The Struggle for Eden

Community Gardens in New York City

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ORGANIZATIONS AND COALITIONS IN SUPPORT OF GARDENS

A central impetus behind community-wide organization of gardens has been a small organization called Earth Celebrations. Earth Celebrations was started on the Lower East Side as a one-woman initiative on behalf of the gardens, with a predominant focus on processions and pageants. Over the past seven years it has blossomed into an organization with support from foundations, private corporations, and individuals. It operates on the basis of a broad network of volunteers, including gardeners, activists, environmentalists, schools, other community organizations, members of various churches, artists, actors, and individuals from all walks of life and all areas of New York City. Earth Celebrations has chaired countless meetings of gardeners, made extensive use of the media, and initiated letter-writing campaigns on behalf of the gardens. In 1994 Earth Celebrations initiated the Lower East Side Garden Preservation Coalition, a precursor of which had been started by the Green Guerillas in 1984 in response to the threat of development of the 6th Street and B Community Garden. Earth Celebrations and the Lower East Side Garden Preservation Coalition explored the possibility of forming a garden land trust and other garden preservation options, for instance through permanent site status granted under the auspices of the New York City Department of Parks. These efforts gave rise to the New York City Coalition for the Preservation of Gardens, which was formed in 1996 in response to the bulldozing of gardens throughout New York City. It is an umbrella coalition of garden coalitions all over New York City, including the Bedford-Stuyvesant Garden Coalition, Bronx Garden Coalition, Bronx United Gardeners (BUG), Brooklyn Alliance of Neighborhood Gardens (BANG), Brownsville Garden Coalition, Bushwick Garden Coalition, East New York Garden Coalition, La Familia Verde, Manhattan United Gardeners (MUG), and Lower East Side Garden Preservation Coalition. This coalition has been instrumental in initiating city-wide action on behalf of the gardens, reaching out to gardens in all boroughs, inviting members from gardens that were previously destroyed to share their experiences with other gardeners, encouraging community attendance at meetings of community boards, canvassing elected officials, supporting marches to City Hall, and taking the battle into the courts. Several web sites and list serves on the Internet disseminate information, provide updates on developments, and issue regular calls for action.

HE RITES OF SPRING

The crowning expression of the community-wide struggle to save the gardens is the annual Rites of Spring Pageant, a twelve-hour long procession through the Lower East Side on Memorial Day. This pageant is the result of a process of construction on many levels. It incorporates diverse religious themes and myths from India, Africa, and Ancient Greece. These in turn were originally suggested and composed as an entity by Felicia Young, the founder of the organization Earth Celebrations.

Since the first pageant in 1991, it has been appropriated by gardeners and other neighborhood people, who contribute various elements to it every year. It has also been further developed as result of input by artists, actors, and others from all over the city who volunteer in the pageant's preparation and implementation every year.

The Rites of Spring procession is an elaborate and colorful construct, with over 500 people involved in its production. Its central cast of characters, portrayed by people and by puppets carried on floats includes Gaia, the four seasons, the elements, the Earth, Compost, Rainbow, and the Green Man. There are many flowers, garden insects, and other beings associated with gardens and nature. Sun, Moon, Fire, and Water paint their faces and arms and other visible body parts elaborately in the appropriate colors, with costumes and head pieces emphasizing their nature. The so-called mud people, perhaps the ones who have more fun than anyone else in the procession, wear practically no clothes at all, but are coated in pale white mud and wear oversized wobbly full-head masks that only hint at eyes and mouths. The mud people are not assigned to a specific position in the procession. They weave in and out of the line-up and move freely among the spectators, acting as tricksters or clowns of sorts, partially frightening and partially amusing. Some of the costumes are stunning in their beauty and creativity. In 1999 Summer wore a full-length wide skirt woven with grass that swished softly along with every step and a broad-rimmed hat with grass growing out of it. The Vegetable Goddess wore a crown of carrots and a necklace made of giant radishes. Herbena, as her name indicates representing the world of herbs, wore a fragrant costume decorated with bunches of fresh and dried herbs, cinnamon sticks, cloves, and nutmeg.

The procession moves from one garden to the next and conducts blessing ceremonies at each garden visited. Each garden develops its own welcoming ceremony; in some gardens gardeners read poetry or perform a piece of music. Some gardens offer food and drinks; in one garden I remember the beautifully attired garden mistress of ceremonies standing next to a table set with a tablecloth, a vase, candles, and a tray with a teapot. Gaia, the Earth Mother, sitting on her float under a bower of roses, together with some of garden spirits, enters the garden, while the mournful sound of conch shells fills the air. Inside the garden the mistress of ceremonies takes a tulip bulb out of Gaia's belly and gravely hands it to the gardener in charge of ceremonies at that particular garden. A bowl of clay is constructed throughout the day, as one garden representative after another adds another piece of clay to the bowl and also places a leaf from the garden into the bowl. At the end of the day the "communal salad bowl," as it is referred to in the script, is completely formed and contains an ac-

The Rites of Spring Pageant visits the locations of various gardens that have been eliminated over the years, staking out claims to a landscape of place memories, current sites of struggle, and visions for the future. For instance, commemorative stops are made at the sites of the former Garden of Eden, the Jardín de la 10th Street, also known as "Little Puerto Rico," and the A BC Garden; these gardens are referred to as "martyrs."

Throughout the long day, a giant map of the Lower East Side is carried at the front of the procession. At each garden a representative of the garden ceremoniously enters the name of the garden on the map, symbolically correcting the city administration's maps, which only refer to vacant lots or tax lots and housing development proposals, while not recognizing the existence of community gardens, despite the fact that many of these gardens hold leases from the municipal organization GreenThumb and in many instances have occupied their sites for over twenty years.

As the procession makes its way through the Lower East Side, a drama of birth, marriage, struggle, and successful emergence from struggle is enacted. The procession tells the story of the birth of Gaia, the Earth Mother, emerging from a giant pink birth canal, her marriage to the Green Man, and her abduction by developers in black business suits. In this drama Gaia is played by a person. Meanwhile, the Gaia float continues to be carried along throughout the day like a holy shrine. The developers place Gaia on a pickup truck. Throughout the rest of the day at certain intersections one can see the truck roll by with Gaia screaming vociferously from the back of the truck. Eventually in a dramatic battle with the developers, the gardeners, supported by earth and garden spirits, emerge victorious. The developers flee, their business suits in disarray, and several developer spirits, represented by robot-like figures, fall to the ground lifeless, disintegrating into their various components. In the closing ceremony in the Green Oasis Garden on 8th Street between Avenues C and D, children from the garden release butterflies into the spring air.

Since its inception the pageant has taken on a life of its own; the script changes and is adjusted every year. In some gardens visited by the procession, the garden members have prepared dance performances, poetry readings, or musical performances to welcome the procession. During past years the procession repeatedly changed its planned route; several times a gardener suddenly appeared, pointed out the existence of a new garden, and insisted that this garden be included in the blessing ceremony. The physical character of the procession is unique for its fragility and impermanence. For many months adults and especially children from the various schools in the neighborhood work on the giant puppets, floats, and costumes for the procession. Everything is made out of inexpensive materials—cardboard, papier-maché, glitter paints, pieces of fabric, face paint, beads, dried herbs, and chains of nuts and sea shells. Reminiscent of the grass bundles that form the basis of women's realm of exchange among the Trobriand Islanders in the Western Pacific, the value of these items in the procession reposes in the fact that they need to be renewed every year and that they express the skill and creativity of the many individuals involved in their production (Weiner 1976). Some individuals identify with particular characters in the procession and craft their own costumes. Flower wreaths to be carried by garden spirits and helpers are prepared the night before in the Community Center on 6th Street. The collages and constructs used

ventiveness and creativity proudly proclaim its character as an evanescent handmade product of a labor of love, in affinity with the thriving and equally evanescent gardens.

THE WINTER CANDLE LANTERN PAGEANT

On a chilly Saturday evening in January 1995, I attended the first Winter Candle Lantern Pageant on the Lower East Side in Manhattan. This event, in support of community gardens in the neighborhood, was organized by a coalition of environmentalists, activists, and gardeners, with participation from local schools and churches. Since that day the pageant has taken place annually, with more than 500 gardeners, artists, and neighbors participating every year.

Setting out from the 6th Street Community Center between Avenues B and C, the pageant went around Tompkins Square Park and finally reached the 6th Street Community Garden. There were giant puppets, among them Esmeralda, the Water Ice Princess, with a blue face and a coat of silver tinsel, Primavera, with a green face and billowing green arms and hands, and Father Winter, with an androgynous white face and staring eyes over long, flowing, silvery veils. Gaia, the Earth Mother, sat on a raft, a female torso in white lace, reminiscent of a Virgin Mary, under an arch of dried roses and miscellaneous earthy things. Dancers in blue and in silver-white garb represented icicles and snowflakes. Adults and children carried glowing lanterns in the shape of suns, stars, and moons, as well as bells, wood chimes, and smaller puppets. Several pedicabs accommodated individual members of the procession, especially children, throughout the long evening. Interestingly attired individuals came out of buildings and joined the procession as it passed through the streets.

At the final stop, in a community garden on Avenue B, there was a dance performance on the stage in the center of the garden. The procession was arrayed around the stage amid snow-covered flower and vegetable beds and fruit trees. In silence and darkness, a scantily clad dancer slowly came to life in the bitter cold to symbolize earth's awakening. A shaman performed a blessing ceremony, blowing seeds into the four winds. This was followed by a musical offering, an "Aria for Winter," and a performance by fire flame eaters. As the symbolic climax of the evening an "Illuminated Winter Angel," a shimmering wavy construct reminiscent of a white jellyfish, descended along a thin rope from a roof corner six stories high across the street into the garden. The evening concluded with roasted apples, hot cider, and a bonfire.

The brochure handed out that evening contained a description of the myth of the Greek goddess Persephone, who was damned to spend half of the year in the underworld with Pluto. Demeter, her mother and the goddess of fertility, spends the winter mourning the loss of her daughter. The following poem, inspired by this myth, is the gardeners' response to Demeter's lament, to be sung in the procession.

> We walk through the winter landscape
> let the gardens live again
> celebrate the winter darkness
> let the gardens live again
> This wind
> through my soul
> blows cold
> But we
> have hope
> that life will grow.[3]

This event with its vivid enactment of an imagined community does not eliminate differing notions of community and processes of fragmentation and individuation among the many groups involved in the organization of these gardens. In its construction and content the pageant emphasizes and even celebrates a vision of a community that is not static, but rather emergent, just as the gardens in the context of the seasons are subject to change. The pageant provides a script for a ritualized celebration of contradictions and diversity. It offers a starting point for forging a sense of shared purpose and struggle on behalf of community gardens on the Lower East Side and in New York City.

Both the pageant and the exhibit at the Henry Street Settlement make statements about "community" in an urban environment and the place of individuals within it. These statements revolve around an idealized notion of diversity, a site-specific focus combined with a notion of dynamics linking the specific location with the entire city, and an image of individuals and communities situated in a symbiotic relationship with the environment. In community gardens and in activism on their behalf, the role and place of the individual and the group in society, in the community, and in the environment are constantly examined, negotiated, and defined. Thus, the fight for community gardens is symptomatic of a larger struggle, a search for "place" and for "meaning" in a late 20th century urban existence.

ART AND AESTHETICS AND THE EVERYDAY

Community garden plots are simultaneously private and public spaces. They provide spaces for private creativity and time spent alone or with family and friends. At the same time they are open to the public at regular intervals, on display, visible from the outside, and subject to approbation by the garden-

partial roles, the direct opposite of Taylor's instrumental society, is made concrete in countless ethnographies of pre-industrial societies. For instance, Paul Radin has argued that in societies not yet subsumed by the industrial world the life of the community and the life of fully realized individuals were not diametrically opposed, but rather dependent on each other for their continued vitality (Radin 1971). According to Radin, this potential for rich individuality within a community was founded on an existentialist worldview with a pragmatic awareneness and acceptance of the fragility of life, linked with a fundamental respect for the environment. This existentialist worldview acquires a further dimension in anthropology in works that address the question of gender roles in society. It becomes particularly compelling in Weiner's discussion of the manner in which cycles of life and death are woven into the fabric of male and female realms of exchange among the Trobrianders (Weiner 1976).

The philosophers, poets, writers, and anthropologists discussed address the questions associated with the challenge of negotiating a meaningful and fulfilled individual life in the context of modern society, with its trappings of consumerism, anomie, alienation, and environmental degradation. Concern with these questions reappears in community gardens, in the manner in which gardeners speak about the gardens and their fight for the gardens, and in actions and events associated with the gardens. Gardeners, environmentalists, and activists selectively embrace an amorphous set of beliefs and values. Described as eco-spirituality and eco-feminism in some of the literature on environmentalism (Milton 1996, 1993), it is appropriated from a philosophical, religious and mythological smorgasbord. However, certain basic tenets can be discerned: a rejection of aspects of the modern-day materialistic culture; a partial embrace of alternative notions of property ownership and cooperative management; a profound concern with the future of the environment; a vision of a community that is self-consciously multi-racial and multi-ethnic, extends across age and gender divisions as well as across class lines, and further extends beyond the borders of the local site or area to include the block, the neighborhood, and the entire city; an identification with the struggle of people in other parts of the country such as other community gardeners and regional farmers; an embrace of the notion of sustainability; and finally a conceptual linkage with comparable and related struggles at a global level.

The brochure announcing the Winter Candle Lantern Pageant invites people to join in "the Odyssey of the Earth." By definition an odyssey involves pain and suffering as well as the discovery of beauty. Community gardeners involved in the pageant make a conceptual linkage between a spiritual odyssey, the struggle for the gardens, and the notion of the environment as a place for a spiritual odyssey; in this context nature can explain the nature of suffering and ultimately the meaning of life by providing an experiential setting for coming to terms with the existence of pain.[5] Modern society in turn is perceived as failing to provide such a setting. One might argue that in this self-conscious embrace of nature and the imbuing of nature with mystical power, joined with a

perception of modern society as devoid of such a power, community gardeners seek to return to an idealized concept of community existing in a symbiotic relationship with nature. However, the various ideological strains involved indicate that the ideas behind community gardening are not reducible to a simplistic utopian "back-to-nature" enterprise. Rather, it is necessary to emphasize that community gardeners select only certain aspects from different sets of beliefs and ideologies and combine this with a skillful manipulation of all the means of late-20th-century society at their disposal to achieve their goal. That goal and the strategies to achieve it are multi-faceted, reflecting the diversity of groups involved. The fight for community gardens is a struggle for a way of life that is by no means a return to a "simpler existence," but rather a creation of something new on the basis of existing elements.

This creative construction out of old and new patterns is most apparent in the emerging concept of individuality. A conversation with gardeners in preparation of the Rites of Spring Pageant provides a key for thinking about this concept. I had gone to the Community Center on 6th Street, where people were preparing for the pageant on the following day. Some were sewing costumes, some were making flower wreaths, others were folding brochures that were to be handed out during the procession. I sat on the tar roof and helped to fold brochures. It was hot, and the conversation ranged freely; we talked about jobs, personal lives, the struggle for the gardens, the mayor, and practical matters regarding the pageant.

The pageant, passing through the streets of the Lower East Side in a seven-hour-long procession, embodies a concept of individuality reflective of existence in late-20th-century society. Only fragments of the whole are visible to the observer and to the self; individual actions are only partially communicable and partially perceived. Creativity at times approaches the nature of an individual vision quest, the portent of which cannot be fully communicated. At the same time the pageant affirms and expresses moments of union, whether through the ritual of blessing ceremonies in every garden or in the opening and closing ceremonies. The pageant reflects a self-conscious awareness of the fragmentary nature of modern existence and in fact celebrates this as a central part of individual experience. Experience is acknowledged as a solitary activity and at the same time as something that can become a vital component in a larger entity. Individuality is not submerged; it is the defining element, while fragile links of meaning between individuals are reaffirmed and renewed repeatedly in ritualized fashion.[6]

The pageant can be described as the brainchild of an individual and is still driven by this person's commitment, but it also has become a collaborative effort. This history echoes the history of many community gardens, started by one or two individuals and quickly expanding to turn into a project that involves a community. Thus, pageants are mirror images of gardens in the manner in which individuality, communicability, and community are linked in a dynamic relationship. Gardens like the pageants embody the notion of imper-

the mural and flows into the little rock garden and solar powered waterfall. One child drew seeds with plants growing inside; the symbol on the leaflet for the opening ceremony is a tree inside a seed.

In the Rites of Spring Pageant children play key roles. During one scene, the trash monster, a person covered by a giant mask bedecked with clattering soda cans, is chased and ultimately overcome by children in blue smocks or shirts with little colorful tassels, wearing face masks and carrying homemade tanks marked "air" on their back; in the program they are dubbed "urban jungle recyclers." In the closing ceremony, children dressed as butterflies perform a play and afterward assist in the release of butterflies into the sky.

In the Winter Candle Lantern Pageant, the tone is set by children, who carry glowing lanterns through the dark and wintry streets of the Lower East Side in the procession. Children also participate in demonstrations and marches to protest forthcoming auctions of garden lots or other actions by the city administration; for instance, children carry offerings of flowers and vegetables to the mayor at City Hall. Posters or press photos of such events frequently feature children as a kind of vanguard of all gardeners.

The settings referred to above indicate the diversity of themes linking benefits to children and the continued existence of gardens. These themes include education, environmental awareness, notions of self-help and community organizing, creativity, self-directed learning, cooperative work, and participation in community life.

The impact of community gardening initiatives on children is not easily quantifiable or measurable. In direct reflection of an extremely fragmented social economic environment, many children involved in community garden projects come from troubled homes and families struggling with unemployment, homelessness, poverty, and attendant consequences. Stories of disappearing children abound, and organizers of projects often are overwhelmed with the difficulty of keeping track of them, not to mention actively assisting children beyond the limits of the particular project. One of the gardens bulldozed in December 1997 was involved in a tutoring program for children from a neighboring shelter. Now the impact of that effort appears impossible to measure, if it has not completely evaporated in the meantime. A garden on 12th Street and 1st Avenue, founded in 1983, is an exception, in terms of its longevity, the length of individual children's involvement, and the amount of follow-up. This garden has been designed, constructed, and planted by and for children, with a minimum of adult guidance. Children continue to manage the garden and work on ongoing projects.[4]

Certainly, a number of community gardens in their struggle to stave off the bulldozers make claims about their various community programs and children's programs in particular that appear overblown. Yet many programs are impressive and memorable, such as the 12th Street Garden or the Children's Mural Garden. Whatever the impact, it is hard to resist the compelling image of children creating art, planting vegetables, designing a garden, or going on a

manence and fragility in terms of nature as much as in social and political terms. Like the pageants, gardens and individual member plots are creations of internal visions that remain imaginary to a degree. In community gardens, ideas for alternative forms of existence in an urban environment are made concrete. Gardens allow space for individual creativity and at the same time offer points of intersection with others. Gardens provide space for different types of aesthetics, even an aesthetic of hopes and internal images that are not necessarily visible to an uninitiated observer. Finally, gardens provide a space for experiential learning about nature and the individual's place in it. Urban community gardeners are putting into practice some of the notions of individuality and community expressed by writers as diverse as Weil, Murdoch, Taylor, Radin, Weiner, and Diamond. Some gardeners link these notions to an understanding of the fragmentation in modern society that shapes individual experiences. On the Lower East Side, these themes have helped to produce community gardens filled with contradictions and vitality. They have helped to produce pageants in which the dynamic relationship of group choreography and individual expression creates a compelling vivid entity.

CONCLUSION

In the pageants, in individual gardens' "memory walls," and in gardens' self-descriptive statements of purpose, concepts of "community," "history," and "memory" are both the themes of and props for the script. These themes are carefully constructed and displayed. The press is invited to protests, commemorative garden events, and pageants. Photographers and filmmakers associated with Earth Celebrations record the pageant, which in itself represents a construct of spontaneity and a carefully planned and directed performance. The pageants have been covered in the *Village Voice* and the *New York Times*, among others; these and other publications such as *National Geographic* have featured many articles about community gardens and their ongoing struggle over the past years.

Community-based organizations, garden coalitions, and individual garden groups, individual adults, and children act both spontaneously and as self-conscious, directed players in a script, alternating between roles as victims and as empowered agents.

In their language and themes, organizational patterns and forms of action, individual gardens, *casitas*, pageants, and community-based initiatives are urban collages, in which the very precariousness of the constructs becomes a central element in their self-display and appeal, a part of the dialectical process of identity creation. The contradiction between creativity for its own sake and for display and effect is reflective of creative efforts in an urban context, in the artistic sense as much as in the sense of political action. Disparate and contradictory elements are joined to create a whole and to make a statement.

Pageants on behalf of community gardens on the Lower East Side are collages in terms of artistic creation and aspects of strategy. They draw on various myths and religious elements from Africa, India, and Ancient Greece to name a few. They are also collages in terms of the physical construction of floats, puppets, and costumes and in terms of the highly diverse, fluctuating membership. Strategies are based on exploitation of the contradictory elements of spontaneity and construction. Visions for community gardens and for urban communities of the future are based on a rejection and a simultaneous embrace and transformation of urban environments. Pageants weave eclectically assembled images of the past into ideas for the future in a language of struggle that is derived equally from the community housing initiatives of the 1970s and the environmental justice movement of the late 1980s and 1990s.

Participation in community gardening involves a process of self-description and display on the border between public and private domains. Staging of community events, participation in pageants, and creation of memory walls and poetry in celebration of gardens straddle the realms of living in an unself-conscious immediacy and acting for effect as it were, in a play that is part of a giant, borderless campaign. The "subjects" of ethnographic description, the gardeners, are their own ethnographers, in their self-conscious process of coming to terms with the conditions of their own alienation. Every action is immediately subject to the public gaze. Urban community gardening at the end of the 20th century represents a central component in efforts to redefine and recreate the notion of "community." "Community" becomes a theater, with a constantly changing script, a volatile audience, a volatile cast, and changing sources of funding for the theater hall. Instead of characters in search of an author, in this new urban "community in the making," every individual is an author in search of a stage.

On January 28, 2000, the Winter Candle Lantern Pageant featured a new puppet. The Puppet of the Future and the Past consisted of twisted steel pipes linked together to form a pillar of thorns; it was crowned by a huge glowing pink double-faced globe. Recycled glass bottle halves, elaborately painted and with candles inside, were suspended from the many silvery arms of the pillar. The structure was set up on a float. When the procession was getting ready to start, volunteers lit the candles, standing on a ladder to reach the top ones. The illuminated globe seemed to expand as one bottle after the other began to glow. Then the puppet was carefully pulled out onto the street to its assigned place at the very end of the procession. We went from garden to garden, ringing bells and swinging lanterns, accompanied by the sound of drums and enveloped in the haze of incense sticks waved in the air. We made a special stop at the Jardín de Esperanza, where a few garden defenders were getting ready for their nightly vigil. Alicia Torres stood outside with a bunch of roses and explained about the fight for the garden to all curious passers-by. The procession circled Tompkins Square Park and finally arrived at La Plaza Cultural on 9th Street and Avenue C for the ceremonies, the performances, and the baked apples and cider. The puppet followed us, luminous and silent, with the candles gently swinging in their bottle beds.

The ingenuity of this construct, its simplicity and clever use of materials, and the love and imagination that went into its making brought forth a thing of wondrous beauty. Moving along in the wake of the procession, ponderously yet full of grace and light, it appeared to call out the central theme that gardeners in the pageant embrace and try to express—the future is behind them or at least at their fingertips, and the means for bringing it to life are at their disposal. According to its creators, the Puppet of the Future and the Past was initially inspired by the image of the Tree of Life, and it was decorated with candles in remembrance of gardens and as the light of the future.

The two faces on the puppet's globe are reminiscent of a painting by Paul Klee, the "Angelus Novus." Also known as the Angel of History, he looks at the wreckage of the past and flees backward in terror, rushing helplessly into the future.[7] Notwithstanding the unintended resemblance to the "Angelus Novus," the Puppet of the Future and the Past in contrast symbolizes a conscious recognition of what is behind and what is ahead and a determination to grasp and redefine both.

NOTES

1. Homer, *The Odyssey,* translated by Robert Fagles (Fagles 1996: 154).

2. "In-Sites: Lower East Side Artists Re-Think Neighborhood Spaces." Ellen Wexler, guest curator, Henry Street Settlement, Abrons Arts Center, New York, October 28, 1994, to January 17, 1995.

3. This anonymous poem, written by one of the gardeners, appears in the brochure prepared by the organization Earth Celebrations for the annual Winter Pageant, January 28, 1995.

4. See Chapter 5 for a description of this garden.

5. Also see Stanley Diamond for a discussion of the role of art and ritual in modern society, in particular, what he describes as "the integrated arts of the crisis rite that reunites man, woman, nature, and society and resolves its ambivalence while defending and defining the liberty and potential of the person" (Diamond 1982: 877).

6. Participants in the pageant take on roles and wear costumes, sometimes masks. However, these disguises do not eliminate individuals, but rather gain their depth and multidimensionality from the individuals that assume them. Diamond refers to the need to understand "the actor's mask (all our modern masks) as a reduction of the person to a role—the reverse of primitive masking in a communal ritual—which is the expression of the many aspects of the developed self. The first mask hides an absence; the second mask reveals presence" (Diamond 1982: 856).

7. Walter Benjamin describes Paul Klee's Angelus Novus as someone who appears "as if though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe, which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. This