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# The Taboo of the Perverse Dying Body

*Heidi Kosonen*

## **Abstract**

A human being is continuously living towards death within a mortal body that is dying little by little, second after second. In the gloss of popular media, the taboo reality of this stain of mortality is hidden by a diversion, which is created by the multiple pornographies of visual culture: the pornography of perfect bodies and the pornography of violent death. No longer invisible or 'unspeakable', the taboo body has been appropriated to serve a function in the mainstream didactics. Both the *lusus naturae* of natural bodies and the decay of sickness and death are squeezed into such roles in the postmodern visual narrative that the mortality of the human being appears unlikely and accidental or a mere consequence of living a bad life instead of the inevitable that it is. As the popular cultural representation of the monstrous body is both *marked with a stigma and marks* the inferior other, its appearance in the art sphere poses a problem for the mainstream didactics in defying it with the perennial esteem shone on the works of art by their context. But in the increase of the pornography of death, we see pop art appropriating the language that now, also in the context of art, speaks of the unlikelihood of dying. Looking at Andres Serrano's controversial *The Morgue* (1992) in relation to Andy Warhol's *Death and Disaster* (1962-63) and Makoto Aida's *Harakiri School Girls* (1999), we can trace the source of the continuously problematic imagery of death into the problematic of the dying body, marked perverse both by the popular cultural didactic of the ideal body and the visual cultural pornography of violent, unlucky death invading our screens.

**Key Words:** Taboo, death, mortality, corporeality, body image, 20th and 21st century art, popular culture, pornography of death, celebrity body, Andres Serrano.

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## **1. Introduction (To the Canon of Polished Bodies)**

We live surrounded by the popular media feeding us its glossy ideal of the human body. On the pages of magazines and in the screen dreams at cinemas and on our home sofas the only acceptable body seems to be a polished, 'Photoshopped' one chopped to fit the perfect form, if by no other means, then with digital plastic surgery. A similar specimen of perfection as the canonical Venus, this ideal body is tailored together from bits of perfection: flawless limbs and apotheosized facial features, via Photoshop-liposuction and digital retouching. As a consequence of the quilting of the *beau ideal*, the body thus presented as the one to fill the standards is one kind of a Frankenstein monster: one without any visible seams. It is a non-excreting, non-oozing, blemish-free immortal body that does not sweat, exfoliate or experience *apoptosis*.<sup>1</sup> In addition to - and mostly

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instead of - the medium of painting, the Frankenstein Venus is now portrayed using a medium traditionally seen to possess reality value: photography. The monster is more real than reality in occupying the visual space in the perfect, deathless bodies of the fashion world and popular culture. Today it is art that presents a problem for the ideal body; the monstrous grotesques of painting and fine art photography stand as nightmarish opposition to the seducing Frankenstein monsters of utopia. On the gallery walls the fleshy nudes of Jenny Saville and the brochure of death in Andres Serrano's *The Morgue* defy the mainstream monolith of body portrayal that not only represents the reigning beauty ideal, but also dictates our relationship to our mortal bodies.

## **2. The Tool of the Bodily *Lusus Naturae***

Looking at the deviant imagery, the obscene counterpart of the polished perfection of the popular media, we see the 'body horror' nonetheless has a function to play in the mainstream canon. Both the natural excess of flesh and the bodily trauma of an unexpected rupture are often squeezed into such roles in the postmodern visual narrative that death and the *lusus naturae* of the mortal body seem mere consequences of a badly lived life. - And they are made to function as signs of it. In the popular cultural narrative the image of the natural body can often be seen to function as a 'stigma' signifying turpitude and marking its bearer depraved and disgraceful. For instance, sensationalist journalism is an active agent in telling these 'body horror stories'. Recent example of such narrative is the lot of tabloid articles discussing the weight gain of the pop artist Lady Gaga during her *Born This Way* tour in 2012. In the article of choice, published in the Daily Mail in September 2012,<sup>2</sup> the photographs not only provide an illustration of the weight gained but they also enforce the message of the weight gain as ignominious.<sup>3</sup> Like the scandal-seeking headlines, the pictures indulge on the luscious fall from grace of the 'fattened' pop star. The photographs show an obese-looking Lady Gaga in a skimpy outfit that no longer flatters the fleshed out body in the seeming onstage reality of the live gig. The pictures are of course digitally altered to exaggerate her weight and manipulated and chosen to make the singer look ludicrously clumsy and inane, creating contrasts that show the once impeccable body turned monstrous is ill-fitting in the context of stardom.<sup>4</sup> Judging by the readers' comments, surprisingly few among the consumer base of the Daily Mail detected the images are manipulated.

Undetected, the manipulated object of ridicule keeps on walking in the spotlight of a photographed reality. Contrasted in the before/after -photographs, the new Lady Gaga is nothing like the sex symbol of the past dressed in fiery red, but just another desperate 'never-been-kissed' of a comedy (Fig. 1). Still, daring to wear her infamous outfit made of meat, the meat now only functions as a tagline exaggerating the fleshy body underneath. Standing beside a male dancer, she is the now the beast instead of the beauty as her Photoshop-inflated body occupies twice

as much space as his. Posing her as ridiculous, the pictures mark the bloated, uncontrollable body with a stigma of degradation and fall from fame. The images are there to jeer as a chorus as the narrative of the article makes the viewer wonder what the monstrous too big of a body is doing in the skimpy clothes designed for the perfect body of a star, in the arena of a star. Furthermore, emphasizing the depravity this loss of control over one's body stands as a sign of, the article also reports Lady Gaga smoking marijuana on stage. This, too, is illustrated both with photo and video evidence: there she sits, with her body gushing out of her clothes, smoking pot. It is clear that the natural, imperfect body now worn by Lady Gaga has a function in the tabloid context. It stands as the stain of the anti-hero and marks the laughable and depraved *other* no one in the audience should wish to be; i.e. it functions as a warning.



*Fig. 1:* The ideal body of the past.<sup>5</sup>

In the context of art, the signs of turpitude become dangerous behemoths defying what is communicated by their popular culture counterparts. If the *lusus naturae* is in the popular media marked as inferior and obscene, framed on a gallery wall the monstrous body basks in esteem of the art institution as a perennial temple of beauty and threatens to occupy the place of the ideal body. In the controversy around Jenny Saville, the imaged body itself is uniform with the grotesques of the popular culture: it is depicted from the most unflattering angle, the faults of the skin enhanced by paint - and yet the obese body is marked as desirable by the context as well as by the markings, which, in Saville's *Branded*, title the body as *delicate* and *attractive*.<sup>6</sup> Thus, by defying the reigning bodily ideal and the tradition of beauty whilst appearing in the continuum of its canonized ideal, the gigantic, blotched nudes of Jenny Saville transgress the taboo the imperfect body imposes for visual representation.

### **3. The Excess of Death in Popular Culture and Pop**

Directing the gaze from the bodily ideal and its antithesis to the imagery of death, it becomes apparent that the problem with the body is not the physical imperfection in terms of the dominating beauty ideal alone. Namely, after having seemingly emancipated from the taboo, the representations of death still share the duality of public acceptance with the grotesque body: both with the functional monster body and its nemeses in the art world. The confines for the bifurcation are just not as easy to delineate as that somewhat obsolete division into low and high forms of culture. The esteem of the art institution alone can hardly be used as an explanation for the controversy. Even after Andy Warhol's introduction of the mediated violence in his series of disastrous tabloid deaths in the 1960's, the gore of contemporary art and with the visual culture being permeated with allusions to death, Andres Serrano's fine-art photographs of anonymous dead bodies still continue to cause a stir.

Looking at *The Morgue* series by Andres Serrano in comparison with the majority of the less contested fine art depictions of death, there appears a difference in the 'visual language' that Serrano's oeuvre does *not* communicate and many, like Andy Warhol's *Death and Disaster* series and Makoto Aida's serial print *Harakiri School Girls, do*.<sup>7</sup> In comparison with these tabloid-like captures of violence, bloody cartoon suicides and even with the endless line of cotton candy skulls of contemporary art, Serrano's picture of death manifestly differs from the style of the popular cultural representation. Contemporary popular culture is soaked with death - it is not news or even an exaggeration to claim that every day, when turning on the television we face death in an allusion or an image: be it a news item depicting the carnage of war or a fictitious representation of a violent death in a TV murder investigation. In the escalation of this imagery of death, the body horror we grow accustomed to is a hyperbole of injury. Constantly relayed in the media and popular culture, it is this excessive violence, the 'pornography of

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death', that becomes the prevalent form of death as the thanatologist Geoffrey Gorer outlined in his article in 1955.<sup>8</sup> Simultaneously, in the almost Ballardian eroticism of the continuous execution of these on-screen deaths, we see this unnatural, violent death becoming a form of entertainment.<sup>9</sup> And surprisingly, considering we are now in the context of art, the source of the transgression of *The Morgue* seems to be tied to its divergence from the language of the mainstream culture - and not from the art canon as in Jenny Saville's case.

Observing more closely the accepted counterparts of Serrano, the works of art by Warhol and Aida, we see both of these pop artists intentionally appropriating the popular cultural depiction of death. Warhol, the icon of pop art, plays his renowned game with the language of popular media.<sup>10</sup> The silkscreen prints of his *Death and Disaster* series are reprises of the obscure paparazzi-photographs that occupy the covers of tabloids.<sup>11</sup> The images feature car crashes, suicides and explosions, real and unedited, only cropped from their newspaper contexts and printed on the canvas with the silkscreen coloring characteristic of Warhol. Four decades later the Japanese *enfant terrible* Makoto Aida, in his turn, appropriates the language and imagery of manga. In the series *Harakiri School Girls* we see a bunch of mini-skirted Japanese girls disemboweling and executing themselves in a cartooned mass of blood and viscera, drawn and printed with the vivid color spectrums of the *unreal*. *Harakiri School Girls* could be a poster for a gore movie or a single strip from a cartoon, making its exaggerated depiction of violence an entertaining feast of blood just like its archetypes.<sup>12</sup> Thus the violent deaths depicted by both Warhol and Aida are registered by the viewer in the visual language of the entertainment culture and come across as safe representations. Remembering that the only cry over the *Death and Disaster* series at Warhol's time was the question of the technique, we see the core issue of the representation being tied to the art institution's juxtaposition of low and high forms of culture, which has since been discarded.<sup>13</sup> Also, in the circulation of social media today, the problem of the context of art is gone, and no problem of a taboo representation of death has appeared in its stead. As the deaths imaged by Warhol and Aida make rounds in the internet picture sharing sites, such as Tumblr and Pinterest, they appear simply as images that could be either tabloid photography or cartoon cover material. As *representations of death* they set in the same continuum of popular culture deaths and therefore lose the possibly problematic status art might have in relation to death.

According to Geoffrey Gorer, the popular culture pornography of death has resulted in the disappearance of natural death from sight.<sup>14</sup> In the medicalization of culture, the natural connection to death has been lost as the dying are normatively transferred to institutions and hidden behind hospital curtains.<sup>15</sup> In the excessive mediation of the graphic displays of violence, the pornographic death has become the predominant form of death. It could be said that in a certain sense the roles of what is natural and what is unnatural have been inverted. Consequently also the

context of art tolerates the popular cultural representation of death, which it has appropriated, better than others. By being absorbed into the visual stream of pornographic death that Geoffrey Gorer talks about, the deaths imaged by Warhol and Aida oppose natural death in like manner and fictionalize it with the 'gratifying' violence of their representations. The crash and suicide victims transferred to canvas by Warhol are actually real, but it could be claimed that their deaths make death itself seem unreal as, falling into the volume of the depictions of 'unlucky deaths', the appropriation of their post-mortem paparazzi records make the unlikely death seem more likely. In this sense, death is made to seem unreal, as the improbable death, the tragic accident, is the most common type of death we are exposed to whereas the natural death is beyond representation in mainstream culture and subsequently also in art.

In addition to portraying death as improbable, the death depicted in Makoto Aida's *Harakiri School Girls* adds to the tradition of fetishized violence that fictionalizes death. Executed in the style of contemporary pop art, the paintings of Aida are viewed as cartoons in the universe of which dying does not kill. The cartoon world conveys the idea of death as a play death, as nothing but a funny game. Aida's schoolgirls, in decapitating themselves with a smile, fall into the same universe of fiction. As follows, just like in the fatal, yet not even injurious, mouse hunt of Tom and Jerry, also in the immobility of the printed picture the gory feast of blood is separated from its inevitable consequence: death. The cartoon death marks the wounded body immortal and renders void the symbolic value wounds and blood have as signs of mortality. The causal chain between broken body and death thus having been disconnected the cartoon death stands for nothing more fatal than the 'game over' of a videogame. Hence this extravagant representation of violence comforts us as it communicates that it takes more than being slayed with a samurai sword to cause an actual death: both in the 'gameverse' and *Harakiri School Girls*, death is defeated as the gaming heroes and schoolgirls will rise and walk again after 'game over' and disembowelment. Therefore, according to the popular pictorial tradition, to die is neither likely nor natural.<sup>16</sup>

Paradoxically, in the midst of all this gore, the natural body and its abject nature refused by the popular ideal body are also rejected from death. Like the glossy body image of popular media dying also lacks natural decay, as the traffic accident ruptures life before deterioration and the mutilated body loses its allusion to death. In a certain sense, the body is being turned into an abstraction. Living body is abstracted into a smoothed figure, the dead body abstracted into a maimed mannequin in a pool of blood, which no longer stands as a mark of death. Even the new coming of the most famous abstraction of death, the skeleton and the skull, comes today marked with all the signs of fiction, beautified so that it stands for nothing other than its fashion-accessorized self. In the same way as the inabstracted and natural - or natural *au Photoshop* - body of Lady Gaga is marked

with and standing as a mark of disgrace to deny the monster body the right to exist, death is abstracted into a 'pornography of violence' to deny mortality.

#### 4. 'The Dying' of Andres Serrano

Unlike many a 'pornographic' depiction of death we have grown to tolerate, Andres Serrano's *The Morgue* has gotten into the midst of controversy. *The Morgue* is a collection of 54 Cibachrome photographs taken of corpses of all ages, their causes of death ranging from natural to unnatural, from meningitis to abuse and plane crash. Even in the case of a violent cause of death we see none of it in the photograph. Instead of presenting the individual cases he has encountered at the morgue or focusing on the signs of violence on their bodies, Andres Serrano has captured mere fragments of the bodies. The photographs are close-ups of the deceased, sometimes revealing no more than an eye or a mere silhouette of the toe-tagged foot (Fig. 2, Fig. 3). Sometimes there is a wound or signs of the autopsy, though, more often, there is nothing but the title of the photograph that speaks about the cause of death.

Curiously it is Serrano's fragmenting that disturbs the art critics who, comparing Serrano to his predecessors in post-mortem photography and to his art world forerunner, the 'photographer of freaks' Joel Peter Witkin, dub Serrano's focus on fragments as *faux artistry*.<sup>17</sup> I would argue the contrary, that it is the fragmenting of the dead body which separates the photographs from the gore of the popular culture and thus denies the 'pleasure' of the fictive 'game over'. The critics' insistence on making the whole body visible reveals that we indeed tend to see the bodily mutilation mediated in the news and entertainment as pure fiction. In defying the language of the popular culture and in refusing its soothing didactics, Serrano's *The Morgue* both disturbs and threatens.

Tracing Serrano's transgressions in comparison with the monolithic mainstream, it seems that nowadays to disturb it takes a skillfully composed photograph of a dead person's hands, be they wrinkled or smooth. By showing natural death juxtaposed with a violent one, *The Morgue* returns mortality to the canon of death. The bodies are real - by their fragments exhibited in Cibachrome quality they could almost be *our* bodies unless the titles revealed them to be those of the dead. Thus, as a combination of the body fragments - both bodily and lacking a body - and their verbal labels, *The Morgue* speaks of the inevitability of dying. It could be said that the democratic collection of alternately beautiful and alternately disgusting fragments of the corpses belonging to every age-class, their causes of death varying from accidental violence to long-awaited and calm natural death, compile a 'catalogue' that brings death in all of its horror a step closer. If this was the case, looking at the multitude of evidences in Serrano's brochure of dying framed onto the gallery wall, we are faced with the inevitability of dying and it becomes impossible to distance oneself from the reality of death, unlike when

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looking at the monotonous imagery of violent death in the arena of fiction, the television.

### **5. Conclusion**

Looking at death in general, we see a similar and simultaneous increase in its imaging that Michel Foucault famously observed in the discourse of sexuality.<sup>18</sup> In a like manner, both the once concealed body and what Gorer called ‘the pornography of violent death’ fit into Foucault’s frame of discourse as a means of the control of a new era. As the mandated confession replaces the silence, the increased visibility may speak of the emancipation of the taboo, even if it actually is just another form of control: ‘the pornography of violent death’ suffocating the representations of the natural death and the ideal carcass of a body hiding its natural qualities.

As digitally altering Lady Gaga into a monster can be seen to serve a function that ridicules the natural body, the representations of harakiris and bodies maimed in car crashes serve a comparable function: they conceptualize death with their fictiveness and unnaturalness. Since Andres Serrano’s corpses defy this abstraction of death his art calls for an intervention known as censorship.

Looking at the imagery of death, we see its problematic upwelling in part from the problematic of the body. Essentially the problem with the living and dying body is the same: it is the mortality of the body that in the pornography of death is made to seem unlikely and that is denied in the contemporary body cult. It is not the bloated and blotched body, nor the body mutilated by death, but the dying body which is the perverse taboo topic posing a problem for the contemporary visual culture. In this context, the hands photographed by Andres Serrano defy the fiction of the immortal body narrated by the mainstream visual culture, which lulls us into believing that in order for our body to die, it needs to be killed tragically, violently: in an unlikely crash ballet of a traffic accident, by ones’ own hand as a sign of failure, or in the tragic lottery with a media sexy disease such as cancer. These hands, toes and mouths frozen in the middle of their last gasp for air are real, and they belong to a body that has not only died, but even more frighteningly: has the potential to die.



**Fig. 2:** Andres Serrano, *Blood Transfusion Resulting In AIDS*, 1992. Cibachrome photograph, 125.7 x 152.4 cm. (49½ x 60in.). © Andres Serrano. Courtesy: the artist.



**Fig. 3:** Andres Serrano, *Death by Natural Causes*, 1992. Cibachrome photograph, 125.7 x 152.4 cm. (49½ x 60in.). © Andres Serrano. Courtesy: the artist.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> “Apoptosis” refers to the natural process of cellular self-destruction, the death of aging cells.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Looking meatier! Lady Gaga shows off her new fuller figure after ‘gaining 30lbs’ in her favourite carnivorous creation,’ *Daily Mail Online*, September 19, 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-2205629/Lady-Gaga-shows-new-fuller-figure-gaining-30lbs-favourite-carnivorous-creation.html>

<sup>3</sup> The article in the Daily Mail is one of the many uniform articles to be found on the topic. The same manipulated images of Lady Gaga are in every related article. The origin of the pictures lies with celebrity news and picture agency, Splash News, but nevertheless they have made their way from tabloid entertainment to the top of the food chain, and are treated as authentic documents even by Daily Mail.

<sup>4</sup> The seven images by Splash News are supplemented with an older image by Press Association Images (Fig. 1). While this addition illustrates the contrast between the current monstrosity of the flesh and the ideal figure of the past, in another image Lady Gaga is captured side by side with her background dancer. Also this juxtaposition contrasts the base with the ideal instead of merely illustrating the weight gained around Lady Gaga’s waist. The permission to publish was withheld by Splash Images. ‘Looking meatier!,’ *Daily Mail Online*, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-2205629/Lady-Gaga-shows-new-fuller-figure-gaining-30lbs-favourite-carnivorous-creation.html>.

<sup>5</sup> Figure 1, The ideal body of the past. The image by Press Association shows Lady Gaga performing in Capital FM’s Jingle Bell Ball in London, December 2009. The article by Daily Mail captions the image: “The way she was: A much trimmer Lady Gaga on stage in 2009.” © PA Wire. Courtesy: Press Association Images.

<sup>6</sup> In Jenny Saville’s *Branded*, created in 1992, the words, delicate and attractive, are two of the four visible words that appear on the surface of the depicted body. Rather than being ‘mere scribbles’, the words appear to be part of the body, possibly scar tissue. And even with possible scarification, the body is not a body to be pitied. Depicted from below, the protagonist is almost condescendingly looking down on the viewer as a doppelganger of the artist herself, clutching the folds of the surplus skin in her massive hand. The poise of the body is rather the poise of a proud and self-confident person than one that agrees to be victimized by shame. Jenny Saville, *Branded*, 1992. Oil and mixed media on canvas, 209.5 x 179 cm. (82½ x 70½ in.). © Jenny Saville.

<sup>7</sup> Andres Serrano, *The Morgue* series, 1992. Cibachrome photographs, each 125.7 x 152.4 cm. (49½ x 60in.). © Andres Serrano; Andy Warhol, *Death and Disaster* series, 1962-63. Silkscreen ink and paints on canvas, sizes variable. © Andy

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Warhol Estate; Makoto Aida, *Harakiri School Girls* series, 1999-2006. Materials and sizes variable. © Mizuma Art Gallery.

<sup>8</sup> The article first appeared in *Encounter* (October, 1955) and was later reprinted in Gorer's study on the changing of the mourning patterns of the British people. Geoffrey Gorer, 'The Pornography of Death,' repr. in Geoffrey Gorer, *Death, Grief and Mourning in Contemporary Britain* (London: The Crescet Press, 1965), 169-175.

<sup>9</sup> We may ask how far the current fascination of popular media with disaster and death is from the car-crash fetishism J.G. Ballard portrayed in his infamous novel *Crash* (1973), which can be seen as having parodied the growing necrophilia portrayed in popular culture.

<sup>10</sup> As we might know, Warhol was one of the first artists to be titled a pop artist. He became famous by taking the banality of commercial culture and transforming it into art using the technique called serigraphy, which, also, was more familiar as a technique of advertisement before Warhol.

<sup>11</sup> The *Death and Disaster* series (1962-63) is a series in which mediated photographs of violence are given the same treatment of duplication, enlargement and dying as the famous Marilyn Monroe portraits and Campbell soup cans, which are then paired with a single color field for dramatic effect.

<sup>12</sup> Of course, both *Death and Disaster* and *Harakiri School Girls* can be interpreted also as acts of critique that by imitating the style and imagery of popular culture attempt to make its fascination with violence truly *seen* by re-contextualizing the imagery in a gallery. Indeed, both Warhol and Aida have caused dispute about whether they are social critics or mere aesthetics emotionlessly appropriating whatever is out there. In this sense the pictures can be either sensationalist posters for an upcoming show (this is a common interpretation of Aida's *Harakiri School Girls*) or acts of media critique rising against the famous assessment made by Warhol: 'When you see a gruesome picture over and over again, it doesn't really have any effect.' And then again, the intention of the artist hardly matters in the reception, unless as a biased interpretation.

<sup>13</sup> The borders of convention pop art famously challenged and tested was the line between commercial culture and the elitist art institution, i.e. the traditional hierarchy of high and low forms of culture which was discarded in the process of the canonization of pop. - Though actually the borders in the hierarchy were only pushed further, as the contemporary pop artists like Makoto Aida show by continuing to test them.

<sup>14</sup> Geoffrey Gorer, 'The Pornography of Death,' 169-175.

<sup>15</sup> Medicalization, the process in which aspects of humanity are transformed into treatable problems of medicine and psychiatry, is generally applied to explain the

birth of the modern western attitude towards death, and was famously outlined by Philippe Ariés in his *Western Attitudes toward DEATH*. Philippe Ariés, *Western Attitudes toward DEATH: From The Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

<sup>16</sup> The effects of fictional violence on behavior have been abundantly studied. I here on focus on one such effect, which is indirectly anticipated by the assumption that fictional violence creates real-life violence, and theorize what fictional violence does to violence instead of focusing on what responses fictional violence causes in its consumer.

<sup>17</sup> For instance Michael Kimmelman opposes the original exhibition at the Paula Cooper Gallery for ‘*leaving fragments of bodies that in themselves have no apparent meaning*’ and deems the overall series a ‘*poorly carried out artsy presentation*’ for ‘*promising an emotional impact without delivering more than an occasional shiver.*’ See Michael Kimmelman, ‘Serrano Focuses on Death,’ *The New York Times online*, February 5, 1993, <http://www.nytimes.com/1993/02/05/arts/review-art-serrano-focuses-on-death.html>. Adrian Searle, instead, criticizes *The Morgue* exhibited at the Barbican as part of the Serrano retrospective for, ‘*[rubbing] our noses in texture, sheen, shapes, gorgeous gore, strong meat in strong light.*’ Adrian Searle, ‘Negative Energy,’ *The Guardian online*, October 13, 2001, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2001/oct/13/arts.highereducation1>.

<sup>18</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans Robert Hurley (London: Penguin Books, 1987).

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