

1. THE ARTWORKS OF WOMEN¹

Weaving in a semiotic and pragmatic performative action

INTRODUCTION: SEMIOTICS AND PRAGMATISM IN WEAVING

This text explains how several important issues are related from a contemporary perspective of what it is to work with art. These questions are:

- a) The idea of democratic and non-elitist art, which includes professional and specialised art, but which above all defends the art of ordinary people.
- b) Collective and relational artistic practices.
- c) The naturally aesthetic quality of people
- d) In addition to this, the work historically carried out by women is defended, and that has not been recognized as art even though it has been done through aesthetics and innovation.

The above, have always seemed present in the daily work of women, a continuous vital experience, built by the accumulation of their daily creative and innovative experiences. Weaving is something, that among other forms of work, women have developed over a very long period. So through this activity they have communicated and have evolved to obtain results from experience. In this text, a concrete example is shown, with which we will see the continuous and vital experience of so many women working in silence. Years working in an organized sequence of behaviours can acquire meanings for an observer. This is an exact example of an activity understood as a semiotic practice.

Thus, "The artworks of women", defends the vital processes of human experience through technical procedures historically used by women in the domestic sphere. These technical procedures are considered as artistic means, always remembering historical references such as Judy Chicago (1979) among many others, or currently, Hinke Schreuders (2018), María Martínez-Morales (2014), Ana Fernández (2010), also Sandra Barba (2017), Ghada Amer (2008-2018) and many others. Most of them focused on questioning power relations expressing archetypes of social conflicts. This happens thanks to the current art and the recovery of procedures excluded from the idea of exclusive and elitist art. The evolution from a contemplative paradigm on the artistic object, towards a processual paradigm has contributed to the change in consideration of what can and cannot be art (Goodman, 2010; Shiner, 2004). For this reason, in the defence of the processes of the creations of women, the emphasis is put on the performative aspect of the execution of the task, and from its origin to the consequences, since this places these activities in the notion of experience. The example to illustrate this is an experience resulting from the sum of several actions carried out by my colleague María Martínez Morales and myself, and which we have called 'No es solo una cuestión de mujeres cuando de hilar se trata' (It is not only a matter of women when it comes to spinning). (Moreno-Montoro & Martínez-Morales, 2018). This example shall be described with text and images in the section entitled "The present story".

¹ Capítulo publicado en Moreno-Montoro, María-Isabel. 2020. The artworks of women: Weaving in a Semiotic and Pragmatic Performative Action, en Patricia Maarhuis and AG Rud, Editors, *Imaging Dewey. Artful Works and Dialogue about Art as Experience*, pp.109-126. Brill, 978-90-04-43805-7

The processes of contemporary artistic creation, of a performative nature, do not respond to paradigmatic structures, but a frame of reference can be established to get closer to understanding them. Art research flows between uncertainties and deviations, or "dérives", that are based on an action protocol that is the negation of protocol. That is, a constituent procedure of a non-paradigmatic operation (Espíritu Zavalza, 2017; Martínez-Morales, 2017a; Moreno-Montoro, Valladares-González & Martínez-Morales, 2016). Perhaps this is the reason why it is sometimes thought that there is something contradictory in principles that are governed by an order, such as semiotics or pragmatism. This idea connects what is performative with experience and with a non-paradigmatic approach to semiotics and pragmatism. Dewey rightly expresses this when he says that language and words are limited in reproducing natural wealth, as it operates in human experience. Dewey goes even further by stating that it is not necessary to even try to make language and words explain what can only be found in experience. Language, according to the author, tries to apply orders, ranges and classes. (Dewey, 2008: 143) This does not prevent us from understanding the performative as something that is an organised sequence of behaviours that can acquire meanings for an observer, only that this organisation depends at first on who creates, and secondly, on who observes, (Dewey, 2008: 143) and not on a model, or paradigm, imposed by Cartesian rationalism through its logic and reason.

From the perspective of current art, even processes which repeat a pattern, come before the concept of routine rather than the paradigm. For example, making a photographic record of an action, or recording video, is a process that is not specific to a particular artist, but actually is something that everyone does. However, this is not paradigmatic, it is not constitutive of a pattern that becomes the model to do the work. It is the way someone habitually works.

Consequently, if this paper is based on the experienced characteristics of art to defend performativity as the paradigmatic qualification of artistic research and creation, it is to determine that the mine is the non-paradigm (Martínez-Morales, 2015; 2017b). The work is organised, but in our case, the organisation is different every time. When we appeal as semiotics and pragmatics to the experience reported here, we are not proposing a contradiction, especially according to the meaning that we find in Dewey as explained in a previous paragraph. Although semiotics and pragmatism are based on a sequenced, organised operation, what serves as a frame of reference, are the principles by which they are governed. That is, an artistic process is an organized sequence of behaviours, which can acquire meaning for the observer, and that is why it is considered a semiotic practice. It is also a pragmatic practice because the meaning with which it plays is generated consistently. That is, no matter what the artist intended, the sense that the observers acquire is a consequence of the process. Therefore, the active participation advocated by contemporary artistic practices, fully compatible with non-prejudicial principles that we find in pragmatism such as anti-fundamentalism, fallibility, random flow and critical research (De la Garza, 1995: 32). It should be said that to end up in the particular pragmatic version of Dewey, instrumentalism, the performativity must be addressed, creative or investigative, as the exemplary consequence of which there is no example, but that the demonstration itself is the practice that leads us to the useful consequences (González Monteagudo, 2017: 19).

It is not Ulysses for whom Penelope wove, but for herself and for all of us. We were taught how Penelope waited for Ulysses while patiently weaving. And how in the doing and undoing of her task—silent and patient—she saved herself from other men, because she was waiting for the arrival of her hero. They are two prototypes of exemplary behavior to follow: (1) Ulysses, the honest, intelligent and strong man who protects his people and fights against evil, and (2) Penelope, the patient woman, who without her heroic husband is nothing. The only thing she can do is wait and dedicate herself to her peaceful and unproductive woman's work. It does not matter what she does every day, if it contributes to the hero's objectives. This message goes deep: Women and their efforts are at the service of men. Despite its pre-Christian origin, Catholicism and other churches did not disabuse women of such excellent examples of behavior in the service of men. However, Penelope incorporated "a life experience" that also could be implying "a reconstruction which may be painful" (Dewey, 1934/1987, p. 48) and that provides evidence of movement toward "consummation" (Dewey, 1934/1987, p. 44) of experience, which brings about meaning for her and, now, for us, the observers.

What immense sadness the character of Penelope caused me until I understood that the needlework of women was a potentially vital process in a continuum of experience (González Monteagudo, 2017)! Once understood, I could clearly see that the development of a stage, a space, of generated emotion, and movement in time was taking place with this type of aesthetic event. Emily Wilson, an American writer has made an English translation of *The Odyssey* (2017), shows how Homer is aware of purpose-fully making Penelope express pain and revulsion, not only towards Ulysses, but also towards other men (Miguel, 2018). In this interpretation, the space for the activity of weaving is limited because the public and private lives of women were organized by men. Resistance by women was experienced through the preservation of spaces, in which, first, they could *be*, and second, *be themselves*.

Perhaps it is time to (re)expand those creative and performative spaces, usually pre-served for women? Shiner (2001) notes that "In the older art system, the idea of art as any kind of object or performance for use or diversion went hand in hand with institutions that join together what we separate as arts, crafts, and sciences" (p. 6). Earlier in this chapter I provided examples of the socially interactive aspect of sewing, weaving, spinning, knitting and embroidering, which harken back to when "making art was usually a cooperative affair, with many minds and hands involved..." (Shiner, 2001, p. 6). This collaborative space differs from the dominant norms of the modern system of "fine arts" (Shiner, 2001) where the focus is not inventive collaboration but on individual creation, where artworks are seldom meant for a specific place or purpose but exist for themselves, where the separation of artworks from a functional context lead to the ideal of silent and reverential attention in concert halls, art museums, theatres, and reading rooms. (p. 7) Moreover, historically and currently, the system of "fine arts" is linked to not only behaviors and institutions, it is enacted through relations of power and gender, which need to be reshaped fundamentally. For example, in their article "Mantas Colaborativas: Silêncios Ruidosos" [Collaborative Blankets: Noisy Silences], Ângela Saldanha and Teresa Eça (2014) refer to everyday life, where silence is slowly but surely transformative. The sewing of blankets supports community spirit, which is constituted as activist artistic education projects in transversal contexts.

EXPERIENCE AS A SEMIOTIC AND PRAGMATIC ORGANIZATION OF PERFORMATIVITY

Artists are looking for eclectic and more expressive media that open the way both to their discourse (Krauss, 1979) and to more participatory action in the construction of the work

(Ferrer, 2012; Lippard, 2004). To clarify my meaning of performativity: I assume contemporary artistic practices of performativity as the necessary means to get involved in the social relationship. As stated earlier, what makes any performative activity understood as a semiotic practice, is an organized sequence of behaviors that can acquire meaning for an observer. One can understand *meaning* in terms of gaining information about what is observed and its relevance. A personal sense of meaning is brought about in terms of what we do with this observed information in communication, in relationships and social understanding.

The Semiotic Question of Performativity

Human relationships involved in the notion and practice of semiotics are cultural constructions and, thus, alive and evolving. Clarifying how one accepts the notion of semiotic is not a simple matter. Peirce (1974) speaks about the experience of knowledge and refers to the axis relations-communication. Magariños de Morentín (1996) establishes semiotics as a rigorous and effective cognitive process. He differentiates between semiotic theory and semiotization. Magariños de Morentín considers meaning and semiotics as an intuitive practice that involves every human being, as people use semiotics spontaneously and, at times, unconsciously. That is to say, meanings and meaningful results are generated in the constant flow of interpretations between people and between people and events. In the foundational principles of pragmatism, established by Peirce (1974) and Dewey (1934/1987, 2008), it is the attribution of meaning to things through consequences. In other words, it is only during or after the experience, that things or events acquire semiotic meaning. Related to these philosophical notions, this artistic research project, *It Is Not Only About Women When It Comes to Spinning*, is a multi-event process, understood as a continuous movement, in which artful actions are performed. In this case, the actions are carried out through sewing, embroidering or weaving in different places, with different groups of people, and for different reasons. All these artful events have a purpose: A continuous project extended across time and places, which is experienced in the singular sense, although composed of a plurality of experiences.

Reflective Question of Pragmatic Performative

As we have seen in the previous section, the fact that any process (artistic or not), which is cognitive, rigorous and effective, also can be flexible, fluid, and full of surprises at every step. An organized sequence of behaviors, which favors the generation of meaning, can be different each time and not subject to patterns that hinder other aspects from emerging. The details of the organization can be a mere thematic plan. In other words, when we say organized, it does not allude to a meaning of an established systematic order, but rather a means to provide context, space and factors that trigger events or happenings. That is, by being organized the non-paradigm organization is included and embedded in the process. This kind of complex structure, which does not obey an established order, also does not imply any obstruction in the generation of experience. Especially, according to Dewey (1934/1987, 2008) (and being clear that not every sign is an expression) people can interpret and give meaning to events that are not expressions because they were not made with the intention of communicating anything, even if for the perceiver they were loaded with information.

Uncertainty facing performativity. The absence of a structure that marks specific steps to take generates uncertainty. Knowledge through a performative process occurs in uncertainty. If we follow established patterns and instructions, we do not generate any knowledge, we only copy. Generating knowledge means launching into the unknown, in order to fully comprehend what is being generated.

A performative process requires exposing oneself to uncertainty, and this forces us to fully concentrate on the topic that concerns us. The raw material of contemporary creative production is the performative semiosis that interprets them. Thus, artistic knowledge is the historical overcoming of the impact of officially valid interpretations of artistic practice. This is discussed in Claramonte's (2008) prologue of the Spanish version of *Art as Experience*:

In the function of this pre-eminence of the instituting, if the art is moral and is educative, it is in spite of the moralists and the educators, and often against them, because precisely what it contributes is always the sensitivity of relationships, of ways of relationship, which have not yet been mummified by any institutions. (p. xv)

THE ARTWORKS OF WOMEN: THE EXPERIENCE

A Story from Long Ago

When we were girls, my father did not want my mother to allow us to knit, crochet, or sew. He did not want us not to learn such domestic chores but preferred that we learn more "scientific" things. Although he was wrong in his approach, his fear was understandable. Nevertheless, I learned to do some of these things, although embroidery was always done very badly in school. It was the "technology" that we, women, were taught during my primary education from 1969 to 1977. I spent a couple of hours a week, throughout the entire course, with the sewing samples, which became blackened by repetition of the same sewing task, week after week. My teacher took pity on me and finally gave me "something productive" to make such as a mini tablecloth, which, like my sewing samples, was an authentic illustration of filth. By years of age, I was very bored with the task of using the needle to create something "beautiful for the home." How slow this method was for me! I liked the pencil better, it was much faster. In spite of everything, I found knitting or crocheting useful. I even found peace. It was a slow process but, in the end, I had a sweater to wear. It was something I liked and wore, not just an insignificant tablecloth for the home. I was very practical, but my patience was very short. Over time, the meticulousness and the precision of needle and thread activities were within my capabilities, despite my practical interest in production.

In school, learning to sew and embroider was not creative. It could have been creative, but it was learned as a mass-produced *craft*. Even if the work became creative and innovative, it had been classified at a level outside the work of art (Shiner, 2001). It was 1975, and progress had just returned to Spain in the form of democracy after the death of the dictator Franco. The political parties were confronted with messages of liberation. As women at this time, we felt that we freed ourselves if we did things that had previously been forbidden, but also not doing things that kept us at home.

The Present Story

Realizing that the world of needle and thread was an important vital space in the universal community of women, helped me to understand that recovering this space for my peace of mind also opened a space for communication with other women. If artistic experiences are part of my life experience, drawing or expressing myself with a needle and thread could be an artistic experience for me with others.

The first work of María Martínez that I saw was *Retales*, in 2013. When presented alone, a remnant runs the risk of being an image of longing; however, in plural, remnants (or *retales* in Spanish), can become the complex narrative of a life. In that lengthy piece carried out the

performance of sewing together remnants of experience. These remnants were a diverse collection of photos or fragments, letters, texts and pieces of life in any format, which by means of needle and thread, María sewed onto the piece of cloth as in a derive or drifting. She did this without a time limit, stopping to show every fragment of life, which she then stitched in place without hurry.

Working with similar materials and using the above noted methods opened up an opportunity: the possibility of working with communities in a neighborhood in Alcaudete, a small town near Jaén, Spain. This opportunity not only preserved the work of women it provided us with an open communal space for work with art. As a result, on numerous occasions, we were able to implement our textile projects in Alcaudete. We started with a sharing day to generate ideas as well as create processes and relationships between young students, citizens of the neighborhood and a women's association. We shared lunch and embroidered with the women of the association, who do culturally empowering work in the village. They taught us sewing and embroidery techniques and a consummate experience was generated.

IT IS NOT ONLY ABOUT WOMEN WHEN IT COMES TO SPINNING: ONE EXPERIENCE

When I write the word *experience* I am referring to living—to the development of people due to the occurrence of life events and to personal circumstances. Also, I understand that we experience this through the activities of other people or things, and by placing ourselves as receivers of what happens around us:

Things are experienced, but not in a way that they are composed into an experience. There is distraction and dispersion; what we observe and what we think, what we desire and what we get, are at odds with each other. We put our hands to the plough and turn back; we start and then we stop, not because the experience has reached the end for the sake of which it was initiated but because of extraneous interruptions or of inner lethargy. (Dewey, 1987, p. 42)

The point that Dewey (1987) makes about experience, as a vital continuum and as a concrete activity, is not determinative. These can be considered intensified aesthetic experiences (*an* experience) as well as general experiences. Each experience develops within space and movement in time. The activity of textile artwork is an intensified aesthetic experience for women that is carried out in a place that is part of their way of life. It is *an* experience and an accumulation or plurality of experiences.

A piece of work is finished in a way that is satisfactory; a problem receives its solution; a game is played through; a situation, whether that of eating a meal, playing a game of chess, carrying on a conversation, writing a book, or taking part in a political campaign, is so rounded out that its close is a consummation and not a cessation. Such an experience is a whole and carries with it its own individualizing quality and self-sufficiency. It is an experience. (Dewey, 1987, p. 42)

One experience. This is exactly what we do when we take fragments of a way of life to turn them into experiences, fragments of daily life considered historically to be of women. In this case, I speak of the traditional lifestyle of women that includes, as I have already said, sewing and embroidery. What I am describing now is an experience: a communal practice of aesthetic relationships through artful sewing. When María Martínez and I started the project, *It Is Not Only About Women When It Comes to Spinning*, we were inviting a diverse community to accompany us to gain some inner peace, of that singular experience of

women, which forms part of their way of life and that is everything related to “needle and thread” activities.

It Is Not Only About Women When It Comes to Spinning is a plurality of experiences that accumulates and becomes *consummations of knowledge*, which are acquired during the practices of daily life. The aesthetic exercise involves individuals participating in making a small piece of art, using the techniques he or she sees fit. The only condition is that, during the process, some technique using thread and needle must be included. The project started at the beginning of 2018. We participate in an annual project promoted by the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (UAM), which is called *Enredad@s* or *Entangled*. *Entangled* is an initiative of a UAM teacher, Ángeles Saura, which consists of an annual call for exhibitions from anywhere in the world. It is *entangled* as many people, who propose an exhibition, also can participate in those organized by others in different countries, which increases overall visibility of an exhibition. In addition to our local community, people from farther afield participated. Once all the works had been received, in May 2018, they were installed in an exhibition at University of Jaén (see Figures 7.7, 7.8, 7.9).

CLOSING THE CIRCLE TO START OVER

One meaning of experience addresses knowledge and wisdom. The expression “lack of experience” is sometimes used to say that someone does not know something, whether it is true or not. This means that we associate the idea of *knowing* with experience. According to Dewey (1934/1987), “a conclusion is not a separate and independent thing, but the consummation of a movement” (p. 44). Through this concept, every human product—whether intellectual or material—is linked to experience.

The linkage between knowledge wisdom and artful experiences helps to explain how embroidery can be a means of artistic expression, and why the artwork can be the very action or performance of carrying it out. Above all this linkage explains how and why it is possible to discover and observe the performative materialization of this experiential process. This *makes real* or brings to the fore performative artful acts that have been happening for a long time, and it materializes what have been considered intangible acts. Suddenly, as researchers and women, we understood that we have been performing and making art for some time. Through research and continuous learning—with its starts and stops—but always continuing once more, we have been performing interactive art.

Additionally, all of these artworks are *consummations*, each of them an example of a specific case of aesthetic lived experience. For the people who have carried out the work, the act of sewing is a consummatory experience, both in a vital and plural sense, in line with the concepts proposed by Dewey. The individual work of a person is the consummation of an experience of concept transmission, in a highly semiotic plane. The piece of embroidered cloth is used as an element or capsule of information, providing different experiences to the participants and the viewers. Also, the exhibition is a consummation, primarily for the public, who participate by visiting, viewing, and reflecting. This produces a semiotic and pragmatic interaction—an experience—which produces moment to moment relational knowledge and information through an experience (see Figures 7.2, 7.3, & 7.10).

An experience of artistic creation recovers the articulated and anthropological sense of the activity, in which all human beings can participate through setting in motion a vital aesthetic process. One day we proposed *It Is Not Only About Women When It*.



Exhibited works 2 [Photo collage]. It Is Not Only About Women When It Comes to Spinning [Exhibition]. (2018).

Comes to Spinning, thinking it was just another experience. A few years ago, when we started working with communities, with women, and with needle and thread, we did not anticipate the outcomes and observations described in this chapter. However, it is here, and it is the consummation of this artistic project. At the same time, it is a technical process and part of the living experience. This is the process of how we discovered that, it is *not* only about women when it comes to spinning. Rather, it is the consummation of a collective process, in which people come together, at different times, driven by their own processes.

Spin again and again, with the same wool, with the same silk, or with a new one. But spin.

REFERENCES

- Amer, G. (2008). *Love has no end* [Embroidered canvases, mixed media]. New York, NY: Eliza- beth A. Sackler Center for Feminist Art, Brooklyn Museum. Retrieved from https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/exhibitions/ghada_amer
- Barba, S. (2017, June 14). Tejer es una actividad feminista. *Letras libres*. Retrieved from <https://www.letraslibres.com/mexico/arte/tejer-es-una-actividad-feminista>
- Bourriaud, N. (2006). *Estética relacional*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Adriana Hidalgo. Bruguera, T. (2010). *Political art statement*. Retrieved from <http://www.taniabruguera.com/cms/388-0-Political+Art+Statement.htm>
- Chicago, J. (1979). *The dinner party* [Installation, mixed media]. New York, NY: Elizabeth A. Sackler Center for Feminist Art, Brooklyn Museum. Retrieved from https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/exhibitions/dinner_party
- Claramonte, J. (2008). *El arte como experiencia*. Barcelona, Spain: Paidós.
- De la Garza Camino, M. T. (1995). *Educación y democracia*. Madrid, Spain: Visor.
- Dewey, J. (1987). Art as experience. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *The later works of John Dewey, 1925-1953* (Vol. 10). Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1934)
- Dewey, J. (2008). *El arte como experiencia*. Barcelona, Spain: Paidós.
- Espíritu Zavalza, M. P. (2017). Ficciones: Obra en proceso. Un proyecto de investigación-creación. *Tercio Creciente*, 11, 107-116. <https://dx.doi.org/10.17561/rtc.n11.7>
- Ferrer, E. (2012). El arte de la performance: Teoría y práctica [Performance art]. Es Baluard, Museu d'Art Modern i Contemporani. Palma, Mallorca, España. Retrieved from <https://aavibdia.blogspot.com/2012/01/esther-ferrer-es-baluard-palma.html>
- González Monteagudo, J. (2017). John Dewey y la pedagogía progresista. In J. Trilla (Ed.), *El legado pedagógico del siglo XX para la escuela del siglo XXI* (pp. 15-40). Barcelona, Spain: Grao.
- Goodman, N. (2010). *Los lenguajes del arte: Una aproximación a la teoría de los símbolos* (1st Spanish ed.; E. L. Agency, Ed. & J. Cabanes, Trans.). Madrid, Spain: Paidós estética. Retrieved from http://pdfhumanidades.com/sites/default/files/apuntes/65_Goodman_Nelson_-_Los_lenguajes_del_arte.pdf
- Krauss, R. (1979). *La escultura en el campo expandido*. Barcelona, Spain: Paidós.
- Lippard, L. R. (2004). *Seis días: La desmaterialización del objeto artístico* (L. R. Olivares, Trans.). Madrid, Spain: Akal.
- Magariños de Morentín, J. Á. (1996). *Los fundamentos lógicos de la semiótica y su práctica*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Edicial.
- Martínez Morales, M. (2014). Tejiendo espacios. Intervenciones artísticas como investigación educativa. *Tercio Creciente*, 5, 51-60. Retrieved from <https://revistaselectronicas.ujaen.es/index.php/RTC/article/view/3086>

Martínez Morales, M. (2017). Un lugar común. El proceso colaborativo desde mi experiencia como a/r/tógrafa. *Tercio Creciente*, 11, 117–130. <https://dx.doi.org/10.17561/rtc.n11.8>

Miguel, L. (2018, February 6). Qué pasa cuando a Ulises y Penélope los narra una mujer. *Play Ground*. [Online article]. Retrieved from https://www.playgroundmag.net/lit/-Que-pasa-cuando-a-Ulises-y-Penelope-los-narra-una-mujer-_27689062.html

Moreno-Montoro, M. I., & Martínez Morales, M. (2018). No es solo cuestión de mujeres cuando de hilar se trata [Gallery exhibition]. Viseu, Portugal: APECV and International Society for Education Through Art (InSEA). Retrieved from <http://www.apecv.pt/pubs/978-989-54262-0-1.pdf>

Moreno-Montoro, M. I., Valladares González, G. M., & Martínez Morales, M. (2016). La investigación para el conocimiento artístico, ¿Una cuestión gnoseológica o metodológica? In M. I. Moreno-

Montoro & M. P. López-Peláez Casellas (Eds.), *Reflexiones sobre investigación artística e investigación educativa basada en las artes* (pp. 27–42). Madrid, Spain: Síntesis.

Peirce, C. S. (1974). *La ciencia de la semiótica*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ediciones Nueva Visión.

Saldanha, A., & Torres de Eça, T. (2014). Mantas colaborativas: Silêncios ruidosos. *Tercio Creciente*, 5, 37–50. Retrieved from <http://www.terciocreciente.com/web/ojs/index.php/TC/article/view/28>

Shiner, L. (2001). *The invention of art: A cultural history*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.