UNDERSTANDING SURFACES ON JEWELLERY AND IDENTITY

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DIE NEUE SAMMLUNG
PINAKOTHEK DER MODERNE
MUNICH

MORNING LECTURE
16.03.2014

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

I would like to start off with a basic observation. Identity is usually regarded as something that is rare and easily lost, only to be regained after long and dramatic struggles. However, a careful look shows that identity is in fact being constantly generated in our daily lives and thrust on us as a task that we sense as a kind of subtle and barely perceptible imperative. One of the most powerful mouthpieces of this *imperative* is advertisement, functioning in all its diversity as a huge supermarket of identities and turning towards us with a single and eternally recurrent *leitmotif*: "Here are your possibilities. Decide what you are and who you want to be!" The issue of identity in modern societies is thus similar to that of sexuality in a Foucauldian sense. We are always complaining, says Foucault, that sexuality is repressed, while we are unaware that we are actually constantly talking about it and deriving ourselves from its absence. In a similar vein we are constantly clamouring that we are losing our identity, whereas modern life is in fact replete with imperatives of identification. A typical example are all the application forms we have been filling up over the years, allowing them to define us according to categories of ethnicity, religious allegiance, economic status, etc. Then there is the passport, functioning as a document of national identity, seen by most of us as an unshakable, God given destiny; or the football club, the favourite band, the designer clothes and gadgets, or the intellectual, artistic, religious trends we would like to be a part of. What we call life style is in fact nothing short of a patchwork of the identities we have been relating to and absorbing in the course of our lived lives.

In such a context jewellery can function in two opposing modes. It can strengthen the drift towards identity; or it can break up the shell of existing identities to make place for new identities. In pre-modern societies jewellery has a powerful function of *strengthening* identity through a semiotics of allegiance and inclusion, embodied in badges, buttons, rosaries, crosses, crowns, diadems or other symbolically loaded elements originally used to adorn divine or human archetypes like gods, goddesses and heroes. In addition, jewellery can also strengthen identity by using a material like the noble metals or precious stones, enlisted as they may be in a traditional catalogue of values. However, jewellery can also function in a second mode, which consists in *resisting* identity. It does this in two distinct ways, depending on the two elements constituting it: the jewellery pieces themselves and the human bodies wearing them. For all jewellery can be seen as an assemblage connecting two distinct types of surfaces: object surfaces, revealing certain material, aesthetic and functional properties and transferring these symbolically to the wearer; and human surfaces, revealing the physical, physiognomical, social properties of the wearer. Both surface types can produce identity, both can be manipulated to resist identity. If gold, for instance, is traditionally identified with transcendence due to its lustre and used in jewellery to transfer transcendence – in the mode of glamour – onto the person of a wearer, then manipulating lustre can be a strategy of breaking up such symbolism and detaching gold and people from their encasement in transcendence. Similarly the human surface can be confronted with nonhuman plant, animal or inanimate forms to draw attention to the relativity and contingence of what we take to be human. In the following I will focus exclusively on jewellery's potential for subverting traditionally established identities and base my observations on a few examples, which for obvious reasons has to remain a thin segment of the immensely diversified field of contemporary jewellery. My criterion for showing these pieces will certainly not be their degree of prominence, nor their possible art historical significance, but the simple fact that I happened to take a closer look at them at some stage of my preoccupation with jewellery and let them prompt me to my rather provisional conclusions and observations.

However, I would like to clarify some basic concepts before proceeding further.

I. BASIC CONCEPTS

I understand *identity* as a politics of managing surfaces and stabilising fleeting appearances by connecting them to a *depth*. By depth I mean something like an essence, outside of time and history, functioning as a point of reference for any metaphysics. A contemporary example for metaphysical thinking are the human sciences, in so far as they presuppose a *true nature of Man*, *an ultimate meaning of human life*, etc. In all politics of identity, depth is placed higher up on a scale of values than a surface. One could set up endless lists of the instances of identity politics permeating our daily transactions in the mode of unconscious techniques: like leading back a certain pigmentation of the skin to a race; or certain physiognomic traits to a family, a place of birth, a nation; or a set of practical operations to a discipline or a profession; or certain aesthetic options to a fashion, a style, a trend, a community.

To avoid possible misunderstandings, I would like to state what I am *not* going to talk about. I am not going to talk about the identity of the jewellery maker, tossed about between different styles and schools of thinking, between galleries and academies, or between ostensibly distinct disciplines like the arts and the crafts. I am also not going to talk about jewellery's power of giving a stamp of identity and connecting its wearer to a social status, a musical trend, an ethnic community, a political or religious ideology. Nor am I going to discuss the techniques of classifying jewellery according to opposing identities: Is it genuine or fake? Is it good taste or kitsch? Is it closer to the dress or the tattoo? Does it constitute an artistic genre in itself or is it merely painting, sculpture, photography in miniature, applied to adorn the human body? Important as all these issues are, I would like to put them in brackets and move in a direction, which is dictated by an essentially political question: Is contemporary jewellery capable of resisting the politics of identity rampant in modern societies? Can the jewellery of our time help us stand our ground against the dispositives of identity holding sway over entire populations around the globe? I would like to explore these questions in three steps. First – in section 2 – I will present some general observations on surfaces, which I would like to connect with practices of appearing, meaning practices of constructing oneself as an appearance. In a second step – in sections 3 and 4 – I will try to explore, how the materials and objects of jewellery, as also we ourselves, the wearers, are encased in age-old shells of identity, which a contemporary jewellery artist has to challenge by applying various techniques of de-identification. Finally – in section 5 – I would like to present a short history of the most prominent identity politics assailing us in our daily lives: the politics of the passport. In this connection I would like to report on a recent jewellery project, in which the modern *passport* and its politics of national identity are reflected upon and questioned.

II. SURFACE DISCOURSES

I would like to classify my observations on surfaces in three types on three different levels.

1. Firstly a *personal level*: Every time I appear to the world, there is a strange discourse emanating from my surface, partly within, partly outside my control, 'revealing' my internal nature as the 'real me'. Even if I am completely silent, surface elements like my figure, my movements, my gestures; or my dress, make-up, jewellery, speech; or documents like a credit card, a passport, continue imparting data on my person. They provide information on my mood, health, aspirations, my job, status and possessions, my family, my past, my nationality. I find myself encased in a layer of markers, incessantly clamouring and speaking about me to my surroundings.

First, there are my physical aspects. Besides my facial features, the most eloquent aspect of my biological being is my skin, functioning as a matted layer of signifiers with all its freckles, pigments, scales and hues, its sweat and glisten, its varicose veins, its hairy unevenness. Then there are the dress, the hairstyle, the gaze, the gait, the gestures. They all reveal me constantly, some of them even during my sleep, as long as there is somebody taking note of me.

And when I actually begin to speak, there is this telltale voice of mine with its specific consistence and modulations. Then there are the gestures involved in the language I choose to use or am compelled to use, in my accent, my pronunciation, my style of delivery. All these acoustic and linguistic features appear *before* any semantic content can be transmitted by my speech. Even in the barest utterances, like groans, sighs, exclamations, I am constantly 'revealed'. It is as if the gaze of the Other would switch on an entire repertoire of my techniques of appearing and let my being stand out in a *Lichtung*.

2. I would like to formulate a second set of observations on a *theoretical level*: An elementary question in twentieth century thought is: 'What is appearance?' As the philosophical endeavours of Husserl and Heidegger have shown, understanding *appearance* requires that we step back and focus on the *process of appearing*. However, there are two sides to the coin. On the one hand, the *world appears to me* in a process that has been discussed at length through decades of phenomenological research. But, on the other hand, *I also make my appearance to the world* in an entirely different type of process, in which my life is invested as a series of what I would like to term *phenomenotechnical* practices, involving algorithms of *becoming visible* and a correlative chain of effects conducive to my needs.[1] Such techniques often continue to function almost mechanically even in the absence of an *observer* or a *mirror*. For they have become inseparable elements of what we have grown to be in the course of a lifetime of memorizing and internalizing them. Starting with the rudimentary gestures of the baby like smiling, gurgling, screaming, we incorporate them successively into our communicative tool-kit, after they have stood the test of time and produced their desired socio-biological effects.

But, whether the world appears to me or I to the world, the factor common to both is the *surface*. For all appearance is associated with the visibility of a surface, 'expressive' of a depth or interior. This also holds true for all the appearances we make on the stage of our daily lives, when we turn our surfaces towards the world and harvest responses with an efficacy depending upon our expertise in the *art of appearing*.

3. My third and final set of observations concerns the *political level*: Speaking with Foucault, the appearance of the self is produced by a specific *technology of the self.* In simple terms this implies that I make my appearance by using an image that subsequently gets identified as my self. I would like to specify such techniques as phenomenotechniques of the self. In our daily lives, we in fact apply an entire range of *phenomenotechniques of the self* like dress, make-up, jewellery, gestures, facial expressions, to generate a series of constantly shifting images of our persons. These images function as a variety of masks assisting us in our personal *art and craft of appearing* upon the stage of daily life. In traditional cultures, such self-revelation can function in singular and fateful moments as a *theophany*, in which the divine manifests itself through the mask of a chosen person. When Moses descended from Mount Sinai with his stone tablets, his face was radiant, for he had experienced God. The lustre of his face revealed not only his personal state of mind, but also the presence of God, so that the children of Israel were awe-struck and hesitated to come closer to him. In a contemporary context, a phenomenotechnique no longer reveals a reality behind a surface, neither a self nor a God. Instead, it has the task of constructing deep-seated interiorities like eternal youth or non-ending eroticism or unabated dynamism as fictions that we incessantly employ in our daily dramas of success and failure. Such is the case with cosmetic products that promise a 'Mosaic' radiance without requiring any inner transformation.[2] Such is also the case with extra-biological surfaces like the CV functioning as a kind of user interface indispensable to the job market and designed to communicate the fiction of aptitude.

III. SUBVERTING MATERIAL AND OBJECT IDENTITIES

If Foucault treated discourses as communicative surfaces,[3] I would like to do the opposite and treat human surfaces as discourses generating 'pre-existent' interiorities. Also material surfaces can be read as discourses that are no less eloquent in articulating interiorities and symbolic values.

In many pre-modern cultures such symbolic values were attached to precious metals due to the reflective properties of their surface. It is as if a quality like lustre would spread out over the material surface like a symbolic blanket so that, as in Babylon, the metals could function as representations of heavenly bodies, which in their turn were thought of as deities with their specific attributes. What resulted from this was a table of symbolic correspondences, which in their turn played an important role in sacral and political life in Uruk, associating gold with the sun, silver with the moon, copper with Venus, etc.[4]

It is therefore not surprising that in the course of time such metals became privileged materials in the art and craft of jewellery. For wearing the sacred metal meant showing allegiance to a cult, meant wearing the power, protection and prestige of a divinity. With secularization, the last vestiges of such symbolism are brushed aside and the surface of a metal is stripped of its symbolic garment so that it can finally reveal itself in its scientific neutrality as an aggregate of experimentally derived physical and chemical properties – at least according to a dominant narrative, which declines to see modern science in any other light than that of a *mythos-to-logos* kind of progress. However, there is no reason to deny that the modern perception of such materials also involves symbolic aspects and that a metal like gold continues to be encased in a meaning, including not only its material properties, but also its social connotations.

A major event in the history of precious metals is their application in coinage and the corresponding transformation of their symbolic value into a conventional face value. Early Lydian coins were minted and issued by temples, like the famous temple of Artemis at Ephesos, and were probably used initially as badges or medals of allegiance to the cult practiced therein.

The stamp on the front of early temple coins bore images of Gods, Goddesses and sacred animals. It was understood as a gateway to the sacred metal content, considered a property of the deity, so that ripping open the symbolic embossment could only count as a capital crime.[5] Later on coins bear stamps with the symbols of political power, dominating the discourse of the metal surface and revealing the *identity* of the minting authority. The genealogy of coinage is in a sense enmeshed in a history of power and jewellery, the coins being repeatedly incorporated into necklaces, rings, amulets for various reasons. Wearing them often involves a display of the wealth one possesses and thus does, what wearing jewellery is supposed to do in general: adding value to the person of the wearer.

Thus pre-modern material surfaces can be seen as sheaths of markers transmitting value and identity and organizing themselves incessantly into discourses on the symbolic properties and functions of a material. Wearing a material in the form of jewellery could thus lead to a transference of such properties to the wearer, revealing him or her as the member of a guild, a caste, a monastic order, a clan etc. In a modern context however such properties and functions of a material are no longer valid in an absolute sense, but rather as the outcome of historically contingent processes of interpretation. Modern jewellery no longer signalises a transcendent identity in the sense of an essential affiliation to a group. At most it signifies a socio-economic status or functions as a medium of glamour. In other words: the values represented by modern jewellery are never beyond question and can be always criticised. In this vein critical contemporary jewellery employs an entire range of techniques of intervention, in which the discourse of a material surface is manipulated, reactivated or completely negated.

1. BLANKETING THE SURFACE

I would now like to highlight some of the most remarkable of these techniques in an *open* series of de-identificational strategies based on the jewellery works I have been observing over the years. By "open" I mean that the series can be extended whenever new works and new strategies come into view.

A powerful technique of interrupting the surface discourse of a material is the simple act of deleting the surface as such. An example for such a radical act of criticism and reflection on the traditional value of a metal like gold is Otto Künzli's *Gold macht blind*: a black rubber ring with a little gold ball inside. The gold is palpably present for the wearer on the wrist and attains visibility only to the extent that the ball bulges through the black surface of the rubber casing. The golden surface, traditionally transmitting transcendence and symbolism through its discourse of light and lustre, is entirely obstructed by the dark of the rubber, so that the bangle hangs on the wrist like a metaphor of modernity. The divine lustre of gold recedes like Hölderlin's gods, shrouded by the night of a rubber bangle.

Fig. 1. Otto Künzli, Gold macht blind, bangle, 1980
© Otto Künzli

(OTTO KÜNZLI)

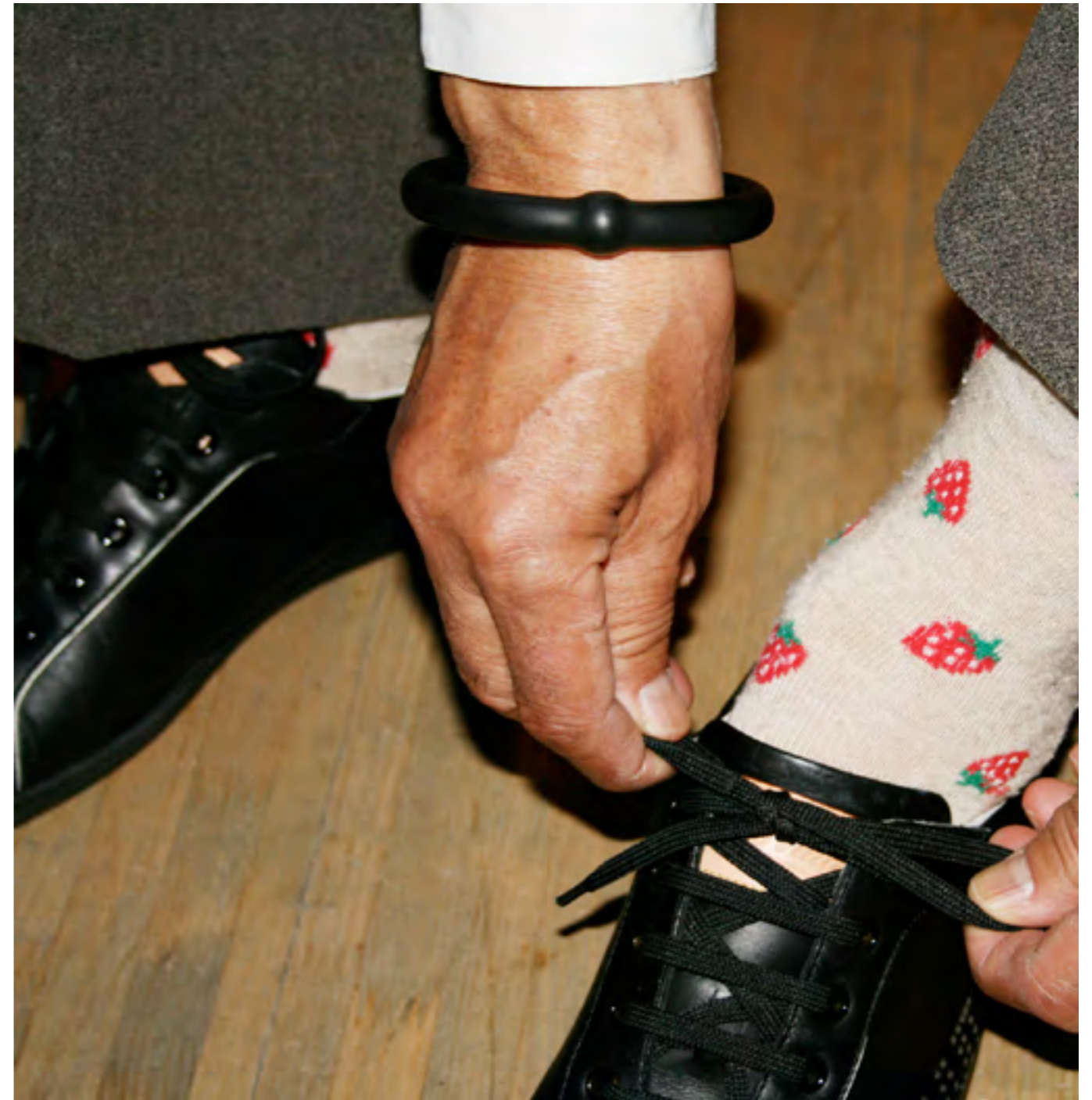Fig. 2. Otto Künzli, Gold macht blind, bangle, 1980
© Otto Künzli

Fig. 3. Otto Künzli, Gold macht blind, bangle, 1980
© Otto Künzli

2. HYPERBOLISM OF LUSTRE

A second technique of de-identifying a material does the opposite by exaggerating lustre and polishing the surface to the point, where it becomes invisible like a mirror. Künzli applies this strategy in the pendant entitled *Pi*. The mirroring effect causes the lustre of the material and, along with it, the piece itself to become imperceptible. What remains to be seen, is only whatever is in front of the piece and reflected in it. The visibility of the material is lost in an abyss of reflection.
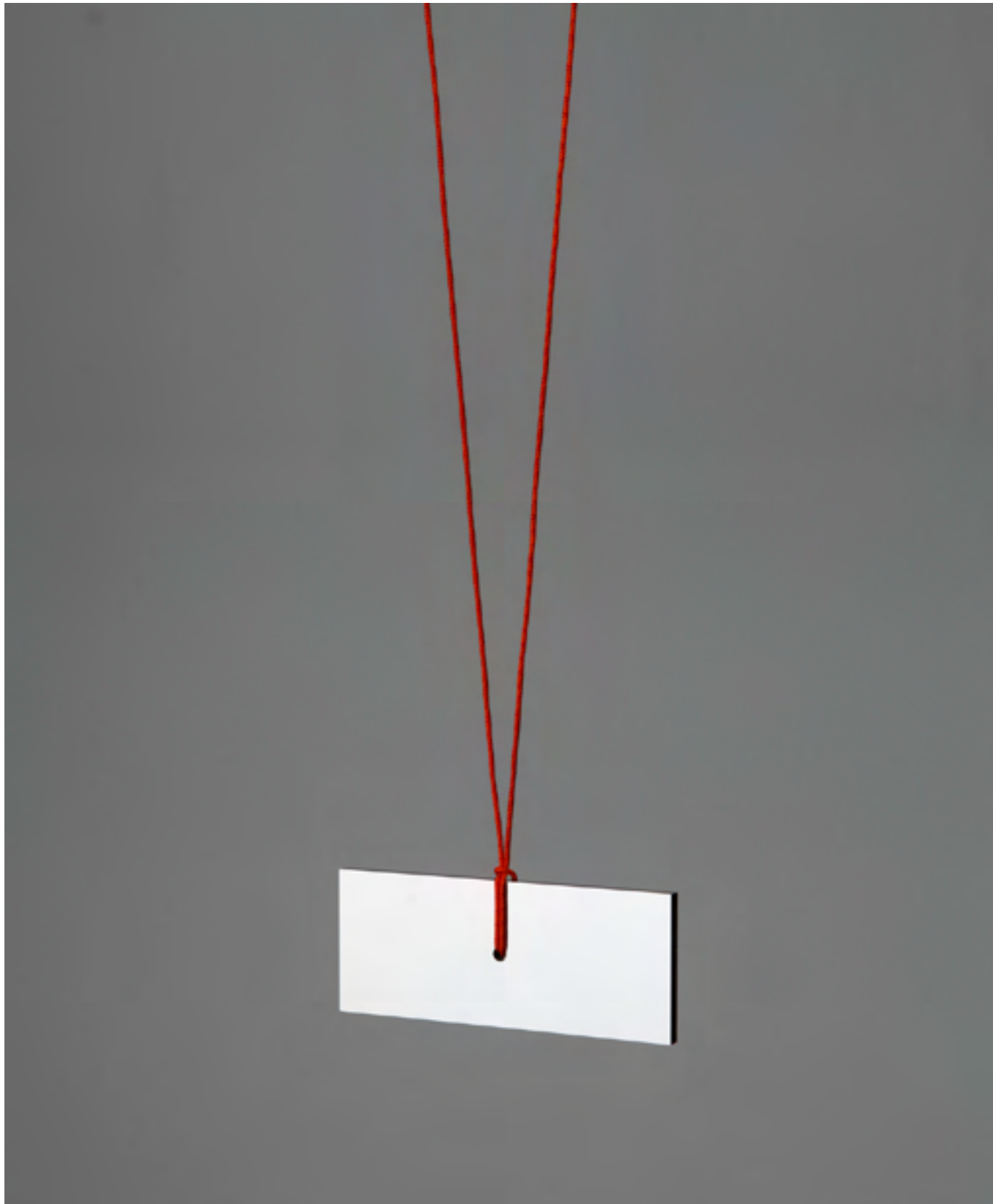
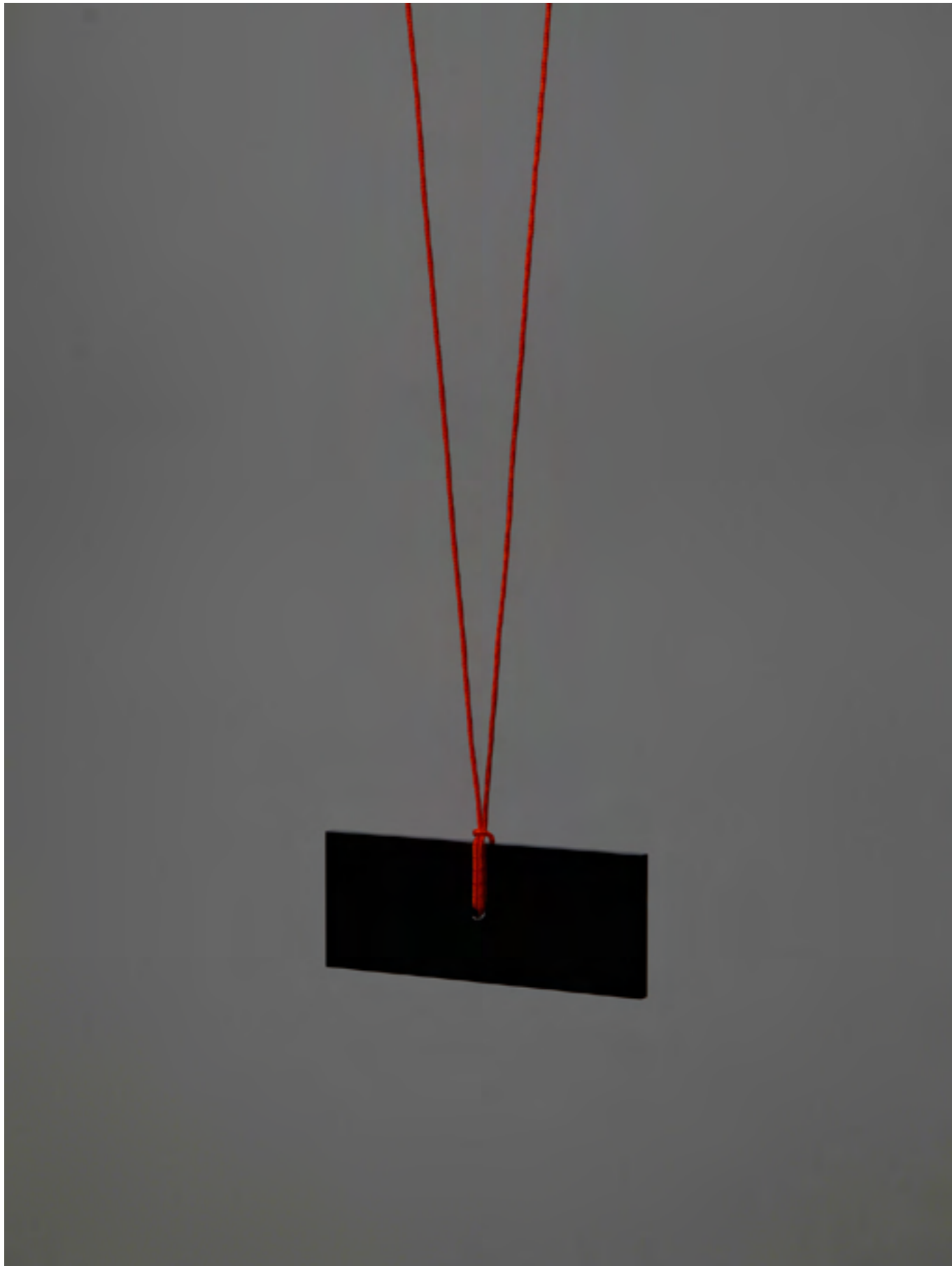Fig. 4. Otto Künzli, Pi, pendant, 2008
© Otto Künzli

(OTTO KÜNZLI)

Fig. 5. Otto Künzli, Pi, pendant, 2008
© Otto Künzli

Fig. 6. Otto Künzli, Pi, pendant, 2008
© Otto Künzli

3. SCRATCHING AT THE SURFACE

An archaic technique of de-indentification consists in scratching off the symbolic embossment on a material surface. In his jewellery project "Change" (2003), Künzli reworked coins from thirty-seven countries as pendants by filing down the stamp and boring a hole into each coin. It has already been mentioned that in an early phase of the history of coinage the stamp was sacred and functioned as a *threshold* for deterring potential counterfeiters. Also the modern coin, bearing a stamp of propriety of the secular state, functions as a barrier that may not be overstepped. However, Künzli does not overstep the stamp as a barrier when he files it off. Instead, he eliminates the threshold as such, returning the coin back to its metal state prior to being minted. In a sense he stages the history of modernity on the surface of the coin: Nietzsche's Death of God, meaning the demise of all metaphysical and political sovereignty that leaves behind an empty surface and a mirror for reflecting the human subject. Eliminating the symbolic encasement of the coin enables its transformation into jewellery.

Fig. 7. Otto Künzli, Change, pendants, 2003
© Otto Künzli

(OTTO KÜNZLI)

Fig. 8. Otto Künzli, Change, pendants, 2003
© Otto Künzli

4. DISSECTING THE SURFACE

A fourth strategy of subverting the identity of an object is that of cutting up its symbolically embossed surface and separating the elements constituting its identity. In the case of coins these would be: the stamped symbol on the one hand and the coin rim on the other. Johanna Zellmer explored such a technique of subversive analysis in Hanau 2009 in a project called "Moments out of control", in which she sawed out the stamped symbols from coins, hammered out the coin rims and presented both in dark casings as undefined jewellery objects. Zellmer depicts the act of sawing off the symbol from a D-Mark coin as "Cutting up National Socialism", which gives an idea of the dramatic and passionate nature of the process.

Fig. 9. Johanna Zellmer, "Cutting up National Socialism", 2009
© Heeyoung Youn

(JOHANNA ZELLMER)

Fig. 10. Johanna Zellmer, Momente außer Kontrolle, sawed out symbols and coin rims, 2009
© Johanna Zellmer

Fig. 11. Johanna Zellmer, Momente außer Kontrolle, sawed out symbols, 2009
© Johanna Zellmer

Fig. 12. Johanna Zellmer, Momente außer Kontrolle, coin rims, 2009
© Johanna Zellmer

Fig. 13. Johanna Zellmer, Momente außer Kontrolle,
coin objects (symbols and hammered rims), 2009
© Johanna Zellmer

5. REVEALING TRANSIENCE

Another strategy of de-identifying the surface consists in leaving a material to nature and documenting the stages of its transformation, which, from the standpoint of identity can only be perceived in terms like "decay", "corrosion", "erosion". In this connection, I would like to mention Annamaria Zanella's brooches *Water* and *Fire*, in which the surface of the material bears the marks left behind by the elements of nature. Contrary to tradition, which would have jewellery made from a material in its "essential", "identical" and "immutably optimal" state, these brooches invite us to adorn ourselves with transience, which has been inscribed into the surface of the metals through the agencies of water and fire.

Fig. 14. Annamaria Zanella, Water, brooch, 1996
© L. Trento

(ANNAMARIA ZANELLA)

Fig. 15. Annamaria Zanella, Fire, brooch, 1996
© L. Trento

6. DISSIMULATING THE SURFACE

A rather sophisticated technique of subverting material identities is that of transforming the surface of a material to such an extent that it takes on the appearance of a different material. Peter Bauhuis has subjected this technique to an extensive study for more than a decade. One example is the lint pin, in which the pin-head of gold or silver simulates a piece of fluff, evoking an urge to brush off what is supposed to be an adornment. Another example are Bauhuis' "heart" brooches, in which the pebble shape and the transformation of the silver surface to simulate streaks of weather and water completely obscure the familiar identity of a piece of silver jewellery and create the impression of a large pebble worn as a brooch. Another example is the *Giant Asymmetric Blob Chain*, in which the shapes, colours and surface texture of the blobs serve to dissimulate the typical materiality of silver.

Fig. 16. Peter Bauhuis, 7 Lint Pins, pins, 1998
© Peter Bauhuis

(PETER BAUHUIS)

Fig. 17. Peter Bauhuis, Lint Pin, pin, 1998
© Peter Bauhuis

Fig. 18. Peter Bauhuis, Herzen, brooches, 2003
© Peter Bauhuis

Fig. 19. Peter Bauhuis, Herzbrosche, brooch, 2003
© Erol Gurian

Fig. 20. Peter Bauhuis, Giant Asymmetric Blob Chain, necklace, 2010
© Philipp Mansmann

Fig. 21. Lisa Walker, Necklace, neckwear, 2009
© Lisa Walker

7. TRANSGRESSING THE SURFACE OF USE

The last of the strategies I would like to mention, employed by contemporary jewellery in tampering with the identity of an object is on the entirely different level of its *use*. The *context of use* functions as an immediately perceivable surface element, systematically intervening at the threshold of our access to an object and preventing us from seeing it as anything other than an object of use. We cannot normally regard a cell phone, a laptop, a camera lens, a toothbrush as anything other than the tools we are used to treating them as. Other aspects like colour, weight, form, alternative functions or a possible conceptualism in their production are strictly subordinated to their pragmatic roles in our daily practices.

Detaching an object from its *context of use* and reintegrating it in the context of jewellery, creates a strange tension, in which the object wavers between two incompatible identities. This is what happens to Lisa Walker's readymades, as they are detached from the microcosmos of daily lives and households and minimally modified by stringing them together to neckpieces or making pendants of them.

(LISA WALKER)

Fig. 22. Lisa Walker, Low Culture necklace, neckwear, 2010
© Lisa Walker

Fig. 23. Lisa Walker, Pendant, pendant, 2013
© Lisa Walker

Fig. 24. Jiro Kamata, Momentopia, brooch, 2008
© Jiro Kamata

Another example of such a strategy is to be found in Jiro Kamata's brooches and neckpieces, in which coloured camera lenses are coloured and brought into exquisite constellations or mounted onto mirrors to create optical effects. Here identity is made to waver between the subject and object of visual perception. In Kamata's jewellery constellations, the eye of the objective transforms into an object for the eyes of the viewer.

(JIRO KAMATA)

Fig. 25. Jiro Kamata, Momentopia, brooch, 2008
© Jiro Kamata

Fig. 26. Jiro Kamata, Momentopia, brooch, 2009
© Jiro Kamata

Fig. 27. Jiro Kamata, Arboresque, brooch, 2010
© Jiro Kamata

Fig. 28. Jiro Kamata, Arboresque, brooch, 2011
© Jiro Kamata

Fig. 29. Jiro Kamata, Spiegel, pendant, 2010
© Jiro Kamata

Fig. 30. Jiro Kamata, Spiegelnecklace, necklace 2012
© Jiro Kamata

Fig. 31. Jiro Kamata, Spiegelnecklace, necklace, 2012
© Jiro Kamata

Other examples of how the functional surfaces of objects can be tampered with are Bernhard Schobingers bracelet in the form of an old toothbrush or the neckpiece *Sonja mit Hirnsäge*, in which the jagged saw blades are arrayed around a delicate neck, as a strange and oblique evocation of the guillotine. The object identities in the latter are made to waver between the worlds of work, execution and adornment.

Fig. 32. Bernhard Schobinger, Alte Zahnbürste, bangle, 2000
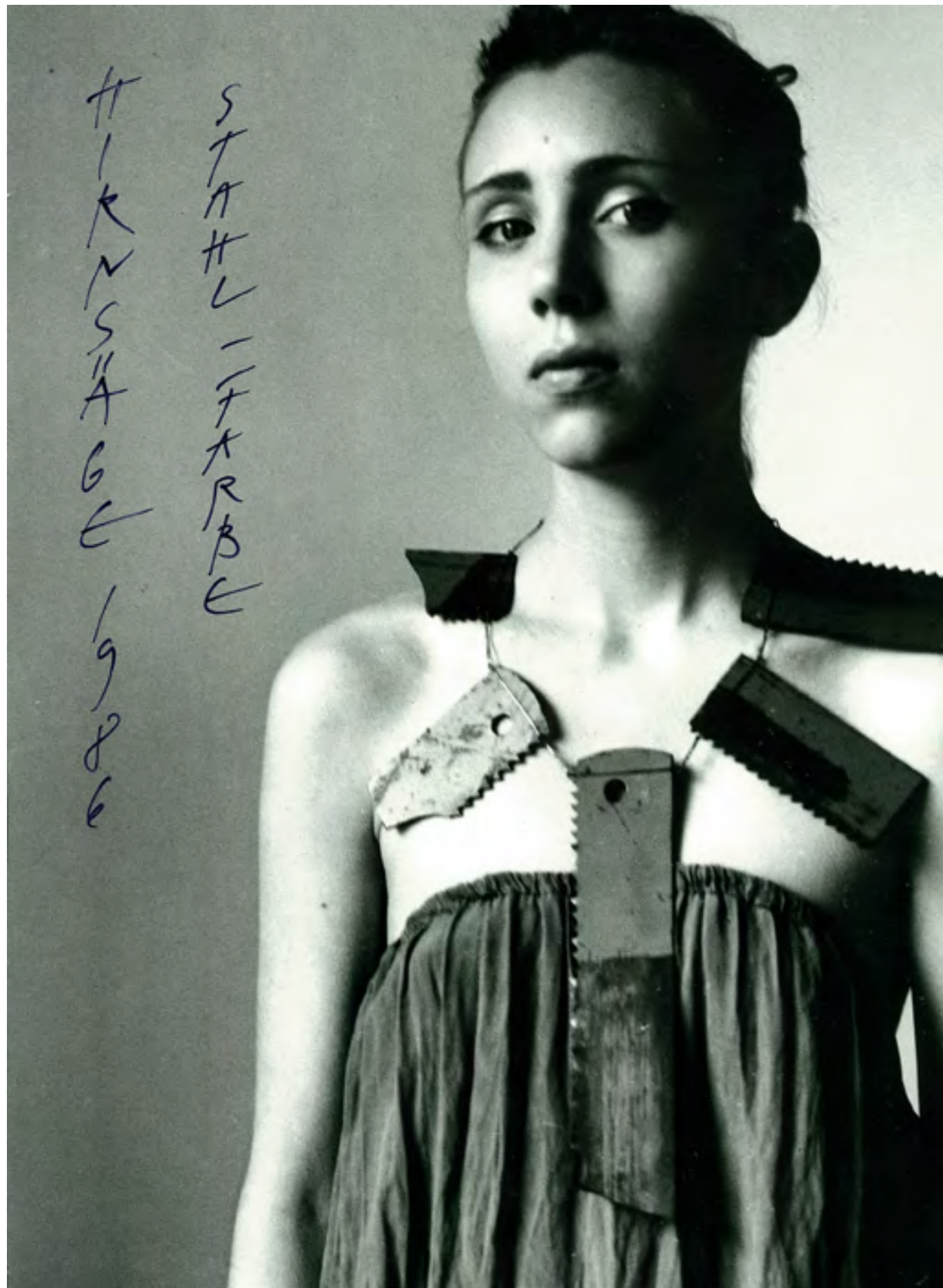© Bernhard Schobinger

(BERNHARD SCHOBINGER)

Fig. 33. Bernhard Schobinger, Sonja mit Hirnsäge, neckwear, 1986
© Annelies Strba

IV. SUBVERTING HUMAN IDENTITIES

Jewellery can also be made to interact with the surface of its wearer and put to question certain distinctions used to establish human identity, like the segregation between the human and the non-human; between the animate and the inanimate; between surface and depth, etc. Also here an entire range of strategies of de-identification can be observed in the field of contemporary jewellery.

1. THE BODY AS A STAGE

The first strategy involves understanding jewellery as a theatre of transformations. For the moment a piece of jewellery is worn, a twofold metamorphosis takes place. (1) The piece itself transforms from a mere object in a showcase into *jewellery* in a strict sense, meaning an object in relation to the human body. (2) The body of the wearer is transformed into a work of art. In the first part of the metamorphsis, the body itself is the stage, on which the transformation can take place. Thus, considering both metamorphoses, the wearer's body is at the same time a space for transformation as well as the transformed itself, just as a stage provides space for a dramatic transformation, while it itself transforms as the drama unfolds. In this vein David Bielander creates jewellery in the shape of animals and plants, launches them on the stage of the human body and lets them mutate into jewellery, bringing the wearer's multiple, concealed and parallel identities to life. Thus he has slugs or dung beetles crawling about the body, a fish twining round the wrist, or raspberries, corn-cobs, a bunch of onions around the neck, all signifying the multiple lives and identities that we are.

(DAVID BIELANDER)

Fig. 34. David Bielander, Nacktschnecken, brooches, 2004
© Simon Bielander

Fig. 35. David Bielander, Nacktschnecke, brooch, 2004
© David Bielander

Fig. 36. David Bielander, Mistkäfer, brooch, 2007
© Simon Bielander

Fig. 37. David Bielander, Fisch, bracelet, 2008
© Simon Bielander

Fig. 38. David Bielander, Himbeerkette, necklace, 2005
© Simon Bielander

Fig. 39. David Bielander, Maiskolben, pendant, 2008
© Simon Bielander

Fig. 40. David Bielander, Zwiebelzopf, neckwear, 2008
© Simon Bielander

2. THE COLD JEWEL OF LIFE

A further strategy involves questioning the segregation between the living and the dead, which we take as self evident, when it comes to defining ourselves. Helena Bierman applies this strategy in her long necklaces of dead insects or seeds in capsules and explores the kind of enhancement of life, which takes place when it is adorned by the presence of the dead, as with the insects, or the future life of the seeds.

Fig. 41. Helena Biermann, Death, approx. 1500 insects, necklace, 2004
© Ziad Ragheb & Helena Biermann

(HELENA BIERMANN)

Fig. 42. Helena Biermann, Death, approx. 1500 insects, necklace, 2004
© Ziad Ragheb & Helena Biermann

Fig. 43. Helena Biermann, Life, 521 types of seeds, necklace, 2004
© Ziad Ragheb & Helena Biermann

Fig. 44. Helena Biermann, Life, 521 types of seeds, necklace, 2004
© Ziad Ragheb & Helena Biermann

Eunmi Chun applies the same strategy, but in a different manner by using material like pigskin, intestinal membrane and human hair in her floral and animal motives.

Fig. 45. Eunmi Chun, Pigplant Necklace, necklace, 2007
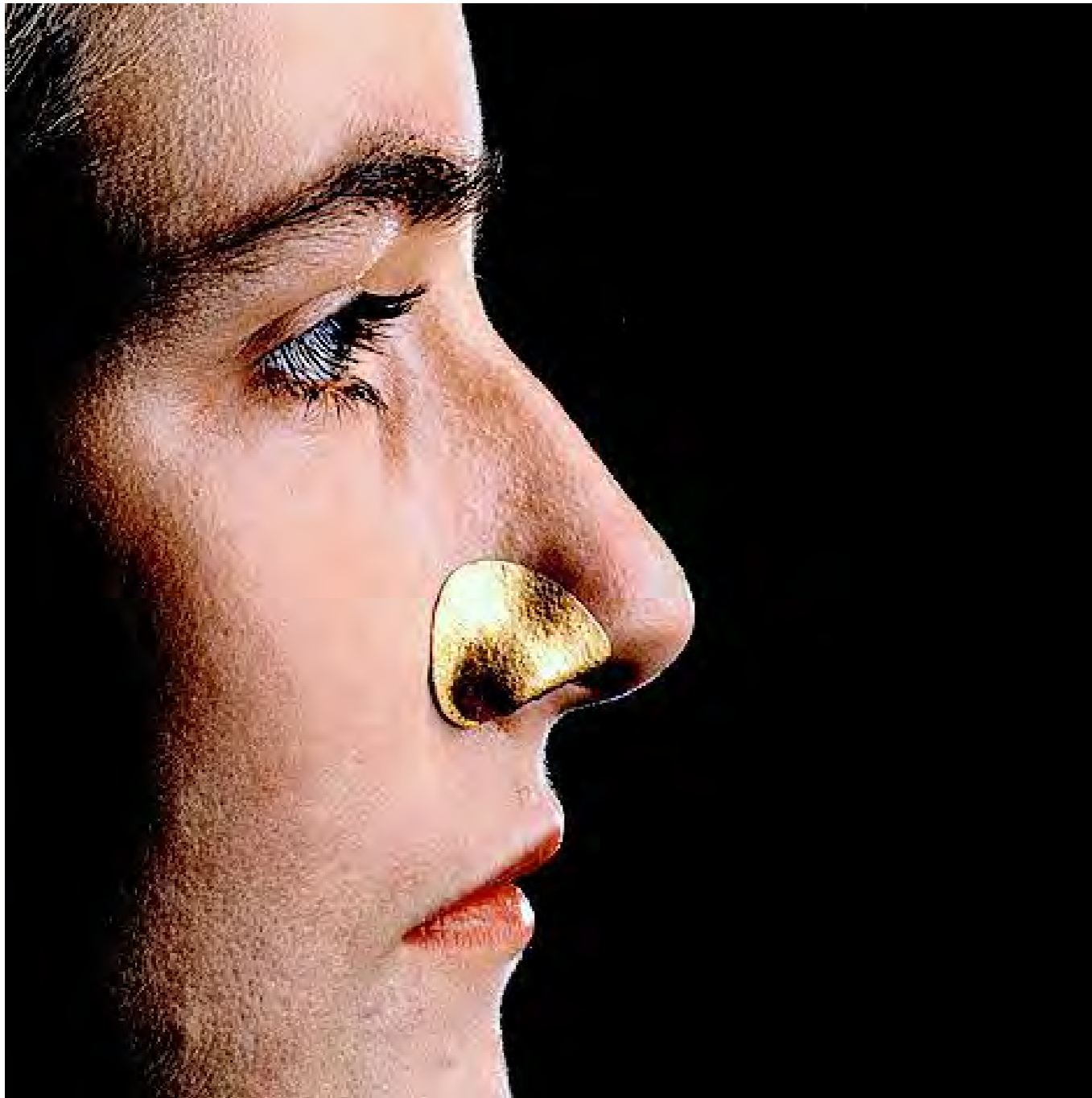© Eunmi Chun

(EUNMI CHUN)

Fig. 46. Eunmi Chun, Papayalamb, necklace, 2008
© Eunmi Chun

Fig. 47. Eunmi Chun, Giraffe, necklace, 2008
© Eunmi Chun

3. REPLICATING THE HUMAN SURFACE

A third strategy questions the distinction between surface and depth, which is indispensable in practices of establishing identities, employing surface elements like a scar or a date of birth for signifying deep-seated identities, as in the politics of the passport. Gerd Rothmann's work involves a systematic subversion of the dichotomy between surface and depth, as it proposes to adorn the surface with itself by reduplicating certain surface elements. As examples I would like to mention his well known replications of surface segments like the nose, the mouth, the inside of the elbow, the navel, etc.

Another aspect of this strategy involves fingerprints, which are utilised as typical surface elements in official politics of identity. Contrary to such politics, Rothmann's brooches, necklaces, rings do not signify identity, but allude to concrete human relationships by adorning the body with the fingerprints of those to whom the wearer relates.

A special instance is the use of the fingerprint of the artist himself, replacing what could be a signature for establishing the identity of the maker. In Rothmann's jewellery his own fingerprint ceases to be a means of identification and becomes an anonymous element enhancing the aesthetics of a surface.

Fig. 48. Gerd Rothmann, Nasenflügel, "Abformung" (replication), 1985
© Wilfried Petzi

(GERD ROTHMANN)

Fig. 49. Gerd Rothmann, Die goldene Nase, "Abformung" (replication), 1984
© Richard Beer

Fig. 50. Gerd Rothmann, Geöffneter Mund, "Abformung" (replication), 1979
© Wilfried Petzi

Fig. 51. Gerd Rothmann, Brustwarze, "Abformung" (replication), 1981
© Dieter Hinrichs

Fig. 52. Gerd Rothmann, Armbeuge, "Abformung" (replication), 1981
© Dieter Hinrichs

Fig. 53. Gerd Rothmann, Nabelstück, "Abformung" (replication), 1981
© Dieter Hinrichs

Fig. 54. Gerd Rothmann, Mundwinkel, "Abformung" (replication), 1979
© Philipp Schönborn

Fig. 55. Gerd Rothmann, Großes Familiencollier, necklet, 2003
© Gerd Rothmann

Fig. 56. Gerd Rothmann, Abdrücke beim Betrachten der Brosche, brooch, 2007
© Gerd Rothmann

Fig. 57. Otto Künzli, Kette, chain of wedding rings, 1985-86
© Otto Künzli

4. THE NARRATIVE OF THE OTHER

An entirely different level, on which identities can be established, is that of the narrative. A typical example is the wedding ring, in which an identity as husband or wife is codified. Otto Künzli's chain of wedding rings is a remarkable example of how an ancient identity technique like the wedding ring can be subverted. If an individual wedding ring symbolises a relationship like marriage, which is emphatically associated with the issue of identity, as all dramas of infidelity and jealousy manifest, then a chain of such rings presents a constellation of the histories of such relationships, wearable like trophies around the neck. Künzli's wedding-ring chain is made of forty-eight used wedding rings of gold obtained through advertisements. The chain is not supposed to be viewed merely as a piece of jewellery composed of other pieces of jewellery but also as an invitation to a personal and rather delicate experiment with the wearing of jewellery, based on the question: What happens to me, what happens to my identity, if I wear around my neck a chain of wedding rings and the stories of other past marriages between strangers unknown to me and now dead? The story goes that one of the persons who had held Künzli's wedding ring chain had to rush off to wash his hands.
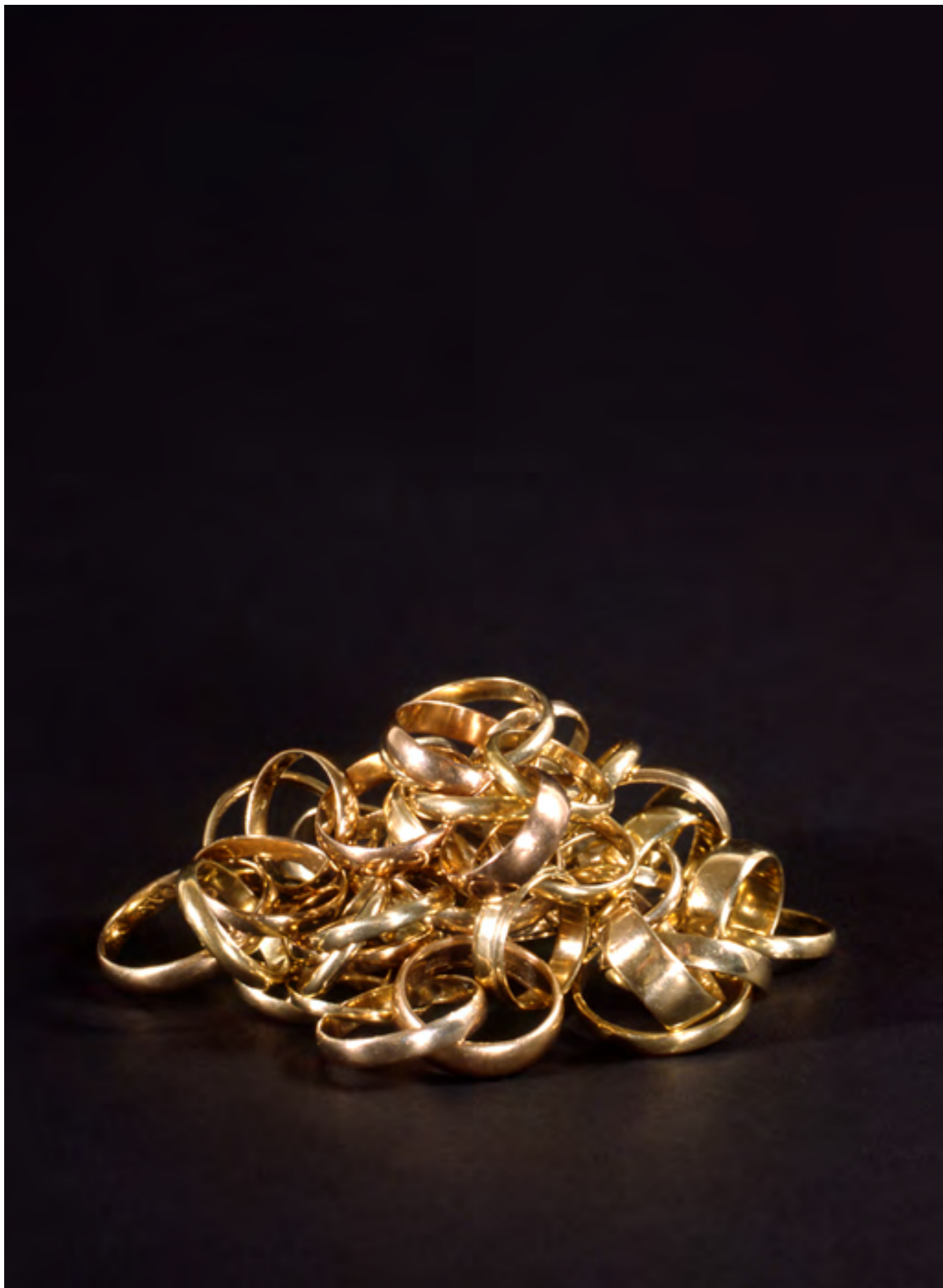
(OTTO KÜNZLI)

Fig. 58. Otto Künzli, Kette, chain of wedding rings, 1985-86
© Otto Künzli

Fig. 59. Robert Baines, The Gold Hoard from the Phoenician Colony Settlement at Freshwater Point on the Queensland Coast, Bronze Age Gold Jewellery, Phoenician, ca. last half of the 7 th century B. C., 1997-2008
© Robert Baines

5. FAKED NARRATIVES

Thus, jewellery is not only encased in a material like gold and its surface discourse, but also in narratives, which can be powerful instruments for establishing identities of individuals, families, clans, etc. Künzli's chain of wedding rings tries to subvert this disposition by anonymising the narrative. An entirely different and equally powerful strategy consists in faking narratives, as in the works of Robert Baines and Peter Bauhuis. Baines frames his jewellery in fake narratives related to real historical epochs, whose metal techniques he carefully studies and masters. The result is a work like the *Phoenician hoard*, in which he presents jewellery ascribed to a fictitious Phoenician settlement on the north-eastern coast of Australia.

(ROBERT BAINES)

Another striking example is the bracelet entitled *Java-la-Grande*, refered to as an example of Indo-Portuguese jewellery from the sixteenth century. The presence of the four red kangaroos around the key on the top of the bracelet leads to questions as to whether the Portuguese had already discovered the east coast of the Australian continent in the sixteenth century. Baines presented such speculations during a lecture at the National Museum in Lissabon. To authenticate the fake, he manipulated digitally an artwork from the museum, a portrait from the sixteenth century showing a lady sporting his *Java-la-Grande* on her right wrist.

Fig. 60. Robert Baines, 'Java-la-Grande', Indo-Portuguese,
ca. 2nd quarter of the 16th century, bracelet, 2004-2005
© Powerhouse Museum
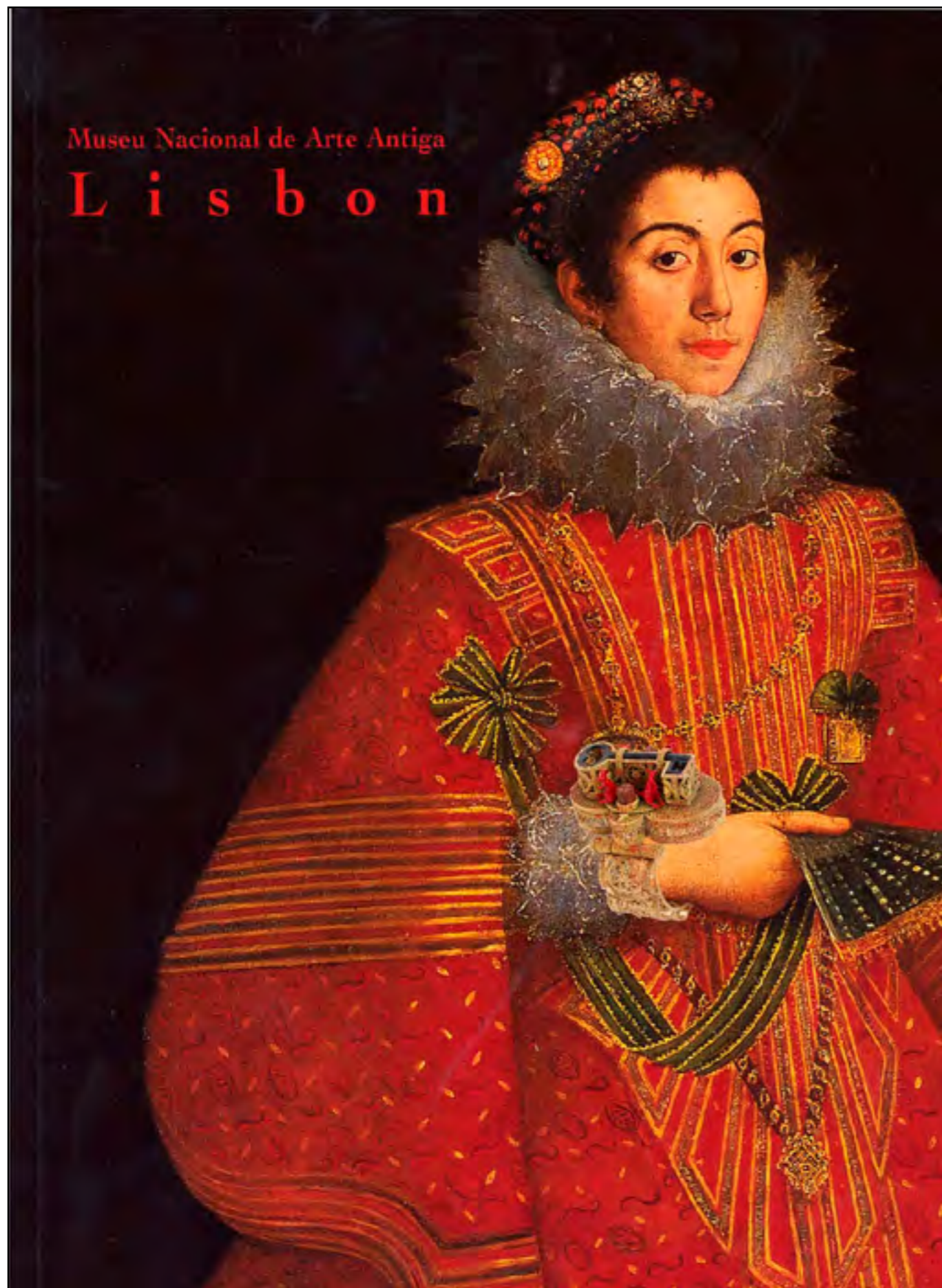
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga
Lisbon

Fig. 61. Robert Baines, 'Java-la-Grande', Indo-Portuguese,
ca. 2nd quarter of the 16th century, bracelet, 2004-2005
© Robert Baines

An example of Baines' fake narratives relating to our own times is the jewellery-set *A Taliban Gift to Laura Bush*, made in 2001 and alleged to have been made in same year and sent by Mullah Omar a month before the attacks on the World Trade Center took place, as a gift to the wife of the American president. The Kalashnikows, the bomb at the centre and the photograph of the airplanes striking the twin towers leave the question open, whether we have here a peace offering or a warning.

Fig. 62. Robert Baines, A Taliban Gift of Peace to Laura Bush,
Afghanistan, ca. 1st half of 2001, Jewellery Set, 2001
© Robert Baines

Fig. 63. Robert Baines, A Taliban Gift of Peace to Laura Bush,
Afghanistan, ca. 1st half of 2001, Jewellery Set, 2001
© Robert Baines

Peter Bauhuis also employs the strategy of faking narratives, which however have their alleged origin in non-existent cultures like the Gallium culture, which he reports to have created a strange kind jewellery from the metal Gallium with its melting point within the temperature range of the human body, implying thereby that this kind of jewellery is essentially unwearable, since any body contact with a wearer would make it begin to melt. Peter Bauhuis curated his own works and presented them at the Archaeological Museum in Munich, explaining that his interest in Gallium jewellery was due to a strange affinity between the exhibits and his "own" work.

Fig. 64. Peter Bauhuis, Der Galliumhort von Obertraun, 2011
© Peter Bauhuis

(PETER BAUHUIS)

Fig. 65. Peter Bauhuis, Der Galliumhort von Obertraun,
"Schädelarmring" (skull armlet), 2011
© Peter Bauhuis

Fig. 66. Peter Bauhuis, Der Galliumhort von Obertraun,
"Hohlbuckelarmring" (hollow bulge armlet), 2011
© Peter Bauhuis

A more recent project is based on his *Colomna Findings*, which he ascribes to a fictitious Colomna culture, presenting them in the town of Colomna in Russia.

Fig. 67. Peter Bauhuis, Colomna Findings, Jewellery, Coins,
Vessels and other Artefacts made from bronze and copper, 2011
© Peter Bauhuis

V. RETURNING TO THE SURFACE: JOHANNA ZELLMER'S PROJECT ON JEWELLERY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

1. TWO TYPES OF SURFACE SIGNIFICATION

At this point I would like to repeat that not only metals, materials and coins but also humans are packaged in surfaces functioning as discourses that not only generate the effects of interiority and depth, but also serve as the starting point for formal procedures of marking and identifying individuals. Such procedures are based on a methodical reduction of the information transmitted by human surfaces, eliminating all that is fleeting and non-essential and filtering out a set of characteristic features that are permanent and distinctive and ultimately enable the identification of individuals in informal interactions as well as the formalised techniques of identity surveillance applied by the modern State.

The signs emitted by human surfaces are primarily visual. In pre-modern societies, they function as religious, military, occupational symbols. In modern surveillance systems, they are reduced to individual features documented through photographs or fingerprints. Beyond that, human surfaces also emit acoustic signals, which can be registered and archived as in the case of contemporary technologies of voice recognition.[6] Besides the visual and acoustic markers, words and numbers also play an important role in technologies of identification, such as name, date of birth and other genealogical data, passport and social security numbers, as well biographical traces surfacing at some point as the *reputation* of an individual documented in letters of recommendation and certificates of conduct. Another important element emitted by human surfaces and isolated by contemporary systems of surveillance is the wealth associated with a person, documented in income certificates and title deeds.

All in all, there are two distinct types of surface signification. On the one hand, there is the kind of signification drawn upon in procedures of identification, supplying the so-called personal features with their uniqueness, permanency and measurability, glued, so to say, to the core of a person and accessible in contemporary biometric data, as well as the distinctive signature derived from them, as elements of a digitally identifiable portrait of an individual. All formal acts of registration require such surface information to construct an identity associated with the person. And the *passport* represents a typical documentation of such data, which can be applied by comparing them with pre-existent databases to pin down individuals to their distinctive features and imprison them, as it were, in a shell of identity. The type of surface signification generating such data can be termed a *limited signification*, since it restricts the image of a person to the limits of an identity.

On the other hand, there is an entirely different type of surface signification, based on qualities that are neither constant nor unique, depending on mood, situation, seasons, temperatures – such as a blush of embarrassment, a confident gaze, a faltering gait, the trembling of a voice, a glamorous makeup and attire, etc. – signalizing fleeting and fluid states in which a subject opens itself towards its own *height or depth*. Such modes of signification can be termed *excessive signification*, since they reveal traits that are superfluous with respect to identity.[7]

As surface discourses, jewellery and dress can utilise both types of signification. They can possess a pragmatic function of showing that the wearer belongs to a group and express the identity issuing from such affiliation. But beyond that, they are suffused with symbolic meaning. In the sacral context, jewellery attaches, as it were, symbolic strings to the body of the wearer, connecting it to higher, transcendent levels to give it glamour and height.

In pre-modern societies, all such strings ultimately lead back to God. In modern times, jewellery functions as a surface generating height and depth, and giving the wearer the measure of visibility necessary to let him/her stand out against the backdrop that is omnipresent in modern societies: the never-ending series of identical products and humans issuing from an overproduction typical of consumerist economies.

By virtue of such dual signification, jewellery may be made to function as a mode of *Aufklärung* applied to break open the institutionally generated shells of identity encasing modern individuals. This is the case when jewellery returns the identificational data gleaned from surfaces and gathered in passports *back to the surface* of the wearers, revealing thereby the essential mechanisms of identity dispositives.

2. THE PASSPORT

The history of the modern passport is associated not only with the paranoia of modern states, but also with the specific type of power termed by Michel Foucault as *governmentality*. In the late Roman Empire, travellers were given letters of safe conduct, qualifying them for official aid on foreign ground in case of need. In late medieval Germany, rudimentary passport regulations were introduced to check a rising tide of organised beggary and vagrancy, perceived as a threat to public security. In a similar vein, the passport emerged in France during the confessional wars as a response of the *governmental* state to what was sensed as a significant rise in insecurity. The word 'passport' is in fact an abbreviation of the French 'passer partout' signifying a document issued by the king, which allowed a person free movement throughout French territory without being accosted by authorities.[9]

During the French Revolution, there was a hue and cry about abolishing the passport as a limitation of the personal freedom of citizens. Nonetheless, it had to be retained due to the general disorder in post-revolutionary France. In the neighbouring countries, passport regulations were in fact tightened due to the spread of insurgent activities towards spreading the Revolution throughout Europe.[10] It is only the rise of liberalism, and a re-assessment of freedom of movement as a path to economic prosperity, that ushered in an era of reduced passport regulations in the late nineteenth century, to be subsequently dubbed as 'the closest approximation to an open world in modern times'.[11] The First World War led to a complete reversal of this trend and to the emergence of the modern passport as part of a system of surveillance still in existence today.

The nature of the passport reveals both faces of modern power. On the one hand, it represents a system of surveillance typical of the Police State and functions as a tool for the continued observation of a population and the aversion of dangers issuing from 'dangerous individuals'.[12] On the other hand, it contains relevant knowledge of individuals comprising a population, supplying thereby a cognitive basis for the unfolding of governmental power. At the beginning of modern governmentality in the sixteenth century, the unfolding of power depended on a knowledge based on a constant stocktaking of the people and things that went to comprise the wealth administrated by the state. It is in this context that a new type of knowledge was constituted through the statistical observation of populations on the one hand, as well as a systematic gleaning of data from the surfaces of things and people on the other. The passport emerges in connection with this new type of power as an element of a concerted transfer of data from the surfaces of people to the archives of the state. The emergence of the nation-state and the mass mobility of populations in the wake of the Industrial Revolution made it all the more necessary to *mark out* individuals and channel their movements. One of the bureaucratic instruments applied to this end is the passport.

3. THE EAR OF THE INDIVIDUAL

In the early nineteenth century, as crime and disease came to be seen as essentially connected phenomena, the individual became the point of intersection of the clinical and the forensic gaze: '... the police experts' look at the body was in many respects comparable to the medical gaze. Both used specialised knowledge to direct their attention to those parts of the body that provided them with the most significant information regarding the identity of a person and the nature of his or her disease'.[13] The new paradigm 'stresse[d] the primary importance of the apparently most insignificant parts of the body, such as the lobe of the ear, but these were not likely to be noted by the inexperienced onlooker'.[14] Forensic research postulated regularities in the relation between facial features and a possibly criminal disposition, in order to enable the identification of an individual on a scientific basis: 'To achieve an analytical approach of this kind, police experts required trained observation, which attempted, first, to decompose a particular appearance into meaningful elements and, second, to reconstitute it in a new way on the basis of theoretical and practical experience. Accordingly, each discursive practice had its own way of reading this evidence: the ear was also studied outside criminology ... but was looked at by criminologists and criminalists in a specific way.'[15]

Since antiquity, the eye had been taken as the main access to the soul and served as a privileged means of identification, so that romantic psychiatrists could speak 'about a blank, weak, lively, piercing, or soulless look'.[16] However, in the new paradigm, the metaphysical significance of the eye receded, as 'anatomical peculiarities like the opening, position, and particularity of the eyelids, the projection of the eyeballs and the nature of the eye sockets' came into focus.[17] In this connection, considerable attention was also devoted to the ear, since it did not change in the course of a life and could therefore be described in formal terms. Thus the ear attained a fundamental status in the context of forensic enquiry and was subjected to an intense physiognomic analysis, as can be seen in the following representations.[18]

Illustration 2: Bertillon's descriptor for some parts of the ear (Heindl 1927: 516)

Fig. 68. Forensic Studies in the 19th century: physignomy of the human ear
From: Caplan et al „Documenting Individual Identity": p. 142

4. MARKING OUT INDIVIDUALS

The new techniques of identification thus isolate the specific features of a person and recombine them to produce an identical profile as a *mark* of individuality. But what is a mark? What is its function in consumerist societies?

Generally speaking, a mark can be anything between a thing and a sign. It can be a mark on a piece of wood or a blackboard, signifying absolutely nothing and being nothing but itself: a mere indentation on the surface of a material. But it can also be a mark on the forehead to signify a religious allegiance, as in the case of certain Indian sects. Thirdly, it can be a daub of kohl on the temple of a child to ward off the evil eye. A mark can be a *thing*, a *sign*, a *function*. Common to all three types is the function of modifying the surface of an object: *marking* it and rendering it distinguishable from other objects similar to it. Jewellery, for instance, can be a mark in all three senses of the word. It can be mere adornment: a *thing* on a human body, modifying its surface and marking the body. It can be a *sign*, articulating an allegiance to a clan, an organisation, a God, like a golden cross on a chain, a badge of membership, a pendant derived from a totem. Finally, it can also be a *function*, as in the case of an amulet, worn to protect oneself from evil forces.

In the industrial age, the mark assumes the specific function of 're-auratising' a product in the Benjaminian sense of the term: *marking out* a member of a series of identical things and letting it stand out in its uniqueness against a background of serial anonymity. One of the most archaic series we are acquainted with is that of the natural numbers. It has been in use in many civilizations since the earliest phases of human history for identifying and classifying things and underpinning diverse technologies of mastering nature. The series of natural numbers is remarkable for its progressive structure, associating each of its members with a distinctive position and specific numerical properties, so that it merely needs to be superimposed on an aggregate of material objects in order to mark out the members of the latter. Due to the taxonomic efficacy of natural numbers, diverse classificatory activities rely on the common technique of combining, recombining and attaching them to the material objects of 'real' series, such as mass produced artefacts, books in a library, prisoners in a penal institution, application forms, etc. Marking out individuals is of particular significance in industrial societies since mass products, as well as their consumers, have to be distinguished in order to be able to remain in circulation.

Consumers are normalised not only through the disciplinary techniques analysed by Foucault, but also through the sheer act of consuming mass products. If thousands consume the same soap or perfume, they will exude the same odour at some point of time. Advertisement is an indispensable instrument for engendering such normalised consumption. It is the ubiquity of serial anonymity in industrialised societies that generates the compensatory demands for *originality*, *individuality*, *deviation* in attire, posture, thought, so typical of modern life, and functioning as antidotes to the technologies of normalisation at work practically twenty four hours a day in the lived lives of modern citizens.

In this specific sense, a passport appears as an ensemble of traits and functions as a *mark* of identification. It catalogues people by identifying them with a *number*, under which it gathers distinctive features like names, addresses, dates of birth, physical marks etc. It is only in the broader context of the mark that the inner connection between the passport and jewellery in contemporary life can be manifested.

Illustration 1: Criminalistic description of the ear (Dehmal 1933: 278)

Fig. 69. Forensic Studies in the 19th century: physignomy of the human ear
From: Caplan et al "Documenting Individual Identity": p. 142

5. JEWELLERY AND IDENTITY

With these few broken lines, I have tried to reveal the watermark of modern dispositives of identity: coins representing the wealth of people and carrying the stamps of nation states, which in their turn stamp the people as 'citizens' by associating them with a document called the passport. However, those very people, who are treated by governmental power as an asset and a (human-) resource to be organised, mobilised and administrated, can appear as a potentially seditious factor in need of a sustained surveillance, functioning through data gleaned from biological and biographical surfaces of people and stored in archives accessible only to the State and its organs. The passport is a visible and tangible piece of this archive of populational data, which included physiognomic information like the shape of the ear in the past and extensive biometric data of individuals in the present.

Johanna Zellmer's jewellery project can be taken as an attempt at reassembling these data and returning them to the surfaces of the individual participants. In conclusion I would like to draw attention to a few aspects of the project.

Firstly, the project functions as a 'flow back' of non-standardised biographical data in the mode of documented interviews with participants, based on a set of common questions and focussing on their personal destinies with respect to the issues of national and cultural identity. Such a process inverts and neutralises the algorithms of reduction/identification at work in the techniques of filtering, isolating, measuring personal data so typical of surveillance practices, and *returns* the features extracted and separated from people back to their complex biographical surfaces.
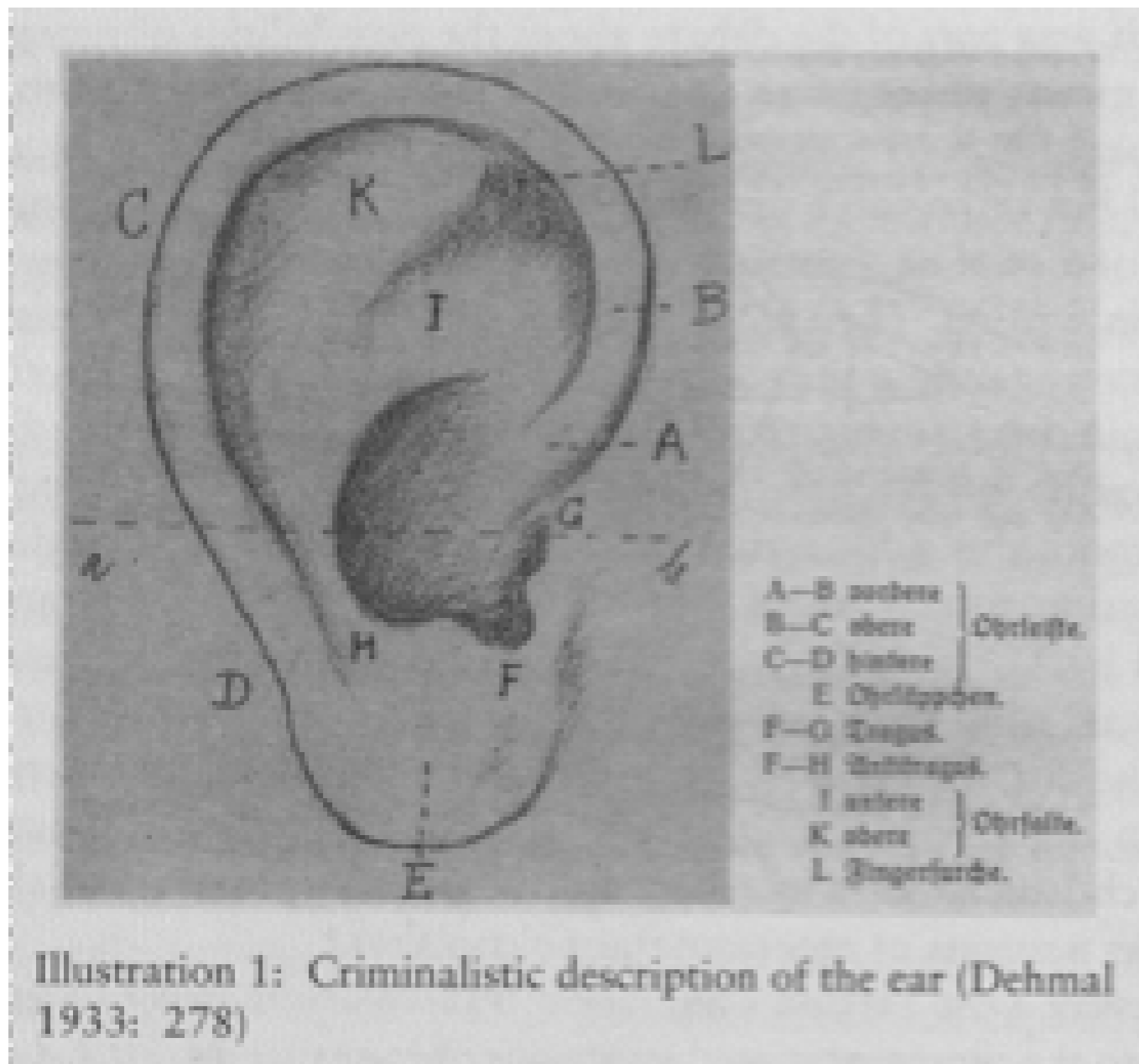
(JOHANNA ZELLMER)

Fig. 70. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011: Interview to be documented
in an old and emptied passport
© Chris Reid

Fig. 71. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011: Standard questions as basis for interview
© Neil Pendergast

Fig. 72. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011: Coin with the symbol sawed out and later to be fitted into a hole in the passport
© Neil Pendergast

Secondly, the project involves symbols like the eagle, sawed out from coins, which are essentially related to national economies, and transformed into 'ornaments' suspended from the ears by means of the plastic tubing used in hearing aids. The metal symbols are perforated with the passport numbers of the participants, who are to be seen in a series of photographs only as a left ear and a neck in profile. In bright daylight, the perforation causes a projection of the passport number onto the neck, letting it come to view as digits of light in the shadow of the suspended metal and evoking the ubiquitous presence of advertisements and digital displays in the spaces of modern living. Thus the passport number, symbolising all the information gleaned from an individual and channelled into the archives of governmental power, is 'returned' symbolically to the surface of the individual, while the passport itself is emptied of its conventional data and filled instead with transcriptions of the participant interviews.

Fig. 73. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011:
Sawed out, partly hammered symbols and coin rims
© Neil Pendergast

Fig. 74. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011:
Hammering the symbols
© Neil Pendergast

Fig. 75. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011: Hammered symbols
© Neil Pendergast

Fig. 76. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011: Hammered symbols and coin rims
© Neil Pendergast

Fig. 77. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011:
Hammered symbols and coin rims
© Neil Pendergast

Fig. 78. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011:
Symbol perforated with passport number
© Neil Pendergast

Fig. 79. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011:
Symbol, passport number, plastic tubing of hearing aid
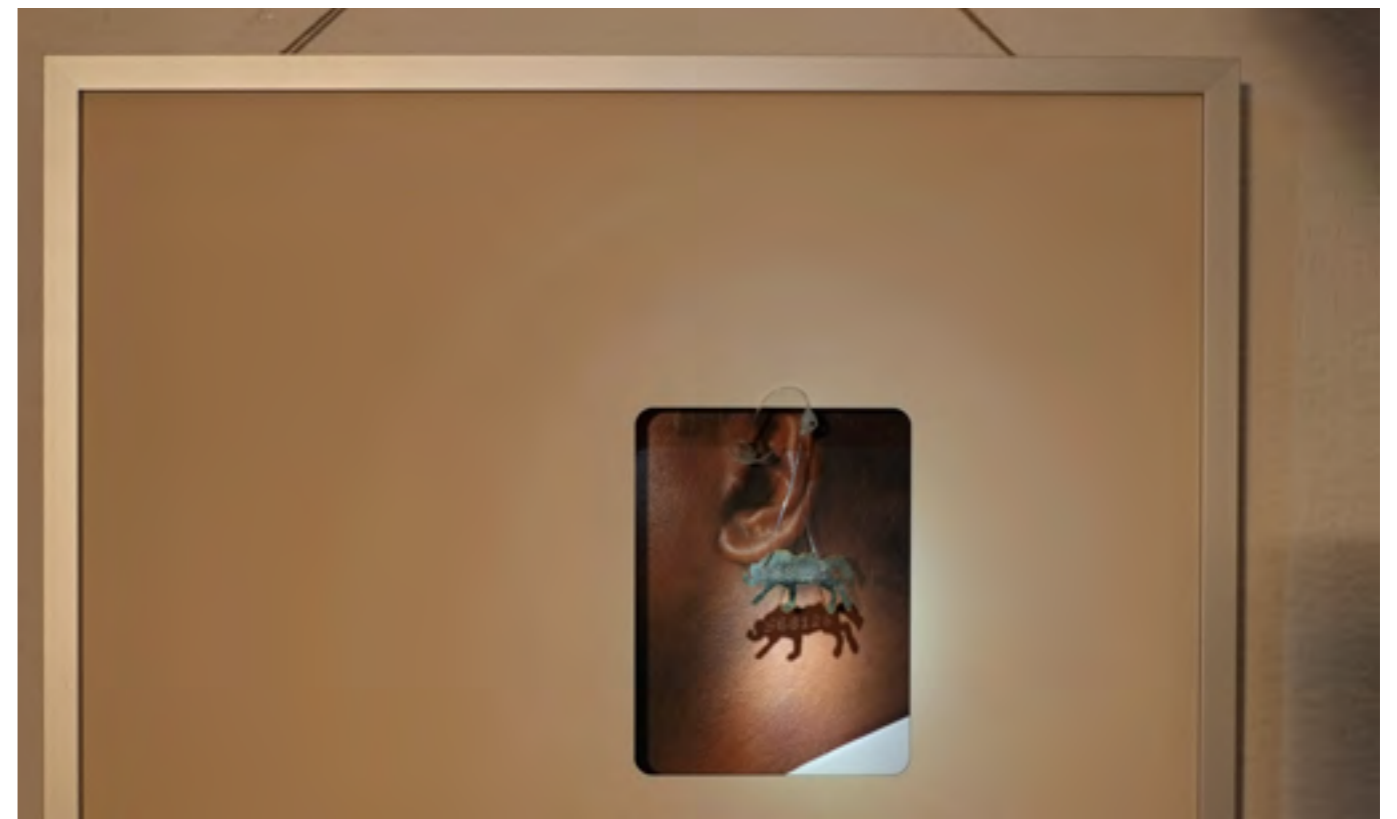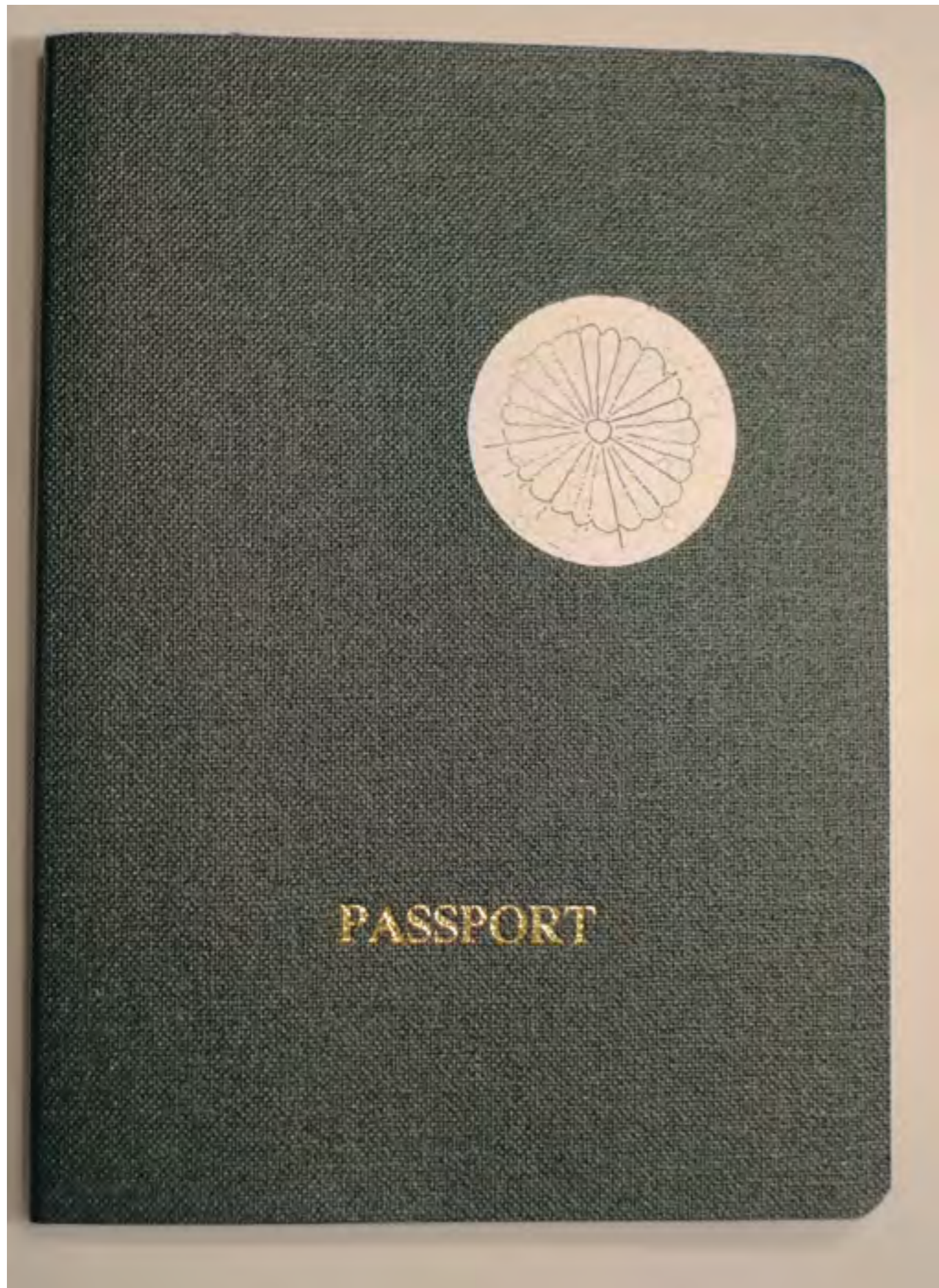integrated as jewellery © Neil Pendergast

Fig. 80. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011:
Formatting the photos to be taken
© Neil Pendergast

Fig. 81. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011
© Neil Pendergast

Thirdly, the national symbol on the passport has been removed, leaving behind a hole, inlaid with the rims of the coins which in their turn have been emptied of their symbolic content to yield the ear ornaments.

A *fourth* significant aspect of the project concerns the people participating in it, many of whom have chosen to retain a hybrid identity between their 'old' nationality and the residence permit for their 'new' habitats stamped into the still valid passports of their 'home' countries, where they grew up and with which they still identify to a certain extent. Such participants are, in a sense, people like me, suspended between my Indian passport and a permanent residence in Germany, in whose biographies the global dispositives of national identity can be said to have become dysfunctional and their strategies of integration to have been defeated.

Fig. 82. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011: The hole to be cut into the passport
© Neil Pendergast

Fig. 83. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011:
Passport hole with coin rim inserted
© Neil Pendergast

Fig. 84. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011:
Passport with coin rim and projected image of symbol
© Neil Pendergast

Fig. 85. Johanna Zellmer, place_ment, 2011:
Passport with documentation of interview
© Neil Pendergast

NOTES

This essay is based on an earlier publication entitled "Returning to the surface: An archaeological backdrop to Johanna Zellmer's reflection on jewellery and identity" in: *place_ment* by Beate Eismann, Alessandra Pizzini, Johanna Zellmer (eds.), Otago Polytechnic, 2013: pp. 55-65.

[1]   Gaston Bachelard used the term *phénomènotechnique* to determine experimental physics as a technology for the production of physical phenomena such as the tracks generated in a mass spectrometer to enable the separation of isotopes. See Bachelard, Gaston, *Le rationalisme appliqué*, Paris: Presses Univesitaires de France, 1949: 103, quoted in Rheinberger, Hans-Jörg, *Epistemologie des Konkreten: Studien zur Geschichte der modernen Biologie*, stw 1771, Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp, 2006: 40.

[2]   See Schneider, Manfred, 'Altersflecken auf der moralischen Haut. Das Diktat der zeitgemässen Körperpflege verordnet apollinische Glätte und mosaisches Glänzen', *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 5 August, 2011: s.p.

[3]   Foucault's discourse analysis attempts to break away from traditional history as an evolution of mentalitises, documented through surface elements like texts and artefacts, by treating discourses as the *pure exteriority* of surfaces without any reference to the 'adverse form of interiority': 'pure dispersion ... dans une extériorité sans doute paradoxale puisque'elle ne renvoie à aucune forme adverse d'intériorité'. Foucault, Michel, *L'archéologie du savoir*, Paris: Gallimard, 1969: 159.

[4]   See Jeremias, Alfred, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* mit 215 Bildern nach den Monumenten und zwei Sternkarten, Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913: 86 f.

[5]   See Laum, Bernhard, *Heiliges Geld: Eine historische Untersuchung über den sakralen Ursprung des Geldes*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1924: 142 f.

[6]   See David Lyon, 'Under My Skin: From Identification Papers to Body Surveillance' in Caplan, Jane and Torpey, John (eds), *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001: 291-310.

[7]   The parallelism with George Bataille's distinction between a *limited* and an *excess economy* is no coincidence, but cannot be discussed within the scope of this essay.

[8]   See, Sée Edgard, Le passport en France, 1907: 23, quoted in Bertelsmann, Werner, *Das Passwesen. Eine völkerrechtliche Studie*, Strassburg: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei Heitz & Mündel, 1914: 22.

[9]   Sée: 25, quoted in ibd.: 23.

[10]   See Rehm, Hermann, Art. *Passwesen*, in Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, hg. v. J. Conrad, W. Lexis, L. Elster, Edg. Loening, Jena: Verlag v. Gustav Fischer, 1901: 42-44.

[11]   Dowty, Alan, *Close Borders: The Contemporary Assault on Freedom of Movement*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987: 54.

[12]   See Rehm, op. cit.: 42.

[13]   See Becker, Peter, 'The Standardized Gaze: The Standardization of the Search Warrant in Nineteenth-Century Germany' in *Documenting individual identity*: 142.

[14]   Ibid.

[15]   Ibid.

[16]   Ibid: 149.

[17]   Ibid.

[18]   See ibid: 149 and 142 respectively.