

Objects of Memory: Material Culture as Life Review

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Most folklorists who have studied material culture have focused on objects as reflections of a cultural past. Those folklorists who do look at objects in relation to individuals have focused almost entirely upon artisans, upon creators. Yet throughout life, every person—whether as producer, admirer, distributor, or consumer—is necessarily involved with a myriad of objects. Many of these involvements leave little or no impression; others, however, become fundamental in conceptualizing and symbolizing the self. In the following essay, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett explores the role of objects as the correlatives of memory. She reviews the situation and organization of objects in everyday life and discusses the ways objects encode memories and stimulate life review. Through the making, arranging, and remaking of objects, she suggests people can make, arrange, and remake themselves.

Relationships between individuals and their lore have been explored by a number of folklorists; for example, see Erdész (1961, 1963), Glassie et al. (1970), Ives (1978), and Bronner (1985). For more on the role of objects in the construction and presentation of self see Gikizzenmihalyi and Roebberg-Halton (1981).

Though in the history of folkloristics, biography has served primarily to illuminate folklore, recent work has reversed the relationship to show the extent to which folklore can serve as a primary medium for recovering a life. Traditional singers appreciate the powerful associations of songs with the circumstances of their acquisition and performance because they so vividly remember learning their songs from particular individuals and performing them in specific contexts. The songs continue to carry these associations over the years and to evoke memories each time they are performed. Though folklorists have utilized reminiscence to illuminate the songs, they have yet to understand how music shapes memory.

Repertoires, whether of songs, tales, or other expressive forms, are examples of accumulations made over a lifetime. Their powers of evocation derive from the associations that accumulate with them. One elderly man who participated in the *minyán* (prayer quorum) of a Philadelphia synagogue had this to say about the *kaddish* (prayer for the dead):

Last week after I recited the *kaddish* for my father, for some reason I was reminded of the time I recited *kaddish* for him at the *kotel* [Western Wall

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in Jerusalem] soon after the Yom Kippur War. Then my mind raced back to the time just after my *bar mitzva* [confirmation at age thirteen] to my father's first *gortsayt* [anniversary of death] and I was wearing my corduroy knickers and was in a little *shibb* [house of prayer] in South Philadelphia. My thoughts wandered back even more to my father reciting *kaddish* for his father in Belz, Besarabia. In no kind of order at all I thought of my brother's description of the *minyān* he organized of G.I.'s in May 1945, so that they could recite *kaddish* for a pile of corpses in Dachau. Then I remember a *minyān* of Jews in Russia secretly reciting a *kaddish* for a fellow Jew. Do you think I'm *meiruge* [crazy]? But I felt as if I were in all those places with all those Jews myself.¹

This account reveals how aware individuals can be of the extraordinary power of a prayer, or other expressive form, to call up in paradigmatic fashion memories of the many contexts in which a prayer or song has been performed.²

The same holds for artifacts, a topic generally neglected in studies of the expressive life of the elderly.³ In the words of Marcel Proust, "The past is hidden . . . beyond the reach of the intellect—in some material object." But folklorists, though they have long studied how people make things, have yet to explore how people save, collect, and arrange their possessions in ways that are profoundly meaningful through the life span. Clues to the significance of this subject, particularly in relation to memory, are suggested by Hannah Arendt:

The whole factual world of human affairs depends for its reality and its continued existence, first, upon the presence of others who have seen and will remember, and second, on the transformation of the intangible into the tangibility of things. Without remembrance and without the rification which remembrance needs for its own fulfillment and which makes it, indeed, as the Greeks held, the mother of all things, the living activities of action, speech, and thought would lose their reality at the end of each process and disappear as though they had never been.⁴

Distinctions among types of objects, their relations to the past, and the ensembles they form can illuminate the interaction among objects, memory, and the life review process.

Domestic interiors are often filled with things that have aged with their owners. These *material companions* to a life are valued for their continuity. A wooden spoon stirred to a stub is still used despite the fact that almost nothing is left but the handle; with a chuckle, Lina Auckert, now in her eighties, will talk of the years of use the spoon has seen. Such objects are not "saved"; they are allowed to grow old and, however humble, they accumulate meaning and value by sheer dint of their constancy in a life. Their continuous and quotidian presence parallels the ongoing life of the owner and makes them powerful, if diffuse, stimuli for reminiscence. They are generally incorporated into daily life, rather than set aside for display, and bring reverie to the most mundane tasks.⁵

In contrast, *souvenirs and mementos*, as the terms themselves imply, are from the outset intended to serve as a reminder of an ephemeral experience or absent person. Because mementos tend to signify particular events, people, and experiences, they are more highly focused stimuli for reminiscence. They too are rooted in the history of a life and are generally valued more for what they signify, for the larger biographical whole of which they are a part, than in themselves; they are of "sentimental value." As a result, bric-a-brac, folk altars, mantles covered with snapshots, scrapbooks and albums, and china cabinets filled with family heirlooms give to domestic interiors their intensely personal character: such environments offer access to the interior of the lives they signify, and as such constitute a kind of autobiographical archeology. The objects are fragments awaiting the autobiographer to repair the damage of time.

Some individuals create *memory objects* as a way to materialize internal images, and through them, to recapture earlier experiences. Whereas souvenirs are saved prospectively, with a sense of their future ability to call back memories, memory objects are produced retrospectively, long after the events they depict transpired. After her husband died, Mrs. Ethyl Mohamed started embroidering pictures of moments and scenes of her life in Mississippi. As she explained: "You know, the thing I would rather do than anything in the world is relive my life again."⁶

Consider the approach to life review in the paintings of Ray Faust. Born in 1901 in Tomashow, Lublin District, in Central Poland, Mrs. Faust came to New York in 1920. The shock of the Holocaust precipitated a heightened sense of discontinuity and intensified her desire to paint what she remembered from the early part of her life. Not only was her childhood gone, but now the communities themselves had been destroyed. Mrs. Faust is quite explicit: "I am painting a life that is lost when I am painting Jewish life."⁷ In her paintings, which are complemented by her oral and written memoirs in prose and poetry, Mrs. Faust focuses on the enduring and recurrent, rather than on the unique, moments in her childhood: she paints scenes of her home, the market, the house of study, and annual holidays and life cycle celebrations. Just as she repeats and varies her oral accounts, she creates versions and variants of paintings, sometimes as many as five, for she will not relinquish an image, which she characterizes as "*a kapitel fun mayn leben*" (a chapter of my life), until she has painted a replacement. These paintings and their multiple versions fill every nook and cranny in Mrs. Faust's small apartment—they hang on the walls and lean up against the furniture. She has thus made discrete moments in the past simultaneously present by saturating her immediate environment with images of her own fashioning.

Mrs. Faust's approach is like that of Bella Chagall, whose memoir is also confined to her childhood years in Vitebsk, Russia, and organized, *not* chronologically from her birth, but according to the sequence of annual holidays.⁸ In their "struggle to recover a whole and undamaged world upon which time has no hold,"⁹ Ray Faust and Bella Chagall have chosen to focus on the enduring, recurrent, and collective aspects of their childhoods, rather than on unique events that shaped or changed the direction of their individual lives. In both cases, the individual recedes, as Bella Chagall and Ray Faust present themselves in their works as a child witness to a way of life, rather than as the

protagonist of a life's journey. Though these childhood experiences in East European towns occupy about a quarter of a lifetime, they expand to fill almost the totality of the memoir.

Ray Faust and Bella Chagall understand that one way to transcend the limits of linear, biographical time is to focus on what is enduring and recurrent, on what is paradigmatic about their remembered past. Like the salvage anthropologist, they too inscribe culture on the threshold of its disappearance; they even go so far as to appropriate the ethnographic mode as the vehicle for their life review. So too does Vincent Ancona, a Sicilian living in New York, who recreates scenes of his childhood out of telephone wire. According to Joseph Sciorra, "Describing the activities he portrays in wire, Ancona often uses the Italian word *trammonto*, which can be translated as 'faded,' 'vanished,' 'outmoded,' or 'forgotten.'" ¹⁰ Speaking of the baskets he used to weave out of cane, palm, willow, and olive branches, Ancona adds: "After the war, other materials were introduced to make these things. Plastic destroyed everything. This art is dead. This doesn't exist anymore, even in Sicily where it was born. Now, only the old people know of these things."¹¹ This statement vividly conveys what might be called cohort awareness. Members of a cohort derive a sense of enlarged time and significance through forging links between their individual lives and a larger whole, in this case, a lost way of life.¹²

Individuals such as Mrs. Faust fill their interiors with memory objects, and through the metaphor of their home as a museum, come to think of themselves as 'curators' of their own lives. Vincent Ancona, whose home is filled with scenes of his childhood in Western Sicily woven out of multi-colored telephone wire, declared: "If you want to see a living museum, come here!"¹³ Ironically, Ancona uses industrial waste to salvage an agrarian past. After Lenon Holder Hoyre filled her Harlem home with the five thousand dolls she had collected, she declared the premises a museum and opened it to the public.

Collectables differ from companion objects, souvenirs, and memory objects by virtue of how they are acquired and the ensembles they form.¹⁴ They too enjoy a special relationship to time. Whereas the souvenir authenticates the past and is a tool for remembering, the collectable is authenticated by the past.¹⁵ Objects in a collection have a history prior to the moment of their acquisition, the point at which they insert themselves into the life of the collector. However, the activity of collecting is future-oriented: the agenda includes the possibility of new acquisitions.¹⁶ Many objects are rendered collectable by the disjuncture that comes with a shift in context, a process that relates collecting to both autobiography and ethnography. Objects that are no longer usable or useful, fashionable or readily available, or connected to an originating context, become collectable; they are liberated for semiotic retooling.

Collectors create their own frame of reference and offer the pleasures of control, order, and relative closure within a hermetic universe. The criteria for collecting and the principles governing the internal order of the collection are at the discretion of the collector. Objects lifted from a prior context become significant in relation to other objects in the collection and the process of collecting: as Walter Benjamin, an avid book collector suggested, "the systematic collection of objects can be a mode of structuring memory."¹⁷

Ensembles are as revealing as particular objects, whether the ensemble is a loosely assembled collection, carefully arranged tableau, new synthetic object, or entire environment.¹⁸ Recipe notebooks, rag rugs, quilts, and collections of miniatures are among the many tangible ways that lives are gathered together and reviewed. Whether scribbled in a notebook or on scraps of loose paper, recalled in conversation, or preserved in the more formal medium of privately printed booklets, recipes and the dishes prepared from them have long served as a medium for life review. *Mamoo's Soggy Coconut Cake*, *Mrs. Wartik's Recipes from the Personal Collection of her Granddaughter Barbara Fingerman Melamed*, and *The Grandmothers' Cookbook* . . . *Where They Grew Up and How They Lived* are among many examples of food being used as a medium for recalling a life.¹⁹ Such volumes often include in addition to recipes, genealogical charts, family snapshots, letters, entries from diaries, local history, and reminiscences. Many of the recipes will be cherished more as texts connected to lives than as instructions to follow, for with changing food preferences, old recipes rich in eggs and animal fat and time-consuming to prepare often serve more as food for thought than for eating. Even in the most extreme conditions, while starving to death in the Terezin Concentration Camp in Czechoslovakia during World War II, several women devoted the pages of a precious notebook to recording what they remembered of recipes for the elegant and luxurious dishes that signified the fullness of their former lives.²⁰

Indigenous forms of life review are the *projects* referred to by Jean Paul Sartre: "One does not possess one's past as one possesses a thing one can hold in one's hand, inspecting every side of it; in order to possess it I must bind it to existence by a project."²¹ On their fiftieth wedding anniversary, Viola and Elmer Hanscam of Oregon retired from their family store, and Mrs. Hanscam determined to undertake such a project:

All I could think of was it is our fiftieth anniversary. Why not put the years down on stair rugs? I cut up those old coats and dresses—starting on our first year of marriage—to the fiftieth. Children coming home can see where we were and [what we were] doing when they were born.²²

Each stair marks a key moment such as a wedding, birth, or new home. The choice of stairs, a series of rising steps, as the format for this life review and the recycling of materials drawn from the life remembered are characteristic of the density of meaning achieved in these tangible projects. Significance is wrested not only from iconography but also from format and medium. The recycling of materials is a common method of embedding tangible fragments of the past in an object that reviews and recaptures the experiences associated with those fragments. The metaphor of stairs for the stages of life is also an old convention, and appears in popular prints of the ages of man.

Perhaps the quintessential example of the synthetic memory object is the quilt. The scraps are literally parts of a life and are often used to recall the larger whole. They are ordered, however, not with regard to any story or linear development, but according to repetitive visual patterns that structure attention somewhat in the manner of a

mandala. In contrast with rag rugs, where the recycled fabrics are amalgamated beyond recognition, the patches used to make quilts retain their identity. As one quilter reported:

Now I have some ten big scrap bags. If someone else were to see them, they would seem like a pile of junk, but I've got all my pieces sorted according to color. . . . Different ones of my family are always appearing from one of these bags. Just when you thought you'd forgotten someone, well, like right here. . . . I remember that patch. That was a dress that my grandmother wore to church. I sat beside her singing hymns, and that dress was so pretty to me then. I can just remember her in that dress now.²³

The key to the way quilts work is in the tension between the abstract principles of visual organization ("I've got all my pieces sorted according to color") and the metonymic nature of the pieces themselves ("Different ones of my family are always appearing from one of those bags"). Scraps are literally parts that stand in a contiguous relation with larger wholes. But most quilts are assembled, not in terms of the memories evoked by particular pieces, but according to abstract principles of color and geometry and repetitive patterns such as stars, wedding rings, log cabins, or flower baskets. This process of construction, while it results in a highly structured visual statement, randomizes the associative possibilities. The potential for reminiscence is left wide open.²⁴

Miniatures, and their arrangement in tableaux, offer still other possibilities for life review. In their extreme iconicity and radical smallness, miniatures offer an economy of scale coupled with a plenium of detail. The careful mapping of a world remembered is another instance of rescuing culture on the threshold of its disappearance: "When in his seventies Joe Reid found he could no longer build boats as he used to, he began to build miniature garveys. 'It kind of takes me back to my childhood,' he commented. 'I'd like to make a model of every kind of boat they used to use around here.'"²⁵ At the subway museum in New York, one elderly man donated models he has made of the many types of subway trains that once hurtled through the tunnels and on the elevated tracks of the city. In California, there is a club of train buffs who have not only miniaturized the trains, and the landscape through which they run, but also the train schedules, on a scale of so many minutes of miniature train time to so many hours of real train time. The trains actually run, and the men are constantly creating scenarios in the train landscape, and incorporating each other, to scale, into the miniature world. Doll houses are subject to similar extremes of iconic detail:

One doll house owner had a working fish tank—with fish—in his house; another would light miniature cigarettes and place them in ash trays. Electrifying a doll house so that each room will have its own switches is taken for granted by serious owners. Working rollers, kitchens full of wares, cupboard stocked with brand-name packages, working doors and windows must all be in place. This extends even to the unseen. To open a cupboard and find its shelves bare is a violation of form and the doll-house reality. The rule of thumb: if it exists in the real world, it *must* exist in the doll-house world.²⁶

Who lives there? Doll house owners disagree on whether or not dolls should be included in the doll house. According to Linda Lehrhaupt, some feel that a house without 'people' in it is dead, whereas others "want to put themselves in the house, and dolls get in the way."²⁷

Like the collection, the miniature tableau offers the pleasures of a hermetic universe, autonomous and controllable, where connoisseurship is a quest for the perfect fit, a goal that can never be fully achieved no matter how many and how accurate the details. As Susan Stewart notes:

This tendency of the description and depiction of the miniature to move toward contextual information and away from narrative also transforms our sense of narrative closure, for in the miniature we see spatial closure posited over temporal closure. The miniature offers a world clearly limited in space but frozen and thereby both particularized and generalized in time—particularized in that the miniature concentrates upon the single instance and not upon the abstract rule, but generalized in that the instance comes to transcend, to stand for, a spectrum of other instances. The miniature offers the closure of the tableau, a spatial closure which opens up the vocabulary of the signs it displays.²⁸

Miniatures also have the effect of freezing time. Doll houses of interest to adults are often in the style of an earlier period, in contrast with children's doll houses, which are often miniatures of the contemporaneous adult world. Similarly models are usually of obsolete tools, vehicles, and technology.

Models are appealing not only because the objects they miniaturize may no longer exist or may be too expensive and large to collect, but also because the process of making models is a way of crafting memory. Tools that were once instrumental extensions of the body, now extend their makers imaginatively into the past and socially into the world. Objects that were once good to work with are now good to think with, particularly in collaboration with others in the same cohort:

Joe Reid, as a memory wright for his cohort, was asked to make a scale model of a garvey he'd built for a man who could no longer work the bay, but wanted to keep the boat as a memento. Reid replicates the process he uses for building full-size boats in his miniature, which he builds, "by eye" on a miniature form in a room in his house. And Reid himself was one of Ed Hazelton's memory clients, agreeing to trade a miniature garvey for a miniature sneakbox.²⁹

Such objects are a medium of exchange and focus of interaction—a talking point.

Memory objects, whether models of boats or embroidered scenes, are in the words of Ethyl Mohamed a "conversation piece."

When I first started doing this embroidery, I was kind of ashamed of it. So I didn't show it to anyone but the children, just for conversation. I'd make a picture, like "The New Baby," or something they did when they were little. When they'd come in for a cup of coffee or something, I'd say, "Does this make you think of us? Is this right? How's this?" You know, everybody would laugh.

It was a conversation piece with us . . . I do not sell my pictures; I love them too much. But I love to show them and share them with others. This gives me great pleasure.³⁰

Provoked by the grief she felt when her husband died, Mrs. Mohamed, who described herself at that time as a ship without a rudder, took hold of her life by recovering her memories. The embroidered images were her way of materializing internal images and focusing conversation about past experiences. She exemplifies the richness of indigenous modes of life review, their centrality to everyday life, and their complex relations to time.

Ironically, folklorists have typically studied precisely the kinds of subjects immortalized by the elderly in their memory projects—folkways of a bygone era—but have had difficulty assimilating the memory objects themselves. Strictly speaking, these artifacts fail to meet the criteria of traditionality associated with folk art. They are too "personal." Mrs. Mohamed did not learn to stitch pictures from her mother. Mr. Ancona did not learn to weave wire scenes from his father. They, and others like them, proudly take credit for their personal discovery of a medium and form for recasting their lives. They have forged distinctly individual solutions to common needs: in the process they affirm the creative potential in the expressive culture of the elderly and the centrality of life review to this period in the life course. From such indigenous modes of life review, folklorists have much to learn about the social construction of the self through time and the transformation of experience through materials readily at hand. Such insights have the potential to reshape the boundaries of our discipline.

¹ Maxine T. Segal, "Musings and Memoirs of Men in the Morning *minyuan*: An Ethnographic Account," paper written for *Folklore* 564: *Folklore, Culture, and Aging*. University of Pennsylvania, Spring 1979, 23.

² Many other examples could be cited. Barbara Myerhoff, *Number Our Days* (New York: Dutton, 1978), 22, describes the ceremoniousness with which Bascha ate her modest dinner: "Before eating, she spread a white linen handkerchief over the oilcloth covering the table, saying: 'This my mother taught me to do. No matter how poor, we would eat off clean white linen, and say the prayers before touching anything to the mouth. And so I do it still. Whenever I sit down, I eat with God, my mother, and all the Jews who are doing these same things even if I can't see them. Such a meal is a feast, superior to fine fare hastily eaten, without ceremony, attention, or significance.'"

³ Recent attempts to address this topic include E. Sherman and E. S. Newman, "The Meaning of Cherished Personal Possessions for the Elderly," *Journal of Aging and Personal Development* 8, 2 (1977): 781-92; Adele Wiseman, *Old Woman at Play* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1978); Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Simon J. Bronner, *Chain Carvers: Old Men Crafting Meaning* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1985); Brenda Daner and Tamar Kartiel, "Books, Butterflies, Botticellis: A Life-Span Perspective on Collecting," paper prepared for the Sixth International Conference on Culture and Communication, Philadelphia, 9-11 October 1986; and Mary Hufford, Marjorie Hunt, and Steven Zeitlin, *The Grand Generation: Memory, Mastery, Legacy* (Washington, D.C., and Seattle: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service and Office of Folklife Programs, and University of Washington Press, 1987).

⁴ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 95.

⁵ See Arendt, *Human Condition*, 137. "The things of the world have the function of stabilizing human life, and their objectivity lies in the fact that . . . men, their ever-changing nature notwithstanding, can retrieve

their sameness, that is their identity, by being related to the same chair and the same table. In other words, against the subjectivity of men stands the objectivity of the man-made world rather than the sublime indifference of an untouched nature. . . . Without a world between men and nature, there is eternal movement, but no objectivity."

⁶ Hufford, Hunt, and Zeitlin, *Grand Generation*, 44.

⁷ Quoted in Gloria Pleskin, "Sign and Structure in the Anthropological Study of Art: Analyses of Works by the Naive Artist Rachel Ray Faust," unpublished paper, New York University, 1978, 20.

⁸ Bella Chagall, *Barring Leghis* trans. Norbert Guterman (New York: Schocken Books, 1962).

⁹ Eugene Ionesco, quoted by Simone de Beauvoir, *Old Age*, trans. Patrick O'Brian (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1972), 419.

¹⁰ Joseph Sciorra, "Reweaving the Past: Vincenzo Ancona's Telephone Wire Figures," *The Clarion* (Spring/Summer 1985), 52.

¹¹ Sciorra, "Reweaving the Past," 49.

¹² Mrs. Faust and her paintings are discussed in greater detail by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "In Search of the Paradigmatic: Ethnic Symbol Building among Elderly Immigrants," paper presented at the International Symposium on Ethnic Symbol Building, Hungarian Academy of Sciences and American Council of Learned Societies, Budapest, July 1982. Mrs. Faust considers herself an authority on the Jewish folklore of her region: she refers to herself as a folklorist and to her papers as an archive, and she frequently admonishes me for not learning enough from her.

¹³ Hufford, Hunt, and Zeitlin, 66.

¹⁴ The following discussion of collections is indebted to Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984) and Daner and Kartiel, "Books, Butterflies, Botticellis." See also the discussion of the customizing of mass culture in relation to collections on pages 214-20 in Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "The Future of Folklore Studies in America: The Urban Frontier," *Folklore Forum* 16, No. 2 (1983): 175-234.

¹⁵ Stewart, *On Longing*, 151.

¹⁶ Daner and Kartiel, 17.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁸ Accumulators frequently outgrow their living rooms, take over the entire living space, build on additions to their homes, and extend out into gardens and yards to accommodate their assemblages. Much has been written about such total environments. See *Spaces: Notes on America's Folk Art Environments*, a news-letter published by Spaces: Saving and Preserving America's Folk Art Environments, Los Angeles.

¹⁹ Guy Miles, Frances Hurley, and Faye Miles, *Mamoo's Soggy Coconut Cake* (Maryville, Tenn.: L. & M. Printing and Miles Documentary, 1979); [Barbara Fingerman Melamed], *Mrs. Wartik's Recipes from the Personal Collection of her Granddaughter, Barbara Fingerman Melamed* (Scarsdale, N.Y.: Barbara Fingerman Melamed, nd.); Mrs. Sydney L. Wright, *The Grandmother's Cookbooks: Letitia Ellicott Carpenter [Mrs. William Redwood Wright, "Maz"], Anna Wharton [Mrs. Harrison S. Morris, "Mama"], Where They Grew Up and How They Lived* (Newport: Wiseman's Printing, 1977).

²⁰ I am grateful to Annie Stern for making her mother's recipe notebook available to me, and to Dalila Carmel for her help in locating the document. The gastronomic memoir or autobiography is a well-established genre, though as yet unstudied: among the better known examples are the volumes of M. F. K. Fischer, Joseph Wechsberg, and Ludwig Bemmelman. In this genre, there is often a convergence of diary, memoir, travel accounts, cookbook, and food ethnography. Though frequently written by professionals (chefs, restaurateurs, wine specialists, food journalists, and *beer-fans*), life review through food also occurs among ordinary people.

²¹ Quoted by Hufford, Hunt, and Zeitlin, 41.

²² *Ibid.*, 48.

²³ Patricia Cooper and Norma Bradley Buford, *The Quilters: Women and Domestic Art* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1977), 75.

²⁴ There are many varieties of quilts. Not all of them are made from recycled fabrics or abstract in design. Ina Grant of Chelsea, Vermont, took seven years to complete a "memory quilt" made up of 172 embroidered blocks, each of them a scene from her life. She depicted the houses in which family members were born, recurrent scenes of ploughing, planting, and taping maple sugar, cherished leisure moments such as

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dancing, and favorite farm animals and pets. Her quilt is described by Hufford, Hunt, and Zeitlin, 48-49. Recently, the Names Project in San Francisco has initiated a nationwide project to create a quilt that memorializes those who have died of AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome). As of April 1988, more than four thousand panels have been created by friends and relatives of those who have died, and the quilt was almost large enough to cover two football fields. Panels are constantly being added.

²⁵Hufford, Hunt, and Zeitlin, Interview, Grand Generation Project.

²⁶Linda Lehrhaupt, "It's a Small World: Doll Houses and Miniaturization," paper prepared for Performance Studies 1040: Aesthetics of Everyday Life, New York University, Spring 1983, p. 12.

²⁷Lehrhaupt, "Small World," 16.

²⁸Stewart, 48.

²⁹Hufford, Hunt, and Zeitlin, 65.

³⁰Ethyl Wright Mohamed, *My Life in Pictures* (Jackson: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1976), 12.