

Critical Food Studies

ARTISTS AND THE PRACTICE OF AGRICULTURE

**POLITICS AND AESTHETICS OF FOOD SOVEREIGNTY
IN ART SINCE 1960**

Silvia Bottinelli



Artists and the Practice of Agriculture

Artists and the Practice of Agriculture maps out examples of artistic practices that engage with the aesthetics and politics of gathering food, growing edible and medicinal plants, and interacting with non-human collaborators. In the hands of contemporary artists, farming and foraging become forms of visual and material language that convey personal and political meanings.

This book provides a critical analysis of artistic practices that model alternative food systems. It presents rich academic insights as well as 16 conversations with practicing artists. The volume addresses pressing issues, such as the interconnectedness of human and other-than-human beings, the weight of industrial agriculture, the legacy of colonialism, and the promise of place-based and embodied pedagogies. Through participatory projects, the artists discussed here reflect on the links between past histories, present challenges, and future solutions for the food sovereignty of local and networked communities.

The book is an easy-to-navigate resource for readers interested in food studies, visual and material cultures, contemporary art, ecocriticism, and the environmental humanities.

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Critical Food Studies

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The study of food has seldom been more pressing or prescient. From the intensifying globalization of food, a worldwide food crisis and the continuing inequalities of its production and consumption, to food's exploding media presence, and its growing reconnections to places and people through "alternative food movements," this series promotes critical explorations of contemporary food cultures and politics. Building on previous but disparate scholarship, its overall aims are to develop innovative and theoretical lenses and empirical material in order to contribute to—but also begin to more fully delineate—the confines and confluences of an agenda of critical food research and writing.

Of particular concern are original theoretical and empirical treatments of the materializations of food politics, meanings and representations, the shifting political economies and ecologies of food production and consumption and the growing transgressions between alternative and corporatist food networks.

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Artists and the Practice of Agriculture

Politics and Aesthetics of Food Sovereignty in Art since 1960

Silvia Bottinelli

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in Art since 1960

Silvia Bottinelli



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**To Bonnie, Danielle, Fernanda, Marco, and Roberto, whom
I will never forget.**



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Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>xi</i>
Framing the Field: An Introduction	1
<i>The Matter of Artists and the Practice of Agriculture</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>The Visual and Material Language of Agriculture as Art:</i>	
<i>The Example of Hunger by Ghada Amer</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Contributions, Scope, and Disciplinary Perspective of</i>	
<i>This Book</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Chapters' Overview, Author Positionality, and Writing</i>	
<i>Process</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Notes</i>	<i>11</i>
SECTION I	13
1 Experiences of Human and Other-Than-Human Interconnection through Agriculture in Contemporary Art	15
<i>Preparing the Terrain: Historical Contexts and</i>	
<i>Theoretical Lens</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Becoming Plant: Giuseppe Penone</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>Energy Flows and Non-Hierarchical Interactions: Bonnie</i>	
<i>Ora Sherk</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>The Healing and Spiritual Power of Agriculture: Joseph</i>	
<i>Beuys</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>Agricultural Knowledges and Economies: Global Tools and</i>	
<i>Gianfranco Baruchello</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>Fluidity against Binaries: Fritz Haeg</i>	<i>26</i>

<i>Beyond Utopia: Adaptation and Community for Kamin Lertchaiprasert and Rirkrit Tiravanija, and Artist as Family</i>	28
<i>Place-Based Knowledges and Interconnectedness in Contemporary Indigenous Art: Jolene Rickard and Elizabeth James-Perry</i>	32
Conversation with Bonnie Ora Sherk	37
Conversation with Fritz Haeg	45
Conversation with Artist as Family	56
Conversation with Jolene Rickard	64
Notes for Section I	71
SECTION II	79
2 Confronting Technology in the Field: Reimagining Agriculture for Food Sovereignty and Environmental Remediation	81
<i>Dialectics, Tautology, and Paradox: Agnes Denes</i>	81
<i>DIY Technology and the Power of Agribusiness: Critical Art Ensemble</i>	84
<i>Biopolitics, Biopiracy, and Sexuality: Ines Doujak</i>	88
<i>The Agency of Plants: Li Shan, Natalie Doonan, and Maria Thereza Alves</i>	91
<i>Climate Change Adaptation, Historical Technologies, and Gardens: The Harrisons and Nida Sinnokrot</i>	94
Conversation with Maria Thereza Alves	99
Conversation with Natalie Doonan	109
Conversation with Nida Sinnokrot	116
Notes for Section II	125

SECTION III	131
3 Colonial Legacies in Agriculture and Art: Labor, Memory, and Healing	133
<i>Extraction, Exploitation, and Colonial Trades</i>	133
<i>Honoring Diversity through Plants and Food in Australia:</i> <i>Lauren Berkowitz</i>	135
<i>Colonial Histories and Today's African Diasporas: Binta Diaw</i>	136
<i>Connecting Cuba, China, West Africa, and North America:</i> <i>Edible and Medicinal Plants in María Magdalena</i> <i>Campos-Pons's Practice</i>	142
<i>Food Security and Artistic Cross-Pollination at Yinka</i> <i>Shonibare's Ecology Green Farm in Nigeria</i>	147
<i>Abolition, Imagination, and Community Gardening in the</i> <i>United States: jackie sumell and Seitu Jones</i>	149
<i>The Politics of Urban Agriculture in Hong Kong.</i> <i>HK FARM</i>	153
Conversation with Lauren Berkowitz	157
Conversation with María Magdalena Campos-Pons	165
Conversation with jackie sumell	173
Conversation with Seitu Jones	179
Notes for Section III	187
SECTION IV	195
4 Embodied Pedagogies and Knowledge Exchange through Art Farming: Health, Nutrition, and Sense of Place	197
<i>Awareness and Social Equity through Food-based Pedagogy:</i> <i>A Theoretical Framework</i>	197
<i>Hydroponic Systems and Community Care in Response to</i> <i>the AIDS Crisis: Haha</i>	200
<i>Cycles of Learning: Sensorial and Spiritual Resilience in</i> <i>Tattfoo Tan's Experience</i>	201

Floating Ecosystems: Mary Mattingly 204
*Civic Fruit and Public Art: Participation for Fallen Fruit
and Lisa Kyung Gross* 207
*Being with Bees: Juan William Chávez's Creative Pedagogy
Against Racist Histories* 211
Queer Ecologies and Cross-Species Interaction: Eli Brown 212
Making with Fungi: Urbonas Studio and Mycelium 214
*Ever-Changing Traditions: Unlearning and Experimenting for
the Scuola delle Agriculture* 216

Conversation with Haha (Richard House, Wendy Jacob, Laurie Palmer, John Ploof)	220
Conversation with Tattfoo Tan	228
Conversation with Lisa Kyung Gross	236
Conversation with Juan William Chávez	243
Conversation with Eli Brown	249
Notes for Section IV	255
<i>Index</i>	261

Figures

0.1	Ghada Amer, <i>Hunger</i> , 2013. Earthwork. <i>Earth Matters: Land as Material and Metaphor</i> , Enid Haupt Garden, National Museum of African Art (April 22, 2013–February 23, 2014), Photo Franko Khoury, Smithsonian Institution.	2
1.1	Giuseppe Penone, <i>Zucche (Gourds)</i> , 1978–79. Bronze. Photographic documentation of the making process. Garessio, Italy. Photo © Archivio Penone.	19
1.2	Gianfranco Baruchello, <i>Nascita e Morte del Pane</i> (Bread's Birth and Death), 1981. Installation (metal cases, soil from Agricola Cornelia, bread, and tools), 40 × 60 × 14 centimeters. Courtesy Archivio Baruchello.	25
1.3	<i>The Land</i> . The Land, Sanpatong, Thailand. Courtesy The Land Foundation.	28
1.4	Elizabeth James-Perry, <i>A Garden for Boston: Raven Reshapes Boston</i> , 2021. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Photo Elizabeth James-Perry.	35
1.5	Bonnie Ora Sherk, Original Proposal for <i>Crossroads Community: The Farm</i> , 1974. Drawing/Collage.	42
1.6	Fritz Haeg, <i>Salmon Creek Farm</i> , 2014–ongoing. Aerial view. Courtesy of the artist.	51
1.7	Artist as Family, <i>Wheel of Ecological Culture</i> , 2012. Courtesy of the artists.	56
1.8	Jolene Rickard, <i>Ah-Theuh-Nyeh-Hah: The Planting Moon</i> , 2016. Tobacco, sunflowers, corn, squash, beans, soil. Cornell University, Botanical Gardens.	67
2.1	Agnes Denes, <i>Wheatfield—A Confrontation: Battery Park Landfill, Downtown Manhattan, with Agnes Denes standing in the field</i> , photographic documentation, 1982. Creative Commons.	82
2.2	Critical Art Ensemble, Beatriz da Costa and Claire Pentecost, <i>Molecular Invasion</i> , 2002. Roundup Ready corn, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Public domain. Courtesy Steve Kurtz.	86

2.3	Ines Doujak, <i>Victory Gardens</i> , 2007. Installation, documenta 12, Kassel, Germany. Courtesy of the artist.	89
2.4	Li Shan, <i>Smear</i> , 2017. Modified rice and corn. Power Station of Art. Shanghai.	91
2.5	Maria Thereza Alves, <i>Return of a Lake</i> , 2012. DOCUMENTA 13, Kassel, Germany. Photo Lüllitz. Courtesy of the artist. The installation is inspired by the community-based work of Alves, in collaboration with the Valle de Xico Community Museum, in Mexico (2009–12). A chinampa was re-created as part of the project.	102
2.6	Natalie Doonan, <i>Milkweed with Monarchs</i> , 2017. Digital Drawing and Collage. Courtesy of the artist.	111
2.7	Nida Sinnokrot, compost center with cement mixer modified by the artist to function as compost machine, 2016. <i>Sakiya</i> at the Khalil Sakakini Cultural Center in Ramallah, Palestine. Courtesy of the artist.	118
3.1	Binta Diaw, <i>Dià s p o r a</i> , 2022, detail. Artificial extension hair, soil, millet. KW Institute for Contemporary Art, 12th Berlin Biennale. Photo Silvia Bottinelli. Courtesy of the artist.	137
3.2	Eduardo Laplante, <i>Ingenio St. José de La Angosta</i> . Print published in Justo Cantero, <i>Los Ingenios: Colección de Vistas de los Principales Ingenios de Azúcar de la Isla de Cuba</i> (Habana, Cuba: Litografía de Luis Marquier, 1857). Reprint (Aranjuez, Spain: Ediciones Doce Calles, 2005), 245.	143
3.3	Free-range chicken at Yinka Shonibare's <i>Ecology Green Farm</i> , 2020–ongoing. Ikise, Ijebu Ode, Nigeria. Courtesy Yinka Shonibare Foundation.	148
3.4	<i>The HK FARMers' Almanac</i> , 2014–2015. Photo Michael Leung. Founded in April 2012, HK Farm is an organization of Hong Kong farmers, artists, and designers led by Glenn Eugen Ellingsen, Michael Leung, and Anthony Ko. After a one-year residency at Spring in 2014–15, their collaborations with local and Chinese agricultural initiatives and activists culminated in a collection of zines entitled <i>The HK FARMers' Almanac</i> .	155
3.5	Lauren Berkowitz, <i>Physic Garden</i> , 2013–14. Medicinal and edible plants, 2 × 3.45 × 0.7 meters. National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. Photo: Selina Ou. Courtesy of the artist, copyright 2020.	158
3.6	María Magdalena Campos-Pons, <i>The Herbalist's Tools</i> , 1993–94. Mixed-media installation, shown as installed at the Indianapolis Museum of Art. Courtesy of the artist.	167
3.7	jackie sumell, <i>Solitary Gardens</i> in Charlottesville, VA, 2021–22. In collaboration with the artist-run gallery and studio space Visible Records. Photo Eze Amos.	173

3.8	<i>Frogtown Park and Farm</i> , co-founded by Seitu Jones, 2013–ongoing. Detail of Harvest. St. Paul, Minnesota. Courtesy of the artist.	182
4.1	Mary Mattingly, <i>Swale</i> , 2017. Concrete Plant Park, Bronx, New York. Courtesy of the artist.	205
4.2	Fallen Fruit, <i>Public Fruit Map</i> , 2004. Silverlake, Los Angeles, California, dimensions variable. Courtesy of the artists. This is the first public fruit map created by the artist collective. Fallen Fruit is an art collaboration originally conceived in 2004 by David Burns, Matias Viegner, and Austin Young. Since 2013, David and Austin have continued the collaborative work.	209
4.3	Nomeda & Gediminas Urbonas, <i>Psychotropic House: Zooetics Pavilion of Ballardian Technologies</i> , 2015, detail. XII Baltic Triennial, CAC Vilnius. Photo: Giedrius Ilgunas. Courtesy of the artists.	215
4.4	Luigi Coppola and Free Home University, <i>Scuola di Agricoltura</i> , 2018. Castiglione d'Otranto, Puglia, Italy. Courtesy Luigi Coppola.	218
4.5	Haha, <i>Flood</i> , 1992–95. Hydroponic Garden. Rogers Park, Chicago. Courtesy John Ploof.	227
4.6	Tattfoo Tan, <i>SOS Mobile Classroom</i> , 2010. Cargo bicycle: 93" × 20" × 40". The French Institute Alliance Française's Crossing the Line Festival. Photo Tattfoo Tan.	228
4.7	Lisa Kyung Gross, Seal of <i>The Boston Tree Party</i> , 2011. Courtesy of the artist.	236
4.8	Juan William Chávez, <i>Pruitt-Igoe Bee Sanctuary</i> , 2012. A site-specific installation of beehives referencing the Pruitt-Igoe high-rise designed by architect Minoru Yamasaki. 20" × 50", 6' × 1' × 3'. Courtesy of the artist.	245
4.9	Eli Brown, <i>Transplants</i> , 2014. Inkjet-printed zine, 5.5" × 8.5". Courtesy of the artist.	251



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Framing the Field

An Introduction

The Matter of *Artists and the Practice of Agriculture*

This book reflects on artist-run farms, art installations, and performances that incorporate edible gardening, foraging, and farm animal rearing. Starting in the 1960s, the definition of art has expanded, and the boundaries of art and life have begun to blur. Being reframed as experience, art can hinge on connections with sites and communities and on the multisensorial perception of materials and environments. Within such a context, agriculture has offered opportunities to experiment with creative projects that defy classifications and shape forms of communication beyond traditional visual languages. Agriculture, for the purposes of this book, is broadly defined as food and medicine cultivation and gathering that depend on human and other-than-human interactions. Artists that engage with agriculture embrace it as a tool for both political critique and aesthetic expression. Their work deconstructs the inequality of food systems and proposes alternative agricultural models to achieve food sovereignty, in ways that echo case studies discussed by other books published in Routledge's Critical Food Studies series.¹

However, this volume presents a distinguished point of view as it elaborates on the practice of artists who approach agriculture with tools and goals that often differ from those of traditional farmers. The process of artists is often experimental and creative, and their work has conceptual and ethical motivations, which are inspired by critiques of power structures in the art world and the world in general. Artists involved with agriculture often do so to make a statement; they deconstruct current systems and imagine—enact, even—alternative ones. This book's contribution is to cast light on the experiences of artists who model diverse and creative possibilities for the present and future of agriculture in a global landscape. Also, the volume provides frameworks to decode the artistic language of agriculture-based art projects, facilitating the reader's appreciation of a plethora of case studies. Artistic practices that involve farming respond to art discourses by developing specific aesthetics. Through phenomenology and culture-specific visual and material vocabulary, artists work with agriculture to convey personal stories, react to historical, social, and environmental narratives, and embody theoretical shifts in art discourses.

2 Framing the field



Figure 0.1 Ghada Amer, *Hunger*, 2013. Earthwork. *Earth Matters: Land as Material and Metaphor*, Enid Haupt Garden, National Museum of African Art (April 22, 2013–February 23, 2014), Smithsonian Institution. Photo Franko Khoury.

The Visual and Material Language of Agriculture as Art: The Example of *Hunger* by Ghada Amer

A taste of the complex language that is embedded in edible gardening can be gathered from an analysis of the work *Hunger* by Egyptian artist Ghada Amer. *Hunger* was created on the occasion of the exhibition *Earth Matters: Land as Material and Metaphor in the Arts of Africa* at the National Museum of African Art and Smithsonian Gardens in Washington D.C. in 2013.² Sited just feet away from the USDA People's Garden and Farmer's Market, the work curates its public carefully to spread awareness on global and local food issues at multiple levels. Those who encounter the work in person range from citizens to tourists, museum visitors, consumers, and administrators who hold decisional power over agricultural policies in the United States.

In the piece, patterns made by seeds and plants form letters in the soil and read as the word "hunger." Thus, in this case—although not in every example covered by this book—the use of language literally points to verbal communication. The word "hunger" in Amer's artwork is made of rice stalks for six months and winter kale for the remainder of the year.³ Why write with edible plants on the ground? Why create an artwork so large and immersive that visitors can experience it as a garden? The answers to these questions are layered and can help unpack not only Amer's art but also some of the broader critical themes and disciplinary frameworks embedded in this volume.

Ghada Amer began using gardening as an art form in 1997. When asked to create a piece for an outdoor space, she was presented with a new challenge: her previous work mostly used embroidery to leave marks on the canvas, a technique that allowed her to draw and paint with thread. The conservation of

sewn fabrics was threatened by an outdoor display; thus, the artist had to re-think her medium. Amer considered what she appreciated most about embroidery: its connection to women's everyday life and creativity in the context of Islamic homes, as well as its ability to delineate shapes and figures like inks and paints do. Looking for a medium that could parallel embroidery in an outdoor environment, she decided to experiment with gardening, a practice that women were allowed to engage with in Muslim cultures, if only in the confined spaces of domestic yards.⁴ The story of Amer's creative process underlines how gender conditions the ways people relate to other-than-human beings—a theme that emerges in the work of several artists that choose agriculture for their practice, as in the cases of Agnes Denes, Fritz Haeg, Binta Diaw, María Magdalena Campos Pons, Lisa Kyung Gross, and Eli Brown, among others discussed in this volume. Also, Amer's work reminds us that religion can inform much of people's connection with landscapes, an awareness that impacts the work of other artists addressed here, like Kamin Lertchaiprasert and Rirkrit Tiravanija, Tattfoo Tan, and many more.

Ghada Amer has continued writing and drawing with gardens since the initial commission that made her reimagine her artistic vocabulary at the end of the 1990s, as shown by *Hunger*—which, as we have seen above, was created in 2013. In this artwork, the word “hunger” appears neatly right after the seeds are planted, but once the crops grow, the writing becomes harder to decipher. Thus, the piece illustrates how hunger can be erased by agriculture. While being very literal and experiential, the work also has a metaphorical and critical dimension, and as such it well exemplifies artworks created through agriculture in general. Amer wants to expose the public to a simple principle that some contemporary viewers might be disconnected from: food comes from the earth, and not from the supermarket. She hopes to bring urban dwellers closer to the source of what they eat, reenvisioning city–countryside dichotomies—a goal that is shared with many other artists involved with farming, including Bonnie Ora Sherk, Seitu Jones, HK FARM, Juan William Chávez, Fallen Fruit, and many more discussed in this book.⁵

Not only is *Hunger* specific to D.C. as a city environment that could be enlivened by urban agriculture, but also as a portal that opens up to national and geopolitical dynamics, which are deeply affected by food production and trade.⁶ In this sense, *Hunger* is aligned with the practice of other artists—such as Joseph Beuys, Gianfranco Baruchello, Jackie Sumell, Nida Sinnokrot, Yinka Shonibare—who see growing food as a political matter, one that responds to specific sites while being connected to broader scenarios. In particular, Amer is interested in pointing to issues that concern Egypt, the country where she was born and spent her childhood before moving to France. According to the artist, *Hunger* refers to “the fact that politicians in her native Egypt and elsewhere prey on the hungry by promising food in exchange for votes. Bags of rice and other edibles are therefore bartered for political support.”⁷ Corruption is one of the facets that pollute global dynamics in the field of agriculture, compromising access to resources and fair distribution of yields.

4 Framing the field

As environmental scholar and activist Raj Patel denounces, hunger and starvation affect farmers themselves in India—as well as Sri Lanka, China, Peru, and more—where the promise of a “Green Revolution” introduced dependence on new crop varieties, fertilizers, pesticides, and mechanization in the 1960s and 1970s.⁸ In recent decades, the production and trade of genetically modified Organisms (GMOs) by multinational corporations has intensified the dependence on expensive technologies to increase yields. As shown by science and nature writer Tim Folger, there is much debate regarding the long-term effectiveness of GMOs in the fight against world hunger.⁹ According to Patel, farmers in India have taken on debt that becomes hard to repay in order to purchase GMO seeds, pesticides, fertilizers, and more; and sometimes, farmers’ inability to pay their debt back leads them to suicide and ruins entire families and communities.¹⁰ Indian artists respond to this widespread loss through multiple mediums. For example, Dharmendra Prasad researched and reintroduced pre-industrial agricultural knowledge in the project *Carebiosphere* (2020), where traditional tools and objects are woven with straw as a demonstration of care; and Dayananda Nagaraju’s *Golden Seed* (2019) represented the story of the artist’s mother by presenting rice seeds made of gold inside a bowl made of earth. The piece denounces the harsh working conditions and economic inequality that affect women farmers, who carry most of the labor and risks in many Indian farming communities.¹¹

In addition to compromising the livelihoods of farmers, the induced reliance on monocropping and industrial agriculture has impoverished the soil and polluted watersheds, jeopardizing the health of entire ecosystems in an era in which the weight of capitalism and colonial legacies is preponderant, as encapsulated by terms like Anthropocene (Paul Crutzen), Capitalocene (Jason W. Moore), Plantationocene (Anna Tsing and Donna Haraway), and Chthulucene (Haraway).¹²

Colonial legacies and industrial extraction, corporate power, and geopolitical injustice are some of the challenges that impact global food systems today, and as such they are highlighted by many of the artists discussed in this volume, including Jolene Rickard, Elizabeth James-Perry, Critical Art Ensemble, and Maria Thereza Alves.

Environmental complexities—beyond the simplistic dichotomies of culture and nature, North and South, developed and developing, industrial and rural—can be emphasized by a reconsideration of human and other-than-human relationships, and by casting light on the agency of other-than-human elements. Amer’s *Hunger* continues to well exemplify how art participates in such discourses. The work illustrates how working with organic matter, like live crops, implies a release of control and invites collaboration with plants and non-human animals. In fact, even though Amer’s concept predicted that rice and kale would be harvested to feed participants with a community meal, ducks and birds were faster and consumed the grains and leaves before people could gather them. Amer reacted with a smile¹³—perhaps, admittedly, allowed by the fact that the artist and her community’s sustenance did not depend on

this harvest. On the one hand, the unintended outcome emphasizes the theme of the artwork, that is challenges in food access. On the other, in terms of art process and participation, Amer appreciates that other-than-human animals sculpted the piece in unplanned ways and that they took an active part in the realization of the project. The interaction of human and other-than-human beings in the formation of *Hunger* can be interpreted through the lens of post-humanist philosophies—further described in Chapter 1—which inform my readings of the practice of Giuseppe Penone, Li Shan, and Natalie Doonan, among others discussed here.

Contributions, Scope, and Disciplinary Perspective of This Book

The analysis of Ghada Amer's *Hunger* (2013) illustrates how agriculture, in the hands of artists, becomes a vehicle to convey multiple overlapping meanings and intersects a range of discourses.

In the hands of artists, farming morphs into a language that communicates personal, spiritual, symbolic, historical, and political meanings through embodied experience. It allows artists to initiate discussions on a range of pressing topics, from hunger to public health, from colonial legacies to industrial agriculture, and from class, race, and gender discrimination to community building and placemaking. In some cases, the artworks are meant for gallery and museum spaces and remain short-lived; in others, the projects exist as working farms that produce food and medicine, offering sustenance and sovereignty for particular communities.

Taken individually, farming-based artworks may seem small-scaled and relatively isolated; yet, this volume demonstrates that agriculture-based works form a constellation of practices that, if considered as a whole, have weight and impact. Not only do they affect the ecosystems and the social contexts of specific places, but they also critique extractive systems and propose alternative models of human interaction with land that emphasize care, diversity, relationality, and food sovereignty. They provide a repertoire of options and model what becomes possible when priority is given to food security, equity, interconnectedness, reparations after colonial trauma, and spiritual and environmental health. Thus, *Artists and the Practice of Agriculture* shows what can be done and is being done by artists in order to develop fairer food systems.

Because, fortunately, farming-based art projects are numerous and thriving across the world, this volume cannot claim to be exhaustive. That said, it strives to be inclusive by discussing case studies from all continents and by representing the work of artists of different races, classes, and genders. By sketching a map of contemporary agriculture-based art practices, the book offers information and examples that can help artists, activists, and farmers form productive networks and cross-pollinate ideas. Indigenous scholar Elizabeth Hoover, whose research focuses on Indigenous food sovereignty in North America, has observed that connecting with Indigenous communities internationally and learning from one another has been a challenge due to language barriers.¹⁴

Perhaps, this study can disseminate information about creative farming practices that, through visual communication, can abate some of those barriers, so that people with similar concerns and goals can inspire one another.

My research for this book stems from previous literature on similar topics that emerged from a range of disciplinary contexts. Studies on agriculture as an art form have flourished in contemporary art, architecture, and art history, especially within the discourses of participatory art, environmental art, and food-based art, as well as in cultural geography and anthropology scholarship that reflects on placemaking and counter-monuments.

The book *The Cultivated Landscape: An Exploration of Art and Agriculture*¹⁵—published by artist Judith Nasby and agricultural policy professor Craig Pearson in 2008—looks at the topic from the perspectives of environmental studies and Western history. It traces a chronological narrative that represents the history of rural landscapes and built environments by using visual materials as sources. The authors choose to focus on European and North American histories and elaborate on the specifics of traditional and industrial agricultural techniques. Similarly, the more recent volume *Rurality Re-imagined: Villagers, Farmers, Wanderers, Wild Things* (2018), edited by architect Ben Stringer, examines case studies created for Western environments, especially in Britain.¹⁶ The book mirrors the interests and approaches of landscape design practitioners, and thus the majority of the contributions included in the volume are authored by designers, architects, and artists. Their texts communicate about their own projects, with the goal of redefining what rurality is at a time of planetary urbanization.

The concept of rurality, as theorized by philosophers, anthropologists, and contemporary artists, is also examined by the anthology *The Rural*, edited by the European artist collective MyVillages.org (Kathrin Böhm, Wapke Feenstra, and Antje Schiffrers) for MIT-Whitechapel in 2019.¹⁷ The volume provides a theoretical and conceptual archive of analyses and questions the separation of urban and rural spaces. The selection of sources is made by practicing artists and reflects their involvement with community-based and collaborative projects in agricultural environments.

Other disciplinary views are allowed by the volume *Field to Palette. Dialogues on Soil and Art in the Anthropocene*, edited by visual artist and environmental planner Alexandra Toland, landscape pedology professor Jay Stratton Noller, and soil physicist and painter Gerd Wessolek. The book involves scientists and art practitioners who discuss soil as a fundamental component for food production, while also playing broader ecological, economic, and cultural roles. *Field to Palette* incorporates interviews with artists, a format that has inspired part of *Artists and the Practice of Agriculture*'s structure. The recent book *Art, Farming and Food for the Future: Transforming Agriculture*, co-written by Barbara Benish and Nathalie Blanc and published in Routledge's Explorations in Environmental Studies Series in 2022, is informed by the authors' interdisciplinary collaborations and activities across art practice, science, urban geography, and farming.¹⁸ Despite some overlap with this volume,

Benish and Blanc's research is often grounded in the analysis of European networks and elaborates on themes such as breadmaking and food processing. Combining the study of both volumes will expand the reader's understanding of the diversity and abundance of art farming approaches and examples, amplifying the overall goals and arguments made by all authors.

Case studies of artist-farmers or essays on agricultural practices are also analyzed as part of exhibition catalogs that discuss food-based art. Notable examples include *Feast: Radical Hospitality in Contemporary Art*, the catalog of a groundbreaking exhibition curated by Stephanie Smith at Chicago's Smart Museum in 2012,¹⁹ and *FOOD: Bigger Than the Plate*, the catalog of an extensive show curated by Catherine Flood and May Rosenthal Sloan at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London on display in 2019.²⁰ Scholarly essays about experiments in art and farming also appear in two projects that I co-edited with art historian Margherita d'Ayala Valva: the volume *The Taste of Art: Cooking, Food, and Counterculture in Contemporary Practices*, published in 2017²¹ and a special issue of the journal *Public Art Dialogue* on "Food and Activism in Contemporary Public Art."²² In the context of all the publications above, either curatorial or scholarly, farming is analyzed as a vehicle for the phenomenological experience of the participant, as mechanisms of shared authorship, as a way to achieve food ethics, as an expression of gender, race, and class identity, and as a platform for creative forms of activism.

Art farming is further examined in the context of Eco Art and environmental humanities publications. In these venues, authors look at artworks that employ agriculture in relation to landscape painting or as part of the genealogy of Land art and Earthworks. The scholarly book *Landscape into Eco Art*, by art historian Mark A. Cheetham, situates art farming projects like *Wheatfield—A Confrontation* by Agnes Denes—a work also analyzed here in Chapter 2—within site-specific Eco Art narratives that confront ideas of remoteness and ecological conservation. Rather than focusing on food systems, Cheetham's discussion of *Wheatfield* pays attention to the work's critique of unsustainable financial systems and frames it as an ephemeral monument. The author points out that, because this and other artworks that transform the land do not exist any longer, current publics rely on photographic documentation, among other sources, to view them. Thus, temporary site-specific artworks depend on the more traditional genre of landscape painting, with which Cheetham identifies both disruptions and continuities through a series of visual analyses as well as thanks to a thorough review of art historical literature.²³ The influential book *Earthworks and Beyond*—the first of multiple editions which was published in 1984 by garden and landscape historian John Beardsley²⁴—describes Land art as in direct continuity with landscape painting, as both involve the representation and interpretation of particular lands.

That said, the perception of landscape as a neutral, delightful, and universal expression of human imagination—as encapsulated in the landmark mid-twentieth-century publication *Landscape into Art* by Kenneth Clark²⁵—has been critiqued by scholars and artists alike starting in the late 1960s.

Deconstructions of landscape painting through critical theory, postcolonial, and new materialist lenses have thrived since the 1990s. Seminal contributions that show how landscape images hold implications of ownership, control, and colonial power include visual culture historian W.J.T. Mitchell's *Landscape and Power*²⁶ and environmental historian William Cronon's *The Trouble With Wilderness*.²⁷ In landscape painting, the artist, patron, and public contribute to the definition of the visual codes that inform the portrayal of a place, often framing it as a possession at the disposal of specific groups of humans. Landscape paintings tend to convey concepts and ideologies that sometimes reinforce worldviews and justify hierarchies of class, race, and gender. In contrast, agriculture-based artworks contribute to the disruption of the distanced views of landscape paintings by replacing apparently harmonious pictures with hands-on, immersive, and usually fatiguing interactions with particular sites.

Beyond being analyzed in relation to histories of landscape painting and earthworks, experiments in art farming are often discussed as models for sustainable living in the context of ecocriticism.²⁸ This approach is exemplified by artist and art critic Linda Weintraub's book *To Life! Eco Art in Pursuit of a Sustainable Planet* (2012), which pairs thematic essays with monographic chapters.²⁹ In addition, seed collection, plant materials, and edible gardening are included in contemporary art overviews like artist and writer Barbara Nemitz's *Trans Plant: Living Vegetation in Contemporary Art*, published in 2000,³⁰ and *Down the Garden Path: The Artist's Garden After Modernism*, the catalog of an exhibition curated by Valerie Smith at the Queen's Museum of Art.³¹

Artists and the Practice of Agriculture: Politics and Aesthetics of Food Sovereignty in Art since 1960 can be positioned at the intersection of the approaches and fields overviewed above. The book analyzes agriculture-based art by considering its roots in landscape painting, Land art, landscape design, environmental art, food-based art, and public art. It examines themes that connect examples of art farming by responding to critical questions that have emerged from research in food studies, ecocriticism, the environmental humanities, anthropology, cultural geography, history, landscape history, and more. While the volume embraces multidisciplinary frameworks, its primary field of reference is that of contemporary art history and visual studies.

Compared to other sources that address art and agriculture, *Artists and the Practice of Agriculture* does not follow a linear timeline and rather adopts a thematic and discursive approach. In addition, the study's scope goes beyond Western art historical canons. It shows the similarities that link critical questions, concerns, and priorities of artists on a global level, while contextualizing their practices within specific cultural, social, and political histories. The global scope does not aim to propose an encyclopedic overview: as stated before, this volume cannot be comprehensive, as art farms and art gardens are in constant flux, with new initiatives appearing frequently, and others decaying quickly, like the organic matter that the works are made of.

Chapters' Overview, Author Positionality, and Writing Process

Each section opens with a chapter that constructs a theoretical and art-historical narrative based on the study of primary and secondary sources and considers issues of artistic intention and reception.

Chapter 1 elaborates on agriculture-based art as a means to enact human/other-than-human relationships, which foster interconnected ontologies, embody Indigenous knowledges and spirituality, and provide tools for environmental adaptation. Chapter 2 discusses artists who critique corporate industrial science applied to food production and who propose alternatives by researching pre-industrial, do-it-yourself, and open-source technologies.

Chapter 3 reflects on the living legacy and harsh consequences of colonialism on land and people; it presents examples of artists who incorporate crops into participatory installations or run community-based farms, in order to counter the violence of slavery and its legacy in contemporary labor with models of food sovereignty and care. Finally, Chapter 4 shows how artists plant the seeds for a more just and distributed food system by using art as a pedagogical tactic to educate and learn about urban agriculture, permaculture, regenerative agriculture, beekeeping, and foraging. These artists aim to foster public health by showing the links between food cultivation, land remediation, connection to place, nutritious diets, and socio-emotional fulfillment.

I acknowledge that the analyses included in the book's chapters are inevitably impacted by my positionality as a white middle-class woman who grew up in Italy and lives in the United States, as well as by my expertise as a visual and material culture historian with a focus on contemporary food-based art, eco-criticism, and twentieth- and twenty-first-century Italian art. To offer a more diversified range of perspectives, each section of this book also includes a series of conversations with artists who address the chapter's themes, while also elaborating on additional aspects of their practice. This format allows the reader to understand multiple facets of the artists' work beyond thematic categorizations. Although language barriers affected the selection of interviewees, the inclusion of artist interviews helps present overlapping narratives and represent diverse positionalities.

The process of writing this book unfolded during a very complex period. While I have consistently studied art and agriculture since the early 2000s, research and writing toward this specific volume started in the summer of 2020, at a time of almost global quarantine at the inception of the COVID-19 pandemic. In the same months, social unrest and protests against racial and gender discrimination cast light on centuries-long crises, gaining overdue attention within academic and public discourses. Finally, national politics in the United States and elsewhere triggered awareness about the urgency of climate change and the inadequacy of existing policies to curb its effects. These intersecting crises left an important mark on the pages of this book and shaped many of its concerns. On a logistical level, the quarantine limited my opportunities to study at libraries and archives in the early stages of the writing process. Also, travel

bans did not allow me to visit some of the contemporary examples discussed in this book until the spring of 2022. Finally, COVID-19 regulations, illness, and loss slowed down the very completion of the art and agriculture projects that I had planned to analyze here. Because of all these reasons, this volume remains open-ended and should be read as a dynamic resource, the subject of which will continue to shift and grow after the book's publication. More than ever, I hope that my contribution will inspire others to continue learning, writing, and making to establish more creative, equitable, and mindful food systems.

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Notes

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- 6 On Amer's engagement with political themes through gardening, see Maura Reilly, *Ghada Amer* (New York: Gregory Miller & Co, 2010), 41.
- 7 Ibidem.
- 8 Raj Patel, *Stuffed and Starved: Markets, Power and the Hidden Battle for the World Food System* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2007), 27; 92. See also: Fabio Parasecoli, "World Developments," in *A Cultural History of Food in the Modern Age*, ed. Amy Bentley (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 206–7. According to Parasecoli, "Other countries, especially in Asia, embraced what became known as the Green Revolution. The term was coined in 1968 by William Gaud, director of the U.S. Agency for International Development, to indicate a set of measures aimed at increasing agricultural yields to eliminate hunger, by using new crop varieties, fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation, and mechanization. The efforts behind these policies, funded by developing countries, together with the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation, started with the introduction of new wheat varieties in Mexico right after the war, which turned the country into a wheat exporter in twenty years. [...] The Green Revolution, hailed by many as a success, particularly in terms of yields, often proved to be non-sustainable in the long term, causing loss of biodiversity, scarcity of water, environmental problems due to chemicals,

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