunningham's male nude (Cornell 132-33, 137; Cutshaw 74; Davidov 330; Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: On the Body* 13), they do not point out that Brigman's influence included scenes incorporating dance-like postures and rhythms of the Grecian-inspired modern dance, let alone examining the gender significances of Cunningham's fascinations of male nudes with dance-like performance.

This paper will explore how Cunningham developed her gaze as a desiring female spectator of the male body in the broader, socio-cultural context of the 1910s. Of special interest to me will be investigating the collusion and collision of Cunningham's gaze with the New Woman's gaze toward the woman-made men in early-twentieth-century dance culture in the theater and dance hall. My argument is that the New Woman's emergence as the primary figure in the consumption of the ethnically-other type of androgynous masculinity, gradually established in theatre dance as well as in popular dance, inspired Cunningham to articulate her own fascinations and desire for the male nude through her photographs. However, the most innovative performative intervention of Cunningham's photographs, I think, lies in a startling transformation of gender norms through shooting androgynous images of the white, male nude without mediation through the ethnically-other type of male body. I would also like to apply Judith Butler's gender theory to further examine the novel gender implications proposed by Cunningham in photographing her husband's eroticized, androgynous performance in the *On Mount Rainier series*. I will develop an argument that Cunningham consciously manipulated the gender connotations of the early-twentieth-century dance culture by intimately collaborating with Partridge to create a radical New Woman's alternative visual practices for female desire and pleasure against the grain of the normative gender roles played by white man and woman in her day.

Cunningham's Early Photographic Development and Modern Ballet

Cunningham was a member of the upper-middle- and middle-class New

Women, a term referring to white feminist elites fighting for educational, occupational, and political equality with men from the latter half of the nineteenth century (Smith-Rosenberg 245-49). She majored in chemistry from 1903 to 1907 at the University of Washington in Seattle, where her interest in photography culminated in a graduation thesis on “Modern Processes of Photography.” Cunningham began her career as a soft-focus pictorialist. Her first nude photograph was a self-portrait in 1906 lying on her stomach in a field of dandelions on the University of Washington campus. It was a daring move for a woman to take a nude self-portrait in that era, although the grass hides her face in this fuzzy Pictorialist print. Her penchant for provocation as a feminist and an artist was apparent from the beginning of her photographic career.

From 1907 to 1909, Cunningham apprenticed at the Seattle studio of Edward S. Curtis, where she learned the techniques of retouching negatives and printing with platinum paper. In the fall of 1909, she was awarded a fellowship to study photochemistry with the world-renowned professor Robert Luther at the Technische Hochschule in Dresden, Germany. She completed her thesis for Luther in May 1910, “On the Self-Production of Platinum Papers for Brown Tones.” Upon her return to Seattle in September 1910, Cunningham opened her first commercial portrait studio at 1117 Terry on Seattle’s First Hill, beginning a long career as a prominent, professional photographer, which resulted in some of the most outstanding contributions to portrait, nude, botanical, and industrial photographs.

Cunningham during her career took a variety of photographs of nude figures, such as the nude male, female, children, and family. Her male nude in the *On Mount Rainier series* could be traced back to her early symbolist works. She captured staged biblical double nudes in the Pictorialist style, theatrically reversing the active male and passive female dichotomy under patriarchy. For example, in *Eve Repentant* (1910), Adam’s body, collapsing from grief, is firmly grasped by Eve’s arm and hand. Such a despondent male nude reverses the male-female, dominant-submissive gender roles, and henceforth feminizes the male nude. It foreshadowed Cunningham’s lifelong tendency to photograph emasculating male nudes.

Anne Brigman’s works, merging the female nude to the landscape, have often been regarded as a major influence on Cunningham’s male nude in the natural setting. I would like to claim that both Brigman’s and Cunningham’s nudes shared the dance-like postures, movements, and rhythms, influenced by the Grecian-inspired modern dance. Cunningham’s sustained interest in photographing figures in dance-like postures through her lifetime was inspired by Brigman’s works as early as her symbolist period. Since 1906, Brigman had consistently shot female nudes posed in

the atmospheric landscapes of the Sierra Nevada Mountains in Northern California to create a visual harmony between the figures (often female nudes) and nature. Richard Lorenz posits that “Cunningham must have seen and to a degree absorbed Brigman’s work published in *Camera Work*,” although Cunningham claimed that she had never followed Brigman’s photographs (*Imogen Cunningham: On the Body* 13, 38). Judging from the visual clues, I think that Cunningham was surely familiar with Brigman’s Pictorialist works, balletically merging the female figure with the landscape.

Brigman’s photographs featuring female nudes with ballet-like poses in natural settings are often reminiscent of her contemporary modern dancers’ performances, especially the San Francisco born Isadora Duncan’s dancing (Davidov 319, 323; Pyne 88-92).² Duncan was a pioneer of free dance, inspired by dancing figures from Greek vases, bas reliefs, and sculptures, of which movements were regarded by her as derived from nature. She danced with loose hair, bare feet, and free-flowing tunics to liberatingly discover a sensuous naturalness of movement in correspondence with nature, akin to that of the Greeks (Foley 78, 82-83; Partsch-Bergsohn 2; Pyne 89). As in Duncan’s dance, Brigman’s theatrical photographs often choreographed female bodies balletically to merge harmoniously with the free, wild nature. For example, in *The Dying Cedar* (1908, negative 1906), Brigman “strike[s] a ‘Grecian,’ Isadora Duncan pose” (Piero n. pag.). The postures and movements inspired by modern dance in Brigman’s images must have enhanced Cunningham’s sensibility to balletically create harmony between the figure and landscape.

Cunningham explored the female and male bodies with dance-like postures in her photographic odes to William Morris’s fantasy novel and poem in 1910, including *The Wood Beyond the World*, *Veiled Woman*, *The Dream* (Cutshaw 41). Ben Butler and Clare Shepard, her Seattle neighborhood artists, served as models for these symbolist tableaux with soft focus. In *Clare Shepard and Ben Butler* (1910), the semi-nude Butler with a headcloth and a loincloth, and Shepard with a long scarf around her shoulders and hands, look like they are performing a *pas de deux* in the Grecian-inspired modern dance in the woods, reminding one of Duncan’s free dance with a long flowing scarf. Cunningham, however, began to explore graceful dance-like poses of the male models as well as the female models, instead of Duncan’s choreography of solo female performers. In *Ben Butler* (1910), Butler, wrapped in

² Dance images were pervasive for the American Pictorialists, including Arnold Genthe (featured Duncan), Baron Adolf de Meyer (recorded Nijinsky), Edward Steichen, Edward Weston, Anne Brigman, George Seeley, Clarence white (Kendall 124).

the same headcloth and loincloth, exhibits his semi-nude upper body against a fuzzily atmospheric background with a dark tree trunk. His beautiful and elegant left hand, emerging from the mysterious tree trunk, is gracefully touching his right arm as if in a male modern dancer's hand gesture. Cunningham gradually developed these early attempts of capturing the semi-nude male body into feminized and eroticized male nudes in dance-like poses in her *On Mount Rainier series*.

Cunningham's Breakthrough Male Nudes and Modern Ballets

Cunningham married the Seattle etcher Roi Partridge on February 11, 1915. She had been introduced to Partridge by Clare Shephard, John Butler, and Ben Butler (Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: Ideas without End* 18). Married at the age of thirty-one, Cunningham was five years Partridge's senior. According to Partridge, his new wife suggested that he pose nude for her to take photographs (Cunningham 29), while he sketched and drew the landscape directly on copper plates in the nature terrain of Mount Rainier. Cunningham explored her husband's body along the slopes, beside or in a pond, with trees, and so on, in the wilderness through soft-focus Pictorialism. Partridge subsequently became her most-photographed model. Cunningham had three sons with Partridge. In 1917, they moved to San Francisco in order to be closer to Cunningham's parents in Sonoma county during her difficult second pregnancy, with twins. In 1918, the couple again explored the nearby wilderness, northern California's Dipsea Trail, a seven-mile scenic trail in Mill Valley, California. In the series *Roi on the Dipsea Trail*, Cunningham captured him posing on the rocks or near the water's edge. This series of photographs, much sharper and clearer, suggests a gradual move away from Pictorialism toward Modernist photography.

Cunningham showed her interest in capturing Partridge's dance-like performance in the *On Mount Rainier series*. She took several photographs of Partridge posed nude in landscape settings, reminding one of Nijinsky's performances in the Ballets Russes, such as *Narcisse* (1911) and *L'Après-midi d'un faune* (1912). Some of these photographs are also reminiscent of Anne Brigman's works, which feature female nudes performing balletically and merging with the water or with blasted tree trunks and branches, sometimes with titles having mythological or religious implications.

Lorenz claims that both the titles and poses of *The Bather* (Fig. 1) and *Mount Rainier 2* or *The Faun* (Fig. 2) refer to *L'Après-midi d'un Faune*. Cornell is the most explicit on this point: "Partridge's position echoes the opening posture of Vaslav Nijinsky, whose sensuous and erotic performance as a sexually frustrated faun in that

ballet both tantalized and scandalized bourgeois society” (130-31). I would like to underscore that the *On Mount Rainier series* was achieved by the intimate collaboration between Cunningham and Partridge. Both of them were inspired by their visual memories of widely circulated illustrations and photographs of Nijinsky's revolutionary choreography and performance in *L'Après-midi d'un faune*.

The Ballets Russes, after its overnight success in Paris in 1909, had an enormous impact on modern dance, theatre, photography, painting, design, fashion, music, and literature in Europe and the US in the 1910s. Nijinsky, its leading dancer, bewitched millions of women with his androgynous, eroticized, and often Orientalized dancing body (MacDonald 174-79; Wollen 5-33), which I am going to contextualize in the last section. Nijinskymania signified the coming of age of a new genre of ballet, in which the body on display is male, not so much female. Steven Neale asserts that in the patriarchal society, “only women can function as the objects of an explicitly erotic gaze;” men who are sexually displayed are feminized with the same conventions that govern the eroticization of women (14-15). Nijinsky's appeal, at least to female audience members, rested firmly on his body as an object of desire. In addition to occupying feminized and eroticized positions, Nijinsky has been regarded as an embodiment of the androgyne; André Levinson elegantly states that Nijinsky's “elemental male strength is tamed by the effortless, matchless grace of an ephebe” (87). His dancing body, gestures, and movements were full of fascinating combinations of athletic strength and arresting grace.

The 1912 Parisian première of *L'Après-midi d'un faune* created one of the most shocking moments in the history of ballet. The scandal was attributed to Nijinsky's indecent gestures, his provocative costumed body, and his innovative choreography. Firstly, the final scene of Nijinsky's dancing was highly controversial, because in it the faun lies on the veil left by the nymph he was chasing, where he indulges in a sexually suggestive act (Järvinen 103). Secondly, Léon Bakst's costume design for Nijinsky presented his body as spectacle. The faun wore skin-colored tights and a sleeveless leotard with irregular patches of brown that were partly painted on his bare arms. The revealing, skin-tight costume alluded to goat fur and the wreath of leaves designed to highlight the faun's crotch, which carried an erotic charge. Nijinsky's semi-naked dancing body occupied the place of an erotic object, making a shocking assertion of the allure of a desirable and henceforth androgynous or effeminate male body (Järvinen 33). Thirdly, Nijinsky's choreography was inspired by stylized figures in the ancient Greek friezes and vase paintings. The dancers were barefoot, moving their limbs through jerky, angular movements in a horizontal, frieze-like flattened way in order to bring to life the stylized figures. These innovative

movements were enacted in a shallow, compressed stage space in which the dancers kept their shoulders as square as possible but held their face, hands, and arms in profile without meeting the audience's gaze (Burt 35-36; Järvinen 38).

Owing to these most frequently mentioned factors, Nijinsky's image as faun precipitated a sensational controversy over the Ballets Russes among Parisian audiences and received a great deal of attention in the press in France. The adventurous artistic and choreographic choices also occupied enthusiastic discussions and inspired passionate support among artistic and intellectual elites. Reports of the controversy appeared frequently in various newspapers and art/theatrical magazines internationally (Burt 34; Järvinen, 28). Illustrations of these reports contain plenty of photographs, drawings, and sketches. Baron Adolf de Meyer's thirty photographs of *L'Après-midi d'un faune* in the soft-focus Pictorialist style, commissioned by Nijinsky and taken in his London studio in June of 1912 shortly after his first public performance, were also published as collotypes in an edition of 1,000 in 1914 (Nijinska et al. 508).³

Both the titles and poses of *The Bather* and *The Faun* in the *On Mount Rainier* series prove that Cunningham was familiar with some illustrated reports of Nijinsky's dance, especially concerning Nijinsky's image as faun with sexually transgressive messages, when she began to take photographs of Partridge. The last section is going to further explore Cunningham's innovative dialogue with these messages. I think that Partridge's sojourn in Paris from 1911 to 1914 made his collaborative performance in the *On Mount Rainier* series possible. Partridge was primarily self-taught as an etcher in Paris and exhibited with the Chicago Society of Etchers at the invitation of its organizer, Bertha Jaques (Ward 3). Partridge also worked as a model for artists and photographers in Paris (Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: Ideas without End* 16; Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: Flora*, 10, 14; Ward 4), which one can imagine helped him later in working to meet Cunningham's creative vision. At the time Partridge was in Paris, the Ballets Russes was on an extraordinarily successful run of several of its ballets, including *Narcisse* and *L'Après-midi d'un faune*. There is no evidence that Partridge attended Nijinsky's performances, but he must at least have read some of the wide array of press reviews and articles with illustrations on the Ballets Russes, including daily newspapers such as *Le Figaro*, theatrical reviews such as *Comoedia* and *Comoedia Illustré*, the lifestyle weekly *L'Illustration*, and artistic and intellectual journals (Bellow 6).⁴

³ The De Meyer session was one of the first photographic studies that captured a dance performance inside of a photographer's studio (Huddleston 117, 152).

⁴ The influence of the Ballets Russes on Partridge could also be seen in his early etching *White*

I would like to underscore that both Cunningham and Partridge, as artists working on still images, were much more likely inspired by the widely spread photographs, drawings, and cartoons capturing Nijinsky's performance, for it is quite possible that they had never seen Nijinsky dancing on stage.⁵ Besides, Nijinsky in fact conceived his choreography "as a succession of strongly accented and arrested movements in time" (Néagu 58). Such innovative choreography facilitated almost all his contemporary photographers and illustrators to capture the held poses of his dance, rather than a single moment of fluid movement (Gesmer 82-94). Henceforth, my discussion of Nijinsky's influence on Cunningham and Partridge is going to focus specifically on performance photographs and drawn illustrations of his body as the faun with arrested poses.

Both Cunningham's *The Bather* and *Mount Rainier 2* or *The Faun* are soft-focus representations of the nude Partridge, seated in a squatting pose at the edge of a still pool with graceful, dance-like poses. *The Bather* is more tightly cropped, while Partridge makes for a much elongated silhouette through horizontally stretching his body out closely to a supine posture in *Mount Rainier 2* or *The Faun*. They are closely related to frozen gestures of Nijinsky as the faun in still images, such as Baron Adolf de Meyer's photographs of Nijinsky's dance in *L'Après-midi d'un faune* (Fig. 3, 4).

There is quite a bit of visual evidence that Nijinsky's posed images with animalistic eroticism had a shaping influence on Cunningham's imagination and Partridge's collaboration. Cunningham made Partridge, like Nijinsky, theatrically stage and seductively enact eroticized roles from Greek mythology. To my eyes, Partridge's sensuous images, to some extent, evoke the renowned held poses of Nijinsky's still images. In *Mount Rainier 2* or *The Faun*, Cunningham captured Partridge lying down on his elbow with languorously curved back and highly flexed knees. In *The Bather*, Partridge squatted himself down as if moving with bent knees in a horizontal, stylized way, featuring angular leg movement with stretched-out arms. In both photographs, Partridge was shot entirely in profile, doubling his image in the reflection. His androgynous body, with its refined embodiment of graceful strength,

Butterfly (1912), reminding one of Léon Bakst's costume designs with a weightless dancer accompanied by an exquisitely patterned scarf, such as the costume rendering of Nijinsky in

L'Après-midi d'un faune. Even though there is no definitive proof that Cunningham's male nude was directly inspired by Nijinsky and Brigman, my reading of their influences is built on the concept of intertextuality, developed by Roland Barthes. He posits that any one text always bears the imprints of many other pre-existing texts. Its meaning does not come from the author, but is produced by the reader, who connects it to the complex network of previous texts invoked in the reading process, even if "the general field of anonymous formulae whose origin can scarcely ever be located" (Barthes 39).

⁵ There is no verified film footage of Nijinsky dancing (Huddleston 108-09).

strikes stylized poses without meeting the gaze of the spectator, eliciting feelings of erotic exhibitionism, just like Nijinsky's sexually charged images in profile with stylized gestures, angular movements, and downward glances. Cunningham also arranged Partridge's performing body in a shallow, compressed space parallel to the picture plane, which is similar to the horizontal, frieze-like stage space of *L'Après-midi d'un faune*.

In *The Bather*, Partridge's squatting pose, angular gesture, and outstretched arms, unfurling a sensuous, animal kind of beauty, is similar to Daniel de Losques's noted cartoon of Nijinsky dancing as the virile and graceful half-human creature of a faun, published in *Le Figaro*, 30 May 1912 (Fig. 5). As an etcher, Partridge might have been keen on this cartoon and struck a similar posture through recollection while modeling for Cunningham. Such an animal-like pose, which elicits sensuous feelings and associations, puts Partridge in a desirable and sexually objectified position.

There are variations of the Narcissus theme in the *On Mount Rainier series*, including *On Mount Rainier 1* (Fig. 6), and *On Mount Rainier 10* (Fig. 7).⁶ Cunningham also continued capturing Partridge's nude performance as Narcissus in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail and Roi on the Dipsea Trail 2*. The theatricality of Partridge's androgynous performance of Narcissus is also imbued with the aura of feminized male dancing. For example, in *On Mount Rainier 1*, Partridge squats down on a highly reflective pool of ice. Like Narcissus, he sensually bends over the pool to gaze spellbound at his own image with dancer-like grace. His hands delicately reach toward the surface of the ice as though trying to touch his reflection. Cunningham, a Pictorialist at that time, captures subtle blurring textures and achieves a painterly quality through hazy soft focus effect. Partridge's body is transformed into a work of art with subtle tonal nuances and rich atmospheric mood. Partridge is absorbed in the enveloping atmosphere with his look of almost hiding in the shadow so that he could barely acknowledge the camera and could not defend against being looked at in an erotic way. His elegance, echoed by his reflection, incites the viewer to linger over it, enticing a gaze desirous of him as an object of fantasy. Cunningham's representation associates Partridge with a form that has traditionally served as a sign of femininity. The strength of Partridge's muscular body is tamed by the effeminacy of his elegant pose and his sexual objectification. In other words, Partridge's position as erotic spectacle emasculates him.

Partridge's nude performance as Narcissus was broadly inspired by Nijinsky's dancing, including *Narcisse* and *L'Après-midi d'un faune*. Nijinsky's dancing in the role of Narcissus in *Narcisse* was widely taken in the Anglo-American press to be

⁶ There is at least another photograph in this series, which echoes the Narcissus theme (Partridge).

full of feminine grace, congenial to his self-awareness of his own beauty (Järvinen 129). According to the very few surviving photographs of Nijinsky in *Narcisse* (Kirstein 31, 122; Magriel 40), he wore a Greek tunic, which covered his torso. Although Partridge strikes a stylized dance-like pose in profile with an effeminate connotation like Nijinsky's performance in *Narcisse*, his naked body, without donning a tunic, looks more like Nijinsky's semi-naked impersonation of faun. Cunningham captured his compressed bodily posture against a horizontal, flattened, shallow backdrop, creating a frieze-like pictorial space, just like the planar style in Nijinsky's dancing.

Nijinsky's influences also went hand in hand with the inspirations of Duncan's free dance through Brigman's photographs in Cunningham's early works of the male nudes. Most of the *On Mount Rainier series*, no matter if balletically merging Partridge's naked body with water or tree trunks and branches, are works that resonate with Brigman's photographs of female nudes with similar compositions, just as Davidov asserts that "Cunningham experimented with 'doing Brigmans'" in this series (330).

For example, Cunningham's *On Mount Rainier 1* recalled Brigman's *The Bubble* (1907) (Fig. 8). In *The Bubble*, Brigman captures a nude young woman squatting in profile at the edge of a pool with dancer-like postures and rhythm. Her graceful outstretched right arm is scooping up a large bubble floating atop the still water. Her body is merging with her blurry reflection in this dreamy landscape, achieved by the diffusing, soft focus effect. In *On Mount Rainier 1*, Partridge was squatting down and leaning over in an almost fetal position, apparently attempting to cancel the distance between his body and his mirrored image in the icy pool through the seeming physical proximity of his palms to the surface of the ice. The mirror-like pool functioned as a natural metaphor of continuity, of reflecting Partridge's body on the world of the water, with his darker image, blurred, merging with out-of-focus reflections of pine trees into the water. His intense absorption in his reflection looks like Narcissus yearning to recreate the blissful state of life in the womb of Mother Nature.

Another example is the similarity between Cunningham's *On Mount Rainier 4* (1915) (Fig. 9) and Brigman's *Finis* (1912) (Fig. 10) with the dancer-like poses of their models. In *Finis*, a nude female model perches on a big rock with a dying cedar's twisted roots, her back is arched and her head is bent, her hands clasped. Her body is arranged to echo the dramatic movements of the cedar. She surrenders her body to the shape of the wind-ravaged tree to her left, as if mimicking the dramatic movement of its contorted trunks and nearly bare branches. In *On Mount Rainier 4*, Partridge

crouches beside a twisted mass of exposed branches on the mountain with his arms entangled with the bare branches in a manner that almost grafts these striated, twisted branches to his flesh. The gap between his nude form and the branches is blurred, nearly indecipherable.

Cunningham's pioneering pursuit of alternative representations of the male nude was inspired by Grecian-inspired modern ballet, and was achieved by Partridge's willingness to integrate her new gender attitude with his nude modelling. In other words, Partridge became a working collaborator in the process of creating the *On Mount Rainier series* as well as *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* and *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 2*.

Cunningham's Gender Parody

Cunningham was a feminist and part of a growing circle of young bohemian artists, advocating artistic and social change. Partridge, as a member of this circle, played an active role in the consolidation of his wife's feminist activism. His nudes were physically, emotionally, and sexually feminized by occupying eroticized positions for her erotic experimentations. These photographs theatrically offered double gender role reversals.

Cunningham remarkably captured Partridge's white, male nude as an object of erotic desire, occupying a position that patriarchal tradition usually reserved for the female nude. Cunningham also reversed the traditional affinity of female nude in/as nature to male nude in/as nature by capturing Partridge's nude in harmony with the natural world, even though he stayed in Mount Rainier for sketching. Set against the term of hegemonic masculinity, Partridge was not only deflected from the masculine-defined activities of making culture, but also occupied eroticized positions prone to the spectator's gaze. What were the gender implications of such theatrical double-gender role reversals in the *On Mount Rainier series*? Did Cunningham merely leave intact the problematic binary structure of the traditional gender roles, i.e. the male as the desiring subject and the female as the eroticized object as well as the male as culture and the female as nature, without disrupting the hierarchy between its basic terms?

I would like to propose that the theatrical double-gender role reversals in Cunningham's breakthrough male nudes were in fact her parodic strategies to denaturalize gender norms and to reconstitute female desire. According to Judith Butler, gender parody is subversive because it displaces the performativity of hegemonic gender norms. Butler maintains that all signs of gender identities "are

performative in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are *fabrications* manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means” (*Gender Trouble* 136; emphasis in original). She also espouses a paradigm of “performativity as citationality” and emphasizes that performativity is not a single self-controlling act or choice, but the reiteration and transformation of hegemonic gender norms and identity practices (*Bodies That Matter* 14). Gender identities become discursively naturalized through regulated repetitions of bodily acts and gender practices within the binary gender system of patriarchy. However, when gender performativity is “repeated in directions that reverse and displace their originating aims,” the socially accepted gendered norms—man and woman, masculine and feminine—are parodied and undermined (123).

Drawing on Judith Butler’s discursive account of gender performativity and subversive parody, I think that the theatrical double-gender role reversals throughout the *On Mount Rainier* series in fact exhibit Cunningham’s critical stance, shared by Partridge’s performative modelling, against the hegemonic gender norm through employing the transgressive potential of gender deconstruction. Firstly, the reversal of femininity and masculinity between Cunningham and Partridge were theatrically featured by Partridge’s androgynous or effeminate impersonation with disparate corporeal signs, such as his elegant yet muscular body, graceful yet athletic gestures or motion, and eroticized yet vigorous position. Such distinctly androgynous incongruity of masculine and feminine codes could be interpreted as demonstrating displaced and reversed performativity of gender identities. Butler argues that the fabrications of gender coherence are exposed by “the cultural emergence of those ‘incoherent’ or ‘discontinuous’ gendered beings who appear to be persons but who fail to conform to the gendered norms of cultural intelligibility by which persons are defined” (*Gender Trouble* 17). Cunningham’s practices of gender parody play on the radical dissonance between anatomical sex and socio-culturally constructed gender identities and henceforth reveal that, in Butler’s words:

When the constructed status of gender is theorized as radically independent of sex, gender itself becomes a free-floating artifice, with the consequence that *man* and *masculine* might just as easily signify a female body as a male one, and *woman* and *feminine* a male body as easily as a female one. (*Gender Trouble* 6; emphasis in original).

By so doing, Cunningham made “gender trouble” through demystifying the naturalized and essentialist accounts of fixed binary gender identities reproduced by

the regulatory patriarchy.

The deconstructionist gender role reversal of Cunningham and Partridge's intimate collaboration also denaturalized the binary system of gendered looking. Cunningham adopted spectatorial transvestism in such a gender role reversal. Miriam Hansen claims that the widespread use of male stars as eroticized objects of the female gaze in a crop of films of silent cinema, rooted in the 1910s and emerging in the 1920s, enacted a complicit theatricality of gender role reversal. Such gender role reversal involved "a greater degree of mobility and heterogeneity" ("Pleasure" 8) of spectatorial transvestism:

The reversal thus constitutes a *textual* difference which has to be considered case by case and cannot be reduced, a priori, to its symbolic content within a phallic economy of signification. It seems more promising, tentatively, to approach the textual difference of a male erotic object as a figure of overdetermination, an unstable composite figure that connotes 'the simultaneous presence of two positionalities of desire' (Teresa de Lauretis) and thus calls into question the very idea of polarity rather than simply reversing its terms. (*Babel and Babylon* 252; emphasis in original)

In the same vein, as Partridge's androgynous and effeminate nude images interpellated "the simultaneous presence of two positionalities of desire," the feminine (in his effeminate dancer-like acts, his eroticized body, his "to-be-looked-at-ness") and the masculine (in his vigorous gesture or motion, his muscular body), I think that Cunningham performed an act of spectatorial transvestism, theatrically moving between the poles of masculinity and femininity in a certain amount of flux. Cunningham, henceforth, instead of simply reversing the masculine and feminine opposites by adopting the masculine viewing position, productively opened up more mobile and polymorphous spectatorial positions.

The multiple, fluid spectatorial positions in the *On Mount Rainier series* might be read further through Jack Halberstam's theory of the transgender look. Halberstam defines the transgender look as "a look divided within itself, a point of view that comes from two places (at least) at the same time" (88). Through the transgender gaze, a spectator is able to adopt multiple perspectives at once without being confined to cisnormative or heteronormative cinematic conventions. Her/his gaze underscores the artificiality of cisnormative gender formation and destabilizes a previously

naturalized gender or sexual binary conventions (78, 89). Henceforth, Cunningham creates an empowered female gaze in conjunction with the deployment of a transgender gaze.

Secondly, in the same vein, I think that Cunningham consistently utilized the strategy of gender parody to reverse the equation of the female nude with nature to male nude with nature. Her ironic strategy mimes and undermines the equation of female nude and nature by exposing and reversing the performativity within that equation. Davidov posits that Brigman's photographs of female nudes in the landscapes could be interpreted as "acts of masquerade," which function "as parody of the Woman = Nature equation at the core of both romantic and symbolist projects" (322-23). I would like to propose that Cunningham playfully took that parody one step further. Cunningham was well-known for her wry sense of humor (Cornell 161). She ironically experimented with the possibilities of denaturalizing, proliferating, and unfixing "the Woman = Nature equation" under patriarchy. Cunningham not only enacted this irony in "doing Brigmans," but also in continuously undoing Brigmans in the deconstructionist sense of defamiliarizing and destabilizing through performatively exhibiting the identification of the male nude with nature. The "transposition" of the female nude to the male nude in nature in the *On Mount Rainier series* exhibits their ironic undermining of "the Woman = Nature equation."

After elaborating Cunningham's negotiation of her subject position as a female photographer (viewer) of the male nudes in the natural settings through gender parody, I think that it is crucial to further decode the novelty of the *On Mount Rainier series* from the historical perspective. Were Cunningham's images of the male nude as the object of female desire different from the feminized and eroticized male dancers in the Ballets Russes as well as the broader dance culture?

Female Desire and Transformed Masculinity in the Dance-Oriented Culture

Cunningham's photographs of the male nude were inspired by the emergence of the New Woman as the primary figure in the consumption of feminized masculinity in the broad dance-oriented culture in Europe and the US. This trend of transformed woman-made masculinity started with the matinee idols dating from the late nineteenth century in the US.⁷ This newly emerging type of man was followed by

⁷ Since the 1870s, the matinee girls, young women who attended cheaper afternoon theater performances unescorted, had gradually emerged as the most visible female fans. They were accused of destroying traditional sexual relations through worshipping matinee idols—male actors

the broad dance culture of the early twentieth century, in both its high and low cultural manifestations. I would like to argue that Cunningham's images of the nude Partridge were created for a transgressive fantasy of desire for the white, male nude, in clear contrast to the New Woman's blending of eroticism with exoticism through consuming the seductive, semi-naked, Orientalized bodies of male dancers.

Nijinsky was well-known for his muscular yet effeminate body image, and performances that went against the normative standard of the cult of the male body. Järvinen excavated the reception of Nijinsky by women in the audience and found that Nijinsky's physical display fascinated a new group of female consumers, including salon hostesses, women reporters, and women of the leisure classes. Many reports and reviews highlighted women's enthusiastic adulation of Nijinsky's dancing, especially of his body. Women also consumed or created erotic images of Nijinsky. Järvinen explains why women found him appealing as follows:

This reversal of gender roles in part explains why the Diaghilev ballet attracted women—in contemporary society, even salon hostesses could rarely take the position of the subject, let alone a dominant one. Contemporary notions about female desire were of crucial importance in understanding Nijinsky's reputation, for he was one of the first men whose body *per se* could be publicly adored by women. (133)

Just as dance critic Sigmund Spaeth claims that “the decade between 1910 and 1920 can be identified primarily as the period in which America went dance mad” (qtd. in Studlar 154), an unprecedented interest in dance swept across the cultural scene in the US. The sexually liberated American women entertained themselves at the burgeoning dance balls, with concert dance, tango tea dances, and nightclub dances giving opportunities to unleash their libidinal energy. Influenced by the European taste for the Ballets Russes, they inaugurated a popular sexual discourse that elevated androgynous and exotic men as the most sensuous, seductive, and irresistible. Gaylyn Studlar declares that “dance in the USA was offering a startling transformation of gender norms through androgynous inscriptions of the male body and reversals of sexual role-playing, often mediated through an iconography of the Orient” (154). For example, Nijinsky's heavily eroticized performance in *L'Après-*

playing the roles as passive objects of women's desire. After the turn of the twentieth century, the desire of the matinee girls was publicly registered as they swarmed around concert halls to view the dance performances of matinee idols (Studlar 93-94, 111-13, 154; Ferguson 9). (Format problem-- Same as note 5, I do not understand your point.)

midi d'un faune was perceived as Orientalized, because of his Russian body as well as his flute as “an orientalizing sort of instrument” (Albright 5). Studlar further emphasizes that “dance—especially that evoking the androgynous exoticism of the Ballets Russes—appeared to be threatening an athletic, physically based American masculinity” (185).

Cunningham, when she began to take photographs of Partridge in the *On Mount Rainier series*, was familiar with the seductive performances of androgynous male dancers who fed the sexual fantasies of sexually liberated female dance fans, often through the fantastic iconography of an imaginary Orient. The effeminate corporeal signs of the male dancers must have inspired her to cultivate an alternative pleasure aligned with her position as a female photographer (viewer). She was the signifying inventor of the intertextual allusion to androgynous male dancing, especially Nijinsky's roles as the faun, Narcissus, and so on. Cunningham sought for available signifying codes in the transformed dance culture to convey her erotically tinted fantasy on her husband's dancer-like body through her lenses.

I would like to clarify that both Partridge's and Nijinsky's androgynous bodies and autoerotic gestures could be perceived, depending on the eyes of the beholders, as either hetero- or homoerotic.⁸ As discussed in the previous section, Cunningham opens up a multiple, fluid transgender look in capturing Partridge's nude. However, the homoerotic or transgender reception of Partridge's images is beyond the scope of this paper. My focus is on Cunningham's creation of a dimension of female gaze by consciously manipulating the gender connotations of the dance culture. Through capturing Partridge's feminized and eroticized body with dancer-like poses, Cunningham deliberately created an avenue for the expression of female desire and visual pleasure.

I would like to emphasize that the novelty of Cunningham's photographs lay in directly capturing the sexually desirable white, male body without situating her transgressive fantasy and desire in an Oriental body and setting. Although the explicitly sexual discourse on the feminized male dancers indicated the emergence of the New Woman as desiring consumer, it ultimately pointed to the liminal gendered space occupied by the male dancers and their female fans in the following sense. It was necessary for female fans to enter the phantasmagoria of the dance culture revolving around Oriental scenarios as a utopian space for them to liberate their

⁸ Annabel Rutherford asserts that Nijinsky's dancing in *L'Après-midi d'un faune* could be interpreted as enticing either hetero- or homoerotic desire relying on the beholders (103). Cornell also emphasizes that Partridge's performance as Narcissus hints of homosexual desire, although Cunningham's relationship with him posits his body within the heterosexual context (132–33).

libidinal energy and realize their desire, as they could not do so in the existing gender relations and social structures.⁹

The New Woman's transgressive projection of desire for the imaginary Orient/Racial Other was deeply rooted in Western political and cultural imperialism, exploiting the exotic Other for the sexual experience unattainable in the West (Nochlin 119-31, 186-91). Homi Bhabha persuasively argues that the appropriation of the exotic Other to deconstruct "the epistemological 'edge' of the West" is problematic, for "[t]he 'Other' is cited, quoted, framed, illuminated, encased in the shot/reverse-shot strategy of a serial enlightenment" while at the same time losing "its power to signify, to negate, to initiate its historic desire, to establish its own institutional and oppositional discourse" (31). The New Woman in fact foregrounds the exotic Other only to foreclose it from the projection of their own transgressive desire. Cunningham, however, dared to go further by reworking the scenario into the context of the feminized white male nude as sexually desirable without blending eroticism with exoticism and exploiting the ethnic/racial otherness. Her photographic practices became a space for her to pioneer advocacy for woman-made, white masculinity and to enact a subversive rupture within normative gender ideologies against the traditional norm of muscular and athletic American masculinity.

In comparison to Nijinsky often being staged semi-nude in exotic narratives, Partridge is much more daringly shot in the nude scenes, without even a skimpy costume, owing to the legitimization of the Pictorialist nude as fine art. Compared with photographing plenty of female nudes, several Photo-Secessionists (which was the most influential American group pursuing Pictorialism), such as Frank Eugene, Clarence White, George H. Seeley, Heinrich Kühn, and Anne Brigman, only occasionally took male nude photographs, some of which were published in *Camera*

⁹ This point is deeply influenced by Miriam Hanson's perspective of Rudolph Valentino's rise as a famous star in films about dancing in the early 1920s for the female fans. She asserts that Valentino's star phenomenon intensified the gender discourse of the feminized and exotic male dancer as the most sexually desirable for the female fans, who "were caught between the hopes fanned by the phantasmagoria of consumption and an awareness of the impossibility of realizing them within existing social and sexual structures" (268). In fact, Valentino was the leading male star among others inheriting Nijinsky as the ideal woman-made man both on- and off-screen in the cultural current of the "dance madness" circulating in American society. His stardom was established by sharing similar features of Nijinsky's stage roles: representing the androgynous, feminized, and often racially-other type of masculinity massively adored by female fans for their often semi-naked, seductive and eroticized dancing bodies. In 1923, Valentino even posed as Nijinsky's faun "on the variety stage or in private parties" in order to "attest to his status as a celebrity." (Järvinen 135) Helen MacGregor took photographs of Valentino's near-nude impersonations as Nijinsky's faun, one of which was published in the fan magazine *Shadowland* in 1923 (Studlar 192).

Work. Another American Pictorialist Fred Holland Day, albeit never a Photo-Secessionist, often created staged classical and religious tableaux of young nude male figures in landscapes (Cutshaw 74-76). Cunningham must have been acquainted with the codification of the male nude preexistent in Pictorialism, since she was impressed by the Photo-Secessionist works in the 1909 *Internationalen Photographischen Ausstellung* (International Photographic Exposition), while sojourning in Dresden, and started a subscription to *Camera Work* upon her return to Seattle in 1910 (Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: Ideas without End* 10, 13).

Mary Warner Marien asserts that “[t]hose interested in creating more explicit and sexually arousing images took advantage of the acceptance of Pictorialist nude, imitating its soft-focus, painterly surface, or classical reference” (186). It has been suggested that Day’s tableaux of male nudes imbued mythological or religious allegory with a fuzzy, painterly effect to mask his covert homoerotic desire (Crump, “F. Holland Day” 322-33, *Suffering the Ideal* 27-30; Ellenzeig 57-64). Cunningham also appropriated the legitimized codes of the Pictorialist nude to generate dissonant meanings, disguising her transgressive inscriptions of female desire and fantasy. The inspiration of her female gaze, however, mainly came from the transformed masculinity in the dance-oriented culture, not from the few Pictorialist male nudes. Cunningham’s *On Mount Rainier series* pioneered a feminist practice beyond the Pictorialist male nudes by shooting tableaux of feminized and eroticized white, male nudes.

Cunningham only circulated two photographs related to *L’Après-midi d’un faune* in the *On Mount Rainier series*, *The Bather* and *Mount Rainier 2 or The Faun*, soon after their completion. These two photographs were exhibited in the November 1915 exhibition at Fine Arts Society in Seattle. *The Bather* was also published in the December 16, 1916 Christmas Number of *Town Crier*, captioned “*The Bather . . . A Photograph by Imogen Cunningham Partridge*” (Cutshaw 69). Cunningham might have considered the impact of displaying her husband’s naked body,¹⁰ so she only showed these smaller, blurrier, and therefore less explicitly identified works with

¹⁰ Cutshaw asserts that it is historically inaccurate to claim, as Cunningham, her biographer Richard, and other scholars did, that the reproduction of *The Bather* in the *Town Crier* in 1916 raised a scandal in *Town Crier*, so that Cunningham publicly withdrew this series for more than fifty years. She found that the scandal happened one year earlier, when Cunningham featured a photograph of a nude family entitled *Reflections* (1910) and an image of a nude couple entitled *Eve Repentant* (1910) in the Christmas Number of *Town Crier* of 1915, which were also exhibited in the November exhibition of 1915 at Fine Arts Society. Under the circumstance of Cutshaw’s corrections, Cunningham did still not publicly show *On Mount Rainier series* except for these two works (46-50, 69-71).

mythological or artistic titles. Cunningham recollected after *Mount Rainier 2* or *The Faun* was featured in the November 1915 exhibition at Fine Arts Society, that “[w]e called this ‘The Faun’ then, but I’d never call it that now” (34-35). She well understood that it was necessary for nude images of her husband to gain legitimacy as high art through a mythological title at that time. The soft-focus and painterly surface of the Pictorialist technique also obscured Partridge’s identification and transformed his naked body into an aesthetic context; as Partridge said, “[I]luckily she was using soft focus lenses in those days, so the identification [in a Seattle newspaper] wasn’t very exact” (qtd. in Cunningham 29). However, the obvious reference to Nijinsky’s postures as the faun could also endow them with the shocking features of avant-garde art against the grain of bourgeois morality and social conventions. These two photographs, albeit veiling Partridge’s naked body in the aesthetic frame, still transgressively projected her desire of the feminized and eroticized male body, adding fuel to the fire of the increasing masculinity of women and effeminacy of men in the system governing American gender relations in the 1910s.

Cunningham was reasonably well-informed concerning the artistically sanctioned forms and themes of male nudes for public circulation, especially after the controversy related to her works *Reflections* (1910) and *Eve Repentant* (1910), which were also on view in the November 1915 exhibition at Fine Arts Society, Seattle and were published in the 1915 Christmas Number of *Town Crier*, the official weekly paper of the Fine Arts Society. The Cunningham scholarship, following her recollections, recounted that she had retired the negatives of the *On Mount Rainier series* until 1970, since the reproduction of *The Bather* in 1916 in the *Town Crier* was condemned by the local newspapers. According to Stacey McCarroll, *The Bather* did not scandalize the press, but *Reflections* and *Eve Repentant* were harshly excoriated by the editorial of another Seattle paper, the December 25, 1915 issue of the *Argus*, the weekly competitor to the *Town Crier* (8, 50, 70, 93, 98, 102-03). Cunningham was condemned as a vulgar “moral pervert” because these two works, staging a nude family and a nude couple by models, were too “real” to have any “artistic value” (“The Nude in ‘Art’” 2).

Cunningham withdrew her *On Mount Rainier series* from public circulation until 1970, except *The Bather*, which was printed after this local scandal one year later. As I mentioned, she dared to circulate an avant-garde “shocker”¹¹ because it could pass as a typical Pictorialist nude. However, Partridge’s nude body is placed prominently in most works of the *On Mount Rainier series*. They were too large and

¹¹ Cunningham showed her intention of circulating an avant-garde photograph in 1916 as “do[ing] a shocker” (qtd. in Cutshaw 68).

distinct to obscure her husband's identification, even the ones with back views. In *On Mount Rainier 7*, Cunningham even shot a full frontal nude image. This explained why Cunningham retired the negatives "in boxes of old family stuff" for more than fifty years (Cutshaw 87). Cunningham's provocations counterposed the artistically sanctioned male nudes for public circulation, and henceforth did not make much of an impact through exhibitions and reproductions until the second wave of feminist activism.

Conclusion

Cunningham was far ahead of her time in advocating woman-made, white masculinity and envisioning theatrical reversals of gender roles in her *On Mount Rainier series*. She and Partridge intimately collaborated to create an intriguing picture of the theatrical double-gender role reversals in *On Mount Rainier series* with Partridge's intimate collaboration. They employed the visual strategies of posing in order to mime and undermine the naturalized binary gender system under patriarchy. The nude images of Partridge were theatrically arranged in complicity with the effeminate position of an erotic object to be desired. The traditional equation of female nude in/as nature was performatively reversed to male nude in/as nature to the point of (gender) parody. Cunningham's work underwent a form of spectatorial transvestitism, enacting more fluid spectatorial positions beyond the binary hierarchy of a gendered gaze. By so doing, she created a feminist avant-garde practice to counter male-dominated myth, to deconstruct gender norms, and to negotiate an alternative female pleasure and desire.

Cunningham took pleasure in casting Partridge's androgynous or effeminate performance as an erotic object of the female gaze, inspired by the liberalized New Woman's indulgence in alternative pleasures of female spectatorship through desiring the ideal woman-made men in the broad dance-oriented culture. She went even further by deliberately devising shock value in shooting the sexually desirable white, male body without dissimulating her fantasy and desire around the liminal Oriental scenarios. Her courageous photographic transgressions disrupted the hegemonic binary system of normative gender identities and dismantled the traditional norm of muscular and athletic American masculinity.

Figures



Fig. 1. Imogen Cunningham, *The Bather*, 1915, Gelatin silver print, 9 1/2"x8 1/4". © 2021 Imogen Cunningham Trust.



Fig. 2. Imogen Cunningham, *On Mount Rainier 2* or *The Faun*, 1915, Gelatin silver print, 6"x8 1/2". © 2021 Imogen Cunningham Trust.



Fig. 3. Baron Adolf de Meyer, Vaslav Nijinsky as the Faun in *L'Après-midi d'un faune*, 1912.



Fig. 4. Baron Adolf de Meyer, Vaslav Nijinsky as the Faun in *L'Après-midi d'un faune*, 1912.



Fig. 5. Daniel de Losques, cartoon published in *Le Figaro*, 30 May 1912, France.



Fig. 6. Imogen Cunningham, *On Mount Rainier I*, 1915, Gelatin silver print, 9 5/8"x7 11/16". © 2021 Imogen Cunningham Trust.



Fig. 7. Imogen Cunningham, *On Mount Rainier 10*, 1915, Gelatin silver print, 7 1/2"x8 7/8". © 2021 Imogen Cunningham Trust.



Fig. 8. Anne Brigman, *The Bubble*, 1907, Photogravure print, 7 1/2"x9 7/16".



Fig. 9. Imogen Cunningham, *On Mount Rainier 4*, 1915, Gelatin silver print, 6"x7 1/4". © 2021 Imogen Cunningham Trust.



Fig. 10. Anne Brigman, *Finis*, 1912, Photogravure print, 5 3/8"x 9 7/16", published in *Camera Work*, 1912.

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[Received 30 March 2020; accepted 1 February 2021]