

Culture in Everyday Life Episode 3 Transcript

Voiceover [00:00:03] This podcast is brought to you by the University of Aberdeen.

Introduction [00:00:42] Hello, and a very warm welcome to the Culture and Everyday Life podcast produced by the Elphinstone Institute at the University of Aberdeen, the Elphinstone Institute is a centre for the study of ethnology, folklore and ethnomusicology with the research and public engagement remit covering the northeast and north of Scotland through interaction with researchers and practitioners. This podcast explores cultural phenomena in everyday life.

Dr Tom McKean [00:01:07] Welcome all, I'm very pleased to introduce Leonard Primiano. He's spent many years applying folklore methodologies and ideas to the study religion and religious ideas and those of you who were on the MLitt programme, we have read his article on vernacular religion – religion as it is lived and practiced by real people. Um, so we're very lucky to have had them here due to a strange confluence of circumstances. Maybe there's a higher power involved. I think it's Barre who's the higher power that is involved. Oh, I was very lucky to have him here and he's going to be talking about Catholic kitsch, religious art and folk art and ways of looking at it, so Leonard, please.

Leonard Primiano [00:01:53] Oh, thank you. Now, let me see. I'm going to play with this. I said, oh, let me see you've got the title. That's my greeting to each and every one of you. Good morning, lovers of folklore religion and as I say, in Philadelphia, peace everyone,

Audience [00:02:17] Peace Leonard

Leonard Primiano [00:02:19] One more time, peace everyone, please Leonard. Thank you so much. Now, I always say for people that have never encountered someone who uses that electrolarynx, like I usually answer three questions. Number one, these are questions that I'm always has. Number one, I never smoked a day in my life. That's quite an answer number one. And number two, I'm not currently dying. Do I look like I'm dying? And number three, it doesn't hurt me to talk. Yes, I miss the train that's why I'm going to be here for the next five hours going about kitsch. I just go on and on and until the battery stops working. And so I have no problem with that. People always wonder if it hurts me to all they say my student wishes. It urged me to talk, but it does not. So I'm going to present a reflection on work that I'm continuing about religion in kitsch. And this is for an article that I'm writing in the Routledge Guide to Religion in Popular Culture, which is essentially going to come out as soon as I finish this article. They're waiting for it right now. And it's been very difficult because I had no idea about the literature, about kisch, how much of it there was and even since last summer when I first gave a paper about this at the SIEF meeting, I've just been astonished at how much stuff I've found about it. And it's like, you know, when you think you know everything and you've done searches, and then all of a sudden you find something that if you publish that article without reading that, you would have shot yourself. And that's sort of where I am. I like finding articles and thinking, oh, my God, how could I not have read that one? And so I think at this point, I more or less I can see what at least I can see from what I'm seeing in looking at the notes of the articles that I seem to have read everybody and that they haven't necessarily read each other. And so I feel confident that I can now proceed. OK, but this is not really an end statement. But let's just let's just give you a little bit of information. We'll go from there. Let's start with this. This lovely item, I just have to look at one more slide, OK? I went to a conference in Lisbon a few weeks ago. It was our working group and Ethnology and Religion for the SIEF and a woman who was a fascinating Hungarian, an American citizen, a PhD from NYU. And

she's now doing research in Hungary. And she was studying a Hungarian contemporary Hungarian mystic and a religious environment. And one of her field consultants went into the tent enclosure that this woman is set up in- the mystic had set up - and the tent enclosure is filled with a variety of lithographs and chromolithographs. You know what those are? Inexpensive images of coloured images of historical and contemporary Catholic saints. And her consultant said as she saw those images and again, the mystic and sort of ????. This space is a religious shrine. And her consultant said that this was a kitsch parade. A kitsch parade. Fascinating. So that's what she said when she entered and she saw those images on the wall. She said, I want to get the exact quote, What a kitsch parade to which the Lord, in the form of the voice said, kneel down is the good Lord voice apparently did not obey. And so the command was repeated by God. Kneel down. She finally knelt down and listening to the Lord and it only goes to show that Jesus himself loves inexpensive Roman Catholic lithographs and chromolithographs of the Saints as well as himself with that same with Jesus loving images of himself. Now, whether this consultant was referring to this space in general or the accumulated effect of this particular collection of images contained in the space items, which I might add, are available at most Catholic religious goodstores or even the back of churches or shrines. The first word that came to a mind when entering this crowded visual vernacular religious environment was the word kitsch. Webster's Third International Dictionary defines the word kitsch as, quote, artistic or literary material allowed to be of low quality, often produce it, appeal to popular tastes and marked especially by sentimentalism, sensationalism and slickness End quote, The word is derived from the German edition as kitchen and which means to slap a work of art together and for the German dialect to scrape up mud from the street. So it's fascinating these derivations when approaching the subject of kitsch and certainly before considering its relationship to religion. And I'm talking about institutional religion, a world religious division or within vernacular religiosity. One must be mindful that kitsch is a technical term. I'm very aware of this when I've been reading all these all these scholarly articles about it. It's a technical term. It is scholarly jargon emerging out of art criticism and critical analysis of industrial society, especially Marxist critique describing what has been recognised as a phenomenon of the industrial revolution, that is, mass-produced, the often marketed material culture, kitsch is also a term not only for objects or literature or behaviour, but an expression which ostensibly describes the taste of common people using a description that the folk themselves do not recognise, understand or necessarily use. And that includes all socioeconomic levels of the folk. What I'm saying is all socioeconomic levels do not necessarily understand the word kitsch, including, for example, while I was in, I went to see my doctors in New York City for a Check-Up. And as you know, if you've been to the doctor, they always keep you waiting while they go and do something important or they're reading a file or whatever. And so I always bring a book to the doctor, oh, my God. And read. And whenever they come in the examining room, they're always like in a state of shock that patient is actually reading. And so when they came in, they said, oh, my gosh, what are you reading? And I said, oh, it's an article kitsch and I was fascinated that these two highly trained medical specialists looked at me like, well, what is that? And I had to explain to them what the word meant and I was really quite surprised that it was not a word in common usage. And even amongst these ostensibly, as I said, educated people that they did not know its meaning. So it really is a technical word. And as scholars, we can't forget about that it's jargon. I really think that's important. Now, what I'm going to do is I've broken down the articles and the books I've read about kitsch into four basic camps. So scholars of kitsch fall into these four basic categories. And I sort of define those for you. Number one cultural analysts such as, let's hope he comes, up there is literary scholar, Matei Călinescu, an art critic, this guy, Clement Greenberg, and this gentleman, Gillo Dorfles. They place kitsch items squarely in the world of mass-produced bad taste. And Clement Greenberg, if I go back to him, is really the one who popularised this interest

about kitsch with his article in *The Paris Review* in the early part of the 20th century. So that's number one. The sort of art critical approach. Number two, historians of religion, David Morgan, who's at Duke University right here, and Colleen McDannell, who's at university of Utah, who do not wish to state an opinion but note the influence of mass produced religious items in the cultural history of Christian denominational practice, generating a gendered argument about kitsch's importance. And that's certainly what McDannell does and book 'Material Christianity' she critiques kitsch, especially Roman Catholic kitsch based on this gender argument. I have a problem with her general approach that I think she does understand that Vatican II, which is a big boo boo, but I've sort of reflected on the way she argues and about the way Roman Catholic churches have developed to how can I say it a non-hierarchical all response to the patriarchy of pre-Vatican II. And she feels that there was a real feminised imagery and that that was removed in the period of the 50s into the Vatican II period, and that there was a more than a masculinised imagery after that. And she shows that with statues and holy cards, etc. It's really quite interesting, but she sort of misses the idea that that Vatican II liturgical imagery in terms of alters being in the ground and the removal of the hierarchy, that is the priest is all relational and all feminine. And so that I think that Vatican II that. The architecture and the imagery of Vatican doing that is very not masculine, but feminine. We sort of those against the argument. But that's my comment about McDannell. Number three. This third category is theological scholars. And this is one gentleman by the name of Frank Burch Brown, and he searches for kitsch's place in the aesthetics of especially Christian religious life. And so he's really trying to say is where where can you go with kitsch? How is it important or is it important? Is it bad taste? What's the relationship between bad days and avoid people of bringing the word camp? And is there a relationship between camp, et cetera, et cetera? Can you even take camp objects? And we sort of think about them, reflect theologically so he's asking really for a theological consideration of kitsch? And then finally, this lady, one of the most devoted scholars of kitsch is the cultural historian Celeste, and her name is all Olalquiaga. It's OLALQUIAGA. Now, she really is the diva of kitsch, if I do say so myself. And she presents kitsch in her book, which is called *The Artificial Kingdom: A Treasury of the Kitsch Experience*. And she presents it as a cultural sensibility of loss. She traces its origins as a massive phenomenon of living in a vicarious, indirect way to the 19th century, presenting kitsch as the ambivalent crystallisation of the loss experience of reindustrialise and the attempt to recover emotional intensity in the face of technology and dehumanisation. The artificial kingdom explores this sensibility through the objects and narratives it produced. So what's fascinating is that what are the objects? What are the objects and narratives that help bring this new sensibility is something that can help and the emotional intensity of humans in the face of technological dehumanisation. Well, starting in the 19th century, this book is absolutely fascinating. What she discovers is the importance of underwater imagery, popular underwater imagery and of the time in the 19th century and so what she relates to the history of kitsch is the beginning of the use of aquariums, paperweights and the myth of Atlantis and Jules Verne, *The Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*, this whole discussion about aquariums and things like this and I mean, it's just fantastic. And so that that part of these is very inventive. She also has a great chapter on the influence of the development of large panes of glass in Paris in the 19th century and how that influenced the development of kitsch in department store windows. And she feels that large panes of glass were brought back to England during the Victorian era for the use in the Crystal Palace. And then they were also used in garden stores. So that's an absolutely fascinating read. And if you just want a book that do enjoy your piece, that this brings all these ideas together. OK, so I was happy I found that book and I thought very satisfied about that. And then, oh my God, I discovered of course that prior to this book and almost overlooked by me until I found a used copy is her now out of print 1992 study, which is called *Megalopolis*. And in this volume Olalquiaga

offers a typology of kitsch and a chapter that's called Holy Kitschen: Collecting Religious Junk from the Street - that's her chapter. Within postmodernity Olalquiaga believes that different iconographies fight for hegemony and that three degrees of Catholic kitsch have come to overlap in time and space. Number one: first degree kitsch is represented by the imagery available at church entrances and botanicas. In Afro Caribbean religion it's a spiritual goods shop where you would get imagery, candles, oils, things like that. And so that's what a Botanica is. So imagery available in church, at church entrances and botanicas, which technically has been produced simply and cheaply. For believers it represents the relationship between object and user, which is immediate and one of genuine beliefs. For believers, she notes, kitsch objects are meaningful even when used ornamentally. And so we've got this collection of candles and statues that people certainly could use to beautify their homes, but also to light when they have an intention to a saint, the Virgin Mary, etc.. These same objects are observed from a distance by what he calls kitsch aficionados, these individuals, and I bet you know who they are, me, I'm one who achieve vicarious pleasure by collecting kitsch objects. Let's have one. What can one say about that? I did not bring that with me because I didn't want to break it. So, first degree believer's attachment is directly related to the devotional meaning of the iconography. But for aficionados, this meaning is secondary. What matters is not what the images represent, but the intense feelings, for example, of hope, fear, awe that they inspire. There is no religious attachment here, but a fascination and attraction with the directness of feelings which the aficionados for attempting to recover. And let's have a picture of something like that. So, I don't know. I fall in between. I think I have a very emotional religious attachment to objects, religious objects. I was raised as a Catholic and I still have that strong feeling and so I can I have, at least in myself, a sort of religious connection to these objects. At the same time, I sort of collect them and have a certain attitude about them. That is both fascinating and sometimes I can certainly laugh at Catholicism with love, but at the same time of take it seriously. I don't know what I do. Explain that. Maybe I need to write an article about myself as far as that's concerned, but it's sometimes it's interesting to observe in these different ways. So this is an interesting image of the Divine Mercy Jesus, which is an early 20th century apparition of Jesus, which was in Poland, while Poland and Lithuania are arguing about this is sort of a sort of an homage to the sacred heart of Jesus, but done by this woman, Sister Faustina, in Poland, near Krakow and this was a favourite of John Paul II and now it's been made into a major devotion within the Catholic Church, and it has spread to other Catholic churches in the same way that the Sacred Heart devotion spread between its 16th moderates and mid-1950. So this one is sort of taken over in some ways from the Sacred Heart, even though it is an image of the Sacred Heart. But it's it's I'm sort of experimenting with I would think about this because obviously the images you see those colours coming from Jesus and so I find the imagery itself. I don't know, it seems the start from a kitschy place in its use of colour. But I'm getting ahead of myself. So we've got first degree and we've got the aficionados related to the first degree believers. OK, now first Olalquiaga, we've got second degree kitsch which is what she calls neo-kitsch. Let's have an image there. These are the empty icons, mass-produced religious products sold in specialised shops like those selling souvenirs or novelties devoid of the intensity that aficionados seek. They are bland reproductions that exist as toys to pass on. A popularisation of camp sensibility. They are designed as a commodity or exchange or enterprise. Let's have another one. No one on those. You don't seem thrilled, aren't they hideous? yes. Now we've got we've got a first degree kitsch. We have second degree and now we have our third category, third degree kitsch and third degree kitsch. We are the Catholic iconography is invested with new or foreign set of meanings, generating a hybrid product. It represents an active transformation of kitsch objects and environments by fine artists in a revalorisation of Catholic iconography and the changing of the value of what for a believer is already

valuable, a valuable religious asset. So let me show you now three images that she uses specifically to exemplify this idea of third degree kitsch. So in other words, it's making a fine art product out of a, if you will, first degree kitsch item, OK? And she's using these photographs taken by this professional photographer in Massachusetts named Dana Salvo. And let me just show you one. So this is his book on the alters of Mexico. And again, these are images that we all see in a giant camera. And he takes these and he sets up for hours the shots in the homes of these Mexican average Mexican believers. And he produced a book of art photography, of the of the imagery of these individuals. Let me show you one more. They are fantastic shots in many ways. But again, he is producing these not as ethnographic shots, not as ethnographic photography, but as art photography that can be sold as art. And I want to show you one of the ones I always love, this one. I don't know if this image is related to the idea. Maybe to work on the side might be clearer now he wants to sell these for thousands of dollars, as I say, is art photography. And sort of have to make the point of this. I added a fascinating encounter with this man Dana Salvo. Like he called me on the phone about 10 years ago. He wrote me email and he said that he wanted to have someone write the text for a book of photographs that he was taking of alters of women in Gloucester, Massachusetts. And they celebrate the Saint Joseph Day by decorating these incredible altar displays relating to St. Joseph in the week before and during March the 19th, which is the Feast of Saint Joseph. Well, we went. And Mary, did I tell you this story? Maybe I did. You may have forgotten that I went with my got. I said, well, you know, it's one thing for me as a folklorist to do this, but I'd like to get some colleagues to come and we would do this together as a team approach. So I sort of assembled a really fantastic group, which is Joseph Sciorra and Kay Turner. And so we would like the dream team of folklorists to go up there and attack Gloucester and see what we could find during the St. Joseph alter period. Well, we did that. We did fieldwork with the people, which is fantastic but then Dana Salvo went when we sort of said, well, our concept, by the way, we also got the publisher for the book. That was the other point of it, that we were the wady, but you'll find a publisher himself. But an argument ensued that we wanted the photographs to accompany the text so that people would actually understand the cultural background of the photographs and he became offended that we were taking over the book that it was going to be a book about the movie with his photographs accompanying the ethnography as opposed to the other way around. And so he argued and it was a rather nasty, fascinating moment with this man. And we, as the project unfortunately fell apart after we had done all the field work. So we're actually thinking of going back and taking ethnographic photographs and doing our own book, about Gloucester, because this stuff is fantastic, that of course. I was saying that was a place that was influenced by the sex scandal as well. And it's a very traditional Portuguese and Sicilian culture in that place. But the one image I go back to...that is one from Gloucester and those are the types of fabulous altars that these women set up, but that, again, that is I mean, I love that photograph, but that is not, I don't know. I mean, what are you think about this? Is that as an ethnographic shot? I mean, to me it is because it is such detail and dangers. Is it that the detail but Dana doesn't see that not everybody sees it as an art photograph and I don't know technically, but he's using his giant lens, this photograph he makes money by by making by taking photographs of fine art for the Boston Museum of Fine Art, for insurance purposes and for books. So that's sort of the way he thinks about it. But at any rate, all that we thought I was amazed when I was reading her article and she has this third three kitsch category, this photography of art, photography of kitsch. And she was using Danas Salvo was fell off my chair when I found out that she was using him and it was like a ghost coming back so many years later. OK, fine. In addition to Olalquiaga, I have found useful the ideas of engineer and philosopher Abraham Moles, who has noted that kitsch is essentially and an aesthetic system of mass communication. That's his quote, kitsch is essentially an aesthetic system of mass communication. Moles speculates that

kitsch allows the masses to, quote, add sentimentality to sensation from mere pleasure to the genuine experience of art. I am constructing an argument that the communicative power Catholic kitsch is perhaps better understood through a change in Moles's proposal, where sentimentality, sacramentality and memory permit kitsch to pass from the passive roles of usually material pleasure to the active, mental and physical state of genuine devotion. So he is saying that kitsch is simply can be used to get people to understand fine art in a different way. I'm saying that of course people use kitsch in their own lives, to generate genuine devotion themselves. So I'm much more centred on the devotion of the religious lives of individuals, of people. Now, what I think is really important about this point is the question of how is kitsch being used by average people today in the context of what I call visual religious illiteracy, and that is teaching college students, as I am lucky enough to do. I've discovered, of course, that they don't understand anything about religion anymore and they don't understand any themes about religion or characters, characters from the great religious stories, even in Christianity, and along with that religious illiteracy as a visual religious illiteracy so that the current generation does not understand basic symbols of religiosity that you would think they would understand and also I think Meriam we were told that one conference that there is some people that some students now that have never even stepped foot in a church. And so...they just named you told me that. And that if it's if you're trying to teach Christianity and you have a class where people don't have any knowledge of that kind of material at all, you have to start absolutely from, you know, the base - Step one of knowledge, you get the band on that. And having taught for 20 years, I know the difference between teaching that subject 20 years ago and teaching it now, it's like as I said last week or not, about a month ago, I was I made a reference to class Samson, and I thought that students would know the biblical story of Samson. And they looked to me like I should have said Spider-Man it's like they just didn't know the Samson was in a million years. And so that base of knowledge is gone. So I'm fascinated in any rate in relationship to this that this this paper and his research about what is the relationship of kitsch in the lives of religious individuals today and especially the lives of individuals that seem to be visually, religiously illiterate? The consideration of kitsch asks us to reflect on the question: is kitsch always in the mind of the beholder or is the kitsch vacation of the world, the representation of the world through cheaply produced reproductions in fact so complete that it now nullifies the separation of any given object as kitsch? Indeed, can anyone object to be called Catholic kitsch from an ethnographic perspective, if individuals don't understand any other kind of religious visuals except kitsch, how could we be calling these things to begin with? I'm excited to observe and study how contemporary Catholics will read religious objects of all shapes and sizes and quality and incorporate them into their spirituality as they gather influences and work to create their vernacular religious lives into the 21st century. For now, as I continue ethnographic work with Catholics of all ages concerning kitsch in their lives, I would like to close by offering you a typology which emerged from my own recollections on objects of kitsch themselves. I have created this very subjective classification or categorisation scheme based on the intentions of the producer, not necessarily the user. So let me repeat that this is based on the intentions of the producer of the kitsch, not necessarily the user, and attempt at nuancing a class of Roman Catholic material culture, specifically objects and visual representations, not necessarily literature, dress, foodways, etc., which might also be designated as Catholic kitsch. So let's just look a few of these and I'll try to break them down. This classification and these visual these visual representations. When I gave this classification scheme at the American Folklore Society the audience started yelling at me, little me...can you imagine? And I've never done that kind of response before, so I really have to laugh. And often when I get anywhere I go Scholars don't like that I'm even talking about kitsch at all. They don't like the classification, but everybody always loves the topic. And so it's really quite amazing to me. OK, let's have my classification number one, and

this is right here kitsch that mocks or demeans the culture of Catholic tradition or institution-wide Catholicism, putting Catholic Christian figures in inappropriate contact contexts for the purpose of humour or irony or vulgarity. So here we have...this was bought at the old Porter's corporation and it's a glitter Virgin Mary that has been made into a bank. And this will be sold at Christmas time. You can see that obviously it's painted a lovely colour. And do we have another one? Yes. This is well, it looks like a lovely image of a nun, perhaps is the candle, but in fact, it is a dog toy. And so when the dog bites it, it squeaks - I wish I had with me so you can hear it. And so it's a nun squeaky toy. So, again, I at least I would categorise this as something that mocks or demeans the order of Christian tradition. All right. Now to Category two, kitsch that celebrates the culture of the Catholicism in its playfulness, for example, related to or giving homage to pre-Vatican II Catholicism also in the way it relates to contemporary Catholicism and use of religious metals or rosaries as decoration or tattooing Catholic image. We've got lots of bandidas, lovely items. Now of course, this is utterly subjective. Number three, kitsch that is devotional and evangelising, but is mass produced of inexpensive materials for a profit - colourful plastic rosaries distributed at grade schools or glow in the dark rosaries but what have I got for you? This fantastic mass-produced ??? Fatima and this beautiful image of Jesus playing ice hockey, which is used as an evangelical tool. That just speaks for itself, I bought that in Canada, I might say, OK, number four - kitsch, that is vernacular and creation, not mass-produced but which can be made of either costly or inexpensive materials, for example, a Saint's or an aspirational statue. But I thought to you, no one. Marion, you got me this from Poland, from Krakow it's a Christmas tradition about decorating things like the cathedral in Krakow but you can buy them all in all the sizes, but they are also a vernacular tradition for Christmas there. And then this lovely item, which is the soul in Purgatory, which is the take off on the Mexican interest in this. And I have to say, this is my one one. I have some money decided to start a collection of, if I can call them authentic, Mexican folk of souls in purgatory and I'm fascinated with this imagery, but this is a refrigerator magnet that I found in Los Angeles of this but it's actually homemade. So it's really quite nicely done. OK, now we've got number five, category number five kitsch especially memorialising objects or images which were quite serious and their original purpose but they've been transformed into kitsch in the present. So, I guess I could say that when they were originally produced, this these images would not necessarily be seen as kitsch, but perhaps they would be now. And this is like the sledgehammer example. Can you absorb that one? Can you imagine that that was going to be thrown away? That I had to say that for the trash? that valuable artefact, for those of you that might not know that is just in Italy and ?. And that is where John the twenty third is from near ? and so I saw so many images and actually of all these donated various being donated, is able to ? to the cathedral and there's all kinds of things related to his life. But there's that the fantastic combination in the early stages of JFK and the pope. Category No.6 kitsch - that is whimsical in its reproduction of historical material culture, for example, contemporary Retablos. OK, let's have this kind. Oh, no, I'm sorry. We have this Beanie Baby and then this Retablo. So it's a Mexican retablo and there's this entire tradition now of art students in Mexico sort of doing an homage to the retablo and doing all of these contemporary scenes. And you can buy these on eBay. And I presume I've never actually ever been to Mexico, but I can buy this as tourist art, I think, even though I have no idea where in Mexico you can buy it. But it's really present on eBay a lot. And it's fantastic stuff they produce. And it's all social commentary in many ways. But I've been told that they're made by by students to make money. And that is a classification number seven, kitsch that is intentionally commemoratives or an homage to the culture. And let's see that. Now, this, of course, is very American in that you have parochial schools and this the application of the nun, she has the ruler there and the discipline of children. And he's in his coat and tie, which is something you see here a lot. But in America, people don't wear coats and ties,

unless you go to a prep school or a parochial school. And I think I've got one more. Oh, this is for your car. This is now this is this is my eight category. That's seven that intentionally commemoratives, and number eight is kitsch that combines text and image for an unusual effect. And that is this one. This is of course you hang in your car and you deodorize your car and evangelise and at the same time and this tradition which I don't know which Europe or not, this is this St. Joseph tradition about real estate that if you're trying to sell your house, that you would bury a statue of Saint Joseph backwards. And then once you sell it, you you dig him up and you have to put a statue in a place of honour in your new home. So it's an... it's in a way like an ?. But I love the graphics because I love the fact that you buy it as a kit and that you go to the store and seek it out. And I'm constantly told by religious goods stores in America that they don't have any, that realtors go in there and buy them all and that they give them out to people. And especially in an era when real estate was difficult to sell, that these were out all the time. And Jewish realtors but them just as much as anybody else that they were so popular. But I love the graphic. I love the fact that it's telling you how to do it. There's a prayer inside isn't that fabulous. OK, and then fabulous, number eight. So that that combined that an image and text for unusual effect. And then finally we've got, oh God, I wish I had the image of one of my favourites from the 1920s that I bought on eBay is a picture of Jesus, which is actually from a potato chip company in Pennsylvania. And they somehow combine this image of the sacred heart of Jesus with the selling of potato chips. And it's from the Pennsylvanian German area, the Pennsylvania Dutch area. Can you tell I had a freakout? Catholic sacred art, the Pennsylvania Germans, the Amish and the Mennonites and potato chips in one image. Fantastic stuff. I don't have it for you. I'm sorry. And finally, kitsch that is ironical concerning Catholic culture. Can you get that one? Is that someone you know? So that's President Obama with ? and that was bought for me by a professor in San Francisco. What a surprise! And then finally, Nunzilla and it is in honour of the film, which recently came out. But this was out previous it's another of this irony about Catholic school and Nunzilla she's got the ruler and she also has sparks that come out of her mouth when you wind her up. So it is fiersome nun. And now this, as I said, is a very subjective assessment and I don't know what I'm going to do with this, but I'd love it visually to present these images. And I can't say that I yet have a conclusion to this paper. So, I'm going to stop and see what comments you have. And I hope you like the pictures and you like the ideas. And thank you for your attention. There we go. Peace.

Voiceover [00:45:15] This podcast is brought to you by the University of Aberdeen.