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Katherine Dolores Anania

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TRACING DIFFERENCE: DRAWING, INTIMACY AND PRIVACY IN NEW YORK STUDIO ART PRACTICE, 1963-1979

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TRACING DIFFERENCE: DRAWING, INTIMACY AND PRIVACY IN NEW YORK STUDIO ART PRACTICE, 1963-1979

by

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Dedication

To my parents. And to B. I hear you all the time.

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TRACING DIFFERENCE: DRAWING, INTIMACY AND PRIVACY IN NEW YORK STUDIO ART PRACTICE, 1963-1979

Katherine Dolores Anania, PhD

The University of Texas at Austin, 2016

Supervisor: Richard Shiff

This dissertation examines the shifting position of drawing from a private practice to a public one in experimental circles in 1960s and 1970s New York. While living and working in nearly-vacant industrial buildings in SoHo in this period, many young artists began making large line-based works that actively traced social space in some way. The works used architectural interiors, social gestures and conventions, and even the city itself as both their driving force and support. The project asks: Why, in the span of less than fifteen years, did so many art practitioners in New York incorporate drawing so extensively into their work? What did the disclosure of the act of drawing afford them? I contend that drawing offered a new counter-model for intimacy and interpersonal communication: one that did not require the maker or the viewer to be sovereign, distinct subjects, but in fact relied on their openness to external and provisional phenomena. Drawing became a discipline of intimacy, executed through athletic strategies and meant to solicit athletic modes of looking from the viewer. Three case studies form a survey of drawing and intimacy in this moment: Carolee Schneemann's drawings as related to

postwar performance and video art; Richard Tuttle's sculptural drawings as demonstrative of new artist/collector relationships that centered on the studio; and William Anastasi's engagements with drawing, chance, and urban space. In addition to clarifying the position of drawing in postwar American studio practice, my project charts the fragmentary critical fortunes of "the personal" in American life—what constituted a private act for whom, and at what cost.

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Introduction

Drawing, Beside Itself

This dissertation explores the extraordinary proliferation of line-based works and works on paper within the downtown New York avant-garde community between the beginning of the 1960s and the close of the 1970s, and argues that these works signaled a change in the ways that artists negotiated intimacy and privacy in the postwar United States. Using three case studies, I ask why and how drawing became such a central device, particularly since drawings demanded quite different things from viewers and collectors than the more sensually profligate and often physically overwhelming works of American art that were receiving attention at the time—the outsized scale of Minimalist sculpture, for instance, or the immersive environments of Happenings and Intermedia works, or the speculative geographies of Land Art, or even the highly performative, mediated remains of painting. Of the many frameworks for evaluating postwar American art, very few have been driven by the line or filament, and those that have are restricted to projects of periodization that bind the use of line to the tenets of a particular artistic movement.[1] Most of the works I examine were produced through what I call linear

[1] Caroline Jones' book *Eyesight Alone: Clement Greenberg and the Bureaucratization of the Senses*, for instance, proposes that line-based and body-based works in the 1940s and 50s be analyzed alongside each other; she argues that they were inspired by different notions of the filament, which stemmed from technological innovations and different compartmentalized ways of understanding the body. Jones' work provides a good platform for this dissertation, since I claim that line-based practices in the 1960s were in part a reaction to (to use Jones' words) "the sense-data protocols theorized by scientific philosophy." See Jones, *Eyesight Alone: Clement Greenberg and the Bureaucratization of the Senses* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). Besides Jones' periodization of this phenomenon, Anna Lovatt's work on drawing and Conceptual art provided an impetus for my project, which expands some of the questions she initiates. See Lovatt, "Ideas in Transmission: LeWitt's Wall Drawings and the Question of Medium," *Tate Papers* n14 (Autumn 2010); "Dorothea Rockburne: Intersection," *October* n122 (Fall 2007), 31-52.

practices. These were drawings whose content was almost entirely contingent on the revelation of the artist's body in space, its commingling with other bodies, and its confrontations with ideas about what bodies were supposed to do as well as what they were forbidden from doing. No scholars thus far have examined the ethical implications of these linear practices, despite the fact that these practices were used repeatedly to propose new understandings of the human body and of mutual social relations. When we consider also that the tasks of writing, recording, and speech were under intense scrutiny and revision by artists in the beginning of the period we now call postmodernism, this invites us even more urgently to re-examine the relationship between drawing, corporal experience, and communication within the powerful social changes of the long 1960s.[2] Three case studies form a survey of drawing and intimacy in this moment: Carolee Schneemann's drawings as related to postwar performance and video art; Richard Tuttle's sculptural drawings as demonstrative of new artist/collector relationships that centered on the studio; and William Anastasi's engagements with drawing, chance, and urban space.

Scope and Contents of the Project

At the heart of this project lies a core debate in the postwar period (which sometimes manifested itself as an anxiety) about the role and signification of drawing: it was understood in the twentieth century West as both an extension of the body and extension

[2] See, for instance, Roland Barthes, *Writing Degree Zero*, trans. by Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967); Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, The Medium is the Massage (New York: Penguin Books, 1967); Jacques Derrida, *De la grammatologie* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1967), translated into English by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in 1976; and Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Différence et répétition* (Paris: Presse Universitaires de France, 1968).

of the mind.[3] In other words, drawing was seen to provide a direct, unmediated record of the artist's sensations and moment-to-moment experience, which often led viewers to read drawings as emergent messages about their makers' inner lives. The art critic Clement Greenberg, in an unpublished essay on drawing in the late 1950s, acknowledged this trope and disliked it: "I have heard many arguments made before about drawing: that it's direct, spontaneous, intimate; that it gives more insight into an artist's temperament of character and his process of creation— & [sic] so on."[4] Drawing was an example of the problematic mind/body split writ large, and by the mid-twentieth century the analysis and interpretation of contemporary drawings was often confined to rote psychology or empty clichés about "modern masters", if it was discussed at all.[5] Artists like Carolee Schneemann, William Anastasi, Robert Morris, Sol LeWitt, and Richard Tuttle were skeptical of the psychoanalytically driven culture of the preceding decade and were also

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[3] As curator Bernice Rose wrote in her catalog for the 1976 exhibition *Drawing Now: 1955-1975* at the Museum of Modern Art, which helped legitimize contemporary drawing as a self-sustaining medium rather than a provisional tool, "drawing fuses together two kinds of practice in our visual tradition: the conceptual and the autographic." Rose, *Drawing Now: 1955-1975* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1976), 11. Since then, art historians have tended to rehearse and repeat this binary; Benjamin Buchloh, for instance, begins his 2006 essay on Eva Hesse by writing, "Ever since Cubism (if not before), one of the principal dialectical oppositions in the medium of drawing has been between the authentic corporeal trace and the externally established matrix." Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, "Hesse's Endgame: Facing the Diagram," in Catherine de Zegher, ed., *Eva Hesse Drawing* (New York: The Drawing Center and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 117.

[4] Clement Greenberg, manuscript for essay "Drawing," Clement Greenberg papers, Getty Research Institute. My thanks goes to Brian Winkenweder for bringing this essay to my attention.

[5] Museums like the Metropolitan Museum of Art published compilations of "master drawings" that functioned like a greatest hits album for modern and early modern works on paper. Even the earlier exhibitions of drawings followed this model, such as the 1964 *American Drawings* exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum (which, according to director Thomas Messer's essay, had been inspired by two 1962 exhibitions of nineteenth century drawings and twentieth century master drawings, respectively) and the 1973 *American Drawings* exhibition at the Whitney Museum of American Art followed this model. See Lawrence Alloway, ed., *American Drawings* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1964), and Elke M. Solomon, ed., American Drawings 1963-1979 (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1973).

witnessing the devastations wrought by the U.S. government and the emerging police state. For them, the drawing had within it the potential to inspire close looking; in its most problematic form, however, this close looking could verge on surveillance.[6] Robert Morris put this into high relief in a 1969 essay called "On Drawing" when he wrote, "Scratches made while on the train, in a plane, a hangover from the High Renaissance where every telephone number and coffee stain (by the right person) revealed the inner or under or deeper or less disguised and more naked creative nerve..."[7] We can infer from Morris' sarcastic assessment that drawing's *partialness* beckoned and compelled the viewer, offering a chance to construct an entire psychological and metaphysical universe from a single fragment. To artists, drawing's function was practical and full of potentialities; to those studying the afterlife of the object, their function was forensic.

I build my analysis around the re-evaluation of intimacy because I believe that this is a little-studied component of much larger public conversations in the long 1960s. The literary theorist Lauren Berlant's understanding of intimacy is particularly apt here: "To intimate is to communicate with the sparest of signs and gestures, and at its root intimacy has the quality of eloquence and brevity."[8] It indicates that intimacy is about conditioning—in order to feel that we are being intimately communicated with, we must expect and desire certain brief signifiers and endow those signifiers with specific charges. But gestural sparseness and brevity were often castigated in the 1960s in the wake of

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6 Robert Morris, "On Drawing," in John Russell and Suzi Gablik, eds., *Pop Art Redefined* (New York: Praeger, 1969), 94.
7 Ibid., 95.
8 Lauren Berlant, "Intimacy: A Special Issue," in Lauren Berlant, ed., *Intimacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 7.

hyper-spectacularized, "masculine" gestural painting. The formal and scalar sparseness of the works in Richard Tuttle's 1975 retrospective exhibition (fig. 1.1), for instance, caused the art critic Hilton Kramer to pronounce darkly, "To Mies van der Rohe's famous dictum that less is more, the art of Richard Tuttle offers definitive refutation… One is tempted to say that, so far as art is concerned, less has never been less than this."[9] It is what prompted dance critic Rachel Owens to call Carolee Schneemann's gleefully uninhibited performance moves on ropes "as natural and effortless as that of monkeys".[10] The gesture, when scrutinized, had the potential to dismantle various entrenched notions about power and gender. Drawing, particularly in its expanded forms that proliferated during the first half of the 1960s, allowed artists to re-script certain calcified modes of social behavior… including the performance of gender and identity. As a consequence, each of my chapters deals in some part with sex and gender distinctions in 1960s and 70s American visual culture.

I also argue for drawing as an arena within which to explore the rhetoric of private space and communication. A work on paper made private space (and private experience) portable. Drawings could be done on light and flexible materials, and by the end of the 1960s, could just as easily be done on the wall. This was especially important for New York City artists, for whom private and public spaces were constantly changing from moment to moment. On one hand, they lived in SoHo, where artists elided social

[9] Hilton Kramer, "Tuttle's Art on Displajy at Whitney," *New York Times*, 12 September 1975: 21.
[10] Rachel Owens, "Water Light/Water Needle: A Carolee Schneemann Kinetic Theater Happening," *East Village Observer*, March 14, 1966.

boundaries through free sex and parties. On the other hand, public space was becoming increasingly governed, shaped by fears of nuclear proliferation and the threat of difference. Jane Crawford even remembers that artists had to be ready to re-arrange their living spaces at any time, as most of them were living illegally in SoHo's industrial lofts: "A lot of us had hot plates we could unplug and mattresses that could be hidden by covering them with artwork or other stuff, in case a building inspector showed up at the door. There was kind of an underground telephone warning system if a building inspector was seen in the neighborhood, giving us time to camouflage our living space."[11] It makes sense, then, that something rhetorically freighted as private would signify the breakdown of the boundaries of bourgeois private life. Thus the reverberations of this medium would come to be broadly and deeply felt.

Drawings and their institutional Status

I begin all three chapters with a relatively museologically traditional definition of the term *drawing*. At the beginning of the 1960s when this dissertation's narrative starts, the most common instance of drawing was when an artist applied some implement to paper. Drawing, thus circumscribed, was categorized within academic and artistic communities alongside prints of all kinds as "works on paper" and classified as a minor art, ranked well below painting and sculpture in most museums.[12] When Alfred Barr compiled his

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[11] "All Work, All Play: In conversation with Laurie Anderson, Trisha Brown, Jane Crawford, RoseLee Goldberg, Alanna Heiss and Lydia Lee," in Lydia Yee, ed., *Laurie Anderson, Trisha Brown, Gordon Matta-Clark: pioneers of the downtown scene, New York 1970s* (Munich and New York: Prestel, 2011), 76.

[12] For context, we should consider art historian Carmen Bambach's take on the classification and study of drawings circa 1903 (when Bernard Berenson published his groundbreaking book *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters Classified, Criticized and Studied as Documents in the History and Appreciation of Tuscan Art*): "Drawings were rarely the subject of orderly publications and, certainly during the early part

book *Painting and Sculpture in the Museum of Modern Art 1929-1967,* no distinct category existed for drawings. Even artists like Claes Oldenburg and Ed Ruscha, for whom drawings or working objects became central to their *oeuvres*, merited entries only for painting and sculpture. To denote MoMA's accessions of drawing, Barr simply noted "Also, drawings and a print" or "Also, a film on the artist in the Study Collection" in the entry for the catalogued finished works.[13] In fact, it seems that performance emerged roughly coeval with drawing as a collecting category.[14] For instance, in 1965 and 66 the Museum of Modern Art accessioned several paper works that had been executed by the artist James Lee Byars during a performance (fig. 1.2). They consisted of ink lines on paper, but their descriptions—not to mention the work's alternate title, *The Performable*

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of Berenson's career, could only be identified in museums or libraries through various manuscript catalogs, in boxes or portfolios under any given artist's name, in bindings or albums of pasted material, or in boxes of mixed anonymous drawings." My project attempts to sustain this sense of disorder and dispersal. See Bambach, "Bernard Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters Classified, Criticized and Studied as Documents in the History and Appreciation of Tuscan Art, with a Copious Catalog Raisonné, 1903*," in Richard Shone and John-Paul Stonnard, eds., *The Books that Shaped Art History from Gombrich and Greenberg to Alpers and Krauss* (London: Thames & Hudson, Ltd., 2013), 34.

[13] Alfred Barr, ed., *Painting and Sculpture at the Museum of Modern Art, 1929-1967* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 540, 541. Barr's frequent mention of the "Study Collection" compels us to think further about the evolving position of works on paper as a category. The study collection was composed of works that were relevant to scholarly research but were not exhibitable as works of art. It was clear that by 1967, drawings were not classified as works of art, but most of them did not go into the Study Collection either. Indeed, many of the drawings I analyze in this dissertation actively resist such classifications. There was no question that many of the artists in this dissertation considered their drawings central to their practice—works that in some cases were antithetical to "scholarly research" and all of academic art history in fact. For more on this topic, a panel called "Distinctive Looking: Style and Surveillance in Art History" will be held at the 2016 annual Southeastern College Art Conference in Roanoke, VA, organized by the author.

[14] The MoMA's (as well as other New York institutions') approach to collecting performance works is worth examining, but beyond the scope of this dissertation. MoMA de-accessioned its collection of theater and dance-related work in 1956; most of it was donated to the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. The early- to mid-1960s saw many objects like those in Claes Oldenburg's Store that were sculptures sold during a performance or were part of programs that included performance. It would be worthwhile to examine closely the events at museum collections changes in curatorial staff up to 1972, when fully 10 percent of reviews and coverage in Artforum was devoted to artists with a substantial drawing practice.

Sculpture—resolutely denoted sculpture: "a 50' square, divided into thirty-two parallel strips, attached by paper hinges to a single strip at right angles, forming a comb shape; each strip reverse-folds in 18" squares, the whole object stacking into an 18" cube." Their status as robust, fully formed *objects* likely legitimized them in the eyes of Barr and the curatorial team, but Byars' works exuberantly seize on the meticulous and sometimes playful relationship between Japanese paper and markmaking: *The Performable Sculpture* is an experiment with condensing and broadening the surfaces of human engagement and expression, and shows how paper works helped to slowly erode the distinctions between genres in contemporary art museums of the period. The Museum of Modern Art collected explicitly in this capacity only when curator Bernice Rose was hired in 1974. The critic Robert Pincus-Witten wrote in 1966, "Drawing shows are only barrel-scrapings, thrown up before a 'real' exhibition of painting and sculpture arrives," indicating a universal sense of the hierarchy of media in the New York art world at large.[15]

Methodology and theoretical framework

My research relies principally on artist interviews and archival study, but my project also concedes that drawings are archivally confusing. They are not always named as works of art until a gallery or executor decides them to be; some drawings (and this was frequently the case with my dissertation subjects) were offered for sale as drawings but then lost or shelved in artists' files when not sold. I therefore concentrate on the

[15] Robert Pincus-Witten, "In the Galleries," *Arts Magazine* 41 (March 1967), 114.

drawing's double agenthood; its sense of elision both as an act and as an object, and as a piece of archival ephemera. It is something that, as my title suggests, is constantly tracing its own difference.

This raises questions as to what looking processes should be brought to bear on the drawing. In keeping with art historical protocols, I use close looking, and most of my research has taken place in archives and drawing study centers. These spaces are responsible for preserving objects, and predictably, their settings in air conditioned archived boxes or in museum frames intervene on or actively erase some of the original contexts for these drawings.[16] The most striking discovery I made is that the drawing almost always ushers forth a fragmentary relation, a fragment, an interruption, and that it is often taken from a large group of other similar drawings (literally torn from its binding). And one cannot help but consider the institutional fiats that help a drawing to become a sanctioned, canonized work of art. The 1960s marked the moment at which artists began showing single drawings as finished works of art, but the process by which these were selected was quite complicated. This has led me to carry out and theorize an anthropological reading of drawings, one inspired by Greg Urban's assertion that a thing is always haunted by its journey through the world: "The ghost-like journey of our thing (or is it things?) takes place along pathways, social pathways that it itself lays down."[17]

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[16] This phenomenon resembles Carolyn Steedman's diaristic narratives about her own research, in which she discusses not only the physical conditions of the objects she studies, but the effects of the archive on her own body and sense of time. See Carolyn Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (Rutgers University Press, 2002).

[17] Greg Urban, *Metaculture: How Culture Moves Through the World* (University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 1.

So the social circuitry of drawings (which are often institutional) are thus considered here. So much leaks in: Carolee Schneemann's archive, for instance (fig. 1.3), was full of different kinds of "activated" works on paper, like scripts she wrote to herself, drawings on top of the scripts, and the like. These drawings bleed onto different modes of visualization, blurring the lines between *archival object* and the more institutionally-weighty *work on paper*.[18] I examine the social pathways of the drawing, then, in order to determine how image and material worked together (with)in the object. So the drawing, for me, becomes not just an exercise in picture-making, but also a performance of how people approached the making and transposition of images in an increasingly mediated world.

Drawing's marginal status in the postwar United States set the stage for a small, emerging market for drafts, works on paper, studio remains, and other process-based works. The social dynamics of this market are extremely interesting. At first glance they are an example of what art historian Benjamin H. D. Buchloh calls "culture industry"—attempts by institutions to encircle and govern all aspects of artistic production, regardless of how strongly an artist's work may seem to resist the circulation of capital.[19] Several gallerists such as Virginia Dwan began circulating drawings to make extra money; few of them were sold, and when they were, they went mostly to well-known

[18] Curator Liza Kirwin has done extensive work on this question, including her exhibitions (and accompanying books) like *Lists: To-dos, Illustrated Inventories, Collected Thoughts, and Other Artists' Enumerations from the Collections of the Smithsonian Museum* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 2010); and *More than Words: Illustrated Letters from the Smithsonian's Archives of American Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 2015).
[19] Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, *The Neo-Avant Garde and Culture Industry: Essays on European and American Art from 1955 to 1975* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003.

members of the downtown New York community who did not have the financial means to buy a painting or sculpture. Virginia Dwan's yearly fundraising exhibitions, the proceeds from which benefited performance artists and alternative spaces, were another source of drawings.[20] In the late 1960s, Jock Truman at the Betty Parsons Gallery began promoting prints and other paper multiples by Richard Tuttle and other artists for the express purpose of expanding the community of buyers to include those of modest means.[21] The cultural critic Rosalind Constable archly identified this trend in one of her weekly columns: "Those of you who cannot afford a Rauschenberg or Johns are in luck. Several members of the New York avant-garde have decided to create prints which can be bought for a fraction of the price of a painting or sculpture."[22] Since they were lower on the hierarchy of media, drawings' marginal and plentiful status meant they could be shared between friends and middle-class collectors (sometimes traded for little or no

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[20] William Anastasi and other artists recall being asked to donate work to such exhibitions on the premise that the funds raised would funnel back into the local arts community. Anastasi doubts that the drawing he donated in 1966 was ever sold, and the inventory remained with her until the 1980s. See William Anastasi, *Conversations with Cage* (Philadelphia: Sloat Foundation, 2010), 2; and interview with the author, 13 February 2013. After 1968, Dwan began holding regular "language shows" in her space, and Seth Siegelaub's exhibitions of conceptual art became a fixture in the community as well; both of these changes accustomed viewers to the spare material presence of ephemeral, multiple, and language-based works. Siegelaub reflected on this change in 1973 when he said, "The economic aspect of conceptual art is perhaps the most interesting. From the moment when ownership of the work did not give its owner the great advantage of control over the work acquired, this art was implicated in turning back on the question of the value of its private appropriation. How can a collector possess an idea? But, in fact, this question was generally "superseded," the artist gave his signature, or a certificate of ownership, even in publicity on behalf of the reputation of the purchaser. Unhappily, the economic pattern associated with conceptual art is remarkably similar to that of other artistic movements: to purchase a unique work cheap and resell it at a high price. In short, speculation." See Alexander Alberro and Blake Stimson, eds. *Conceptual Art: A Critical Anthology*, 1999. Reprint (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2000), 289.

[21] Dorothy Vogel notes this in Ruth E. Fine, "Interview with Herb and Dorothy Vogel," in *From Process to Conceptualism: The Collection of Herb and Dorothy Vogel* (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 1999), 92.

[22] Rosalind Constable, "Rosie's Bugle," bi-weekly cultural report, 23 October 1966. Rosalind Constable papers, Menil Collection archives.

money, sometimes bought, sometimes coerced), and helped form an alternative economy in the SoHo scene. So in addition to acting as critical terrain through which questions about the limits of the private individual were worked out, drawings were a social medium that shifted the terms of collecting, commodity-production, and ownership in this period.

A few exhibitions at other institutions provided some trans-historical conversation between old master works and the emerging strategies in the 1960s. The exhibition *The Great Age of Fresco: Giotto to Pontormo* debuted at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1970. This exhibition consisted of seventy original frescoes and fresco fragments, some of them monumental size, and the removal of their pigmented surfaces had only recently been made possible through new technologies developed in the wake of the Florentine flood of 1966.[23] The flood had destroyed many Italian treasures and was treated as a crisis in cultural history and preservation; the curators played up the partial and precious nature of the frescoes, highlighting their nomadism and potentiality. Many frescoes were displayed with their sinopia intact, allowing the viewer to see distinctions between their sketched and finished versions. The exhibition emphasized not only the frescoes' material mobility (many were in partial condition or contained fragments), but also their conceptual portability—the drawings, scored and laid bare, were meant to resurrect the anterior states through which artists cycled before arriving at their craft-intensive final

[23] The show's technological underpinnings were made clear in its exhibition catalog, and its reviewers also noted this. See Millard Meiss, ed., *The Great Age of Fresco: Discoveries, Recoveries, and Survivals* (New York: G. Braziller in association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970), 13-16.

product, but in fact the sinopia gave onlookers a sense that the art object had not just a past iteration but also countless future possibilities.

This networked notion of repeating gestures and conversational making presents a methodological problem for the art historian. Bound into these networks, art presents itself as always emerging from the arc of its production, which makes monographic art history impossible. I have tried to let my chapters, which are three case studies, reflect that. Chapter 1 uses the vast corpus of Carolee Schneemann's drawings as a primer on exploring the relation between performance art and behavior. Chapter 2 pays close attention to the new human-environment relations that William Anastasi's serial drawings proposed in the 1960s and 70s production, and also attends to Anastasi's rich creative collaboration with John Cage. Chapter 3 presents such extensive evidence of a relational and communally-based understanding of Richard Tuttle's work (even as I unpack Tuttle's complex use of evasion and code-switching) that it undoes the notion that his sculptures and drawings are inert objects, suggesting an alternative ontology for the works produced collaboratively in the 60s and 70s.

State of the Research

Several exhibitions in the 1970s helped galvanize emerging theories of drawing. Rosalind Krauss curated *Line as Language: Six Artists Draw* at the Princeton University Art Museum in 1974.[24] Krauss focused on expanded drawings that were often installed on the floor, or executed on walls, or relied on wire and other everyday materials. By

[24] Rosalind Krauss, *Line as Language: Six Artists Draw* (Princeton University Art Gallery, 1974).

using dense materials or architecture to make drawings, Krauss argued that these artists were challenging the link between the artist's subject-position and his or her artistic output that had remained in place throughout modernity, established by Euro-American narratives of art history. These artists, she argued, sought respite from "the protocol language of the private self," instead letting their processes or materials speak for themselves. Thus "disengaging drawing… from expression, and thus from privacy, became of paramount concern."[25] The sizeable exhibition *Drawing Now* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, organized in 1976 by Bernice Rose, extended beyond the museum's fourth-floor space (traditionally reserved for drawings) for the first time. Bernice Rose made reference to the modernist belief that a drawing was "*feeling* organizing itself into a work."[26]

In her essay "Some Kind of Duration: The Temporality of Drawing as Process Art," the art historian Pamela Lee tells us that drawing's primary appeal was that it was based on chance and contingency, removing the viewer from narrative time.[27] We do not know what will happen when we sit down to make a drawing, which envelops us in an amorphous state The curator Cornelia Butler, who is credited for expanding the historical ontology of line by organizing a major exhibition on artists' uses of line in the last hundred years, posits in her writing that the artist is a kind of channeler of meaning.[28]

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[25] Rosalind Krauss, *Line as Language: Six Artists Draw* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Art Museum, 1974) 13.
[26] Bernice Rose, Drawing Now: 1955-1975, 17.
[27] Pamela Lee, "Some Kind of Duration: The Temporality of Drawing as Process Art", in *Afterimage: Drawing Through Process* (exh. cat., Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 1999), 25.
[28] Cornelia Butler, "Kinaesthetic Drawing," in Madeleine Grynsztejn, ed., *The Art of Richard Tuttle* (San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 2005), 181.

Many of these writers make Marcel Duchamp's work central to line-based practices in the 1960s—correctly, I believe, in many cases. In an interview with James Johnson Sweeney in 1956, Duchamp posited a new paradigm for markmaking—"a completely dry drawing method" based on mechanical drawing, purged of the expressive tendencies of earlier art movements.[29] For many artists in the 1960s, this "dry drawing" became a method to expose the irredeemable wetness and messiness of gesture. In his essay "Hesse's Endgame: Facing the Diagram," the art historian Benjamin Buchloh proposed that postwar American artists like Eva Hesse made drawings because they stood in the wake of several established approaches to line and drawing that were all derived from utopian modernisms: Abstract Expressionism's sketchy, free-flowing line as unfettered expression of the self, for example; Orphic Cubism's filaments or currents that traced universal cosmic energies; or Suprematism's geometric projections that promised a unified and socially egalitarian future. However, 1960s artists looked to a different linear paradigm: Duchamp's anti-expressive works in 1913 and 1914 that used charts, cracks and string in the earlier half of the twentieth century. This set in motion a *quotation* of the diagram, Buchloh argues, and thus a quotation of order. This quotation was an empty rehearsal of Fordist efficiency and cosmic unity that could negate its implications.[30] Both Max Kozloff and Buchloh also describe a fundamentally negational use of drawing in the

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[29] The full quotation is "I couldn't go into the haphazard drawing or the paintings, the splashing of the paint. I wanted to go back to a completely *dry* drawing, a *dry* conception of art. I was beginning to appreciate the value of the exactness, the precision, and the importance of chance… And the mechanical drawing for me was the best form for that dry conception of art." Marcel Duchamp, Interview with James Johnson Sweeney, 1956, Michel Sanouillet, ed., *The Writings of Marcel Duchamp* (Da Capo Press, 1973), 130.

[30] Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, "Hesse's Endgame: Facing the Diagram," 117-119.

1960s, which agrees with art historian James Meyer's categorization of postwar American artists like Donald Judd, Dan Flavin, and Carl Andre as "negational in the Adornian sense". All these frameworks describe "the negative art work [which] inscribes within its own form a social logic that it at once affirms and resists."[31] This negation is also in line with the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's idea of negation, which Hegel argues is inherently positive—when we make a negation of some philosophical concept, we turn a static concept into something fluid and adaptable, and make further space for contradictions in the future.[32]

Buchloh, Meyer, and Hegel's respective arguments are valuable, especially when we consider work by artists like Sol LeWitt, who was part of this circle in the 1960s and made drawings that were essentially only instructions to be carried out by others. (An example is LeWitt's 1970 *Wall Drawing 51* (fig. 1.4), which consists of a sheet of paper bearing the instructions "All architectural points connected by straight lines."[33] These

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[31] Briony Fer, *The Infinite Line: Re-Making Art After Modernism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 66.

[32] Hegel's formulation is especially germane here because he argued that reality was always bound up in its own negation—an ethos that Tuttle, Anastasi and other artists explored in the wake of Abstract Expressionism. While Hegel's sweeping declarations about the end of art are not historically useful for the 1960s, many drawings examined in this dissertation harness Hegelian negation—they use the trace of action as a way of negating the primacy of authorship while still leaving the remains of intent. The Abstract Expressionists themselves, in fact, used the painterly mark to postulate the doubt of a fixed self and stable authorship. James Lawrence explores this legacy in "Abdication in an Artistic Democracy: Meaning in the work of Barnett Newman and Donald Judd, 1950 – 1970," PhD dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2006; as does Richard Shiff in *Doubt* (New York: Routledge, 2007). For Hegel, see G. W. F. Hegel, *Hegel's Science of Logic* (Crow's Nest, AUS: Allen & Unwin, 1969), 201-202, 208-212.

[33] See LeWitt's instructions, now held at the LeWitt Collection in Chester, Connecticut. Previous drawings, such as *Wall Drawing 46* of May 1970, included straightforward instructions like "Vertical lines, not straight, not touching, covering the wall evenly," that incorporated and accounted for the variations in different hands executing this lines. In this way, LeWitt leans more toward the Hegelian formulation of negation, in which established logics like individual authorship are negated in order to create a new, more flexible system. This was partly due to the influence of his friend Eva Hesse, who died two days before LeWitt created *Wall Drawing 46.* Hesse and LeWitt's relationship is well-outlined in Veronica Roberts,

instructions were executed in different spaces but always by different hands. Thus the artist ensured that he would not need to make the drawings himself, performing the idea that drawing is always mediated by materials and social forces.)[34] Anastasi and Tuttle, whom I analyze here in terms of their skeptical stances on masculinity and disclosure, certainly used drawing and markmaking in negational ways, letting it stand for the remains of selfhood in a Cold War America that was coming under increasingly close scrutiny. But although Buchloh argues that this negational impulse helped mobilize drawing to become such a strong medium in the 1960s, I believe the negational effects of abstract drawing in this period need to be read through the (still very strong) conflicting conversation around public and private space. I believe that linear structures not only offered artists a way out of the well-rehearsed formulae of expression and utopia, but also offered a way to fuse entirely different qualities of space and time into the same occasion; namely, the modernist unity of the private and the chaotic. Consistency—which is what

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"Coverging Lines: Eva Hesse and Sol LeWitt," in Roberts, ed., *Converging Lines: Eva Hesse and Sol LeWitt* (Austin, TX; Blanton Museum of Art and Yale University, 2014), 12-25.

[34] Anna Lovatt takes up the idea of mediation in LeWitt's drawings in her article "Ideas in Transmission: LeWitt's Wall Drawings and the Question of Medium", which makes an excellent case for LeWitt's skepticism of individual authorial power—something that agrees very much with LeWitt's archival record, and affirms his distrust of systems of power and value in general. However, the fact that LeWitt sold, bought, and traded his friends' drawings when they needed money indicates an interesting seizure of the very systems that LeWitt distrusted. I take this up further in Chapter 3 when I discuss Richard Tuttle's relationship with collectors Herbert and Dorothy Vogel, arguing that drawing created a space in which to re-orient artist-collector power relations and turn them into a space of creative potentiality. See Lovatt, "Ideas in Transmission: LeWitt's Wall Drawings and the Question of Medium," *Tate Papers* n14 (Autumn 2010). Additionally, when asked about the development of his drawing practice from his early works on paper to the wall drawings, LeWitt said, "Well, I never really made very much of [the early drawings]. I used to just give them away to friends. I never really wanted to do them as a major kind of work. I wanted them to be another kind of drawing. They do make lines and rips also. But for instance Dorothea Rockburne makes a major statement out of that, and I think they are very good. But what I do, I want to keep this a private kind of thing; that's why I want them to be sold as cheaply as possible." Paul Cummings and Sol LeWitt, Oral History Interview with Sol LeWitt, July 15, 1974, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, unpaginated.

Buchloh saw "quoted" in Hesse's pseudo-diagrammatic works of the 1960s, and what Meyer sensed in the work of Judd, Flavin, and Andre—is not closure.

Buchloh is correct, though, in surmising that "[t]raditional drawing had not only displayed artisanal and artistic skills—virtuosity and mastery—it had also always enunciated a positive disposition toward the world: planning, projecting, recording, and sublimating have served as drawing's primary purposes and modi operandi…But what would be the iconography and the gesture of a drawing that corresponded to the anti-aesthetic reality?"[35] Many of the works I discuss in this dissertation used drawing as a mode of personal empowerment or private space-making even as they troubled, disintegrated, or shut down the ways in which those things had been previously circumscribed.

According to the art historian Briony Fer, drawing was a component of the widespread turn toward repetition in the art of the 1960s. She centers her argument around seriality, naming Mel Bochner's essay "The Serial Attitude" as an ordering text and incorporating both American and European artists into her argument.[36] This inclusive view is particularly valuable, since my own research has revealed a surfeit of trans-atlantic dialogue between artists, dealers, poets, and performers, which facilitated the spread of tactics that then took on different meanings within different cultural contexts.[37]

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[35] Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, "Hesse's Endgame: Facing the Diagram," in Catherine de Zegher, ed., *Eva Hesse Drawing* (New York: The Drawing Center and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 124.
[36] Briony Fer, *The Infinite Line*, 80.
[37] For instance, Carolee Schneemann's letters to Jean-Jacques Level during the production of her performance *Meat Joy* in 1963 and 64 helped solidify her perceived distinctions between how Americans and Europeans approached the body, particularly the nude body and the body in motion. See *Correspondence Course: An Epistolary History of Carolee Schneemann and Her Circle* (Durham, NC:

She also acknowledges the sustained presence of painting in the history of 1960s and 70s art, and as my dissertation affirms, painting was definitively fractured and re-constituted to address new concerns of the 1960s like social ethics and cybernetics.[38] But her narrative minimizes the body, which is a primary means by which artists were re-thinking painting in this period. Barnett Newman, for instance, whom Fer mentions very little in *The Infinite Line*, argued frequently that his paintings were sovereign subjects and therefore their presence in front of the viewer produced a similar sense of bodily and intellectual sovereignty.[39] Allan Kaprow and Carolee Schneemann extended this principle with their early works that used hanging painted surfaces to divide the exhibition space (figs. 1.5 and 1.6), creating a "crowd" of objects among which the viewer could walk—it was spontaneous mobile architecture that doubled as surrogate bodies. This trope was not just exclusive to New York art, of course; in the same three years the Brazilian artist Hélio Oiticica would create his first *Tropicalia* installations in Rio de Janeiro, which used planes of color to organize crowds in the gallery space and were inspired by the Russian Constructivists' and Brazilian neo-constructivists' planar approach to color.[40] This focus

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Duke University Press, 2010), 130-145. See also the relationship between Tuttle and his Düsseldorf gallerist Alfred Schmela, who helped introduce Tuttle to European viewers by showing him alongside artists such as Joseph Beuys and the Zero Group, outlined in Wendelberger, Axel, and Elfriede Ruhrberg, eds. *Alfred Schmela: Galerist, Wegbereiter der Avantgarde.* (Cologne:Wienand, 1996), 13-17.

[38] Briony Fer, *The Infinite Line: Re-making Art After Modernism*, 28-30.

[39] See Richard Shiff, ed., *Barnett Newman: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Barnett Newman Foundation / Yale University Press, 2004).

[40] This was of course not just a formal exercise for Oiticica. As an artist involved with the Tropicália movement in Brazil, he used interactive installations as a way to awaken public consciousness about the country's restless, dynamic mix of cultures. Brazil was also under military dictatorship at the time, so he deployed phenomenology in his work to help viewers/citizens feel physically freer. See Monica Amor, "From Work to Frame, In Between, and Beyond: Lygia Clark and Hélio Oiticica, 1959–1964." *Grey Room* 38 (Winter 2010): 20-37.

on repetition results in a rigorous but distinctly cerebral study of artistic processes, and the projects Fer engages with are framed as hermetic. Like Pamela Lee, Fer restricts her argument to the drawings and line-based works that show evidence of repetition. She avoids the work of artists like Robert Morris and Richard Tuttle, whose repetitive methods are working proof of the body's ability to imprint vast differences—think of Tuttle's notebook drawings, for instance (fig. 1.7), which showcase material differences while also highlighting the ineffable presence of the artist's body and hand, changed by each iteration of each material.

In focusing on time, many of these authors produce stories that are relatively fleshless and bloodless, even pitting time against space as though these ideas existed on a binary in the 1960s. Nothing could be further from the truth. Briony Fer says, "Seriality is a time-based strategy that privileges time over space."[41] With this statement she ignores the fact that several types and notions of time were circulating in New York artistic circles in this period, each of which implied different approaches to space. There was the conception popularized by Borges (who was read avidly by members of the film community like Gene Youngblood and Hollis Frampton) that repetition destroys time's linear sequence, which Borges uses many spatial metaphors to achieve.[42] Carolee

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41 Briony Fer, *The Infinite Line*, 68.

42 Frampton concluded his 1972 essay "A Pentagram for Conjuring a Narrative" with one such Borges quotation: "The steps a man takes, from the day of his birth to the day of his death, trace an inconceivable figure in time. The divine intelligence perceives that figure at once, as man's intelligence perceives a triangle." Quoted in Linda Dalrymple Henderson, "Paradigm Shifts and Shifting Identities in the Career of Marcel Duchamp, Anti-Bergsonist "Algebraicist of Ideas," in Anne Collins Goodyear and James W. McManus, eds., *AKA Marcel Duchamp: Meditations on the Identities of an Artist* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2014), 92.

Schneemann would have had a sense of this when she introduced herself to James Tenney in 1962 as "an artist who treats time as if it were space." There was also George Kubler's book *The Shape of Time*, which was enormously popular among 1960s artists and argued that time could take on different morphologies such as guided and self-determining sequences—and, conversely, that forms like buildings or objects could contain traits indicative of "different systemic ages."[43] D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson's 1928 volume *Of Growth and Form* attained similar popularity because Thompson posited that various organisms and events, from the dissipation of smoke to the development of protozoa, had certain formal structures in common that effectively rendered linear time (including hierarchical disciplines like the study of phylogeny) useless. So to argue that linear or narrative time was under attack in the 1960s is to conflate the many disparate belief systems on which artists were intervening.

Chapter summaries

Chapter 1, "Paper Work: Carolee Schneemann's Social Sketches" examines three of Carolee Schneemann's performance works: *Water Light/Water Needle* (1966), *Interior Scroll* (1975), and *Up To (and Including) Her Limits* (1974-7) to demonstrate Schneemann's progressive interweaving of both diagrammatic and expressionistic approaches to line. Departing from other scholars, I attend closely to Schneemann's preparatory drawings, taking seriously her claim that she was making not just performances but also "intimacy drawings"— that she used line and gesture as analogues

[43] George Kubler, "The Shape of Time Reconsidered," *Perspecta* v19 (1982), 113.

of the problematic integration of self with world. In these works Schneemann and her co-performers not only deployed traceable, trackable gestures in space, but they also used pliable contoured materials such as rope, crumpled paper, and foam-rubber tubes to help viewers understand (and, in the case of her more participatory performances, sometimes even live out) the often problematic relationship between predetermined structures (such as the state) and spontaneous behavior. From her group performances of the 1960s to her marathon solo works of the later 1970s, Schneemann explored the drawn line as a register of the fraught struggle for liberation and selfhood.[44] My research reveals that, as her community began rejecting traditional media (including painting, which she referred to as her "beloved corpse"), she used drawing in her work as a discreet, almost secretive, extension of the painterly gesture. Schneemann was also invested in new conversations on social and sexual freedom in the 1960s and believed that human beings craved unfettered connection, but she also understood the fraught realities of that unfettered connection. Deeply aware of the problems behind the "free love" and countercultural movements of the late 60s, she used gesture as a specific mode of connectivity in her performances: gesture was a momentary unit of expression that emphasized, in its fragility, the tenuous nature of genuine ethical engagement. By the early 1970s Schneemann had become critical of the institutions of art history itself, as New York

[44] To use Benjamin Buchloh's term, I would say that Schneemann, together with several of her contemporaries, used line as "an *extract* of corporeality". In other words, drawing, whether she did it with lines or with bodies, was not a pure and authentic means of grounding oneself in the body, nor was it an unproblematic means of expressing the self. Instead it was a way of showing that behavior gave rise to form, rather than the other way around. See Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, "Hesse's Endgame: Facing the Diagram," in Catherine de Zegher, ed., *Eva Hesse Drawing,* 119.

museums and galleries re-framed the members of her community as monographic masters rather than negotiative participants. In the solo performances of this period, then, she used drawing to argue that the boundaries of self and world were irredeemably porous, and that the relations between humans and their surroundings were constantly being re-drawn.

Chapter 2, "Territorial Pissings and Paper Tigers: William Anastasi's Portable Agency" examines William Anastasi's public drawing exercises executed in New York City between 1963 and 1977. Anastasi, a self-taught conceptual sculptor whose studio was a few blocks from Schneemann's, produced several works-on-paper series in this period: Pocket Drawings, Constellation Drawings, and Subway Drawings. In these series, he fused drawing with everyday behaviors such as taking the subway, listening to live or recorded music, or walking around Lower Manhattan (taking many cues from experimental dancers and musicians at this moment). I argue that these series helped Anastasi reckon with the contingencies of body and self within urban space. They were a counter-argument to codified masculine behavior. Like Schneemann, Anastasi concedes to the influence of the 1960s' sexual revolution on his work, and admits to being preoccupied with Cold War tensions about nuclear proliferation. When he made drawings in public, often on pieces of paper concealed in his pocket, he generated temporary mobile private spaces for himself that were, in a seeming paradox, entirely dependent on the contours of surrounding public space. Within these drawings, "public space" became a kind of generous collaborator rather than a precarious Cold War site of control and compartmentalization.

The third chapter, "Drawing with Friends: Parsing Richard Tuttle's 'Feeling'" takes as its subject Richard Tuttle's drawings and Wire Pieces executed in New York art spaces between 1971 and 1978. These works were made with a similar ethos to his other projects: they were meditative, even ritualistic, and often used the measurements of Tuttle's own body in relation to the display space. Many of the works implicated friends or collectors who visited his Sixth Avenue studio at this time. I understand the works as taking a very specific approach to social relations—an approach that has its origins in Tuttle's brief and unsuccessful Air Force training at the Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio, Texas in 1963, just before he began work at the Betty Parsons Gallery on 57th Street in Manhattan. In this period he formed a conception of American masculinity, and of encoding and disclosure, against which he would create friction for the bulk of his career. I reveal that his work was an exploration of feelings and confessional culture, and that his ensuing drawings were ways of remaining adjacent to traditionally classified and quantified "feelings" in a pop cultural sense.

Conclusion

I undertook this project at a moment in history—roughly the second decade of the 21st century—in which the distinctions between virtual and lived experience, and the proper ways to mediate one's identity in public, have become serious concerns. The arguments we use to discuss these issues in public culture, however, seem based on many oppositions that artists have been problematizing since the earlier pre-war period—

technology versus organicism or mind versus body, for instance.[45] This makes drawing particularly urgent in the present moment, as it seems to have been a way for artists to negotiate the rapidly shifting boundaries between these established poles. I thus offer this project, to a certain extent, as an opportunity to think further about anachronism and historical kinship.

[45] With recourse to historian of Cubism Mark Antliff, Linda Henderson condensed them eloquently when she listed some of Marcel Duchamp's interests in Bergson's ideas of time in the early twentieth century, which filtered into the art of the 1960s: "scientific quantitative space (e.g., perspective, geometry) versus empathetic "qualitative space," quantified time (e.g., clocks) versus inner duration uncontaminated by space…" See Linda Dalrymple Henderson, "Paradigm Shifts and Shifting Identities in the Career of Marcel Duchamp, Anti-Bergsonist "Algebraicist of Ideas," in Anne Goodyear and James McManus, eds., *Inventing Marcel Duchamp: The Dynamics of Portraiture* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2009), 77.

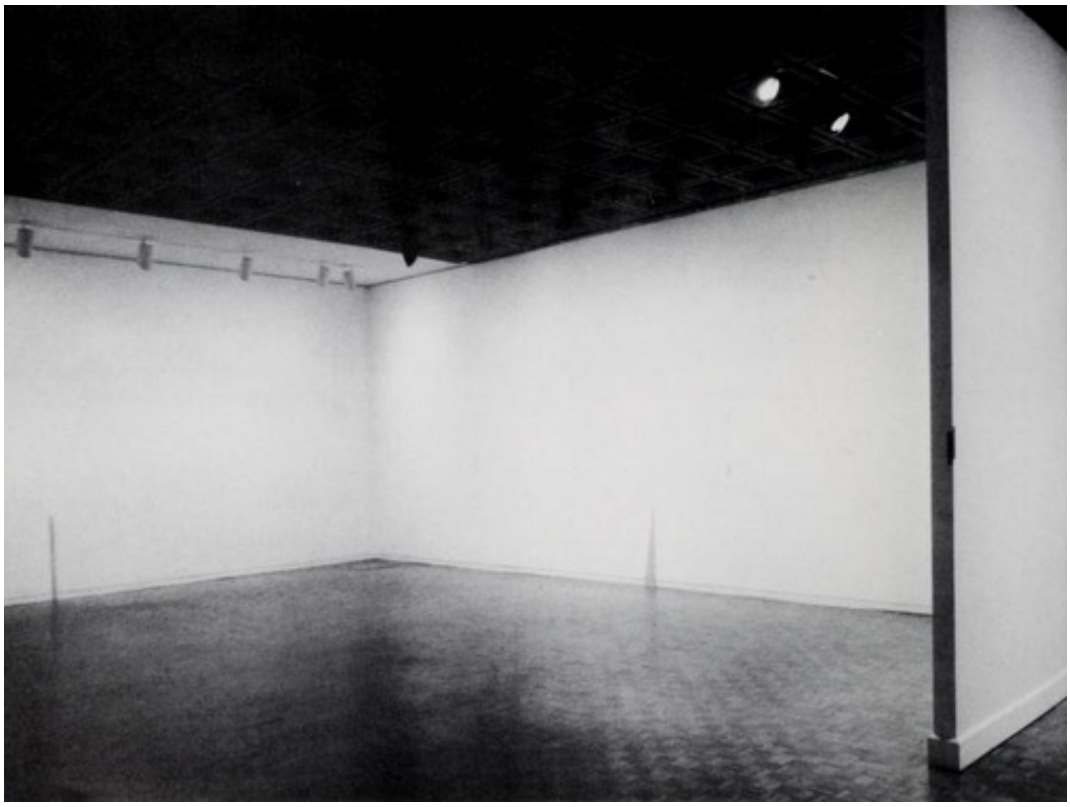


Figure 1.1: First installation view (out of 2 installations) of Richard Tuttle exhibition at the Whitney Museum of American Art, September 12-November 16, 1975. After Marcia Tucker, ed., Richard Tuttle (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1975), 28.

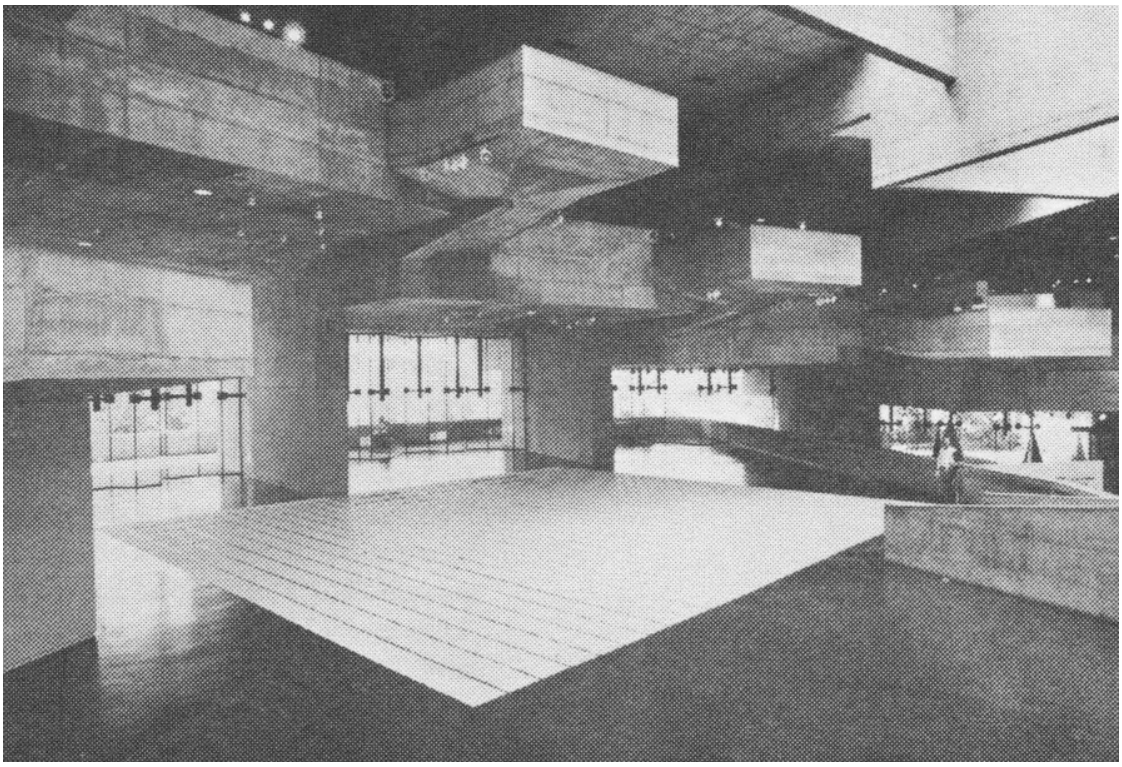
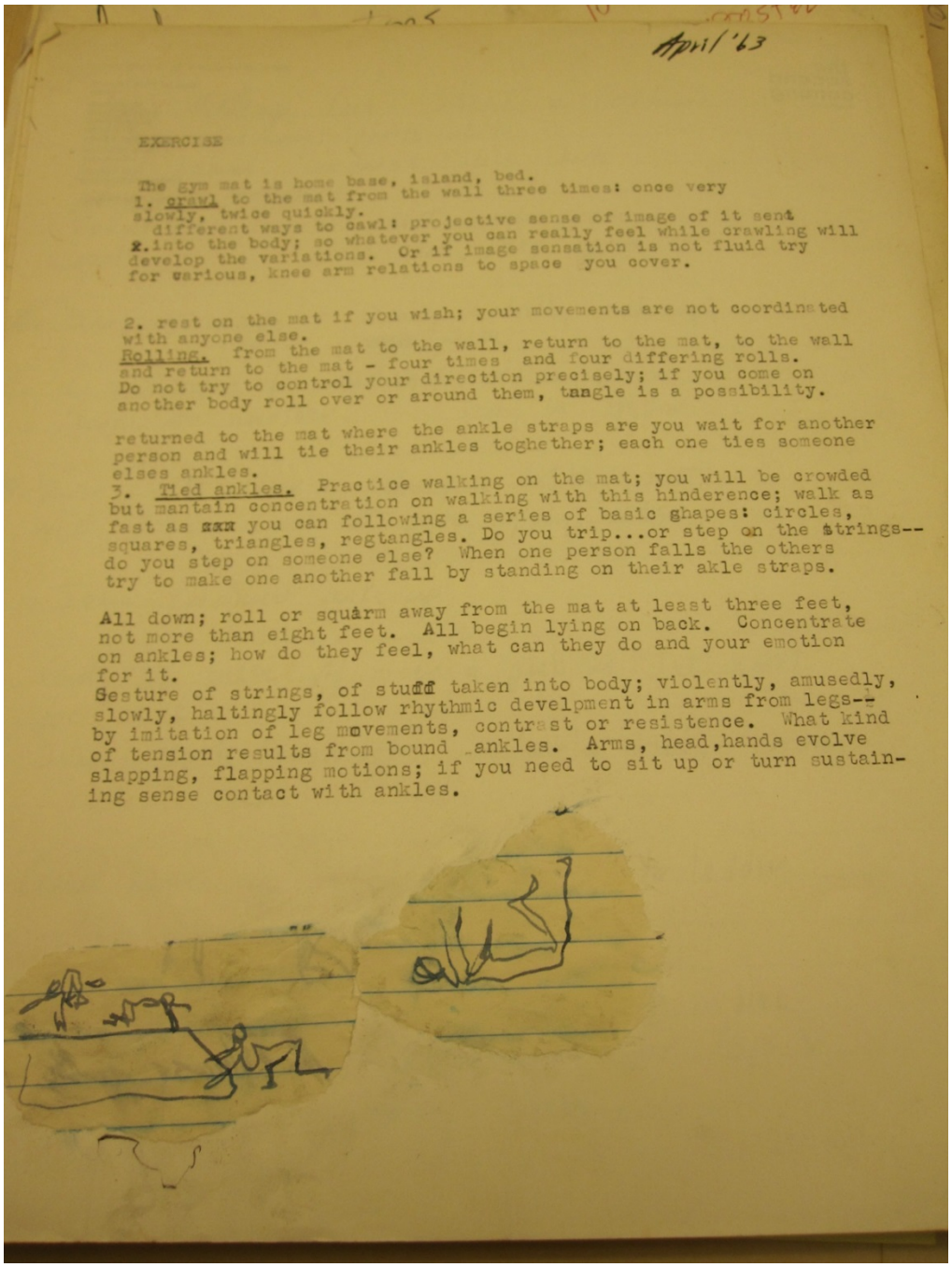


Figure 1.2: James Lee Byars, *Untitled Object (Runcible)* or *The Performable Square*, 1962-64. Single sheet of Japanese handmade white flax paper in Japanese cedarwood box. Dimensions unfolded: approximately 50’ x 50’. Dimensions folded in box: 20 x 20 x 20. The Museum of Modern Art; shown installed in 1979 at the University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1979.



April '63

EXERCISE

The gym mat is home base, island, bed.
1. crawl to the mat from the wall three times: once very slowly, twice quickly.
different ways to cawl: projective sense of image of it sent
2. into the body; so whatever you can really feel while crawling will develop the variations. Or if image sensation is not fluid try for various, knee arm relations to space you cover.

2. rest on the mat if you wish; your movements are not coordinated with anyone else.
Rolling. from the mat to the wall, return to the mat, to the wall and return to the mat - four times and four differing rolls. Do not try to control your direction precisely; if you come on another body roll over or around them, tangle is a possibility.

returned to the mat where the ankle straps are you wait for another person and will tie their ankles toghether; each one ties someone elses ankles.
3. Tied ankles. Practice walking on the mat; you will be crowded but mantain concentration on walking with this hinderence; walk as fast as xxx you can following a series of basic ghapes: circles, squares, triangles, regtangles. Do you trip...or step on the strings-- do you step on someone else? When one person falls the others try to make one another fall by standing on their akle straps.

All down; roll or squarm away from the mat at least three feet, not more than eight feet. All begin lying on back. Concentrate on ankles; how do they feel, what can they do and your emotion for it.
Gesture of strings, of stuff taken into body; violently, amusedly, slowly, haltingly follow rhythmic develpment in arms from legs-- by imitation of leg movements, contrast or resistence. What kind of tension results from bound ankles. Arms, head,hands evolve slapping, flapping motions; if you need to sit up or turn sustaining sense contact with ankles.

Figure 1.3: Sketches and exercise protocol for Carolee Schneemann's co-performers, April 1963. Image courtesy of Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

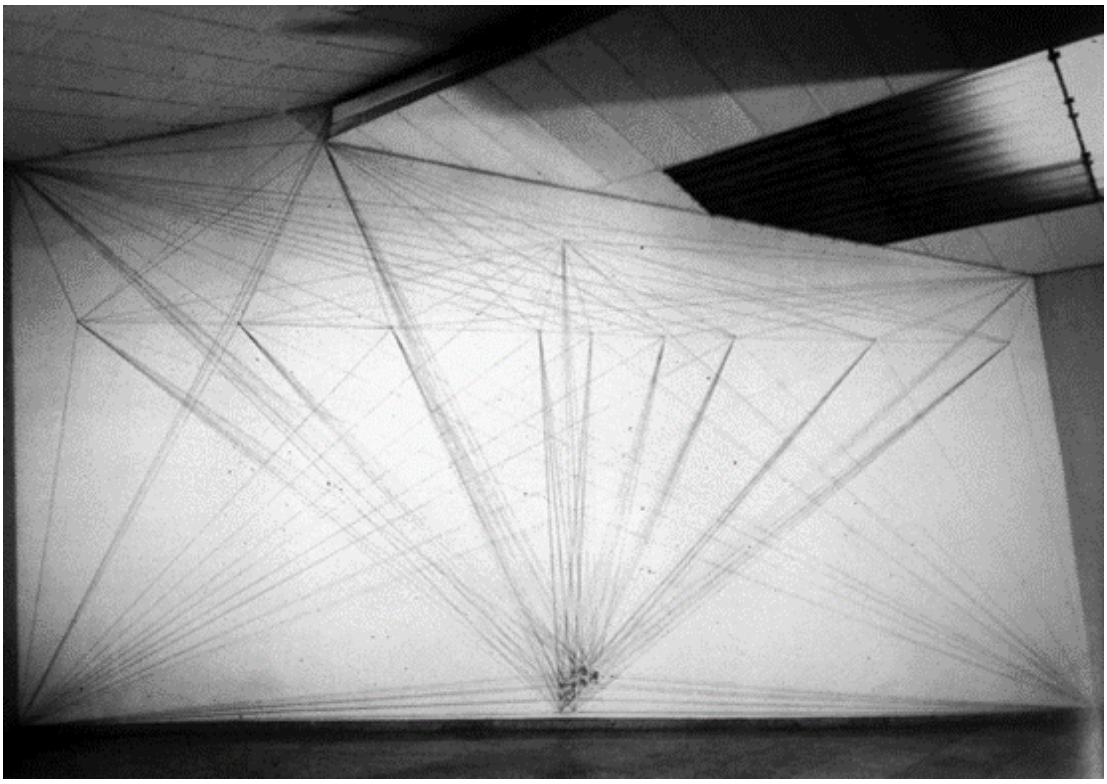


Figure 1.4: Sol LeWitt, *Wall Drawing 51*, June 1970. Blue snap lines, first installed at Sperone Gallery, Turin, Italy.

Figure 1.5: Allan Kaprow, installation for *Laughs and Balloons: A Happening in One Part*, November 1959.

Figure 1.6: Carolee Schneemann, *Chromelodeon*, 1963.

Figure 1.7: Richard Tuttle, *II, 3*, 1977. Watercolor and collage on paper, 14 x 11 inches. Image courtesy of The Menil Collection, Houston.

Chapter 1: Paper Work: Carolee Schneemann's Social Sketches

Introduction: Live Nude Drawing

Carolee Schneemann's typewritten narrative proposals to the Berkeley Art Museum (BAM) for her first performance of her 1973-74 work *Up To (and Including) Her Limits* was rife with lines, drawn and executed through numerous means.[46] The thirty-four-year-old artist had been invited to mount a new work at BAM in 1973, following the success of her film and performance work in New York and London in the nine years prior; she would give the performance in 1974.[47] After her 1973 return to the United States from a three-year stint in London, Schneemann developed *Up To (And Including) Her Limits* in the wake of several personal and societal changes that had great impact on her practice. Her performance proposal for the BAM called for a sea of drawn lines that registered numerous physical activities. She proposed to dip her feet and the feet of her cat, Kitch, in flour and then create "invisible tracks" as owner and animal followed each other across the museum floor and out into the exterior courtyard. She planned to push eggs across the BAM's concrete floors with her knees, elbows and nose; spectators would be welcome to do the same. Most critical to the work was the presence of the artist's body suspended nude on a harness in a paper-covered corner of the space. Her outstretched hand, an extension of her nude body, would trace lines at random on the

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[46] All notations taken from Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. My research there was made possible by a Getty Library Research Grant in the summer of 2011.

[47] The Berkeley Art Museum, only ten years old at the time, wrote to Schneemann because, since the late 1960s, several of its directors and organizers were intent on highlighting contemporary film. The New York curator Peter Selz had been hired to direct and expand the Museum's collection, which included the establishment of the Pacific Film Archive in 1967. Selz's commitment to contemporary art was resolute, and his landmark exhibitions like 1966's *Directions in Kinetic Art* would have informed the museum's decision to invite Schneemann to mount a work there in 1973; she would have been considered an inheritor of the trends in contemporary painting that marked the museum's founding mission, and the emerging interest in film that characterized the culture there. See "BAMPFA: History and Mission," http://www.bampfa.berkeley.edu/about/history-mission

walls; her movements would "track a time process" in "sustained duration as long as concentration endures."[48] Alternately, her hand could write text on the wall; in the final version she raised and lowered herself throughout the space while "stroking" the surrounding floor and walls with crayon and also wrote legible text, making her hand and body move through several different communicative modes.[49]

In this first iteration—which was edited considerably in the ensuing weeks through conversations with BAM curators—the work was a combination of an artist's open studio, artist's archive, and a spontaneous collaboration with her architectural environment and audience, all done inside the Berkeley Art Museum's angular Brutalist building.[50] She called for an artist's studio to be set up for her inside the BAM's display space furnished with a typewriter and drawing materials. There she would live out the daily events of a working artist, developing a central idea that she had already begun working on in her New Paltz, New York studio the summer before. The installation would document this development as it had taken place so far in real time; she would display letters between herself and curators (likely in vitrines, although Schneemann did not specify her preferred mode of display in her early proposals) as she tried to generate more exhibition opportunities for herself in California, as well as "preparatory drawings and scores," and "scraps of paper: phone numbers, names, assistance, meetings…" Spectators would be able to ring a bell and speak with the artist, thus determining the rhythm and trajectory of her work. Schneemann explained to BAM that, despite the fact that she had used her own body in past performances, often inhabiting a gallery space for

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[48] All quotations from letters are taken from Schneemann's "Up To (and Including) Her Limits" file, Carolee Schneemann papers, Box 3, Folder 8, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
[49] Carolee Schneemann, *Imagining her Erotics: Essays, Interviews, Projects* (MIT Press, 2002), 165.
[50] Carolee Schneemann papers, Box 3, Folder 8, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Not much of the BAM's responses remain, but it is presumed that this proposal was edited because of limitations on time and availability of staff to supervise the activities.

hours or days at a time, viewers had been hesitant to approach her during those performances and speak to her. Instead they had written messages to her on the walls of the performance space. *Up To (and Including) Her Limits* seized on viewers' past appropriation of the wall. It would become a kind of bulletin board for communicating with viewers; Schneemann was free to write on it while suspended in the rope harness. Over the next two years she made this work seven more times, and she lived within the museum or gallery space each time, sometimes sleeping there, often with her cat in the space and visitors drifting in and out.[51]

Connection in all its forms—physical, interpersonal, linguistic/communicative, epistolary, temporal—was a broad goal here, and the work was organized through different methods of tracing, tracking, and exposing. "The underlying physical principle came to mind as a seismograph or Ouija board," she explained later, making it clear that her body was an important instrument for this tracing and tracking. The realities of her physical experience were never far away; after performing the work at the Anthology Film Archives in Berkeley, she wrote with determination, "Only thought is to be an extension of the rope itself. Until discomfort or loss of concentration, I function as a pencil."

Early photographs of this staged work (fig. 2.1) show Schneemann using her own body as a divining rod in what she claimed was "the direct result of [Jackson] Pollock's physicalized painting process" (fig. 2.2).[52] In her preparatory notes and later writing about this piece, she referred to her markmaking as "automatic drawing" and "like automatic

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[51] This work coincided with the death of Schneemann's beloved cat, Kitsch, and later performances included funeral rites and videos of Kitsch's dead body. See Carolee Schneemann, "Up To (and Including) Her Limits," in *More Than Meat Joy: Performance Works and Selected Writings*, Second Edition (New York: DocumenText, 1997), 232.

[52] Ibid.

writing," although she would later disavow any direct relationship to surrealism.[53] Automatic drawing and automatic writing, then, were co-opted and re-woven into the artist's lived experience—we can see this in some of Schneemann's diaristic comments that she wrote on the wall while harnessed to the ceiling: "I AM HUNGRY," for instance. This notation of an everyday, interior state—a quotidian frustration—was antithetical to both the Abstract Expressionist and Surrealist traditions that she was drawing on. This was an entirely different component of the artist's private life, made public through the strategies that the artist herself pioneered in this period.

In this chapter, I argue that Schneemann used line and gesture in her performances as analogues of the problematic integration of self with world, and that her drawing practice undergirded much of this approach. Drawing afforded her certain advantages as a method. One is that, because it was relatively undertheorized at this time, it comprised a discreet or secretive extension of (or an alternative to) the painterly gesture—a gesture considered dead by many in the 1960s. I also argue that the way that line made gesture visible—in a simultaneously trackable and unstable way—meant that it could emphasize the tenuous nature of genuine ethical engagement. To support this argument, I probe Schneemann's training in drawing and investigate the fate of her drawings themselves: how their portability and mobility provided a working method for the artist. I examine the social conditions in New York and within her transnational performance community that would have made the relation between the self and others particularly problematic, and discuss how Schneemann's affinities with postmodern dance and activist culture led her to use drawing and gesture to address these problems. I also pay close attention to the ways that drawing as a communicative strategy allowed

[53] Carolee Schneemann, "Artist lecture: Carolee Schneemann," Texas State University, April 20, 2010. Also relayed in an interview with the author: "Surrealism had no staying power with me. It was too rigid, misogynistic; I couldn't use it." Schneemann, interview with the author, 25 July 2010.

Schneemann to think through gender and authorship, two of the issues that plagued her the most as she observed her community evolving through the 1960s and into the 1970s.

New Methods for Imaging Empathy and Everyday Life

Schneemann has explored the role of gesture and vision in her work for decades, but this interest reached a particular peak at the end of the nineteen fifties, when she was completing graduate school in painting. At this moment, gesture was becoming frontal to advanced art discourse. "Technique is just a means of arriving at a statement," the painter Jackson Pollock had declared in 1951, just as the photographer Hans Namuth was filming Pollock for a documentary that closely scrutinized and recorded the artist's gestures while he made work around his Long Island studio space.[54] But it was becoming clear to Schneemann that gesture and behavior, which had come under close critical attention because of documentaries like Namuth's, were technical strategies that constituted their own statements. By 1956 she had encountered members of the New York School in spaces like Max's Kansas City and The Club, occasionally talking with them about their methods.[55] Her approach developed from her intense study of paintings by Paul Cézanne and Jacopo Pontormo, whose work emphasized dynamic impulses that led the viewer's eye away from the strict anatomy of the painted canvas. An active looker, she theorized that all looking was active and inspired action. "Anything I perceive is active to my eye," she wrote in her notebooks in 1962. "The energy implicit in an area of paint (or cloth,

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[54] Hans Namuth, who shot the footage of Jackson Pollock that had become canonical by the end of the 1960s, also photographed several of Schneemann's early performances, including *Site*, which she performed with Robert Morris at the Surplus Theatre in May 1964. See Jayne Wark, *Radical Gestures: Feminism and Performance Art in North Americ*a (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006) 44.

[55] In a February 1956 letter to Stan Brakhage, Schneemann mentions "a longish talking to de Kooning & meetings with all those famous I had carried suspectly and now have met & blown up or down." Schneemann, *Correspondence Course*, 4-5.

paper, wood, glass…) is defined in terms of the time which it takes for the eye to journey through the implicit motion and direction of this area."[56]

Her dictum also came at a moment in which artists of all kinds had begun to harness everyday behavior as a means of making artwork. Robert Rauschenberg and John Cage, two friends of Schneemann's with whom she collaborated on later performance works, made *Automobile Tire Print* in 1953, for which John Cage drove his Model T Ford, its front tire dipped in black paint, along twenty glued-together sheets of paper that Rauschenberg laid along Fulton Street in Lower Manhattan (fig. 2.3). The result was a printed horizontal line on paper that extended twenty-two feet in length. When unrolled fully on its cloth support, the tire print extended beyond the boundaries of the page, performing continuity and escape. It harnessed the energy of industrial materials and machines, challenging the human form as an exclusive framework for making marks. An important precursor to *Automobile Tire Print* was an art exercise that Rauschenberg did in 1949 at the Art Students League where he was attending classes: he affixed a piece of paper to the floor of the entryway, allowing it to collect their footprints.[57]

When the art historian Rosalind Krauss wrote about *Automobile Tire Print* in 1974, she placed it within a modernist theoretical framework based on Renaissance drawing, arguing that Rauschenberg's "refusal to use the autographic mark of conventional drawing" and his "substitution of the deposited physical mark of the real

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[56] She went on to rehearse in several essays, including the one quoted above, another formalist dictum that would have kept her in close fellowship with formalism: that these fields of energy reduced any image to a matrix of lines. See, for instance, Umberto Boccioni's "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture": "The new plasticity will thus be the translation in plaster, bronze, glass, wood, or any other material, of atmospheric planes that link and intersect things." Carolee Schneemann, *More Than Meat Joy: Performance Works and Selected Writings*, Second Edition (New York: DocumenText, 1997), 9. Boccioni, "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture", in Robert L. Herbert, ed., *Modern Artists on Art: Ten Unabridged Essays* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1964), 50-57.

[57] Sarah Robinson, "Rauschenberg Automobile Tire Print," July 2013, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art: Rauschenberg Research Project. https://s3-us-west-2.amazonaws.com/sfmomamedia/media/research-projects/downloads/SFMOMA_RRP_Automobile_Tire_Print.pdf Accessed December 2013.

thing" effectively removed the artist from the equation.[58] And this idea certainly bears out if we examine the approaches of other painters several years later. "It seemed to me it was economical," the painter Frank Stella recalled about his decision to make paintings that consisted of lines on the canvas, lines that were determined by the shape and weight of housepainter's brushes and applied with very little pre-drawing (fig. 2.4). "It was also direct, which was something that I liked. It was also pedestrian, which personally appealed to me. I opted to push through, to try for something like a housepainter's technique." It was important for Stella that gesture be a constant handmaiden to the visual material, with no separation from lived experience and no reference to authorship: "I loved the idea, if you're going to make a gesture, okay, you walk up to it and you dip your brush in the bucket and you really make something."[59] As I explore in my introduction, Stella equated he notion of "really making something" to an irreducible immediacy that obviated the need for pre-drawing.

Artists were becoming enamored with directness—a directness mediated through materials, means of production, or their own bodies. There was a growing sense that one could collapse artistic markmaking with everyday gestures, with richer results than the heroic markmaking techniques of the Abstract Expressionists. Further, there was widespread consensus that seeing these gestures indexed could ameliorate the problems of an over-mediated society. The artist could turn into a conduit for any number of anthropologically-inflected possibilities: walking, stretching, driving, and so on.

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[58] Rosalind Krauss, "Rauschenberg and the Materialized Image," *Artforum* 13, n4 (December 1974): 36-43.

[59] Frank Stella, discussion with Philip Lieder as part of "The Current Moment in Art" symposium, taped April 16, 1966 and broadcast August 1966 over KPFA radio, Berkeley. The quotations from this session are from Caroline Jones' transcripts, made from the KPFA broadcast, recording from Pacifica Radio Archives tape BB0919.06a, typescript p. 31. Quoted in Jones, *Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Postwar American Artist* (University of Chicago Press, 1996), 123.

Directness was also a goal for Schneemann, but she wanted the end product of her tactics to result in an entirely different experience for the viewer than what might occur in front of a Frank Stella painting. In *Up To (and Including) Her Limits*, for example, Schneemann's body is just as important as the traces it leaves. Her body's physical limits and limitations, enhanced and complicated by the rope, inform the markmaking process. Rather than attenuating or ceding the body to a markmaking implement such as a car tire, Schneemann allows the rope to transform her body, revealing the ways in which the material re-schematizes her way of being in the world. And the effects on the viewer are immediate: one might marvel at her control of the rope or, alternately, feel frustrated at her efforts to control it. In interviews regarding her work of the 1960s and 70s, she has been frank about the degree of physical training these performances required. Of *Up To (and Including) Her Limits* she says, "[My] actions involved endurance of 8 hours or more on and off the rope [and] the physical demands of supporting the body, balancing, swinging, stretching depended on a condition of entrancement."[60] In other words, Schneemann's use of line confounds the possibility of authorship not through a wholesale refusal or disavowal of the artist's body, but by making visible the body's messy realities. In this way, the body could manifest its own disciplined condition by eliciting physical and emotional sympathy from the viewer, even going so far as to make the viewer more aware of his or her own potentialities. To see the artist's body was to feel it. As her friend and film theorist Gene Youngblood wrote in 1970, "Miss Schneemann defines perception as *eye-journey* or *empathy-drawing*… the very nature of evocation requires creative effort on the part of the viewer, whereas expository modes do all the work and the viewer

[60] Email to Cliff Eyland, 7 September 2010. Quoted in "Carolee Schneemann: Up To (and Including) Her Limits," Gallerie One One One, exhibition text for *Carolee Schneemann: Up To (and Including) Her Limits,* University of Manitoba, Manitoba, CA, 2011.

becomes passive."[61] Juana Maria Rodriguez would echo this sentiment forty years later when she wrote that gestures "register the kinetic effort of communication," placing import on the gesture's generative potential beyond the speaker's body. "Just as 'queer' can function as a noun or verb," she said "'gesture' can signal both those defined movements that we make with our bodies and to which we assign meaning, and an action that extends beyond itself, that reaches, suggests, motions; an action that signals a desire to act, perhaps to touch."[62]

This put Schneemann in an interesting position with respect to conventional notions of drawing. While the final, performed version of *Up To (and Including) Her Limits* highlighted gesture as the primary impulse behind markmaking, her original proposal had explored drawing at different scales—on paper, from a cat's paws, as text—as well as the social relationships and play that arose from these scalar shifts. Schneemann's interest in the many permutations of drawing was purposeful and polemical, even informing her emerging feminist consciousness, particularly because she noticed so keenly the extent to which drawing was marginalized for much of the decade. She reports that, despite devoting upwards of four hours per day to drawing exercises for most of the sixties, no one was interested in discussing the exercises or the drawings with her during studio visits.[63] In 1967 she advertised a "fire sale" in her loft of drawings, sketches, and other ephemera.[64] It seems that pre-drawing on paper was synonymous with the kinds of privacy and hermeticism that male artists were attempting to abandon in their haste to enact "directness", thus re-enforcing certain problematic distinctions between

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[61] Gene Youngblood, "Evocation and Exposition: Toward Oceanic Consciousness," in *Expanded Cinema* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1970), 92.
[62] Juana María Rodríguez, *Sexual Futures, Queer Gestures, and Other Latina Longings* (New York University Press, 2014), 2.
[63] Carolee Schneemann, interview with the author, 25 July 2010.
[64] Carolee Schneemann papers, box 13, folder 13.

public and private.[65] Feminist artists would confront these distinctions *en masse* by the beginning of the 1970s.

Therefore her choice to frame her work (including her film projects) as "empathy drawing" takes on an added rhetorical richness. Consider, for instance, the disparaging remarks that she made in her notes in 1967 decrying "straight line people." This was a less-than-veiled reference to her Minimalist peers, who by 1967 were being given many exhibitions only a couple of dozen blocks uptown from her work space, but it also reveals that she attributed certain stylistic features to certain vectors of human behavior.[66] The "straight line people" in the New York art world, she felt, harbored a fundamental "unease dis-ease dis-emphasis of their body," and further, that "the hard edge… and the paradoxical 'line'" were threats to free expression.[67] By making this statement, she shows her recognition of line's semiotic potential (although she also reduces formal characteristics like straightness to an artist's ideological stance and personality traits,

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[65] These distinctions take on a distinctly political cast in certain moments. Alan Schneider, director of the Jewish Museum, first saw Carolee Schneemann's work in the early 1960s, his response was: "If you want to paint, paint. If you want to run around naked, you don't belong in the art world." So, painting was fully constituted—an inviolable body itself (which had always a corpse as its counterpoint, to use Schneemann's apt metaphor). Schneemann, quoted in Rebecca Schneider, *The Explicit Body in Performance* (1997), 37-8.

[66] The Dwan Gallery and the John Daniels Gallery were the prime spaces in midtown Manhattan supporting Minimal art at this moment, and after the *Black, White and Grey* exhibition at the Jewish Museum these spaces regularly exhibited minimal art using curatorial strategies that, for better or for worse (as art historian James Meyer points out) aligned the emerging style with design. See James Meyer, *Minimalism: Art and Polemics in the Sixties* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 24.

[67] In avant-garde art and performance circles in the 1960s, there were many threats to free expression. Some of them fell under the rubrics of "false consciousness", sexual repression, or the sublimation of repressed sexual urges through blind obedience to authority. Herbert Marcuse's *Eros and Civilization* stands at the tip of this iceberg, but Schneemann's touchstones were the works of Wilhelm Reich and Antonin Artaud. See Artaud, *The Theatre and Its Double* (trans. Mary Caroline Richards, New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1958) and Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* (trans. by Theodore P. Wolfe, Orgone Institute Press, 1946) and *The Sexual Revolution* (third edition, trans. by Therese Pol, Orgone Institute Press, 1949). For current work on Schneemann's relationship to the British anti-psychiatry movement that included Reich and others, see Sylvie Laura Symmonds, "Hypnagogically Seeing Carolee Schneemann's Kinetic Theatre (1963-1970)," PhD diss., University of Leeds, unpublished. My Schneemann quotations here are from typed untitled notes, November 1967, Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, box 2, folder 2.2.

which is a problem), and by using "drawing" to encompass her work in painting, performance, and film, she was naming this technique as a research methodology for creating new forms of intimacy—one with both discursive and behavioral possibilities.

Her approach was also animated by the writings of Antonin Artaud, which circulated widely in Schneemann's community of experimental theater performers, dancers, assemblage and Happenings artists, musicians and poets. Artaud and other writers in the anti-psychiatry movement informed many performative modes in this period, as artists began using intense physical activity and heightened sensation (endurance exercise and drugs, for example) as ways to escape or evade repression. While Schneemann was in graduate school in 1959, the actress Liz Hiller gave her the 1958 English translation of *The Theatre and Its Double* .[68] In this work, Artaud spoke of the actor or performer's "affective musculature"—an ability to project emotion with force and directness—that consistently "corresponds to the physical localization of feelings."[69] He compared the performer to a professional athlete, urging the actor to "make use of his emotions as a wrestler makes use of his muscles."[70] The effect of this athleticism on the audience was quite powerful; in fact, the affective actor's performance went beyond the register of representation. The effects contained "virtues" that were "not those of an image but carry a material sense."[71] *Musculature* proved to be an important term for Schneemann; strong muscles provided the impulse for movement that was then perceived by the viewer. As a founding member of the Judson Dance Theater as well as a trained painter, Schneemann was constantly trying to make optical information a matter of bodily

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[68] Schneemann mentioned this gift (Hiller was the wife of James Tenney's early computer teacher) in her "Diary of an Accidental Trip to London," August 16, 1974, Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, Box 3, Folder 3.7.
[69] Antonin Artaud, *The Theatre and Its Double* (New York: Grove Press, 1958), 133.
[70] Ibid., 134.
[71] Ibid., 135.

concern: “Movement cannot be separated from the body, the eye or from language,” she would later say in an interview. “In order to perceive “correctly” I want to feel that my musculature is responsive, vivified.”[72]

Drawing on Pedagogy: Schneemann’s Training

This self-consciousness had particular effect on Schneemann during her youth. She has often recalled that her family encouraged her creative pursuits, particularly when she was young, but later scorned her ambition to become an artist.[73] She recalls encountering friction from her mother in particular, whom Schneemann describes as “conventionalizing, fearful, confused by the boundaries that would have to develop between a parent and children.”[74] Her father, a country doctor in Fox Chase, Pennsylvania, would have been aware enough and aspirational enough to be able to send his daughter to any university she chose; she eventually chose Bard College, which in the 1950s had a rigorous coeducational curriculum, particularly in literature and the social sciences.[75] She attained a full scholarship there and studied at Columbia University for one semester as a painting student. While her attraction to the fine arts program at Bard (and later Columbia) was evident, she also maintained strong connections with her mentors in English and writing classes. She even exchanged a few letters with Rose Wachter, her grade school English teacher, and stopped by Wachter’s new classroom in

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[72] Christy Sheffield Sanford, “Interview: Carolee Schneemann,” *Red Bass* 14 (1989), 23.

[73] “I try not to engage my family. Some of them are understanding and supportive. And others are in their own family configurations where whatever this crazy artist is about it's disturbing, sometimes offensive.” Oral history interview with Carolee Schneemann, 2009 Mar. 1, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

[74] Schneemann later notes in the interview, however, that her mother was the person who saved all her childhood drawings, which would eventually become crucial to her practice. Ibid.

[75] Timeline of Bard College, Bard College website, 2013. Accessed 15 January 2013, http://www.bard.edu/about/history/.

Chicago at least once to visit and speak to her students. All this helped manifest her interest in pedagogy's social dimensions.[76]

In many interviews and writings Schneemann has described her attraction to art and art production as compulsive, repetitive, disciplinary. At Columbia she befriended André Racz, a painting professor, whose appeal lay at first in the fact that he did not try to solicit sexual favors from her. Schneemann visited Racz constantly, even traveling to visit his studio like many of his students.[77] "We talk about drawing all night and I'm in his class and I'm really in good hands. He's a wonderful teacher and I just draw and draw and draw."[78] At the age of twelve, she says, she traveled to nearby Philadelphia and stumbled into a life drawing class there at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. The instructor Morris Blackburn, who had trained in architectural drafting at the Philadelphia Trade School and had worked as a technical draftsman for RCA, noticed her interest and offered her paper and charcoals with which to draw.[79] It is clear that she linked her early drawing experiences not only to the grounding of the self within a stable framework, as I mention in the introduction, but also to the process by which new (potentially unknown) languages are formed. "I think before I was really understanding language, that I had to make images," she has stated.[80]

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[76] In a letter on January 26, 1975, Wachter says with apparent fondness: "Your envelope in the mail gave me the same kind of sensation as did your appearance in my class in Chicago." Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, box 29, folder 29.1.

[77] Racz' obituary in the Columbia University Record confirms his close relationship with students, and his inclusion of his studio as a pedagogical space: "Racz was widely admired as a teacher at Columbia, where he won the Bancroft Award for Distinguished Retiring Teachers in 1983. Students returned to his studio again and again to continue to study under him." "Obituary: André Racz, 77, Artist, Professor." *Columbia University Record*, Vol. 20, No. 6, October 14, 1994.

[78] Ann Daly and Angela Rodgers, "Carolee Schneemann: A Life Drawing," *TDR*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Summer, 2001): 9-54.

[79] Oral history interview with Carolee Schneemann, 2009 Mar. 1, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; and "Morris Blackburn, Philadelphia Printmaker," Brookover Fine Arts, https://brookoverfinearts.wordpress.com/2013/03/22/morris-blackburn-philadelphia-printmaker/

[80] Ann Daly and Angela Rodgers, "Carolee Schneemann: A Life Drawing," 8.

She enrolled in the Master of Fine Arts program at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC), traveling to Champaign with her partner, the electronic musician James Tenney. There met and collaborated with a wide variety of interlocutors, including the photographer Art Sinsabaugh and the composer Lejaren Hiller, who founded the Experimental Music Studio. There she encountered the early twentieth-century art instructor Kimon Nicolaides's book *The Natural Way to Draw*. From Schneemann's accounts, Nicolaides had a more profound (and positive) effect on her work than did her graduate study.[81] In any case, as I proceed throughout this chapter I posit that drawing was a way for Schneemann to manifest different material realities through which social relations could be interrogated—in other words, that Schneemann's work was a series of interdisciplinary *social sketches* guided by her understanding of ethics as constantly animated and reciprocal.

Water Light, Water Needle

The need for more pliable social relations was a particularly engrossing problem for Schneemann. In 1965, three years after joining the Judson Dance Theater at the invitation of composer Phillip Corner, Schneemann conceptualized a dance work, *Water Light/Water Needle*, which used her training in drawing and painting to abandon most of the conventions of dance. *Water Light/Water Needle* was originally designed to be mounted on several adjacent bridges in Venice, where Schneemann had just traveled for the 1964 Biennale. The project sought to collapse distinctions between visual, tactile, and social experience. The lines of the rope were meant to echo and evoke, Schneemann wrote, the "basic grid" underpinning her experience of Venice: "[the] scattering light on waves, on glass, the moving colors of crowds, the continual horizontal pulse of vaporetti,

[81] Carolee Schneemann, interview with the author, 25 July 2010.

speedboats, gondolas."[82] She continued, "Sounds themselves were lifted and mixed in the air, their physical origins deflected," indicating that the grid structure was not strictly visual but rather included all types of sensory information rising vaporously above the city and cohering into forms.[83]

Before she developed the directions and sequencing for the work, she spent the winter in her West Sixth Street loft finding a space for it to be mounted, and planning its structure. Her attempts to bring it to Venice were unsuccessful, but she was offered a space at St Mark's Church, where the Judson Dance Theater frequently held performances.[84] Here she took advantage of the parish meeting room at the rear of the church, which had been constructed in 1861 (Figs. 2.5 and 2.6).[85] In December 1965 and January 1966 she began to visualize *Water Light/Water Needle* in the church space and to expand on Venice's "basic grid" and, developing a suite of drawings on papers of various sizes (some had been part of a sample pack given out at an art supply stores) and in several different drawing mediums.

She was purposeful in her choice of drawing materials, selecting each because of its density, texture, and resistance to the hand.[86] One of the drawings shows a moment in the performance where line becomes structure: a total of four figures cling to two lines crossing each other in midair, drawn in ballpoint pen (fig. 2.7). A poster design for the

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[11] Carolee Schneemann, *More Than Meat Joy: Performance Works and Selected Writings*, second edition (New York: DocumentText, 1997), 103-104.
[12] Ibid., 104.
[84] Schneemann attempted to get this work sponsored for the 1966 Venice Biennale, and later for the Opera de Lyon in France, but was not successful. In a letter on October 20, 1965 to Humbert Camerlo, an opera director who had mounted work at the Opera de Lyon, Schneemann encourages Humbert to consider both her work and that of her partner, the musician James Tenney. Humbert replied that he was interested in having Tenney conduct something for the Opera but could not guarantee Schneemann any work. Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, Folder 27.4.
[85] The St. Mark's Church virtual tour website says the following: "The stone portion was added by John C. Tucker in 1835. In 1861 James Renwick, Jr. designed the brick addition." Accessed 6 June 2013, http://www.stmarksbowery.org/virtual-tour.html.
[86] Carolee Schneemann, interview with the author, 25 July 2010.

performance would later feature this crisscrossed linear motif (fig. 2.8) with monkeys taking the place of human figures (which I address later in the chapter), and several other preparatory drawings repeated the motif as well (fig. 2.9). Round forms of red and pink watercolor paint, done with several different sized brushes, also structure the drawing. Contour is under-emphasized, except in the lower right corner where Schneemann has used studio dirt to contour a round pink form.

This drawn shape containing an archival trace of Schneemann's time in the studio, emerges simultaneously bulbous and vaporous from the comparatively geometrical composition of the ballpoint pen sketch. It animates the geometry, and for a moment it collapses the material reality of Schneemann's studio experience with the sense of *presentness* that is always latent in a drawing. She used this tactic often; in a 2014 exhibition highlighting this work, she drew and painted on archival photographs of the 1966 performance (fig. 2.10). My analysis of this work incorporates the drawings as one node within a network of emergent and pliable lines that Schneemann wielded to show their resistance to *and* integration with each other. The drawings show that *Water Light/Water Needle* is a material interlacing of past and present, of self with world—much like the crisscrossing lines and the vaporous bulb emerging on this page—and the strong effects this interlacing had on Schneemann's community of makers and viewers in the mid-1960s. In a period of fomenting protest and social unrest that was rampant even among different New York countercultures, the issue of physical boundaries became front and center. As I show here, Schneemann's strategy was to make boundaries visible and then imply that all parts of her community were creating and re-enforing them unwittingly. Schneemann's works helped to reveal that social theory was a kind of *productive* discourse that aided in the drawing of boundaries, and prevented the

disclosure of information as much as facilitated it.[87] Both Schneemann's studio and her community can be seen as microcosms of the intimacy and communication problems that she attempted to re-design, in a live forum.

Schneemann made clear in her letters that the preparatory drawings and notes for this work were enmeshed with the live performance. Early on, she wrote to the poet Jerome Rothenburg, offering to send him an "utterly disordered batch of notes" that were attached to some sketches she had made of the emerging work. At the time Schneemann was uncertain about the nature of the connections between her "disordered" notes and the drawings that accompanied them. "The notes which occurred in combination with the drawings (fast, spontaneous drive) seem best to me, most alive," she wrote. "Lifted away from the drawings they join a huge drainage of dislocated images—which might be grand—but somehow simply have a bewildering effect."[88] She sent Rothenburg the notes, and no further record of correspondence remains about this work. Ultimately, though, a few facts stand out here: that she felt—nay, sought—a loss of control during the drawing process (despite the mythos about drawing that it was solitary and involved control); that she had trouble finding a true locus for the work's dynamism; and that she wanted the

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[87] The reciprocity of territorialization—in other words, the idea that merely making a problem visible was not the only necessary step in eliminating restrictions between agents in the world, and that conversations about problems did little to clarify them—was a key component of emerging poststructural theories in this period. As Briony Fer has pointed out, Gilles Deleuze published his key text *Difference and Repetition* in 1968 (an extension of his arguments from 1956 onward) that was a testament to the simultaneity of restrictive systems, just when artists such as Mel Bochner and others were beginning to understand serial art as something that didn't have to be purely linear. Jacques Derrida, too, was beginning to understand communication as inherently opaque; in his 1978 essay "The Theatre of Cruelty and the Closure of Representation," he argued that "[t]his general structure in which each agency is linked to all the others by representation, in which the irrepresentability of the living present is dissimulated or dissolved, suppressed or deported within the infinite chain of representations—this structure has never been modified." See Fer, *The Infinite Line: Re-Making Art After Modernism (*New Haven, CT; Yale University Press, 2004), 3; and Jacques Derrida, ibid., reprinted in *Writing and Difference* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 235.

[88] Letter from Schneemann to Jerome Rothenburg, August 2, 1965. Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, Folder 27.4.

work to manifest urban and architectural structural energies. Ultimately, line was not to correspond to bodies or to individual movements, but was to form a foundation on which performers could act and be acted on.

She held the performance at St Mark's Church at the corner of East Tenth Street and Second Avenue, in the parish meeting room at the rear of the church, which had been constructed in 1861 (Fig. 2.11).[89] Reverend Paul Allen at St. Mark's gave Schneemann permission to construct a matrix of shipping rope inside the parish meeting hall, using two central steel pillars to stabilize the construction. They allowed Schneemann and her friends to brace steel supports in the side walls of the hall and to attach pulleys to the ceiling, through which they strung more ropes. Other friends helped her fit these notes and ideas to the space. She sought structural advice from Bernard Kirschenbaum, a young architect who was making a living at the time by designing residential domes for artists on Long Island.[90] Fluxus musician and sound artist Joe Jones helped to design "clouds" made of twinkling lights (these were the pink and red forms in her drawing), to be lowered on pulleys into the space of the audience when movement sequences changed.

Water Light/Water Needle emphasized rope as an organizing principle: heavy shipping rope divided the gallery into a frayed and fractured set of linear forms that her dancers navigated, both as individuals (fig. 2.12) and as a group (fig 2.13). At the beginning of the performance, each person was to crouch, hidden, in cupboards installed along the sides of the interior space. The bodies then emerged spontaneously, one by one,

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[89] The St. Mark's Church virtual tour website says the following: "The stone portion was added by John C. Tucker in 1835. In 1861 James Renwick, Jr. designed the brick addition." Accessed 6 June 2013, http://www.stmarksbowery.org/virtual-tour.html.

[90] Schneemann likely met Kirschenbaum as he was preparing for his first exhibition at the Park Place Gallery in 1966. Kirschenbaum's interests in science and technology made him a good candidate for crossover work in the visual arts, and by 1969 he was exhibiting his own sculpture at the newly founded Paula Cooper Gallery on Prince Street in SoHo. Verlaine Boyd, "Essay", Bernand Kirschenbaum professional website, http://bernardkirschenbaum.com/Bernard_Kirschenbaum/essay.html. Accessed 5 July 2012.

out of these compact spaces and into the room, which would signal both physical and psychic liberation to the audience. In rehearsals Schneemann directed her performers to climb onto the ropes one behind the other, keeping enough space between each person to allow for a full range of motion in the limbs. As one performer advanced through this rope matrix, he or she created tremors within it to which the subsequent performer then had to adjust.

This rope forged a matrix of connectivity that incorporated both sensation and emotion**.** In asking her performers to a linear practice that did not create structure or striate the space—in other words, to make a line that did not delineate. Instead it enlarged the possibilities of social interaction and self-knowledge. All this was dependent on the way that the ropes created a flexible space, or, as Schneemann wrote: "[T]he image insisted on an open rigging of interdependent ropes, not placed against a wall or anchored behind a stage."[91]

Rope had been a key material for Schneemann since the early part of the decade. In 1962, when Carolee Schneemann and the performance artist Allan Kaprow met for the first time at a deli on 8th Street in New York City, they planned a Happening in which they would cut New Yorkers adrift from ropes on a barge off the coast of East Hampton.[92] Though the event was never realized, Schneemann henceforth referred to rope as a kind of line, using it to organize or inhibit physical movement in many subsequent performance works. She also reports a story of her old home in Illinois, in which a worker who was pruning a tree in her front yard left a rope dangling from the tree when he quit work for the day. Schneemann, the story goes, was fascinated by this

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[91] Carolee Schneemann, *More Than Meat Joy: Performance Works and Selected Writings*, second edition (New York: McPherson & Company, 1997), 105.

[92] Carolee Schneemann, "Interview with *ND*." *ND* (Austin, TX), no. 14 (1991), 5-10. Reprinted in *Imaging Her Erotics: Carolee Schneemann: Essays, Interviews, Projects* (London and Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2002), 114.

rope: its potential for torsion, the way that it came to rest at an elegantly perpendicular angle to the ground, and its potential for enmeshment with the human body. Rope was responsive to touch, sharing a theoretical and phenomenological kinship with line, but it also sprung back into place, which, to Schneemann, helped to reconcile the optics of line with the contingencies of the moving body.

It is important to underscore how colossal and totalizing this work would have felt in the space. St. Mark's Church was divided by two tall, fluted steel pillars onto which steel rings could be fitted, and the walls were sturdy enough to fit additional rings and thus construct a complex rope network for the performers (fig. 2.14). The tensile conversation between steel rigging and ¾ inch manila rope must have resembled—and even dwarfed—some of the structural sculptures that were beginning to crop up in the downtown gallery scene: Sol Lewitt's wooden grids shown at the John Daniels Gallery, for instance (fig. 2.15), or Frosty Myers' hanging, swinging seats (fig. 2.16) or Mark di Suvero's large rotating steel beam sculptures installed at the Park Place Gallery in 1964.[93] In downtown New York at this time, many artists took a devil-may-care approach to such industrial materials. They were cheap (or even free—Schneemann admits to having "somehow convinced a shipyard" to give her the rope), and therefore exuded a lack of preciousness that made the bodies moving in and among them similarly rhythmic and quotidian.[94]

This also required a radical shift in both the audience's and the performers' perception of what constituted a material. Henri Focillon, whose book *The Life of Forms*

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[93] After 1965, the Park Place Gallery was located four blocks from the Judson Memorial Church at 542 West Broadway, and the Park Place Gallery artists were in especially frequent dialogue with the Judson dancers. For more on this connection, see Linda Dalyrmple Henderson, "Park Place: Its Art and History", in *Reimagining Space: The Park Place Group in 1960s New York* (Austin, TX: Blanton Museum of Art, 2008).

[94] Carolee Schneemann, *More Than Meat Joy: Performance Works and Selected Writings*, second edition (New York: DocumentText, 1997), 105.

in Art occupied Schneemann in the earlier part of her career, argued that when a material is inserted into a work of art, the subtle optical changes wrought by the artist cause the viewer to understand the material as something different. "The wood of the statue is no longer the wood of the tree," he argued in *The Life of Forms*. "Sculptured marble is no longer the marble of the quarry; melted and hammered gold becomes an altogether new and different metal; bricks that have been baked and then built into a wall bear no relation to the clay of the clay pit." To further define this change as an optical one, he continued: "The color, the integument, all the values that affect the sight have changed."[95]

A film of *Water Light/Water Needle* shot by John Jones and Sheldon Rocklin in the fall of 1966, conformed to these notions of optical change, emphasizing *touch* as the means by which materials took on new meanings (fig. 2.12). Pieces of paper, crumpled to create angles and planes, were frequently shot immediately in front of images of hands reaching for each other, creating kinships between the performance's materials and the interaction between dancers. Paper's white architecture against the blurred background of each shot fades, at certain moments, and seems to "come away from" outstretched hand.

Hands and feet are key in this video. Most of the ropes, as they appear in Jones and Sheldon's edits, create threads around which clusters of extremities must situate themselves. Such shots result in a pile of trembling, almost vibratory body parts that struggle to gain control over their all-too-thin footing surface. Hands and feet form cluster points along the ropes, and shots of hands are edited so that they flash on the screen suddenly and appear to the paper scattered around the space. Coupled with the in-and-out focusing of the camera, this editing gives the materials a viscosity that, curiously, does not seem directly connected with the dexterity of the hands or feet. The

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[95] Henri Focillon, "The Realm of Forms in Space," *The Life of Forms in Art*, originally published in 1934, current translation by Charles B. Hogan and George Kubler (Zone Books, 1989), 97-98.

videographer emphasizes the *effort* inherent in the hand's grasping motion, but not its skill.[96]

Schneemann was ultimately dissatisfied with the film, complaining that it showed merely "so many wrinkled Levis in flight, so many fragments of Levi behinds, such quantities of paper and ceiling and so little touching…" The impossibility of *recording* touch so that it might be legible, sensible, to viewers, was an ongoing problem for her. Watching the body reckon with thick lines of rope, with neither entity successfully imprinting on the other, was the closest thing to making touch legible without actually being touched by someone else.[97]

It is interesting that Schneemann was frustrated at the film's failure to represent what she felt were the key moments in *Water Light/Water Needle*: the moments where hands and feet grasped objects, or perhaps grasped each other. Her frustration points to a broader problem of filmic representation, which is that a moving image produced by a moving camera cannot consistently center on a single point of contact, but is, rather, a

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[96] The American 1960s saw broad debates about the role of hands and arms in human communication, ushered in through studies of apes and animal behavior. Many popular anthropology texts like those authored by Desmond Morris focused on apes' use of their arms, rather than the grasping motion shared by their hands. Morris's attempt to use apes to explain sexual cues in human behavior would have been very polarizing. Other authors would shift focus to the apes' hands in the early 1970s, with books such as *Spiritual Midwifery* romanticizing the similarities between human and simian grasping abilities. To wit, Ina May Gaskin wrote in 1975: "Touch is the most basic, the most nonconceptual form of communication that we have. In touch there are no language barriers; anything that can walk, fly, creep, crawl, or swim already speaks it. I first experienced a transmission of this kind, not with another midwife, but with a female Capuchin monkey…She took hold of my finger in her hand… and I had never been touched like that before. Her touch was incredibly alive and electric." One presumes she uses "nonconceptual" in a colloquial sense, referring to culturally conditioned concepts like those transmitted through higher education. *Spiritual Midwifery* (Summertown, TN: Book Publishing Company), 10. But even as late as 1970, artists expressed skepticism for the romanticization or over-intellectualization of apes, and indeed animals in general. For instance, in his introduction to his 1967 essay "Paragraphs on Conceptual Art," Sol Lewitt wrote with dry humor, "The editor has written me that he is in favor of avoiding 'the notion that the artist is a kind of ape that has to be explained by the civilized critic'. This should be good news to both artists and apes." Sol LeWitt, "Paragraphs on Conceptual Art," *Artforum* 5, no. 10 (1967): 79.

[97] Carolee Schneemann, letter to Sheldon, 23 July 1966: "and to me that's comprehensible only by Reichian logistics—it's not a formalistic, technical problem." Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, Folder 27.5.

delayed depiction of the frenetic, uncalculated aspects of physical movement. All this supports my point that the experience of *watching* line being created, moved, or intervened on in a live situation allowed viewers to confront important social and aesthetic problems in the 1960s. Watching the ropes move in *Water Light/Water Needle* would have evoked the incompatibility of representation and experience, for instance, or the separation between the things lines were meant to measure in the emerging information age (like cybernetic networks, automobile speeds, weight loss) and those things' stubborn resistance to quantification. Witness the following quotation from a Heathcote Williams poem that Schneemann preserved in her notes: "Love is a small diode ripped out of the network of biochemical effluvia: hexenol trails, and pheromones, which link us all together, and on which production has been delayed."[98] *Water Light/Water Needle* proved that to separate a phenomenon from its network of lived experience is tantamount to ripping an embedded component from its system.

We should also consider sexual and gender codes at work in this piece. Several portions of the film center on touches and gestures that would have been coded as sexual. For instance, the camera lingers on Deborah Hay's black hair and white-clad back as she bounces up and down on two ropes, humping them gleefully. The 1966 viewer would have doubtlessly picked up on the subtext of sexual exuberance here; however, there is something broader and more mechanical in Hay's strokes, as though she were an RPM meter on a car. Neither Hay nor the rope is empowered over the other. The markmaking impulse is thus used here as a reciprocal and non-hierarchical give-and-take. Rather than the bodies responding to a flat surface (or even to open space) as individual agents, they confront a de-natured, unhardened line, responding to its touch.

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98 In Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Library, Box 27, Folder 6.

Such film clips offered new ways to understand sexual freedom and physical ability as unbound from conventional understandings of gender. Gender, behavior and ability were poignantly interlaced for Schneemann. She recalled, in childhood, watching out her window on rainy days while the young men with whom she performed farm chores were permitted to play as they liked: "I had no sense that I could 'compete' with boys or do the things they did or that I could do the athletic actions they did so naturally; climbing trees, throwing rocks, grappling with one another—but in my own way I was attracted to the forms of action they assumed in games and work."[99] This feeling of confinement is emblematic of attitudes toward the "place" of women and girls in mid-century postwar capitalist nations (and something that Simone de Beauvoir, another one of Schneemann's intellectual touchstones in graduate school, noted explicitly, pointing to the "immanence" of women's bodily experience as opposed to the "transcendence" of young men), and has been described by numerous women who grew up in the post-war United States.[100] *Water Light / Water Needle* eroded these paradigms of female confinement by giving the viewer a sense that the "lines drawn" are not barriers; nor are they for merely seeing through; rather, they are a sampling of the edgings and boundaries that create new behavioral possibilities.[101]

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[99] Carolee Schneemann, *Notations* (1958-1966), reprinted in *Some/Thing* magazine, Spring 1967.

[100] Beauvoir's work was crucial to Schneemann's early development as a feminist (she wrote a report on Beauvoir that was received poorly by her professors at Bard). Beauvoir describes in *The Second Sex* a complex interlacing of immanence and confinement that both men and women perpetrate on each other, concluding that "The woman confined to immanence tries to keep man in this prison as well… all oppression results in a state of war." (It is likely that Schneemann, who was also an avid reader of Wilhelm Reich and Herbert Marcuse, found Beauvoir's work to harmonize with these other anti-fascist theorists.) Marilyn French, Kate Millett, and numerous other authors transduced this sensation with their own accounts of confinement, with the window serving as the screen through which the gaze penetrated but the viewer's body languished on a fixed side.

[101] Yvonne Rainer, Carolee Schneemann, and others wrote of their interest in the writings of the Austrian psychologist Wilhelm Reich. After immigrating to the United States in the 1930s and obtaining a position at the New School for Social Research in New York, Reich was arrested in 1941 by the FBI for his Catholic tastes in research materials, including literature by Hitler and Trotsky. But he was known in avant-garde circles as pioneering the idea of orgones, small units of cosmic energy that could be harnessed and

Modular Identity at St. Mark's and the Judson Dance Theatre

Schneemann's milieu provided a laboratory for these new behavioral possibilities writ large. In addition to mounting works at St Mark's Church, she also frequently collaborated with members of the Judson Dance Theater in the early and mid-1960s. Judson dancers had different (often conflicting) approaches to gender and identity, and a key lingua franca in negotiating these matters was gesture and notation. In Trisha Brown's dance piece *Homemade* (5.17), for instance, staged two months after Schneemann's, Brown went through everyday motions such as casting a fishing line and talking on the telephone, with a large sixteen-millimeter projector strapped to her back. A film of Brown performing these motions, shot by Brown's second husband Burt Barr, played on the projector as she demonstrated the movement in front of the audience. Brown's report of the work decades later reveals her desire to unmoor these everyday gestures from their problematic system of encoded human behavior: "I gave myself the instruction to enact and distill a series of meaningful memories, preferably those that had an impact on identity. Each 'memory-unit' is 'lived', not performed, and the series is enacted without transitions."[102] While Brown "lived" each movement, the film played back her actions and turned Brown's body into a feedback machine. It traced her behavior, and made Brown a producer of spontaneous behaviors that were general rather than specific. The movements also would not have helped the audience to construct a

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used to defeat physical and mental illnesses. He focused particularly on repressed sexual energies, making his work attractive to avant-garde communities frustrated by the remains of 1950s sexual repression. Well into the 1970s, Schneemann recalled wanting to design works according to the physical and even sexual particularities of each performer, as though she wanted to make visible the individual sexual currents that each body projected. (My interviews with performers and viewers about this work reveal that one of its primary features was the performers' bodies reverberating against the ropes, as though simulating sexual behaviors such as frottage.)

[102] Trisha Brown, "Pastforward Statement," in Sally Banes, ed., *Reinventing Dance in the 1960s: Everything was Possible* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 194. Cited in Burt Ramsay, *Judson Dance Theater: Performative Traces* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005), 73-74.

"character" around Rainer's dancing body, nor would they have offered any clues as to the identity of the performer. Instead, the movement re-constituted lived experience as a series of modules, of floating units of expression, rather than specific to a given individual's identity.

The same went for the performers in *Water Light/Water Needle,* but instead of showing general templates for movement like fishing line casting or telephone talking, the group would create new templates for movement and behavior together. These movements then generated spontaneous intimacies between the performers and also between performers and audience—always suggestive, provocative. Like an architectural model/plan, these were *projections* for new behaviors and did not involve aspects of the performers' individual identities. "The actions and relationships we find are not a scaffold on which to hang your psycho-dramatic insights and elaborations," Schneemann wrote to her performers regarding another project in 1965. "VISUAL IS EMPHASIS—not psychological!"[103]

To maintain this premium on organic, spontaneous actions, Schneemann sought out participants who had a natural ease of movement that seemed unstudied. By 1963 she was already specifying that "non-dancers" be cast in her works.[104] In *Water Light/Water Needle*, she designated the "character of movement" as "NOT acrobatic/NOT balletic".[105] (Schneemann herself had no formal dance training.) Many of her projects and plans de-emphasized dance expertise or technical skill, and they also de-emphasized hierarchy. In a short unpublished essay from 1963 called "What is a Dancer", she mourned the fact that the dancer's body had to be neatened and clipped by leotards into a line much smoother

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[103] Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, Folder 1.1.
[104] Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, Folder 1.5.
[105] Carolee Schneemann, *More Than Meat Joy: Performance Works and Selected Writings*, 106.
[7] Ibid., 104.

and steadier than it actually was, implying that the untucking of genitals would free the body from the tyranny of misrepresentation.[106] These desires place Schneemann at the forefront of artists re-thinking physical intimacy during the height of the sexual revolution, when sex manuals like *The Joy of Sex* were beginning to frame sex as a technique, complete with illustrations (figs. 2.18 and 2.19)—albeit a technique couched in the rhetoric of amateurism and spontaneity.

For Judson dancers, drawing was key in re-thinking the conventions of choreography. There were several possible ways to draw. Dancers and choreographers at the Judson Church mostly employed the drawn line in their work in two principal ways: the notation of choreography and the tracing and delineation of space through robust gestures. Both these methods were, at least in part, a result of direct relationships with the visual arts. Choreographers did not always notate their dances, but when they did, they did it as an exercise to examine the creative potential and texture of lines themselves.[107] Other members like Yvonne Rainer and Carolee Schneemann often asked their dancers to delineate space through their gestures, urging them to isolate movements of the arm, leg, or torso in order to emphasize everyday, unstylized behavior. Robert Dunn, the choreographer whose 1962 avant-garde dance composition classes formed the basis for the Judson Memorial Dancers, described a mixed approach that might incorporate dance notation on paper just as easily as the live execution of line via the human body: "Whether we use any other writing material in between, we certainly do inscribe dances on the bodies of the dancers, as a group… Graphic notation is a way of inventing the dance. It is part of the conception of the dance. What the choreographer has to do is to

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[106] Carolee Schneemann, "What is a Dancer," unpublished essay, March 1963. Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, Folder 1.5.
[107] Sally Banes, *Democracy's Body: Judson Dance Theater, 1962-64* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), 7.

choose a world of movement… to invent or choose the graphic side and invent or choose the correlations."[108] Dunn was drawn to Bauhaus artists like Wassily Kandinsky and Laszlo Moholy-Nagy who used line or color to create a sense of motion in their works. And so, while Judson dancers would have been aware of existing methods of notating dance steps such as Labanotation, they by and large used a very wide swath of notation techniques.

As we have seen from the earlier ballpoint pen and watercolor drawing, Schneemann did not use strict notation in her performance plans. She usually drew quick figural sketches on small pieces of paper in cheap notebooks or scribbled them on the backs of envelopes to (fig. 2.20) or made larger, scenographic depictions of figures that used traditional methods of composition (fig. 2.7). This was quite different from the way that line was used to represent dance technique in the history of ballet and modern dance. The earliest dance manuals of the western world made connections between graphic and bodily lines; Carlo Blasis, who published one of the first dance instruction manuals, *The Code of Terpsichore*, included explicit dotted lines slicing through and guiding the arms and torsos of his illustrated figures (fig. 2.21).[109] Even more explicit in the Judson dancers' memory would have been the teachings of dancer Martha Graham, whose company had by then been performing for almost forty years, and whose angular, austere body lines that could be visible even in her most fractious descendants like dancer Merce Cunningham. Cunningham had designed a system of chance exercises that he himself had worked out ahead of time, so that when his dancers performed requested tasks, he could

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[108] Ibid.

[109] Carlo Blassis, *The Code of Terpsichore: A Practical and Historical Treatise, on the Ballet, Dancing, and Pantomime* (London: E. Bull, 1830), unpaginated.

still be sure of the tasks' outcomes.[110] This kind of premeditation, which on the surface seemed to de-emphasize the creation of orderly lines with the body, began to seem to young performers like Rainer and Schneemann to be overly determinate, rigid, and incompatible with true subjectivity. Past choreographers, they reasoned, designed tasks that the body could perform that would conform to the visual parameters set out by a leader; true liberation was to be found in not just chance methods but in tracing the movements of the natural, unaffected body.[111]

The Lonely Crowd: Alienation and Urban Space

The urban space in surrounding neighborhoods was also an important proving ground Schneemann and her circle. St. Mark's Church was about seven blocks from Washington Square Park, a small green space that housed, alternately, groups of college-aged protestors, fading beatniks, and drug addicts; since the park had closed to automobiles in 1959, the Church was on the receiving end of endless foot traffic (figs. 2.22 and 2.23).[112] The foot traffic began with a surge of Beat poets and folk singers in the late fifties, and gave way to the groups mentioned above.[113] Schneemann and fellow

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[110] "Cunningham was very specific in rehearsal about the phrases to be learned, since all the chance operations had been done previously by himself." Leslie Martin, "Black Mountain College and Merce Cunningham in the Fifties: New Perspectives," *Dance Research Journal* Vol 26 No 1 (Spring 1994), 47.

[111] The notion of "affectation" is a somewhat circular one in dance history. Cassis emphasized in 1830 that the proper "design of the body" was crucial when assuming dance poses; the arms and legs should "be gracious," and every movement should be "natural and free of affectation." By 1962 the irony inherent in developing a completely natural way to assume artificial poses would not have escaped Rainer and others; Sally Banes emphasizes in her introduction to Democracy's Body that "the natural" took on a new, direct association with "the everyday". See Carlo Blassis, *Manuel complet de la danse: comprenant la théorie, la pratique et l'histoire de cet art depuis le temps plus reculés jusqu'a nos jours,* (Paris: La Librerie Encyclopédique de Robert, 1830), 94; Sally Banes, *Democracy's Body: Judson Dance Theater, 1962-64* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), 6-7.

[112] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Modern Library, 1961), 471. The New York University archives house a photograph of automobiles parked in this park dated "1960-1969", but I am convinced that it is mis-dated. New York University Archives, Washington Square park and Washington Square area image collection, 1850-1990; Box 1, Folder 6, Item 4.

[113] Research on this sector of Lower Manhattan indicates that the square and its environs had long been a center of revolutionary politics. The Bowery, for instance, had seen a regular ebb and flow of squatters and revolutionaries as wealth had migrated toward midtown and uptown during the nineteenth century. For

artists and dancers regularly crisscrossed the park to get to their rehearsal space and occasionally stopped to join protests in the Square. People like Robert Morris, Yvonne Rainer, Meredith Monk, Trisha Brown, Steve Paxton, and Deborah Hay moved back and forth from these activist spaces into their creative spaces.[114]

Parks in downtown New York like Washington Square were rich with working examples of new social relations, making it a dynamic observation point for the shifts in social and bodily norms.[115] Photographer Diane Arbus, for instance, recalled that while the individuals who assembled in Washington Square Park were seen as unruly disruptors who resisted physical and social control, the park itself was a highly stratified space:

> I remember one summer I worked a lot in Washington Square Park; it must've been about 1966. The park was divided. It had these walks, sort of like a sunburst. And there were these territories staked out. There were young hippie junkies down one row; there were lesbians down another—really tough, amazingly hard-core lesbians—and in the middle were winos. They were like the first echelon, and the girls who came from the Bronx to become hippies would have to sleep with the winos to get to sit on the other part with the junkie hippies. It was really remarkable, and I found it very scary. I mean, I could become a million things, but I could never become that… whatever all those people were.[116]

Arbus's photograph *Young Couple on a Bench in Washington Square Park*, 1966 (fig. 2.24), confirms that, far from being an inchoate mass of inclusive revolutionaries, these groups of people were disturbingly over-determined and uncomfortable even with one another. The disconnect in this picture is palpable; the couple's respective gazes drift into two different points in space, and their bodies do not meet except at the arms and

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more on the longue-duree history of class relations in lower Manhattan, see Peter Adams, *The Bowery Boys: Street Corner Radicals and the Politics of Rebellion* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005).

114 All the above artists were mentioned in critical reviews of dance works at the Judson Theatre around this time. See especially Allen Hughes, "Judson Dance Theater Seeks New Paths: Avant-Gardists Give First Programs in a Church," *New York Times*, June 26, 1963, p 34.

115 Sally Banes, *Democracy's Body: Judson Dance Theater, 1962-64* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), 23-31.

116 Diane Arbus, quoted in *Diane Arbus: Masters of Photography*, 1972. 21:22 – 22:22. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q_0sQI90kYI

knees. The man's knee is slung heavily over the woman's, indicating a claim rather than an affectionate gesture, and her slight body draws away from him, corrected only by the grip of his arm. They are two lovers not grounded in their own bodies but instead, as Arbus's biographer Patricia Bosworth reports about the young people in Washington Square, "so stoned their eyes wouldn't focus"; it is no wonder that Bosworth argues, "[a] strange sense of territoriality and aggressiveness permeated the area."[117] As the viewer and framer of such divisions, Arbus's desire to demarcate a boundary between herself (in other words, the free flow of her own subject-position) and the rigid restrictions around her is clear. While we cannot understand this couple, likely uncomfortable with the idea of being photographed, as representative of all the bodily relations in lower Manhattan, they do re-inscribe the territorialization of the space of youth culture in this moment, and the alienation that existed within these masses of bodies.

Churches in the area around Houston Street and Washington Square Park were yielding to this same alienation, and worked to make their doors and messages permeable to the restless young people of lower Manhattan. Reverend Howard Moody, the senior pastor at Judson Memorial beginning in 1957, was noted in the press for his pragmatic approach to the neighborhood's population and shifting group dynamics.[118] "The city dwellers," he argued in a sermon in 1962, "live in the midst of great impersonal friendlessness." With recourse to the best-selling book by Reisman, Glazer and Denney, Moody warned that many young urbanites were at risk of becoming members of "the lonely crowd." Moody, like many of his young and dynamic colleagues such as Reverend Al Carmines and associate minister Bernard "Bud" Scott, advocated a "person-to-person"

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[117] Patricia Bosworth, *Diane Arbus: A Biography* (New York. W.W. Norton & Co., 1984), 236.
[118] Sally Banes, *Democracy's Body*, 36.

approach to religious outreach that would encourage rapid entrenchment even in the most unevenly populated urban areas.[119]

These concerns voiced, these pleading hands that tried to close the growing unbridgeable interpersonal gaps among populations like student revolutionaries who had a growing reputation for their boundlessness and unpredictability: all these notations help imbue Arbus's photograph, as well as many types of urban experience in the 1960s, with boundaries.[120] And no wonder: there was a pervasive sense that this part of New York City was a lawless zone. In 1962 the City Club of New York, a civic organization dedicated to the redevelopment of the neighborhood south of Houston Street, published *The Wastelands of New York City*, a damning report that depicted the neighborhood as little more than a waste of police resources and infrastructure.[121] It stated that the vacancy rate several blocks south of the Judson Memorial Church and St. Mark's was well above 15 percent, and nearly any loft could be rented for less than $1.00 per square foot per year.[122] Latino and Chinese workers vacated the factories in the evening, leaving sidewalks devoid of commercial and social activity. The average loft space had a cavernous footprint of around 2,000 square feet. Though Schneemann reported that the scale of the church interiors attracted her, it could not have been just scale that drove the dancers to these venues. Rather, the *quality* of the church interior—its sense of aeration,

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119 "Protestant Loss in Cities Decried: Pastor of Judson Memorial Tells How to Spread Faith," *New York Times* (June 18, 1962), 53.

120 Indeed, Schneemann wrote in 1969 of the exercises she carried out with her collaborators, noting the importance of "flesh piles" (collapsing into undifferentiated piles of bodies) because it promoted a "loss of flesh boundaries". Schneemann, "Notes of Motion," Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, box 27, folder 27.6.

121 City Club of New York, *The Wastelands of New York City: A Preliminary Inquiry into the Nature of Commercial Slum Areas, Their Potential for Housing and Business Redevelopment* (New York, 1962), 2-9.

122 Ibid., 4.

its tough scaffolding that allowed for aerial experiments with rope, the opportunity to build boundaries and break them down again—was the source of its allure.

Water Light/Water Needle's Reception: Intimacy and Primitivism

An uneasy yet seemingly unavoidable analogy was the one between Schneemann's performers grasping at ropes and primates moving from tree to tree. Even Schneemann wrote "Forget apes!" to herself in her notes, somewhat sternly. But despite Schneemann's directive to leave aside all things simian, reviews of this work concentrated on the similarity of the performers to primates frolicking through trees. The promotional poster for the event showed the performers doing this very thing (fig. 5.8)—several of them dangling by their arms from rope "strung" across a horizontal poster page, stepping effortlessly into this simian meme. Rachel Owens' reaction in the *East Village Observer* was especially utopian and primitivist. "The character of movement was not acrobatic or balletic but as natural as that of monkeys," she wrote. "I was fascinated by lovely human bodies moving w/the skill and innocence of monkeys, making natural faces and sounds while doing physical actions; their spontaneity was delightful." One particular comment reveals a widespread interest, among critics and the avant-garde-viewing public in the 1960s, in undermining the Cartesian mind-body split: "…while the people walked and hung they showed the hidden, the magical joining of spirit and body." Owens reported that, after watching the work, she was "happily pulled away from earth-bound realism and made to be more aware of the earth. What is above and what is below?"[123] One is reminded of the abstract painter Mercedes Matter's principle of "drawing divides": the literal struggle between vulnerable human flesh and a matrix of rope resolves itself in a flurry of bouncing, touching, and (according to

[123] Rachel Owens, "*Water Light/Water Needle*: A Carolee Schneemann Kinetic Theater Happening," *East Village Observer*, March 14, 1966.

eyewitnesses) snorting and giggling.[124] Later performances in Mah Wah, New Jersey (fig. 2.25) built on this principle, using uncalculated behavior as a way to emphasize the fact that structure was always present, but it was also always malleable.

Lee Baxendall's review of the event at St. Mark's was even more explicit about *Water Light/Water Needle*'s power to inscribe for the viewer the sticky contingencies of interpersonal encounters. Baxendall stated that the performance helped illuminate "the instrumentalities of getting along in this life", making the negotiation between bodies and egos "not obscure, diffuse as in conventional experience… the definition of reality [here] is sharp." He also viewed *Water Light/Water Needle* as a kind of alternate reality that, by its very distinction from everyday life, proposed a radical new way to conduct oneself among others: "The performer," he wrote, speaking in the second-person objective in the style of postwar sociological treatises, "cannot ignore the other performers in this world… the alienation of the everyday street is impossible." With a utopian enthusiasm rivaling that of Owens, Baxendall declared that by making legible the tenuous reliance that one body has on another, Schneemann was constructing "a microcosm of the life possible to us."[125]

It is clear that in his reference to "the alienation of the everyday street" Baxendall is thinking explicitly of urban life in the postwar United States, and that his sentiments echo the vibrant, revolutionary objectives of most avant-garde performance at the time. Baxendall in particular was convinced that Happenings (and, by extension, later intermedia permutations of Happenings), advocated humane values by presenting alternative ways of living—never mind that there was a substantial contingency of

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[124] Mercedes Matter, "What's Wrong with U.S. Art Schools?" *Art News* (September 1963): 40-41, 56-58. This article shows the feverishness with which classically-trained artists defended the drawn line as a mode of knowledge-production.

[125] Lee Baxendall, review of Carolee Schneemann, *Water Light/Water Needle*, *First Stage: A Quarterly of New Drama*, Summer 1966.

performances in which participants decapitated chickens, hung dead chickens suspended from ropes attached to the ceiling, and that a wave of masochism and violence was just emerging within the scene and would become the dominant paradigm by the mid-1970s.[126] The explicit humaneness of Schneemann's project, as perceived by critics, came from her acts of division, of delineation.[127]

Ultimately, *Water Light/Water Needle* became evidence not only of Schneemann's approach to line, but of the degree to which many artists were concerned with the influence of optical divisions on physical ones. The grounding questions supporting this work were, What constitutes the limits of social life, and what strategies might help overcome the perceived boundaries between persons? At what moment does a viewer benefit cognitively from the collapse of such boundaries? These questions resonated with the more general anxieties about the body in this period: the concerns that bodies, particularly those thrown pell-mell into an urban environment, might develop highly calcified striations that would foreclose on the unifying, integrative qualities of

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126 The sado-masochistic quality of early performance remains under-theorized. Aside from Kathy O'Dell's seminal volume *Contract with the Skin: Masochism, Performance Art, and the 1970s* of 1997, little work has been done to historicize violence and interpersonal conflict in performances of this period. In the typed description of his 1962 work *Chicken*, for instance, Allan Kaprow specified that a man dressed as a salesman should give a presentation featuring "two dead chickens hanging from cords tied to the end of a sort of gallows alongside his table. [The salesman] pokes at the bird with his gestures, rips out a few feathers, spreads the wings, bends the feet, etc. Then taking it down, he starts to pluck the chicken, throwing the feathers all around him, haranguing the watchers all the while he does this." Such a description gives us a clear indication of the desire to see live performance in New York City as a balm to the growing tensions between persons despite the desires on the part of performers to unravel the complexities of such tensions. See reprint of description in Eva Meyer-Hermann, Andrew Perchuk, and Stephanie Rosenthal, eds., *Allan Kaprow—Art As Life* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute Publications Program, 2008), 154.

127 This aspect of Schneemann's work bears more consideration, especially alongside the body of 1960s literature that dealt with strangers and the social divisions between persons. Texts such as Tom Wolfe's *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* and Alvin Toffler's *Future Shock* both deal explicitly with fear of the other; in Wolfe's case he explores a kind of counter-cultural xenophobia in a passage involving an encounter with some African-American men. This could certainly harmonize with what Schneemann perceived as the "other" or as strangers within her circle, and extends to a certain self-othering that Schneemann went through in the early 1970s following her return from living in London and her breakup with fellow artist James Tenney in that same period.

social life. This was mirrored in the more pedestrian concerns of David Riesman as well as in Schneemann's interest in Reichian notions of physical and psychic boundlessness.[128]

Whether deployed through solid or pliable materials like rope, barricades, pommel horses, human limbs, or tree branches, Schneemann's linear propositions asked viewers and participants to consider the tenuous nature of genuine ethical engagement. But she did not just use line (or perform it, as the case may be) as a way to prove, through live action and live bodies, what so many of her viewers already knew: that the body itself was a trap, that habits and authority kept gesture compressed into impulses that were written and described as soon as they were expressed. She also began using the experience and material apparatus of drawing (namely, paper and private space) as scaffolding for live works, to a slightly different end. These works—like *Illinois Central*, which I examine in the next section— compressed and re-formulated common studio materials in an effort to reconcile the experience of studio production with everyday life. As she grew increasingly critical of how the studio experience and creativity were framed in the 1960s art world, her next several works were characterized by an intense contemplation of paper and the markmaking surface. During this time, the hints of industrial culture that comprised *Water Light/Water Needle*—the rope, the pulleys, the gleeful and giggling hints at mechanization—were to emerge and become more visible. These details serve as a counter-argument not just to rigid ideas about human behavior, but also to the modernist utopian promises of design that were beginning to characterize museum culture—particularly the rapidly corporatizing museum practices that were beginning to absorb Schneemann and her colleagues. Here we get a sense of the

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[128] "False consciousness", a much-decried analog of the psychic blockage and alienation that Reichman and his contemporaries warned against, was a frequent bugaboo in conversations between artists and writers. See Schneemann, letter to James Tenney, 3 February 1970 (reprinted in *An Epistolary History of Carolee Schneemann and Her Circle*), 165-168.

connections between "drawing" as it was previously constituted in the academy, and drawing's true place on the 1960s hierarchy of media: as pulp or, more radically, as trash.

Illinois Central: Paper and Public Decency in Chicago 1968

In the winter of 1967, Jan Van der Marck, director of the Museum of Contemporary Art Chicago (then referred to as the Chicago Museum of Art) invited Carolee Schneemann and several other artists to mount works in tandem with a large group exhibition, *Made with Paper*.[129] Referring to paper as "the medium of ideas", Paul J. Smith, one of the exhibition's organizing directors, clearly established the exhibition's objective: to frame pulp products as omnipresent, culturally cosmopolitan, and infinitely adaptable. *Made with Paper*'s installation was composed of corrugated cardboard modular sections designed by Robert and William Kaulfuss, and featured hanging cardboard ceiling panels and a paperboard exterior sign, the materials for which had been donated by several corporations including DuPont and Monsanto (fig. 2.26).[130] Folded and corrugated paperboard panels whose radial and fractal patterns evoked a sense of science-fiction geometry a la *Alphaville* interspersed throughout the exhibition.[131] The show featured artists and works which, according to Smith, expressed "the qualities of paper," and the panels helped to make *paper art* synonymous with *paper products*: the walls featured ambitious molded paper cones, fiber cans, and other kinds of corrugated

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[129] Material for this section was first presented at the Association of Art Historians Annual Conference, March 2012. Since 2012 it has encountered many comments and editors. In particular I thank Alexis Salas (University of Texas, Austin), Sarah Luna (University of Houston), Sylvie Laura Symonds (University of Leeds), Elise Archias (University of Illinois at Chicago), and Erica Levin (University of Pennsylvania) for their thoughts. I thank also the organizers of the panel "The Everyday and the Extraordinary: Material Culture and Art History" at the AAH conference, Gemma Carroll and Elizabeth Moore.

[130] Paul J. Smith, "Introduction," *Made With Paper* (Chicago, IL: Museum of Contemporary Crafts and Chicago Museum of Art, 1967), unpag.

[131] Alphaville, of course, had used no special set designs; the film's set master Pierre Guffroy proposed instead to use the streets and modernist buildings of Paris as its backdrop. The resulting patterned backdrops were a function of the urban environment, but served as inspiration for set designers and exhibition designers for the next decade.

cardboard.[132] Viewers were offered paper slippers to change into, and were invited to stand on a glass panel delicately balanced on a sheet of patterned corrugated cardboard (fig. 2.27). The show was underwritten by the Container Corporation of America (CCA), a 42-year-old business based in Chicago that manufactured corrugated paperboard containers for foods and dry goods.[133] Smith no doubt referred to the CCA's sponsorship obliquely when he wrote, "As part of the development of the exhibition, the Museum encouraged interaction among individuals and manufacturers involved with activities relevant to paper."[134] The Chicago exhibition followed immediately on the heels of another exhibition, *Dan Flavin: Alternating Pink and Gold* (fig. 2.28), that had offered visitors yet another permutation of paper's future: they could purchase a catalog and watch it print automatically on an IBM 402 accounting machine (fig. 2.29).

Carolee Schneemann's contribution to the *Made with Paper* exhibition was titled *Illinois Central*; it was the exhibition's sole performance work. The Container Corporation offered to supply Schneemann with fifteen reams of paper for her project and the curator dedicated an open area inside the exhibition space to the performance. In this chapter section I offer not only an analysis of *Illinois Central*'s form and content, but also an account of the work's reception (and eventual rejection) by Chicago museum professionals, as well as an attempt to reckon with the factors that led to this rejection. I examine the role "works on paper" play in complicating the smooth spaces and products of commercial production and unravel the burgeoning conversations on labor and the environment that were bound up in paper's performance work. My goal is to consider the

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[132] Paul J. Smith, "Introduction," unpag.
[133] Mark R. Wilson, ed., Dictionary of Leading Chicago Businesses (1820-2000), http://encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/2624.html, accessed 20 March 2012.
[134] Paul J. Smith, "Introduction," Made With Paper (Museum of Contemporary Crafts and Chicago Museum of Art, 1967), unpag.

role of intimacy and interpersonal exchange in such conversations: what made Schneemann's work so deeply, troublingly different from the others chosen for this exhibition, and what were the stakes of its rejection exactly?

To produce *Illinois Central*, Schneemann, who had lived in Illinois while pursuing her MFA degree at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, collaborated with University of Illinois photography faculty Art Sinsabaugh's pictures of the landscape (figs. 2.30 and 2.31). *Illinois Central* was based on an earlier performance, *Body Collage,* in which Schneemann smeared her nude body with wheat paste and molasses and ran through a pile of shredded printer's paper, allowing the material to cover her in random patterns (fig. 2.32). *Body Collage* was arranged to make two different elements—the contours of Schneemann's body and her chosen material—into the loci of agency, rather than the artist. The velocity of her body would "choose" the pattern and thickness of the paper on its surface, making these elements into a kind of subjectless bricolage. As the artist flapped and took flying leaps off a nearby ladder, small fragments of the paper floated from her body as a moulting bird would effortlessly emit feathers. She used a photograph of herself in *Body Collage* as the main component for the *Illinois Central* poster (fig. 2.33), thus connecting the former work with the latter.

In subsequent essays, Schneemann has described *Illinois Central* as a confluence of two different kinds of instability: that of the Illinois landscape in the face of industrial agriculture; and that of the U.S. escalating aggressions against Vietnam.[135] The anarchic flurry of activity depicted in the photographs helps concretize this instability; the performers took on—and then shed—materials like seasonal trees, bending and swaying into one another. For Schneemann, the tree was a fruitful (pardon the pun) metaphor for

[135] Schneemann, *More Than Meat Joy,* 166.

environmental and military destruction, and she sought to draw pathways between its product (paper) and its absence (plains, drainage, and pollution). She noted that, in twentieth-century Illinois, "the trees once marking the boundaries of small farms were cut down as if an effluvium, inviting soil erosion, floods, destroying natural cover, the ecology of wild life." She found a parallel between this destruction and "the destruction of the intensive, traditional farming in Vietnam", which was leading to the ruin of indigenous agricultural systems there.[136]

Building from *Body Collage*, which had been a solo work, she added five other performers to *Illinois Central*, shifting her bombastic solo performance to an experiment in interpersonal relations (figs. 2.34 and 2.35). The six performers' bodies were layered with shredded paper to form a dynamic confluence of fractured volumes; these volumes worked as a counterpoint to the wide, flat horizon line and the outline of bare trees that Sinsabaugh's photos, projected onto the surrounding walls, emphasized. She also planned to incorporate the audience into the event, inviting them to smear glue on the performers' bodies just before the bodies merged, taking audience members along with them, into an anarchic bundle of producers and consumers. A recording of an excerpt from a local radio program, the "Illinois Farm Hour," called out garbled iterations of the Hog Market Report as viewers smeared the performers' bodies with glue. Schneemann pointed out

[136] It is worthwhile to note that Schneemann drafted her descriptive text for Illinois Central not in 1967 when the letter began, but in the late 1970s (the first publication of *More Than Meat Joy* was in 1979). The notes in her archive about this project have to do mostly with technical improvements that she sought to make on the work. Ten years of hindsight on the project, in addition to her increasing involvement in this period with ecologically-motivated projects and theories, may well have influenced her description of this work as connected to both the burgeoning environmentalist movement and to the anti-war movement. The credence I give to Schneemann's statements, however, reflects the sincere dedication I sense in the archival documents concerning the environment, war, and ecological destruction, even if such thoughts were not fully codified until years later.

that, in the Midwestern United States, this report was "an aural motif in the luncheonette, gas station, grocery store, [or] bank."[137]

When Schneemann traveled to Chicago two weeks before the exhibition's opening to prepare, she was informed that the Container Corporation had withdrawn its offer of free paper and requested that her work not be shown inside the exhibition space.[138] An apologetic Jan Van der Marck reportedly found her an "immense filthy abandoned loft" on Wells Street, about a mile away from the museum, to replace the original space.[139] The circumstances surrounding this incident are unclear; Schneemann had mentioned to Van der Marck that she was using the paper to create an embedded metaphor of the escalating conflict in Vietnam, but the media seized on the nudity in the work. A *Village Voice* article on a similar piece of Schneemann's, *Body Collage*, had appeared a month earlier and was highly bourgeois in tone, noting Schneemann's gleeful naked body and the mess it produced.[140]

I should note here that paper was, in these works, *not* explicitly metonymic with drawing. Instead the performances fused drawing, writing and communication into a dense bundle of media-potentialities that corresponded to the "intermedia" environment that she and Dick Higgins had helped formulate in the mid-sixties. Schneemann and her milieu used *Intermedia*, a catch-all term that was roughly co-extensive with Happenings, as an answer to arguments made by the theorist Marshall McLuhan about medium-

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137 Carolee Schneemann, "Illinois Central," in *More Than Meat Joy: Performance Works and Selected Writings*, second edition (Documentext, 1997),169.

138 Archival documents indicate that the organizer of the Chicago exhibition found a "freezing" loft space at the last minute in lieu of the museum's interior. Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, Folder 2.6.

139 See "Special and Weekly Events" publication at the Chicago Museum of Art, 21-28 January, 1968; Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, Folder 2.6.

140 Review: Weekend Dance column, *The Village Voice*, 1 November 1967. The parallels between this review and the reaction in the American public to menstruation bears considering here.

specificity emerging in the information age.[141] "Intermedia" was a combination of media, and the term posited that all media could (and should) be used in intersections or bundles at the service of a visual argument. "Due to the spread of mass literacy, to television and the transistor radio, our sensitivities have changed," Higgins wrote in 1966.

> Our real enemies are the ones who send us to die in pointless wars or to live lives which are reduced to drudgery, not the people who use other means of communication from those which we find most appropriate to the present situation… We do not ask any more to speak magnificently of taking arms against a sea of troubles, we want to see it done. The art which most directly does this is the one which allows this immediacy, with a minimum of distractions.[142]

As though to affirm Higgins's point, an image of Schneemann performing *Body Collage* appeared on the flyer for the Brooklyn Academy of Music's *Intermedia '68* festival (fig. 2.36). In this image, we can see Schneemann's ecstasy done. The paper clinging to her body is many things—detritus, a textile, a substrate for anointment, a matrix of potentialities—but it is not a surface *qua* surface.

In an effort to "see it done," Schneemann and her community saw multiple surfaces; the media saw only the nude body's surface. The CCA's censorship, then, prompts us to think about the stakes of everyday objects as material in postwar art, in a period in which the commercial identity of objects and the politics of corporate sponsorship created a unique matrix within which practitioners operated, sometimes precariously. Following from my arguments in the earlier part of the chapter, I believe the CCA's reaction centered on the live presence of the figure and the instability that the live body implied, particularly with respect to the Container Corporation's mission at this

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[141] See Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage* (New York: Penguin Books, 1967), who first proposed that each medium was in itself a message and had connotations unique to itself. While Schneemann does not mention McLuhan in her notes, there are frequent letters to and from Higgins establishing the frameworks for the intermedia community.

[142] Dick Higgins, "Statement on Intermedia," written August 3, 1966. Reprinted in Wolf Vostell, ed., *Dé-coll/age (décollage) * 6* (Typos Verlag, Frankfurt / Something Else Press, New York, July 1967).

moment. The human body prompted a rupture of paper's clean, ordered, bureaucratic identity; it introduced the stubborn durations of lived experience into the planned obsolescence of pulp products. Most importantly, *Body Collage* and *Illinois Central* highlighted the disintegration of pulp products without promising their salvation or re-distribution into the world. Schneemann's work, then, re-framed the corporatized notion of "pulp products" as a network of forms, permutations, and effects that included larger civic threats of decay, ultimately proving that paper could facilitate a very embodied form of knowing.

To illustrate this argument, it is helpful to use the phenomenon of the black box, a device made popular through conversations on cybernetics in the postwar United States.[143] A black box, in the theatrical and scientific fields, helps bracket out a thing from its environment. Blackboxing was used in the 1960s talk about anything within social life that could be divided into segments and imagined as a feedback loop. According to a later construction by the science theorist Bruno LaTour, the black box is emblematic of "the way scientific and technical work is made invisible by its own success. When a machine runs efficiently, when a matter of fact is settled, one need focus only on its inputs and outputs and not on its internal complexity. Thus, paradoxically, the more science and technology succeed, the more opaque and obscure they become."[144] At this moment in the late 1960s, paper had been an industrial product for some time. However, as the *Pink and Gold* example illustrates, paper was also becoming input and output to discrete, room-sized computer printers, serving to obscure those technologies

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[143] Norbert Wiener, *Cybernetics: or the Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine*, MIT Press, 1961): xi.

[144] Bruno LaTour, *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 304.

even as it spectacularized them. For North American artists, this emerging relation between paper and information-age technologies provided them a sense of disordered plenitude: cheap commercial notebooks replaced bound sketchbooks for many; magazines and newspapers offered more inspiration than ever before; and the trash heaps around the lofts of lower Manhattan were rife with crumpled trash.[145]

As a performer who identified primarily as a painter, Schneemann first experienced paper in the context of sketchbooks and drawing surfaces. Her use of paper was a direct challenge to the political economy of traditional surface and support. It embodied an elemental collapse: that of the banality of everyday life with the churning and highly provisional nature of artistic production. Most of Schneemann's sketching and working paper came from sample packets offered by sketchbook companies (*Water Light/Water Needle*'s working drawings were done on several of these) or was salvaged from large trash piles in alleyways in the Bowery, or was pulled from dime-store notebooks. As a consequence, Schneemann's "paper work" referred not to the limitations of the two-dimensional surface that a bound sketchbook implied, but to the already-made surfaces and textures inherent in the urban environment and closely allied with moving, communicating, commuting bodies. As early as 1960, Schneemann had written about the inherent confinement of the studio environment, referring to it as a "small cluttered square room" in which she was perpetually "surrounded by the fixed rectangular shapes of books, paintings, drawings, collages; the work table, the doorway, the long rectangular

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145 Scholars have only recently begun to assess the effects of commercial paper on New York artists' output in the 1960s. See Ann Temkin, "Claes Oldenburg's Clippings: An Introductory Tour," in *Claes Oldenburg: The Sixties* (Prestel Publishing, 2012), 133-167. Michael Duncan's curatorial work also helps illuminate this question, as he places West Coast artists like Bruce Conner amidst a backdrop of increasing consumer waste. In Conner's case, this is a popular approach, but it shows the broadening appeal of waste products and waste management in contemporary scholarship on 1960s art. See especially Duncan, *L.A. Raw: Abject Expressionism in Los Angeles from Rico Lebrun to Paul McCarthy, 1945-1980* (Foggy Notion Books / Pasadena Museum of California Art, 2012).

window."[146] As a nearly two-dimensional plane governed by geometry and the dictates of manufacturing, a sheet of paper was also highly unstable: pull it apart and it tears; crumple it and its planar limitations become subject to the dictates of an imprinting hand, or any pushing force.

Schneemann's notes and letters indicate that she sought a collapse of paper's identity as product and fixed space. She rejected the notion of stable surfaces that were passive agents for images or ideas. Rather, she highlighted the instabilities and reciprocities of multiple surfaces: the paper clings to the body's contours; the body's weight attracts different thicknesses of paper-deposits. Each surface was a material, with its own agency and its own ability to slough off surplus *stuff*. In fact, contrary to the Container Corporation's fears, there were no nude bodies in the final iteration of *Illinois Central*; instead, striped overalls and yellow and orange dyed undergarments rendered the bodies less erotic, neutralized like the surface of paper itself.[147] The artist wrote of her interest in not a literal nudity (as was so publicized in the case of *Body Collage*) but rather "a complete exposure of the body, being naked, being covered in glue, collaged with paper, remnant of tree, becoming ourselves 'tree'."[148]

In contrast, the exhibition *Made with Paper* espoused a positivistic and recuperative approach to paper as a material. The show contained no other components that would have resembled live theatre, instead focusing on the aforementioned fractal shapes, pieces of furniture made of paperboard, and paper objects from outside the modern western tradition that had been borrowed from other collections and that

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[146] Undated typed essay, Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, Folder 1.1.
[147] As Schneemann noted regarding wardrobe for the performance, "The clothing we wore was comfortable: yellow and orange dyed underwear and oversized striped overalls. Had we performed Illinois Central naked it would have seemed peculiarly erotic—inhabitants of an Ingres Turkish bath fleeing a paper hurricane." Schneemann, *More Than Meat Joy*, 169.
[148] Ibid.

embodied design innovations (figs. 2.37, 2.38). (This veneration had a distinctly Bauhaus sensibility, and indeed, the Bauhaus were mentioned frequently in the catalog essays. This likely stemmed from Walter Paepcke's support of the Chicago Bauhaus school, which I address a bit later.) One such essay by John Massey argued that paper's primary role in the world was a catalytic one: it was a receiver and conductor of great ideas. According to Massey, these great ideas should achieve one thing: "the conversion of the natural wealth of the world into distributable form."[149] Unsurprisingly there was no mention of the elision of subjectivity that Schneemann's work set into motion, both on the part of the live participants and on the part of the pulp product itself.

Given this emphasis on ordered distribution, one can sense reasons for the Container Corporation's withdrawal of support for Schneemann. The aforementioned *Village Voice* story on Schneemann's work, which likely circulated to the Container Corporation a few weeks before the opening of the Chicago performance, depicts Schneemann as a refuse-strewn seminude showgirl. Her frontal posture and raised arms indicate a seized power bordering on the monstrous.[150] Despite the museum press release's description of the work as "an erotic human collage," the Chicago Daily News dismissed Schneemann as "an apparition that resembled a tornado barreling through a Boy Scout paper drive."[151] Note that both these sources fixate on the body's constitutive power when it is in motion, at the expense of meditating on the material.

Here we should consider the history of the Container Corporation's engagement with modern artists. The CCA's support of artistic activity dates back to 1937, when the corporation partially underwrote Laszlo Moholy-Nagy's foundation of the New Bauhaus

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[149] John Massey, untitled essay, *Made With Paper* (New York: Museum of Contemporary Crafts, Craftsman's Council of the U.S., and the Container Corporation of America, 1967), unpaginated.
[150] Review: Weekend Dance column, *The Village Voice*, 1 November 1967, 28-29.
[151] Quoted in ibid., 28.

School in Chicago. One of the executives, Walter Paepcke, had received a classical education at the University of Chicago, later joining a "Great Books Club" there that catered specifically to executives. An admirer of Goethe and Teddy Roosevelt, Paepcke instrumentalized artists in his mission to promote the sale of corrugated cardboard boxes by hiring them to work on advertising campaigns and subsequently promoting their work. Literary and artistic modernism was beginning to take hold as a framework for corporate identity in the late 1920s. The aesthetic, many executives discovered, was ideal for promoting not only luxury items such as jewelry, fine textiles, and cars, but also emerging everyday technologies that were beginning to embed themselves in the daily lives of advanced nations.[152] Products such as "batteries, roller bearings, shock absorbers, and pistons" inspired fantasies of both order and progress, and corrugated boxes, Paepcke realized, agreed with this aesthetic as well.

Two of Herbert Bayer's works, *Ugly Duckling of the Office* (1939) and *Strength Out of Straw* (1939), embody the luxurious yet recuperative "mystical veil" that the CCA sought to assign to paper (figs. 2.39 and 2.40).[153] The first of these works is a neo-constructivist paean to the CCA's efficiency and frugality. A label underneath the work read, quote, "Discarded office records and stationery—hundreds of thousands of tons a year—are salvaged to produce America's beautiful paperboard packages!" *Strength Out of Straw* advances this neo-constructivist message tinged with nationalistic rhetoric:

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152 Research across popular American publications between 1930 and 1964 indicates an increasingly reciprocal relationship between modern art and advertising, a relationship that culminated in executive sponsorship of public programs and performances that promoted the arts in American cities of all sizes. See Neil Harris, "Designs on Demand: Art and the Modern Corporation," in Neil Harris, ed. *Art, Design, and the Modern Corporation: The Collection of Container Corporation of America, A Gift to the National Museum of American Art* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 1985), 14-15, Oscar Schisgal, "Culture, Inc.," Time n83 (Feb 21 64), 85-86; and Schisgal, "Our Newest Patron of the Arts," *Readers Digest* 76 (May 1960), 120-121.

153 I refer of course to Karl Marx's mystical veil of capitalism, which he names in "The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof," *Capital,* Volume 1, p. 49.

"Gigantic harvest—17,000,000 bales of wheat straw every year contribute raw material for America's paperboard packaging!"[154] It shows a cross-section of corrugated cardboard rotated on its axis and balanced upright to resemble a modular wall, elevated from humble packing material to elegant supporting structure. The cube or rectangular prism, a symbol of the power and solidity of repurposed stacked paper, dominated the works at this time and echoed the corporation's logo.

In both the fine and applied arts, CCA sought to cast paper and paper containers as both a corporate staple and a technological vanguard. By 1965, CCA sales rose to over $400 million, due largely to the increased demand for disposable packaging of nearly every imaginable product. The CCA's 1966 Annual Report included a poem written about paper's omnipresence and aesthetic refinement, which was reproduced for the *Made with Paper* show. The Container Corporation thus had a paradoxical interest in integrity of surface and of shape among the works that it commissioned, and an investment in calling attention to the essential polyvalency of the material—provided that it was the correct narrative of polyvalency.

Foul Waste and Good Taste: Paper's liminality

By 1966, several corporations were fashioning an image of paper as youthful and cosmopolitan—the material became virtually synonymous with the new technologies that could support a society of class-neutral luxury. The Scott Paper Company offered paper dresses (woven with nylon fibers for added durability) as a promotional item; soon these dresses were in demand among readers of the fashion magazines that embodied the same cycle of luxury and consumption as the dresses themselves.[155] The dresses (fig. 2.41)

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[154] Neil Harris, ed. *Art, Design, and the Modern Corporation: The Collection of Container Corporation of America, A Gift to the National Museum of American Art* (Smithsonian, 1985), 34.
[155] "Paper Clothing," *Encyclopedia of the 1960s: A Decade of Culture and Counterculture* (Greenwood, 2012), 499-500.

were meant to promote brand loyalty and solidify the brand identities of disposable products such as pies (which came in a throwaway tin) and Campbell's Soups (which came in a can)— these are highly atemporal images, since they underscore the idea that something is infinitely durable until the moment that it's not needed anymore. While there is no record of Schneemann clothing herself in paper other than in her performances, she would not have missed the presence of paper furniture and clothing in the New York pop art and design world. In fact, *Made with Paper* included a paper textile installation, with several examples of different "weaves" and garments hung above bales of shredded paper (fig. 2.42), with large photos of models shown wearing the garments. The public conversation around the exhibitions was one of rueful resignation at the youthquakers who might take such offerings seriously.[156] Since it is doubtful that they knew very much about Schneemann's larger theoretical interests, CCA executives may have seen Schneemann's performing bodies wrapped in paper as a terrifying hyperbole of the youthful energy and inattention at which clean, materially-enhanced paper dresses only hinted.

Clearly there was tension between Schneemann's demonstration of lived experience in real time, and *Made with Paper*'s celebration of plenitude that seemed to take on infinitely many modalities with no end. But in the 1960s, there was a particular urgency to the Container Corporation's recuperative aesthetic. Toward the end of the decade, the news media began featuring stories connecting the productive aspects of paper and paperboard with the decidedly unclean and counterproductive effects of their manufacture. In 1960, a group of concerned citizens founded Save Our Lake, a campaign

[156] Nigel Whiteley, "Toward a Throw-Away Culture. Consumerism, 'Style Obsolescence' and Cultural Theory in the 1950s and 1960s," *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 2, The 60s (1987), 15.

to expose and eliminate industrial pollutants in Lake Michigan.[157] The Container Corporation responded by developing a fluidized bed process to eliminate toxic substances from pulp mill processing. A fluidized bed exists when "a quantity of a solid particulate substance [usually present in a holding vessel] is placed under appropriate conditions to cause the solid/fluid mixture to behave as a fluid, thus allowing it to be pumped out of a body of water."[158] It was a helpful innovation at the time, though my research suggests that it wasn't uniformly implemented.[159]

CCA's annual reports noted that this innovation was in keeping with Chicago's reputation for advancements in solid waste treatments. Broadly speaking, solid waste practices in the 1960s were moving from a hodgepodge of pre-war home-based methods (including feeding garbage to swine), to more organized, even Fordist means of disposal.[160] The Calumet Incinerator Project in Chicago was a major innovation in trash-disposal technology that afforded the city efficiency and containment. It was designed to be the highpoint of Chicago trash-disposal projects, the fourth major incinerator constructed since 1955.[161] The plant contained a large trash baler to crush refuse into compact cubes, and the Container Corporation donated part of the funds for it to the Solid Waste Department, ensuring the corporation's position as creator *and* eliminator of pulp products.[162] Packaging may have been everywhere, but after it was disposed of, engineers

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[157] "Save our lake: a Chicago tribune campaign to end pollution of Lake Michigan," (Chicago, 1960), unpaginated pamphlet.
[158] Wikipedia, "Fluidized Bed." Accessed 12 November 2011.
[159] See H. Lanier Hickman, *American Alchemy: The History of Solid Waste Management in the United States* (Forrester Press, 2003), 15.
[160] Ibid., 5-8; J.A. Fife, "Design of the Northwest Incinerator for the City of Chicago," National Incinerator Conference, 1970. http://www.seas.columbia.edu/earth/wtert/sofos/nawtec/1970-National-Incinerator-Conference/1970-National-Incinerator-Conference-25.pdf, accessed 24 March 2012.
[161] J.A. Fife, "Design of the Northwest Incinerator for the City of Chicago," National Incinerator Conference, 1970. http://www.seas.columbia.edu/earth/wtert/sofos/nawtec/1970-National-Incinerator-Conference/1970-National-Incinerator-Conference-25.pdf, accessed 25 March 2012.
[162] Ibid.

at the Container Corporation worked to ensure that it would be condensed, contained, minimized—re-distributed into nowhere.

Despite this development, an article in September of 1967 named the CCA as a contributor to poisoned runoff in Manistee Lake in Michigan.[163] In a national conference on solid waste research, held in Chicago in 1963, representatives from the United States Surgeon General indicated that most strategies for solid waste removal were not sufficient to support the postwar population boom.[164] As these news headlines I've shown suggest, citizens were beginning to build connections between the surfeit of packaging that had advanced promises of postwar prosperity and splendor, and the threat of this packaging once it began its state of decay. CCA's annual report for 1967 reflected the public's slightly waning interest in disposable goods; for the first time since 1962, sales plateaued and earnings dropped.[165] Containment, it seems, was precarious; art critic William Pahlmann insisted that, quote, "that Made With Paper show... indicates that we may have to solve the incinerator problem before we can progress to a disposable world."[166]

The framing of pulp products as integral components of culture seemed an appropriate way to address the public's concerns. They underwrote a second exhibition, *Great Ideas of Western Man*, that same year as *Made with Paper*, which purported more explicitly to root itself within the history of creativity. Quotations by great writers were selected and assigned to commissioned artists, who produced works on and in paper that referred back to the quotations. Plans for this show went into effect immediately after the

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163 "Tainted Fish Cause Woe in Manistee; Residents Point to Industry as Cause." *Chicago Tribune*, 11 September 1967, Page 1.
164 Ibid..
165 CCA annual report, 1967, p. 25.
166 William Pahlmann, "Paper Et Cetera: A Matter of Taste," *Chicago Tribune*, Jan 15, 1968, p B8.

Container Corporation had proposed a merger with Montgomery Ward and Company—a department store known for its commitment to upholding moral order (one of their major contributing charities sent young women from low-income neighborhoods to charm school).[167] [168]

The Container Corporation's decision spoke to an embedded cultural politics of waste disposal and the public's image of paper products. The matter reached farther than their alarm at seeing a live nude body onstage. We can return to Schneemann's use of The Farm Report, with its streaming data on hogs. Hogs were disorderly; indeed, as I mentioned earlier, they ate trash, and thus represented the kind of displaced compaction system that the Container Corporation was trying to remedy (although, it should be noted, the Corporation actually contributed to this problem through toxic dumping). This would have set up an *inversion* of the teleological narrative that these corporations wanted to attach to pulp products. Paper must be some place, on its way to becoming some *thing*, rather than torn and tattered and festooning a moving, liminal body. Indeed, when an artist used the instability of paper as a metaphor for the U.S.'s involvement in Indochina, the material became itself fugitive and radical—dangerous, anti-positivistic, and a threat to public order.

Ultimately, the outcome of *Illinois Central* had implications beyond the public image of paper and pulp. Schneemann performed this work five more times in 1968, on college campuses and arts festivals in major cities.[169] It became a barometer for the shifting public reception of bodily intimacy trafficked through materials in live art, as

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[167] Container Corporation of America Annual Report, 1967, p. 16.
[168] For more information on the Wendy Ward Charm School, see Jenese Busch's memoir, *My Father's Daughter* (CCB Publishing, 2008), p 87. Busch became the director of the school in her early twenties.
[169] See full list of 1968 performances, as well as one performance in March of 1969, in Carolee Schneemann, *More Than Meat Joy*, 167.

well as the public's increasing receptivity to ideas of destruction and disintegration. Schneemann's spare written and verbal directions provided prompts, and the performers reacted to these prompts spontaneously. As indistinct paper-objects, the performers used disintegrated trash to draw and sculpt social interactions, rather than leave behind sculptural remains (or waste, it could be argued, within Schneemann's paradigm) that embodied certain feelings or values.[170]

The incident I've outlined here is an acute example of the deconstructive force of live performance, particularly where the material culture of the everyday is concerned. Schneemann's shaggy, volumetric paper masses were interlaced with (and sometimes indistinguishable from) the human body, making it impossible to bracket out pulp products and frame them as products of the mind. *Illinois Central*'s bodies caressed, groped, and otherwise responded to each other, creating a spontaneous intimacy that ruptured the seamless safety and comfort of raw materials—in other words, the moving bodies united nature and the human in the context of direct interaction rather than within a narrative of commodity production.

Body Collage and *Illinois Central* not only deconstructed everyday materials and experiences and re-organized them under new principles of media consumption, but they also signaled a substantial change in the ontology of "works on paper" in the sixties. For the first time, paper signaled both nature and culture, encompassing the waste products of

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[170] The CCA's tension in the face of this challenge anticipates the public stir caused by later performance works dealing with the enormous physical realities of waste, such as Merle Laderman Ukeles' work *Touch Sanitation* of 1979. Over a three-year period, Lademan Ukeles shook the hand of every sanitation worker in New York City, attempting to make visible the matrix of workers and abject materials that supported New York's civic and residential spaces. (So a more extensive inquiry into this cultural moment would interrogate the materiality of waste and its connections with labor.) At a moment when corporations sought to totalize our vision of a particular material and shape its essence into something at the mercy of the mind, Illinois Central's disruption is particularly instructive. Schneemann's work allowed the public to consider waste as productive and *woven into* the social, rather than an embryonic component of innovation that created social exchange.

both. Artists like Schneemann were instrumental in positioning paper as a social medium, one that could subvert established ideas about surface. From Schneemann's experience we can also observe paper's role in exposing blackboxed technological innovations like computer printers and industrial manufacture. She and her performers became engines of waste-disposal, mess, and re-use, bringing a social rupture to this material's established cultural politics.

Ultimately, *Water Light/Water Needle*, *Body Collage*, and *Illinois Central* argue in different ways for the mind and body's enmeshment with one another. A certain stiff-necked Cartesianism distantly haunts all these works, perpetuated in some ways by Schneemann herself (after all, she rejected straight lines as threats to free expression, as though unbridled impulse was liberation's lingua franca). The distinctions between mind and body took a turn after Schneemann began taking in the 1970s a different approach to her career, as we will see in the following analysis of Schneemann's 1975 work *Interior Scroll*.

Figure Drawing Externalized: Re-Drafting *Interior Scroll*

Writing in the last two years of his life, the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein took up the question of "other minds"—that is, how it is possible to fully understand the interior thoughts and feelings of another person—with caution. His last works focused on the impossibility of truly knowing another person's inner life, and likened empathic thought to the mysteries of what might lie inside another person's luggage: "Suppose everyone had a box with something in it: we call it a 'beetle'. No one can look into anyone else's box, and everyone says he knows what a beetle is only by looking at his beetle. – Here it would be quite possible for everyone to have something different in his box. One might even imagine such a thing constantly changing." He continued,

frustrated, to the following conclusion: "The thing in the box has no place in the language game at all; not even as a something: for the box might even be empty."[171]

Wittgenstein's argument that the only way to understand experience was to exteriorize it, to unpack it and produce it as text, speaks to the problems Carolee Schneemann faced in July of 1975 when fellow artist Joan Semmel invited her to contribute to an exhibition of women's art in Easthampton, Long Island.[172] This exhibition, a joint project by artist-curators Joyce Kozloff and Semmel, was to be called *Women Artists Here and Now* (though colloquially, both curators now refer to the show as *Women Here and Now*). Semmel and Kozloff were exuberant feminist curators, eager to organize the discontented population of women artists in East Hampton into a thunderous force for female agency and a seismic tipping point for visibility.[173] In addition to the show's mandate on presence, dynamism and plenitude, the temporal reference inherent in the show's title—*here and now*—was something Schneemann, who had spent the last two decades of her practice "[treating] space as if it were time," found extremely generative.[174]

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171 Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (New York: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 293.

172 According to Semmel, she and Kozloff had invited video artist Martie Edelheit to organize the section of the exhibition that would contain video and performance, work, but Semmel and Kozloff were both involved in the selection of Schneemann. Interview with the author, 14 June 2012.

173 Semmel has stated several times since that the exhibition was spurred on because of the public's refusal to deal with sexual content in work produced by women. Female sexuality continued to lie at the margins of representation, Semmel notes with some glumness (in the interview in note 2) that the term "frigid" had not yet faded from the lexicon of art criticism by this time. For more on sex and gender divides in the art of the 1960s, see Michael Benedikt's article on the "cool" erotic nude—a sub-genre that seems to have been appropriate and relevant only for male artists. Michael Benedikt, "New York," *Art International* v11, n4 (April 1967), 63. For a rebuttal inclusive of artworks produced by women, see Lucy Lippard, "Eros Presumptive," *The Hudson Review* v20n1 (Spring 1967), 91- 99.

174 Schneemann's narrative recounting her first meeting with musician James Tenney describes a kind of rhythmic, mirrored inversion: "I'm a musician and I treat time as if it were space." "I'm a painter and I treat space as if it were time." Carolee Schneemann papers, Getty Research Institute, Box 1, Folder 2.

Interior Scroll, the performance work that followed, has since become a troubled part of the feminist canon. Extant photographs of this live work show Schneemann pulling a long, typewritten sheet of paper from her vagina and reading the text aloud in front of an audience, performing, as Schneemann described it, an exercise in the exteriorization of thought (fig. 2.43). Her now- well-known essay contextualizing the work, written in 1979 when she was attempting to historicize her alliance with feminist art, reads like a romantic and essentialist packaging of the vagina as pure interior: "I thought of the vagina in many ways: physically, conceptually; as an architectural form, a sculptural referent, the source of sacred knowledge, ecstasy, birth passage, transformation. I saw the vagina as a translucent chamber of which the serpent was an outward model: enlivened by its passage from the visible to the invisible, a spiraled coil ringed with the shape of desire and generative mysteries, attributes of both male and female sexual powers. This source of 'interior knowledge' would be symbolized as the primary index unifying spirit and flesh in Goddess worship."[175]

By affixing or attributing her scroll's ineffable interiority to Goddess narratives, some feminist scholars say, Scheemann framed this work as a problematic instance of essentialism. After all, the only physical carriers of this "sacred knowledge" were those who were sexed female.[176] The particular permutations of power and visibility that she specified stemmed from the vagina as a site of knowledge production. Additionally, as scholar Ann Bronwyn Paulk has pointed out, Schneemann's "conflation of body and

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175 Carolee Schneemann, *More Than Meat Joy: Performance Works and Selected Writings* (Rutgers, NJL McPherson and Co., 1979), 234.

176 Feminist scholars continue to re-enforce this essentialism by aligning this work's use of the female vagina with associations with its physical functions, namely bleeding. While this reading is not entirely incorrect (particularly given Schneemann's history of experiments with vaginal fluids), it ignores the fact that a sizeable portion of the performance was undertaken using the rational, cerebral idiom of drawing practice. See Jane Blocker, *What The Body Cost* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 125.

Goddess strategies" resulted in the frequent collapse of femininity with nature—a tendency of which Schneemann herself has been broadly critical.[177] In any case, most scholars, taking cues from Schneemann's own 1979 essay on this work, have concentrated on the artist's genitals as a metaphor for her creative faculties—a visceral space of production and an example of a "pure interior" that mimicked feminine intuition.

With recourse to Wittgenstein's confusion in the face of the opacity of "other minds,", this last section of my chapter challenges dominant approaches to *Interior Scroll* that have centered on the vagina, and instead situates this work within shifting discourses on gender and markmaking in the 1970s. The line, the mark, and the trace were the subjects of broad conjecture at this moment. Major exhibitions of drawing in the early 1970s that centered on postminimalist artists proposed the act of drawing as the meeting of interior and exterior. The production of a mark, the exhibitions argued, is the first moment at which private languages became public ones; the touching of an implement to a surface or the tracing of a line in space constituted a meeting of cognitive and haptic capabilities between artist and viewer. Many of the contemporary drawing exhibition catalogues that were emerging by the mid-1970s romanticized the linear image as an essential part of an origins narrative: when an idea first meets the external world.[178]

Interior Scroll didn't quite follow this operation, however. Rather than emphasize the touching of implement to surface, the performance positioned the hand (generally the center of technical discipline in any drafting activity) as beholden to the "lines" of information emerging from Schneeman's body, calling into question whether the human

177 Ann Bronwyn Paulk, "Femi-Primitivism," *Rutgers Art Review* v16 (1990), 46.

178 Examples include *Drawing Now* (Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1976); *New Work on Paper 3* (Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1983); Laurie Anderson's reviews of Rosalind Krauss's exhibition *Line as Language: Six Artists Draw* at Princeton University, ArtNews 73 (Summer 1974), 113-114; Bernice Rose, *Jackson Pollock: Works on Paper* (Mueum of Modern Art, New York, 1969).

subject is the creator of the line, or the other way around. Most scholars have overlooked the fact that this work's conceptual thrust derives from the experience of drawing.[179] Consider *Interior Scroll*'s additional production details: before reading from the scroll, Schneemann stood before her audience draped in a sheet, and after disrobing, made marks on her own body with mud that defined her facial and skeletal contours (fig. 2.44). She then stood on a table and assumed poses that were derived from gesture drawing exercises—exercises espoused in her favorite drawing instruction book, Kimon Nicolaides' groundbreaking *The Natural Way to Draw*, which she had acquired while still a student in the late 1950s.

We should note that the artist marked *herself* with lines made of mud (with brush and with her fingers), rather than marking a surface external to herself such as paper or a wall. Most interpretations of *Interior Scroll* rightly point out that Schneemann's preparatory mud-marking must have portended shamanistic activity for viewers at the exhibition.[180] Schneemann's shamanistic gesture helped to draw attention to the aspects of touch upon which much modern western art has been based. The art historian Richard Shiff has noted, for instance, that Paul Cézanne and other post-impressionist painters sought to establish the visible mark as an indicator of a painter's subjectivity—if the painter could be seen to have touched the surface of the canvas, he or she retained an empowered position as creator and could affirm this socio-political presence through

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179 For instance, Linda S. Klinger's essay "Where's the Artist? Feminist Practice and Poststructural Theories of Authorship," *Art Journal* 50.2 (1991): 39–47, which discusses authorship but not drawing; or Amelia Jones's essay ""presence" in Absentia: Experiencing Performance as Documentation,"*Art Journal* 56.4 (1997): 11–18, which quotes Schneemann's notation of "the fragile persistence of line moving into space" but deals with this work in terms of the female genitalia and body as metonyms for an unstable feminine subject.

180 See Mark Levy, *Technicians of Ecstasy: Shamanism and the Modern Artist* (Rutgers, NJ: Bramble Books. 1993), 181.

visual data.[181] (In a work such as Cézanne's painting *Still Life With Apples* of 1898 (fig. 2.45), the artist deposits individual lines or marks in places that might otherwise be composed of smooth passages of color to form spatial modeling. These lines or marks denote the presence of the painter and create, ironically, the inversion of Deleuze and Guattari's idea of "striated space"—here the striations help to destabilize pictorial illusion and authoritative power).[182] Schneemann has many concessions to Cezanne's work, such as her student painting *JT and Three Kitch's* from 1957—here she employed similar painterly marks to articulate multiple planes of space that project off the canvas. Her lines painted on her own face and body take this spatial unruliness still further: they argue that the artist's task is not the projection of a represented world onto a separate plane, but rather to use vectors as a way to displace the self—in other words, to confound the integrity of markmaker and surface. Several modernist painters have employed this convention of painting directly onto human skin or a human body, including Pablo Picasso.[183]

Schneemann's self-draping at the beginning of the performance also held a double meaning: not only did it indicate that she was entering the performance without the adornment that was frequently associated with female performers such as showgirls and stage actresses, she also placed herself in the role of the figure drawing model—a kind of female performer with limited agency. The draftsman's model, according to the French

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181 Richard Shiff, "Cezanne's Physicality: The Politics of Touch," in Salim Kemal and Ivan Gaskell, eds., *The Language of Art History* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 89.

182 Deleuze and Guattari's premise rests on a binary relationship between the nomad (representative of movement and freedom) and the state (a force that fixes bodies, movement, and space). This provides an apt analogy to Shiff's description of Cézanne's political intentions: to understand himself as a free, unencumbered citizen in a republic. See Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 385; 441.

183 For more on this convention, see Richard Shiff, "Breath of Modernism (Metonymic Drift)," in Terry Smith, ed., *In Visible Touch: Modernism and Masculinity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

Salon tradition, was a still object to be studied—usually by men—who typically held her pose for six hours at a time.[184] Schneemann was aware of this tradition. She has frequently mentioned her tendency in the 1960s and 70s to draw for at least this long every day.[185] Her conflation of the athleticism inherent in drawing with the athleticism inherent in posing, with neither taking precedence over or appearing distinct from the other, certainly constituted a "second draft" of line-based representational strategies; one that incorporated a feminist ethic.

We should note that Schneemann's poses were not the static ones of the French Salon. During her first performance of *Interior Scroll* she changed poses roughly every 10 to 30 seconds, allowing just enough time for the camera to capture each configuration. In the pictures (fig.2.43), she arches her back, lifts one leg while crouched on her hands and feet, then later does the same pose on her knees. She collaborates with the camera to create a compendium of poses that would not have been out of place in a figure drawing class in the 1950s through the 1970s. Curators and viewers have remarked on the precision with which she executed these shifting poses; Joan Semmel noted, "It was all very thought-through; it was very professional."[186] This rhythm of poses was similar to those advocated by the modernist painter and drawing pedagogue Kimon Nicolaides, who Schneemann would admit to admiring for most of her working life. Nicolaides was born in Washington, DC, and his Greek-born father was an importer of Asian artifacts. He served in the U.S. Army during World War I, and it was his work with contour maps that may have led him to develop the techniques of gesture drawing and blind contour

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184 State University of New York at Binghamton., Finch College., & Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute (1974). *Strictly academic: life drawing in the nineteenth century* (Exhibition Catalog). Binghamton: State University of New York, 8.

185 Carolee Schneemann, interview with the author, 25 July 2010.

186 Joan Semmel, interview with the author, 14 June 2012.

drawing.[187] The former was a warm-up technique in which the sitter drew images of a moving subject; this subject could be a studio model or something external to the studio such as animals in the zoo. The latter technique involved drawing an object or figure while fixing one's eyes exclusively on the object rather than on the paper. Blind contour drawing emphasized the ability of the eye to mimic the experience of touch, and then to transfer that sensation to the hand as the hand attempted to create form. Contour drawing and gesture drawing had strong appeal at the Art Students' League when Nicolaides taught there in the 1930s. After the publication of his book *The Natural Way to Draw in* 1941, his drawing exercises that focused on tactile sensation were taken up by professionals and amateurs alike. "Without taking your eyes off the model," he told students, "*wait* until you are *convinced* that the pencil is touching that point on the model upon which your eyes are fastened."[188]

Schneemann, who did not study at the Art Students' League but read Nicolaides' book later on, would have been attracted to the idea that the viewer's gaze could merge with her sense of touch during the process of drawing, and further, that drawing was an ideal behavior through which to intertwine palpitation and vision. It not only resonated with her statement that "[t]he energy implicit in an area of paint is defined in terms of the time which it takes for the eye to journey through the implicit motion and direction of this area," but it also echoed certain ways in which many women had become accustomed to being looked at in their daily lives. It was definitely similar to the unrelenting scopophilia that women performance artists such as Schneemann, Marina Abramovich, and Hannah Wilke recall facing in the 1970s.[189] Spectators had only to be presented with a female

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187 "Kimon Nicolaides" in Roy R. Behrens, *Camoupedia: A Compendium of Research on Art, Architecture and Camouflage* (Boston: Bobolink Books, 2009), 270-271.

188 Kimon Nicolaides, *The Natural Way to Draw* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941), 25.

189 Marina Abramovic in particular noted the problems that her gender often presented in these early

body, and they quickly assumed that they owned it. Semmel, one of the curators of *Women Artists Here and Now,* reported that "We all used our own bodies back then, because using live models was such an ethical problem. Making a picture *of* someone was exploitative for us."[190] Schneemann both demonstrated *and took part in* this exploitation by performing the slippage of the body under close external scrutiny.

The curators' aims in organizing the *Women Here and Now* exhibition to argue that women were capable of making bold statements in the art world, by showing that women artists were working on a scale and pace typically attributed to men. This resulted in purposeful choices on the part of the curators: works must be large in scale, they decided, and should take extreme risks. The show included artist/gallerist Betty Parson's wood sculptures, which, while not large, had a rough, composed, totemic quality that made them resonate with other modern artists like Forrest Bess. Parsons had a gallery practice in downtown New York City, but during her vacations in East Hampton she developed sculptures in the same isolated, hermetic manner as most of the Abstract Expressionist painters. Miriam Schapiro's collage painting *Explosion* (1973) scrambled line, color and plane together using strategies similar to early neo-dadaist collage by Cy Twombly and Robert Rauschenberg. All these works projected none of the elements that critics associated with women's art at this moment— insistence on interiority, the preponderance and direct representation of personal narrative, or a disregard for the history of aesthetics. Coincidentally, the poem Schneemann drew out of her body and read out loud contained references to the "feminine" qualities for which her work was castigated: she accused film critic Annette Michelson of not being interested in her work

performances: "I've always tried to put a face in front of the public that is very tough, very male, a going-forward-no-matter-what attitude… [and] the public gets trapped in this here and now, and they are there with you." Janet A. Kaplan, "Deeper and Deeper: Interview with Marina Abramovic," *Art Journal* v58 n2 (Summer 1999), 7.

[190] Joan Semmel, interview with the author, 14 June 2012.

because of its "hand/touch sensibility" and "diaristic indulgence". What better modality, then, to address the critical problem of "women's art" than through traditional art histories of touch with recourse to Cézanne?

Recall also that Schneemann used the word "index" when discussing this work, calling the vagina "the primary index unifying spirit and flesh." In the years between 1975 and 79, the notion of the index received much public attention because of essays by critics like Rosalind Krauss, and the shape of the performance reflects the charged nature of this term.[191] Producing a line by drawing it out of one's body actually made indexical presence a problem. If an index points to the presence of a live thing in the world, to what was Schneemann's emerging verse supposed to point? Schneemann, and many scholars of her work, might argue that the line slowly emerging from Schneemann's vagina was supposed to point to her vagina, or to interior and bodily creativity more broadly. However, we must also take into account a second index that operates within this work—that of the photograph. When we view sequential photographs of this work after the fact, it is not the vagina but rather the hand (and the arm, and the line extending between hand and body) that becomes the center of the performance. When viewed as a storyboard or series of slides, as the photos were first published in Schneemann's 1979 book *More Than Meat Joy*, the actual time between Schneemann's poses collapses, and the hand reaches into an interior chamber and touches a foreign object. That object (as much as

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191 In her 1977 essay "Notes on the Index: Seventies Art in America," scholar Rosalind Krauss affirmed some of the arguments she had made three years earlier, in her 1974 exhibition *Line as Language: Six Artists Draw*. The index, she argued, was a type of sign that had a physical relationship to its referent; examples included footprints, traces, and cast shadows. By defining the index as a construct particular to language, however, Krauss resigned indexical strategies among artists as rooted in linguistic thought—an epistemology that Schneemann actively rejected. The image, Schneemann consistently argued, preceded language; the drawn or linear image, to Schneemann, was a particularly interesting proof of this thesis because it corresponded to a kind of provisionality or anteriority with respect to linguistic thought. See Krauss, "Notes on the Index: Seventies Art in America," *October* v3 (Spring 1977), 70.

Schneemann took pains to make its emergence look "natural" by carefully coating its accordian folds in cold cream so that it would emerge at a regular pace from her body), appears as extruded and data-driven as a receipt emerging from a calculator. She and her partner, Anthony McCall, conducted laborious experiments with other lubricants before deciding that cold cream was optimal, making this performance in many ways an act of subterfuge that concealed the pain and awkwardness inherent to insertion. The photographs re-enforce the experience of being looked at as another kind of suffering that supersedes the pain of preparation. In fact, Schneemann recalled having seen Sharon Hennessy's 1972 filmed performance *What I Want* in the year before she drafted *Interior Scroll*, in which Hennessy read from a list on a ream of computer paper, reciting women's collective goals and desires as she slowly advanced the paper as if it were a computer printout (fig. 2.46).[192] There was also a history within Fluxus performance of accessing mechanical extrusion or calculation, including Paul Sharit's *Unrolling Event* of 1965, which Schneemann would have known from the downtown New York performance and video community (fig. 2.47). In my view, Schneemann seized on this serial, mechanical dispensation of information because it was so dissimilar to the "touchy", personal approach for which she claimed to have been castigated in the 1970s. Again, if her hand "withdrew" information from the interior of her body, was the hand acting in accordance with traditional theories of drawing (that is, the hand acting as the creative center willed it to), or was she simply touching—guiding—a process that was already in motion, the way a clerk might pull a receipt from a cash register or a juror might read a verdict already written?

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192 Carolee Schneemann, *More Than Meat Joy: Performance Works and Selected Writings*, 269.

I would like to return once more to Wittgenstein's suitcase. The beetle within it, which to Wittgenstein represented all personal experience and private language that could not be known, was to remain inside the suitcase in perpetuity, describable only to those individuals who experienced it. Only when exposed to structure and made visible for analysis—that is, *drawn out of the interior*—could feelings, according to Wittgenstein, be discussed. Schneemann's concession to the exposure of interior language mimicked the grammar of drawing. (To quote Wittgenstein again: "Grammar tells us what kind of object anything is.")[193] The folded scroll, a piece of archival evidence of Schneemann's exposure that currently resides in the collection of feminist art at the Brooklyn Museum, is a drawn line capable of reciprocal touch. Angular and vertical, it re-iterates the acts of pulling, drawing, extruding, and ultimately *sensing* that became lifelong preoccupations for the artist.

193 Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations,* 373.

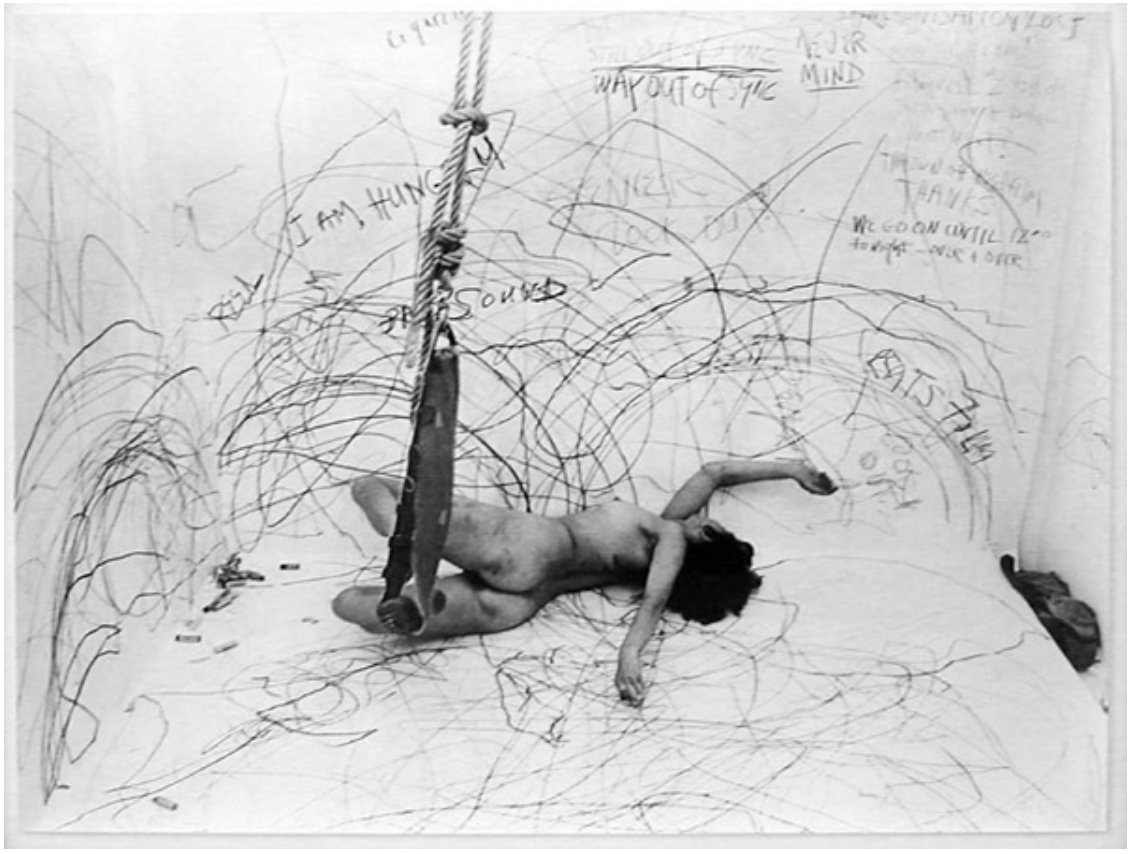

Figure 2.1: Carolee Schneemann, *Up To (and Including) Her Limits*, 1973-76. Performance at the Berkeley Museum of Art, 1974.

Figure 2.2: Hans Namuth, Photo of Jackson Pollock in his studio, 1950.

Figure 2.3: Robert Rauschenberg and John Cage, *Automobile Tire Print*, 1953. Monoprint: House paint on 20 sheets of paper, mounted on fabric. 16 ½ x 264 ½ inches; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.

Figure 2.4: Ugo Mulas, photo of Frank Stella in the studio, 1964.

Figure 2.5: Carolee Schneemann, *Water Light/Water Needle*, 1964/1966. Performance at St. Mark's Church in the Bowery, New York City, March 19, 1966.

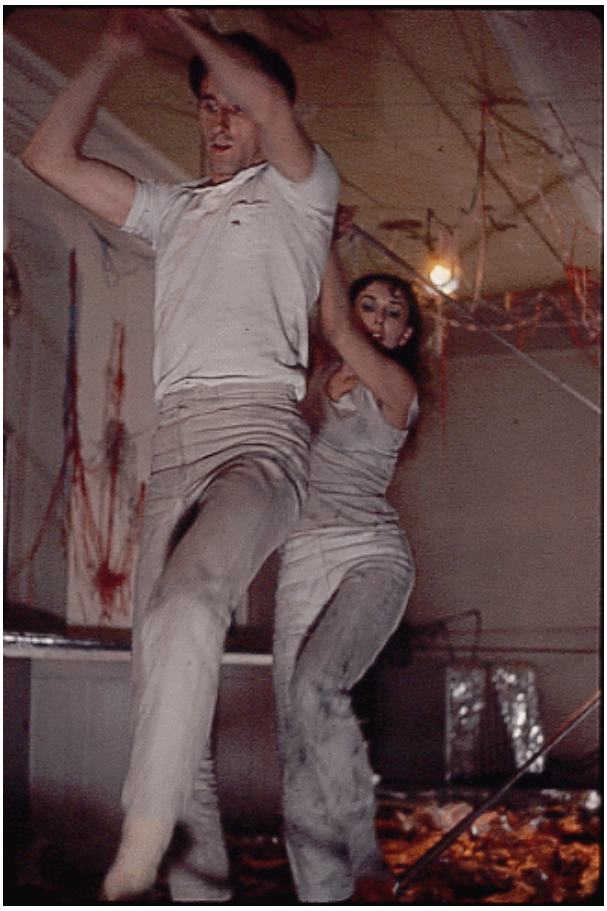

Figure 2.6: Carolee Schneemann, *Water Light/Water Needle*, 1964/1966. Performance at St. Mark's Church in the Bowery, New York City, March 19, 1966.

Figure 2.7: Carolee Schneemann, preparatory drawing for performance *Water Light, Water Needle*, February 1966. Ballpoint pen, watercolor, and dirt.

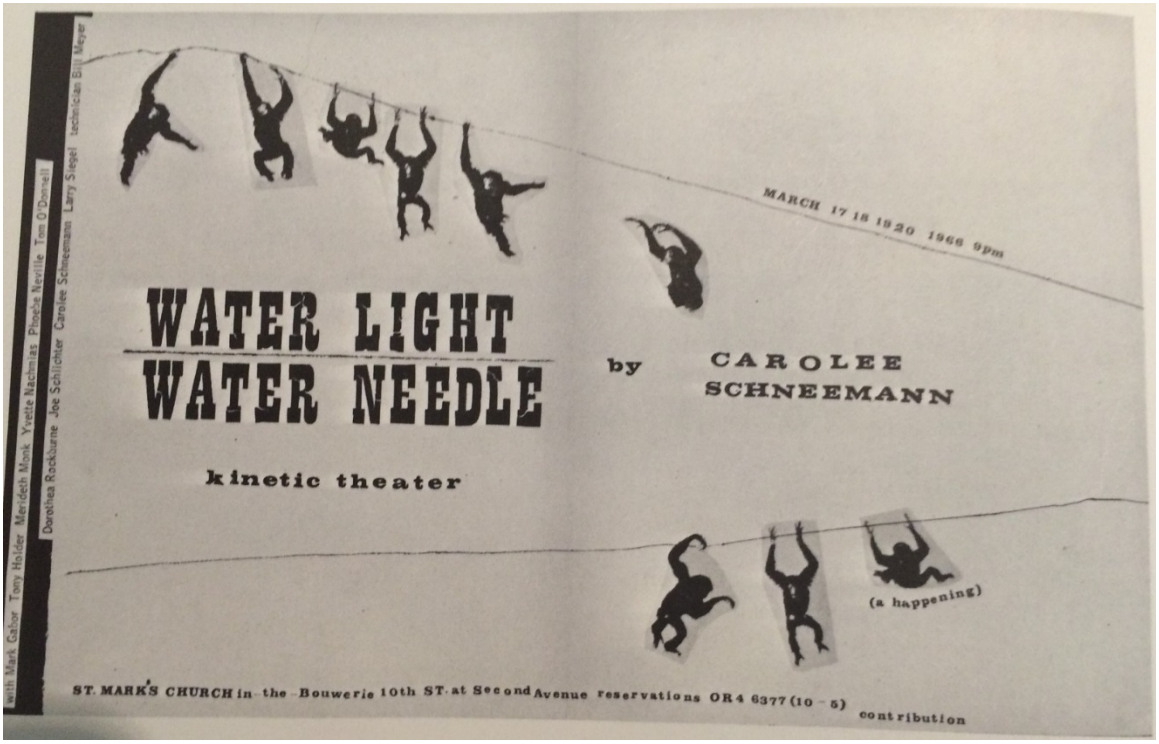

Figure 2.8: Carolee Schneemann, promotional poster for performance *Water Light, Water Needle*.

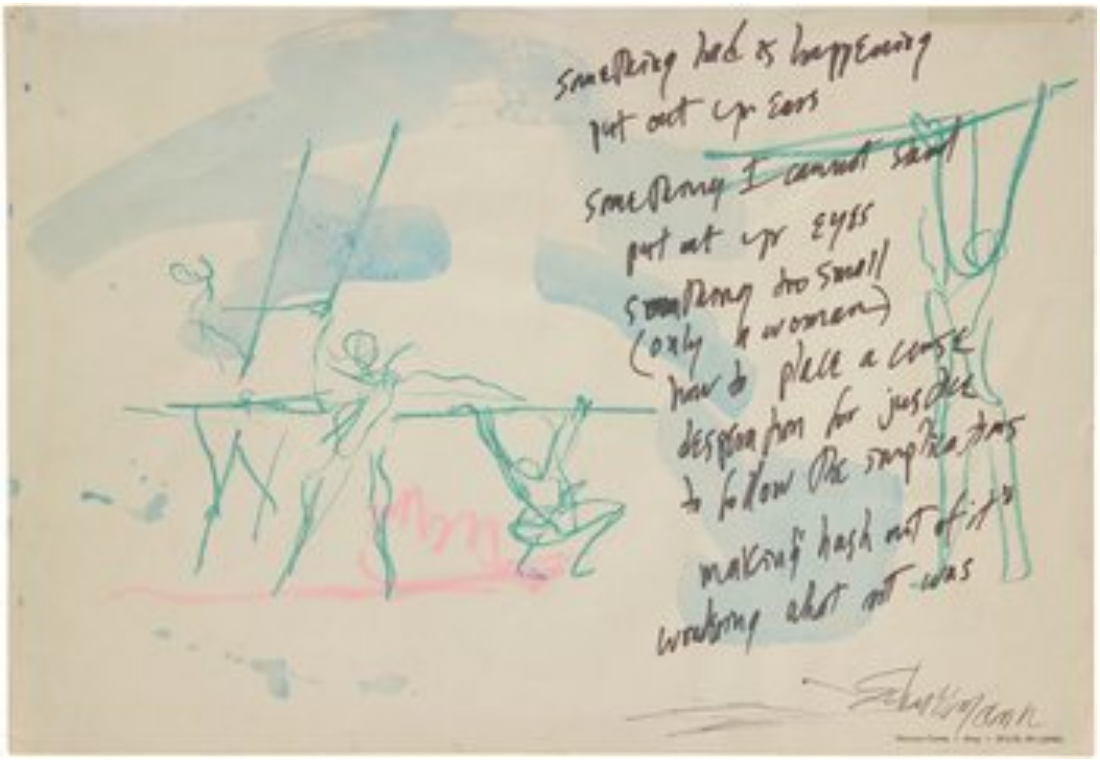

Figure 2.9: Carolee Schneemann, preparatory drawing for performance *Water Light, Water Needle*, 1966. Graphite and colored ink.

Figure 2.10: Carolee Schneemann, *Water Light/Water Needle II*, 1966-2014. Acrylic painted silver gelatin prints.

Figure 2.11: Photo of *Water Light/Water Needle*, St Mark's Church performance showing interior architecture, published in the *East Village Observer*, 1966.

Figure 2.12: Carolee Schneemann, Film of *Water Light/Water Needle*, 1966. 4 minutes.

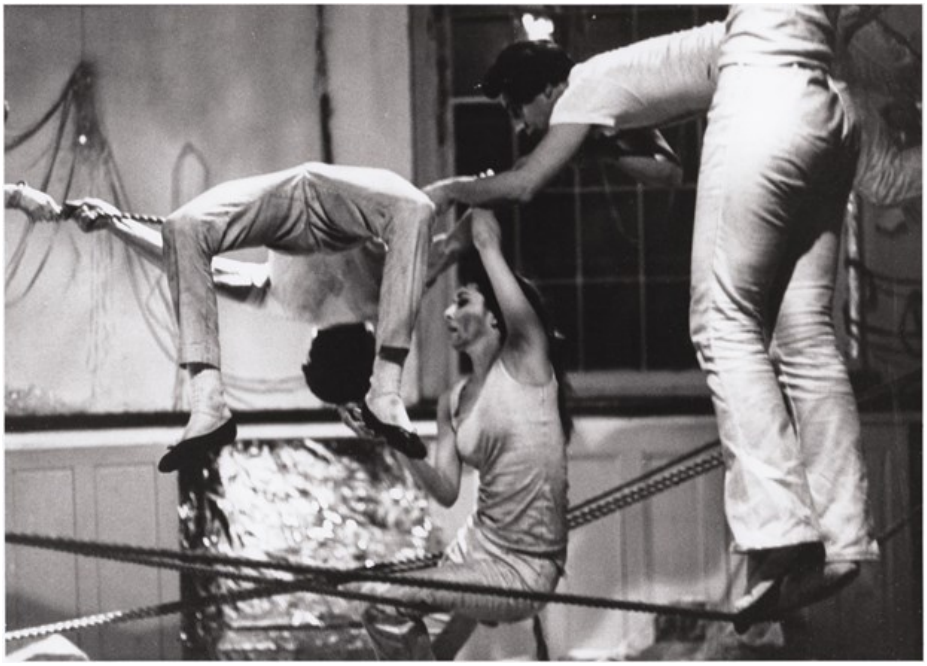

Figure 2.13: Carolee Schneemann, *Water Light/Water Needle*, 1966. Performance at St. Mark's Church in the Bowery, New York City, March 19, 1966.

Figure 2.14: Carolee Schneemann, *Water Light/Water Needle*, 1966. Performance at St. Mark's Church in the Bowery, New York City, March 19, 1966.

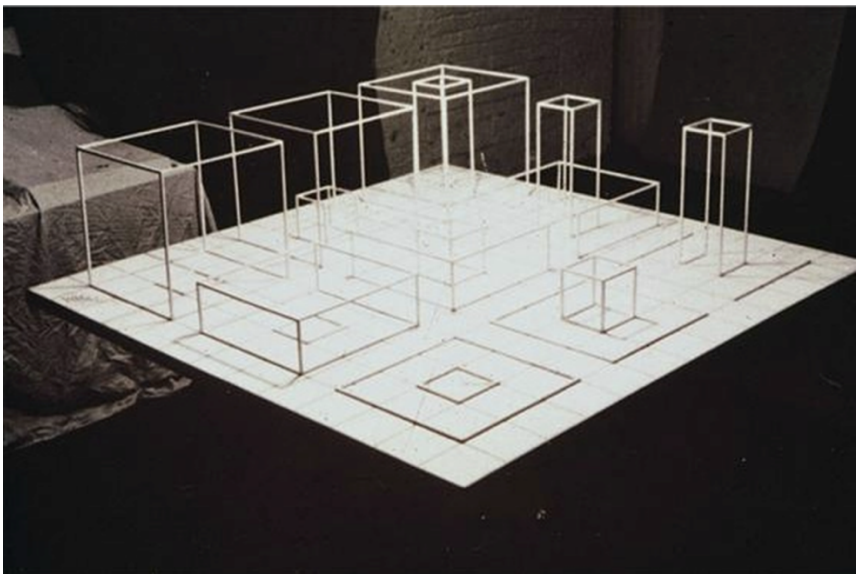

Figure 2.15: Sol Lewitt, *Untitled Set A*, 1966. Painted wood, 17 x 5 x 5 inches.

Figure 2.16: Dean Fleming and an unidentified man on hanging bench, between 1964 and 1973. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington DC.

Figure 2.17: Trisha Brown, *Homemade*, 1966. Silence with sound of projector, 3 minutes. Visual design by Trisha Brown with Robert Whitman; first performed by Trisha Brown at the Judson Memorial Church, March 29, 1966.

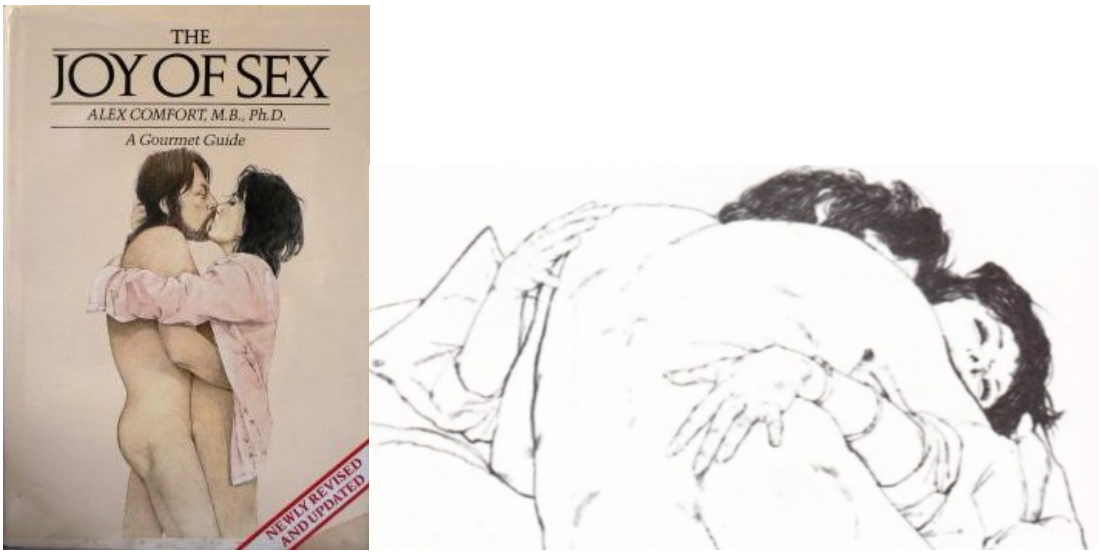

Figure 2.18 and 2.19: Charles Raymond, ink and watercolor illustrations for *The Joy of Sex* by Alex Comfort, M.D. (London: Crown Publishing, 1972).

Figure 2.20: Carolee Schneemann, sketches for early version of *Water Light/Water Needle*, late 1965. Ink on scrap paper; roughly 6 x 4 inches.

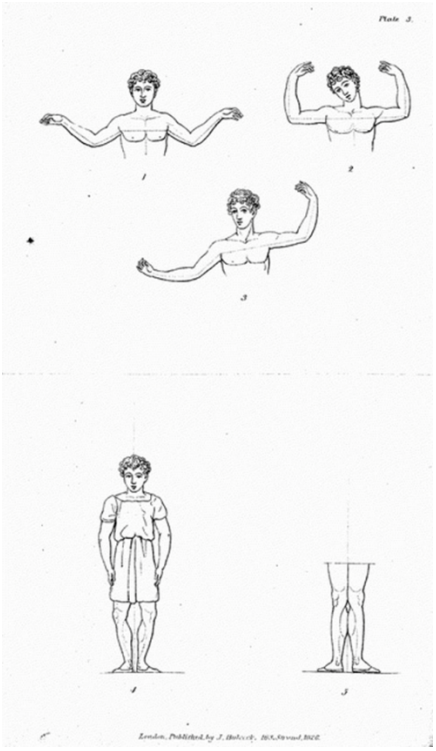

Figure 2.21: Carlo Blasis, Illustration from *The Code of Terpsichore: A Practical and Historical Treatise, on the Ballet, Dancing, and Pantomime* (1830), Plate 3.

Figure 2.22: Washington Square Park circa 1950. New York University Archives.

Figure 2.23: Still from Stewart Wilensky, *Village Sunday*, documentary on Greenwich Village ca. 1960s.

Figure 2.24: Diane Arbus, *Young couple on a bench in Washington Square Park, N.Y.C.*, 1965 (printed later). Silver gelatin print, 15 13/16 x 19½ inches, edition of 75. Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 2.25: Carolee Schneemann, *Water Light – Water Needle (Lake MahWah, NJ),* 1966, 11.13 min, colour, sound, 16mm film on video, courtesy of Hales Gallery, London.

Figure 2.26: Installation views, *Made With Paper,* Museum of Contemporary Art Chicago, January 20, – February 25, 1968. Designed by Robert and William Kaulfuss under the direction of John Massey, Center for Advanced Research in Design, Container Corporation of America, Chicago, II. Photo: © Museum of Contemporary Art Chicago.

Figure 2.27: *Made with Paper* display with slippers, designed by Robert and William Kaulfuss under the direction of John Massey, Center for Advanced Research in Design, Container Corporation of America, Chicago, II., 1968.

Figure 2.28: Dan Flavin, installation view of *alternating pink + "gold"* including IBM printer, Chicago Museum of Art, December 9, 1967 – January 14, 1968.

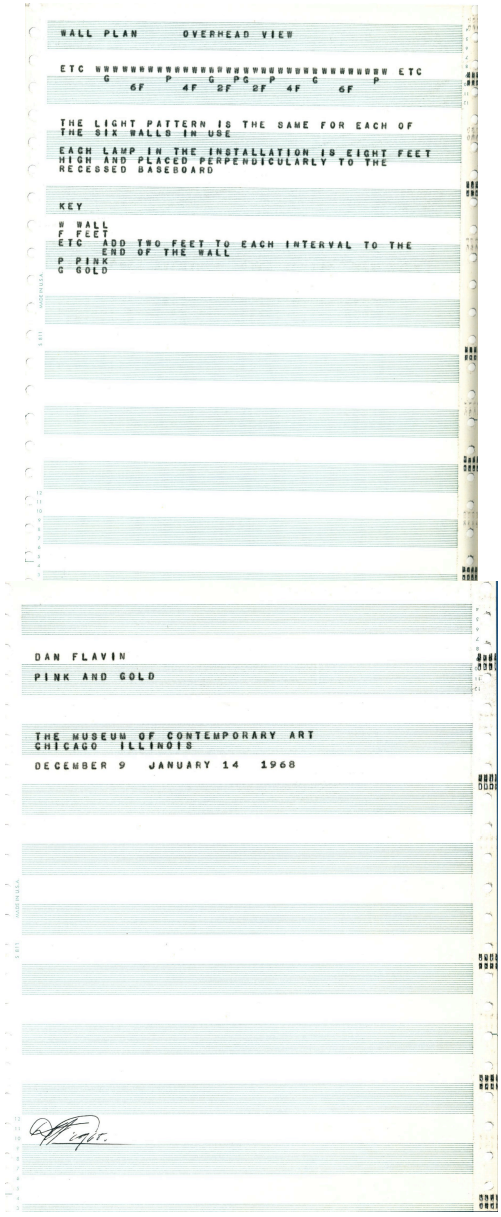

Figure 2.29: Dan Flavin, exhibition catalog for *alternating pink + "gold"*, Chicago Museum of Art, January-February 1968.

Figure 2.30: Carolee Schneemann and co-performer in front of enlarged photo by Art Sinsabaugh, *Illinois Central*, 26 January 1968.

Figure 2.31: Co-performer Christina Adesanya in front of enlarged photo by Art Sinsabaugh, *Illinois Central*, 26 January 1968.

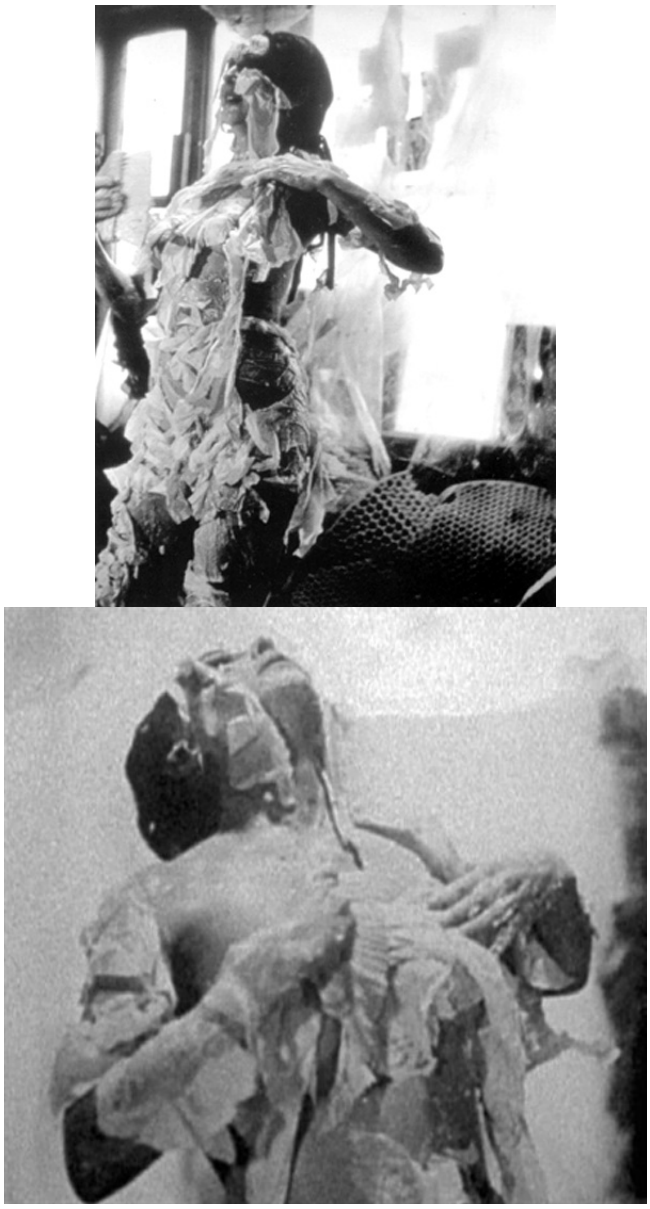

Figure 2.32: Carolee Schneemann, *Body Collage*, 1967. 3:30 min, B&W, silent 16mm film on video. First performed at the Judson Memorial Church in the Bowery, New York, in March 1967.

Figure 2.33: Poster for Carolee Schneemann's performance of *Illinois Central* at the Chicago Museum of Contemporary Art, 26-28 January 1968.

Figure 2.34: Audience member painting Carolee Schneemann with wheat paste, *Illinois Central*, 26 January 1968.

Figure 2.35: Carolee Schneemann (far right), final portion of *Illinois Central*, performed at Wells Street loft in Chicago, 26 January 1968.

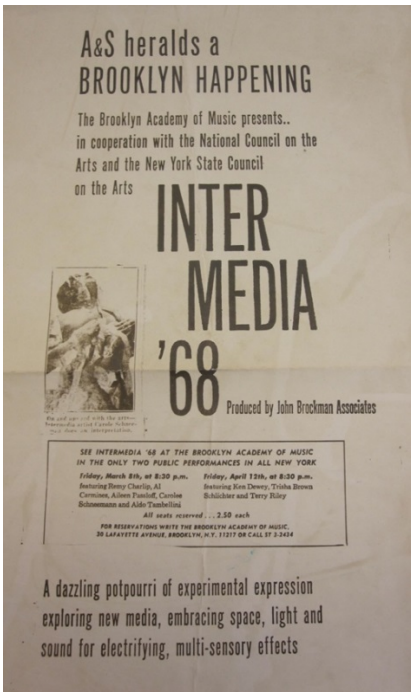

Figure 2.36: Poster advertising the Brooklyn Academy of Music's *Intermedia 68* festival, 1968. The caption reads: "On and upward with the arts—Intermedia artist Carolee Schneemann does an interpretation."

Figure 2.37: Funerary garment, traditional Chinese, burned to serve the spirit of deceased, cut, folded, glued papers, 54 ½ x 32 ½ inches. Collection Florence Temko, New Shrewsbury, N.J.

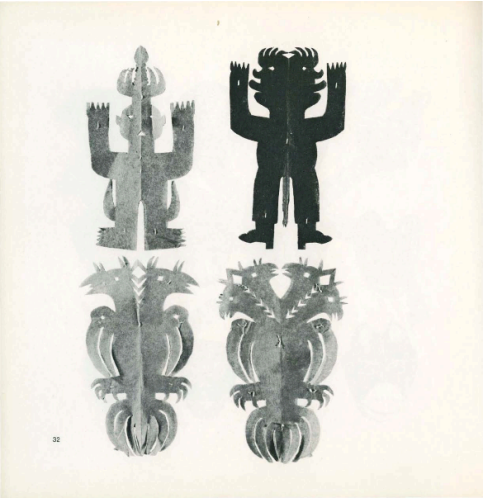

Figure 2.38: Figures holding fruits and vegetables, traditional Mexican, Otomi Indians, Sierra de Puebla region, placed in orchards and sown fields to encourage a good harvest, cut from folded handmade paper, 6 inches high. Courtesy Museo Nacional de Artes y Industrias Populares, Mexico City.

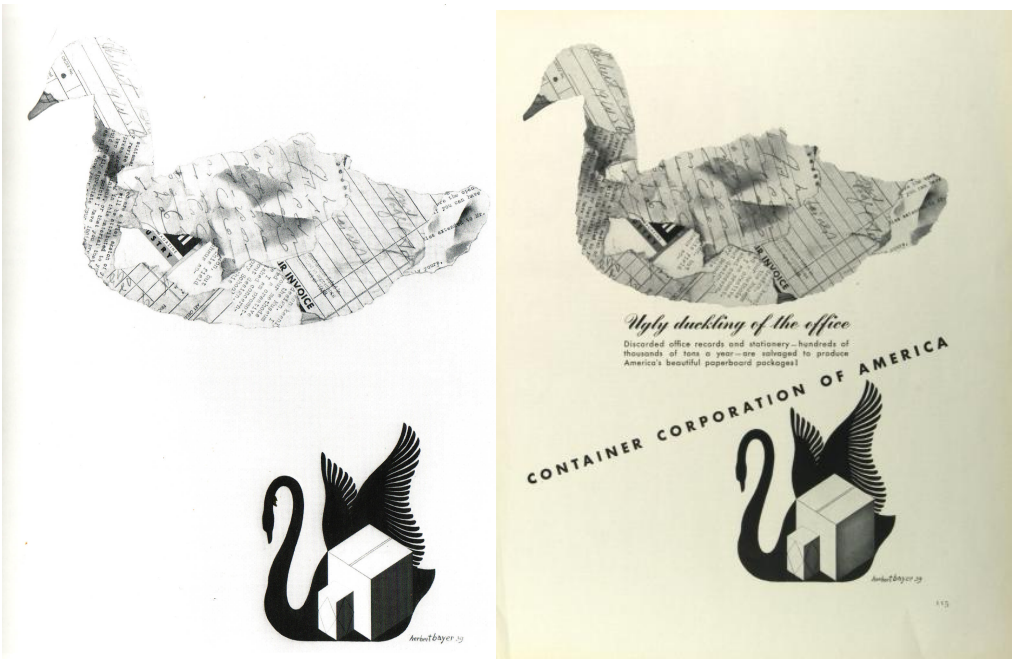

Figure 2.39: Herbert Bayer, *Ugly Duckling of the Office*, 1939. Rendering for advertisement.

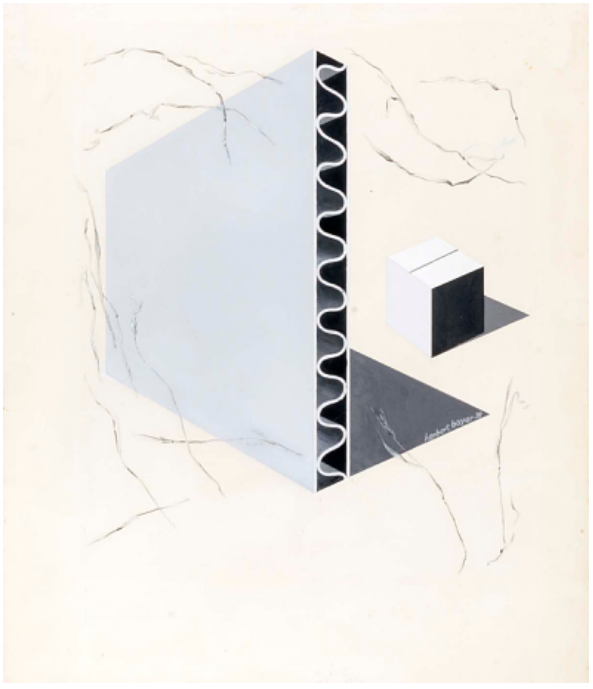

Figure 2.40: Herbert Bayer, *Strength out of Straw*, 1939. Gouache and pencil on paper mounted on paperboard, 17 5/8 x 15 1/8 in. Rendering for advertisement.

Figure 2.41: Advertisements for promotional paper dress from Johnson's pies, 1967, and from Campbell's Soup company, 1967.

Figure 2.42: Installation view with paper textiles, *Made with Paper*, Museum of Contemporary Art Chicago, January 20, – February 25, 1968.

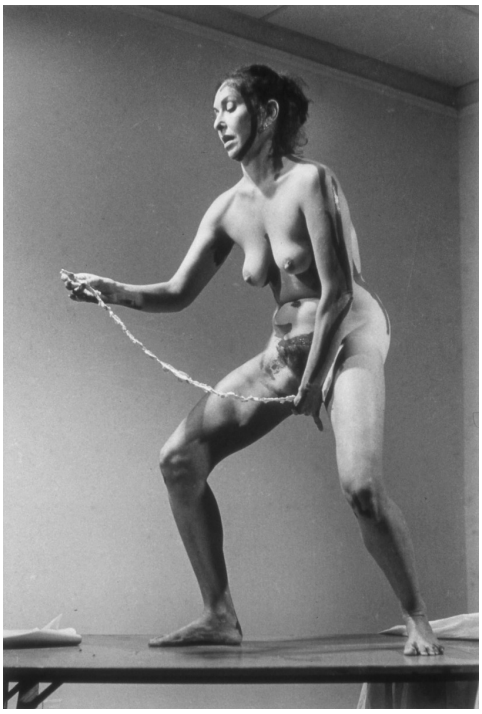

Figure 2.43: Carolee Schneemann, *Interior Scroll*, 1975. Performance, about 11 minutes long, at *Women Here and Now*, East Hampton, Long Island.

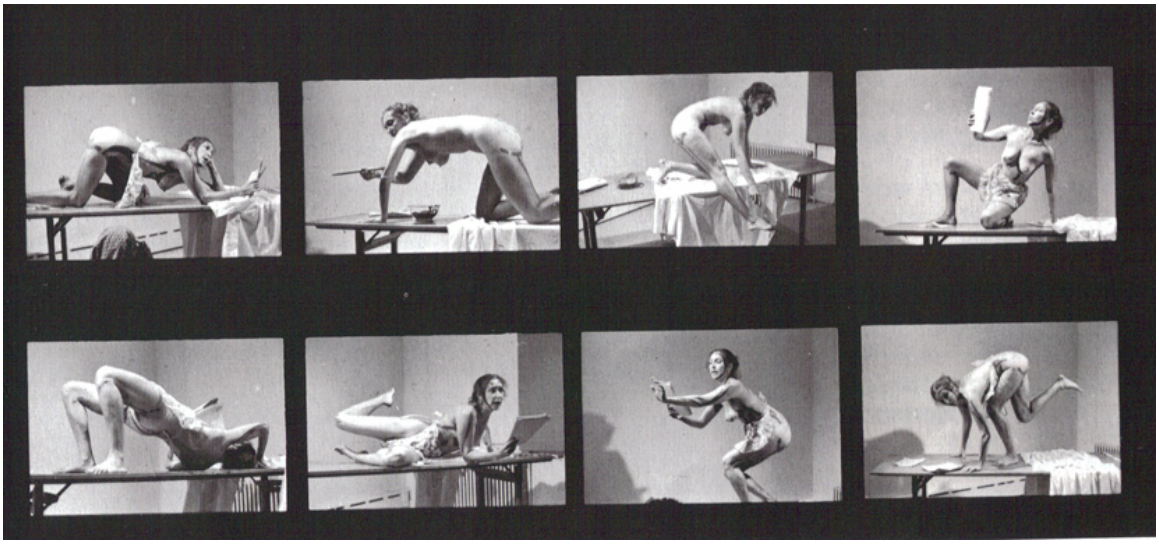

Figure 2.44: Carolee Schneemann, photo stills of *Interior Scroll*, 1975. Performance, about 11 minutes long, at *Women Here and Now*, East Hampton, Long Island.

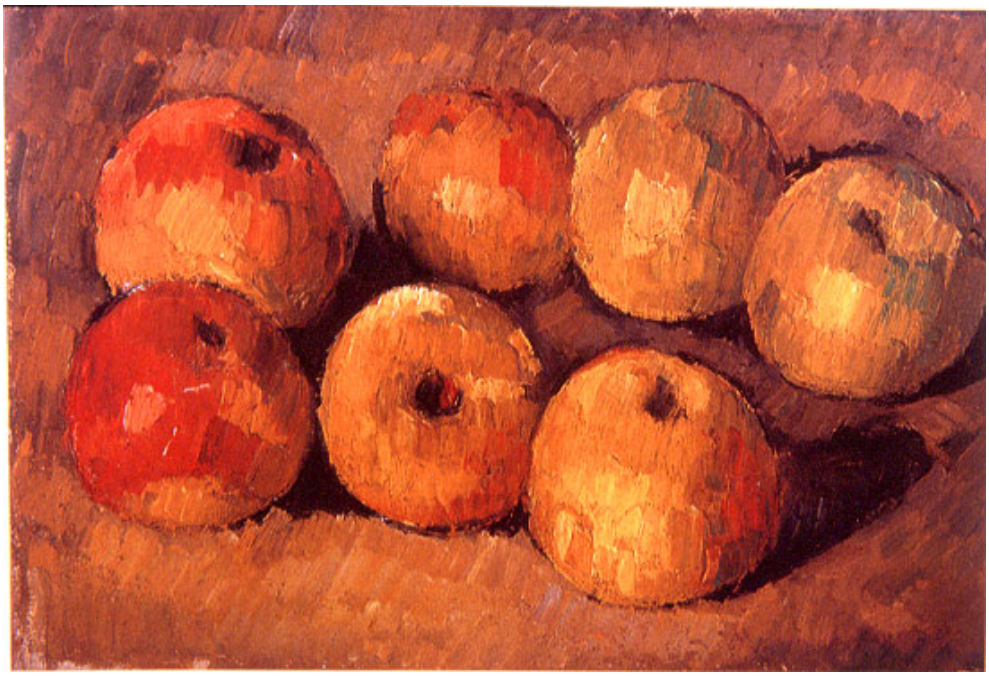

Figure 2.45: Paul Cézanne, *Still Life with Apples*, c. 1875-1877. Oil on canvas. King's College, Cambridge, UK.

Figure 2.46: Sharon Hennessy, *What I Want*, 1972. Film.

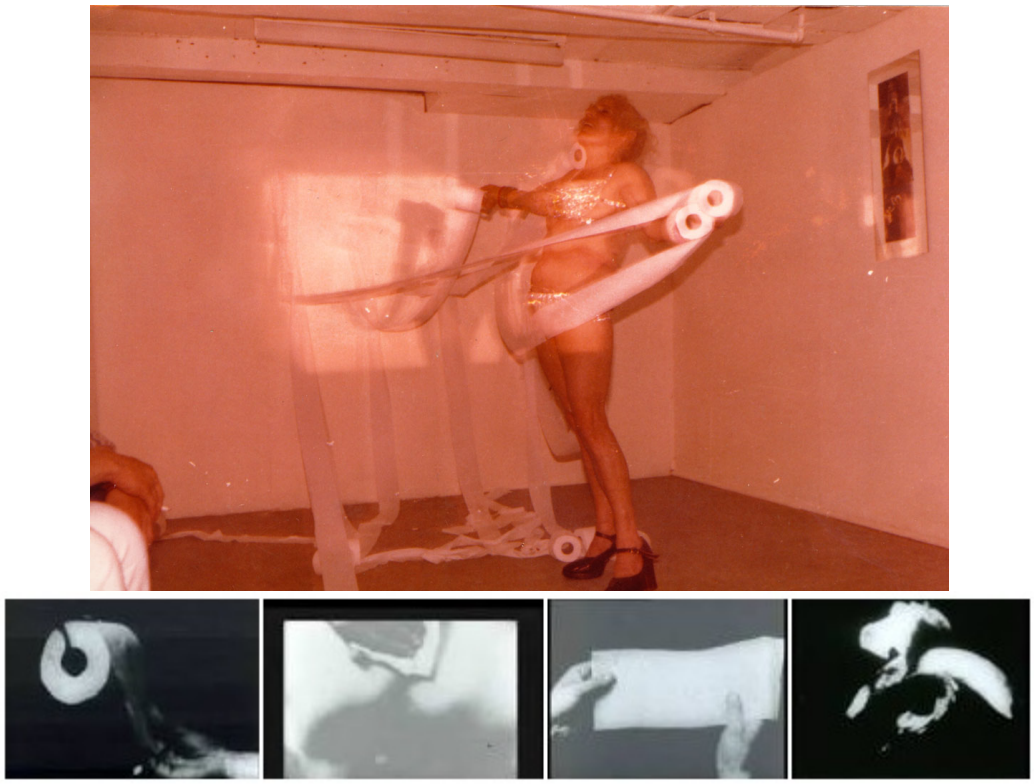

Figure 2.47: Paul Sharits, *Unrolling Event*, live performance, 1967. Published in *Fondazione Bonotto, Re-Edition's Project: Fluxus*, 2010.

Chapter 2: Territorial Pissings and Paper Tigers: William Anastasi's Portable Agency

Introduction: Particulate Being

Anyone passing under artist William Anastasi's second-floor apartment in downtown Philadelphia in 1962 would have heard strains of J.S. Bach's *The Well-Tempered Clavier* coming from the window. The music was faint but discernible; Anastasi played LPs of this work on his home stereo for an hour or more at a time, keeping the volume at a reasonable but audible level. He played it low enough to hear the sounds of his pen scratching against the drawing paper balanced on his lap; more paper lay in a stack less than an arm's reach away.[194] He would spend three months in this manner making his Constellation Drawings (Figs. 3.1 – 3.3), a series of works on paper linked to the entire run of preludes and fugues in *The Well-Tempered Clavier*. His method was repetitive and unvarying: holding an ink pen above the page and with his eyes closed, he made random marks on the page for the duration of each aria and each fugue, shifting to a new paper support at the close of each aria and fugue. By the end of the project three months later, he had made ninety-six drawings. The series used an LP recording of harpsichordist Wanda Landowska's performance of the work executed

[194] While Anastasi recalls doing most of these works sitting down, some of them were made while he walked around his apartment, grounding the series in ambulation and mobility. William Anastasi, interview with the author, 1 November 2013. Research and writing for this chapter was funded by a Walter Read Hovey Award in art history from The Pittsburgh Foundation in the summer of 2014.

between 1949 and 1952; though he never met the Polish musician, he would later refer to her as a collaborator on this project.[195]

In the decades following, Anastasi would undertake several other drawing series in which he acted alone but felt that he was working in concert with others or with his surroundings. In this chapter I propose a model, "particulate being," to frame Anastasi's drawing practice and to probe his simultaneously social but hermetic way of working. To support my argument I draw on Anastasi's interest in the hermeneutics of repetition, specifically the writings of Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard and the chance compositions of composer John Cage. I discuss how Anastasi's embodied drawing series, particularly his Constellation Drawings, Pocket Drawings, and Subway Drawings, engaged in the collaborative possibilities of everyday life through imagined relationships with human beings and objects. *Particulate being* developed from an interest in the various types of *particles* adrift in the world, such as radio static or nuclear dust. My model of particulate being has some kinship with earlier artists' interest in gases and ether physics, such as Marcel Duchamp's projects in the first quarter of the twentieth century, but is inherently postwar in character. The particles that interested Anastasi and some of his contemporaries were unequivocably *segments*. They were concrete units that, clustered together, form larger wholes, but are nonetheless self-encapsulated and interchangeable parts. They were the products and the consequences of mechanization,

[195] William Anastasi, interview with the author, 13 February 2013. While Anastasi cites her in interviews, Landowska is not cited in labels or didactic texts when these works are displayed in museum or gallery settings.

brought into sharp relief in contemporary life through what art historian Caroline Jones calls "the technological sublime."[196]

This mode helped Ananstasi generate imagined or anonymous relationships with various phenomena, as well as to explore alternatives to fixed concepts of gender and identity. Many new paradigms for collaboration and communion were emerging for artists at his moment, and my chapter can help better understand the role that changing models of selfhood played within this history, as well as illuminate the emergence of a postmodern approach to drawing. By the end of the 1970s, Anastasi had pioneered certain drawing practices that advanced the idea that selfhood was wholly constituted by one's surroundings. My broad claim is that Anastasi's drawings lend specific texture to the emergence of these early postmodern ideas, insofar as they problematize notions of individual subjectivity to challenge hierarchies of power and knowledge. The drawings also illuminate the complex interventions that SoHo artists were making on Cold War American masculinity—they were, in essence, slowly grinding it into dust.

A closer look at the Constellation Series shows how Anastasi used the particle as an ontological model. Each drawing in the series is composed of hundreds of India ink dots that vary in size, all clustered inside a penciled circle and spread in vaporous clouds and streams across the page. Taken together, the marks resemble not only their titular constellations, but also evoke aleatory patterns in general: randomly scattered debris, for

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[196] See Caroline Jones, "Post-Studio/Postmodern: Robert Smithson and the Technological Sublime," in Jones, *Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Postwar American Artist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 268-343. My argument is distinct from Jones', however, in that the artists I study used the technological sublime as a way to re-fashion different connections like friendship, romance, companionability, and proximity.

instance, or the spidery spread of an algae bloom.[197] They are at once maplike and hermetic; they could well be an abstraction of something much larger than themselves—a reading of data—or could be something actual, empirical. Once we learn how they were made, they evince discipline and disengagement in equal measure. Anastasi's aim was to throw himself into a rigorous enough state of meditation that his markmaking followed neither the music's melody nor tempo.[198] He subsumed his creative agency to the governing properties of the music, responding with his body to Landowska's performance. The music's duration provided structure for this blind practice while his hand was allowed to "go its own way."[199]

Rubble, Gas, and Nuclear Dust: Exploring "Particulate Being" Within the Postwar New York Community

When he began his career in the early 1960s, Anastasi made several drawing series that were shaped by his immersion in the downtown New York milieu of minimalist sculptors, Fluxus performance artists, and avant-garde musicians influenced

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[197] Anastasi has spoken frequently of his affection for Heraclitus' statement that "the fairest order [or *cosmos*, depending on the translation] in the world is a pile of random sweepings." This connects him not only to other artists like Duchamp and Cage who were engaged in chance methods, but also to a longer history of disorder within modernist cultural production. Constellations represented the distinction between matter as it was arranged in the universe, and the human desire to give form and order to that chaos. In a 2007 interview with Phuong Bui in The *Brooklyn Rail*, he revealed a slightly neo-Romanticist view of the universe's inherent disorder: "Just remember what the night sky has there for us if we've ever seen it on a clear night in the country or from a mountain top—"random sweepings" of stars and planets that make your heart skip a beat." "In Conversation: William Anastasi with Phong Bui," *The Brooklyn Rail*, 6 July 2007. Online. http://www.brooklynrail.org/2007/7/art/william-anastasi-with-phong-bui Acessed 12 January 2013.

[198] Anastasi has stated that, while he did not practice meditation explicitly in the early 1960s, the idea made sense to him when John Cage alerted him to this paradigm in the late 1970s. "It was then that I knew, suddenly what I was doing… many of my works felt like meditation but I didn't know what it was at the time." William Anastasi, interview with the author, 13 February 2013.

[199] *William Anastasi: Copenhagen, Cologne, Hamburg* (Copenhagen, Denmark: Stalke Galleri, 2005), p. 12. Indeed, Anastasi would remark later that the results of his "blind" drawings were better than when he looked.

heavily by the chance compositional methods of John Cage. Regardless of medium, almost all his works harmonize with a quotation by Heraclitus that Anastasi invokes often in interviews: "The most beautiful arrangement is a pile of things poured out at random"—although Anastasi's preferred iteration is "a pile of random sweepings."[200] It matches the affinity for disorder, seepage, spillage, and entropy that Anastasi shared with many other artists of this moment, including the artist Robert Smithson, who invoked a version of this quotation in his 1968 essay "A Sedimentation of the Mind." Like Anastasi, Smithson executed numerous works on paper in the 1960s such as *1000 Tons of Asphalt* in 1969 (fig. 3.4) and *A Heap of Language* in 1966 (fig. 3.5).[201] There is a significant difference, though, in Anastasi's and Smithson's use of the quotation. Consider Smithson's recourse to Heraclitus in full:

> A sense of chaotic planning engulfs site after site. Subdivisions are made—but to what purpose? Building takes on a singular wildness as loaders scoop and drag soil all over the place. Excavations form shapeless mounds of debris, miniature landslides of dust, mud, sand and gravel. Dump trucks spill soil into an infinity of heaps. The dipper of the giant mining power shovel is 25 feet high and digs 140 cu. yds. (250 tons) in one bite. These processes of heavy construction have a devastating kind of primordial grandeur, and are in many ways more astonishing than the finished project—be it a road or a building. The actual *disruption* of the earth's crust is at times very compelling, and seems to confirm Heraclitus's *Fragment 124*, "The most beautiful world is like a heap of rubble tossed down in confusion."[202]

Notice that Anastasi favors a vaguely janitorial version, orienting Heraclitus' chaos more closely to the scale of the body, and to gesture (the act of sweeping). And

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[200] Heraclitus, a pre-Socratic philosopher, was likely attractive to artists in this community because whose work is known only through quotations and translations by other philosophers, which meant his ideas were flexible and anecdotally constituted. See T.M. Robinson, trans., Heraclitus, *Fragments: A Text and Translation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).
[201] Robert Smithson, "A Sedimentation of the Mind," *Artforum* (September 1968), 83.
[202] Ibid.

Anastasi's output, which spans fifty-five years, mostly sets up different relationships between the human body and its immediate surroundings, unlike Smithson (who Anastasi knew, but not well; the gallerist Dick Bellamy had introduced them) whose land art projects often incorporated vast quantities of extra-galleristic space and matter. In the Constellation Drawings, Anastasi stays close to the body even as he departs from it via a meditative state; Smithson, on the other hand, uses the space of the page in his drawings to imagine vast piles of matter and language and then concretizes this idea by using representative imagery (figs. 3.4 and 3.5).[203] And unlike Schneemann's performance works that used line to actively re-propose social relations, the Constellation Drawings are a private exercise; a sustained, intimate communion with a distant performer that Anastasi did not know. Rather than enacting new paradigms for interpersonal relations, as Schneemann had, most of Anastasi's line-based works posit the body in states of solitary or atomized awareness.

Anastasi became known primarily as a sculptor in the mid- to late-1960s, and by his own admission his oeuvre has encompassed "old-fashioned forms of expression" like drawing, painting and sculpture.[204] His interest in these established mediums meant that he could (and did) use them in ways that revealed their historical baggage, or their inherent contradictions. For instance, his drawing series were solitary and used direct imprints of his body, but were often executed in public spaces; and he established fixed

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[203] Schneemann disliked this aspect of John Cage's (and, we presume, by extension Anastasi's) practice, calling it "fro-ZEN". See Burt Ramsay, *Judson Dance Theater: Performative Traces* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 166.

[204] Anastasi quoted in Bent Fausing, "Sense- and Word-Play," in *William Anastasi: A Retrospective, Nikolaj Copenhagen Contemporary Art Center* (Copenhagen, 2001), 14.

structures and scoring principles for making his work that allowed for, paradoxically, a freer exploration of the circumstances within those structures. He also openly admits to other artists' and philosophers' influence on his work, which is unusual for downtown artists. This casts him not as a grand genius but as one agent among many.[205]

While Anastasi did not intend the Constellation Drawings to be anything beyond a private exercise, their subsequent treatment in museums and galleries has troubled their status as truly private.[206] The gallerist Virginia Dwan took an interest in them right away, and showed them from 1967 to 1971 at the Dwan Gallery alongside other Minimal and conceptual artists making serial works.[207] But the Constellation Drawings have a closer kinship with the chance-based projects of Fluxus and John Cage that incorporate the outside world as structuring elements for the work of art, and my analysis begins with these precursors. When Anastasi made the Constellation Series in 1962, he did not know about La Monte Young's project *Draw a Straight Line and Follow It,* which had been performed in Yoko Ono's loft in the summer of 1960.[208] For this work, La Monte Young

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205 In fact, he consistently cites other artists as being the catalysts for this projects. Some examples include: the Constellation Series was inspired by Wanda Landowska and Marcel Duchamp (specifically Duchamp's assertion that there was no reason a blind man couldn't make art); the Pocket Drawings were inspired by Hannah Wilke; several single sculptures were inspired by James Joyce's novel *Finnegan's Wake*, and his Abandoned Paintings of the 1990s were inspired by Willem de Kooning's claim that artists don't so much finish works of art as abandon them. All these citations except for the Wilke are enumerated in Richard Milazzo's essay "William Anastasi at Bludgeon's Height: Libido, Religion, and the Living History of Conceptual Art," Milazzo, ed., *William Anastasi: Paintings, Small Works, Drawings* (Modena: Emilio Mazzoli Galleria D'Arte Contemporanea, 2009).

206 Ironically (since they are serial and repetitive), most of Anastasi's drawing series adapt readily to categorization and periodization: Constellations, Walking Drawings, Pocket Drawings, Subway Drawings and so on.

207 Dwan showed five exhibitions of Anastasi's work altogether, including his most favorably reviewed exhibition of photographs of blank gallery walls. All references to Dwan are drawn from the Dwan Gallery Records, Archives of American Art, Washington DC.

208 William Anastasi, Interview with the author, 13 February 2013.

followed this exact directive: he drew a straight line along the walls and floors of Yoko Ono's space and followed it, and the exercise wore on until it physically exhausted the artist. But Anastasi's project was similar in that it used bodily discipline to trace (and yield to) elements of everyday life.

. Like *Draw a Straight Line and Follow It*, Anastasi's early works use lines and marks to re-orient the body in significant ways. It was clear that this group's methods harmonized with his, and Anastasi eventually joined them: after the Constellation Drawings, Anastasi moved to SoHo and rented a studio on 8th Street between Avenues C and D, in what he describes as a "poor neighborhood" and soon thereafter moved to the same building as the sculptor Robert Morris and dancer Yvonne Rainer. His drawing projects continued to have a meditative quality, but he also executed them in increasingly public places: in movie theaters, on sidewalks, and later, in the 1970s, in subway cars.

Anastasi's broad incorporation of different types of stimuli and influences, as well as his consistent recourse to the relationship between an individual body and its surroundings, is also what compels me to use the framework of *particulate being*—an ontological mode that was a rough precursor to [or cousin of] what curator Lucy Lippard later referred to as dematerialization, but with key differences. Like the artists that Lippard identified in her 1972 book *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972*, Anastasi made work that was concerned with change. But Anastasi sought to produce a particular set of effects by making viewers *aware* of change. Dematerialization (which, as Lippard explained, was not as much a movement as it was a tendency within the vocabulary of conceptual art in the late 1960s, a way out of the

"sacrosanct ivory walls and heroic, patriarchal mythologies with which the 1960s opened") constituted the use of "lightweight, ephemeral, cheap, [or] unpretentious" materials at the service of a particular idea.[209] In contrast, although Anastasi's work challenges binaries of high and low, it was specifically concerned with how the body was to adapt to an external world threatened with nuclear destruction. His work also re-ordered modernist ideas about knowledge and subjectivity because it allowed private and public space to dictate the form of a drawing—the sound of a home stereo, a concert, or while riding a subway car—prompting a suspension of individual will and conscious bodily control in service of everyday patterns of behavior. My framework draws on the artists and philosophers that animated Anastasi's practice in this period, namely the Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard's writings on translation and transposition; Marcel Duchamp's ideas of indifference; and John Cage's chance methods of composition.

The particle—in the form of a dot drawn on paper, or a Doppler blip, or radio static, or the hydrogen molecules that eat into steel when it begins to rust, or an aimless body wandering in New York City—was an appealing trope for Anastasi that blossomed into an ontological model. Anastasi and his immediate circle have mentioned each of these phenomena at different moments in relation to their work, all centering on the same sense of atomized detachment.[210] Drawing allowed Anastasi to experience the tracking,

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209 Lucy Lippard, "Escape Attempts," in *Six years: the dematerialization of the art object from 1966 to 1972; a cross-reference book of information on some esthetic boundaries* (New York: Praeger, 1973), vii.
210 Robert Morris stated that he wanted his drawings to evince awkwardness and "blunt, left-handed effort" to confuse any viewers who might seek to analyze his work in terms of his personality. "I term this the lurch effect… this is something like the Doppler Effect experienced visually." See Robert Morris, "On

tracing, and feeling-out of different structuring elements (like musical notes, for instance) while remaining a sense of detachment from worldly phenomena, like a piece of dust might remain detached from its environment (but nonetheless influenced by it).

Unlike earlier models of detachment, however, like the "indifference" that Duchamp had advocated, particulate detachment was a mode within which one could fashion a stronger, more complex sense of communion with one's surroundings.[211] Robert Barry, for instance, whose apartment was close to Anastasi's and with whom he has shared a fifty-year friendship, produced conceptual artworks using invisible forms of matter like inert gases, but which structured themselves around mundane forms of connection like telephone calls and visiting post office boxes. In his 1969 work *Inert Gas Series/Helium, Neon, Argon, Krypton, Xenon/From a Measured Volume to Indefinite Expansion* (fig. 3.6). In the *Inert Gas Series*, five vials containing one measured volume of noble gas each were dispersed at different specified locations and documented through photographs. No physical evidence remained of the act; the image I use here is the poster Barry created that advertised the work. The work was not mounted in a gallery; the address that Barry printed on the poster was a post office box, and the telephone number was connected only to a recorded message that described the work. Here, like Marcel Duchamp's invocations of "illuminating gas" and "love gas" in the earlier twentieth

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Drawing," in *Pop Art Redefined* (New York: Praeger, 94. Anastasi has mentioned radio static in many interviews and public lectures since 1980.

[211] As Duchamp said in an unpublished interview, "You have to approach something with an indifference, as if you had no aesthetic emotion. The choice of readymades is always based on visual indifference and, at the same time, on the total absence of good or bad taste." Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, trans. Ron Padgett (New York: Viking, 1971), 48.

century, worldly material is instantly absorbed by its surroundings, but its effects on the viewer happen within the realm of the social. Anyone interested in the work has to walk through various everyday forms of sociality. We call the phone number; we attempt to visit the work at the address provided; we discuss our subsequent irritation or admiration of the project with others. Works like this, which collapsed mundane social habits and bound them up with empty discoveries, mark a moment in the 1960s where disenchantment with the world was tied to its claims to rationality. These artworks invoke rational systems but use them to enact very small changes or repetitions, challenging the idea that human advancement is possible while advocating alternatives to broad, vague notions like "human advancement."[212]

The particle also offered a new take on the relationship between a work of art's maker and its surface; a relationship that was hotly debated in the wake of Abstract Expressionism. In 1962 the critic Harold Rosenberg identified maker/surface interactions as a major concern of postwar painters, arguing that "[a]t a certain moment the canvas began to appear to one American painter after another as an arena in which to act—rather than as a space in which to reproduce, re-design, analyze or "express" an object, actual or imagined. What was to go on the canvas was not a picture but an event."[213] Leo Steinberg

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[212] Benjamin Buchloh takes up this issue with recourse to Adorno, quoting the older theorist's assertion that art is "allergic to any relapse into magic". This is not quite the best way to think about Anastasi's work, as his practice has always deferred to or referenced rational systems but has also made wonder (and perhaps even stupefaction) a central part of artmaking and of looking. See Buchloh, "Conceptual Art 1962-1969: From the Aesthetic of Administration to the Critique of Institutions," October n55 (Winter 1990), 105-43. See also Ian Burn, "The 1960s: Crisis and Aftermath," in *Dialogue: Writing in Art History* (North Sidney, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1991), 101-19.

[213] Harold Rosenberg, "The American Action Painters," from *Tradition of the New*, first published in *Art News* v51, n8 (Dec. 1952): 22.

would expand this claim in 1968 when he compared the modern picture plane to the surface of a flatbed truck, aligning picture-making not with events but with everyday behavior: "The flatbed picture plane makes its symbolic allusion to hard surfaces such as tabletops, studio floors, charts, bulletin boards—any receptor surface on which objects are scattered, on which data is entered, on which information may be received, printed, impressed—whether coherently or in confusion. The pictures of the last fifteen to twenty years insist on a radically new orientation, in which the painted surface is no longer the analogue of a visual experience of nature but of operational processes."[214] The critic Thomas McEvilley tied this directly to Anastasi's art practice, musing in a 1989 conversation with the artist, "It seems like artists [in the 1960s] had a sense of the surface as a membrane of potentiality."[215]

Drawing was a particularly effective method for exploring these principles. Done on sheets of paper, it distilled the relationship between maker and surface to a portable, miniature scale. Through drawing—which, remember, in 1960s art historiography, was still bound up with Renaissance ideas about rational and disembodied production—the human body allowed itself to be registered as a particle in relation to the line it produced. The line's maker could then in effect *become* a particle, capable of disengaging mentally while engaging physically. (Consider, for instance, parallels that we might make between the Constellation Drawings and the dust following a nuclear blast. Nuclear dust, and the

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[214] Leo Steinberg, lecture at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1968; first published in "Reflections on the State of Criticism," Artforum, March 1972, and in *Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth-Century Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972) 84.
[215] "William Anastasi and Thomas McEvilley: A Conversation, August 1989," in *William Anastasi: A Selection of Works from 1960 to 1989* (New York: Scott Hanson Gallery, 1989), 32.

very notion of nuclear armament, *forces* a particulate model of existence.) This became even more legible when artists began drawing directly on the wall later in the decade. The implication here was that *every* surface was a potential "membrane of potentiality", and drawing could be a register of all the permutations of human behavior and all the possible states of being in space. Thus drawing (and, by extension, particulate being) helped embody the changed relationship between human beings and their surroundings that was taking place in the postwar United States.

The phrase "particulate being" also helps explain the eagerness with which Anastasi and many artists of his milieu explored the public/private dynamics of drawing. At this moment in art history, drawing was understood as a fundamentally private act. Further, for both artists and viewers, drawing held rhetorical implications of private space-making.[216] This private space-making held great appeal for many artists who, despite the 1960s mandates for free love and communal living, sought strategies to help them preserve a certain creative distance and solitude amidst SoHo's social din.[217]

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[216] It was precisely for this reason that the artists chosen by Rosalind Krauss for the *Line as Language: Six Artists Draw* exhibition at the Princeton Art Museum in 1974 seemed to be making such a radical statement with their work. Artists like Sol LeWitt, for instance, produced not strict drawings but rather sets of instructions that anyone could follow, challenging the paradigms of creativity and individual identity that had dominated Western art discourse since the Renaissance. I feel that Krauss's thesis missed a crucial point, which s that most artists had very ambivalent relationships to solitude, individual ideation, and privacy—their practices neither embraced it fully nor rejected it wholesale, but rather created a dynamic relationship between public and private.

[217] Robert Morris said of his early career, "It is possible that I was led into art making because talking and being in the presence of another person were not requirements." In Robert Morris, "Robert Morris on Silence," Critical Inquiry blog, "https://critinq.wordpress.com/2011/09/23/robert-morris-on-silence/ Accessed July 2, 2014. Carolee Schneemann, too, wrote often of her need for intellectual and bodily sovereignty (which fortified and directed her feminist politic) while also craving the company of her "tribe". See *Correspondence Course: An Epistolary History of Carolee Schneemann and Her Circle* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); and the Carolee Schneemann papers, box 47 and 48 at the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, which are full of her letters to friends after she returned from living in London in 1971.

(Indeed, many of them moved to this part of lower Manhattan because upright citizens and institutions had abandoned the neighborhood; Lucy Lippard has spoken of evenings after the surrounding manufacturers and shipping centers had closed for the day in which no one could be seen on the streets for blocks except for members of the art world; it was "the wild west," she recalls.)[218] And for Anastasi, for whom the relationships between his body, the markmaking surface, and his surroundings were paramount, drawing made this slippage possible. Because Anastasi's use of the pen was foregrounded in the weight and rhythm of its contact with the paper, the pen allowed his body to become portable, lighter, somehow *less than*. The immediate problems of having a body and a self within civil society were ceded to a more particulate state of being. With the Constellation Drawings, and the later Walking Drawings and Subway Drawings, the artist could float through space registering atmospheric conditions (sound and vibrations) and even acting as a stenographic mechanism for physical forces like locomotion.[219] The paper surface could reflect his body's emergent mobility and its constant (sometimes precarious) re-orientation to the environment. And while Anastasi acknowledges his debt to Surrealist automatic drawing tactics, his methods were adapted to (and thus should be analyzed alongside) the emerging social conundrums of the Cold War United States: navigating

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[218] Lucy Lippard, Untitled lecture at the Blanton Museum of Art, Austin, TX, March 22, 2014.

[219] There is some scholarship linking the emergence of sound technologies and the use of line in twentieth-century art. Most notable is Douglas Kahn's work on sound, particularly "Concerning the Line: Music, Noise, and Phonography," in Bruce Clarke and Linda Henderson, eds., *From Energy to Information: Representation in Science and Technology, Art, and Literature* (Stanford University Press, 2002), 178-194; and Kahn's book *Earth Sound Earth Signal: Energies and Earth Magnitude in the Arts* (University of California Press, 2013), which traces artists' engagements with force fields and energy dynamics since the nineteenth century. My argument is distinct here because it connects these universal energies to the increasingly troubled ideas of masculinity in 1960s New York.

urban America during the time of great civil unrest in cities, for instance; and negotiating sex, masculinity, and self-love during the sexual revolution.[220] All these issues underpin my analysis of Anastasi's work. But central to my argument is that drawing gave Anastasi and other artists permission to make gestures that made the body and the self *more* mobile and *less* concrete than it had ever been before. It was a practice, to put it succinctly, that made way for particulate being.

I should pause here and mention that Anastasi's presence in the postwar New York art world was uneven, peaking in the late sixties, making him a compelling case study when considering how drawing practices advanced at this time. Drawing was not just the foundation or buttress of Anastasi's practice; most of the works that he produced in this period were drawings, and the work for which he would eventually come to be recognized was drawing.[221] In fact, the only work that Anastasi sold while Virginia Dwan represented him was a graphite cartoon/sketch of a larger project—even though neither of

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220 William Anastasi's historical connection to surrealism is interesting and likely mostly social. He recalls being aware of automatic drawing anecdotally when he first moved to New York City, and framed his early drawings of Donald Duck as automatic drawings. Scholarship on Surrealist automatic drawing reveals that even among practitioners in that historical moment, the practice was not widely codified. Silvano Levy points out that even Max Morise's essay *Les Yeux Enchantés*, which is a rich primary source on automatic visual practices, says very little about how to *do* an automatic drawing; it mostly cautions readers about what not to do so as to avoid interrupting the pre-conscious flow of autonomism. This, in addition to Carolee Schneemann's ambivalent relationship to automatic drawing discussed in the previous chapter, makes a case for 1960s drawing as a perversion of, and even a counter-narrative to, automatic drawing even as some of the methods at first glace appear similar. See Silvano Levy, *Surrealism: Surrealist Visuality* (Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1996), 79-80; and André Breton, "*The Automatic Message,*" in Claudia Dichter, Hans Günter Golinski, Michael Krajewski, eds., *The Message: Art and Occultism* (Cologne: Walther König, 2007), 33-55.

221 The drawing and drawing studies curricula of several major art schools (the San Francisco Art Institute; the Pratt Institute; and the Royal College of Art department of Drawing) frame Anastasi as foundational to contemporary conceptual drawing practices. Anastasi was featured heavily in the Museum of Modern Art, New York's recent large survey of line-based practices, *On Line* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2010), and as a result of Wynn Kramarsky having collected Anastasi's work so heavily, has been featured in projects showcasing that collection; namely, the online archive and essay database aboutdrawing.org.

his shows there had concentrated on his already proliferating line-based work. But drawing in this moment, institutionally speaking, was voicing itself only through the occasional murmur.[222] This chapter will consider, then, the scene of production as one humming just underneath the system of exhibitions and responding critics of this moment—in other words, the organs and nerves lying under New York's institutional epidermis. Many of the voices in this chapter will be private—to a greater extent even than the pre- or extra-critical Schneemann. Thus this will be a kind of study in *unknowing*—of understanding, as I attempted with Schneemann's work, to find out what stands to be known, found out, or discovered through the drawn mark in this moment since critical conversations about it were so quiet. It is animated by the principles that were emerging in this early moment of postmodernism, in which artists put forth a lack of information about the self in favor of knowing the conditions that create the self.

Sight and Sound: Settling Questions of Blindness

Previous work on Anastasi's drawings—and on many artists making embodied drawings in the 1960s and 70s—has focused on the role of blindness within these experimental practices.[223] My aim is to challenge and expand this framework. Many of

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[222] An exception was the Betty Parsons Gallery, which sold Agnes Martin's works on paper and had a stable of artists making drawings that grew steadily between the mid and late 1960s. Much of this was due to gallery manager Jock Truman's enthusiasm for paper-based projects; I examine this further in Chapter 3.

[223] See Michelle White, "Going Blind: Drawing in the 1970s," *Master Drawings* v52 n4 (2014), 513-524; the section on Anastasi in *Chance Aesthetics,* an exhibition produced by the Mildred Lane Kemper Museum, framed his practice entirely through his use of unsighted tactics; a 2007 New Art TV short program documenting Anastasi's process was called "William Anastasi: Drawing Blind" (http://newarttv.com/William+Anastasi%3A+Drawing+Blind, accessed 15 October 2011). Recent work on Robert Morris has dealt with his unsighted drawings as well; see, for example, "Turning Around, Turning Away" in Eve Meltzer, *Systems We Have Loved: Conceptual Art, Affect, and the Antihumanist Turn* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 71-116; and TRACEY's exhibition in book form, *Drawing Now: Between the Lines of Contemporary Art* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2008) concentrated on blindness.

Anastasi's series are done with his eyes closed/covered but not all; to make his Pocket Drawings of the later 60s (fig. 3.7), for example, the artist walked through his daily life in New York City with a paper surface in his pocket while drawing on it with a pencil. For these works, Anastasi folded a sheet of paper into eighths and drew on each of the eighths, one by one, while it was inside his pocket. He drew at any moment that struck him as particularly generative, but especially during films or performances. One sheet could take him several hours or days to complete because he could set it down for a period of time and came back to it later.[224] For this series he engaged in everyday habitual acts of looking (using his vision to navigate city streets, for example) rather than look at the paper and pencils in his hand… but he did not close his eyes. He was drawing in a state of distraction. He was engaging in the kinds of sensory management that any modern culture asks of its citizens, thereby exposing sensory management as a form of liberation.

Additionally, by limiting the drawing space to the space of his pocket and his person, and by producing a work in non-linear time, Anastasi was rehearsing, in a strange way, the manner in which modern citizens are often compelled to live with objects. Objects, particularly consumer products, tend to have a prescribed relationship with the body: I pick up this thing and it enhances my life in this way; I set it down and it remains motionless until I pick it up again. *Particulate being* implies a flipped ontological order

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Many of these essays use Jacques Derrida's 1987 essay *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), and it has become a fruitful, if standard, framework for this topic.

[224] William Anastasi, interview with the author, 1 November 2013.

in which the entire structure of the universe could be thrown off through the influence of one suggestion, one object, or one chosen moment. The page, the record, and even the pocket were examples of flipped surfaces; they modified their users' existence and re-oriented their relationship with the world. Given that much of postwar American culture was underpinned by the revelatory potential of consumer products—products that were often presented as necessary and promised to "change the lives" of their users—it makes sense that an artist might explore the consumption of music, movies or films as the site for a creative act.[225] (William de Kooning made his Television Drawings in the mid-1960s which I briefly touch on later in the chapter.) Anastasi therefore certainly practiced a form of blindness, but one predicated on countering constant change with changes of one's own.[226] A particulate musical model would have been compatible with Anastasi's interest in John Cage's flexible musical compositions like *Fontana Mix* (fig. 3.8), which bear a startling formal resemblance to Anastasi's drawings.[227]

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[225] Emphasis on consumer choice not only formed the bedrock of "planned obsolescence" narratives in postwar America, but it is also a foundation of contemporary neoliberalism. The bibliography on this matter ranges from Theodor Adorno to Bill Brown's work on Thing Theory; suffice it to say that in this historical moment, it would have made sense for an artist to turn consumer products into models of how a person might change so frequently and so rapidly that they could escape systems of power and consumption altogether.

[226] Jorge Luis Borges's essay "Blindness" is the only text I have encountered in my research that unequivocally equates blindness with change, adaptation, and expansion. (Mark Rothko or Barnett Newman might have encountered some essays that did this; more research in this arena is needed.) See Jorge Luis Borges, "Blindness," *The Aleph and Other Stories*, *1933-1969* (New York: Dutton, 1978).

[227] John Cage's title *Fontana Mix* refers to two related but historically separate works: a score published by C.F. Peters in 1960, and four multi-channel sound tapes that Cage produced the Studio di Fonologia in Milan. According to Dave Lewis, "The score Cage created for Fontana Mix consists of 20 sheets, ten transparencies inscribed with points (or dots), a single transparency bearing a straight line and ten plain white sheets with squiggly lines. By means of an included graph and a straight line, the performer uses the sheets in combination as a "tool" to assemble a realization of Fontana Mix." The most popular release of this album was from Time Records, part of their Contemporary Sound Series 2000, and also included Lucio Berio reading e.e. cummings' *Circles*; and Sylvano Bussoti's *Frammento*. Contemporary Sound Series 2000 used an image of Cage's score on the record jacket, which is where Anastasi might have encountered

In this way, material forms of recorded music such as vinyl LP records or magnetic cassette tapes were models for particulate being, and allow us to think beyond the framework of blindness. The record and the cassette allowed for flexible listening experience, they were a bundle of varied sensory data concentrated onto a single continuous flat matrix. As it happens, records were a substantive part of Anastasi's personal development. The artist had had polio as a teenager and spent most of his convalescence listening to compilation records of "classical hits" that were popular promotional items in the 1940s.[228] Anastasi's father, who had immigrated to the United States from Sicily as an adult, bought him a series of "Greatest Works of Classical Music" records that had a particular impression on him; he recalls listening to Beethoven's Fifth Symphony repeatedly and feeling inspired in different ways each time. These favorite pieces of music found expanded form in artworks like *Beethoven's Fifth Symphony* (fig. 3.9), which consisted of a magnetic analog tape recording of Beethoven's Fifth conducted by Bruno Walter, stretched from its plastic housing and strung on the wall at a width and height that reflects Anastasi's physical form and armspan. Anastasi has explained that he constructed *Beethoven's Fifth Symphony* in 1965 after American

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it. Anastasi's interest in chance compositions of this kind may have provided some of the context when Cage paid his first visit to Anastasi's apartment in the fall of 1965. I have re-constituted some of these details in interviews with Anastasi and through Dave Lewis's public essay on this work at Allmusic.com: http://www.allmusic.com/composition/fontana-mix-for-4-channel-tape-or-indeterminate-means-mc0002423811 Accessed 1 June 2014.

[228] Long-playing records were not the norm in the 1940s; to promote them, stores selling televisions would frequently include a free LP player. The *Philadelphia Inquirer*, for instance, had several LP giveaways in the 1940s. Anastasi credits this as the root of his record collecting and affinity for high-quality stereo equipment, but this wasn't unique; de Kooning also enjoyed fine stereos and it was not unusual for a big sale to warrant the purchase of a new system. Interview with the author, 4 June 2014; see also Mark Stevens and Annalyn Swan, "The $700 Music Machine," in *de Kooning: An American Master* (Knopf, 2006), 81-92.

radio astronomers Arno Penzias and Robert Wilson at Bell Labs discovered the Cosmic Microwave Background (CMB), after detecting an inscrutable noise in their sensitive receivers that they used for radio astronomy observations. At first Penzias and Wilson dismissed the noise as sound runoff from nearby New York City; then as pigeon droppings on their antenna system. Instead, they discovered the CMB, a series of waves that was giving off faint reverberations of the Big Bang.[229] This story fascinated Anastasi, and is another example of energy bound up and re-distributed in broad, messy, and sometimes almost imperceptible ways.[230]

Other explorations of distilled and re-distributed sound followed, including his Sound Sculptures (fig. 3.10), which featured everyday objects like tires that were wired with microphones to amplify the sounds these objects made. Most made very low-frequency sounds; one sculpture amplified the sounds of a clanging radiator, while others, like *Sound Object [Deflated Tire]* (fig. 3.11) might make no sound at all. When these works were installed in the Virginia Dwan Gallery with all their recordings playing together, however, they create a deflated rumbling symphony that recalls Cage's work (and his writings on silence) but have a goofy tautology that is Anastasi's own. In 2013, a re-installation of the original Sound Sculptures at the Bertha & Karl Leubsdorf Art Gallery at Hunter College re-animated this aural experience. Not surprisingly, it is *fun* to hear everyday objects making sounds, acting purely and guilelessly as themselves. The

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[229] Arno Penzias, "Autobiography," Documents of the Nobel Prize in Physics, 1978. http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/physics/laureates/1978/penzias-bio.html Accessed 1 February 2014.

[230] It is unclear where Anastasi first heard this story; since he was attending parties with friends who were also interested in science, it is likely that he or someone else read it in a publication like *Popular Science*.

objects in these sculptures emerge from the interstices to which we usually confine them, inviting new modes of recognition and address. The recordings expand the objects both sonically and ontologically, making them co-citizens with which human bodies might delight in sharing space.

These sculptures offer new ways to understand physical proximity, and to re-think how one's sense of selfhood might shift in the face of persons and objects. Anastasi's past experiences of hermitage and sociality—his bout with polio and, as I address later, his experience as a salesman in Alphabet City—proved to be good preparation for the demands of looking and listening within the vibrant cultural landscape of lower Manhattan, where a live performance or party took place nearly every night of the week.[231] The unparalleled availability of recorded music coincided with a scene that hinged upon both live music and parties; Anastasi's generation of artists could enjoy stereophonic recordings of canonical classical works in the same afternoon as they might hear new releases by the Beatles or Dusty Springfield.[232] For downtown New York artists, the ability to navigate (and sometimes quote from) disparate musical genres was paramount within this kind of studio tradition.[233]

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[231] Carolee Schneemann's sound work provides the most direct evidence of this phenomenon, especially in video pieces like *Snows*, which spliced together children's records, pop hits, and classical music over images of the Vietnam conflict. Anastasi worked during the day at various middle-class positions, and attended silent film screenings and concerts all over the city. For more on the combined recorded and live cultural offerings in SoHo, see Robert Kostalenetz, *SoHo: The Rise and Fall of an Artist's Colony* (Routledge, NY), 2003.

[232] This gave rise to many arguments, in fact, between Anastasi and Cage. Cage maintained that recorded music was not music at all, while Anastasi insisted that the repetitive and re-iterative potential of record albums was a valuable way to understand Cage's work. Anastasi, interview with the author, 1 November 2013.

[233] Musical literacy appeared in a number of breakthrough avant-garde works in this region. Carolee Schneemann made several successive pieces that either mimicked the regular rhythm of the turntable, or

The Constellation Drawings and Pocket Drawings forced the artist to conform to the physical realities of the spaces of making. One such reality was the size and shape of the paper: the marks in the Constellation Drawings are amassed in the center of the sheet, as are the Pocket Drawings. Clearly there was an effort to stay within the limits of a frame, but Anastasi's adherence is diligent to the point of being fussy (especially in the case of the Pocket Drawings—the marks are all quote centered on each eighth of the sheet). His centering on the page is so diligent, in fact, that it approaches the point of performance; in both series, the *notion of framing* becomes a device within the drawing. The pencil circles on the Constellation Drawings were drawn after the fact, as soon as Anastasi noticed that they resembled constellations so strongly.[234] So the format of the page was a constitutive factor.[235] While Anastasi said that these compositions were easy for him to make, "as natural as breathing," the materials and support still provided frameworks that made the artist change course.[236]

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that incorporated the segmented experience of channel-surfing on the radio. Scholars such as Henry Sayre have even framed this milieu as accidental precursors to the MTV generation. Sayre refers to Schneemann's own writing as the cornerstone of such a formulation: "The energy implicit in an area of paint (or cloth, paper, wood, glass. . .) is defined in terms of the time which it takes for the eye to journey through the implicit motion and direction of this area. . . . Such "reading" of two-dimensional or three-dimensional area implies *duration* and this duration is determined by the force of total visual parameters in action. Instance: the smallest unit variation from stroke to stroke in a painting by Velasquez or Monet; by extension the larger scale of rhythms directing the eye in a painting by Pollock." The aural equivalent—literacy and robustness in the face of this fragmented, durational mode—would have made line an excellent vehicle by which to chart these "feeds". See Schneemann, *More Than Meat Joy: Complete Performances and Selected Writings* (New York: DocumenText, 1979), 128-149, and Henry Sayre, "The Art of Duration: Carolee Schneemann's *Viet-Flakes* and the Possibilities of Music Video," paper presented at the College Art Association panel "Carolee Schneemann and the Long Sixties," 13 February 2014.

[234] William Anastasi, interview with the artist, 1 November 2013.

[235] This is the closest Anastasi has ever come to a true automatic drawing practice—notating and changing the drawing so that it gains coherence after the marks are initially generated.

[236] William Anastasi, interview with the author, 1 November 2013.

The "naturalness" of Anastasi's process is also deceptive. The behaviors that his drawings require are unusual and even difficult. Take the Constellation Drawings, for instance, which the artist executed without following in time with *The Well-Tempered Clavier*'s rhythm or melody. During my research I tried to re-create a Constellation drawing following these mandates, and it was a genuine struggle. The arias especially are very regular and rhythmic. The 2/4 time signature is persistent, difficult to abandon; it folds the listener into the composition. It is difficult to hold pen to paper and not allow the body's habits of conforming to rhythms take over. Notes are struck, and those notes are immediately perceived as structural (stressed) elements. (It is also difficult to keep the marks from feeling like music, which might be easier for someone like Anastasi who had no musical training.) As an art historian with a dance background, I had the urge to *draw myself into* the stressed elements of the composition and feel them with and through my body. This was impossible to resist. The professional training of art historians defaults to the micro-structural (e.g., how does this emphasis shape the totality of the thing?). My body wanted to give itself over to the rhythm of the music. The natural inclination of the Western listener is to let the composer lead rather than inviting the performer to collaborate.

But the composition of *The Well-Tempered Clavier* exemplifies and foments flexibility. By the time Bach produced its second and final half in 1744, he intended it to serve as daily exercise for young students of solo keyboard instruments. The phrase "well-tempered" also refers to the piano and harpsichord's new-found flexibility in the 18th century: tuning innovations allowed music to be played in every key without

sounding out of tune.[237] *The Well-Tempered Clavier* showcases the use of 24 keys, one aria and one fugue per key, in half-step ascending order so that each aria and fugue could be heard a half-step ahead of its predecessor to indicate how smoothly tuned ("well-tempered") the instrument was. It used every possible permutation of keyed sounds, one after the other, with no adjustment to the instrument. The exercises embodied the flow that is only possible through a properly disciplined communicative instrument.

That Anastasi chose this exercise-based composition, then, is not insignificant. It is likely that he was trying to invent his own version of a private disciplinary experience that was governed almost entirely by external stimuli—an imaginary collaborator like the harpsichordist Wanda Landowska, or an everyday object, or a set of sounds. Carl Andre, Anastasi's contemporary, recognized in Bach's music a formal structure that could provide freedom: "I […] revere the fugues of Bach, the cantos of Pound. The first are verifiable in terms of form. The second are not because they are the sole examples of the form they take. Other composers wrote fugues; no poet before Pound wrote in the forms that he created."[238] By deferring to such stimuli, then Anastasi's drawing went beyond sketching and into an embodied and open form of expression.

Intimacy and Scale

Works like the Constellation Series, the Pocket Drawings, and the Sound Sculptures explore different physical phenomena gravitating toward each other and

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[238] Carl Andre, letter to Reno Odlin, 12 June 1963. An excerpt from the letter from which this quote is taken is reprinted in *Carl Andre, Cuts: Texts 1959-2004* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 74-75. My thanks to Mette Gieskes of the Radboud Universiteit in Nijmegen for bringing this to my attention.

shaping one another. And despite Anastasi's disengagement from the character traits that we might attribute to intimate bonding, what we're looking at in these works is some version of an intimate bond. (It's not visual autism, but it's something close—a sense of wonder brought about by ordinary and often repetitive information.) In Anastasi's drawing series, intimate relations happen because we attend carefully to the changes and thus build a "close" relationship with the work but not necessarily with the artist. To fully examine the distinctions between his drawings' lines, dots, patterns and scrapings, the viewer must lean in closely to look at the work. This closer look would not necessarily produce any answers, however; we are more likely to be left with a sense of having traced general differences. Scale, then, is a way for Anastasi to pull the viewer into his work but then to open the viewer's attention out beyond the page. A good way to contextualize this tactic is by examining the writings of Anastasi's neighbor, the sculptor and performance artist Robert Morris, to see the counter-arguments that Anastasi's work is making.

Morris's philosophical training was similar to Anastasi's, and he made writing and publishing a central part of his practice. Morris lived upstairs from Anastasi's loft on Greene Street beginning in 1966. He was very clear on the subject of intimacy when he wrote his two-part essay *Notes on Sculpture* in February and October of 1966. This text dealt with how human-object relationships come into being through visual experience. Intimacy was one of many kinds of relations that an art object could generate. For Morris, intimacy happened as a function of scale; the smaller an object was in relation to the human body, the more one viewed it in "the intimate mode." Whether something was

created small, such as a Romanesque ivory, or whether it was a fragment of a large thing that required serious imaginative attention to "restore" it to its original size (in the way one had to think through the surface of an Olmec head fragment, for instance), the attention to the surface of an object had the effect of turning the viewer's attention away from the phenomenological experience of the object itself in space.[239] With the human body as constant, smaller objects invited a more hermetic, fussy kind of attention to themselves and engendered a more "closed" experience of the object, one that shut down the possibility of establishing a gestalt within an environment. This fussy attention, in turn, deflected attention away from the individual taking-place of the object within space and time, which was crucial in addressing problematic interpretive strategies for art objects.[240] Scale was also important in establishing the "terms necessary for [the] apprehension" of objects.[241] Larger works forced a consideration of the body and of the space around the object. Smaller works, by contrast, bracketed out both vision and possibilities; "The intimate mode," he asserted, "is essentially closed, spaceless, compressed, and exclusive."[242]

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[239] This is in keeping with the dominant art historical view at the time, as disseminated by scholars like Meyer Schapiro, Henri Focillon, and Erwin Panofsky (whose lecture 'Ikonographie und Ikonologie' ('Studies in Iconology', 1939) Morris performed in 1964), and affirmed by Yves Alain-Bois in "Matisse and Arche-Drawing" in *Painting as Model*, 1993. Morris earned a graduate degree in art history at Hunter College and would have been familiar with these arguments.

[240] Morris quotes Kubler at the beginning of Part I, starting to prioritize shape and time:
"This Strukturforschung presupposes that the poets and artists of one place and time are the joint bearers of a central pattern of sensibility from which their various efforts all flow like radial expressions. This position agrees with the iconologist's, to whom literature and art seem approximately interchangeable." George Kubler, The Shape of Time (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1962), 27 (footnote 1).

[241] Robert Morris, "Notes on Sculpture, Part II," published in *Artforum*, October 1966. Reprinted in Robert Morris, *Continuous Project Altered Daily: The Writings of Robert* Morris (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press/October Books, 1995), 13.

[242] Ibid., 52.

This doesn't seem to be true with, for instance, the Pocket Drawings. Though most are small in scale (less than 10 by 14 inches), even simply describing them involves a combined language of solitude and companionship. Imagining them does also. As we have seen in the case of *Draw a Straight Line and Follow It*, walking around and doing things at random was a common component of 1960s artworks; it's what Rauschenberg was very firmly established as doing, and it's what Pollock was quite heavily publicized as doing. But it was quite unusual in the United States for an artist to co-ambulate *with an object* (several European performative works would set a template for this during the decade, however); what was more common was to see an artist like Smithson transport objects from one place to another with his presence only implied, not imprinted. There are also few artists in this milieu discuss the productive aspects of hearing the sound of their work. But the tapping of the marks can here be understood as some productive "other", not related to the artist's own subjective will. It instead becomes almost a puppet or model for conversation—a dummy hand, perhaps—between the sound of the recording and the sound of the markmaking. If the sound (produced by the artists and held as communication in itself) is "other" to the artist, then the artist is othering himself. The mark, then, becomes a record of the conversation, sharing similarities with both a letter and an echocardiogram.

Paper Tigers: Gender as Particle

Another issue that surrounds Anastasi's work but which scholars have not yet explored is sex and gender. Gender rises to the surface not so much in the aesthetic content of Anastasi's works but rather in its implications, as many of his works in the

later 1960s mimic the process of affective bonding, courtship, and sexual communion. He did more and more drawing exercises that involved walking through the city with drawing paper close at hand, maintaining regular contact with the sheet either with his hands or on his body. Anastasi took his drawings to the movies (most notably to the silent films offered weekly at the Museum of Modern Art), and to concert performances as diverse as Beethoven and Phillip Glass. These are all performances that would have included a wide array of sensory stimuli in addition to the performance on offer, mostly from other people in the audience. For instance, the film screenings that the MoMA were, according to serious connoisseurs of film, rather inauthentic and distracting spaces in which to experience these classic movies. The audience's attention at these screenings was not trained on the film for the entire time; rather, there were occasional bursts of laughter, snoring, and other sounds of disengagement.[243] The drawings were his regular companions, fashioning a strange sort of private coupledom for the artist; Anastasi recalls having to stop making drawings in movie theatres because his fellow viewers suspected him of public masturbation.[244] While the Constellation Drawings allowed Anastasi to be a roving particle and flexible collaborator with an imaginary partner, his successive series allowed him to guide the private act into the public sphere.

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[243] David Emerson of the Thomas Huffington Memorial Society, a film club in downtown New York that prided itself on screening silent films in a historically accurate way, recalls feeling disdain about these screenings: "Members of [the Huff Memorial Society] looked with great suspicion at screenings of silent films by other institutions and organizations, like MoMA, where audiences habitually laughed out loud at even acknowledged masterpieces of the silent era. In an irate article on 'audience stupidity' written in 1954, a member of the Huff Memorial Society noted with great distress the 'giggling idlers ignorant of everything that goes to make up the art of the motion picture' who regularly spoiled screenings of silent classics." Lee Grieveson, et al, ed., *Inventing Film Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), 240.

[244] William Anastasi, interview with the author, 13 February 2013.

I emphasize the libidinal components of this history to show how Anastasi's work resonates with gender and sex in critical but neglected ways. The first is through Anastasi's affinity for the work of the artist Marcel Duchamp. Anastasi's early encounters with Duchamp's painting and sculpture in the 1954 installation of Walter and Louise Arensberg's collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art affected him profoundly. He has mentioned the 1921 sculpture *Why Not Sneeze Rrose Selavy?* in multiple interviews (fig. 3.12)—a sculpture that, not coincidentally can be read as a reference to the female orgasm.[245] [246] He states that he found "permission" in Duchamp's works, and was well aware of Duchamp's engagement with gender and sexuality after reading the older artist's notes when they circulated at New York exhibitions in the 1960s. So Anastasi would have known Duchamp's earlier paintings of coffee mills and chocolate grinders like *The Chocolate Grinder* from 1913 (fig. 3.13), and also recognized their veiled references to masturbation. Duchamp explained in his published that "the bachelor grinds his chocolate himself," and later said in an interview, "Always there has been a necessity for circles in my life, for, how do you say, rotation. It is a kind of onanism."[247] And while I made a case earlier in the chapter for expanding the analysis of Anastasi's work beyond the trope of blindness, the artist himself says he was inspired by

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[245] See "William Anastasi and Thomas McEvilley: A Conversation", in *William Anastasi: A Selection of Works from 1960 to 1989*, p. 20; Anastasi, interview with the author, 16 February 2013.

[246] As the art historian Jerrold Seigel has suggested: "The implied answer to the question is that R[r]ose prefers the state of permanent anticipation that is not sneezing to the release of tension the small explosion would bring: because eros is desire, delay is the only state in which it survives undiminished." Jerrold Seigel, *The Private Worlds of Marcel Duchamp* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 170.

[247] Reprinted in Dawn Ades, Neil Cox and David Hopkins, eds., *Marcel Duchamp* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), 75.

Duchamp's claim that a blind man was certainly capable of making great art, which is why he explored unsighted methods.[248]

Many of Anastasi's drawings were also created in spaces that served multiple social functions, like city streets or concert halls. Anastasi's tactics when he produced these works (blindness, ambulation, distraction) point to someone confronting spaces and places of knowledge. Take the pocket drawings he made in his pocket, for instance: the pocket provided very little space for creative expansion, but it served in daily life as a portal of potential. Books and notebooks went into a person's pocket. Pulling something out of one's pocket is a major trope in midcentury American noir films. So not only do these works have to do with gender and intimacy, then, but they also speak to knowledge and blockage more broadly.

We view these drawing practices, then, as an answer to gender's historically troubled relationship with knowledge, which is often mediated through sight. In her book *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*, the art historian and performance theorist Peggy Phelan references Juliet Flower MacCannell and Lacan's assertion that the contemporary gender economy is founded on the exclusion of the woman, of the mother. Phelan says, "The discursive and iconic 'nothingness' of the Mother's genitals is what culture and metaphor cannot face. They must be effaced in order to allow the phallus to operate as that which always marks, values, and wounds… In 'The Uncanny' Freud suggests that

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[248] Duchamp also frequently published in the dada and Surrealist journal Blind Man. For more on this connection between Anastasi's blindness and Duchamp's, see Bent Fausing and Elisabeth Delin Hansen, eds., *William Anastasi: A Retrospective* (Nikolaj, Copenhagen Contemporary Art Center, 2001), 74-75.

the fear of blindness is a displacement of the deeper fear of castration but surely it works the other way as well, or maybe even more strongly. Averting the eyes from the 'nothing' of the mother's genitals is the blindness which fuels castration."[249] She then goes on to say that cultural orders force the subject to renounce conscious desire and pleasure in order to legitimate that subject; "[t]his willingness to renounce pleasure implies that the Symbolic Order is moral and that the subject obeys an (inner) Law which affords the subject a veil of dignity."[250] Because Anastasi's work does not imply the wholesale renunciation of pleasure—indeed, it purports to cultivate pleasure from moments and spaces that are otherwise rather humdrum—it violates this imperative to disavow blindness and feminine nothingness, which (per Freud, through Phelan) is an essential tenet of masculinity.

Additionally, the preponderance of private drawing practices in Anastasi's oeuvre that sought to create imprints of the body in motion, and that allowed the artist to yield to physical or metaphysical forces heretofore silenced, is worth examining. Like most practicing artists regardless of gender, Anastasi participated in the sexual revolution that had taken effect in the downtown New York art scene long before it registered in the rest of the country. He notes especially the reversal of power dynamics with respect to men and women and how this impacted the creation of art objects in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In interviews he marvels at the sheer plasticity of sex in this period—the fact that it was a communicative mode unmoored from broader processes of social cohesion like

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[249] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2001), 151-152.
[250] Ibid., 152.

marriage. This is something that male artists from the 1960s no doubt all recall with fondness, but Anastasi has spoken specifically of being affected by women's expanded sense of agency, both in the world and within intimate relationships.[251] His response to women's emerging liberation, then, feels different from someone like artist Claes Oldenburg, whose 1966 *Proposed Colossal Monument, Victoria Embankment, London: Knees* (fig. 3.14) isolated and froze the female form in order to celebrate it.[252] Anastasi's Pocket Drawings and his later Subway Drawings of the 1970s are closer to the painter Willem de Kooning's Television Drawings (fig. 3.15), which de Kooning made beginning in the mid-60s while watching TV or with his eyes closed at his home in Spring, Long Island. De Kooning was known to respond to the figures on the television while he made these drawings by twisting his body back and forth, and stated that this embodied drawing practice was in reaction to the energy of all "the marvelous girls walking around" in this period.[253] But rather than represent the female form as the figurative painter de Kooning had done, Anastasi's swaths and snarls of marks reflect the elimination of asymmetry in the power dynamics between bodies.

His early relationship with the feminist artist Hannah Wilke also helped to concretize these principles. They dated prior to her first major one-person show at

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[251] William Anastasi, interview with the author, 13 February 2013; 1 November 2013; and 19 November 2014.

[252] Of this work Oldenburg said in 1998, "The most remarkable thing about that time was the knee: the female knee had been revealed and it was very obvious everywhere. For some reason it appeared to be very unusual and shocking and deserving of a monument, and this was the result. Claes Oldenburg and Coosje van Bruggen, "Why Run Into Buildings When You Can Walk Between Them?", *Art and Architecture: A Symposium Hosted by The Chinati Foundation, Marfa, TX, on April 25 and 26, 1998* (Marfa, TX: The Chinati Foundation, 2000), 127.

[253] De Kooning, quoted in C. Willard, "De Kooning," *Look*, 33, 27 (May 1969): 58. Quoted in Richard Shiff, "'With Closed Eyes': De Kooning's Twist," *Master Drawings* v40 n1 (Spring 2002), 75.

Richard Feigen Gallery in 1971, and any conversations they might have had about feminine power would need to be understood as feminism *avant la lettre,* with Wilke as the definitive lead. Still, their conversations and mutual engagement with the art of Marcel Duchamp are worth examining further. The context of his Walking Drawings, especially, makes his and Wilke's relationship seem especially relevant. He was taking his drawings around the city as one might a friend or companion (and thus, by his own admission, exploring the elision between solitude and companionability), while also participating in downtown New York's chance-based and less-hierarchical sexual economy.[254] It is no coincidence that all this happened while Anastasi was fraternizing with someone who in her later career would go on to formulate these power dynamics of making and the gaze more explicitly.[255]

His approach to gender and power relations was also borne out in certain conversations he had about nuclear war at this time. Anastasi recognized his body as immaterial in the face of several socio-political forces in the United States. He recalls meeting a woman one night in response to a date that she'd invited him on, and while waiting on the street under her apartment for her to exit her loft, he paced the sidewalk considering the immanence of nuclear disaster.[256] "I was thinking of this terrible place where we were, this really scary place," he says of that moment. (We can assume he is

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[254] Of this period, Anastasi says, "Of course this was all related. Hannah and I had some incredible conversations, especially about Duchamp." William Anastasi, interview with the author, 1 November 2013.
[255] While it is problematic to argue that these drawings were completely a result of Anastasi's sex life, an expansion of this chapter would include a more thoroughgoing study of his dialogue with Wilke.
[256] This quotation is taken almost directly from the way Anastasi frames his career. In an interview on 13 February 2014, Anastasi said, "I came to New York after the Pill and before AIDS, and it cost me a career." William Anastasi, interview with the author, 1 November 2013.

painting in broad strokes here, placing society at large under the same umbrella as U.S. nuclear and foreign policy.) "And then the thought came to me: It's too late for the artist to be skipping through reality choosing from among things to make... the only correct subject is the place where art is going to be."[257] In the same way the sexual revolution made bodily acts "plastic", the nuclear crisis made the body itself a small particle that was just as much in peril as the urban landscape in which it was situated.

Kierkegaard, Performance, and Postwar Masculinity

We can use this claim about gender to consider the sole performance work in Anastasi's career, *You Are: John Cage, One of Three Narrators on Three Successive Evenings, 8–9:30 PM (fig. 3.16)*, which he executed at The Clocktower Gallery in February of 1977. For this project, he invited John Cage to observe the crowd that had gathered to view the performance, and describe out loud what he was seeing.[258] Anastasi and Cage had met once before, and Anastasi, interested in Cage's work, asked to collaborate.[259] He hired a stenographer to type Cage's narration, which meant that Cage's description of what was happening changed slightly as the stenographer typed it; finally, a typist typed the transcription and an assistant hung the final text on the wall as Cage narrated. Anastasi chose collaborators of both genders. Two more narrators were rotated

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[257] Anastasi, interview with the author, 20 November 2013. For more on the relationship between nuclear disaster and U.S. foreign policy, see Jim Rand, "Controversy grows over who controls nuclear button," *New York Times*, 14 October 1964.

[258] William Anastasi's friendship with John Cage underpins much of his output. Anastasi invited him to collaborate after their first meeting at Anastasi's home in 1965. He expands on this friendship in Aaron Levy, ed., *The Cage Dialogues: A* Memoir (Philadelphia: Coach Books, 2011), and Robert Milazzo discusses it in Milazzo, ed., *William Anastasi: Paintings, Small Works,* Drawings (Modena: Emilio Mazzoli Galleria D'Arte Contemporanea, 2009).

[259] Ibid., 3.

into the space on the next two successive evenings, so the three narratives were different each time and the stenographer's account removed them even further from the original speakers. The performance isolated the processes by which the aura of an "original" utterance breaks down. Aside from its crystallization of emerging theories about language and signification that were taking hold in the 1970s, this work also harnesses another interlocutor: the Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard.

Like many artists coming of age after Abstract's Expressionism's surge of existentialist thought, Anastasi read many texts by Kierkegaard in the 1960s.[260] As a philosophy student at Temple University (he trained briefly there but did not finish the degree before moving to New York) he read most of these texts in long form. Kierkegaard wrote extensively on repetition and reciprocity, making him very germane to (and generative of) Anastasi's interests. Kierkegaard's 1843 text *Repetition: A Venture in Experimental Psychology* weaves an argument through multiple examples and anecdotes in the style of a novel, whose central characters are a young man in love and his older male mentor/confidant. To illustrate what he means by repetition, Kierkegaard relies on the Greek word for "motion", which we can also understand as "transition".[261] He argues that repetition is a form of communication that has difference embedded in it. Similar to Derrida's notion of *differance*, repetition happens as part of a recursive pattern:

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[260]Clement Greenberg mentioned Kierkegaard in some of his essays, and translated Kafka's stories. Rothko read Fear and Trembling, and Anastasi saw Rothko's exhibitions in this period. Texts by Kierkegaard and Kafka were both being translated at that time: Kafka's Diaries in 1965; and Kierkegaard's *The Last Years: Journals 1853-1855* in 1965. This latter texts frequently appeared in abridged form in popular volumes about existentialism.

[261] Edward F Mooney, "Introduction," in Søren Kierkegaard, *Repetition* and *Philosophical Crumbs*, trans. M.G. Piety (Oxford University Press, 2009), xxv.

something that is being repeated has been already, and that something is different because it is being repeated.[262] The experience and agency of the observer are also bound up in repetition. Kierkegaard cites several examples to illustrate this principle, such as the act of walking within a city; stenography; and the theatrical genre of farce. Love is also a central component of Kierkegaardian repetition. A person who enjoys repetition avoids the unmet desires that come with the desire for the new, instead choosing to locate and re-create themselves within a series of events that are repeated, but which change each time.[263]

It is not a coincidence that Anastasi incorporated all of the above elements into *You Are*, in very legible ways. The attention that Kierkegaard pays to theatre and performance is especially interesting in this regard. In an essay about farce, Kierkegaard argued that this genre is most successful when the performers "give" so little to the performance that the audience can no longer tell what they are supposed to be amused with. "In the farce… the supporting players achieve their effects by means of that abstract category, 'the general,'" he wrote, "and this they achieve by a fortuitous concretion. So far they have come no further than to reality. Indeed they shall not go further."[264] In re-narrating a scene over and over like a photocopier might exhaust its original image, the multiple speakers this performance takes the pressure off the artist to produce something

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262 Jacques Derrida, "Cogito and the History of Madness," in *Writing and Difference*, trans. A. Bass (London and New York: Routledge, 1978), 75.
263 Søren Kierkegaard, *Repetition*, 43.
264 Søren Kierkegaard (trans. Louis Mackey), "Farce Is Far More Serious," *Yale French Studies* n14, Motley: Today's French Theatre (1954), 6.

new, and they condition the receiver (the audience member) to seek out the boundaries between performer and performed on their own terms.

This makes sense from a biographical perspective as well. Anastasi studied theatre and philosophy in college, and his first jobs in New York and as an adult were based on performance: he sold waterless cookers door to door; he worked for a portrait studio selling baby pictures door-to-door (which he hated doing because he always made the most money in the poorest neighborhoods); he worked at Fleets of Ardmore selling appliances to builders. He also managed a restaurant and sold books at Doubleday Press.[265] Anastasi was an extremely successful salesman—his father even accused him of hypnotizing people—and some ways he embodied the American model of effortless social mobility.[266] As the child of immigrants who had fought off polio early in life, he was able to navigate first within a community of salesmen in lower Manhattan in the early 1960s, and then (to a moderate extent) within the fast-paced social politics of the SoHo art world. This is the essence of particulate being. To borrow from the American playwright Arthur Miller's classic play *Death of a Salesman*, works like *You Are* subtly explore the boundaries and limits of being "well liked."[267] In other words, they are in active dialogue with a central master narrative of postwar American masculinity: that of social fluidity and success.

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[265] William Anastasi and Thomas McEvilley: A Conversation 1989, *William Anastasi: Sound Works, 1963-2013*, 63.

[266] William Anastasi, interview with the author, 13 February 2013.

[267] As it happens, Anastasi has at least one drawing that is connected to Arthur Miller's work: a 2009 Subway Drawing that the artist made while on the way to see a performance of *All My Sons* at the Gerald Schoenfeld Theatre in Manhattan in January of that year.

Scholars like Katy Siegel and Richard Shiff have recently explored the relationship between aspiration, class mobility, and ontological flexibility in modern and contemporary art.[268] Both writers assert that being an immigrant and being an outsider are two qualities that give rise to a kind of will-to-homelessness among artists; the great Jewish vaudeville tradition is a good example. Anastasi was very engaged in his sales work but also kept it at arms length; he must have intuitively recognized that working as a salesman while also being a practicing artist was tantamount to performing a farce—a genre that Kierkegaard also links closely to repetition and its benefits. Kierkegaard stated that farce had the potential to "emancipate" the individuality of the observer "from all aesthetic obligations, such as to be moved emotionally, to laugh, to admire, etc, in the traditional manner."[269] The actor's suspension of individuality amounted to a chance aesthetic experience, "like playing the lottery," says Kierkegaard, "only without the unpleasantness of winning money."[270] Anastasi often asserted that he was not a person, indicating that he had emancipated himself from taking his own individuality too seriously.[271] He also surrounded himself with repetitions: listening to records over and

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[268] See Richard Shiff, catalog essay on Mark Bradford, in *Mark Bradford*, Wexner Center for the Arts (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 75-93; and Katy Siegel, "Success and Failure," in *Since '45: America and the Making of Contemporary Art* (New York: Reaktion Books, 2010), 92-133.

[269] Søren Kierkegaard, *Repetition*, 48.

[270] Ibid., 28.

[271] In a lecture at Wesleyan University, Anastasi was clear on his feelings of non-personhood, echoing John Cage's *Lecture on Nothing* in a few places: "I am not here. And everything that can be said must be said. If among you there are some who wish to stay, then by all means, stay. What we require is static. But what static requires is that I stop talking. Supply any single thought with a crutch and it will, with a little effort, stand tall and proud; but this transaction between the enabler and the enabled will only eradicate that tedium referred to in some quarters as meditation. You avoided that before I started. And your preferences have not been consulted. But now there is static and the brief pauses without which it would not qualify as static… (We have cause to fear this static. We are free to despise it.)… This is a blind alley talk, for I'm decomposing it just the way I decompose a drawing. It is like a box of bread. We need the box and we need

over, and covering the interior spaces of wherever he lived with pictures that he'd torn from Skira books—another kind of atemporal accretion common in all artists' studios whether they were trained or not. "I discovered in listening to music that repeated exposure to a piece by, say, Mozart or Beethoven, just increased my love for it; this was a naïve attempt to test that experience with pictures," he explained.[272] Here we see Kierkegaard and Duchamp working in harmony: a person who learns from popular and lowest-common-denominator sources is relieved of the task of having to make an original proposition; instead, he suspends himself freely within innumerable ready-made ideas.

It is also worth noting that by the mid-1960s, the Existentialist texts so revered by the preceding generation of artists had reached a mass audience and had even been appropriated by corporate culture.[273] Existentialist writings by authors like Kierkegaard and Sartre were bundled together and popularized to a considerable extent. Vague versions of Existentialist ideas about standing alone and being strong in oneself had even begun to drift into corporate management-speak. The art critic Harold Rosenburg commented on this in 1962 when he reviewed *The Hidden Remnant,* a book by the philosopher Gerald Sykes which drew on the Kierkegaardian principle of the "Knight of Faith" to propose "The Remnant", a personality template for the modern world. For

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the bread. Or again it is like an empty box into which at a pre-determined moment we pile unspecified things." Quoted in Richard Milano, ed., *William Anastasi: Paintings, Small Works, Drawings* (Emilio Mazzoli Galleria d'Arte Contemporanea, Modena), 2009, 45.

[272] Ibid., 62.

[273] When Ronald Gregor Smith's long-awaited translation of Kierkegaard's *The Last Years: Journals 1853-1855* was published in 1965, the New York Review of Books' review was called "Everybody's Kierkegaard." See W.W. Bartley III, "Everybody's Kierkegaard," *New York Review of Books* (April 28, 1966).

Kierkegaard, the Knight of Faith is someone who places complete trust in himself in times of crisis or uncertainty; "when the soul comes to be alone in the world, then the heavens open, the *I* chooses itself or, more correctly, receives itself." According to Rosenburg's review, Gerald Sykes used the Kierkegaard-inspired idea of the Remnant to put existentialism into geo-political terms, calling the Remnant "democracy's last hope." "While Presidential committees concern themselves with the physical fitness of Americans," wrote Rosenburg, "*The Hidden Remnant* stresses the need for a total fitness 'in a time of incessant war.' The key is psychiatry, interpreted and enriched by principles drawn from Existentialist philosophy and the mysticism of the East. To qualify for the Remnant, one must have conquered psychological disintegration and won, through descent into the unconscious, the strength and enlightenment to face things as they are."[274] The Remnants, who included beats, abstract artists, and women, "have turned their catastrophe to good account, and by 'completing their private revolution' have acquired the depth and stability to cope with our age…" Sykes recommended that political leaders and corporate managers adapt to this framework, and Rosenburg is critical of this idea, saying that it "is intended as a kind of informal training manual for leadership thinking, centered on the consciousness of personal 'shipwreck'… 'the discoveries of psychopolitics' are proposed as a means for elevating the level of our governmental policies and winning 'the dark forces' away from the Russians."[275] Rosenburg knew that this was a mis-use of Kierkegaard's philosophy, and said as much:

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[274] Harold Rosenburg, "Psychiatry Is His Key," *New York Times*, Apr 1, 1962, B38.
[275] Ibid.

"It was precisely to counter any temptation to put the 'Knights' to work that Kierkegaard stressed their hiddenness and the impossibility of receiving their message except through 'indirect communication'. The moment you say who they are and what they think you have replaced them with abstractions."[276]

You Are avoids these abstractions at all cost, instead focusing on (and tracing) the differences that emerge through repetition, and harnessing the 'indirect communication' that Kierkegaard advocated. By skirting the "abstractions" that academics so often use to categorize people, this work offers a lens through which to re-examine established notions of the individual. It also helps us understand how artists negotiated originality and authorship by undermining established ideas about masculinity in the postwar United States. When the work of the stenographer is equally important as that of the knight or the soldier, then gender hierarchies and geo-political frameworks like Sykes' become invalid.

Territorial Pissings: Urination and the Grasp

Anastasi's 1961 sculpture *Relief* (fig. 3.17) bears mentioning in this discussion about masculinity; the artist has referred to it as "the foundation stone of my work as an artist."[277] To make *Relief*, he poured a slab of concrete into a frame measuring 18 by 18 inches, and while the concrete was still drying, urinated on it. The resulting dent in the concrete eventually oxidized and darkened; cracks erupted from this dent during transport, creating a kind of topographic record of interventions onto the work from the

[276] Ibid.
[277] William Anastasi, lecture, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 2005. Museum of Modern Art archives.

outside.[278] A gaff on so many ideas central to postwar art discourse— stream of consciousness, automatism, monumentality—this work also oriented Anastasi's explorations of sculpture toward different ideas of construction, of making and unmaking.[279] The work's title also problematizes assumptions about sculptural surface. Relief sculpture is dependent on a fixed backdrop against which forms must rise or fall in order to be legible, and what's happening in *Relief* is a sinking-in, an anti-relief that has happened as a result of the artist relieving himself. It is interesting that this gesture points to the perversions inherent in *Relief*'s etymology: a relief implies either a transition or a replacement, a transfer of form, mass, or information that also refers to the lack it leaves behind.[280]

This gesture, made with a non-prehensile appendage and with material that the artist could not completely control, sliced through the center of conversations about volition, work, and markmaking in the early 1960s. Critics had explicitly interpreted the painter Jackson Pollock's streams of ink and latex-based paint as bodily fluids in several

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[278] Anastasi said in a 2009 interview: "In the case of *Sink* I had asked a scientist what the word rust was about. He said that the iron ore taken from the mountain was virtually useless, except maybe as a doorstop—it's not at all malleable. When some early genius succeeded in refining it by heating and skimming off its impurities we ended up with steel. Things were now in place for the Industrial Revolution. But the steel forever after would be taking from the moisture in the atmosphere the very elements that had been removed when it was refined—it's as though it has a memory, as though it wants to go home. I remember thinking that this was the most poetic thing I had ever heard." Richard Milazzo, "William Anastasi at Bludgeon's Height: Libido, Religion, and the Living History of Conceptual Art," in Milazzo, ed., *William Anastasi: Paintings, Small Works,* Drawings (Modena: Emilio Mazzoli Galleria D'Arte Contemporanea, 2009), 22.

[279] Ibid., 23.

[280] In the Oxford English Dictionary, both the Old French and Latin roots of relieve also point to ethical matters: *relever* is "raise up" and "relieve"; *relevare* is "raise again, alleviate". The reciprocity inherent in the word itself seems relevant here, because it gets at something inherent in the ontology of the mark: that it expels even as it inflates or infuses. Derrida plays on all these meanings. See Oxford English Dictionary, "relief"; accessed 29 October 2013.

art publications.[281] *Relief* was also a re-envisioning of the "very dry drawing" that Marcel Duchamp had proposed in 1956; in fact, *Relief* points to the irony of someone advocating for dry drawing when that artist's most famous work consists of a re-purposed urinal.[282] And pissing would be connected fully with markmaking by 1968, when Pier Paolo Pasolini immortalized the practice in his film *Teorema* (fig. 3.18). Andy Warhol's oxidation paintings, which approximated urine stains, would follow shortly thereafter.

Anastasi's subsequent drawings also dealt with the shifting, private, and occasionally eschatological aspects of daily life. The same year as *Relief*, Anastasi made a series of abstract drawings depicting used toilet paper (fig. 3.19) as well as a drawing of a roll of toilet paper (fig. 3.20). These deadpan pop- and neo-dada-inspired experiments, not shown until several retrospectives in the 1980s and 90s, constituted an inquiry into the relationship between drawing, privacy, and unruly fluids/waste/runoff. Furthermore, they indicate that waste and personal space were core concerns to artists of the early 60s. "Just remember," Anastasi told an interviewer in 2007, invoking Heraclitus again, "what the night sky has there for us if we've ever seen it on a clear night in the country or from a mountain top—"Random sweepings" of stars and planets that make your heart skip a beat. And, going from macrocosm to microcosm, this same susceptibility informs my very early detailed drawings of used toilet tissue."[283]

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[281] Carter Ratcliff, *The Fate of A Gesture: Jackson Pollock And Postwar American Art* (New York: Westview Press, 1998), 45-46.
[282] Marcel Duchamp, Interview with James Johnson Sweeney, 1956, *The Writings of Marcel Duchamp*, 129-30.
[283] William Anastasi, "In Conversation: William Anastasi with Phong Bui," *The Brooklyn Rail*, 6 July 2007. Online. http://www.brooklynrail.org/2007/7/art/william-anastasi-with-phong-bui Acessed 12 January 2013.

As mentioned earlier, William Anastasi grew up in a working-class household in the suburbs of Philadelphia. His parents were dual-language-speaking; his mother had immigrated from North Africa in her childhood and his father immigrated from Sicily. His father owned a bricklaying business where William worked starting at age 12, and the artist now attributes some of his early works' formal qualities to layout and daily experience of this bricklaying business.[284] Observing stacks of bricks, he said, facilitated his first experiences with volume, sculptural presence, and immanence; he was entranced by the workers placing blankets over the bricks at the end of the day to allow the mortar to cure. The artist has also mentioned that the most efficient way for the workers to urinate while on the job was to do so straight into part of one's project space—into the trench dug for the foundation, otherwise known as the footing (fig. 3.21).[285] Anastasi was a self-taught artist who arrived at the practice through literature, music and philosophy, similar to Dan Graham and Vito Acconci. But unlike Graham, who disliked the European conceptual traditions that Marcel Duchamp and Stéphane Mallarmé had helped bring to the fore in the 1960s United States, Anastasi embraced these traditions.[286] But Anastasi's impetus to solve spatial problems was driven by the epistemology of the construction site, as was the case for Carl Andre and Frank Stella in this same period.[287] In construction,

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[284] William Anastasi, interview with the author, 1 November 2013.
[285] William Anastasi, interview with the author, 13 February 2013.
[286] Dan Graham has repeatedly cast Duchamp's work as inaccessible snobbery, and argues that his and Robert Smithson's work at the John Daniels Gallery in 1965-66 was an active push against "malformed European philosophical mania." See Rhea Anastas, "Minimal Difference: The John Daniels Gallery and the First Works of Dan Graham," in Bennet Simpson and Chrissie Iles, eds., *Dan Graham: Beyond* (Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art), 118-137, and Dan Graham, unpublished interview with Katie Anania, November 2007.
[287] Julia Bryan-Wilson, "Hard Hats and Art Strikes: Robert Morris in 1970," The Art Bulletin,

the "footing" was not a void designed to be filled, but rather a design space that helped shape the material that filled it, which created a load bearing area through harmony of forms. Construction professionals have likened this process to icing a cake: the edges of the cake might receive thicker layers of frosting in order to ensure that the layers of pastry would adhere to each other. Thus the footing was not a trench in the vernacular sense, but rather a space to act in accordance with, and also to shape, the material that filled it.

Anastasi tells this story to interviewers and art historians as both an attempt to provide context and as an act of self-fashioning, in keeping with the "art worker" identities that emerged in the Vietnam War era that Julia Bryan-Wilson has illuminated through their scholarship.[288] All this may not, though, directly serve to explain why the division between private and public was so often facilitated through drawing, as is evidenced in Anastasi's early experiments. The mark provided a necessary waste valve against the vicissitudes of modernist aesthetic inheritance. It was also a good way to leave aside gender, identity, and history, instead using marks as empty repetitions (or farces) of creative artistic production. If we consider Kierkegaard's arguments again, drawing, as seen through the lens of repetition and stenography, was a good way to condense both masculine and feminine modes of behavior. It meant that every imaginable

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v89, n2 (Jun., 2007), pp. 333-359.

[288] Julia Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: UC Press, 2009); and Bryan-Wilson, "Hard Hats and Art Strikes: Robert Morris in 1970," The Art Bulletin,

op. cit.

type of mark—pencil lines, urination, the click of a stenographer's typewriter key—was as good as any other. This sense of general markmaking invites us to re-think Julia Bryan-Wilson's model and re-consider artists' relation to masculine and feminine binaries in this period.

Let's return to the intervention at hand: Anastasi's act of urinating onto still-soft concrete; which he changed two years later into simply pouring liquid onto a volatile material (as seen in his 1963 work *Sink*) (fig. 3.22). The urine stream must have followed gravity all the way down and embedded itself into the supporting material. It affected the support, both chromatically (the support turned to a rust color) and formally (it created a divot shape). The intervening urine and the receiving concrete grasped each other, leaving a mark of their union. To this day, Anastasi expresses mild surprise at the result: "I didn't expect it to look like an Amazon's vagina".[289] Rather than the anonymous impunity of flinging an expressive material into the void, the artist was met with a reciprocal act of two volatile materials reckoning with—even grasping—each other. Their reciprocal agency created a moment of mutual material exchange that renews itself in subsequent works like *Sink*. As Duchamp famously said in his attempt to sexualize cognition, "I want to grasp things with the mind the way the penis is grasped by the vagina."[290] This understanding of grasping (loosely, as Jarold Siegel points out, with

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[289] William Anastasi, interview with the author, 1 November 2013, confirmed in Richard Milazzo, "William Anastasi at Bludgeon's Height: Libido, Religion, and the Living History of Conceptual Art," in Milazzo, ed., *William Anastasi: Paintings, Small Works,* Drawings (Modena: Emilio Mazzoli Galleria D'Arte Contemporanea, 2009), 19.

[290] Jarold Siegel, *The Private Worlds of Marcel Duchamp: Desire, Liberation, and the Self in Modern Culture*, 152; "Duchamp made the remark to Lawrence Steefel; it has, of course, been repeatedly cited, for instance by Alice Marquis, *Marcel Duchamp: Eros C'est La Vie,* 311."

room for slippage and friction) also follows a tradition of aligning the hand with the mind, making the imprint akin to an unstable act of cognition.

Without Title (Toilet paper roll) was stored in a flat file following its production and wasn't a candidate for Anastasi's first exhibition at the Dwan Gallery. This is a drawing *of* a surface: in this case, toilet paper. The joke of the represented image is clear: what is surface but a meeting point for excrement, for waste? And how are we to be assured that the matter that reaches the surface is valuable at all, when up until this point the matter can be guaranteed to be the opposite? The depicted image—a roll of toilet paper from which a section appears to have been torn—also mocks the notion of Romanticist, Enlightenment selfhood as being defined by contiguity: the continuous spooling of creativity and ideation, for instance.[291] Selfhood and creativity are not fully harmonized with the surface upon which marks are made; that surface is in fact an interruption (that can be instrumentalized) and has a quality for itself.

[291] Charles Taylor outlines this conflict, in play since the advent of nineteenth-century industrialism, between the urge to divide phenomena into empirically knowable units and the urge to understand human activity as a deep, continuous engagement with the spirit and the unknown. This impulse is rooted in anti-capitalist sentiment, as the "modern" identity began to be associated more and more with subterfuge and (in fin de siècle conversations) even sociopathy. Taylor sees this out when he defines the importance of "epiphany": "this notion of a work of art as the locus of a manifestation which brings us into the presence of something which is otherwise inaccessible, and which is of the highest moral or spiritual significance; a manifestation, moreover, which also defines or completes something, even as it reveals." The significance of interiority and privacy with respect to anti-capitalist industrialism is clear to Taylor: "An allegiance to epiphanic art has almost invariably been accompanied by a strong hostility to the developing commercial-industrial-capitalist society, from Schiller to Marx to Marcuse and Adorno; from Blake to Baudelaire to Pound and Eliot." See Taylor, *Sources of the Self* (Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 1989), 413, 419, 422.

Particles in a Tube: The Subway Drawings

Anastasi's friendship with Cage grew, and soon he had a standing appointment to play chess at the older artist's apartment on West 121st Street every Friday afternoon. Because Anastasi took the A/C/E/AA/CC or 1/2/3 train lines from SoHo, he had a subway commute time of roughly twenty-five minutes each way; more if he took the bus. Because Cage was helping ignite his interest in meditation, Anastasi shifted his attention to making Subway Drawings, a format that he had explored since earlier in the decade (fig. 3.23). This set of experiments became a habit, and allowed him to mediate on the train and use its motion as a markmaking tool.

Like his previous series, Anastasi's process for the Subway Drawings was flexible yet disciplined. Every time he got on the subway, he brought a drawing pad and board with him. He balanced the board on his lap and held a pencil at a 90-degree angle from the board. Then he held his pencil against the paper and allowed the movements of the train to create the lines (fig. 3.24). He did not guide the pencil in any direction, ceding bodily and creative control to the train. On the way to his destination Anastasi held the pencil in his right hand; on the return trip, his left. This bifurcates these works' compositions into two masses of pencil lines, and Anastasi continues to make them in this way to this day (fig. 3.25). The New York City transit system formed a kind of score within which Anastasi could rehearse innumerable flexible compositions.

The Subway Drawings drawings show a seismographic (indeed, stenographic) relationship to the train's stops and motions. One can see the sharp, wide-spanning lines that register the places where the train's aging brakes ground to a stop. When the train

bounced, Anastasi's drawing tool made small skips. Lines crawl across the page but also fan out in every direction from two different centers. There are some variations between when Anastasi first started using this method in the 1970s and his later subway drawings—namely, Anastasi graduated to larger sheets of paper and began using firing range headphones to block out surrounding noise—but for the most part, it is difficult for the untrained eye to place them in order of their creation date (fig. 3.23). They illustrate the vast and beautiful differences between each iteration of a single habitual experience; taking cues from Kierkegaard and anticipating Derrida, they invite us to equate repetition with potentiality rather than with closure.[292] They are a *type*, and resist periodization in the same manner as many of the projects made by Anastasi's minimalist neighbors at this time.

These experiments seem very humanistic and very mechanistic at the same time. They refer to humanism because they always took place through the substrate of the artist's body; the line always corresponds to the body and reveals the body's limits in a compressed space like the train. Each drawing also, though, marks the limits of what we can know about the body's enmeshment with mechanized transit spaces. They also

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[292] To point to a specific passage in Kierkegaard, I refer to the following quotation: "Repetition is an indestructible garment that fits closely and tenderly, neither binds nor sags. Hope is a lovely maiden who slips away between one's fingers; recollection is a beautiful old woman with whom one is never satisfied at the moment; repetition is a beloved wife of whom one never wearies, for one only becomes weary of what is new. One never grows weary of the old, and when one has that, one is happy." See Søren Kierkegaard, *Repetition: A Venture in Experimental Psychology* (C.A. Reitzel's, Biance Luno Press, 1843), 132. There are also many provocative emerging theories on the aestheticization of information. See, for instance, the documents and essays produced in a 2015 Harvard colloquium called "Beautiful Data," which discussed not only the aesthetic potential of data but also the ways in which institutions like museums might appropriately exhibit data. (I am extremely ambivalent about the pure aesthetic potential of data itself, but this colloquium makes Anastasi's work an interesting precursor for dealing with this problem.) http://beautifuldata.metalab.harvard.edu/ Accessed 21 April 2015.

served a private function for the artist (as his friendship with Cage intensified, so too did his interest in meditation). Yet they were public at this time too—Virginia Dwan talked about showing them but never did. They record a private strategy inside a place where people's sense of public and private were in flux quite a bit. Except for aligning certain components of the rider's body with the built-in "score" of the train, the private/bodied/solvent is here an almost humorous way to circumscribe what is ultimately subverted to mechanical processes.

Several considerations help structure these works. First is the inherently commutative nature of traveling. When Anastasi traveled *to* somewhere, he held the pencil in his left hand, creating the first skein of lines at the center-right of the page. On his return trip he switched hands and created another line-mass as the drawing implement skipped and skidded across the page. He usually used the same medium for both trips but not always; he usually completed each two-sided drawing right away but not always.

Another structuring element is the sense of sensory deprivation and re-orientation that rapid transit systems offer the user. Through this ritual Anastasi loses his sense of the cardinal directions, and can temporarily forget about his orientation in space. People's experience using public transit is often scripted through a set of relations that helps the user imagine his or her body within a larger urban matrix, so Anastasi's drawing exercises allowed him to yield to the physical forces that most commuters must mitigate through mapping. He reports that the practice was effortless and meditative, which runs counter to most modernist discourses on subways and modern transit. The film theorist Siegfried Kracauer, for example, argued in 1927 that rapid transit created a "spatio-

temporal double life" for its users, giving them the illusion that one could "roam freely through the dimensions." However, Kracauer contended that "[t]he *real* person, who has not capitulated to being a tool of mechanized industry, resists being dissolved into space and time."[293] When the New York City subway system was first completed in 1904, early patrons reported "becoming twisted by going into the Subway at one point and coming out at another."[294] The art historian Linda Nochlin describes fragmentation as an inherent component of modernity, and argues that modern art since the French Revolution reflects (and, by extension, celebrates or decries) this fragmentation.[295]

By the 1970s, any fragmentation felt by subway users in New York City typically came from the rapid decay of public infrastructure that was happening during white flight from the city's core. This migration led to dwindling revenue, and as a result, the subway was a site of frequent mechanical problems and social struggle. The 1966 transit worker strike, which lasted twelv\e days and set off a string of other public-sector worker strikes, lived in infamy and was said to have bought mayor John Lindsay's second term in office; it made front page news.[296] Threat of another transit strike followed in 1974.[297] Lighting and color in the subway were front and center in many complaints. When the Grand Central end of the Times Square shuttle run was improved with orange, blue, and white

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[293] Siegfried Kracauer, *The Mass Ornament* (first published Ornament Der Masse, 1927; reprinted Thomas Y. Levin, trans., Harvard University Press, 1995), 68.
[294] Tracy Fitzpatrick, *Art and the Subway: New York Underground* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 136, n1.
[295] Linda Nochlin, *The Body in Pieces: The Fragment as a Metaphor of Modernity* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 13.
[296] Murray Schumach, "Subways and Buses Roar Back to Life: Transit System Quickly Resumes,", *New York Times,* Jan 14, 1966, 1.
[297] Damon Stetson, "Transit Negotiators Intensifying Talks," *New York Times*; Mar 30, 1974, 29.

tiles (the colors of New York City) in late 1966, people remarked mostly on the lighting renovations that illuminated the previously shadowy spaces. As one waitress interviewed said, "I think it's a grand improvement, the walls all bright and shiny, and the lights. Oh, it's never been as bright, even outside on a sunny day." A crew member commented, "All of the crews like it, they like coming to a brightly lighted, clean-looking platform—they can see the waiting passengers better. Most of them are nicer to look at now, because they, too, look brighter."[298] Even after the strike brought improvements in worker salaries and attempts at renovations were made in the mid-to-late sixties, the aging system and cars were the source of frequent complaints for years to come.[299] In May of 1970 when an empty GG train crashed head-on into a GG train going the other direction, the public's faith in the New York City transit system reached a serious nadir. "Even before the multiple investigations of this week's fatal subway crash get under way," wrote an anonymous commentator in 1970, "several points are painfully clear. One is that an understaffed, partially dilapidated and poorly maintained subway system endangers the safety of its four-and-a-half million daily riders… The system is old… Service interruptions are far too frequent. Many station stops are dirty and grim. Equipment breakdowns are prolonged by an inexcusable lack of replacement parts."[300] Subway fares

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[298] John P. Callahan, "New Look Dawns at Grand Central: Bleak Shuttle Area Cheered by Tiles in City's Colors," *New York Times*, Dec 11, 1966, 143.

[299] "Down the Subway Tracks," *New York Times*, May 23, 1970, 21.

[300] Ibid. Also interesting is that Robert Lindsay's approach to the New York City subways became a template for the general neglect of urban infrastructure in an age of mass migration to the suburbs. The subway train represented the underfunded minority when most fiscal support was going to freeways.

were raised in 1975 in the face of a near-total fiscal collapse that certainly also effected the art world adversely.[301]

It seems that the conversation around subways was contentious: it focused on who was outside, who was inside; what was appropriate to understand as "natural" and desirable; and how to make adjustments to one's own behavior in the cramped, mechanical spaces. It is significant, then, that during this period Anastasi chose to close his eyes when he made drawings inside the subway cars, circumventing the kind of light that made other people "nicer to look at" and thus removing traces of social hierarchy from the activity. Despite the efforts made to heighten public awareness of the dangers of poorly lit, unsupervised subway cars and tunnels, Anastasi describes his undertaking as uneventful. In his forty-five years of producing subway drawings, he has only been interrupted twice.[302]

When Anastasi discusses his unproblematic experiences making this series, I cannot help thinking about his subject-position. How was he able to make drawings with his eyes closed on the New York City subway undisturbed for over forty years, especially when roughly ten of those years happened during major government disinvestment in the urban core and public infrastructure and crime rates on the subway were at an all-time high?[303] His gender presentation certainly helped him, as did the influx of police officers who patrolled every train on every subway line between 1964 and 1969, trying to address

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[301] Roger Dunstan, "Overview of New York City's Fiscal Crisis," California Research Bureau, California State Library, 1995. http://www.library.ca.gov/crb/95/notes/v3n1.pdf Accessed 8 June 2014.
[302] William Anastasi, interview with the author, 19 November 2013.
[303] Clifton Hood, *722 Miles: The Building of the Subways and How They Transformed New York*. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

subway crime through surveillance.[304] Additionally, many downtown New York artists lived with the sense that they inhabited a relatively deserted space that the city of New York had fully abandoned, which many artists report gave them a sense of tremendous openness and power.[305] By enacting this freedom Anastasi traces a territory through which, under certain chance conditions, one might much more easily than the outside world would have us believe. If we are being generous to Anastasi, we could say that he is using one kind of blindness to replace the strategic blindness with which most of us may approach the world.

One thing is certain: this series offered re-considerations of the ways that the human body was expected to adapt to certain spaces, as well as different ways to read and transpose the human body using line. The wiry linear forms on each page of the Subway Drawings re-orient the body's options and its expected tasks, allowing it to become fully enmeshed with its surroundings like the needle on a turntable. The resulting forms were conceptually similar to modern electronic data-driven visualizations of the human body, such as EKGs, but presented a radical model of how to move freely within one's environment.

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[304] "New York City Subway Crime Through the Decades," *New York Daily News*, October 14, 2013. http://www.nydailynews.com/news/new-york-city-subway-crime-decades-gallery-1.1835225 Accessed 14 October 2013.

[305] Trisha Brown remarked in 2010, "Mayor John Lindsay wanted to redevelop and raze the whole area of SoHo, but the project didn't go ahead. We were quite visible and viable in those days." In "All Work, All Play: In conversation with Laurie Anderson, Trisha Brown, Jane Crawford, RoseLee Goldberg, Alanna Heiss and Lydia Yee," in Lydia Yee, ed., *Laurie Anderson, Trisha Brown, Gordon Matta-Clark: pioneers of the downtown scene, New York 1970s* (Munich and New York: Prestel, 2011), 70.

This is why these works have much to say about the many ways that people found agency within public spaces in the long 1960s. Remember that within the history of modernity, the interior has been associated with divisions—of labor, of gender, and (according to the popular 1960s sociologist Erving Goffman) of different versions of oneself.[306] Linda Nochlin, when writing about the representation of public versus private space in visual culture since the eighteenth century, argues that the depiction of an interior implied gendered separation. If a painting depicts a woman in a domestic interior, for instance, such as Mary Cassatt's *Lydia at a Tapestry Frame* (fig. 3.26), the painting establishes an equivalency between the interior and the feminine. To see a woman absorbed in her work, fully taken up by the task at hand without meting out her attentions to other bodies or managing the gazes of others, presupposes that this must be an interior. Permission is granted for the female figure to lose herself in her work only because this context is coded feminine.

For Anastasi, the subway is a mobile replica of this comfortable private space. Like most commuters, Anastasi avoids eye contact with other passengers; this, paradoxically, affords him more privacy and safety. In "The Individual as a Unit," the first essay in his 1974 book *Relations in Public*, Goffman proposed a *stall theory* of public space.[307] He argued that human social affairs were governed by a series of territorial claims, scaled from "personal space", "the turn" (e.g., to wait for one's turn in

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[306] See Erving Goffman, "Regions and Region Behavior," in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Anchor 1, 1959), 106-140; and Erving Goffman, *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order* (New York: Basic Books, 1971).
[307] Goffman, *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order,* 13-39.

line), and "the stall" (a temporary personal space erected in public). Harmony between persons was not based on maintaining rigid sense of personal space, but rather on re-negotiating order and safety when an individual's claimed space was breached—in other words, on remaining flexible about one's boundaries.[308]

Public transit, after all, is a compromise between inside and outside. Many of Anastasi's works took place in spots that were "in public" according to mid-century sociology textbooks, but they were also sites in which (some) citizens could get (some) concession to privacy, as shown in Stanley Kubric's photographic series of daily life in New York, which he made for *LIFE* Magazine in the 1940s (fig. 3.28). A story that Anastasi loves to tell involves making a subway drawing while on a train ride with John Cage. Anastasi kept his eyes closed, and Cage observed a group of nearby youths mocking Anastasi's movements and pretending to intervene on his process. When both artists exited the subway, Cage said angrily, "The idiots! They were making fun of you…" but Anastasi was indifferent to their mocking because he had not noticed it.[309] By making the subway drawings he was invalidating the need to negotiate solitude for himself, instead using line to create some kind of general singularity that shuts down the idea of midcentury western solitude.

Making an abstract register of the body, as we have seen Rosalind Krauss argue, is another tactic that invalidates notions of the private self as they have been

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[308] Ibid., 17-20.
[309] William Anastasi and Aaron Levy, ed., *The Cage Dialogues: A* Memoir (Philadelphia: Coach Books, 2011), 35.

circumscribed throughout modernity.[310] Except for the small scale of the page and the linear snarls that imply bi-lateral symmetry, we cannot convincingly read *public space* or *private space* (or the claiming thereof) into these images. The Subway Drawings offer new propositions for how to use and manage the body in public space, and they do this in a way that emphasizes particulate being rather than liberal personhood. Rather than claim private space, Anastasi suggests that the body can sublimate itself effortlessly into different types of space to the point of making art (to recall his claim about art in the nuclear age) that was simply *about space*. The Subway Drawings' compositions rely on small piles of data that centralizes into two clusters, emergent and flickering, one left and one right; the words "private" or "solvent" is an almost humorously inaccurate way to circumscribe what is ultimately subverted to mechanical processes. In these drawings, the human body produces a seismographic reading of its own integration with the forces that frame and cradle it.

The human and the mechanical don't seem to be (in formal terms) in opposition here. Anastasi's large blind drawings (fig. 3.27), which are larger and consist of radial lines going always out and out of two centers of the paper, have similar looking lines. These lines trace the body but also make the body seem like it's grounded in bipedalism, since the lines radiate outward at roughly human scale. (It is no surprise that Anastasi cites the Vitruvian Man as an inspiration in his work.) But it also makes visible the

[310] Rosalind Krauss, *Line as Language: Six Artists Draw* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Art Museum, 1974) 13.

subversion of certain humanistic signs that are metonymic of being a person: namely, the idea of being left- or right-hand dominant.

At this time a number of artists were experimenting with the subway as a way to align the human body and human experience against what was perceived as subterranean. Several performance works, mostly by Fluxus artists, took place on the New York City subways between 1962 and 1976. Witness an event score for Bici Forbes' *Subway Series*, 1966:

1. Write "number two" on a subway wall or poster.
2. Stand in plastic packages on a subway platform during morning rush hour.
3. Flood the subway with Coca-Cola.[311]

In 1963 the Fluxus leader George Maciunas wrote a major disruption proposal for New York City (or "proposed propaganda action", as he called it) in the Fluxus News-Policy Letter. It included "Clogging-up subway cars during rush hours with cumbersome objects (such as large musical instruments: contrabasses, drums: Walter de Maria's boxes, long poles, long signs/bearing fluxus announcements, etc etc."[312] These polemical writings mimicked the major and spectacular demonstrations that were happening in New York and other American cities, and constituted a critique of contemporary sociality.

But Anastasi's drawings did not seek to destroy the subway or even call direct critical attention to it. The subway system forms a flexible score for the work and it gives rise to unscripted, unfettered personal freedom. The most "critical" thing about these

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[311] Tracy Fitzpatrick, *Art and the Subway: New York Underground* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 130.
[312] Ibid., 132.

drawings was the forms the lines created. Unlike the neatly delineated subway routes, Anastasi's were bundles of messy lines reaching out to each other, evoking vibratory pathways as they sometimes failed to stay within the confines of the paper. Interestingly, the New York City subway map was also in a state of flux at this moment. Local lawyer Raleigh D'Adamo had won a public contest to re-design the map in 1964, and immediately after the New York Central Transit Authority implemented the map in 1967, the designer Massimo Vignelli claimed the new map design created "fragmentation" for travelers. He and designer Bob Noorda produced the NYCTA's first Graphic Standards Manual in 1970 and redesigned the map in full in November 1972 (fig. 3.29). Unlike the angular, color-coded order of Vignelli's map, the Subway Drawings are organic and chance-based (fig. 3.25). They record the minute physical components of one person's subway ride, using solipsism and tautology to shut down the idea that individual subjectivity is important.

This would have been especially relevant in the 1970s, when anxieties about the dangers of subways and public transit were exceptionally high. Between 1965 and 1980, American movie directors produced an average of one thriller film about the subway every eighteen months. An example well-known to New Yorkers was *The Taking of Pelham 123*, released in 1974 by director Edgar Scherick (figs. 3.30 and 3.31). In this film, four men armed with machine guns hijack a subway train traveling away from Penn Station; the hijackers board the train at different stops and take seventeen passengers hostage. All four hijackers are eventually defeated, but the effects of this movie were far-reaching: the subway was heavily surveilled and policed in the subsequent two years after

the film's release to insure against any copycat crimes.[313] It is not a coincidence, then, that Anastasi made most of his drawings in "potentially dangerous" public places in the 1960s and 70s is not a coincidence; these were conscious efforts to intervene on socially prescribed relationships between the individual body and the society that surrounds and help constitute it.

Conclusion

For Anastasi, the process of reciprocal creation began with his critical approach to reality in the early 1960s. By rejecting the rigidity of 1950s existential thought (which was then becoming popularized and used to support problematic ideas about masculinity and corporate identity), Anastasi instead using existentialism as a bridge to explore postmodern ideas about repetition, exploring the ways in which agency could become portable. Drawing, for Anastasi, facilitated an almost parodic relationship to selfhood. It created an open and mediumistic space within which to break down what constituted a self. The mandates on individual performance in the Cold War and in the Nuclear Age, combined with the flowering of individual and closed sound technologies, re-oriented where the self began and the finished artwork ended. Anastasi trusted drawing to provide similar features as would individual listening technologies—to provide a framework of privacy whose performed indexicality then gave way to his very public vulnerability. Gender, too, was a powerful contributing feature in these experiments; it was Anastasi's latent feminism (viewed through his developing awareness of power dynamics in the

[313] Andrew Spicer, *Historical Dictionary of Film Noir* (Toronto: The Scarecrow Press, 2010), 292.

sexual revolution and his relationship with Hannah Wilke) that partially compelled him to use this medium to externalize his environment. This created a platform for Anastasi to re-imagine the rational principles that had been mis-used and mis-cast by oppressive structures of power. In essence, he offered new propositions regarding what it was (and is) to be human.

Figure 3.1: William Anastasi, *Constellation Drawing [Book I, 20 A-minor Fugue Alternate (Over)], Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier*, 1963. Pencil and ink on paper, 13 ¼ x 15 1/16 inches. Collection of the artist.

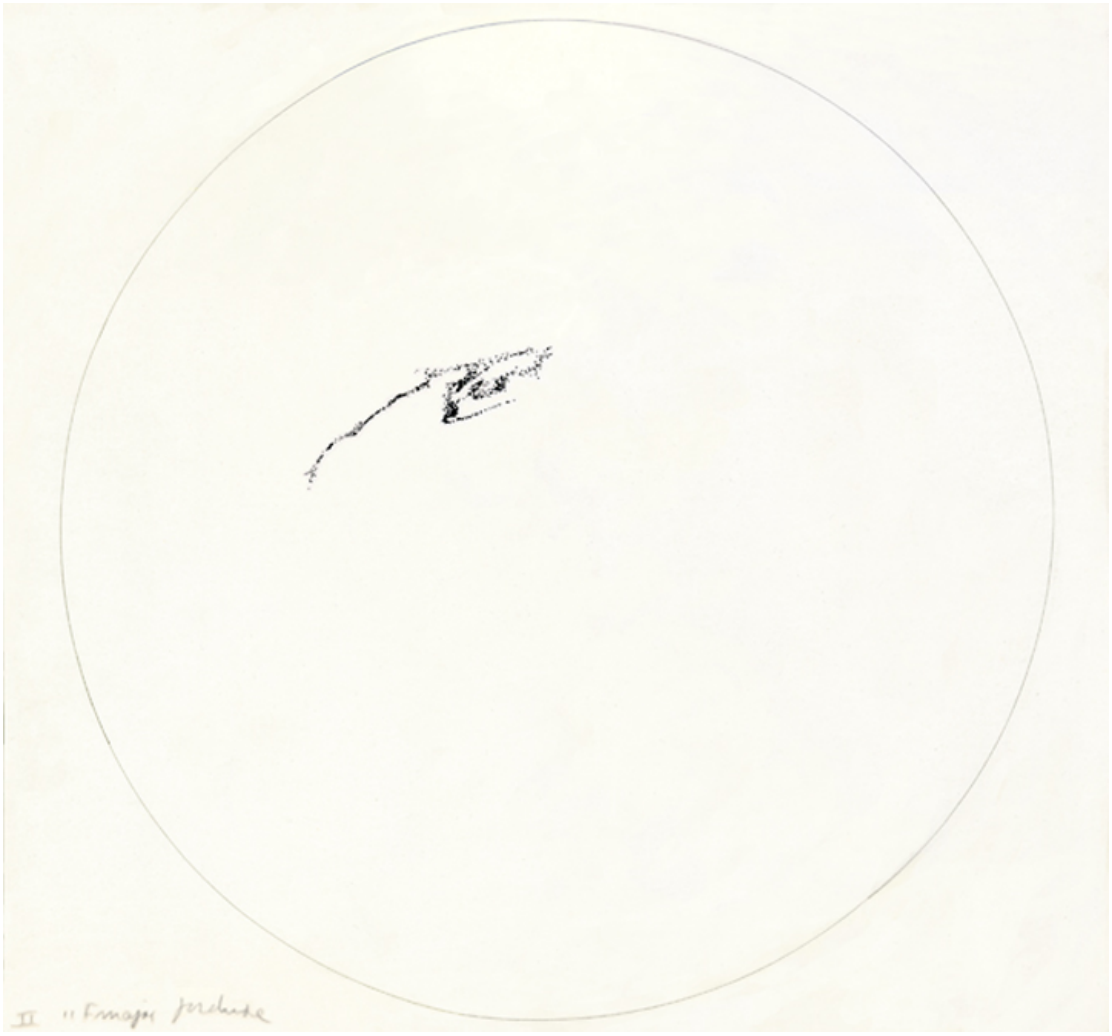

Figure 3.2: William Anastasi, *Constellation Drawing [Book II, 11 F-major Prelude],* Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier, 1963. Pencil and ink on paper, 13 1/4 x 15 1/16 inches. Collection of the artist.

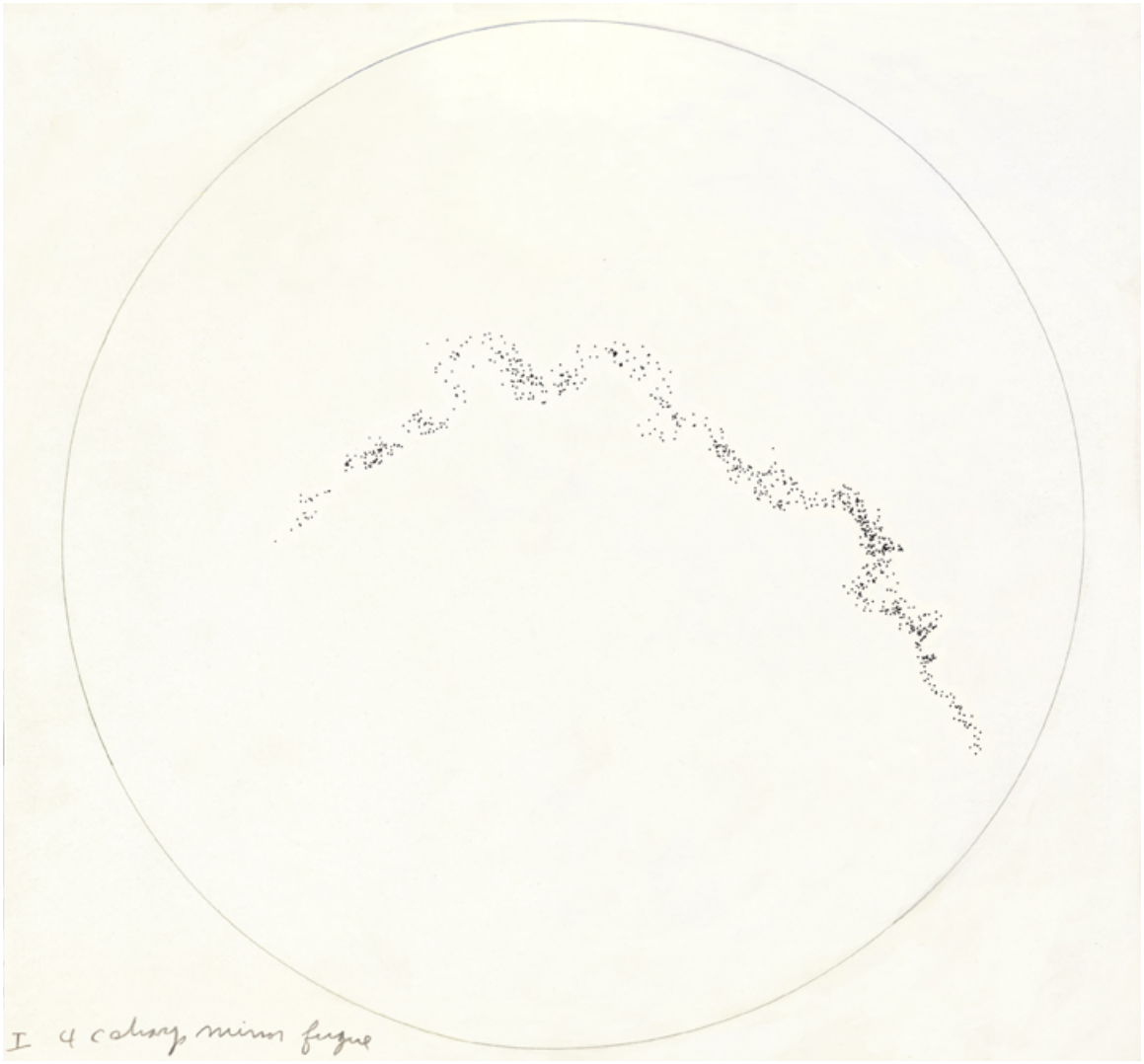

Figure 3.3: William Anastasi, *Constellation Drawing [Book I, 4 C-sharp Minor Fugue], Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier*, 1963. Pencil, ink on paper, 13 1/4 x 15 1/16 inches. Collection of the artist.

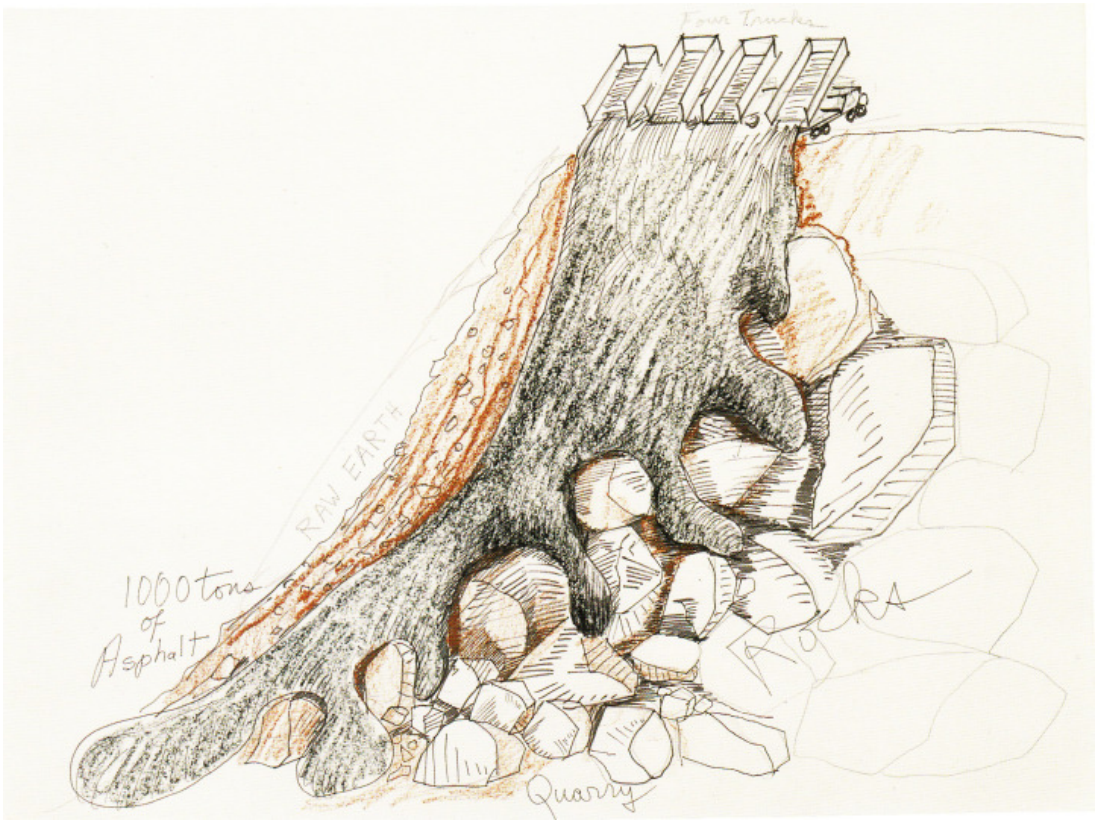

Figure 3.4: Robert Smithson, *1000 Tons of Asphalt*, 1969.

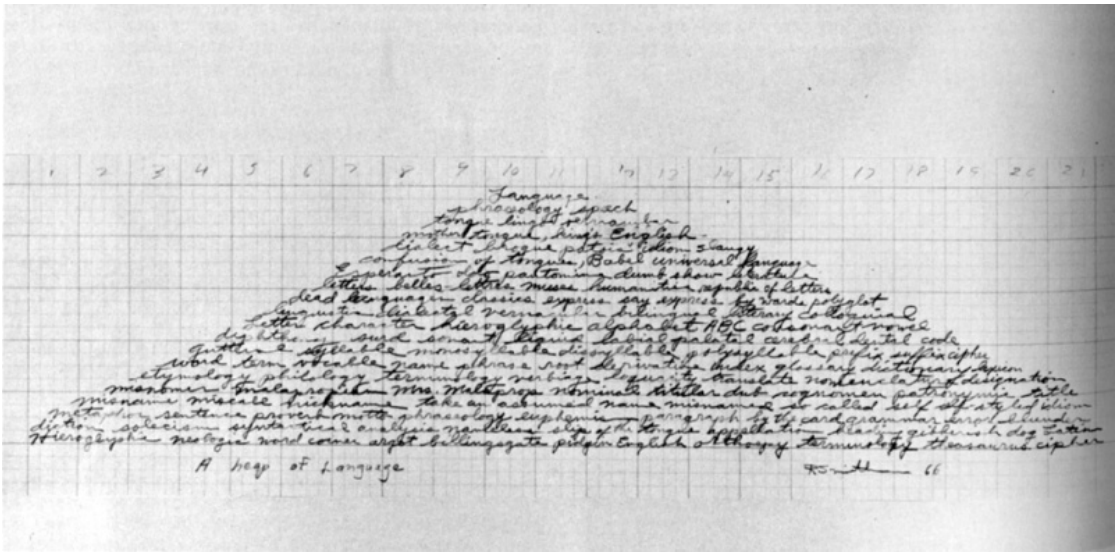

Figure 3.5: Robert Smithson, *A Heap of Language*, 1966. Graphite on paper, 6 ½ x 22 inches.

Figure 3.6: Robert Barry, *Inert Gas Series/Helium, Neon, Argon, Krypton, Xenon/From a Measured Volume to Indefinite Expansion*, 1969. Letterpress poster documenting the dispersal of gases; sheet: 35 3/16 x 23 1/8 inches. Image courtesy the Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Figure 3.7: William Anastasi, *Untitled (Pocket Drawings),* 1969. Pencil on two sheets of transparentized paper, each 10 7/8 x 14" (27.6 x 35.6 cm). Image courtesy the Museum of Modern Art, New York.

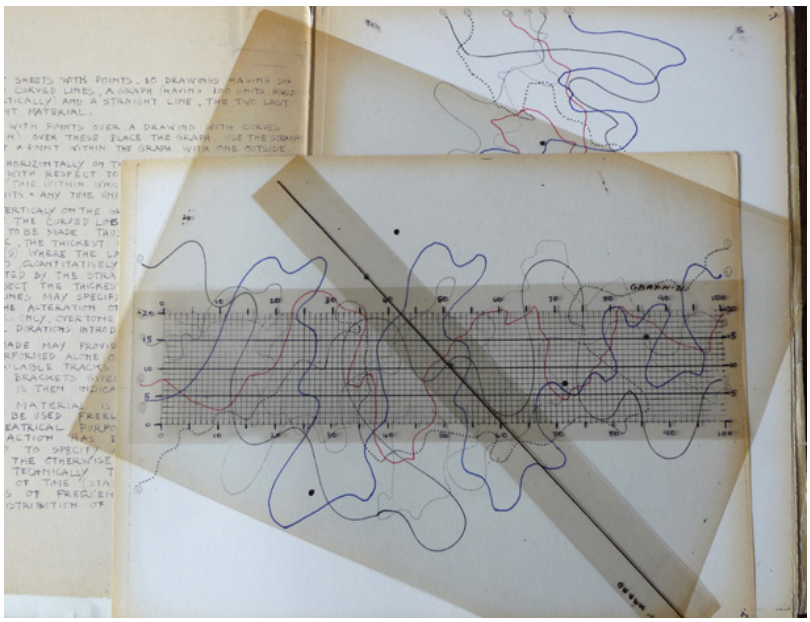

Figure 3.8: Score for John Cage's composition *Fontana Mix*, 1960. Image courtesy BBC Radio 3.

Figure 3.9: William Anastasi, *Beethoven's Fifth Symphony*, 1965. Magnetic tape, nails; Approximately 80 x 71 inches. Collection of Tony Ganz.

Figure 3.10: *William Anastasi: Sound Objects* exhibition installed at the Virginia Dwan Gallery, New York, 1966.

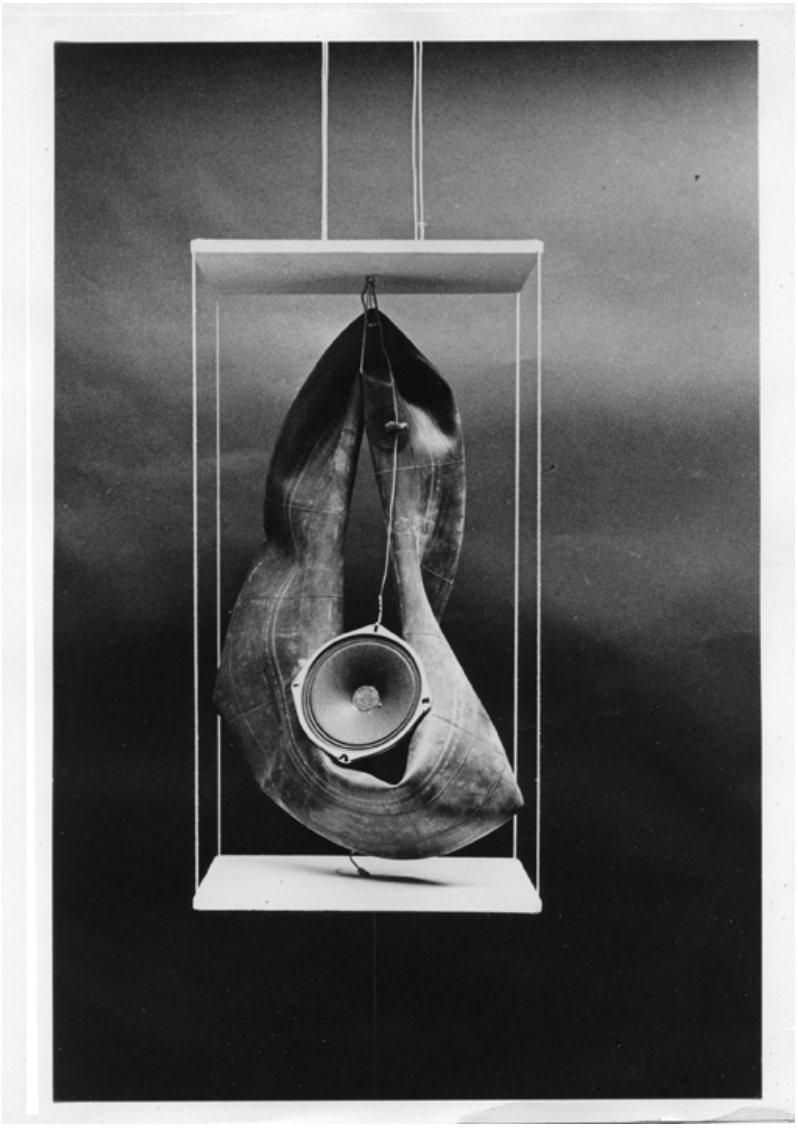

Figure 3.11: William Anastasi, *Sound Object [Deflated Tire],* 1964/2010. Edition 1/3. Inner tube, speakers, recording; dimensions variable. Collection of Michael Straus.

Figure 3.12: Marcel Duchamp, *Why Not Sneeze, Rose Sélavy?*, 1921. Painted metal birdcage, wood, marble cubes, porcelain dish, thermometer, cuttlebone. 4 7/8 x 8 3/4 x 6 3/8 inches. Image courtesy © Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris / Estate of Marcel Duchamp.

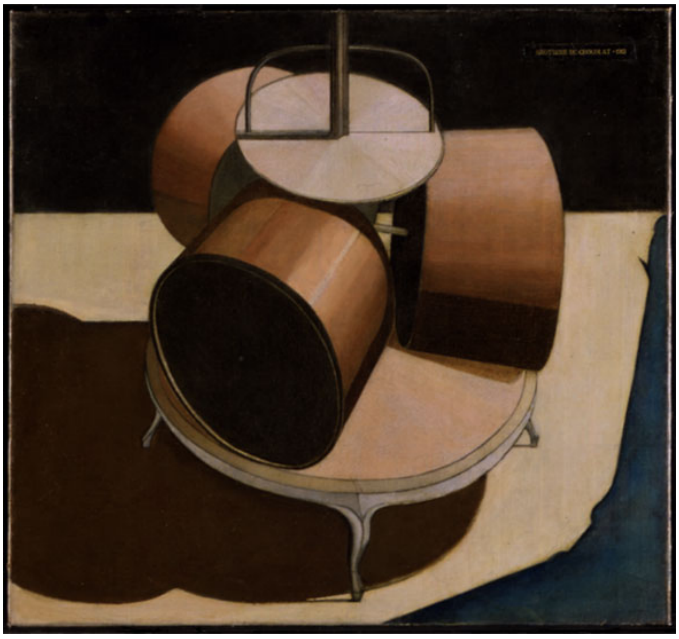

Figure 3.13: Marcel Duchamp, *Chocolate Grinder (No. 1),* 1913. Oil on canvas, 24 3/8 x 25 3/8 inches.

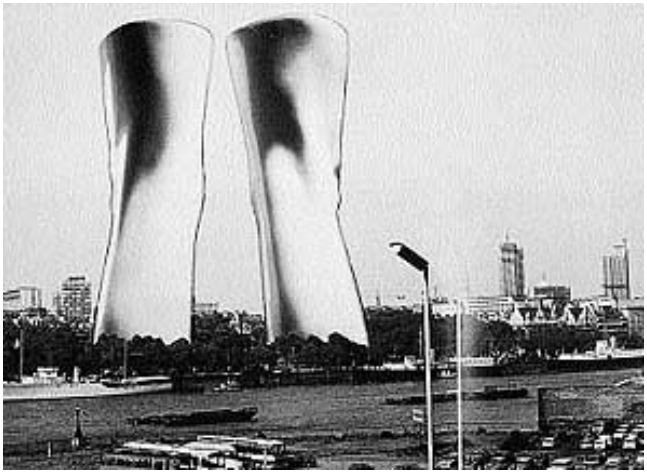

Figure 3.14: Claes Oldenburg, *Proposed Collossal Monument, Victoria Embankment, London: Knees*, 1966. Photo collage. After William F. Stern, ed., *Art and Architecture: A Symposium Hosted by the Chinati Foundation, Marfa, Texas* (The Chinati Foundation, 2000), 128.

Figure 3.15: Willem de Kooning, Untitled, 1966. Charcoal on paper, 10 x 8 inches. Museum of Modern Art, New York. Image courtesy the Museum of Modern Art, © 2012 The Willem de Kooning Foundation/Artists Rights Society [ARS], New York).

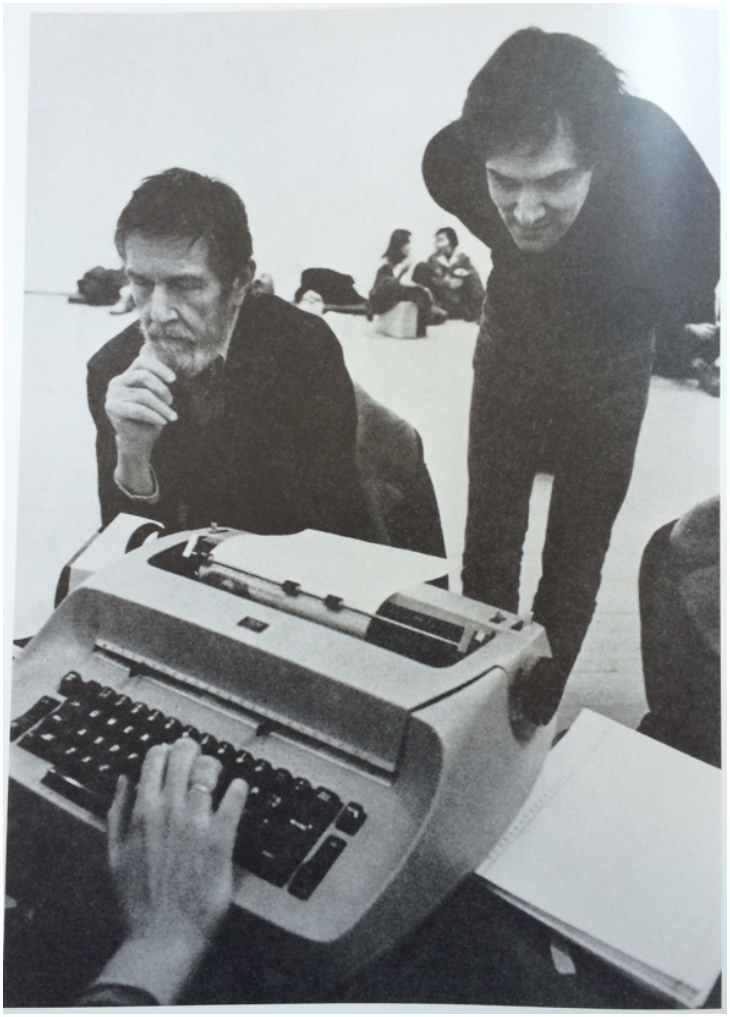

Figure 3.16: William Anastasi, *You Are: John Cage, One of Three Narrators on Three Successive Evenings, 8–9:30 PM, 1977. Performance at The Clocktower Gallery, New York. The narrator (John Cage in this instance) describes the viewers, a stenographer takes shorthand notes of the narration, a typist transcribes the notes, and an assistant attaches the pages to the wall as they are finished. Photo: David Behl.* Figure 1: Example of Heading 8,h8 format.

Figure 3.17: William Anastasi, *Relief,* 1961. Concrete, 18 x 18 x ¼ inch.

Figure 3.18: Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Teorema*, 1968. Film still.

Figure 3.19: William Anastasi, *Homage to the Unknown (Soiled Toilet Tissue Drawing),* 1961. Paper and graphite, 11 x 8 ½ inches.

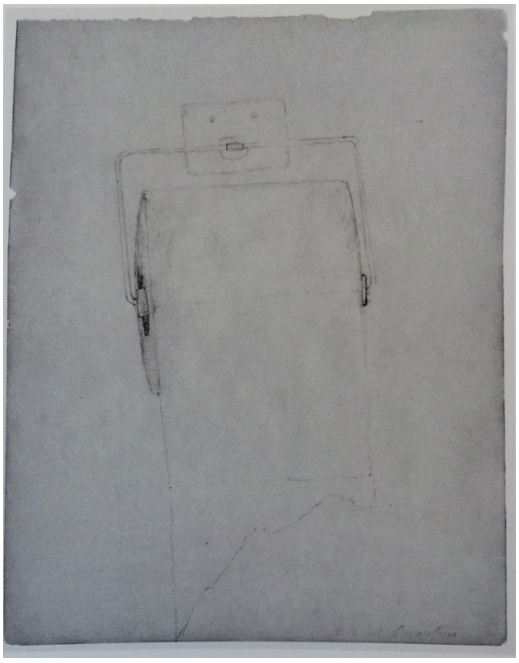

Figure 3.20: William Anastasi, *Without Title (Toilet paper roll)*, 1961. Graphite on paper, 14 x 11 inches.

Figure 3.21: A concrete footing ready for a slab foundation to be poured. After www.repair-home.com.

Figure 3.22: William Anastasi, *Sink*, 1963. Hot-rolled carbon steel plate and water, 20 x 20 x ½ inches. Several editions made since 1963; below, a gallery attendant waters *Sink* daily when it is on view.

Figure 3.23: William Anastasi, *Untitled (Subway Drawing)*, 1973. Graphite on paper, 8 x 10 5/8 inches. Mildred Lane Kemper Museum.

Figure 3.24: William Anastasi making a subway drawing. Image courtesy of New Art TV.

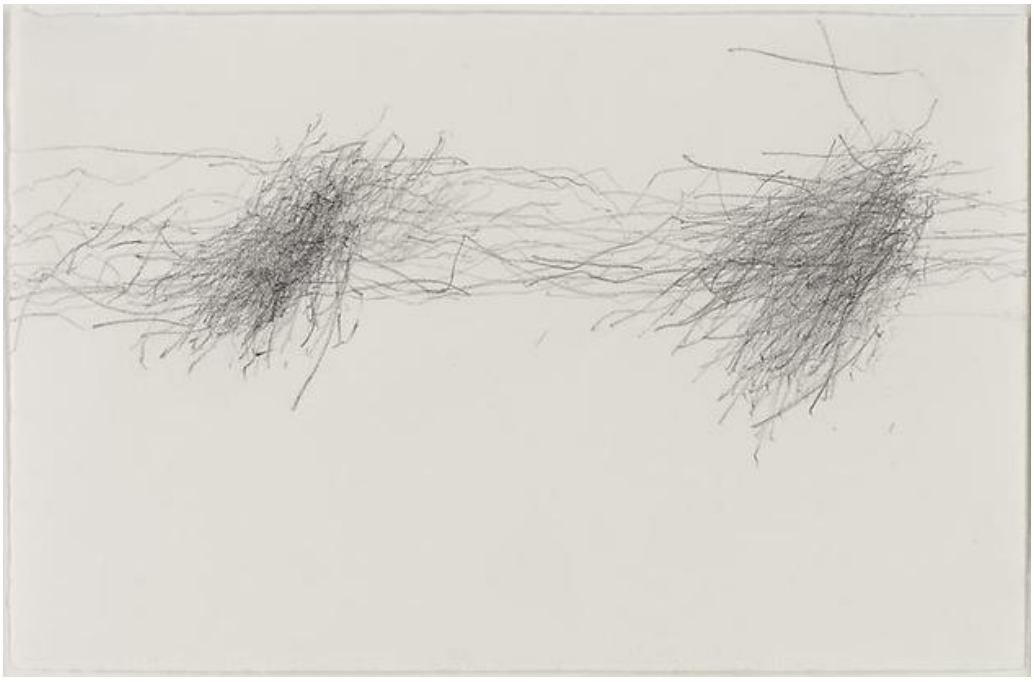

Figure 3.25: William Anastasi, *Subway Drawing*, date unknown. Graphite on paper, 7 1/4 x 11 1/8 inches. Image courtesy Sandra Gering Gallery.

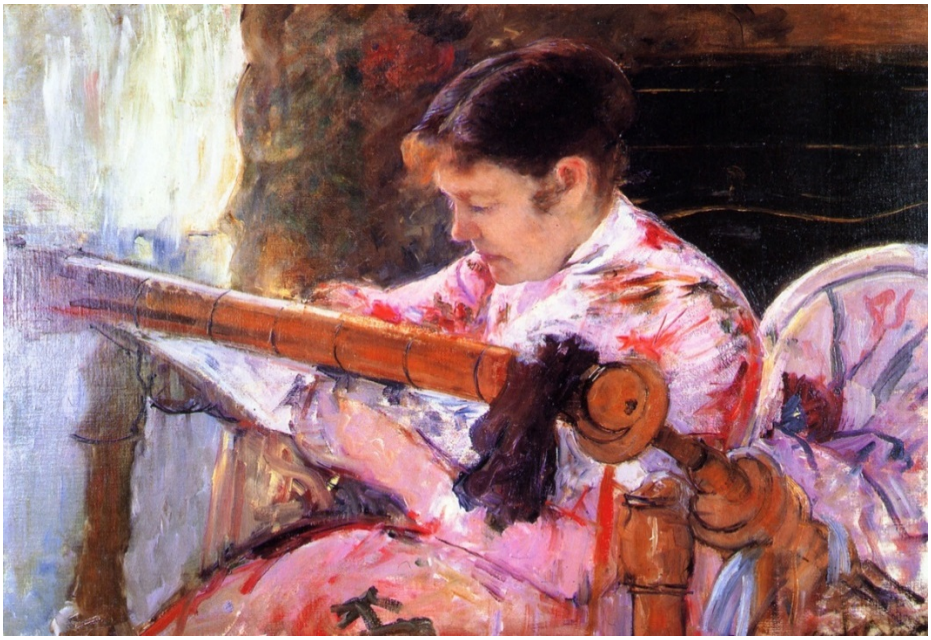

Figure 3.26: Mary Cassatt, *Lydia at a Tapestry Frame*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 25 5/8 x 36 3/8 inches.

Figure 3.27: Anastasi standing in front of a Blind Drawing at the *William Anastasi: Sound Works* exhibition at the Hunter College Art Gallery, 2013.

Figure 3.28: Stanley Kubrick, *Life and Love on the New York City Subway—Passengers reading in a subway car, Look* magazine, shot 1946. Museum of the City of New York.

Figure 3.29: Jim Pickerell, Photograph of young woman looking at route map of the New York City subway while standing on a platform, 1970s. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.

Figure 3.30: Movie poster for *The Taking of Pelham 123* showing Massimo Vignelli's map design in the background, 1974.

Figure 3.31: Promotional poster for *The Taking of Pelham 123*, 1974.

Chapter 3: Drawing with Friends: Parsing Richard Tuttle's "Feeling"

Introduction: "To communicate my feeling"

On the morning of June 11, 1977, a handmade envelope arrived via airmail to dealer Alfred Schmela and his wife Monika at their home in Düsseldorf from the 36-year-old artist Richard Tuttle. In it was a letter on thin white paper and a suite of twenty-seven drawings on cards of the same scale (fig. 4.1). It was not unusual for the Schmelas to receive mail from Tuttle, as they were at the center of Germany's bustling postwar arts community. Their art space, Gallerie Schmela, had been an organ for avant-garde art and performance since its inception in 1959.[314] During Germany's turbulent, divided 1960s, the Schmelas brought artists like Joseph Beuys, Lucio Fontana, and members of the Zero Group to an eager audience of art students, intellectuals, and collectors. The Schmelas sold both small and large works to collectors and used that income to fund elaborate, often days-long performances and parties.[315] In the case of artists like Tuttle, whose elusive sculptures often puzzled U.S. audiences, the Schmelas forged ties between open-minded collectors and the artists wanting their support. While Tuttle had generated that attention on his own merit, he had strong affection for Alfred especially, who was known for his ambition and sensitive eye.[316] Tuttle's letter, therefore, served both a business and a social purpose.

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[314] Wendelberger, Axel, and Elfriede Ruhrberg, eds. *Alfred Schmela: Galerist, Wegbereiter der Avantgarde.* (Cologne:Wienand, 1996), 12.
[315] Ibid., 59-64.
[316] Ibid., 27.

The letter opened with a line typical of Tuttle's lyrical but oblique prose. "Dear Alfred," he wrote, "Here are some drawings I made in order to communicate my feeling."[317] Abstract and spare, the twenty-seven attached drawings are an idiosyncratic way of communicating—they feature no more than a half-dozen small wavering lines at a time, some of them intersecting, most not centered on the page (figs. 4.2 and 4.3). The pen and ink forms float ungrounded in different quadrants of each sheet. Unlike most works on paper viewed as a series, the forms do not have a standard orientation or a standard position. Tuttle oriented most in a landscape format, but some are portrait orientations, and each form's position on the page is only notable because it is where the other forms decidedly are *not*. As a result, the forms migrate slightly from page to page, evoking early animations in which pages are flipped through.

As Tuttle took care to specify, these drawings evince *feeling* (sensation) rather than *feelings* (emotion). He tied the experience of these works specifically to his sense of touch. After all, "feeling" is common shorthand for touching, with one distinction: feeling goes only in one direction, from person to object, while touching is reciprocal. Because they are so spare, these drawings invite the viewer to share in Tuttle's individual sensations. We can speculate: what must it have felt like to make these marks? The drawings' sense of visual incident comes mostly from intersections in the lines or oblique angles; many lines don't quite meet, and some of them over-meet. Hairpin curves, gently angled grids, biomorphic spermoid forms—no two are alike, but they project a unity,

[317] Letter from Richard Tuttle to Alfred and Monika Schmela, June 11, 1977. Alfred Schmela papers, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

seriality and modularity in the way a pack of cards might. These drawings are a series meant for a private viewer, but by signing each of them Tuttle implied that each could stand alone. Their scale and their grammar evoke hermeticism, but by sending them to Schmela as part of their correspondence and mentioning *feeling*, Tuttle implies something shared between viewer and maker.[318] Underpinning the experience, too, is the possibility that the marks themselves might be individual organisms capable of breaking off from the pack. They are adrift and full of potential.

In this chapter I propose that Richard Tuttle used drawing to summon and perform the possibility of intimate communication and disclosure in his work, a strategy that allowed him to scramble the roles of maker, viewer, and material at different moments. Through analyses of Tuttle's drawing-based sculptures created between 1964 and 1968 and his experiments with screenprinting on fabric in the later 1970s, I show how his line-based works beckon the viewer closer by advancing the *possibility* of a readable, legible statement; they flicker on and off, calling to mind the French philosopher Jacques Derrida's claim that subjectivity is an elliptical formation.[319] Tuttle harnessed this flickering quality, repeatedly insisting that the meanings of his works escape him.[320] He has also looked to others to expand and make new meanings for the works, incorporating friends, curators, and collectors into the making and installation of

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[318] However, in my observation, Tuttle generally signed his works when they were ready to be sold or traded (i.e., when they left the studio), so by signing these works Tuttle may have been anticipating another context for them, such as a future viewer or collector.
[319] Jacques Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins* (The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 54.
[320] *Seeing Intimacy: Richard Tuttle on Paper*. New York: Craig F. Starr Gallery, 2010, unpag.

his sculptures over time.[321] What's more, Tuttle's intense engagement with his materials—an engagement that might otherwise make him the ideal arbiter of and authority on his own work—instead manifests as a model for experience; it is an invitation for viewers to engage in a similar way.[322] As a result, Tuttle's processes of making and displaying artwork allow him to disavow different components of his own identity, including his gender. Using Tuttle's brief period of training and living on a Texas Air Force base in the early 1960s as well as his interest in organic philosophers like D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson and Alfred North Whitehead, I argue that his approach to artmaking is informed by interpenetrations, beguilements, shrugs, and sloughings-off.

Elliptical Objects: Drawing and Indeterminacy

The rest of Tuttle's letter to Schmela (fig. 4.4) contains several references to encoding and disclosure**:** "Only you, Alfred, have eyes with the ability to see them," is Tuttle's closing sentence. On the next page, the artist notes where they had been made ("on way from Muroran to Hakodate") and when (May 17, 1977 at 5:00 pm), and he reveals his ambiguous epistemological position with respect to their making: "[T]hey seem to be a situation where I am suspended around[?] which side I am on—a very nice condition until it comes to an end of recognition of this, but one can laugh at not being

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[321] Tuttle wrote in a 1979 essay, "I do not know for certain when [one of my drawings] is a [stand-alone] piece. Very often I look at them with a friend who is very gifted and knows my work very well. Here, very often surprising things happen: pieces are changed, rejected, pushed further, sometimes successfully, sometimes not. However, with this friend the question is experience, rather than awareness, simply whether it is knowable." Tuttle, "Essay on Drawings," *Richard Tuttle* (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1979), 17.
[322] See Achim Borchardt-Hume and Magnus af Petersens, eds. *I Don't Know: The Weave of Textile Language* (London: Tate, 2015), 84, 114.

able to go on."[323] In other words, the pleasure that Tuttle got out of making the drawings was contingent on his lack of control over their making and their meaning. This indicates that Tuttle himself might have doubted his ability to "see" the drawings and was even a bit overcome by his own visual language. In this case, for the work to be successful, Tuttle needed to fully embrace a lack of control over the marks.

Making something that he was confident that some other people could decode, that he himself could not quite figure out—this is the kind of half-subterfuge for which Tuttle's work has frequently been criticized or, alternately, praised. In a review of Tuttle's 1975 retrospective at the Whitney Museum of American Art, for example, the critic Carter Ratcliff wrote, "Richard Tuttle seems often to run the risk of intending an intention merely to have it re-intended by the viewer (as in much extremist modernism)."[324] Decades later, the curator and critic Gregory Volk found this potential for misunderstanding to be the most attractive quality of Tuttle's work, writing that "Tuttle is an inquiring poet of things, which are his inspiration and lexicon, and special moments abound."[325] Two of the characteristics that Tuttle often confesses to loving most about his artworks, their sense of mystery and their subtle material cues, center on

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[323] Sometimes, in fact, the critiques of Tuttle's work were incorporated into the praise. Critic Nancy Foote once spent the better part of a 1972 Art in America review discussing the "casual" qualities of Tuttle's work, and then noted that the works were installed through a mathematical (rather than spontaneous) formula. It is unclear why the distinction between designed formulae and spontaneous facture were a problem, but she resolved her confusion by taking it as evidence of Tuttle's "hermetic mentality." Nancy Foote, "Bill Bollinger at O.K. Harris, Richard Tuttle at Betty Parsons," *Art in America* 62 (May-June 1974): 103.

[324] Carter Ratcliff, "New York Letter," *Art International* v19 n9 (Nov 1975), 66.

[325] Gregory Volk, "Richard Tuttle, New York, at Pace," in *Art in America*, November 13, 2012. Online. http://www.artinamericamagazine.com/reviews/richard-tuttle-/ Accessed October 1, 2014.

the possibility of decoding something but also *the impossibility of doing it right*. When making plans for his first retrospective at the Whitney Museum of American Art with curator Marcia Tucker in 1975, he mentioned his affection for a southeastern Nigerian symbol system called *Nsibidi*, a language whose forms and meanings were flexible but were also kept secret from ordinary citizens. While Tucker was excited by Tuttle's interest in semiotic flexibility, writing that his emphasis on unstable facture was "the result of a translation of interior states to exterior ones," the Whitney exhibition received very mixed reviews and resulted in Tucker's dismissal from the museum.[326]

Indeterminacy and semiotic flexibility were key matters in American art at this time, especially when they manifested through something as materially condensed as drawing. The small works that Tuttle sent to the Schmelas in 1977 are no exception. Historically, Tuttle has drawn inspiration from indeterminacy, and Tuttle's letter to the Schmelas explicitly grounds his attraction to indeterminacy in his use of drawing**.** He positions drawing as something in advance of language and understanding, and the letter implies that this communicative medium will resolve some of the long-standing gulfs between action and knowledge.[327] What's more, drawing offered a state *adjacent to* both

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[326] When she wrote about Tuttle's work for the exhibition catalog, Tucker focused on semiotics in relation to *Nsibidi*, emphasizing that Nsibidi is ideographic rather than alphabetic, and multiple meanings can be attributed to certain symbols simultaneously. "The interest here lies not in any direct connection between this primitive language and Tuttle's configurations, but in the quality of the pictorial language which, in its directness, simplicity, and interchangeable aspects is analogous to Tuttle's use of forms in series and groupings." But the notes in Tucker's archive indicate that Tuttle mentioned *Nsibidi* for many reasons, one of which was its status as a semi-secret language or set of encoded images. See Marcia Tucker papers, box 45, folder 162, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles; and Tucker, ed.,*Richard Tuttle* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1975), 17.

[327] This is a common perceived conflict in the human sciences: theory versus practice, for instance, or writing versus speech. The work of Jacques Derrida is helpful here, particularly *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 44-45. In this

these things—beyond "activity" or "action" as postwar American art criticism framed it at the time, and posing an alternative to knowledge as expected in modern Western epistemological traditions.[328]

Like the drawings he sent to the Schmelas, Tuttle's line-based work suggests the possibility of meaning (buttressed by Tuttle's promise that certain eyes have "the ability to see them"), but this initial beckoning is a cypher for the more generative process of *making* meaning, of seeing the art object as a perpetual threshold of intelligibility. Tuttle made lines that *look touched*—that is, they retain some connection to the artist's volition—but the lines do not give evidence that the artist is in control. Instead, they crystalize the moment of synergy between artist and material, leaving visual deposits of the moments where the artist loses sovereignty. The Schmela drawings distill such moments: line sometimes slips off askew, toward oblivion (fig. 4.4).

The French philosopher Jacques Derrida has argued that this back-and-forth play between presence and absence is inherent to drawing. "Drawing always signals toward this inaccessibility," he says, "toward the threshold where only the surroundings of the trait appear; the outline or tracing separates and separates itself. [I]t retraces only

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text, Derrida argues that writing cannot be understood as a fixed category about which knowledge can be produced, nor can we understand speech as anterior to writing. Instead he points out moments in which writing is both aggressive and vulnerable, making it more akin to the dynamic physical dimensions of drawing.

[328] I use "action" here as it was construed in the wake of Abstract Expressionist ideas about creativity. When Harold Rosenburg wrote "The American Action Painters" in 1952, he used the term "action" as shorthand for the artist's existential search for an "encounter" or "revelation" on the canvas's surface. He thus atomized the creative act into a conversation between the artist and her materials—a potentially aggressive or adversarial stance that the artist took with respect to the world. I elaborate on this idea in the introduction of my dissertation, but suffice it to say that Tuttle and his milieu challenged this framework and drew on other developing traditions, including Minimalism. See Rosenburg, "The American Action Painters," in *The Tradition of the New*, originally published in *Art News* n51, v8 (Dec. 1952) 22.

borderlines, intervals. The linear limit I am talking about… divides itself in its ellipsis… in this twinkling of an eye, the ellipsis is not an object but a blinking of the difference that begets it… through which, between which, you can observe without being seen, you can see between the lines."[329] It is compelling to imagine Tuttle's succinct, biomorphic lines as "separating themselves" within the space of their twenty-eight pages, pulling away from their maker even as they retain traces of his presence. When Tuttle first began making line-based works in 1963, many critics perceived the works as reticent, which they then interpreted as evidence of the artist's shyness. In the catalog essay for his first solo exhibition at the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1965, museum director Gordon Washburn said, "These are the symbols of a shy but strong spirit who speaks to us softly and only in the formal terms of his art."[330] Thirty-five years later, curator Jennifer Gross would say to Tuttle in an interview, "Your work… is engaging, in distinct manners, in both the public and private sector. It always demands an intimate engagement, and when this happens in the public realm, requires a public accountability of the individual."[331] This is why

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[329] Jacques Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins* (The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 55.

[330] Gordon Washburn, essay for *Richard Tuttle* (exh. cat., Betty Parsons Gallery, New York, 1965), unpag.

[331] In this interview, Gross quotes the curator Michael Smith's 1980 comments on Tuttle's notebook drawings: "While I stated that it is my pleasure to become acquainted with the 210 collage-drawings, it is but a brief encounter. The individual works in new sub-groups will travel on to meet new people. The works will take on different attitudes, and just as surely they will be affected by different surroundings, they will affect their 'surrounders.'" In Both Tuttle and Gross seize on the term 'surrounders'; Gross remarks, "I like the image of circling wagons 'surrounders' conjures…" The notion that Tuttle's work creates a sense of atomized community, a community of adjacent individuals who surround, also comes up in Madeleine Grynsztejn's 2005 essay "A Universe of Small Truths," in which she attributes some of Tuttle's "elliptical" visual style to his Calvinist upbringing. Madeleine Grynsztejn, "A Universe of Small Truths," in Madeleine Grynsztejn, ed., *The Art of Richard Tuttle* (San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 2005), 22; and "Precision: Richard Tuttle With Jennifer Gross" in *Seeing Intimacy: Richard Tuttle on Paper* (New York: Craig F. Starr Gallery, 2010), unpaginated.

Derrida's ellipsis—the tremor of presence that twinkles, blinks and beckons, and causes the eye to do the same— is a useful trope for understanding Tuttle's work. The ellipsis can act as an analog to personhood but, for Tuttle, never delivers on the promises of personhood; it withdraws from this possibility. Literary theorist Lauren Berlant sees the ellipsis as a form of dissociation, in fact—a way to be "proximate" without being "in community." She has likened the ellipsis to a shrug, "a rhetorical response to a non-rhetorical question of the body – an embodied letting go of future promises in favor of life in the durative present."[332] While this theory is not an ideal framework for considering Tuttle's art, it does help illuminate a common problem in midcentury art criticism: the misperception of an artist's work as a metonym for the artist's personality or personal message, and, more specifically to Tuttle, the belief that "withdrawal" or "shyness" lay along a (somewhat gendered) moral continuum. In this essay I explore the psychopathologies that were associated with shyness and reticence in 1960s America, to give a sense of this strategy's significance for both Tuttle and to his viewers.

This is not to say that Tuttle was disengaged from his work, or the materials that comprised it, or the conditions that governed its making. Far from it: Tuttle has an almost obsessive attention to the minute characteristics of every material he uses and the qualities of every space it inhabits. But by imprinting his gestures across abstract media

[332] Berlant has proposed to explore the ellipsis from a psychoanalytic perspective, viewing it as a form of attachment that is rooted in the act of dissociation. Lauren Berlant, "Culture@Large: On Biopolitics and the Attachment to Life", panel discussion at the American Anthropological Association (AAA) annual conference, Saturday, November 17, 2012. Panelists included Lauren Berlant (University of Chicago), Anne Allison (Duke University), Anindyo Roy (Colby College), Andrea Muehlebach (University of Toronto), and Charis Thompson (University of California at Berkeley).

that separated the material remains from the body that performed it, he sought to create a sense of disconnect between internal personhood and external result. *Feeling,* in Tuttle's practice, was posited as separate from all the possible kinds of codes that could make "feelings" fixed and legible—formed at the cellular level of every organism, feeling was distinct from biography and entirely separate from social prescriptions on behavior, but also absolutely integral to connecting all beings, no matter how small or large. Further, I show here that during the ten to twelve years between 1965 and 1977, when Tuttle's drawn sculptures and works on paper gained notoriety, an art historical interrogation of feeling was underway that connected it more and more closely with feelings. This interrogation was led by many artists now identified with post-minimalist and process art.[333] What did it mean to feel (beyond, especially, the template of "sensations" that Minimal artists had brought to the fore), and what was a feeling? Further, how did one use feelings to approach other beings in an ethical way? Tuttle worked this out by asking, as several of his peers also had: what, ultimately, is drawing, and what is its relation to sensation, gesture, feeling, and even the self?

My corpus in this chapter consists of several bodies of work that evolved in conversation with one another during this period. These works are not always "drawn" or "drawings" in the categorical sense, but they simultaneously *attenuate an ethos of drawing* and also *shut down any categorical distinctions that we might make of*

[333] The curator and critic Lucy Lippard detected this when she organized her 1965 exhibition *Eccentric Abstraction*; two years later Gene Swenson would organize *The Other Tradition*, an exhibition that called for alternatives to formalist histories of art that accounted for Pop art's interest in emotion. See Lippard, "Eccentric Abstraction," *Art International*, v10 n9 (November 1966), 27-29; and Swenson, *The Other Tradition* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 1966), ix.

drawing.[334] That Tuttle himself categorized many of his works under this broad rubric, claiming in 1968 that "art is discipline, and discipline is drawing," is significant.[335] It indicates that drawing offered simultaneously an omnipresence (because it underlay so much of artistic production) and a categorical nebulousness—what political philosopher Giorgio Agamben would call a "zone of indistinction" that could be parsed across a number of techniques.[336] In other words, they enact the between-ness that has made contemporary scholars interested in this practice (as I explore in my introduction), thus violating the distinctions that typically separate the artist from the artwork, and the artwork from the rest of the world. By focusing on drawing as a working method but allowing his materials to come front and center, Tuttle made his materials "draw". This offered a critique of the falsely atomized relationship between the artist as an individual and the art object as a product of the artist's individual psyche, which was in step with Schneemann, Anastasi, and other artists working at this moment. More importantly, by letting his materials "draw," Tuttle allowed the materials to become strange, unstable adjuncts to the artist. In other words, as Tuttle's early critics pointed out, the works could not become fully individuated; they were vulnerable. To quote Lucy Lippard, they had

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[334] Indeed, many of Tuttle's works are catalogued and stored according to traditional definitions, although most texts on Tuttle are frank about the inherent genre-lessness of his work. (The Pace Gallery website, for instance, says that "Tuttle's work exists in the space between painting, sculpture, poetry, assemblage, and drawing", and this is a good condensation of the consensus regarding Tuttle and genre. However, Tuttle's work presents challenges for museum curatorial, conservation and storage departments because of this genre-lessness. For more on this topic, see Katie Anania, "On (Not) Watching a Drawing Being Made: Richard Tuttle as a Case Study for Lost Performances," presentation at *The Multi-Media Archive: Stewardship and Audiovisual Material Documenting Art History*, Donald W. Reynolds Center for American Art and Portraiture, Smithsonian Museum of American Art, Washington, DC, March 27, 2015.
[335] Richard Tuttle, 1968. Quoted in exh. cat., *Richard Tuttle*, Institute of Contemporary Art, Amsterdam, 1991, p. 87).
[336] Giorgio Agamben, *The Coming Community* (University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 17.

"an air of indecision" about them.[337] Their existence was bound up in their surroundings and even in other people, as I explore in my analysis of Tuttle's social and performative installations of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The works were vulnerable in the world, and the process of being enlivened/brought into being was as reciprocal as social life between persons.

To return to the Schmelas' letter and drawings, they have a conciliatory, even cheeky, tone. Firstly, for Tuttle to claim that an image "communicated [his] feeling" is very out of step with his expressed desires during that decade. In 1975 he told the curator Achille Bonito Oliva that his abstract, glyph-like linear artworks were meant to evoke communication in general, but not anything specific, as though to re-evaluate the very purpose and pathways of communication. "My work has generally been sign-like with the hope of getting beyond that issue right from the beginning," he said.[338] When Rosalind Krauss included Tuttle in her 1974 exhibition *Line as Language: Six Artists Draw* at the Princeton University Art Museum, she argued that Tuttle's drawn works called forth "what is most serious in contemporary sculpture": "[t]he question of shape or form as a realization of the self."[339] By 1974, the notion of selfhood would have been a strange framework through which to state the stakes of sculpture, so it is possible that Krauss did not quite know what to make of Tuttle's ephemeral wire works that situated

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[337] Lucy Lippard, "New York Letter," *Art International* n9, v9 (November 1965): 39
[338] Achille Bonito Oliva, "Richard Tuttle, Rome, 1975," in *Encyclopaedia of the Word: Artist Conversations, 1968-2000* (Milan: Skira Editore, 2010), 162.
[339] Rosalind Krauss, "Line as Language," in *Line as Language: Six Artists Draw*, exh cat (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Art Museum, 1974), 27.

themselves between drawing and sculpture; only two paragraphs of Krauss's 26-page essay were devoted explicitly to Tuttle's work.[340] In the text she relates Tuttle most closely to Leonardo da Vinci's statement that line does not exist in nature, and provides a formal analysis of the Wire Pieces. It is implicit that Tuttle was part of her thesis on privacy, but the argument I advance here shows how Tuttle short-circuited even the *invalidation* of privacy; in other words, the success of Tuttle's work is contingent on the rhetoric of the private self. So for the Schmela letter and drawings, setting up a relationship between shape, communication and selfhood was somewhat antithetical to Tuttle's practice at the time.

Discourses on Feelings and Sensation

Beyond Tuttle's personal approach to making artwork, this was not a historical moment in which artists would have embraced the possibility of communicating their feelings. The relationship between feeling and sensation was under radical revision in American artistic circles in the 1970s, having been recognized as enmeshed in problematic discourses on power, atomized selfhood, liberal personhood, and community. By the late 1960s, this belief had come under fire; Tuttle says of that time, "With Freud, in my generation it was sickening because everything was explained with psychology."[341] For artists distrustful of this paradigm, such as Donald Judd and Barnett

[340] As early as 1966, Robert Morris was insisting that "the sculptural facts of space, light, and materials have always functioned concretely and literally. Its allusions or references have not been commensurate with the indicating sensibilities of painting." Morris, "Notes on Sculpture, Part I," *Artforum* (February 1968); reprinted in Robert Morris, *Continuous Project Altered Daily: The Writings of Robert* Morris (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press/October Books, 1995), 3.

[341] Interview between Jan Burandt, Paper Conservator, Menil Collection; Brad Epley, Chief Conservator, Menil Collection; Richard Tuttle, and the author, the Menil Collection, December 10, 2015.

Newman, sensations were an important tool for evaluating works of art based on one's own concrete experience of them.[342] A person could see, hear, smell, or touch a given object, and pit their initial perceptions of a work of art against their developing awareness of it by walking around the object in space.[343]

As such, Tuttle's opening line (pun intended) to the Schmelas, "here are some drawings in order to communicate my feeling," indicates a harnessing of the tensions surrounding emotional disclosure and physical/sensate experience in the 1960s and 70s, when the armature for conversation on emotion was very much unfinished. It certainly was unfinished for art critics; indeed, reading certain reviews of Tuttle's work gives the impression that Tuttle is guiding viewers and critics through lessons in how to approach form and matter slowly and sensitively, and where emotions might belong in the experience. Carter Ratcliff wrote in 1970: "I want to insist on the value of the feeling in the work of [Richard Tuttle and Brice Marden]. They extend the possibility for artistic quality by concerning themselves with the still anti-traditional subjects of perception and

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[342] For a breakdown of the relationship between art, empiricism, and perception in postwar abstract art, see Adrian Kohn, "Heightened Perception: Donald Judd, John Chamberlain, Robert Irwin, and Larry Bell, 1960-1975," PhD dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2009: 54-76.

[343] Richard Tuttle's wife and occasional collaborator, the poet Mei-Mei Berssenbrugge, encapsulated Tuttle's commitment to the experience of walking around an art object when, in an essay for a 2012 exhibition of Tuttle's sculpture, she described looking at a plant as a process of continuous potentiality: "This process of unfolding I see [the plant's] multiple aspects as living representations; one is medicine administered by an oracle. These aspects are not referred to, not associative, but intrinsic to my sight, as slowly gaps diminish and missing images appear or experience fills in; one transforms to another along an extending multidimensional axis of seeing a plant." While this contemporary citation is not the best way to support my argument with historical facts, I believe these lines distill Tuttle's approach very well. Mei-Mei Berssenbrugge and Richard Tuttle, Hello the Roses (Munich: Kunstverein Munich, 2012), unpaginated.

matter rather than with the traditional subject of personality advanced by means of harmonies ultimately related to the figure or the figure in landscape."[344]

Tuttle's opening line was a play on feelings and disclosure. It was a play on the idea that drawing is a record of emotion, and can communicate that emotion after the fact. The letter and drawings' very form and materials—the thin white paper is Tuttle's stationery, so it performs and implies self-exposition while the abstract drawings give a sense of pre-cognitive release—suggest an exploration of the deeply conflicting issues at hand regarding disclosure.

At issue here were the means by which disclosure is performed, and also the sexed, gendered way it is received. And "only you, Alfred, have eyes with the ability to see them" makes Tuttle's play even more provocative-- it implies that Alfred's eyes can penetrate Tuttle's unruly body and clarify the unfinished work of "feeling." Tuttle used drawing as the means of transmitting that code (even as it was still encoded to the artist himself) Feelings (and their ambiguous relationship to both emotions and physical impulses) were a murky substrate through which Tuttle could channel his critical energies about identity, selfhood, and masculinity, and that drawing helped perform this murkiness.

Other Ways of Seeing Feeling: Performance

Here it becomes important to consider Tuttle's early exposure to art, which included a mix of up-and-coming modernist abstract painters like Phillip Guston and

[344] Carter Ratcliff, "New York Letter," *Art International* v14, n5 (May 1970), 78.

Frank Stella as well as more speculative, performance-based tactics. In the scenes and spaces that Tuttle frequented as a young artist, the position of emotions (and the degree to which they could come into being through visual means) was contested, uncomfortable, nebulous. He attended Trinity College in Connecticut, graduating in 1963, and took regular train trips to New York City during his education. These trips gave him access to a broad constellation of emerging paradigms (such as Pop and Happenings) that called attention to the details of immediate reality, both socially construed and physically felt. He frequented performances and dance-based intermedia exhibitions that incorporated everyday gestures and materials into artworks, interrogating the boundaries of self and "private life". He befriended the abstract painter Agnes Martin in New York City, asking to visit her studio after seeing an exhibition of her work at the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1964.[345] He connected with fellow-traveler Samuel Wagstaff at the Wadsworth Atheneum in Connecticut, who wrote to him while he was institutionalized during his military training and introduced him to artists who were critical to his development such as Phillip Guston.[346]

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[345] Madeleine Grynsztejn, "A Universe of Small Truths," in Madeleine Grynsztejn, ed., *The Art of Richard Tuttle* (San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 2005), 26.

[346] See Samuel Wagstaff papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Museum of American Art, Washington, DC. While I will not belabor this point, I believe it is significant that Tuttle's closest friends in his early years as an artist were queer (or, rather, they had identities that are now being framed as queer in the contemporary moment): namely, Agnes Martin, Samuel Wagstaff, and Betty Parsons. Martin's and Wagstaff's respective ability to live adjacent to the practices in their personal lives; their deep aesthetic engagement as a kind of opening out onto possibilities beyond those expressed by the law—all this would have acted as an invitation to Tuttle to understand "the implied" or the conceit as a potent and worthwhile life lived. I consider Agnes Martin's 1958 painting "The Laws" an example of this. See Anna Chave, "Agnes Martin: On and Off the Grid" (Ann Arbor, 2004), 2-4.

Wagstaff included Tuttle's work in his 1964 exhibition *Black, White and Gray*, one of the earliest exhibitions that helped circumscribe Minimalism as a style and strategy. Wagstaff argued that the artists in *Black, White and Gray* used a pared-down palette to prevent the viewer from being "biased by the emotion of color."[347] Two years later Lucy Lippard would include Tuttle in her "Eccentric Abstraction" exhibition at the Fischback Gallery in New York under almost the reverse claim: that these artists offered a counter-argument to "dead-set Minimalism" and to the "rigors of structural art."[348] Wagstaff and Lippard's opposing theses indicate how numerous the frameworks were for detecting and categorizing emotion in the visual arts in the early 1960s—almost humorously so. At this same moment, for instance, an exhibition had just closed at the Jewish Museum that claimed black and white were expressive strategies rather than non-expressive ones.[349] At any rate, these details highlight two major conflicts that underpin the interpretation of Tuttle's work in this decade. One is the obvious problematic of assigning representative schema to emotion and sensation—two things whose representative capacities are unavailable to the individual during the process of feeling (not to mention that emotions themselves are socially mediated, making them subject to

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[347] Sam Wagstaff, catalog essay for *Black, White, and Gray* (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, CT, 1964), unpag. James Meyer has noted how contested Wagstaff's thesis was at the time. Meyer himself is unconvinced: "It is unclear how the reduction of plastic incident was anti-expressive," he writes, and then goes on to mention that there was an exhibition the following year at the Jewish Museum, *Black and White*, that tried to demonstrate the inherently emotive qualities of those two values. See Meyer, *Minimalism: Art and Polemics in the Sixties* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 77.

[348] Lucy Lippard, "Eccentric Abstraction," 28. This essay was re-published in the exhibition catalog for the show as well as re-formulated into two lectures, one at the University of California at Berkeley and the other at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art that summer. Also quoted in Briony Fer, "Objects Beyond Objecthood," *Oxford Art Journal,* v22 n2 (Louise Bourgeois, 1999), 27.

[349] Ben Heller, ed., *Black and White* (New York: The Jewish Museum, 1964).

or the product of language). The other conflict is the willingness to equate details—richness of color, linear complexity and intensity, and material presence—with expression and therefore disclosure.

The answer to this problem of representation lay, for Tuttle, in performance. Performance was concerned with the "as if"—*as if* this thing were true, which allowed a more flexible conception of what feelings and sensation might mean, and who might be experiencing them in a given moment. In existing scholarship on Tuttle, the connections between Tuttle's work and different performance milieus are both made implicit and historically validated, but barely unpacked. Cornelia Butler has stated that Tuttle's drawings are similar to the artist Yvonne Rainer's performance work of the same period, arguing that "both [Tuttle and Rainer] strive for a certain transparency of process, by which they break down traditional distinctions between public and private experiences and constructed and lived realities."[350] With this claim, Butler seem to think that the artists were making their works or process legible for publics, which was not the case. Instead, performance seems to have helped Tuttle create openness and possibility while also abandoning his concern for a work of art's interpretation. As the literary theorist Susan Sontag wrote in her 1966 essay *Against Interpretation*, "It doesn't matter whether artists intend, or don't intend, for their works to be interpreted. Perhaps Tennessee Williams thinks Streetcar is about what Kazan thinks it to be about. It may be that Cocteau in *The Blood of a Poet* and in *Orpheus* wanted the elaborate readings which have

[350] Cornelia Butler, "Kinaesthetic Drawing," in Madeleine Grynsztejn, ed., *The Art of Richard Tuttle (*San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 2005), 170.

been given these films, in terms of Freudian symbolism and social critique. But the merit of these works certainly lies elsewhere than in their 'meanings.' Indeed, it is precisely to the extent that Williams' plays and Cocteau's films do suggest these portentous meanings that they are defective, false, contrived, lacking in conviction."[351] Performance culture provided not just an adjacent template for Tuttle but rather a way to harness and pose questions about the role of the object within otherwise closed social spaces.

Emotions, it seems, were what expanded these boundaries outward, and they were becoming more and more difficult to separate from *feeling*. It seemed that even though artists recognized the problems of assigning representative schema to emotions and sensation, they were experimenting with doing just that. "Emotions" have been objectified; perhaps some would say they have been mechanized," announced the curator Gene Swenson in 1966, in an essay to accompany his exhibition *The Other Tradition*. "The author sees nothing necessarily sinister in this; in fact he finds in it an exciting variety of possibilities of human awareness."[352] The New York artist Vito Acconci, who came of age in the same milieu as Tuttle, used the emerging language of cybernetics in his 1970 essay "Notes on Activity and Performance," analogies to describe the performer's relationship with her environment. Acconci subtly references the idea of the

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[351] Susan Sontag, "Against Interpretation," in *Against Interpretation: and Other Essays* (New York: Anchor Books, 1966), 6. Madeleine Grynsztejn says of Tuttle's relation to his historical period, "The emerging avant-garde asserted the actual, the immediate, and the firsthand as expensions of the desire for a concrete and irreducible experience freed from history, through which one could access a bedrock of identity and certainty. Reality, in its material-physiological facticity rather than its interior interpretive sense, became the touchstone for a generation of artists and intellectuals." Madeleine Grynsztejn, "A Universe of Small Truths," in Madeleine Grynsztejn, ed., *The Art of Richard Tuttle (*San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 2005), 22.

[352] Gene Swenson, *The Other Tradition* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 1966), ix.

"feedback loop", a term used in cybernetics to describe a system that can be informed by outside elements, in an attempt to imagine feelings as a mechanical process:

> The performance can begin with the alarm reaction stimulus, when the performer is groping but he has not yet specifically developed a system to cope with the task at hand. The performance can take up time as the performer goes through a stage of resistance and adaptation, developing a specific channel of defense. The performance can continue to a stage of exhaustion, when the specific channel of adaptation is broken down—the reaction spreading over different areas—and momentum is retained for a while after the shut-off of power.[353]

Note that the language in this quotation is similar to that used to describe military endurance testing. Through such language, both sensations *and* feelings could be framed as reactions to a stimulus, or, as I demonstrate in the next section, it could be framed as a sensory confrontation between two organisms, either one-celled or more complex. In Tuttle's circle (where broad feminist discourse was only just beginning to emerge) feelings were noted according to levels of intensity rather than type.

Meanwhile, critics, curators and museum directors were also improperly framing process-based strategies in terms of feelings. The exhibition *Live in Your Head: When Attitudes Become Form,* held at the Kunsthalle Bern in 1969 and which included Tuttle, was a major exhibition that placed, if not feelings, but acknowledged the particular ontology of interior life and posited that this might have some relationship to artistic output.[354] The exhibition was underwritten by Philip Morris Europe, and its introductory statement by the company's president framed the enterprise as oriented toward lifestyle

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[353] Vito Acconci, "Some Notes on Activity and Performance," *Interfunktionen* 5 (November 1970), 138.
[354] Szeemann Harald, ed. *Live In Your Head: When Attitudes Become Form: Works—Concepts—Processes—Situations—Information*. exh. cat., Kunsthalle Bern, March 22 – April 27, 1969. Unpaginated. Phillip Morris would purchase the Miller Brewing Company the following year, solidifying the company's advancement into the world of lifestyle brands in that decade.

modification and self-improvement: "Just as the artist endeavours to improve his interpretation and conceptions through innovation, the commercial entity strives to improve its end product or service through experimentation with new methods and materials."[355] Material was made to seem like a function of inner life, of drive and creativity—hallmarks of post-cold-war Euro-American masculinity—and the art object its natural and necessary product. Scott Burton's essay exploited the anxiety inherent in this masculine enterprise, and attributed to the objects a transitive ability to perform this same tension. Interestingly, Burton set Tuttle's work apart from the "torn, flopping, 'anxious objects'" in the exhibition: "[T]he humbleness of Richard Tuttle's wrinkled, dyed, nailed-up pieces of cloth is rivaled only by their grandeur of conception—they have no back, no front, no up or down, they may be attached to the wall or spread out on the floor. Imagine making an object which will maintain its integrity in all circumstances yet which exerts absolutely no demands on its situation."[356]

Burton's analysis stopped being helpful when he argued that the "ontological instability" of certain works "introduce[d], on a psychological plane, an experience of anxiety about being, which has been the chief subject of philosophy since Descartes."[357] This vague, Occidental way of framing the process-based projects that occupied Tuttle and his contemporaries does not hold up in the contemporary moment. The scientific and cybernetic frameworks that had found their way into the study of emotion,

[355] Ibid., unpaginated.
[356] Scott Burton, "Notes on the New," ibid., unpaginated.
[357] Ibid.

however, were far more useful at the time and offer more nuanced insights into work like Tuttle's. As the Hungarian systems theorist and philosopher Ervin Laszlo noted in his 1978 book *System, Structure, and Experience*, "…emotions function cognitively not as separate items but in combination with one another and with other means of knowing… quantity or intensity of emotion is no measure of its cognitive efficacy. A faint emotion may be as informative as an overwhelming one… this is something all attempts to distinguish the aesthetic in terms of amount or degree of emotion overlook."[358] This is the kind of integrative approach that Tuttle preferred, and it warrants more consideration.

Drawing and Sculpture: Performing the Visual Rhetoric of Intimacy

Before exploring how Tuttle's work pushed the limits of "drawing" as traditionally understood (as the dragging of a markmaking tool across a surface), it is important to consider the means by which they could have come to be associated with emotions in the first place. Tuttle's bodies of work between 1965—his small cut paper cubes, his alphabet series, his cloth works shapes, his cloth octagonals, the paper octagonals, his notebook drawings, his plywood works, and his Wire Pieces—are arguably organic-looking, particularly compared to the Minimalist objects that preceded him (despite the fact that he was grouped briefly with Minimalist objects in 1964). They retain the evidence of the artist's hand, which many movements and polemics were disavowing at the time. But are they, in any clear sense, emotional? To critics at the time,

[358] Ervin Laszlo, *System, Structure, and Experience*: *Toward a Scientific Theory of Mind* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1969), 40.

they were emotionally *evocative*. They did this through their simultaneously organic and withdrawn qualities.

For the 1972 exhibition *Masterpieces of the Twentieth Century* at Gallery Schmela in Düsseldorf, gallerist Alfred Schmela hung Tuttle's 1965 work *Chelsea* about six feet below Morris Louis's 1961 painting *Number 1-82* (fig. 4.5). A stair landing separated the two, and caused Tuttle's work to jut out into the exhibition space below. Tuttle knew Louis's work well and admired it, and Schmela likely knew this. Schmela's chief concern would have been the formal conversation between the two works. Their similarities are evident enough: both use line as their principal design element and the chief driver of kineticism in the picture plane. Both works contain references to hand-making—*Number 1-82* features long strands of watered-down oil paint that end at the same drip point every time, evidencing that they were controlled by an individual, while *Chelsea*'s three bands of colored plywood end in wavering lines that look hand-drawn. Their respective banded-ness recalls rainbows and other kinds of spectrums. To a viewer accustomed to looking at abstract works in the 1960s, this conversation would have leapt out, as legible as wall text.

One cannot help but notice, too, the oppositions these objects put into play. *Number 1-82* is sure-footed, with straight bands of equal width extending down the canvas, while *Chelsea*'s contours are wobbly and unstable. *Number 1-82* is the result of a managed process in which the artist poured diluted paint on the canvas one band at a time, blending chaos and control seamlessly in one image. The painter has invited the medium to do what it does after a certain amount of manipulation, but ultimately the two

agents—maker and medium—are working together as one. *Chelsea*, meanwhile, is an exercise in contradiction and lack of resolution. It has mass despite being designed to look like something flat (we can see that it's made of thick plywood that casts shadows); it looks like a set of hand-drawn or painted marks but had to be carefully cut to achieve this effect—in other words, it *performs* the visual rhetoric of impulsiveness and intimacy normally associated with freehand drawing. As such, this work is a kind of performance or quotation of drawing; the act is alluded and conceded to, but is not an index of the author as an individual. (After all, the edge of the plywood medium would have changed depending on the steadiness of the person handling it.) Rather than control over the material, it shows a willingness to yield to the material's properties. When we look at the edges of this work, the material begins to eclipse the maker in even greater measure: the thin slice of shadow around the work traces its edge. This data is in plain sight and, optically, easy to perceive. The time it takes the viewer to perceive it is instantaneous compared to the artist's multi-step process of cutting out a paper template, tracing it onto plywood, using a band saw to re-create the original line, and grazing the edges of the plywood while painting its surface. The line seems to mock the idea that hand-drawn or hand-made lines might offer some kind of disclosure; the work harnesses the same rhetorical strategy, in some ways, as Roy Lichtenstein's *Brushstroke* series, begun the same year (fig. 4.6). This creates an uneasy tension, a tension similar to secrecy, between the apparently guileless disclosure of the line, and the labor-intensivity of Tuttle's process. Even within Tuttle's process, he draws and re-draws. *Chelsea* thus showcases conflicting vectors of will; it is an object cloaked in "intimacy drag"—it appears to be

disclosing something personal about the maker but really discloses what the medium does.[359]

When Tuttle began making this series of drawing-cum-painting-cum-sculptures, including *Chelsea*, in 1965, the critical community was flummoxed despite Gordon Washburn's attempt to frame the work within romantic notions of emergence and self-expression, which I mention earlier in this text. Tuttle showed the works for the first time at the Betty Parsons Gallery, where he worked as an assistant at the time, and installed them both on the walls and on the floor (fig. 4.7). It was reported that they looked like drawings, paintings, symbols, floating objects in a dream—interpretations ran the gamut. This was a full fourteen months before the canon-forming *Primary Structures* exhibition at the Jewish Museum and a year before the publication of Donald Judd's essay "Specific Objects*"* in *Arts* Magazine, so the singularity of his objects had no real context yet. Anne Hoene of *Arts* Magazine noted that these works were quite segmented. Especially interesting to her were the mysterious "lines" between the components, optical filaments that both joined and divided: "How the segments join is some clue to the work: they form alluring, secretive seams of varying width and show Tuttle's lyrical switch on the familiar

[359] I use "drag" here in the same way that Judith Butler uses it: as a broad theoretical paradigm that works to fundamentally destabilize the notions of inside and outside. As Butler argues, "drag fully subverts the distinction between inner and outer psychic space and effectively mocks both the expressive model of gender and the notion of a true gender identity." Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 137. Tuttle himself makes repeated allusions to "inner and outer psychic space" and his efforts to collapse the distinctions therein. In the 2005 film "*Richard Tuttle: Never Not an Artist*," for instance, he mentions that the gallerist Betty Parsons told him that abstract expressionist painting concerned itself with the expanding universe: the atomized individual confronting the broader world in an explosion of individual subjectivity. He always suspected, however, that there was an equal and opposite force that was just as powerful, so he began making small works.

edge-consciousness of some painter-sculptors around now."[360] (She was no doubt referring to Frank Stella and Morris Louis, who had had exhibitions in nearby galleries in the preceding months.) Lucy Lippard noted the works' "quavering 'drawn' contours" with anthropological fascination, and, like Washburn, immediately began to anthropomorphize the sculptures.[361] They seemed vulnerable, she thought, and had "an air of indecision that [was] difficult to separate from their modesty." The sculptures installed on the floor made some viewers feel as though they were viewing an aerial map, but a map of something that could actually be stepped on.[362] For Lippard, these works lay on a continuum of messiness and neediness that was contingent on the intensity of the viewer's gaze.[363] In *The New York Times,* critic Stuart Preston noted Tuttle's "cunning and sensitivity, particularly to contours," yoking the artist's intuitions to a falseness or deceitfulness that the object was capable of attenuating.

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[360] Anne Hoene, "In The Galleries," *Arts* Magazine v40, n1 (Nov 1965), 65-66.

[361] The fact that Lippard put "drawn" in quotations seemingly without prompting is very interesting. Betty Parsons could have told Lippard about Tuttle's process, or Lippard could have divined this from the exhibition's wall labels.

[362] Lucy Lippard, "New York Letter," *Art International* n9, v9 (November 1965): 39. Lippard found the works sculptural and called them "thin wall and floor reliefs"… "The visual experience is a strange one because of the extreme thinness and fragile color of these reliefs as seen from an 'aerial' viewpoint; one feels they can't be tripped over but might be stepped on."

[363] This becomes even clearer when we consider that Betty Parsons was, at this time, showing work by many artists that looked like it might disappear. Bernard Cohen, who showed immediately after Tuttle's second show there in April 1967, harnessed a visual and phenomenological reticence that critic James R. Mellow was quick to comment on: "Cohen exhibited several very large canvases in which the chief activity involved either a small mass of tangled ribbons of color located in a corner, or a single spot of color, like a hazy blue sun in a vast white sky," he reported. "Even this was pushed a bit further in *Yellow Spot II*, where the action consisted of merely the faint traces of color and a spot or two that looked as if they would shortly disappear." In James R. Mellow, "New York," *Art* International v11, n4 (April 1967), 56-63. The critic John Canaday was nakedly skeptical: "[Tuttle] cuts pieces of sailcloth about three to four feet across, irregularly eight-sided, hems them, and dyes them solid colors of no distinction. That is all. It puts me terribly out of patience." John Canaday, "The Quiet Anger of Jacob Lawrence," *New York Times*, January 6, 1968, 25.

When we view these critical responses *en masse*, a few things become legible. One is that the critics were almost universally mesmerized by the components of Tuttle's work that should have been demarcations. Tuttle was emphasizing the inherent ambiguity of line: that it joins but also separates. We should consider, too, that nearly all the critics framed their confusion in moral terms—*quavering, cunning, vulnerable, sensitive, alluring*—while also praising Tuttle's work for those very qualities of withdrawal.

This idea is especially provocative when we consider that drawing was not, for Tuttle, confined to the beginning of his production process. Sometimes his entire process of executing a finished work consisted of acts of tracing such as cutting and sewing. Several drawings of his later cloth sculptures—drawings that Tuttle allowed to be sold and traded as preparatory drawings—were done *after* the cloth sculptures were finished.[364] Tuttle drew the shapes first, then cut the shapes out of paper, then traced and cut them out of cloth, and then the drawings came last. *Study for First Green Octagon* was one such drawing (fig. 4.8).[365] Thus these works are imitative; they are drawings *of* and not drawings *for*; they are a way out of the work rather than being a clue *into* it. They subvert the implied hierarchy that makes the preparatory work less complete than its final

[364] Tuttle revealed this in a 1970 *Artforum* interview with Robert Pincus-Witten. See Pincus-Witten, "The Art of Richard Tuttle," *Artforum* v8 (Feb 70), 67.

[365] Jock Truman, Tuttle's dealer at the Betty Parsons Gallery, gave the work to the Museum of Modern Art in 1974 in anticipation of Bernice Rose's exhibition on contemporary drawing there the following year. It is clear that Tuttle's interest in making drawings was in part facilitated by pragmatism. Truman sought to expand the market for Tuttle's works while also encouraging collecting institutions like MoMA to make a less risky investment than a large work might have been. This makes sense in the wake of depressed art prices at the beginning of the 1970s, an inversion of the soaring prices of the previous decade. For more information on Truman's promotion of Tuttle's work, see John T. Paoletti, *From Minimal to Conceptual Art: Works from the Dorothy and Herbert Vogel Collection* (Washington : National Gallery of Art, 1994), 120.

iteration, but they also carefully maintain a distinct "life" for each of the "states" of the work.

These concessions to confession, this refusal to settle on a coherent visual language, and this use of drawing as a way to obfuscate parts of his process may have been prompted in part by Tuttle's training in the Air Force in from 1964 to 1965. Tuttle hated the training; he hated the décor and layout of the base (fig. 4.9) and the obtuseness of the other recruits. As I elaborate in subsequent pages, he hated the programmatic quality of the training and contrasted it with the free space of the convalescent hospital that housed him during his institutionalization. This is where his association between being "free of gendered expectations" and "being alone" started to intensify. So, too, probably, did his critical involvement with the mobile, material nature of visual language. The Lackland Air Force Base had been newly equipped with long-distance surveillance radars for aircraft, so the linear language of spying and "uncovering" was probably something for which he held great distrust, but was mechanically interesting nonetheless. (There were reports that the surveillance radars occasionally scrambled TV signals in the area.)[366] Tuttle was not a military cryptographer like the older artist Cy Twombly had been, but he was exposed to aerial and contour maps as a way of transposing data, which likely encouraged his understand of line as a mode of encoding things.

It seems that, to skirt the discomfort of military training, Tuttle had to resort to both behavioral and linguistic code-switching. He wrote to Samuel Wagstaff in code as

[366] J.K. Meyer and R.E. Miller, *Validity of Photo Interpreter Predictors for Test and Training Criteria*, WADD-TN-60-45, Lackland Air Force Base, TX: Air Research and Development Command, 1960, 13.

late as 1970 (figs. 4.10 and 4.11). He was alienated from the other recruits and was institutionalized for several weeks during his training in 1964. In letters he is nonplussed about this period of confinement, almost blasé, even blithely commenting on the hospital's rich array of art supplies for the trainees.[367] On the subject of his fellow trainees, his flat-footed prose begins to seethe with critical energy. "This whole program is all about the psychological breakdown and build up of 'Joe-blows' so they can carry out the 'mission'," he wrote to Sam Wagstaff during his time there. Like his shallow, obtuse cohort, the objects and architecture that surrounded him also encouraged a similar myopia. "Texans have an impressive way of hiding everything good to see… The Air Force has landscaped the base with obsolete airplanes and rockets."[368] Life at this moment was full of deceit, whether optical (a military base landscaped with dead machines; not being allowed off base often enough to see tourist attractions like the Alamo) or ideological (the relentless brownnosing and enthusiasm of his classmates; the lack of real fraternity that he felt with his peers). His descriptions themselves are an act of suturing, stitching together engagement and disengagement. Several lines are worth quoting here in their entirety:

> [The authorities] keep us at the exhaustion point and harass us. But we want the rank and status and money, etc etc, of an officer so we don't object. Man, when people want something this bad, everything goes

[367] In a letter to Sam Wagstaff on July 3, 1964: "You probably won't believe it but the Air Force doesn't think I'm fit for the military. They've put me in the nut house and analyzed me as a psychotic. / But the wheels go on. In Occupational Therapy they have wood, clay, paints, weaving looms, and all the tools imaginable." Samuel Wagstaff papers, Archives of American Art, Box 2, Folder 8.

[368] Letter to Sam Wagstaff, Samuel L. Wagstaff papers, Archives of American Art, Box 2, Folder 28. He adds: "We sweat 24 hours a day but you can be cool if you try." (Note his reference to disengagement—coolness—as a mode of survival; "being cool" is a critical survival mechanism in the face of blind enthusiasm.)

> wrong. But like I say, it's interesting—never boring, always something happening that you knew would never happen. So that's how it is here. Only I'm playing the game for the fun of it and I do not feel restrained.[369]

This puts Tuttle's "shy", "quavering" drawings in a different light altogether. Their casualness and secrecy takes on a much more urgent cast. In the next section, I shift my analysis from a focus on disengagement to one of interrelation.

Tuttle and Organic Philosophy

Tuttle was drawn to theorists and writings that helped him concretize his thoughts on interrelating. One such theorist was Alfred North Whitehead, an American philosopher and one of the founding thinkers of a school now called process philosophy. Whitehead referred to it as "philosophy of organism" or as an "organic philosophy."[370] Drawing from analytic, continental, and pragmatic schools, Whitehead's work was broad in scope and included many bio-mechanical theories regarding interaction and change. In *The Function of Reason*, which Tuttle reportedly used and quoted in his early paintings, Whitehead dealt with the role of reason, intention and purpose in human and biomechanical affairs. Whitehead's approach was in line with Rene Descartes and a number of modern thinkers in that he understood reason as an enlivening force—Whitehead, in fact, compared the impetus of reason to the French philosopher Henri Bergson's *elan vital*. Brightening and motivating, reason was attached to a "double tendency of advance and relapse"—reason represented the former—rather than a

[369] Ibid.
[370] "Whitehead, Alfred North," in Robert Audi, ed., *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995), 851–853.

teleological process of advancement. Reason was a component part of a system that was constantly in motion and resistant to theorems that expressed it.

Tuttle was particularly interested in Whitehead's criticism of the relationship of premises to experience. It was impossible to formulate theorems, Whitehead argued, about a universe that was constantly in process. A premise, then, was a comparatively empty iteration of the complexities of experience. In line with other biological philosophers who were popularly resurrected at this moment in the 1960s when "the natural" was the subject of discussion and debate (Darcy Wentworth Thompson's *Of Growth and Form* was another (figs. 4.12 and 4.13), Whitehead took a very broad understanding of "experience", and developed a theory of affect and process using metaphors of one-celled organisms. This greatly interested Tuttle, whose artistic identity was already becoming contingent on providing access (both for himself and for viewers) to levels of experience that might not otherwise have been taken seriously. Because his works lacked the scalar assertiveness of artists like Phillip Guston or Morris Louis or the visual incident of Stanley Mouse (both of whom are mentioned in Tuttle's early letters to colleagues), Whitehead's very general model of "actual occasions" advancing toward another and acting on one another until both things reached a state of "concrescence" would have appealed immensely.[371] Whitehead also emphasized the deeply indeterminate

[371] See, for instance, letters to Samuel Wagstaff dated March-August 1962. Another letter dated June 16, 1962 says, "I [had] doubted your description of the Guston show ("beautiful") but am now forced to submit. I couldn't think of a more apt word to describe that show if I wanted to. Aside from the beauty of his paintings, his drawings were most impressive. In fact, I much prefer his recent drawings to his recent paintings. Possibly this is because of my current interest in drawing." Samuel Wagstaff papers, Box 14, folder 3, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Museum of American Art, Washington, DC. For

nature of this process of "concrescence", which for Tuttle (and other readers of Whitehead at this moment) would have helped complicate the arguments that other artists and theorists were making regarding perception. To Whitehead, since consciousness itself was unstable and involved many modes of awareness, perception was faulty, fragile, and vulnerable. "Consciousness flickers; and even at its brightest, there is a small focal region of clear illumination, and a large penumbral region of experience which tells of intense experience in dim apprehension. The simplicity of clear consciousness is no measure of the complexity of complete experience," he wrote, inadvertently describing the process by which a drawn line is revealed to the viewer, or the nature of a material reveals itself to its handler or maker.[372] The focal point of a line may be sharp, filamentary, piercing even—but line (or any piece of data) was only a small part of the puzzle.

Another metaphor that Whitehead and Thompson both deploy concerns the ability of one body to absorb and understand the actions of another body. The substrate for this confrontation and synthesis are what Whitehead calls "feelings". For Whitehead, feelings are the substrate by which organisms (he calls them "actual entities") meet with other entities and phenomena. In "Process and Reality," Whitehead paints an elegant picture of how all beings, from one-celled organisms to humankind, confront other phenomena: they collide together without much calculation, moving toward one another and then touching. Feelings are thus a bio-mechanical process rather than an affective synthesis reserved only for complex life-forms.

Whitehead's description of "actual occasions," see Alfred North Whitehead, *Process and Reality: An Essay on Cosmology* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), 20.

[372] Ibid., 267.

Dragging Gender Around: *Pants*

In the fall of 1978, the Fabric Workshop and Museum in Philadelphia (FWM) offered Tuttle a residency. A Philadelphia collector with whom Tuttle was becoming close friends, Marion Boulton "Kippy" Stroud, had founded the museum the year before and introduced a pilot residency program "to encourage leading artists to experiment with fabric and ultimately a wide range of materials and methods and to share their creative process with the public."[373] Intrigued by this prospect, Tuttle moved from his New York studio and into another one in central Philadelphia near the museum grounds and began studying textile processes and silkscreening. As noted earlier in the chapter, some of his previous works had been composed of textiles but there was no explicit theoretical interest connecting him with fabric or fabric production. He accepted the Fabric Workshop and Museum's offer with, he said later, a completely blank sense of what he might do there.[374]

Later catalogues have described his project for the FWM as "a series of objects resembling clothing".[375] Most notable was his sculpture *Pants* (fig. 4.14), an edition of three garments that resembled, in many ways, the type of clothing after which they were named. Beguilingly pantslike, *Pants* is also deceptive. The title speaks to the idea of pants as a straightforward and functional garment, designed to split the wearer's leg line into two distinct units so that something (empty space, or the back of a horse, or the seat

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[373] Fabric Workshop and Museum mission statement, web version. http://www.fabricworkshopandmuseum.org/About/Default.aspx Accessed 8 December 2015.
[374] Richard Tuttle, Fabric Workshop and Museum dossier on *Shirt* and *Pants*, Fabric Workshop Museum archives, Philadelphia, PA.
[375] Ibid.

of a bicycle) could split between the legs with speed and ease. Pants as a modern garment offer a specific set of promises to the wearer: promises of ability and of convenience.[376] Legs, when traced and swathed for action, become an instrument of the empowered social actor… but not in this case.

This object problematizes those promises of power and liberation. The legs of this work are six feet long instead of the standard 34-inch inseam for mens' pants, so the original function of the pant is blocked, foreclosed upon. Instead of enabling free movement, this impossibly long leg line inhibits it. The line becomes an embellishment; the embellishment in turn becomes a hindrance. (Consider, too, that fashion design often welcomes both hindrances and embellishments on garments; it is an arena for confronting taboos, restrictions and obstacles while being firmly situated within a culture.)[377] That Tuttle himself posed wearing them, his torso bare and gaze directed down the leg line, in a 1979 photograph for the Fabric Workshop and Museum (fig. 14) puts into play a series of gazes—the viewer becomes aware of Tuttle looking at himself, and a libidinally-tinged

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[376] At certain historical moments these promises were also gendered. While pants were a garment not available to most Western women until well into the twentieth century, the idea of pants as an unassailable gender marker was being broken down at this very moment in the mid- to late-1970s. The rise and fall of the Equal Rights Amendment between 1972 and 1982; together with the adoption of Title IX in the United States, were powerful cultural drivers with concrete effects in fashion. American designers like Rudi Gernreich (who I mention later in the chapter) collaborated with Pop luminaries like Edie Sedgewick to create pan-gendered garments; Gernreich said in that decade, "To me, the only respect you can give to a woman is to make her a human being. A totally emancipated woman who is totally free." I thank Nicole Archer of the San Francisco Art Institute for drawing this material to my attention. See Archer, "Changing Clothes: Rudi Gernreich, Unweaving the Future," lecture at the San Francisco Art Institute, 14 February 2014.

[377] One might recall Roland Barthes' 1970s writings on hippie fashion, which criticized the hippies' appropriation of poverty as style. This is an example of the garment as a site for holding and exemplifying cultural discomfort. See Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System,* trans. by Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (University of California Press, 1990); and *The Language of Fashion*, trans. by Andy Stafford (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2006).

anticipation mounts. The viewer senses the boundedness of Tuttle's position; he is inches away from succumbing to the awkward paradox of these pants and falling over. His muscular torso, perfectly at ease, cannot be overlooked, nor can the immanence of his predicament: he will almost surely fall over while wearing a garment designed to liberate him. Complicating this picture are Tuttle's statements regarding his own gender; he has frequently asserted that he often feels more like a woman than a man.[378] As though in accidental harmony with this idea, each long leg of the pants resembles a train at the end of a dress or gown, which not only makes them more dress-like but also less functional. The clothed form here invites intercession; since it is Tuttle's own body it points to a certain kind of combined vulnerability and brashness that one is tempted to read as self-fashioning.

It also bears noting that the very feature of this sculpture that limits mobility—the impossibly long leg line—also traces motion. In the picture, Tuttle's feet drag the textile forward, inches away from stumbling, and inviting us to *stumble upon* an essential truth of locomotion: that social behavior like walking, dancing and turning around are always bound by limits. With *Pants*, Tuttle notes those limits but also documents—traces, if you will—the effort that has occurred. Behavior creates the opportunity for limits and limiting effects to form. Behavior and gesture create a scene in which all the implied ways of reading a walk can be used to both structure and shatter this kind of motion. The flex of a

[378] Cornelia Butler, in her essay "Kinaesthetic Drawing", writes, "I can't help but recall a recent conversation with Richard Tuttle about feminist art of the 1970s in which the artist, declaring only half in jest that he is a woman, affirmed his alignment with feminist strategies and acknowledged his long-standing curiosity about other male practitioners of feminist art." In Grynsztejn, ed., *The Art of Richard Tuttle* (San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 2005), 170.

bicep or toss of hair—these are read and reacted to according to the body generating them. We can either believe in that flexing or shut it down. *Pants* (the sculpture) literalizes the attachments and attenuations that issue from gesture. The art historian Anne Wagner's recent remarks on Tuttle's body in relation to his working methods provide an example of how performance can be subsumed with the weight of past meanings; gender chief among them. "[Tuttle] is posing," she declared in a review of Tuttle's large 2005 exhibition at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. "In most photos, Tuttle turns his back from the observer and does something invisible on or to the wall. In others, he kneels above a length of material (paper or fabric, mostly) stretched out on the floor. In a few, he fusses intently with scrappy lengths of wood and piles of cloth. If the sheer workmanlike anonymity of these images seems eloquent, this is not simply due to the jeans and T-shirt the artist routinely wears."[379]

In this remark Wagner ignores the myriad photographs from the 1960s and 70s that capture the artist shirtless: at least twice during the installation of his 1975 Whitney retrospective (figs. 4.15 and 4.16), although the photos were eventually excluded from the exhibition catalog; once during a 1977 installation at the Hopkins Hall Gallery Ohio State University, Columbus (fig. 4.17), also stricken from the Hopkins Hall catalog but re-printed in the catalog for the large exhibition of Tuttle's work that was the subject of Wagner's review.[380] I also dispute the idea that Tuttle's actions in the photographs frame

[379] Anne Wagner, "Richard Tuttle: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art," Artforum v44, n2 (October 2005), 214.

[380] The fates of these photographs have been faithfully documented by publishing department at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, and future research should incorporate this. Joseph Newland, Director of Publishing, Menil Collection, interview with the author, 8 December 2015.

him as anonymous. His pose is stylized, adapted to the pants' singular form. His torso is lean, his spine taut; his leg advances toward the camera in a manner that indicates confident exploration. (As I explain in the next section, he frequently makes his own body central to the installation of his work; he often prepares to install work using a series of dance-like warm-ups.) On one thing, though, Wagner is correct: Tuttle *is* posing, but his pose resists strict readings based on class or gender. The pose constitutes a complex shrugging-off of associations and meanings that takes Tuttle's own bared body, whose Bowie-esque pose and contours might evince to certain onlookers a faint air of narcissism, as its site. Tuttle is not workmanlike nor particularly anonymous; instead he is flexible and precarious at the same time. To invoke my earlier mention of Lauren Berlant regarding the shrug as an ellipses of subjectivity, Tuttle is certainly shrugging here; he is "letting go of future promises in favor of life in the durative present," something that also resonates with the work of Bergson and Deleuze.[381] Having spent much of the 1960s and 70s collapsing the distinctions between feeling and sensation, his compromise in this photograph is to imply that it is very difficult to separate sensation and affect from all the baggage that is put upon it later: we turn it into "vulnerability", "narcissist", or "feminine" and "workmanlike".[382]

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[381] Lauren Berlant, "Culture@Large: On Biopolitics and the Attachment to Life", panel discussion at the American Anthropological Association (AAA) annual conference, Saturday, November 17, 2012, 1:45-3:30. Panelists included Lauren Berlant (University of Chicago), Anne Allison (Duke University), Anindyo Roy (Colby College), Andrea Muehlebach (University of Toronto), and Charis Thompson (University of California at Berkeley).

[382] This is not to argue that Wagner's idea of Tuttle posing as a workman was completely false. Tuttle was part of the milieu in the late 1960s and early 1970s who often found it interesting to modeled, perform, or construct their identities based on the politicized tropes of blue collar versus white collar work in the United States. But downtown artists have also noted that the relationship between "workmanness" and one's actual working life was also full of slippage. In a 2011 panel discussion, Alanna Heiss, RoseLee

Pants also tells us that social behavior is haunted by repetition. The dynamic blue lightning bolt pattern encircling the white cotton legs of the garment is a repetition—it was Tuttle's first attempt at silkscreening, a technique he was eager to try because much of his earlier work involved repetitive, disciplined drawing exercises. (Sliding fabric under a silkscreen frame would have been an interesting way for the artist to re-formulate that repetition.) Animated by the wearer, *Pants* assures us that human bodies will always continue to move through the world, will always be read, projected onto, and be understood in ways that might betray or counter whatever inclinations they started with. The textile re-enforces and echoes this dynamic in general: the drape of a dress, shirt, or other garment is co-extensive with a body's gestures, so it follows and narrates gesture in ways that reveal assumptions within a culture. Clothing is designed to mimic the kinds of lines or curves that the gendered body is supposed to perform in gestures. Tuttle's chiseled torso and lean physique, then, is out of step—literally so—with the trails and traces that his garment promises. It seems to be always almost ready to trace the body, and the lightning bolts seem ready to animate it, but the long trails of fabric foreground these promises in a strange mix of enablement and hindrance.

Goldberg and Laurie Anderson related that "People were always goofing off" (Anderson); "We were on a no-work schedule. We just worked 24 hours a day, and it was called play" (Heiss); "Everything was called work. You had pick-ups and you were wearing work boots. And you were at work all day doing stuff" (Anderson). "All Work, All Play: In conversation with Laurie Anderson, Trisha Brown, Jane Crawford, RoseLee Goldberg, Alanna Heiss and Lydia Lee," in *Laurie Anderson, Trisha Brown, Gordon Matta-Clark: pioneers of the downtown scene, New York 1970s* (Munich and New York: Prestel, 2011), 82-83. See also Julia Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: UC Press, 2009).

This ambiguity has roots in 1960s and 70s downtown and rock'n'roll culture as well as in Tuttle's past practices. From the beginning to the end of those two decades, clothing designers proposed impractical, even impossible, clothing that could nevertheless create liberating contours for the wearer. Designers like Rudi Gernreich made radical propositions about which areas of the body could and should be highlighted. Arms, for instance, went from graceful and gamine to disabled and floppy—carried out to an absurd degree in a custom-designed dress by Gernriech for Edie Sedgwick in 1968 (fig. 4.18). The neck shifted from an erogenous zone laid bare to an awkward, protected interior structure, like a tree with ill-fitting bark, as shown on models like Peggy Moffitt (fig. 4.19). And David Bowie's numerous performance personae such as Ziggy Stardust (fig. 4.20) sculpted the singer's slim body into a genderless field of cosmic power.

While Tuttle would have been aware of these developments, he had already been exploring matters of motion and bodily empowerment in his own practice since the mid-1960s. As I mentioned earlier in the text, one of his first bodies of work consisted of roughly cut plywood shapes nailed perpendicularly onto thin pieces of plywood to give the look of large wooden cut-out cookies. After nailing them together in this way, Tuttle then painted the shapes with watered-down paint and told galleries that the shapes could be mounted either on the floor or on the wall. This made the viewer just as vulnerable to tripping over the forms as the forms themselves were vulnerable to being looked at (fig. 4.21). Their titles were evocative, suggesting they were named after motions or objects in the world. Two years later he stripped his sculpture of even this mild referentiality, cutting forms out of undyed pieces of sailcloth, machine sewing seams along the edges,

and dying the shapes with Tintex home fabric dye. These sculptures (which were made of canvas, and so resembled paintings, but were dyed rather than painted) were then hung on gallery walls with no facing edge, no recto or verso, and with no instructions regarding which way should face up. They could be hung on the wall or on the floor. The material and spatial ambivalence of these sculptures provoked polarized, and sometimes moralizing, responses from critics. The critic Emily Wasserman wrote that they exuded "a really hermetic *oddness*!"[383] In trying to corral all the contrasting qualities, critics sometimes contradicted claims they'd made a sentence or two earlier. Critic Thomas H. Garver noted that they were "clearly 'hand crafted' and equally clearly defined as limp objects," and Lucy Lippard said, "one feels they can't be tripped over but might be stepped on."[384]

One thing is clear enough: Tuttle, over the course of about fourteen years during the early part of his career, created new topographies for ambulation and movement that hovered quite close to performance and performativity. Even when he was making work that qualified as "sculpture", he crafted it so that his own body was a stubborn and absolutely essential component. A series of Paper Octagons followed from the Cloth Octagons series, and for these, the artist drew a template on paper, cut out an octagonal shape, and affixed the shape to the wall of a gallery or private home with wallpaper paste. These paper sculptures, produced in editions like fine art prints, were relatively

[383] Thomas H. Garver, "Richard Tuttle, Nicholas Wilder Gallery [LA]," *Artforum* v8 n1 (September 1969): 67.
[384] Lucy Lippard, "New York Letter," *Art International* n9, v9 (November 1965): 40.

affordable, and what's more, the artist insisted on coming to the space of each collector or gallery to install the work himself.[385] Designing a work like this guaranteed that the buyer or curator would see and talk to the artist, and would observe him making the object in real time. It implicated the viewer and the surrounding space in the making of the thing, generating a social situation that was not quite intimate friendship, and wasn't explicitly a performance, but was certainly a dynamic ecosystem in which each actor and each element became dependent on the other. Sometimes quite literally dependent, in fact—these works could not be removed without being destroyed, but the upside was that if this did happen, Tuttle was happy to come to a new location of the collector's choosing and make and install a new octagon there.[386]

Few scholars have theorized these dynamic, social aspects of Tuttle's work. It seems worthwhile to consider, especially because Tuttle considered the highly performative *Pants* a serious turning point in his career. In interviews he has stressed the importance of wearing the pants in 1979 and of looking at the subsequent photo of himself; he says that both these things "helped move his work away from a conventional subject-object relationship and more directly toward a social statement."[387] (In other words, the pants are the climax to this social and performative practice that he had been building for fifteen years.)

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[385] Dorothy Vogel to Ruth E. Fine, "Interview with Herb and Dorothy Vogel," 92.
[386] Ibid.
[387] Richard Tuttle, Fabric Workshop and Museum dossier on *Shirt* and *Pants*, Fabric Workshop Museum archives, Philadelphia, PA.

One example of this dramatized gesture is, of course, the kinetic painting practice of Jackson Pollock. Pollock was videotaped casually flicking a cigarette out of his fingers in almost the same moment that he flicked paint from a wooden stick onto a canvas laid horizontally in front of him (fig. 4.22). A decade later, artists like Tuttle would make work that devalued the artist's gesture in favor of the material's gesture… and we can see this in *Pants*, where the fabric makes "gestures" of its own that both follow and frustrate those of the wearer's body. This material-gesture is what many 1960s artists such as Donald Judd saw in Jackson Pollock's work. The material—in Pollock's case, paint—was permitted to do whatever it did naturally, independently of the artist's larger creative vision. Judd alluded to this when he wrote in a 1967 review that "[Pollock's] work doesn't have the moderated a priori generality usual in painting. Everything is fairly independent and specific."[388]

But while these photos of Pollock (fig. 4.22) seem to be structurally similar to the photos of Tuttle installing his work (both elicit a kind of casual, maintenance-man chic that was popular among artists at the time), my research indicates that each artist's behavior and conditions of making varied tremendously. Tuttle installed each of the Paper Octagonals after a conversation with the buyer, often allowing the buyer to suggest positions on the wall or letting buyers find the right spot themselves.[389] Though Tuttle was relatively pliable during this process, his central means of making were strong and

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[388] Donald Judd, "Jackson Pollock," *Arts Magazine* 41, n6 (April 1967): 35.
[389] Dorothy Vogel, interview with the author, 17 February 2015. See also Tuttle's essay in *Richard Tuttle*. Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1979, 14.

disciplined. The picture of him installing one of his Paper Octagonals at his 1975 retrospective at the Whitney Museum of American Art shows him standing next to Marcia Tucker with no shirt and cradling the paper form in his arms (fig. 4.16). Tucker remarked in her catalog essay that Tuttle "readies himself as a dancer would for the activity of making the work present to himself and to us," [390] indicating the sense of mutuality that Tuttle felt while making the work, as well as his physical and social enmeshment within the space. The fact that she connected Tuttle's work with dance also reveals the performative effects of Tuttle's practice—Tuttle may not have been consciously performing for curators and collectors when he installed his work for and with them, but the implications of his allowing people to watch him work in person, *in the moment* (rather than work in private but allow himself to be videotaped working, as Pollock did) were enormous. Doing things this way makes the artist an entrenched member of a *community* of makers and lookers, each having a stake in the process—each belonging somehow to the work's coming into being. Since gesture and movement happen as the result of an exchange between many agents, gesture is mutual and co-extensive.

Reflecting back onto my argument, the pants begin to seem like a clarifying statement about ambivalence. For Tuttle, gesture is messy. It's nakedly and unassailably social. The very things that promise liberation may be the things that create limitations, that weigh us down, that hinder our movement through space. I am reminded of Judith

[390] Marcia Tucker, ed., *Richard Tuttle* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1975), 15.

Butler's remarks about gesture, in which she says that gesture produces the illusion of a core structure within a thing, but in fact gesture is the very thing that we love to attribute gender *to*. In other words, the *Pants*, like much of Tuttle's past work, ask us to see gesture and movement not as *sources* of gender and identity and meaning, but rather as the space where those things are all imagined and projected onto. The space and process of making are completely co-extensive with the production of meaning.

Drawings as Fragile Friends

In examining the implications of Tuttle's processes of making, many of his works have worn down, are broken, or otherwise bear marks of their surroundings. Because he exposed his work to a broad range of situations, and because the works' cheap or fragile materials make them responsive to the everyday environment in legible ways, many of his objects bear the imprints of these situations and environments into their future. His work *Light Pink Octagon* of 1968, for instance (fig. 4.23), is a canvas work with sewn edges and colored with Tintex dye in a soaking tub. (When dying with commercial, small-batch fabric dyes, the pigment does not so much enter or soak into the canvas as it does exchange with the fabric by measure of proximity-- the canvas draws from a bath already rich with color, which resembles a transfer process and turns both the fabric and its surrounding liquid into substrates. So the artist did not make these works as much as commingle them together, as in a lab experiment.) In 2015, almost fifty years after its construction, *Light Pink Octagon* has the marled surface of an aging pair of overalls. The color is worn in; to the viewer in 1968 it would have been brighter, newer (though not as spectacular-looking or intervened-upon as Morris Louis's aforementioned soaked

canvases or the tie-dyed cotton clothing of the countercultural groups populating the streets).[391] But to us one detail becomes apparent after scrutiny: its three lightened spots, each about the size of a tennis ball, that form a yellowish constellation near the center of the work (fig. 4.24). They are traces of a lightening agent that someone applied in an attempt to remove the stains.

To the careful onlooker, this evidence of change is intriguing; even mildly alarming to some. If the artist made the work, then who made the stain? Further, who made the marks that would then themselves become stains? To see this work is to trace its life in the world. *Light Pink Octagon* is also part of Tuttle's troubling, though generative, legacy that he leaves behind for curators and conservators. To repair these things is to re-draw the original gestures, which is problematic. They, in a sense, are pieces of evidence of their own integration within an ecosystem. In a way, this is another illustration of Derrida's ellipse—it is a blinking between authorship and non-authorship. It is also an example of how an auratic object moves through time and space, attached to yet detached from its maker.

Another example of this is *Drawing I,* from 1987 (fig. 4.25). This is a small paper sculpture made of rectangular cardboard prisms and stretched over with thin brown (looks like Japanese) rice paper. Similarly to *Chelsea*, this work affects the look of

[391] The social scholar Charles A. Reich's 1970 book *The Greening of America* explicitly connected the shapes and textures of garments in the 1960s with an emerging desire for liberatory consciousness. While he did not write about art, his descriptions of fabrics reflected a consensus among Americans that new styles of clothing afforded wearers certain freedoms and new perspectives. See "Revolution by Consciousness," in Reich, *The Greening of America: How the Youth Revolution is Trying to Make America Livable* (New York: Random House, 1970), 214-239.

brushstrokes, but it also bears resemblance to stacked arcs like feathers or the colored bands in a rainbow. The paper is painted in several colors. When this was purchased by William Stern in 1989, someone had made several repairs to the paper surface using Japanese shoji screen paper patches. The patches now stand out in stark contrast to the beige rice paper stretched over the cardboard body. Because it is made of paper and has marks on it, the sculpture resembles a volumetric drawing; the "bandages" across its surface give it the same skeletal quality as some of the other artists who were exhibiting in Europe at the time. Daniel Dezeuze, for instance, a pioneer of the Supports/Surfaces movement in Paris that burgeoned when the New Left was seizing public discourse in the late 1960s, exhibited *Stretcher with a Sheet of Plastic* (1967) at the Yvon Lambert Gallery within 8 months of Tuttle's exhibition there (fig. 4.26), in May 1971.[392] This was the same relationship posed between the onlooker and the surface: the structure of the thing is laid bare, and we have the sense that this space, while light and open, is also capable of being pierced.

Both these repairs share a common trait: they are the result of interventions made onto the work but likely only began to stand out against their surroundings after the materials had cured for days, months, or perhaps years. In other words, whoever made them was unwittingly augmenting or changing the work, which is something that gallerists and conservationists (and collectors) are generally wary of doing. Given Tuttle's initially yielding position in relation to the surrounding environment combined

[392] Bernard Ceysson, *Daniel Dezeuze* (Reims, FR: Cryptoportique, 2009), unpag.

with his sensitivity to change, I believe that both of these repairs were made by the artist, despite his misrecognition of them decades later. When presented with *Drawing I* in an interview in 2015, Tuttle instantly recognized the repairs and could name their source (shoji screen paper, which is sold in small repair kit packs all over Japan) but said that someone else had augmented the work.[393] When asked if it required further conservation (another small hole about one inch in width had been torn in the right central quadrant), Tuttle's indecision was visible. Finally he declared the work exhibitable as is.

While there is no record of who might have produced the bleached spots on *Light Pink Octagon*, the lives of these objects illustrate Tuttle's seemingly contradictory approach to the care, maintenance, and installation of his own work. While they bear marks from the travels and situations to which they were exposed, many of the works are also wholly dependent on Tuttle himself for their installation—at first, curators invited him to spaces to install the work (after all, there were so many either/or questions involved in its installation that many curators prefer the choice fall to someone else), and then this became a convention. Over time, this has become a socially enlivening component of many Tuttle exhibitions. Despite his own anonymity in relation to the work, Tuttle is the sole steward of its facts and its fate.

These objects were folded, spindled, and otherwise manipulated according to the conventions of an avant-garde who rejected ideas of permanence. To give a comparative example, Sol LeWitt's first exhibition at the John Daniels Gallery in 1965, featured

[393] Interview between Jan Burandt, Paper Conservator, Menil Collection; Brad Epley, Chief Conservator, Menil Collection; Richard Tuttle, and the author, the Menil Collection, December 10, 2015.

several cubic works made of lumber (no longer extant) that were formally similar to his baked enamel *Cubic Modular Piece No. 2 (L-Shaped Modular Piece)* from 1966 (fig. 26). LeWitt took a polemically cavalier stance about the works' fate after the exhibition ended: the pieces were to be thrown away, since they functioned as conceptual proposals rather than saleable artworks. In an interview LeWitt attributed this to the fact that art had become associated with commodity capitalism, especially work of a particular size and scale. The salón traditions of nineteenth-century France, and afterward the economic boom of the postwar United States, had distilled art of a certain size into a product. "I, like almost all of the artists I knew, was involved in all of these movements and was politically left-oriented," he recalled. "One of the ideas was the relation to art as a commodity. I thought by doing drawings on the wall, they would be non-transportable—therefore a commitment by the owner would be implied, and they could not be bought or sold easily." In addition to his lumber works and wall drawings, he made paper works that were sold on a *prix-fixe* basis for one hundred dollars each: "These were maps and postcards with drawings or cutouts, crumpled paper, folded paper, torn paper, and so on."[394] Scale, either largely or minutely writ, was a combative force for these artists against a culture industry that sought to incorporate all forms and styles and put them at the service of mobility: an inert propulsion initiated by human agents, an energy contingent on buying, newness, and eventual obsolescence.

[394] Saul Ostrow, "Sol Lewitt", *BOMB* n85 (Fall 2003), 27.

Tuttle, who knew LeWitt and with whom he would share space in exhibitions, harnessed a similar ethos with respect to the art object *qua* object, using materials like plywood, paper, and raw canvas in order to argue that durability and value were not preconditions of aesthetic experience. But instead of using certain materials and scales to make the work permanently mobile, as LeWitt did, Tuttle returned to his works' qualities of fragility over and over, turning the fragility and precariousness into a working method. When he was making the cloth works, he frequently transported them in a bindle-style roll on his back; sometimes he brought them to galleries wadded up or tucked carefully into an old leather Gladstone duffel bag rather than in a flat portfolio.[395] He did most of his drawings, which numbered in the hundreds, on notebook paper up until the late 1970s, and insisted they be hung with the fringe visible after they were sold (fig. 4.27).[396] When he sprayed the stains off his Cloth Octagons with detergent as though they were a shirt or pair of overalls, he enacted the same ritual of return as he had in the plywood works from two years earlier, like *Chelsea*: he was answering a compulsion to continue making marks, a compulsion initiated by the material.[397] The drawing and cutting and

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[395] The critic Mary Josephson mentioned this in her 1972 review of Tuttle's exhibition that same year at the Betty Parsons Gallery. Josephson, "Richard Tuttle at Betty Parsons." *Art in America* 60 (May-June 1972): 33.

[396] This is discussed in "Precision: Richard Tuttle With Jennifer Gross" in *Seeing Intimacy: Richard Tuttle on Paper* (New York: Craig F. Starr Gallery, 2010), unpaginated.

[397] An emerging conversation in anthropology has focused on the distinctions between mobility and motility. In short, mobility means that something can be moved through the world (for example, a rock, which falls or rolls when compelled by an outside force), while motility means that the object is capable of projecting itself through time or space. These arguments are frequently made about cellular and mobile devices, citing Maurice Merleau-Ponty's argument that "learning to type quite literally incorporates the space of the keyboard into bodily space", and that the space of "our mobile phones is incorporated into bodily space in the same way," according to Robertson in "The Stamp of Movement on Human Action." For more on this debate, see Phillip Vannini, *Material Culture and Technology in Everyday Life: Ethnographic Approaches* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 209. See also Peter Merriman, *Mobility, Space,*

sewing and repairing and patching was in fact the material grafting its habits onto Tuttle's body. In this way, the art objects became motile instead of mobile, capable of conducting themselves through the world because they invited curators, scholars, art handlers, conservators, and even the artist himself to adapt to the material's vulnerabilities and behavior. The object and its environment were porous, and Tuttle made his objects out of the gestures and bodily registers that composed daily life. His proposition is that the object, like the human beings acting in concert with it, is a permeable subject, expanding and contracting along with its environment.[398]

Drawing helped in in this respect as well. When the Whitney Museum of American Art offered Tuttle a retrospective in 1975, hetook part eagerly in the installation process. In fact, he and Tucker arranged the entire exhibition to be changed out of the gallery one time during the run of the show. The installation itself was contingent on where Tuttle sensed the work wanted to go in the space. This was based on a concept that Tuttle finally articulated, after more than a decade of installing works this way, in an essay in the catalog for his 1979 show at the Stedelijk Museum as "knowingness". That exhibition consisted entirely of drawn paper works, and, as Tuttle

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and Culture (Routledge, 2012). This seems not far removed from Marcel Mauss's argument that the technologies of a given age are a direct influence on everyday bodily techniques, rather than the other way around. See Mauss, *Les Techniques du corps*, 1934. *Journal de Psychologie* 32 (3-4). Reprinted in Mauss, *Sociologie et anthropologie*, 1936, Paris: PUF. But the mobility / motility distinction is an interesting model that merits further reflection.

[398] Hence Tuttle's tendency to refer to his works as subjects, using phrases such as "it knows." His essay "Essay on Drawings," in *Richard Tuttle: Notebook Drawings*, shows many examples of this (14, 17, 18).

claimed, “Essentially, each piece would have to know itself in order for it to know where it would go in the rooms."[399]

Conclusion

This “knowingness” Tuttle described in 1979 is an example of the shifts in subjectivity that his drawings enact. Rather than knowing, the works I’ve just discussed lie immediately adjacent to knowing. By concentrating on their formal characteristics, we escape the trap of a single interpretation, and also allow for feelings to manifest themselves in multiple ways. The optical and bodily mode of address in these works, I believe, becomes an engine of otherness. That otherness is bound up in the performance of drawing—that is, the revelation of line as though it had been drawn by an individual, as though a confession were being made, and as though autographic evidence were about to be given. Instead we step into the space of Tuttle’s drawings as alternate makers, fashioning our own intense engagement with material and surface. We wait, we remain, and we suspend ourselves in communion with these works whose subjectivity blinks on and off with each passing moment.

[399] Ibid., 14.

Figure 4.1: Letter and drawings from Richard Tuttle to Alfred and Monika Schmela, June 11, 1977. Image courtesy of Alfred Schmela papers, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

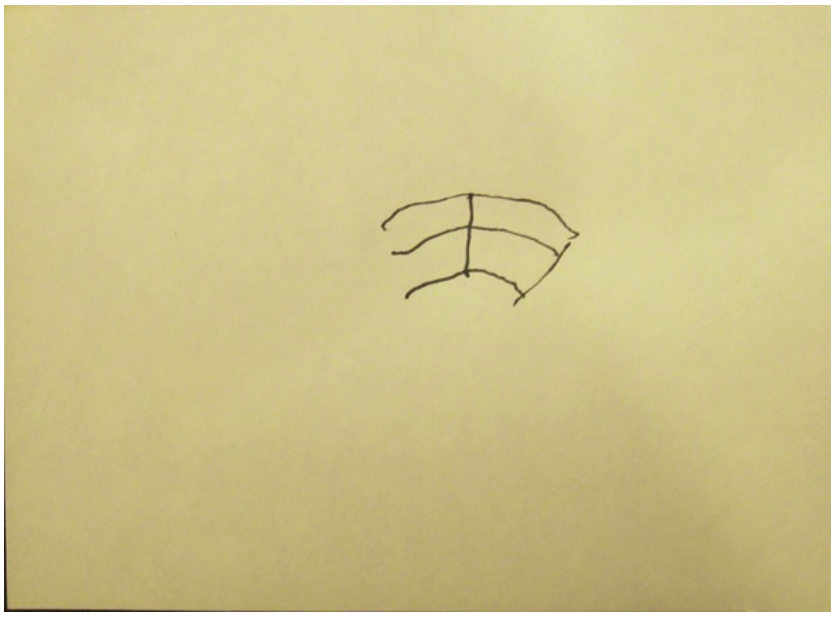

Figure 4.2: Drawing sent from Richard Tuttle to Alfred and Monika Schmela, June 11, 1977. Image courtesy of Alfred Schmela papers, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

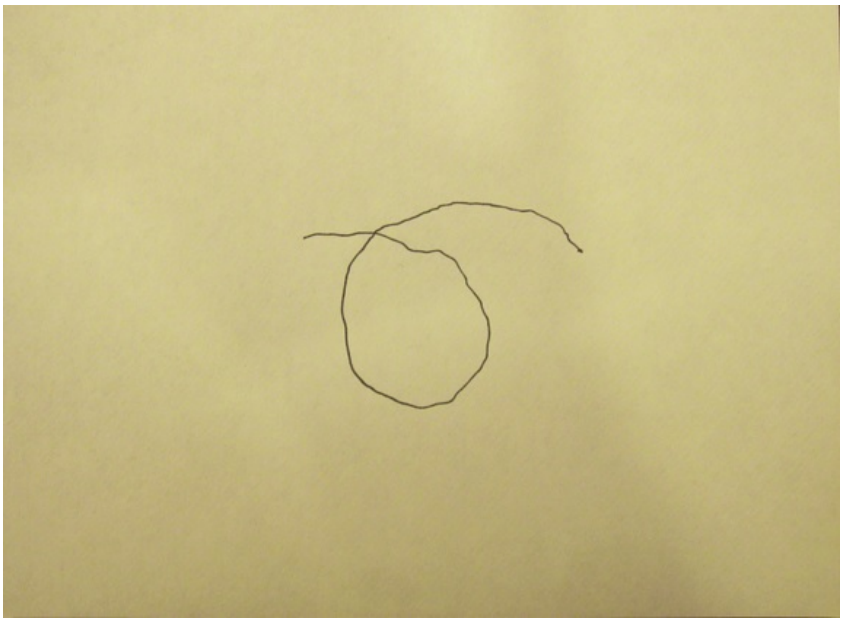

Figure 4.3: Drawing sent from Richard Tuttle to Alfred and Monika Schmela, June 11, 1977. Image courtesy of Alfred Schmela papers, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

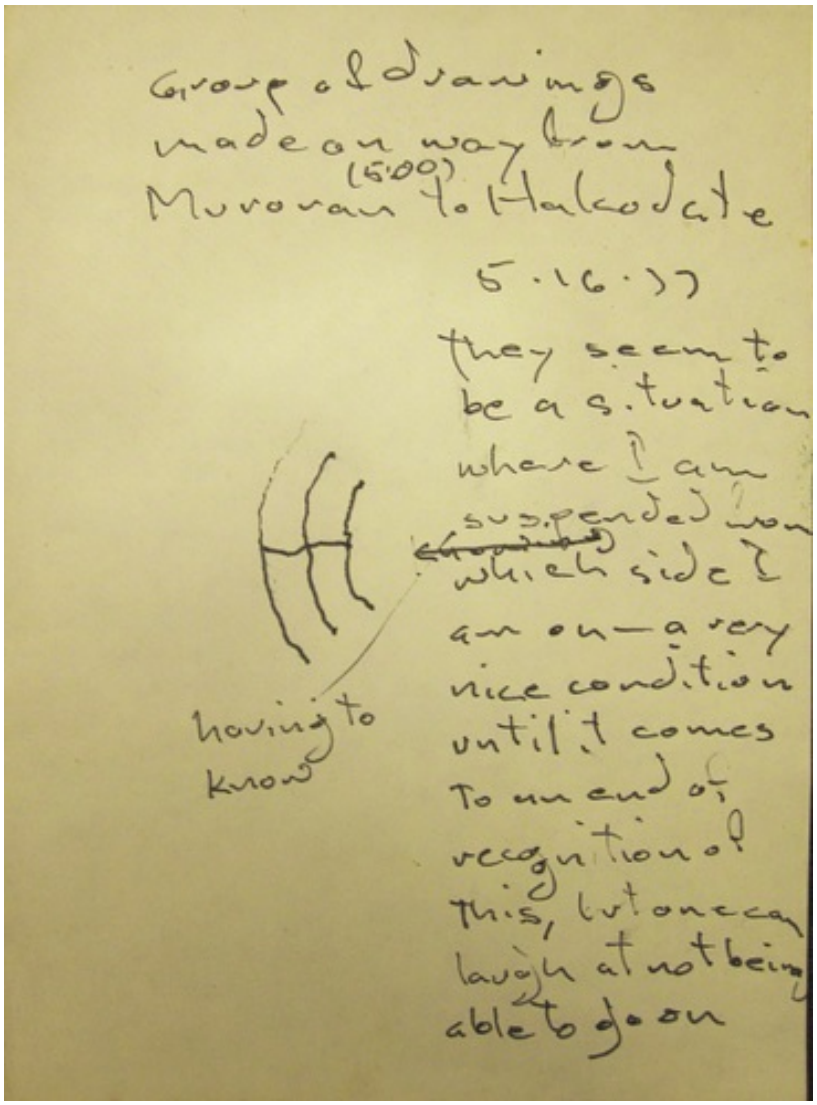

Figure 4.4: Letter and drawing from Richard Tuttle to Alfred and Monika Schmela, June 11, 1977.

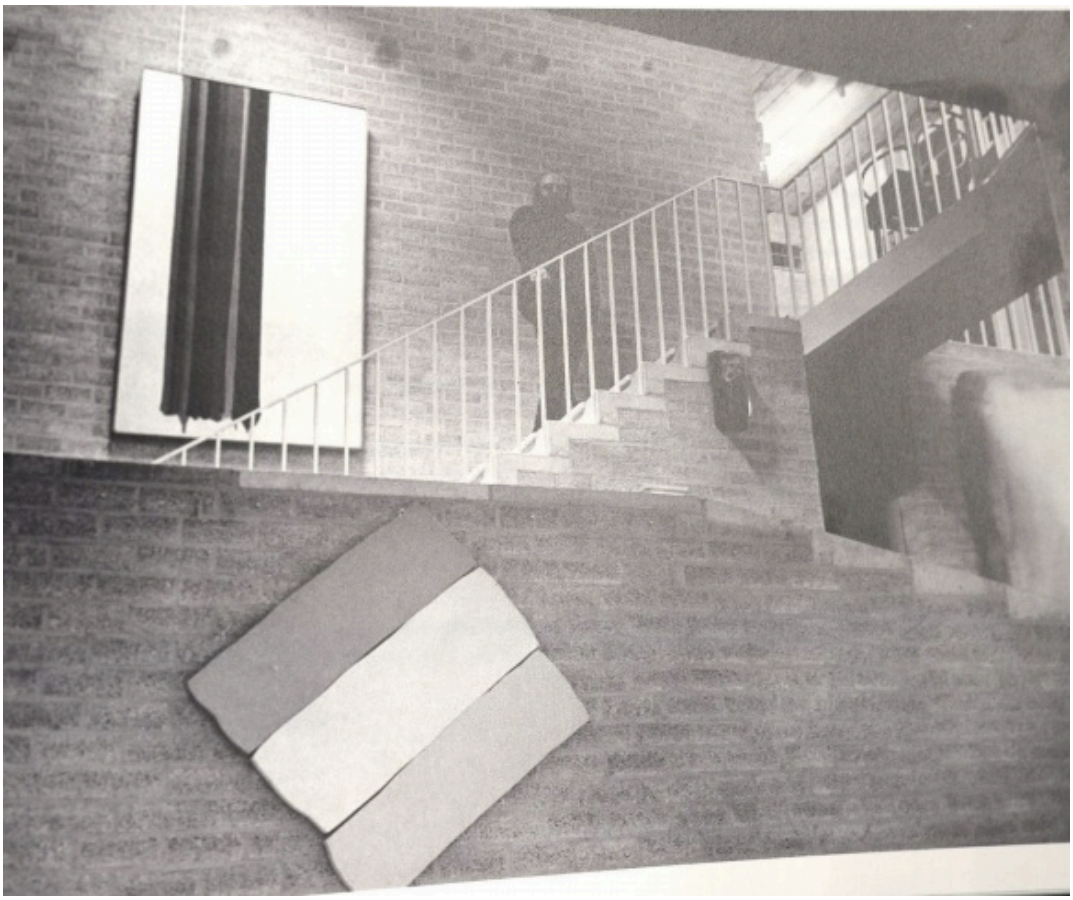

Figure 4.5: Richard Tuttle's *Chelsea* (1965) and Morris Louis's *Pillar of Fire* [or *Pillar of Hope*] (1961), installed at the 1972 exhibition *Masterpieces of the Twentieth Century* at Gallerie Schmela in Düsseldorf. After Grynsztejn, ed., *The Art of Richard Tuttle (*San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 2005), 97.

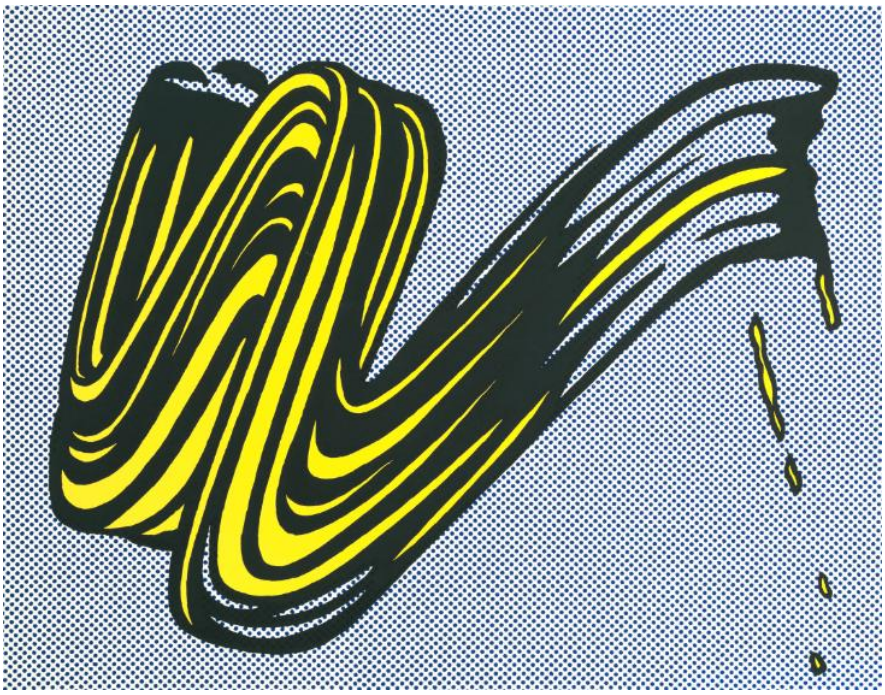

Figure 4.6: Roy Lichtenstein, *Brushstroke*, 1965. Screenprint on paper, 56.5 x 72.4 cm.

Figure 4.7: Tuttle's early works from the Betty Parsons Gallery re-installed at the Pulitzer Foundation, St Louis, MO. Clockwise, from left: *Twin River* (1965), *Wate*r (1965), *Sail* (1964), *Wave* (1964-65), *Sum Confluence* (1964), and *Fountain* (1965).

Figure 4.8: Tuttle, *Study for First Green Octagon*, 1967. Watercolor and pencil on paper, 17 5/8 x 11 5/8 inches.

Figure 4.9: Postcard for Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, TX, circa 1966. The description on the verso reads: "Aerial view of Lackland's newest trainee dormitory. It can house an entire squadron of 1000 persons. In addition to the open bay sleeping area, the dormitory contains a dining hall, classrooms, and administrative section. During inclement weather, trainees can use open spaces underneath the building for physical conditioning and marching. Lackland AFB, the largest training center in the free world, is located nine miles southwest of downtown San Antonio."

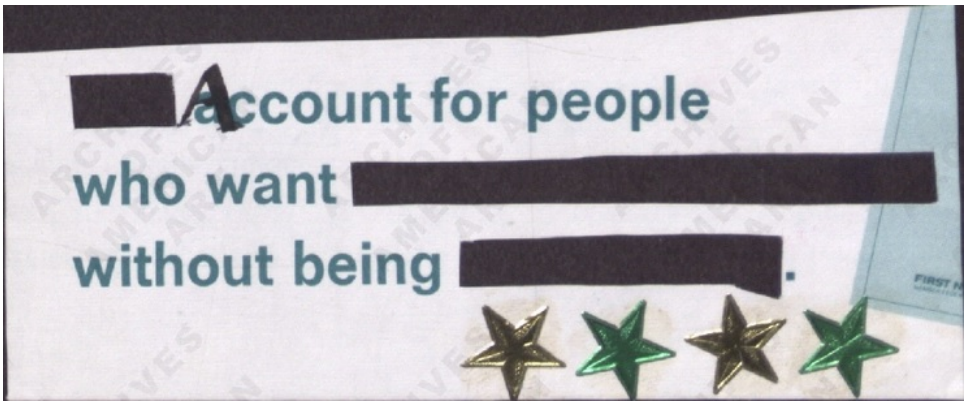

Figure 4.10: Richard Tuttle, encoded letter to Samuel Wagstaff with stickers, c. late 1960s. Samuel Wagstaff papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Museum of American Art, Washington, DC

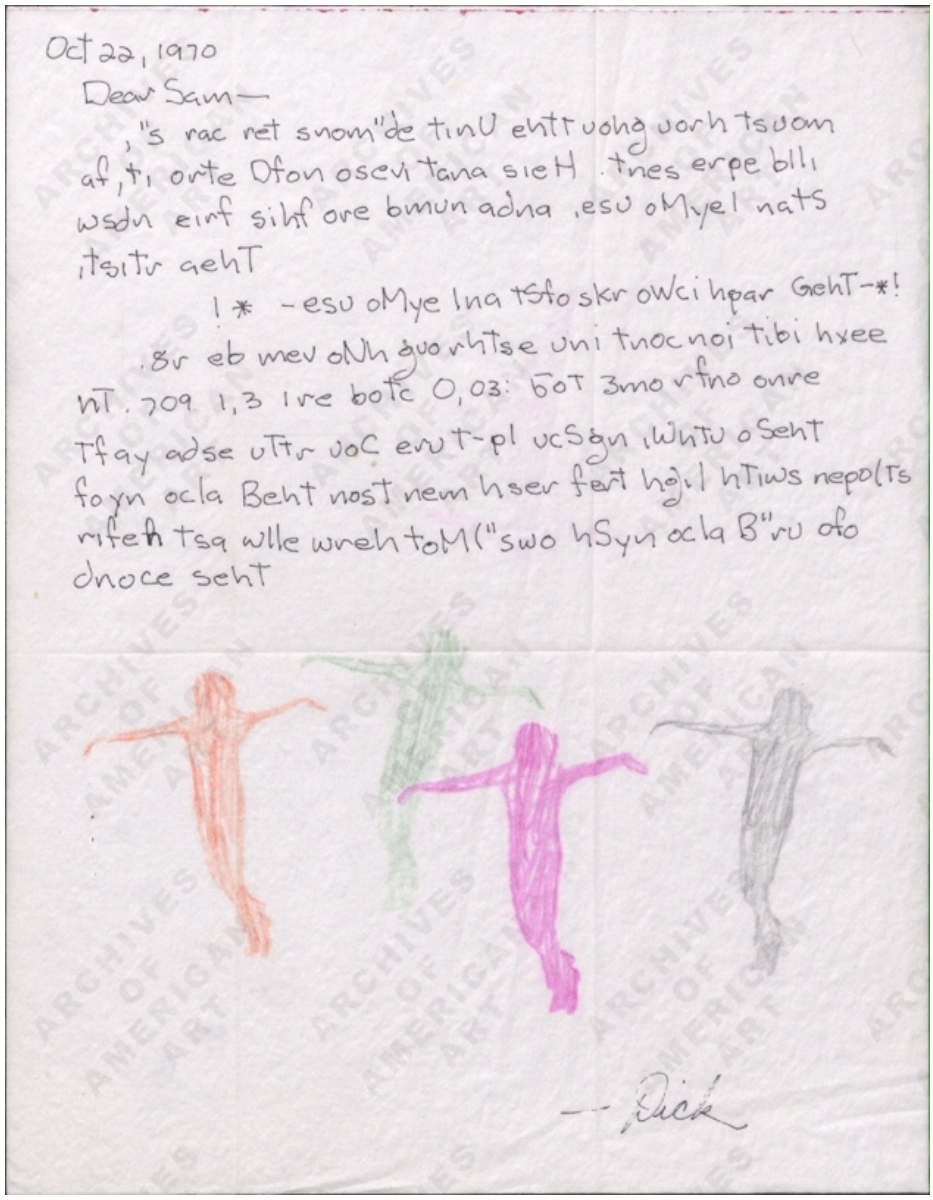

Figure 4.11: Richard Tuttle, encoded letter to Samuel Wagstaff, October 22, 1970. Samuel Wagstaff papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C.

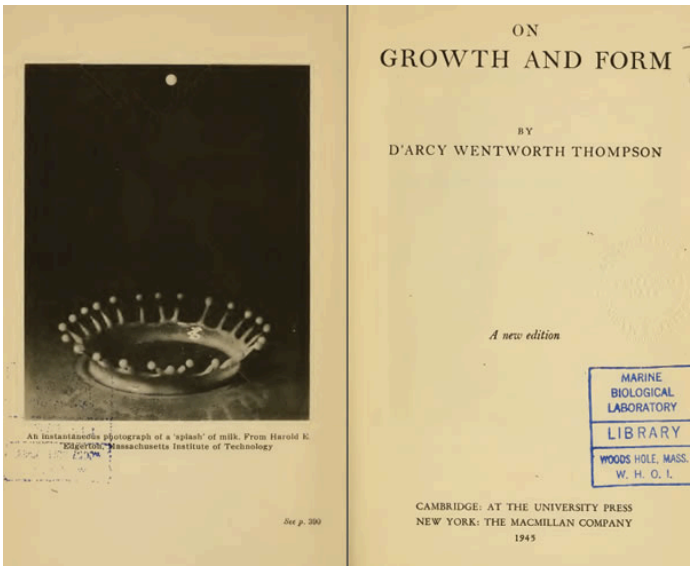

Figure 4.12: D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, frontispiece illustration for 1945 Macmillan Cambridge edition of *On Growth and Form* depicting a splash of milk.

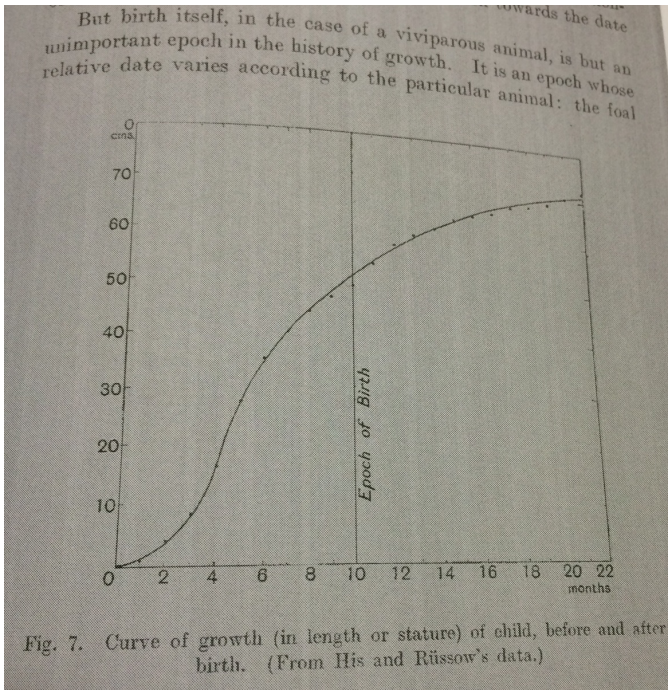

Figure 4.13: D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, graph illustrating a child's pattern of growth until 22 months of age. After Thompson, *On Growth and Form* (New York and Cambridge: Macmillan Cambridge, 1961 edition).

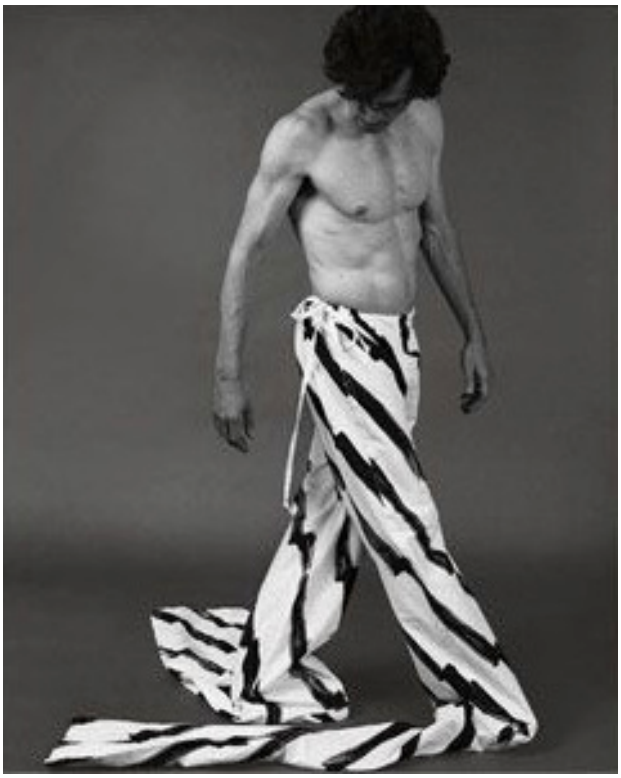

Figure 4.14: Richard Tuttle, *Pants*, 1979. Pigment on bleached cotton muslin, 72 x 26 inches. Image courtesy of the Fabric Workshop and Museum.

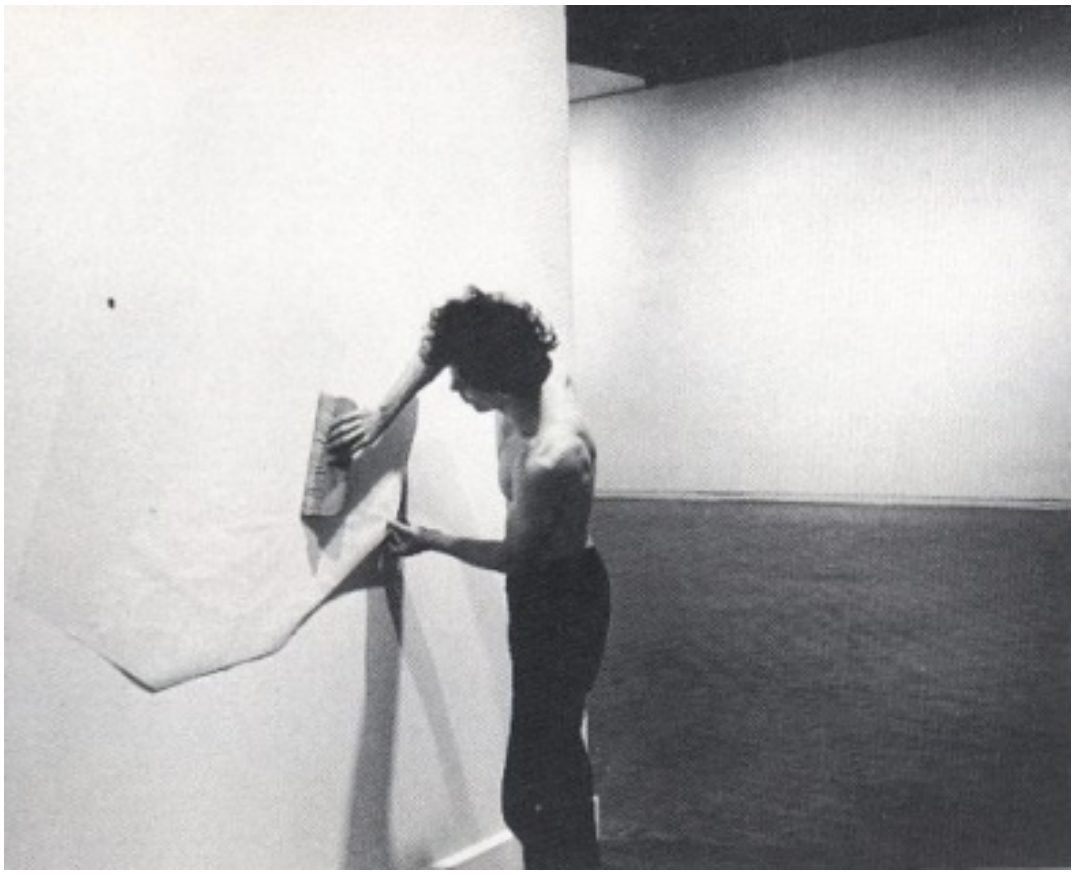

Figure 4.15: Tuttle installing *12th Paper Octagonal* (1970) for his retrospective exhibition at the Whitney Museum of American Art, 1975. After Tucker, ed., *Richard Tuttle*, exh. cat. (Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 1975).

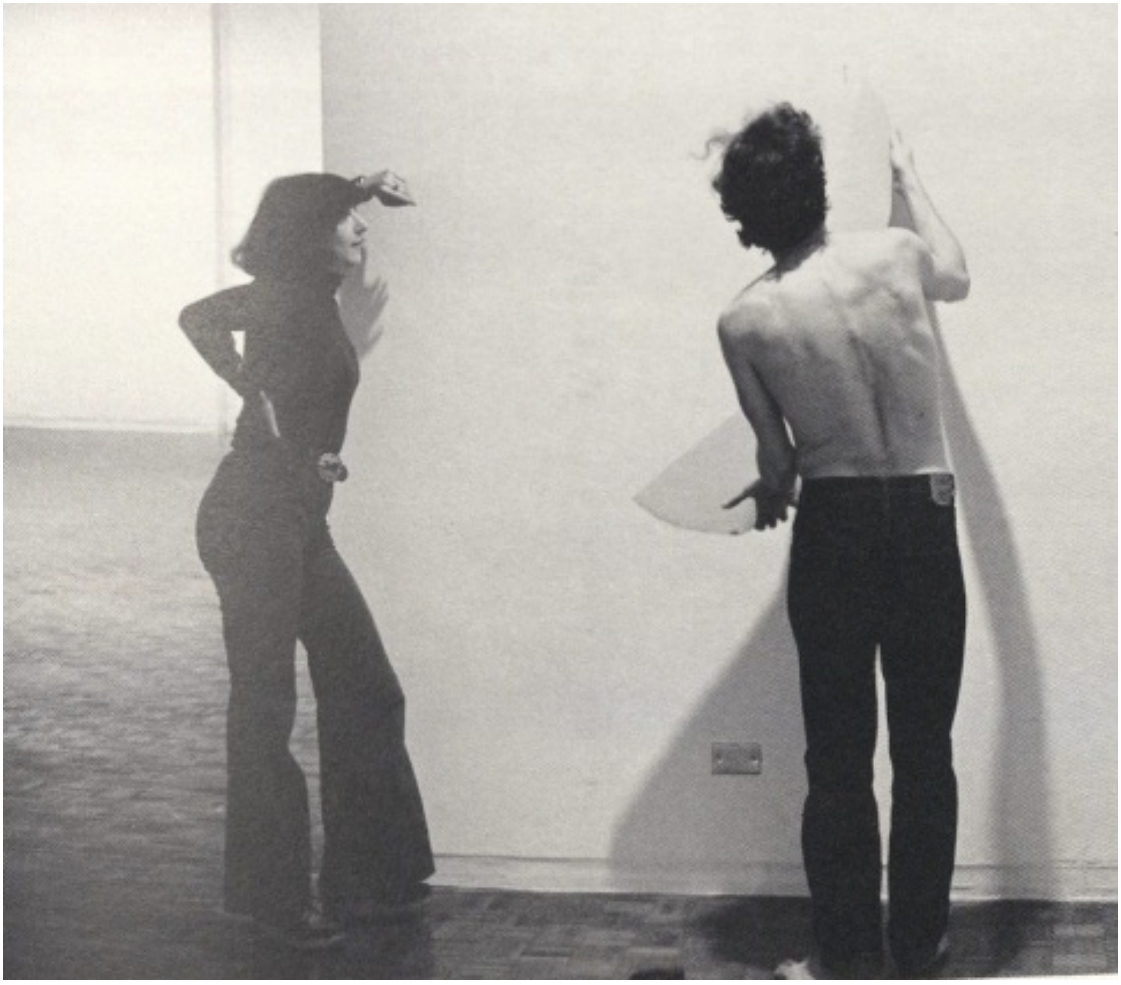

Figure 4.16: Richard Tuttle and curator Marcia Tucker installing *Shadow* (1965) for the Whitney retrospective. After Tucker, ed., *Richard Tuttle*, exh. cat. (Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 1975).

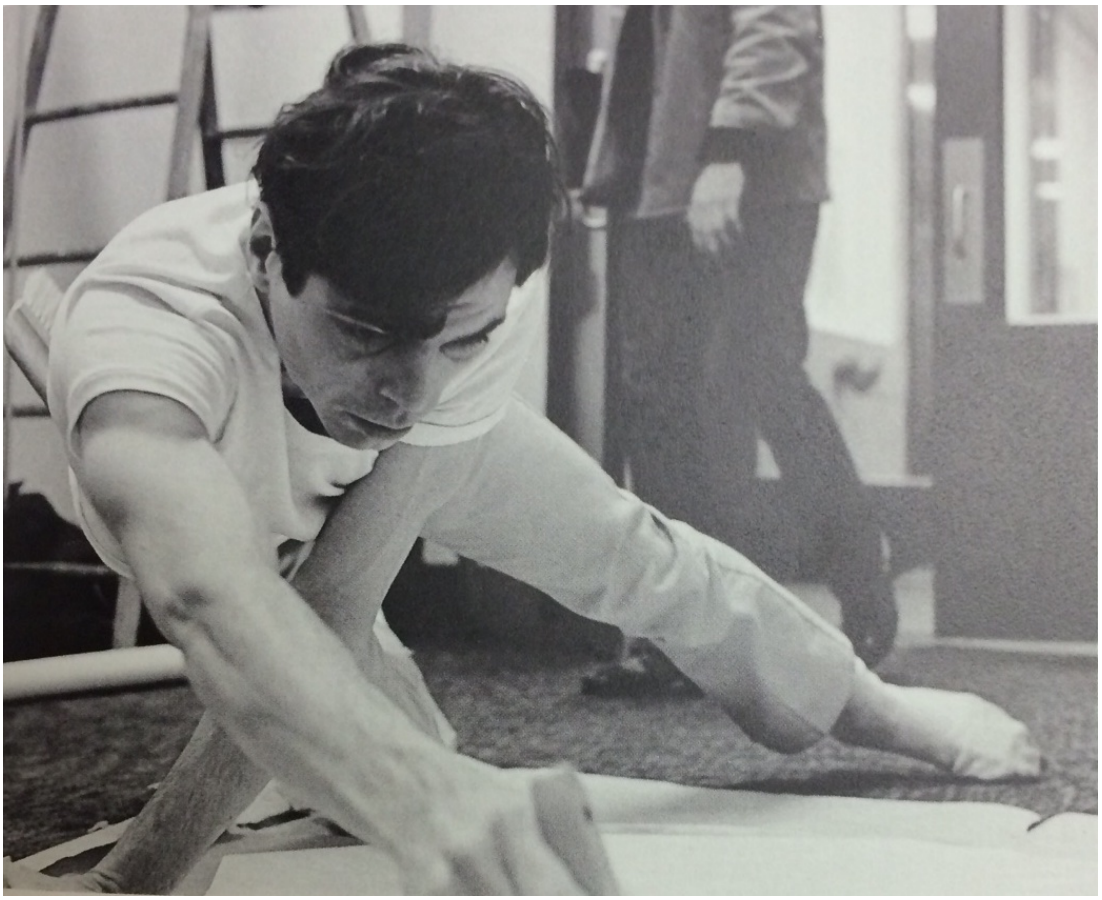

Figure 4.17: Richard Tuttle applying starch paste to a Paper Octagonal in preparation for the 1977 exhibition *Richard Tuttle* at Hopkins Hall Gallery, Ohio State University, Columbus.

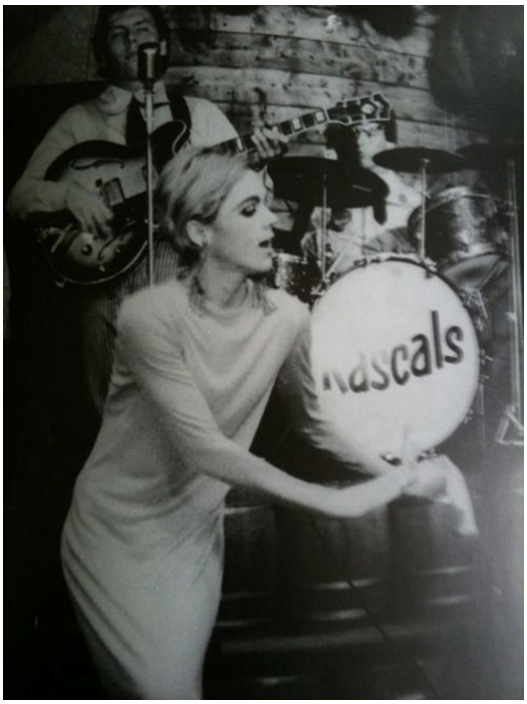

Figure 4.18: Edie Sedgwick attending a Rascals concert in 1965. Dress by Rudi Gernreich.

Figure 4.19: Peggy Moffitt modeling a Rudi Gernreich design, 1966.

Figure 4.20: David Bowie, "The Jean Genie" single (1972) and full-length record *Aladdin Sane* (1973).

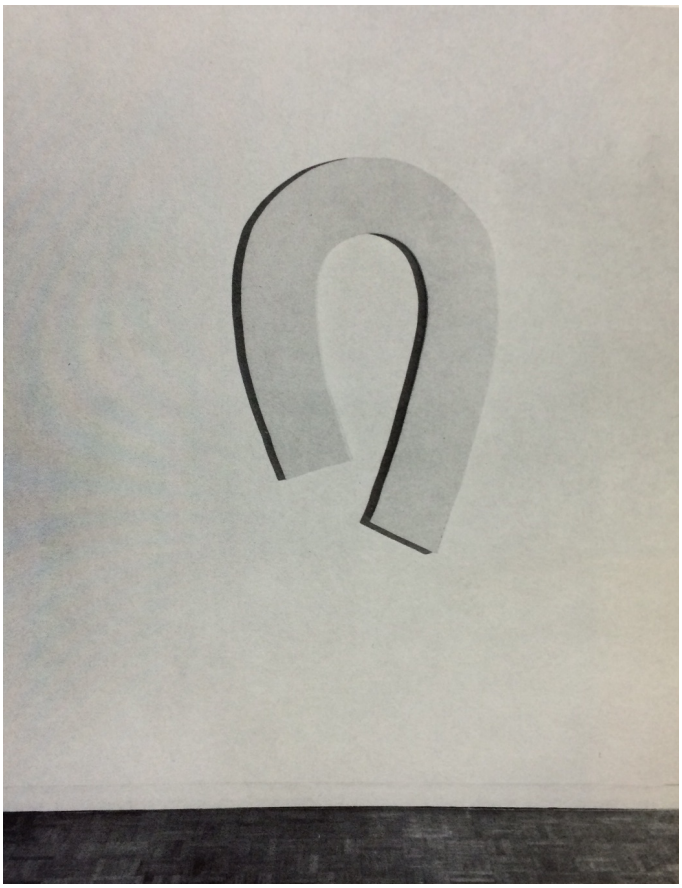

Figure 4.21: Richard Tuttle, *Yellow Dancer*, 1965. Painted plywood, 53 x 37 inches. After Tucker, ed., *Richard Tuttle*, exh. cat. (Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 1975), 33.

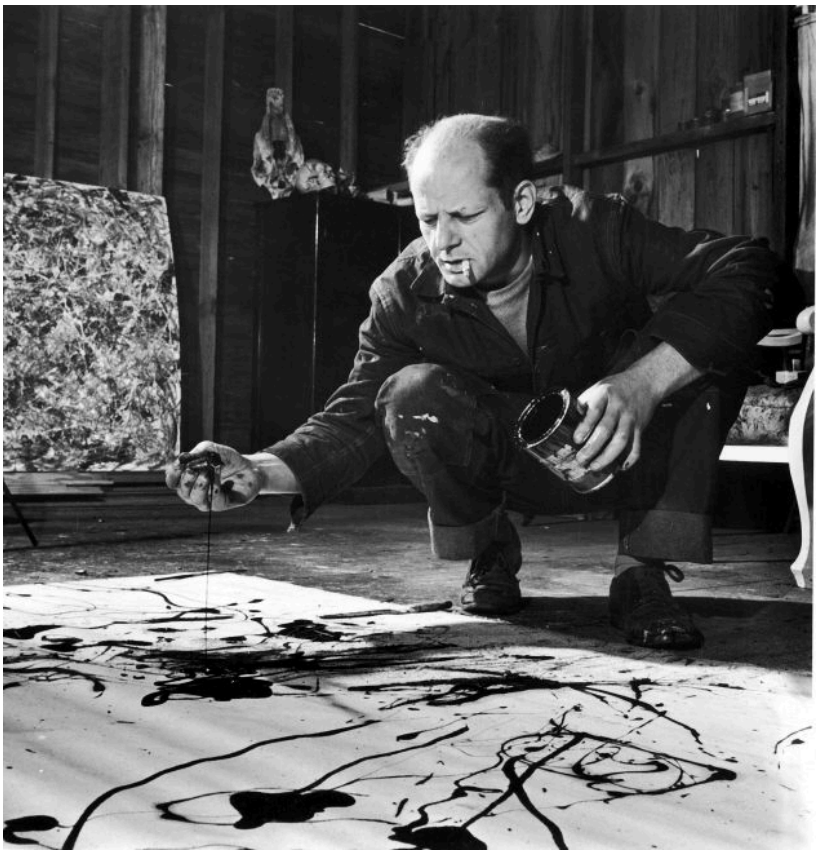

Figure 4.22: Hans Namuth, photograph of Jackson Pollock painting, 1951.

Figure 4.23: Richard Tuttle, *Light Pink Octagon*, 1967. 53 x 53 inches. Blanton Museum of Art.

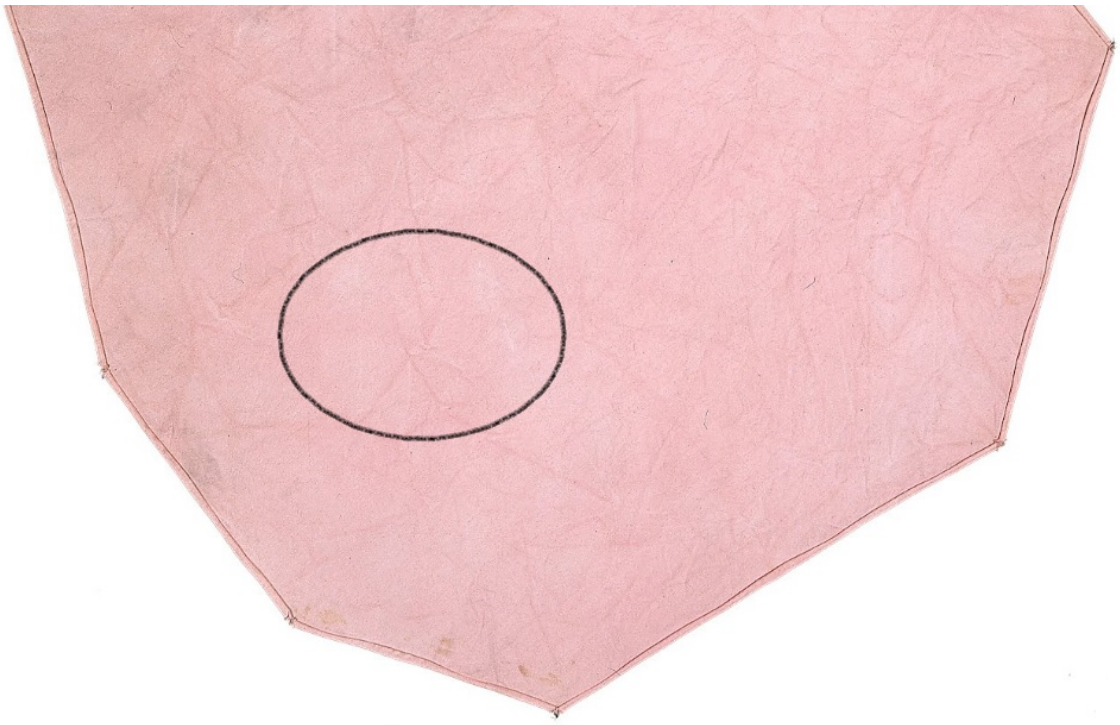

Figure 4.24: Detail of Richard Tuttle, *Light Pink Octagon*, 1967, showing stains to the fabric

Figure 4.25: Richard Tuttle, *Drawing I*, 1987. Oil on tissue paper mounted on cardboard with cotton, 2 1/8 x 10 x 21 1/4 in.

Figure 4.26: Sol LeWitt, *Cubic Modular Piece (L-Shaped Modular Piece)*, 1966. Baked enamel on steel, 109.125 × 55.4375 × 55.5 inches. Walker Art Center.

Figure 4.27: Daniel Dezeuze, *Stretcher (Covered with a sheet of transparent plastic)*, 1967. Wood, plastic sheeting

Conclusion

The paucity of sustained, serious studies of postwar drawing drove me to undertake this project six years ago. Most of the texts I examined at the beginning of my research used individual collections or very broad ontological categories as their organizing principle. Wanting to move from the general to the specific, I used a monographic approach to construct this dissertation. Through three case studies, I have tracked three artists' engagements with drawing from the classroom to the studio to the performance space or gallery, showing that drawing is a structuring element from the first stages of these artists' work well into the final ones. Some drawings I encountered over the course of the project are works that live in the world as provisional but are in fact quite finished; others have been plucked from larger groups of unfinished works and then fixed within art history as exemplary and paradigmatic. This disruption of teleological order mirrors the making of history, which is a making that always doubles back on itself and creates new and more troubled narratives. My intermittent mentions of Deleuze and Guattari's ideas of territorialization are intended to highlight many of these drawings' fugitive qualities. But despite the re-orderings of history that the drawings in my corpus occasionally provoke, this dissertation is, finally, three monographs. Even as I take note of artists' widespread disavowal of authorship in the 1960s and 70s (of which there are countless examples in all media), I build my story from three individual biographies, all animated by the experiences and ideas of each maker.

Given contemporary art historians' skepticism about the efficacy of the monograph to effect real change in the field, my choice invites some explanation. When Linda Nochlin decried "the entire romantic, elitist, individual-glorifying, and monograph-producing substructure upon which the profession of art history is based," she set in motion a valuable critique of the monographic approach.[400] A monograph re-formulates richly textured narratives into ones driven by individual ambition and genius. It diverts agency into the hands of a chosen few. In short, it smooths out the complexities of community.

However, one of the primary aims of this dissertation is to show that drawing is a portable and inexpensive mode of agency that anyone might harness. The 1960s made drawing into a tactic for anyone, and thus for everyone. When Schneemann urged her co-performers to abandon the conventions of dance and the processing languages of psychoanalysis and instead simply train their bodies to produce lines and contours the way an athlete might, she was voicing a new relationship between action and signification. At this pivotal historcal moment, in the wake of Abstract Expressionism when markmaking was in the process of divorcing itself from meaning and psychology, downtown New York artists seized on this wild oscillation back and forth between authorship and the ghostly remains of that authorship. This period saw many changing conceptions of the individual based on anthropological models and poststructuralist theory. Authors like Wittgenstein, Deleuze and Guattari, and Alfred North Whitehead

[400] Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?," 1971, reprinted in *Women, Art and Power and Other Essays* (New York: Westview Press), 151.

posited that a single gesture is evidence of such intense, complicated social imprinting that we would do well to listen to everyday phenomena like trains and ropes as closely as we listen to individual voices, since they are the things that constitute an organism's structure. The drawing in this period, then, was a new architecture within which we might re-craft our understandings of individual agency.

For Carolee Schneemann, individuality was best expressed as a physical state rather than a metaphysical one. Moving through different gestures and training the body was the best means for living an ethical life, because genuine ethical engagement was only available through filaments, fleeting moments, and traces. For William Anastasi, the individual should always be ready to divert, disappear, or integrate. By tracing the body's pathways through different spaces, human beings could act as flexible particles that were fully adaptable to their surroundings, thus embodying the chance compositions that constitute much of the world but to which we pay little attention. Individuality for Richard Tuttle was best brought into being through giving oneself over to the making of an object, and then giving oneself over to the object itself, living with it as one would live with a companion.

To this end, my study has been politically motivated in that it reveals how dedicated many artists were in the 1960s were to training themselves to be aimless—literally without aim. Artists' reliance on the unstable dynamics of the trace ultimately gave rise to a new aesthetics of behavior. By grounding themselves in several different (but consistent) somatic frameworks, these artists were able to find ways to write their own bodies in new ways and to de-inscribe the social scripts that they found cumbersome

or problematic. It was an aesthetics of behavior that they had to re-teach themselves, over and over again.

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Vita

Katherine Dolores Anania was born in Plantation, Florida and grew up in Stuart, Fort Lauderdale, and West Palm Beach. She completed high school at the Alexander W. Dreyfoos, Jr. School of the Arts (then the Palm Beach County School of the Arts) with a theatre concentration. She studied art history and dance at New College of Florida, the state's public honors college, before transferring to the University of Nevada, Las Vegas to complete a B.A. with honors under the supervision of Professors Libby Lumpkin and John Paul Ricco. Prior to graduate school she worked in the education departments of several museums including the Guggenheim Museum Las Vegas, the Las Vegas Art Museum, and the Chinati Foundation in Marfa, Texas. Since then she has worked in the curatorial departments of Fluent~Collaborative in Austin, the Krannert Museum, the Blanton Museum of Art, the Museum of Fine Arts Houston, and the Menil Collection. From 2012-2014 she was a visiting faculty member at the San Francisco Art Institute and the California College of the Arts, and co-founded the Bay Area Society for Art and Activism, a nonprofit organization that supports artists making activist and performance-based work. This is her first book manuscript.

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