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## **Event and Mediality**

### **Andy Warhol's Jackie (*The Week That Was*)**

Michael Lüthy

“As I was coming down from my operation, I heard a television going somewhere and the words ‘Kennedy’ and ‘assassin’ and ‘shot’ over and over again. Robert Kennedy had been shot, but what was so weird was that I had no understanding that this was a *second* Kennedy assassination—I just thought that maybe after you die, they rerun things for you, like President Kennedy’s assassination. Some of the nurses were crying, and after a while, I heard things like ‘the mourners in St. Patrick’s.’ It was all so strange to me, this background of another shooting and a funeral—I couldn’t distinguish between life and death yet, anyway, and here was a person being buried on the television right in front of me.”<sup>1</sup>

Warhol’s sequence of memories concerns the intertwining of realities that happened to him after he himself became the victim of an assassination attempt on

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<sup>1</sup> Andy Warhol und Pat Hackett, *POPism. The Warhol Sixties* (New York: Harcourt, 1980), 274f (italics Warhol/Hackett).

June 3, 1968, two days before Robert Kennedy. In this sequence there are hints about certain significant aspects of the silkscreen series *Jackies*, made four years earlier, following the 'first' Kennedy assassination, that of John F. Kennedy. The memory makes it clear how real events blurred with their practically synchronous media representation, here in the form of a television running somewhere within hearing range. At the same time, a formative repeating moment for Warhol's aesthetics is manifest on the most diverse levels: first in the real, as the link between the two deadly Kennedy assassinations and a nearly fatal one for Warhol; then in the media reworking, which constantly repeats the same names and keywords; and finally in Warhol's imagination, as a supposed reproduction of the past after his own demise.

Furthermore, Warhol's memory also makes it clear how much the dramatic events around President Kennedy's assassination traumatized a whole nation. They became somehow entrenched in the American consciousness, making it possible to reactivate them at any time. The fact that the events remain unexplained in several important aspects heightens the trauma, since the assassination of the person on whom the hopes of a whole generation were pinned was followed by the state's inability to produce a coherent and believable explanation of the crime. This has bestowed a phantasmatic afterlife on the events and their protagonists, which has manifested itself in ever new research and conspiracy theories. The images produced at the time have played (and still do play) a central role in this. Their constant repetition refers both to the unresolved questions around the events and to the hope that the truth is inscribed somewhere within them and could still be wrested from them.

Warhol's *Jackies* rework a piece of history in the age of media, which also here display their Janus face, communicating the events on the one hand and contributing to their production on the other. At the same time, Warhol's images themselves are part of this media history, to which the *Jackies* make a fundamental contribution by congealing the complex events into a recurring set of a handful of images. The interpenetration of event and image, which characterizes the genre of history painting, is accomplished here in a specific way that is responsive to new media and psychological constellations. They do not so much produce a *fiction* of the events, such as in the traditional history painting, rather, they *alienate* existing third-hand visual material. In this way they deal with the events as much as they do with their media reflection. Warhol is one of the postmodern artists who form the world not from out of itself, but who make the confrontation with the world into the topic of their work. As such, his artistic achievement lies not in

the creation of new images, but in the pictorial design of existing images.<sup>2</sup> His “signature”—in quotation marks—can be seen in the alienation process. Its particularity will come forth if we recap those four days in November 1963 and then track Warhol’s reconfiguration of them step by step.

### Warhol’s Use of the Documentary Material

On Friday, November 22, 1963, President John F. Kennedy, who was campaigning through Texas, was shot to death during a midday parade through Dallas in an open car. The events follow here blow by blow. Only three hours after the attack, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson is already being sworn in on board the presidential jet in the presence of the widow Jacqueline Kennedy. Afterwards, the new president flies immediately to Washington to commit himself to Kennedy’s cabinet and to announce the continuation of his political program. Kennedy’s corpse, which was also in the presidential jet, undergoes an autopsy, and it remains controversial to this day whether this served to disclose or to cover up the truth about the particularities of the gunshots. On the very afternoon of this Friday, Lee Harvey Oswald is arrested as the probable suspect. During the next day, Kennedy’s corpse remains laid out in the East Room of the White House, where family members and loved ones as well as state officials pay their last respects. On Sunday, November 24, the coffin is brought to the Capitol in an official procession and put on display in the rotunda. Until early the next morning, thousands come to bid farewell to their president. During his transfer from police headquarters into the regional prison of Dallas, Lee Harvey Oswald, who has in no way confessed to the crime, is shot by nightclub owner Jack Ruby. On Monday, which Johnson has declared a national day of mourning, Kennedy’s coffin is returned to the White House and then brought to St. Matthew’s Cathedral for the funeral mass. The coffin is followed on foot not only by the family members and the most important state officials, but also by a large number of foreign heads of state and government. After the mass a long convoy of cars sets off for the final ceremonial act, the state burial in Arlington National Cemetery.

Warhol most likely began work on the *Jackie* series immediately after these events, and at the beginning of February 1964, only two months after the attack,

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<sup>2</sup> Warhol finished his education at the Carnegie Institute of Technology in 1949 with a *Bachelor of Fine Arts in Pictorial Design*. The object of his education, which was particularly geared toward commercial arts, was less the direct, immediate production of pictures in the classic artistic sense, but in the first place the use of pre-existing materials for new visual relationships.

the first works had already appeared, including one of the earliest, *Jackie (The Week That Was)* [fig. 1]. By November of the same year, the series had grown to over 300 works, from other multi-panel works to triptychs and diptychs and individual images, some of which are manufactured in tondo format.<sup>3</sup>

The first step in Warhol's pictorial design is formed by the decision over certain source images, which in the *Jackies* creates a mixture of the history painting and the portrait. Warhol chose eight press photos, each of which shows the wife, or rather, the widow of the president, while getting rid of everything around her head, which not only means a large part of the image, but sometimes even the focal point of the original photo, for instance Kennedy himself or his successor Johnson [fig. 2-6]: "In the . . . heads I did of Jacqueline Kennedy in the death series, it was just to show her face and the passage of time from the time the bullet struck John Kennedy to the time she buried him."<sup>4</sup> The events are seen exclusively through the mirror of Jacqueline's face; the historical narrative changes into a four-day biography. By tearing them out of the situational context, what remains of the images of the events can only be vaguely ordered. All that remains possible is to organize them into the laughing faces of the pre-assassination period and the serious, sometimes veiled faces of the time afterwards.

Warhol pasted the clippings without regard to chronology in two vertical rows, the result being similar in format and appearance to photo booth strips of four images, which he had begun to produce only shortly before as a basis for his earliest commissioned portraits [fig. 7].<sup>5</sup> The block of images was photomechanically enlarged and processed on a silk screen of 200 x 160 cm, which produced individual images in a format of 50 x 40 cm each. Warhol further had another screen produced that shows the images reversed. In the transfer of the original photos to silkscreen, the image quality is purposefully corrupted, the contrast is pushed and the graininess brought out; the corresponding instruction to the laboratory to process the images "very Black + White" is noted by Warhol on

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<sup>3</sup> See the entries and commentary in the exceptionally well-researched and documented catalog, *The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné*, eds. Georg Frei and Neil Printz, London/New York 2002ff, Vol. 2A: Paintings and Sculptures 1964-1969, Catalog numbers 937-1239, 102-237.

<sup>4</sup> Gretchen Berg, "Nothing to Lose: An Interview with Andy Warhol," *Andy Warhol. Film Factory*, ed. Michael O'Pray, London 1989, 60.

<sup>5</sup> For a comparison of the technical procedures used for the *Jackies* and the earliest commissioned portrait, *Ethel Scull 36 Times* from 1963, see *The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné*, 102f. – One could add that the *Ethel Scull* portrait, the *Jackie* series, as well as the series *Race Riots* are the only examples in Warhol's oeuvre in which different photographs were used in the same work, whereby here temporality and narration are drawn into the image, which Warhol otherwise carefully avoids. See Anne M. Wagner, "Warhol Paints History, or Race in America," in *Representations*, 55 (1996), 98-119, here 109f.

the original collage of images (cf. fig. 7). The individual canvases to be printed were primed in gold, blue, or white and also framed in the 50 x 40 cm format. The colors used give the series a celebratory, almost heralding tone, which stands out in Warhol's oeuvre. Perhaps this was a reflex to the then widely held opinion that there had never been a president and first lady who came so close to being royalty in the European sense. During the printing process, which Warhol could only accomplish together with his assistant Gerard Malanga, the large-format screen is fixed and masked except for the image to be printed. Malanga pressed the framed canvases on from below, while Warhol pushed the black printing ink through the screen. The noticeable carelessness about spreading the ink out evenly, barely cleaning the screen, and accepting crooked prints shares the same aesthetic function as the decontextualization of the clippings and their phototechnical 'corruption.' The original images lose their journalistic-documentary value and instead gain that ambivalent surface that marks the works as high art.<sup>6</sup>

*Jackie (The Week That Was)* is not only one of the earliest images in the series, but also the only work that features all sixteen images (eight original and eight reversed) and at the same time all three colors used. By exhibiting the entirety of the pictorial arsenal, which supplies all the further works in the series, it becomes a kind of reference work for the whole series. The sixteen panels therefore open up an intricate play of identity and difference. So the images are split into mirror-image variations, which are in part printed with the same, and in part with different colors. Furthermore, the same photograph is found in the lower right block, but taken from two different press publications.<sup>7</sup> What seems like a zoom onto Jacqueline Kennedy's face is due to the varied formats of the source images alone, so that the media layer lying intermediate between event and perception manifests itself here especially clearly. Warhol's process does not only allow the identical to appear as different, but inversely presents as identical what would be expected to be different. This pertains especially to the format of the individual panels, which always remain equally unaffected by what they show.

The arbitrary moment in the forming of the individual panels continues in the arrangement of the whole image.<sup>8</sup> Above all it disregards what is significant for

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<sup>6</sup> On Warhol's transfers between photojournalism and high art, or rather painting, see Vincent Lavoie, "Le dernier tabloïd. Andy Warhol," *Études photographiques*, 4 (May 1998), 101-119, esp. 108ff. Lavoie traces how Warhol brings the images of events, which have drifted into photography, back into the domain of painting, but in a way that disturbs both the current representatives of photojournalism as much as those of high art.

<sup>7</sup> On the source of the images, cf. note 12.

<sup>8</sup> The arrangement of some of the *Jackies* consisting of several panels has changed over the course of time and cannot be reconstructed in its original form. The current appearance of *Jackie (The*

any meaningful narration of a historical image: chronological order. Looking more closely we see that the arrangement of the mirrored pairs of images generates blocks of four images that each correspond to a period of time in the course of the events. The upper left of the block shows the laughing Jackie, taken at the arrival at Dallas Love Field Airport as well as shortly afterward during the drive through downtown Dallas. The chronologically subsequent panels, showing Jackie on the very same day at Johnson's swearing in aboard Air Force One, are not found next to it on the right, but diagonally displaced in the lower right. This invalidates both possible ways of reading the image, both clockwise and one that treats the images as 'lines of text.' Warhol placed the panels that would follow chronologically in the upper right corner; they capture from two slightly diverging camera perspectives the moment in which the presidential widow was first publicly seen after the attack, when she left the portico of the White House to accompany Kennedy's coffin to the Capitol building. Finally, in the lower left block, we see the veiled widow on the left side, leading the funeral procession to St. Matthew's Cathedral, and on the right, her leaving the church after the funeral mass. *Jackie (The Week That Was)* therefore features the following schema of dates:

22. 22. 24. 24.

22. 22. 24. 24.

25. 25. 22. 22.

25. 25. 22. 22.

Warhol abbreviates the event of the assassination, highly meaningful both politically and historically, not only according to the transformations of Jacqueline Kennedy's facial expressions, into a mini biopic of happiness and mourning. In a second step he also takes the temporal relations away from these already minimized faces.<sup>9</sup>

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*Week That Was*), however, is substantiated as authentic by an early Factory photo. See *The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné*, 104 and 142, fig. 35.

<sup>9</sup> A non-chronological arrangement is featured not only by *Jackie (The Week That Was)*, but by all the multi-part works in the series. This can therefore be seen as programmatic.

## The Media Transformation of Politics

The crisis triggered by the assassination was handled masterfully, at least by television. Shortly after Kennedy's death the three national broadcasting channels ABC, CBS, and NBC decided to interrupt all running and planned programming and to switch to direct broadcasting until the funeral on Monday. This gave rise to what is still the longest and most elaborate live broadcast in television history. "I don't know of anything before or after that reached that peak. . . . I was responsible for the television coverage and still coverage of the entire funeral. It was a difficult task but everybody cooperated; we had cameras from everywhere, we had cable from everywhere, and the coverage and cooperation of television was, I think, just absolutely stupendous," is how J. Leonard Reinsch, Kennedy's media advisor, described the task at hand.<sup>10</sup> The events of this weekend were transformed in the moment of their happening into a media event, the historical break of Kennedy's assassination became the high point of television history. It even includes a sensational live moment: While ABC and CBS were showing the dreary procession in front of the coffin on Sunday, NBC switched to Lee Harvey Oswald's transfer into the district prison. So the spectators of this broadcast could watch his shooting in the parking garage of the Dallas police headquarters at the moment it happened.

Television did not only document the events, but at the same time took on a previously unknown role in the political and emotional life of the nation. J. Leonard Reinsch calls this the manufacturing of a "a community of interest": "Everyone—whether they happened to be in Atlanta, Georgia, or New York City, or Keokuk, Iowa—felt as one. They joined in their grief for the slain leader and they felt they were participating in this tragic ceremony. . . . Television took them there. The sight of this riderless horse going down Pennsylvania Avenue [Kennedy's favorite horse *Black Jack*, which followed the coffin to the Capitol] was bound to tug your heart, and little John-John saluting [Kennedy's three-year-old son at the hearse's departure for the cemetery] was just world-wide heart-appeal."<sup>11</sup>

The continual flow of images actually played down the shock of the sudden political vacuum. On the one hand, the immediate and uncontested transference of power to the vice president was made visible to everyone, on the other, Jacqueline Kennedy was pushed into the limelight of media attention: as the guarantor of

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<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Francis Wheen, *Television. A History*, London 1985, 235.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

continuity as well as the figure of emotional identification, in whose mourning and courage the feelings of the nation could be reflected. If nothing new was happening on the sad stage of Washington, which was often the case in these four days, the past scenes of the weekend were shown over. The incessant repetition of images and reports became, as witnesses testify, an essential component of the memory of this time. Even through this redundancy, television helped to deal with the inconceivable.

The print media also contributed to the *media coverage*, as it is so fittingly called in English, above all what was then the most widely circulated magazine in the world, *Life*, with its nearly ten million copies. The issues from November 29 and December 6 included extensive visual material of the assassination and the memorial events, from which Warhol culled five of his eight images.<sup>12</sup> But the next issue on December 13 already marked the completed transition. The cover image shows Johnson in the Oval Office behind the presidential desk, the main article carries the title “Johnson on the Job.” How far the tacit alliance between the mass media and the government’s efforts to secure peace and security in the country went—which included officially presenting Lee Harvey Oswald as the single perpetrator while not supporting any conspiratorial setting—can be clearly seen in *Life* magazine’s coup in securing, on the day after the attack and for a large sum of money, the Super 8 film that the clothing manufacturer Abraham Zapruder had made in close vicinity to the scene of the crime and which to this day represents the main document of the course of the assassination. While the FBI confiscated the copies, *Life* purchased the original film and reprinted some individual images from it in its November 29 and December 6 issues, albeit without frame numbers, which would have attested to the order of events, and leaving out certain frames that would have been able to undermine the thesis of Oswald having acted alone.<sup>13</sup> – “Everything begins with reproduction. Always already: repositories of a meaning which was never present, whose signified presence is always reconstituted by deferral, *nachträglich*, belatedly, *supplementarily*.”<sup>14</sup> This

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<sup>12</sup> The following issues are concerned (cf. Warhol’s collage of source materials, fig. 7): Upper left image: *Life*, 55, 23 (Dec. 6, 1963), cover; lower left image: *Life*, 55, 22 (Nov. 29, 1963), p. 23; second image from the top, right: *ibid.* (Dec. 6), p. 48; third image from the top, right: *ibid.*, pp. 42f; lower right image: *ibid.* (Nov. 29), pp. 30f. – I was not able to identify the sources of the three remaining source images.

<sup>13</sup> See the thorough study by Art Simon, *Dangerous Knowledge. The JFK Assassination in Art and Film*, Philadelphia 1996, chapter 1: The Zapruder Film, 35-54. The book also contains a valuable chapter on the *Jackie* series (101-118).

<sup>14</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 211.



formulation by Jacques Derrida is perhaps the most succinct description of the relation between event and mediality as they were presented in those days.

As far as concerns the media's involvement, Kennedy's presidency came to a worthy end. He was the first president to recognize the significance and possibilities of the new medium of television and to target it specifically. Particularly during the 1960 campaign he was very clever in his use of the media. The fact that the first of the newly instigated television debates between the two leading candidates went in Kennedy's favor and indeed decided the election, is above all due to his extraordinary telegenic quality, which his opponent Nixon lacked. Thanks to information leaked from the television company CBS, this advantage could be expanded. He found out that the studio walls that they would be standing in front of during the debate were painted white and that their appearance would be lit with strong spotlights. So he appeared in a dark suit and freshly tanned from a campaign tour in California. While he presented the spectators with a 'distinguished' shape, Nixon got lost in the background in his light jacket. The glaring and hot spotlights made him, who had just been released from a hospital visit, appear waxen and unshaven, the drops of sweat appearing on his forehead gave the impression of a lack of steadfastness. The political commentators may have found that he had the better arguments, but they were undermined by this optically clear situation. A survey after the debate conducted with those who had heard it on radio showed Nixon as victor, while the estimated 74 million television spectators spoke out clearly for Kennedy. Kennedy, who was previously less well-known nationally, gained the edge over his opponent for the first time, which he would then never lose again. In light of the fact that Kennedy was elected with a majority of about 100,000 votes (34,221,463 against 34,108,582), the significance of the television debate becomes clear.<sup>15</sup> Events of this kind mark the all-encompassing changes in political culture through television, which have not only brought about a medialization of politics, but above all a personalization and emotionalization.

### The Refusal of Visibility

*Jackie (The Week That Was)* reflects this combination of politics, media, and history. "I'd been thrilled," writes Warhol in his memoirs, "having Kennedy as president; he was handsome, young, smart—but it didn't bother me that he was

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<sup>15</sup> When, *Television*, 62.

dead. What bothered me was the way the television and radio were programming everybody to feel so sad.”<sup>16</sup> Warhol’s biographer Victor Bockris reported how fascinated he was by the repeated broadcasts of Zapruder’s Super 8 film, especially by the slow-motion playback of the shooting passages.<sup>17</sup> From this perspective the title of the silkscreens also now becomes relevant. Whether Warhol found it himself has to remain open; but a label on the back side of the silkscreen attests to it coming from the year 1964. It alludes to a weekly BBC television production that in 1962/63 satirically commented on political events and their protagonists under the title *That Was The Week That Was*. The program was bought in the United States shortly before its end in Britain. The pilot show aired on NBC on November 10, 1963, the first regular broadcast followed in January 1964. On Saturday, November 23, BBC changed the weekly magazine into a (non-satirical) tribute to John F. Kennedy; this was also acquired by NBC and was already being shown in the USA on Sunday evening.<sup>18</sup> “Jackie. The Week That Was,” as the title of the silkscreen suggests, may indeed be a relation of events, but it is also always already a media product.

The individual steps in Warhol’s pictorial design prove to be equally significant. The focus on Jacqueline Kennedy’s facial expression, leaving out all other photographic information, reflects the personalization and emotionalization of the event, the blurring of the boundaries between politics and Hollywood, through which the *Jackies* find themselves somewhere between the star portraits of *Marilyn* or *Liz* on the one hand and the *Death and Disaster* series of the *Car Crashes*, *Race Riots*, or *Suicides* on the other.<sup>19</sup> The presentation of the various visual motifs in the identical format of 50 x 40 cm is in turn parallel to the transformation of the real events in the television image, whose screen has in common with Warhol’s panels that it shows the excess of the visible in a never changing grid format.

But above all, what is significant is the arrangement of the sixteen panels into a whole image. For although chronological order is disregarded, it in no way

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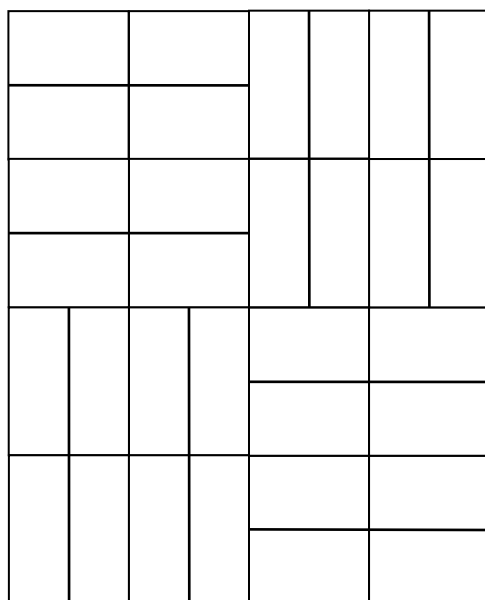
<sup>16</sup> Warhol/Hackett: *POPism*, 60. On Warhol’s immediate reaction to Kennedy’s death, see also Paul Mattick, “The Andy Warhol of Philosophy and the Philosophy of Andy Warhol,” *Critical Inquiry*, 24 (1998), 965-987, 980.

<sup>17</sup> Victor Bockris, *The Life and Death of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 142f.

<sup>18</sup> BBC archive, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/comedy/guide/articles/t/thatwastheweekth\\_7776280.shtm](http://www.bbc.co.uk/comedy/guide/articles/t/thatwastheweekth_7776280.shtm). Last viewed on October 27, 2006.

<sup>19</sup> The *Suicide* series from 1962/1963 shows people jumping off of houses, either in the moment of doing so or as dead bodies lying on the ground. The silkscreen prints of the people jumping have gained a surprising currency after the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center, since they almost appear as anticipated ‘history paintings’ of the later events. For all the media structural comparability between the attack on the Twin Towers and the Kennedy assassination, a novel feeling arose on September 11, 2001 that the real event was a repetition of something that one already knew from pictures, particularly from the relevant Hollywood productions.

proves to be without structure. As already described, every motif appears doubled as correct and reverse. The order of these pairs of panels is formed as follows:



This can also be expressed as a progression of numbers: One motif is printed twice in mirror images; two such pairs of images are joined into a block of four; finally the sixteen part entire image is formed from four such blocks. This ‘n x 2’ progression is brought into a cyclical form through the arrangement illustrated in the diagram, which has neither a definable starting point nor a singular direction. So in *Jackie (The Week That Was)* content and form, what is shown and its structuring, appear to be in competition with one another. At on pole stands the photographic reference to the events in Dallas and Washington in November 1963, at the other pole is an abstract, purely immanent visual arrangement, which recalls the non-relationality of minimal art, for instance Donald Judd’s rows of identical boxes or the progressions of stripes in Frank Stella’s *Black Paintings*, both of which come from the same period as Warhol’s early silkscreens. Coherently structured on its own terms, the visual form at the same time has a quite indifferent relation to the sequence of historical events. Laughing Jackie, mourning Jackie, Laughing Jackie, *ad infinitum*: the history that Warhol narrates is the transformation of an event into a circular visual staccato, in which content does not determine form, but the cyclical grid structure practically pushes the contents forth. Television is, according to Warhol, “just a lot of pictures, cowboys, cops,

cigarettes, kids, war, all cutting in and out of each other without stopping. Like the pictures we make.”<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, *Jackie (The Week That Was)* is far from a simple media critique, whose point would be to declare the disappearance of the real behind the shield of the media. A force is at work in the image that does not get worn away through the repetitions, but is constantly renewed. This force takes its power less from the visible than from the non-visible: from the flaws and gaps in the representational structure that activate the viewer’s power of imagination and still cannot be filled. Two aspects here seem particularly relevant. For Warhol, Jacqueline Kennedy became a star in part due to the events surrounding the assassination of her husband, that is, she became one of those mythical figures of the media age into which we can project our inner selves without recognizing anything more in them than their public image. In Warhol’s alienating, dissecting, increasing the contrast, minimizing the photographic information for the sake of the concision of a handful of strokes, Jackie becomes a figure without a base, an “apparition of a distance, however near it may be.”<sup>21</sup> Since Jackie was furthermore always already an image and her life during these four days was always already live, being and media appearance become blurred, with the result that the being of what is shown becomes renewed in full validity in every repetition of the media image. The images open up a depth for the imagination that they negate at the same time.

The second aspect of the refusal of visibility concerns the peculiarly indirect representation of death.<sup>22</sup> By merely showing Jacqueline’s face, Warhol omits the actual event that gives meaning to the change from laughing to mourning faces in the first place: Kennedy’s assassination. The circular visual structure and the almost cinematic montage force us to a constant re-enactment of the events. In the continuing jumping back and forth between before and after, however, the fatal moment is always lacking, since it is always either still to come or already past. One “repeats instead of remembering,” writes Sigmund Freud, alluding to the fact

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<sup>20</sup> Quoted in Patrick S. Smith, *Andy Warhol’s Art and Films*, Ann Arbor, 1986, 561, note 314.

<sup>21</sup> According to Walter Benjamin’s famous definition of the aura; see Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility,” *Selected Writings*, volume 3, 1935-1938, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 105.

<sup>22</sup> On the various aspects and dimensions of the centrality of death as a topic in Warhol’s oeuvre, see Thomas Crow, “Saturday Disasters: Trace and Reference in Early Warhol,” *Art in America*, 75 (1987), 128-136; Trevor Fairbrother, “Skulls,” *The Work of Andy Warhol*, ed. Gary Garrels, Seattle 1989, 93-114; Hal Foster, “Death in America,” *October*, 75 (Winter 1996), 36-59; Peggy Phelan, “Andy Warhol. Performances of *Death in America*,” *Performing the Body/Performing the Text*, eds. Amelia Jones and Andrew Stephenson, London/New York 1999, 223-236.

that repetition masks what cannot be remembered.<sup>23</sup> What is omitted, however, can return surprisingly in what is repeated. So Kennedy, the actual gravitational center of the story that the images are telling, is granted a single, utterly ghostly appearance [fig. 8]. In the space between two panels of the laughing wife, his laughing face also appears, split in the middle and then completed again through the mirror image doubling, albeit in a grotesquely distorted form. This is one of those “incidents on the surface”<sup>24</sup> that Warhol consciously provoked, but whose forms are still randomly produced. What calls forth the surface-incident here is the core of Warhol’s procedure itself: the repetition of images.

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<sup>23</sup> Sigmund Freud, “Remembering, Repeating and Working Through,” Standard Edition, vol. 12, London: Hogarth Press, 1958, 145-157, 151.

<sup>24</sup> Andy Warhol, quoted in Thierry de Duve, *Cousus de fil d’or. Beuys, Warhol, Klein, Duchamp*, Villeurbanne, 1990, 46.

## Figures

Fig. 1: *Jackie (The Week That Was)*, 1964, acrylic and silkscreen ink on linen, 203,2 x 162,6 cm, New York, collection of Samuel and Ronnie Heyman.

Fig. 2: John F. and Jacqueline Kennedy at the *Dallas Love Field Airport*, November 22, 1963. Color photograph in *Life*, 55, 22 (Nov. 29, 1963), p. 22f.

Fig. 3: Lyndon B. Johnson, flanked by his wife Lady Bird Johnson and Jacqueline Kennedy, at the swearing in ceremony aboard *Air Force One*, November 22, 1963. Black and white photograph in: *Life*, 55, 22 (Nov. 29, 1963), p. 30f.

Fig. 4: Jacqueline Kennedy, Caroline and John jr. wait at the portico of the White House to join procession to Capitol, November 24, 1963. Color photograph, cover of *Life*, 55, 23 (December 6, 1963)

Fig. 5: Jacqueline Kennedy between John F. Kennedy's brothers, Attorney General Robert Kennedy (left) and Senator Edward Kennedy (right), at the funeral procession to *St. Matthew's Cathedral*, November 25, 1963. Color photograph in: *Life*, 55, 23 (December 6, 1963), p. 42f.

Fig. 6: Jacqueline Kennedy, Rose Kennedy (the President's mother) and Syndey Lawford (daughter of the President's sister Pat) wait outside *St. Matthew's Cathedral* for procession to *Arlington National Cemetery*, November 25, 1963. Black and white photograph in: *Life*, 55, 23 (December 6, 1963), p. 48f.

Fig. 7: Original images for the *Jackie* series, 1963/64, photo collage and pencil on paper, 36,5 x 25,1 cm, Pittsburgh, The Andy Warhol Museum.

Fig. 8: *Jackie (The Week That Was)* (fig. 1), detail.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3





Fig. 4



Fig. 5

# MRS. KENNEDY'S DECISIONS SHAPED ALL THE

by DORA JANE HAMLIN



MRS. KENNEDY, center. These photographs show Mrs. Kennedy's decisions to wear black for mourning in contrast to her husband's white. From that moment on she seemed to dress in black. Mrs. Kennedy's decision to wear black for mourning in contrast to her husband's white. From that moment on she seemed to dress in black. Mrs. Kennedy's decision to wear black for mourning in contrast to her husband's white. From that moment on she seemed to dress in black.

Throughout her long and distinguished career, Mrs. Kennedy's only recorded cry of pain was the "Oh, no!" she uttered as her husband was hit. From that moment on she seemed to dress in black. Mrs. Kennedy's decision to wear black for mourning in contrast to her husband's white. From that moment on she seemed to dress in black.

On the two faces and 21 minutes right back to Washington he had time to think. First she asked that a message be sent to Bethesda Naval Hospital asking that he be ready to receive John Kennedy's body for burial. Then, as she sat in the rear compartment of the plane where the casket was carried, she decided to wear black. Mrs. Kennedy's decision to wear black for mourning in contrast to her husband's white. From that moment on she seemed to dress in black.

# SOLEMN PAGEANTRY

He had been given one, in the Speaker's office, to entertain him. Mrs. Kennedy reached up her arms and begged her to sit down, without words, she accepted for a moment to speak to some one and walked on, smiling in the cold. Then she turned all her back to the crowd and walked into the White House in her black dress. Mrs. Kennedy's decision to wear black for mourning in contrast to her husband's white. From that moment on she seemed to dress in black.

As the Kennedy family gathered for the funeral, Mrs. Kennedy's decision to wear black for mourning in contrast to her husband's white. From that moment on she seemed to dress in black. Mrs. Kennedy's decision to wear black for mourning in contrast to her husband's white. From that moment on she seemed to dress in black.



Fig. 6

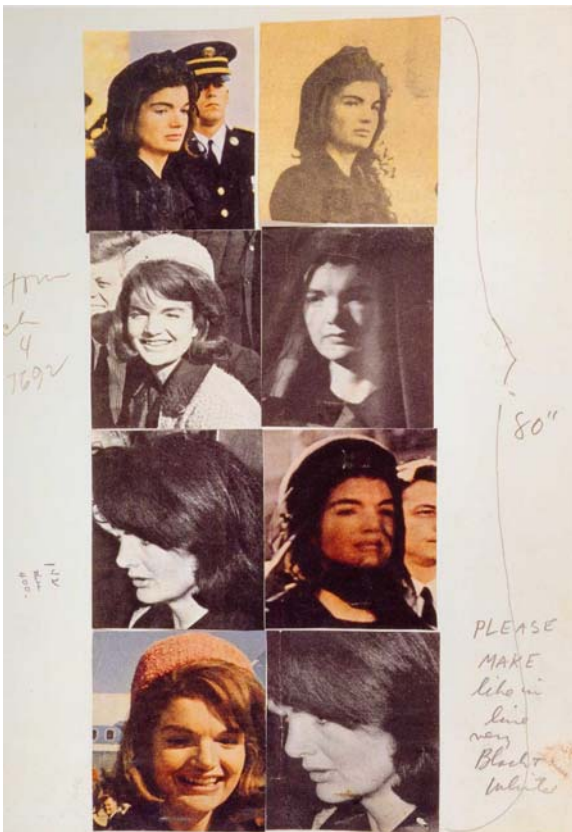


Fig. 7



Fig. 8