

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

**Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600**

UMI[®]

FIVE PHOTOGRAPHIC POST-MODERNISMS

by

Anne Ehrenkranz

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York**

2000

UMI Number: 9986324

**Copyright 2000 by
Ehrenkranz, Anne Bick**

All rights reserved.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 9986324

Copyright 2000 by Bell & Howell Information and Learning Company.

**All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

**Bell & Howell Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346**

© 2000

Anne Ehrenkranz

All Rights Reserved

.

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

7/6/00
Date

7/19/00
Date

Carl M. Amstutz
Chair of Examining Committee

Patricia Mainardi
Executive Officer

Professor Marlene Park

Professor Romy Golan

Dr. Peter Galassi

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Acknowledgements

I have been taught to look at photographs by some wonderful people and, in a significant way, this dissertation has grown out of that looking. First among my teachers was Sam Wagstaff, who was kind enough to hire me to look after his collection of photographs when I had just begun graduate studies. That collection now forms the core of the Getty Museum's holdings in photography. Wagstaff had recently published a book on his collection when I came to work for him; it was a book made up of pictures, with no text and he called it Looking At Photographs. He believed in looking more than writing about photographs. I hope this dissertation, where the pages of text outnumber the pages of photographs, would have pleased him. He was also the first to place Roland Barthes' writing in my hands, giving me a gift of the Camera Lucida when it was just published in America.

The shape this dissertation took, choosing five photographers and examining part of their work closely, grew out of the privilege of looking at photographs with Peter Galassi, Chief Curator of the Department of Photography at The Museum of Modern Art in New York City. His guidance has been faultless, his observations illuminating - any errors in interpretation are solely mine. My good friend, Willis Hartshorn, Director of the International Center of Photography in New York, has also shared hours of keen looking and discussions about photography with me. Without their encouragement and access to the collections they have under their care, learning about photography would not have been such a joy nor would it have come to hold such a central place in my life.

Looking at photographs and writing about them are different mindsets. At the Graduate Center of the City University of New York I have been extraordinarily fortunate in having Carol Armstrong as my dissertation advisor. Her patience, wisdom

and writing skill helped shape my thoughts and musings into a coherent pattern. Her fine example of scholarship and fluid style is a standard to emulate – perhaps not always to attain. She has cared for me and for this work. I am grateful beyond measure for her thoughtful challenges to my thinking, her suggested revisions and sensitive editing. Without her expert guidance and flawless tact this dissertation could not have been completed. I am also aware of the time she has generously given me, particularly now that her new teaching post at Princeton has increased her responsibilities to students considerably.

Marlene Park has been my sage and valued advisor at the Graduate Center. Her reading of this dissertation has been of great importance to me, and she has always raised points for my consideration that were relevant and that I have acted upon. Helene Winer, of Metro Pictures Gallery in New York, has assembled a library and archive on contemporary art and photography that is enormously valuable. Her willingness and enthusiasm in making the material available to researchers working in the field of contemporary art is a great contribution to scholarship. Another library that has been of extraordinary value to me belongs to David Levinthal. His holdings encompass a rare collection of World War II books and ephemeral materials, and an array of videos that is in itself an introduction to film studies. May Castleberry has made the library of the Whitney Museum of American Art available to me at odd hours for extended research and I thank her for her ongoing interest and kindness. I am indebted to Lucas Samaras, William Wegman and Louise Lawler for their willingness to discuss their work and their photographs so freely with me.

Finally and with pleasure- dissertations do not get written without the affection and support of friends. Elizabeth Pforzheimer and Nicki Tanner of Wellesley College, and Dr. Sondra Farganis of The New School University have been attentive readers and

unfailingly maintained their keen interest in my work. Joel Ehrenkranz, my husband, has always given his heart and great intelligence to all my academic and curatorial efforts, but particularly to this one, because I cared so much and it took a little longer. I am truly fortunate in my friends and teachers and I thank them all.

Contents

1. Illustrations	viii
2. Introduction: Five Photographic Post-Modernisms	1
3. Chapter One: Lucas Samaras, Or, Inside the Camera Obscura The <u>Samaras Album</u> , 1969-1971	9
4. Chapter Two: David Levinthal, <u>The Paper Movie Hitler Moves East, A Graphic Chronicle, 1941-43</u> , 1973	75
5. Chapter Three: William Wegman, Ideas Outside the Box Photographs from the early '70s	141
6. Chapter Four: Cindy Sherman, "Film Stills," or In the Looking Glass <i>Untitled Film Stills</i> , 1977-1980	195
7. Chapter Five: Louise Lawler, Culture As Still Life Paperweights and Photographs, 1962-1999	251
8. Bibliography	301

Illustrations

- Fig.1 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.2 Samaras. *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971
Courtersy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.3 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.4 Samaras. *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.5 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.6 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.7 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971
Courtesy Pace/MacGill New York
- Fig.8 Samaras. *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.9 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Figs. 10-11, Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.12 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.13 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.14 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.15 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York

- Fig.16 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973
Courtesy David Levinthal, New York
- Fig.17 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973
Courtesy David Levinthal, New York
- Fig.18 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973
Courtesy David Levinthal, New York
- Fig.19 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973
Courtesy David Levinthal, New York
- Fig.20 Capa, *Falling Soldier*, 1936
Courtesy The International Center of Photography, New York
- Fig.21 Capa, *Vu, September 23, 1936*
Courtesy The International Center of Photography, New York
- Fig.22 Capa, *Death In The Making*, 1938
Courtesy The International Center of Photography, New York
- Fig.23 Capa, *Normandy, June 6, 1944*
Courtesy The International Center of Photography, New York
- Fig.24 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973
Courtesy David Levinthal, New York
- Fig.25 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973
Courtesy David Levinthal, New York
- Fig.26 Haupt, *The Battle For Moscow 1941-42* (photographer unknown)
Courtesy The International Center of Photography, New York
- Fig.27 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973
Courtesy David Levinthal, New York
- Fig.28 Ustinov, *Fighting Outside Moscow*, 1941
Courtesy The International Center of Photography, New York
- Fig.29 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973
Courtesy David Levinthal, New York
- Fig.30 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973
Courtesy David Levinthal, New York

- Fig.31 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973
Courtesy David Levinthal, New York
- Fig.32 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973
Courtesy David Levinthal, New York
- Fig.33 Wegman, *Drinking Milk*, 1971
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.34 Man Ray, *Le Minotaure*, c.1935
Le minotaure (No.7, June 1935)
- Fig.35 Wegman, *Back Bend (True / False)*, 1970
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.36 Wegman, *Milk / Floor*, 1970
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.37 Robert Cumming, William Wegman, *Robert Cumming, William Wegman*, 1969
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.38 Wegman, *Cotto*, 1970
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.39 Ruscha, *Carriage Roll Guide Rod With Sleeves*, 1967
Royal Road Test, Mason Williams and Ed Ruscha, Los Angeles, California
- Fig.40 Ruscha, *Tab Key Top (photographed as found in bush)*, 1967
Royal Road Test, Mason Williams and Ed Ruscha, Los Angeles, California
- Fig.41 Wegman, *Portable TV*, 1971
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.42 Wegman, *Before / On / After: Permutations*, 1972
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York
- Fig.43 Muybridge, *Dread Walking*, 1887
Eadweard Muybridge, *Animals in Motion*, 1887
- Fig.44 Wegman, *Contemplating Art, Life, Photography*, 1975-82
Courtesy Pace/MacGill, New York

- Fig.45 Sherman, *The Giant*, 1976
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.46 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #2*, 1977
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.47 Friedlander, *Canyon De Chelly*, 1983
Lee Friedlander, Portrait self, 1998.
- Fig.48 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #6*, 1977
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.49 Vidor. *Rita Hayworth, Cover Girl*, 1944
- Fig.50 Sherman. *Untitled Film Still #38*, 1979
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.51 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #7*, 1977
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.52 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #20*, 1978
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.53 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #53*, 1980
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.54 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #54*, 1980
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.55 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #55*, 1980
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.56 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #56*, 1980
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.57 Lawler, Ed Ruscha's *Twentysix Gasoline Stations*, 1962
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.58 Lawler, Ed Ruscha's *Twentysix Gasoline Stations*, 1962
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.59 Lawler, *A Spot On The Wall* (Kunstverein, Munich), 1994. Similar installation.
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York

- Fig.60 Lawler, *A Spot On The Wall* (Kunstverein, Munich), 1994. Similar installation.
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.61 Duchamp, *Door of Given: 1.The Waterfall, 2. The Illuminated Gas*, 1946-66.
The Philadelphia Museum, Pennsylvania
- Fig.62 Lawler, *Untitled (Dreams)*, 1993
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.63 Lawler, *Untitled (Martin & Mike)*, 1992
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.64 Lawler, *Untitled (Parrot)*, 1982 / 93
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.65 Lawler, *Sargent*, 1990
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.66 Lawler, *Arrangements of Pictures*, 1983
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.67 Lawler, *Arrangements of Pictures*, 1983
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.68 Lawler, *Arrangements of Pictures*, 1983
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.69 Lawler, *(Stevie Wonder) Livingroom Corner, Arranged By Mr. & Mrs. Burton Tremaine, New York City, 1984*
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.70 Lawler, *untitled (Warhol Stamps)*, 1984
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York
- Fig.71 Lawler, *Arranged By Tracy Atkinson, Director and Gregor Hedberg, Chief Curator At The Wadsworth Atheneum*, 1984
Courtesy the artist and Metro Pictures, New York

Introduction: Five Photographic Post-Modernisms

From the parochial perspective of the late-1970s art world, photography appeared as a watershed. Radically reevaluated, photography took up residence in the museum on a par with the visual arts' traditional mediums and according to the very same art-historical tenets. New principles of photographic connoisseurship were devised; the canon of master photographers was vastly expanded; prices on the photography market skyrocketed. Counterpoised against this reevaluation were two coincident developments: a materialist history of photography and dissident photographic practices.

Douglas Crimp¹

The place and the practice of photography shifted during the decade of the 1970s. The rupture between modernism and post-modernism, in theory and in production, provided a field in which photography worked flexibly, and photographs were produced that centered specifically on conceptual and theoretical problems.² Photographers freely used techniques of appropriation, manipulation, and studio set-ups, "dissident photographic practices," to explore issues that concerned the culture of late capitalism. During the '70s, critical theorists, notably Roland Barthes, argued that photography was unique in picturing both presence and absence: the presence of the photograph and the absence, the vanishing of the experience it recorded. Running parallel to a widening interest in photography's theoretical framework, the decade of the '70s additionally witnessed the swift movement of photographs into museum spaces, corporate collections and notable private ones. The photograph itself grew in size, in the words of John Szarkowski, Director of The Museum of Modern Art's Photography Department "to hold the wall"; the photograph also began to appear in the rainbow-hued colors of the natural world, no longer restricted to the sepia tones of

the nineteenth century or to the carefully calibrated white to black tonal scale of the early twentieth.³

If photography's practices were "dissident," the times, correspondingly, were politically and morally uneasy. Student unrest reflected the country's growing discomfort with a series of political and racial issues that challenged the country's idealistic myth of origin: the culture of democracy.⁴ The major dilemma was certainly the war in Vietnam, which was perceived increasingly as a colonial invasion of a third world country. Most of America understood that the war was being conducted at an intolerable level of racist inhumanity, and journalists directed public attention to the degree of violence aimed specifically at the civilian population. The effects of the civil rights movement began to permeate the traditional, hermetically sealed university departments of art history as curricula were developed that explored in wider perspective and with increased sensitivity the histories of African and Asian cultures. A questioning began, initially rooted in Second Wave Feminism, about the western canon, and its positioning of other cultures as intrinsically "Other," meaning not white, European or male. Growing out of the turbulence of the '60s, perhaps the most potent "dissident" practice of the '70s was indeed the new energy of feminism: both practical - marches and demonstrations, and theoretical - university and publication centered. Of great significance to the historically gendered presentation of art history was the publication in 1971 of Linda Nochlin's important article, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?"⁵

Performance became an acknowledged art form in the late '60s. In a sophisticated trope, photographs of ephemeral performances became sources of documentation, on-going visual evidence, and, eventually, commodified objects in their own right. The origins of performance art were both political and theoretical: a combination of newly voiced political morality, and an assault on the canon of modernism, considered elite, autonomous, hermetic - unconnected to contemporary

culture. Among the first modestly public events were Allan Kaprow's "18 Happenings in 6 Parts" that took place in New York in 1959, the organization of the Fluxus group in 1961 and the dance performances that were held in 1962 at the Judson Church in New York. Performances were staged in connection with the 1967 "be-ins" in Golden Gate Park and at the Peace March in San Francisco the same year; two years later, in 1969, they happened at the People's Park demonstrations in Berkeley. In 1967, New York Artists demonstrated against the Vietnam War within the format of an Angry Arts Festival, and a Bad Humor Poets Truck which steered around the city to "harangue the populace with plays, poems, sights (a 24-foot caricature of LBJ was attached to the truck by painter Allen D'Arcangelo), songs and the ubiquitous leaflet."⁶ To chronicle the emerging conceptual processes, Lucy Lippard published Six Years: The dematerialization of the art object from 1966 to 1972.... in 1973. A bibliographical gathering, Lippard planned the book to "expose the chaotic network of ideas in the air, in America and abroad, between 1966 and 1971."⁷ Looking back, Fredric Jameson wrote about the decade of the 'Sixties:

in many ways the key transitional period, a period in which the new international order (neo-colonialism, the Green Revolution, computerization and electronic information) is at one and the same time set in place and is swept and shaken by its own internal contradictions and by external resistance.⁸

But if the art object dematerialized during the '60s, that dematerialization was closely documented by photographs. Photographs of Happenings and Performance began to be included in avant-garde publications, and, in that format, entered museum collections in increasing numbers during the '70s. Kaprow's book, Assemblage, Environments & Happenings, published in 1966, was evidence that the photograph was also becoming part of a radical practice of art that included the viewing subject in its field and discourse, in opposition to the historical tradition of situating the viewer outside an autonomous space reserved for the artist.⁹ The art fields of the '70s would

be inclusive, hybrid, contingent, multivocal – challenging institutional spaces that had come to be considered canonical, elitist, didactic, hermetic. Kaprow's art book, a combine of photographs and text, opens with large block-cut, screened graphics that invite the viewer to: "STEP RIGHT IN". Issuing from another position, Szarkowski's seminal book, The Photographer's Eye, published the same year as Kaprow's, is meant to rest in the viewers hand, presenting an outline of Platonic values and a choice of photographers that would quickly come to represent the canon of high modernism in photography. Szarkowski's text details the aesthetics of photographic modernism by encouraging the viewer to search each carefully selected photograph for "The Thing Itself", "The Detail," "The Frame," "Time," and "The Vantage Point."¹⁰ The collection of Szarkowski's brilliant and persuasive texts, published by The Museum of Modern Art in New York City, and illustrated, for the most part, with black and white photographs, can be considered together to present a fully modernist paradigm that has as its core formal values of design and technical excellence. It was a paradigm seen at some odds with the social, political and theoretical viewpoints of a gathering of dissident photographers beginning their work in the '70s. For them, not only the modernist paradigm but the written road trips of Frank Kerouac, the photographed road trips of Robert Frank, and the street photography of Garry Winogrand, embodied an idealism, cynical perhaps, that seemed vanished from the American culture of late capitalism.

If photography was considered as both index and sign in the post-modernist theoretical literature of the '70s, art practice in photography increasingly reflected that discourse: a cross-fertilization of the disciplines of philosophy, materialist history, political science, literary criticism, and feminism.¹¹ Integral to this critical culture was the understanding that there would be many post-modernisms, a seeking after openings rather than closures, multiple voices rather than a singular, critical authority. The canons that modernism had erected earlier in the 20th century and that were adapted to

the production of photography seemed not to be relevant to the concerns of the '70s. In contrast, the multiple forms of post-modernism mirrored the impulses of late capitalism: consumer culture, societies of the spectacle, global, technological connections. And, increasingly, photography was taught in university studios where philosophy and politics were not considered inimical to the practice of art.

This dissertation is about some of the photographs of post-modernism: constructs that are variously both theoretically and aesthetically based, complex in content and fabrication, open discourses, invitations to the viewing subject to "STEP RIGHT IN". Four essays are on photographic work from the decade of the '70s; the fifth essay, in some ways looking back and drawing on that work, is situated in the '80s and glides smoothly into the '90s. It seemed to me that the voices each of these photographers attend to are additionally in another interesting conversation with one another.¹² Different voices in conversation, or discourse, may be an apt metaphor for post-modernism: a discussion, a field, without closure and many openings.

I have chosen these photographers because each one is representative of a particular reaction to an aspect of modernism: an examination of their "dissident practices" opens up both a discussion of the multifaceted aspects of post-modernism and of the rupture with modernism. Lucas Samaras works to obscure the boundaries between mediums – painting and photography – and the certainties of gender, producing photographs that are part performance document and part fantastic psychological theater. David Levinthal explores problems in photojournalism and simulacra, presenting, in effect, a critique of the war photograph as humanity's witness to a verifiable truth. William Wegman addresses issues of photography's relationship to the (then) new forms of video and minimalism (or the replacement of the art object by a dog). Cindy Sherman structures photographs that occupy a curious space beyond the informational or symbolic, suggesting narratives in still frames that are fluidly theatrical. Louise Lawler examines the practice of cultural appropriation, the

positioning of the viewing subject, and centers on outlining a photographic critique of the institutional spaces of art.

My intention in selecting these photographers is not to outline a history of photography in the '70s, nor to trace the progression of that history into the '80s. It is to examine a collection of ideas and working processes. The artistic and theoretical rupture of that decade, coming after the global dislocations of 1968, seemed interesting to explore, for its permutations proved to be expressed particularly well within the field of photography: a medium, like music, that does not necessarily privilege the working of the hand over a theoretical or conceptual vision. The common thread that runs through the work of these photographers is conceptual, an intention to seek openings and make inquiries, not completions or paradigms. If these photographers are listening to multiple voices in discourse, it would seem that additional readings and musings on their work would be welcome in that exchange.

*

The theoretical texts of Roland Barthes and Frederic Jameson are particularly important to the critical reasoning of this dissertation. Their writing was published during the decades of the '70s and '80s and woven into the intellectual content of the period under discussion. Barthes' texts were considered singularly relevant to the consideration of photography. John Szarkowski's books on photography are historically important and have informed my understanding of photographic modernism. Carol Armstrong's work and scholarship has taught me the significance and strategy of closely reading a photograph. Their texts are cited appropriately in the notes and bibliographies.

I have looked extensively at the work of each of these photographers, in their studios, in their galleries, in their archives and in museum collections. David Levinthal's library, including books and videos, has been an important resource for research on the subject of photojournalism. Metro Pictures, Louise Lawler and Cindy

Sherman's gallery, has a unique photographic library and archive that covers the production of many artists working in the '70s and '80s. The libraries, archives and collections of the International Center of Photography, New York City and The Museum of Modern Art in New York City have also been invaluable resources for this research. Exhibition catalogues from galleries and museums and monographic studies on each of the photographers form the core of the separate bibliographies.

¹ Douglas Crimp, "Photographs at the End of Modernism," in On the Museums Ruins, with photographs by Louise Lawler (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1993), 2.

² "The last few years have been marked by an inverted millenarianism in which premonitions of the future, catastrophic or redemptive, have been replaced by senses of the end of this or that (the end of ideology, art, or social class...) taken all together, all of these perhaps constitute what is increasingly called postmodernism. The case for its existence depends on the hypothesis of some radical break or coupure, generally traced back to the end of the 1950s or the early 1960s. As the word itself suggests, this break is most often related to notions of the waning or extinction of the hundred-year-old modern movement (or to its ideological or aesthetic repudiation). Frederic Jameson, Postmodernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press), 1.

³ John Szarkowski, Director of Photography, The Museum of Modern Art, New York City. "Big Pictures By Contemporary Artists," April 14 - June 28, 1983.

⁴ "The creation of the United States of America is the greatest of all human adventures...American history raises three fundamental questions. first, can a nation rise above the injustices of its origins and, by its moral purpose and performance, atone for them? All nations are born in war, conquest and crime, usually concealed by the obscurity of a distant past. The United States, from its earliest colonial times, won its title-deeds in the full blaze of recorded history, and the stains on them are there for all to see and censure: the dispossession of a indigenous people, and the securing of self-sufficiency through the sweat and pain of an enslaved race...The second question provides the key to the first. In the process of nation-building, can ideals and altruism - the desire to build the perfect community - be mixed successfully with acquisitiveness and ambition...Thirdly, the Americans originally aimed to build an other-worldly 'City on a Hill,' but found themselves designing a republic of the people, to be a model for the entire planet." Paul Johnson, A History of the American People (New York: Harper Perennial, 199), 3.

⁵ Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists? (1971)" in Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1988), 145-178.

⁶ Henry M. Sayre, The Object of Performance, The American Avant-Garde Since 1970 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 14.

⁷ Lucy R. Lippard, Six Years: The dematerialization of the art object from 1966 to 1972 (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), 5.

⁸ Frederic Jameson, The Cultural Turn, Selected Writings on the Postmodern, 1983-1998 (London: Verso, 1998), 3.

⁹ Allan Kaprow, Assemblage, Environments & Happenings (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1966).

¹⁰ John Szarkowski, The Photographer's Eye (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966).

¹¹ "A generation ago there was still a technical discourse of professional philosophy – the great systems of Sartre or the phenomenologists, the work of Wittgenstein or analytical or common language philosophy – alongside which one could still distinguish that quite different discourse of the other academic disciplines – of political science, for example, or sociology or literary criticism. Today, increasingly, we have a kind of writing simply called 'theory' which is all or none of those things at once. This new kind of discourse, generally associated with France and so-called French theory, is becoming widespread and marks the end of philosophy as such. Is the work of Michel Foucault, for example, to be called philosophy, history, social theory or political science? It's undecidable, as they say nowadays, and I will suggest that such 'theoretical discourse' is also to be numbered among the manifestations of postmodernism." Jameson, The Cultural Turn, 3.

¹² The trope of photographers hearing voices that the viewer does not hear but reads in their work comes to me from Sam Wagstaff's brief note to his exhibition catalogue, A Book of Photographs. "This book is about pleasure, the pleasure of looking and the pleasure of seeing, like watching people dancing through an open window. They seem a little mad at first, until you realize they hear the song you are watching." Sam Wagstaff, A Book of Photographs (New York: Gray Press, 1978). It is impossible to over estimate the rippling effect Wagstaff's collection of photography had on museum acquisition policy during the '70s. As an adventuresome buyer and an admired curator, Wagstaff led photography's dance in museum galleries and auction rooms in the '70s and early '80s. His prescience was acknowledged publicly when the Getty Museum bought his collection in 1984 as the basis for its acquisition of several additional American and European collections, and the museum's expansion of its holdings in photography into a world-class collection, augmented by an active research and publication program.

Chapter One: Lucas Samaras, Or, Inside the Camera Obscura

A critical turning point has been reached in a major area of avant-garde effort, which I believe is entirely to the good but which is forcing upon us the possibly disagreeable task of revising some cherished assumptions regarding the nature of the plastic arts. Certain advanced works being done at this moment are rapidly losing their traditional identities and something else, quite far-reaching in its implications, is taking their place. On the one hand, looking broadly at the whole of recent modern art, the differences which were once so clear between graphic art and painting have practically been eliminated; similarly, the distinctions between painting and collage, between collage and construction, between construction and sculpture, and between some large constructions and a quasi architecture.

Allan Kaprow¹

Other than being a nice essay, an autobiographic postulate of some of my present attitudes or a complicated gift to others, these photographs are a way of studying my polaroided self as an abstraction or translation for esthetic speculation, psychological perspicacity, sensual subtlety and warm embarrassment. Or they are a method for declassifying hush-hush feelings. Or they are a stylized pretension of emotion - acting. Or they are a reworking of the form of the self-portrait. Or it was a matter of one thing leading to another and piling up into an elaborate accomplishment.

Lucas Samaras²

In the early and mid 1970s, Lucas Samaras made an extended series of polaroid photographs, the "Autopolaroids" (1969-1971), the "Splits" (1973), and the "Photo-Transformations" (1973-1976). In the sense of Kaprow's meaning, the work was "advanced" for it marked a shift, "a critical turning point in a major area of the avant-garde effort." Exceptional in their small format, 3" x 3", and brilliant color, the

polaroids were evidence both of a “subject assuming an image,” and of a rupture with the linear metanarratives of photographic histories and critiques.³ Modern art histories have been inclined to describe the parameters of photography’s technological developments and ontological framings; the most interesting among a range of post-modern practices are those that critique and collapse those clear distinctions and propose, among other alternatives, formats of appropriation, studio set-ups and performance. Samaras’s photographs are about performance, both as conceptual art making and as viewing activity.⁴ They are also narrative, psychosexual and hand-worked. They are naked, analytical self-portraits, and Samaras has marked them with all-over patterns of black and colored ink. They certainly could be counted among those “advanced works” that Kaprow described as losing traditional identities, replacing them with something else, that was “far-reaching in its implications.” In the instance of Samaras’s polaroids, the central implication involved post-modernism’s rupture with modernism: the small photographs visibly marked a separation between historical productions in silver gelatin, and the fluid potential of polaroid’s shifting colors.⁵

Samaras’s polaroids were denotative documents in their reference to the specific, intimate space that he inhabited within his studio; they were additionally descriptive, emotive and connotative in their flickering figural imagery and shocking, iridescent color.⁶ Their surfaces of the photographs were carefully hand-worked - disruptively so - and certainly not in the well-mannered, fuzzy tradition of early 20th century, Pictorialist photography. For not only did Samaras push the polaroid emulsion into patterns with a stylus, but he punctured the photographic surface with pen markings that visibly disturbed the smooth material of the polaroid matrix. But what was visually the most disruptive implication of the extended series was Samaras’s positioning of himself within the photographic space, seemingly dancing or performing - in John Cage’s words - “on his own two legs...and occasionally on a single one.”⁷ Through the lens of the polaroid camera, Samaras photographed his

naked body performing within the space of his studio - constructed as an Assembled Environment. And if the studio was an Environment, he was a one-man, ephemeral Happening, and the exposed polaroid he produced became a document to be manipulated and transformed. In a different trope, the studio was also a type of camera obscura. Inverting the usual practice of photography, Samaras kept time, light and the object within his chamber, and focusing upon himself as the object, constructed spectators, outside, who gazed within. In a provocative way, he offered himself, the male body, as an object of multiple erotic contemplation, for the gaze he imagined was conceived as both heterosexual and homosexual.⁸ Equally radically, the viewer was engaged in the performance, peering into the space of the polaroid as if it were a peep show.⁹

Samaras began the first polaroids, in itself a fairly heretical medium, three years after John Szarkowski, Director of Photography at The Museum of Modern Art in New York City produced a small book of poetics and pictures, The Photographer's Eye.¹⁰ The book was highly influential, for it not only established the visual parameters of modernism in photography but selected the iconic pictures that would form the canon. Looking at Szarkowski's selection of fine, black and white pictures, the heresy of Samaras's choice of polaroid as a medium becomes clear: for the polaroid medium is both about immediacy and about color - not analogical color, but expressive, strident, fugitive color.¹¹ Against the grain, polaroid lends itself to quick mechanical production, to the on-going movement of seriality, of filmic continuity, of contingency. Szarkowski, whose choices came to influence the acquisition patterns in photography for many emerging institutional collections, defined the aesthetic parameters of the iconic photograph - without reference to color or contingency - in the introduction to The Photographer's Eye. The parameters were outlined in "The Thing Itself," "The Detail," "The Frame," "Time," and "Vantage Point." Szarkowski noted the uniqueness of photography as a medium within the working structures of the visual

arts and within the history of visibility. It was he wrote, a radically new picture-making and viewing possibility. And he stressed the seminal difference between painting - or drawing and etching - and photography. One medium was within the field of art history, within the space of the studio, in the combination of things known. The other happened in the street - or field - and was a matter of choosing, of framing and where one stood. Summing it up succinctly, he noted that "Paintings were *made*...but photographs were *taken*."

Szarkowski's modernism, the view that "photography was born whole," drew from an established critical order, outlined in Beaumont Newhall's history of photography that The Museum of Modern Art had published in 1949. Photography's analogical, authorial status was again detailed in a book by William Ivins, Prints and Visual Communication, published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1953. In that text, Ivins, curator of prints at The Metropolitan Museum, outlined a premise that post-modernism would eventually critique: "The nineteenth century began by believing what was reasonable was true and it would end up believing what it saw in a photograph was true."¹² However, it was from the combined viewpoints of Newhall, Ivins, and Szarkowski that the poetics of photographic modernism issued, and from the illustrations in their publications that the canon of iconic photographs and photographers was formed. Samaras's polaroids were among those artworks that implemented a conceptual shift, a theoretical effort in the '70s, to shed traditional identities and distinctions and replace those certainties with uncategorized, hybrid contingencies. Kaprow's critical essays, growing out of seminal years of avant-garde production and teaching at Rutgers University in the late '50s and early '60s, were significant to that shift.¹³

Samaras's polaroids present a post-modernism constructed within a multiplicity of practices; however, privileged among them were a narrative analysis (self-analysis) of theatrical nakedness - nudity as costume - and the precise, gestural

marking of the photographic surface with ink, black and colored. The “Autopolaroids” were conceived as performance pieces for mirror and public: document and non-document, acting and viewing and marking.¹⁴ It is likely that these practices, performance and the free use of hybrid mediums, were thought out during Samaras’s years at Rutgers College where he went on a scholarship in 1955, two years after Kaprow joined the art department. Samaras was successful at Rutgers; he was considered one of Kaprow’s most brilliant students.¹⁵ He was involved in theater and published poetry as an undergraduate, but he concentrated primarily on studio work, and went on to continue his studies in art history with Meyer Schapiro at Columbia University. His participation in performance work also continued as he took part in Kaprow’s, Whitman and Claes Oldenburg’s Happenings in New York, and took classes at Stella Adler’s Theater Studio. Well-trained in philosophy and theory, Samaras came to the polaroid process with what Lyotard would refer to as an “incredulity toward metanarratives.” certainly he was impervious to the parameters being drawn by the theorists and separatists of photography’s high modern canon. Presciently, Samaras worked early in the vein Peter Galassi opened up in an essay written in 1981 for an exhibition at MOMA, Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography. In that essay, Galassi presented the view that “photography was not a bastard left by science on the doorstep of art, but a legitimate child of Western pictorial tradition.”¹⁶ The high modern distinctions that Szarkowski articulated as particular to photography, “The Thing,” “The Detail,” “The Frame,” “Time,” “Vantage Point,” were somewhat displaced by Galassi’s point that it was time to reattach the photographic picture-making system to the pictorial, painterly tradition of the West. Embedded in the complexities of Samaras’s post-modern production are both a turning outward to the appropriation of the pictorial tradition of art history, particularly of Greek and Byzantine conventions, and a turning inward to mark out conceptual fields as viable spaces for photography.

It appears that around 1969 Samaras came to the conclusion that light, as the single “pencil of nature,” the tool of high modernism’s photography, was insufficient to his purposes, and so he added more pencils and some inks - many of them garishly colored - to augment what the photographic emulsion could produce.¹⁷ Writing, as well as marking, stipples and striates Samaras’s photographs, asserting a connection between the polaroids and a literary narrative. So, as it is not possible to consider Samaras’s photographs without looking at the marking patterns he works on them, it is also not possible to avoid hearing the atonal beat of his voice. He speaks cryptically in an extensive range of interviews and non-categorizable writings, interacting in an on-going dialogue with himself and a chosen community of art critics with which, by and large, he is on congenial footing. Possibly, within Roland Barthes’ meaning, Samaras intentionally weaves together self-produced, cultural texts - writerly Happenings - to create a “multi-dimensional space.”¹⁸ The writings, like a “tissue of signs,” wrap around all of Samaras’s work, sculpture and paintings, but the polaroids particularly are embedded in a textual matrix. The Samaras Album, published by The Whitney Museum of American Art in 1971, brackets the “Autopolaroids,” the photographs, with “Autointerview” and “Autobiography,” the texts.¹⁹

Samaras, radical aesthetics notwithstanding, has always been granted a privileged position within the established art world community. His work entered The Museum of Modern Art’s permanent collection early: the first piece, of wood and feathers, was included in an exhibition called “The Art of Assemblage” and was acquired in 1961. Another early object, from 1962, a book with pins, knife, scissors, razor and foil, that originally belonged to the architect Philip Johnson, was included in the museum’s exhibit “The Object Transformed” and was acquired in 1966.²⁰ In the winter of 1972 - 1973 the Whitney Museum of American Art mounted a retrospective exhibition of his work, barely a decade’s worth of material. A small monographic exhibition of pastels, again at MOMA, followed in 1975. Samaras’s transgressions

were greeted with enthusiasm and the pieces were tucked into the “isms” of art history; the work continued to be collected by MOMA and the Whitney Museum, among other institutions, and was published on the pages of *Art in America*. Samaras's discourse appeared to be with the acknowledged canon of pictorial art history: Greek vase painting's erotica, the encrusted surfaces of Byzantine icons, Symbolism and Surrealism. However, in a radical move, Samaras was also offering the male body to the Gaze, to the male gaze as well as the female gaze. Curiously, despite the obvious nakedness of his body, and the explicit autoerotic moments, the photographs did not ignite the homophobic controversy that Robert Mapplethorpe's did later within the Department of Photography at MOMA.²¹ That is a surprise, for Samaras's stance, scatological and erotic, is in many ways more consciously provocative.²²

When Samaras announced in an interview in *American Photographer* in 1982, “I am responsible for the photography of the Seventies, whether they like it or not...” it was a serious point to make.²³ Other photographers working in the '70s were availing themselves of new theoretical and practical possibilities: appropriation, studio set-ups, manipulated color, large scale.²⁴ But Samaras worked out a singular format by, in effect, presenting his body as psycho-sexual performance: he transformed the frame of the photograph into a proscenium arch, the gelatin surface seemingly broken into depth as a dimensional, miniature theater. The photograph was transformed into a theatrical, narrative experience.²⁵ Handworking and distorting the emulsion, Samaras crafted a novel, photographic fluidity, eliminating emphasis on the fine tonal distinctions that had historically been a hallmark of the art. Those eliminations eventually were read as a rupture between modernism and post-modernism, the distortions of the emulsion effectively blurring the distinction between painting and photography, between the “photographed” and the “real,” between, in Kaprow's words, “art” and “life.”²⁶ The referent existed, certainly, but mediation and the conceptualization of the photographer were to be privileged. If the core, high modern

histories of photography were invested in an examination of “technological change.” and a “continuing search for a renewed and vital identity.” - Szarkowski’s viewpoint - the significance of Samaras’s post-modern polaroids to the early ‘70s was their theoretical diffusion of Geenbergian ontological identities, and their seeming ability to draw purely conceptual photographic work into the central discourse of photographic practice.²⁷ To this point, I will concentrate on a close reading of photographs from the “Autopolaroids,” (1969 - 1971) as they are presented in the Samaras Album, with additional references to photographs from the “Splits”(1973), and the “Photo-Transformations” (1973 - 1976). Allan Kaprow’s essays on art-making, and Samaras’s written and woven “tissue of signs” are useful glosses for the visual reading of these photographs.

Why at the end of the ‘90s begin an examination of post-modern photographs with Samaras’s polaroids? At first glance, certainly, because of the hybrid, contingent materials - polaroid and colored inks, and because he is a painter and a photographer, working to obscure the boundaries between mediums. But, beyond that, in looking back now, it seems that the first museum and gallery installations unduly softened the tough edginess of the photographs - their radical, disruptive presence was misread, eased. Linked to Symbolism, to Surrealism, the presentation of male nakedness, gender ambiguities, and the inversion of photographic aesthetics and sexuality was masked under a seductive encrustation of Byzantine jewels and quick, institutionally based, critical approval.²⁸ In the 1975 pamphlet that accompanied the exhibition “Samaras 1974,” William Liberman wrote pleasantly - shading the real radicalism of the work - that “Like Redon, Samaras is a poet who celebrates the night....”²⁹ More to the effort of this chapter is a point made by Hal Foster, in an essay “Whatever Happened to Postmodernism?” where he attempts to reinvigorate that original radicalism, the theoretical and practical rupture that post-modernism presented:

I supported a postmodernism that contested this
reactionary cultural politics and advocated artistic

practices not only critical of institutional modernism but suggestive of alternative forms - of new ways to practice culture and politics. And we did not lose. In a sense a worse thing happened: treated as a fashion, postmodernism became demode.³⁰

It is useful to recognize that within the tiny format of the polaroids, Samaras's art did present a "new way to practice culture and politics," and even a new politics and aesthetics of photographic art making, one that obscured the boundaries between the mediums of painting and photography. Performing with the destabilized figural imagery of his body, clothed in the "costume" of nudity, and encrusted with the connotations of art history and applied markings in ink, Samaras's work suggested "alternative forms" in the '70s and, for himself, delving into the poetics of photography, he laid early claim to what Lyotard would write about at the end of the decade, a "crisis of metaphysical philosophy".³¹

*

Samaras's "Autopolaroids" are best described as a serial, fluid body of work. A cut from the group was first published in 1970 in the November - December issue of *Art in America*.³² The editor, Jean Lipman, was a strong advocate of Samaras and she published gridded pages of the photographs the year they were produced, with one photograph featured prominently on the magazine's cover. A year later, in 1971, Lipman, the Whitney Museum of American Art and the artist's gallery, Pace, published the Samaras Album: Autointerview Autobiography Autopolaroid (fig.1) as a joint effort - the polaroids bracketed by sections of the artist's text. Another cut of the "Autopolaroids" was exhibited at Pace Gallery the same year, and in 1972 Samaras included a group of them when he was given a retrospective of a decade's range of work at the Whitney Museum. The "Autopolaroids" were followed by the "Splits" and the "Photo-Transformations," the photographs serially connected by the medium of polaroid and the exploration of the artist's body as subject. Samaras discussed his

choice of the polaroid medium in somewhat emotional language - much as Alfred Stieglitz and Edward Weston had before him:

I rediscovered a number of techniques already available to students of photography and had a funny feeling of reexperiencing history. It wasn't all regurgitation. I allowed satire of my art education to enter into the compositions. Polaroid, nevertheless, has a feel, a look, a dialect of its own. It is programmed to give you acceptable flesh colors, but it is possible to cross its normality with colored sheets of plastic either in front of the lens or in front of the lights. Moreover, the speed with which a result is obtained without outside help and the complete privacy available afforded me an opportunity of doing something impossible with regular photography.³³

Samaras refers to the fact that he made several polaroids sequentially of each studio set-up - that seriality as well as speed and privacy were equally the camera's original appeal to him.³⁴ Additionally, what else came to be useful was the malleability of the polaroid's surface emulsion and the variable coloration of the matrix, ranging from brilliant to fugitive; equally appealing was the fact that the tiny 3" x 3" format was in direct contrast to the established 8" x 10" size of modernism's silver gelatin print. Samaras always prepared and staged the studio set-ups / assembled environments by himself in the tiny, box-like space of his New York City, west-side apartment. Within that field Samaras could assure himself of complete directorial control: his body, self-satisfyingly, completed the most exquisite contortions. The constriction of space, both in the format of the photograph and in the size of Samaras's apartment-studio, seemed to give rise to a curious, claustrophobic, heightened inventiveness: the self-scrutiny notwithstanding, the performances of the photographs were fully conceptualized and not entirely serendipitous. (One thinks of a storyboard prepared for a film as Samaras theatrically manipulates his body for the sequential frames.)

Through the years Samaras has drawn from the serial extension of these polaroids for exhibitions and publications, each group a reassembled variation.³⁵ Since there is no possible count of the pictures, no ultimate transformation, I am viewing the

published Samaras Album (1971) as a method to encompass the series referred to as the "Autopolaroids." That the series continues to extend its open boundaries into the '90s is evidenced by a fresh cut Samaras recently made from the material enabling donors to give MOMA a group of unexhibited "Autopolaroids," "Splits," and "Transformations."³⁶ It would appear that to Samaras the unique technology of the polaroid is both satisfying and a way to avoid closure: Samaras seems to consider the polaroids like sheddings of skin cells - traces of the body beneath and utterly renewable over time. If time and light, according to John Berger, are the raw materials of photography, than Samaras adds to that system his body as mediating agent: his skin, hair, flesh refracting artificial light and colored gels - his hand, outside, disrupting the indexical status of photography by a "tattooing" of lines and dots.³⁷ These disruptions effectively blur the outlined aesthetics of photography's modernism, for Samaras's efforts tend to collapse the established space not only between photography and painting, but between stopped time and movement.

The Samaras Album: Autointerview Autobiography Autopolaroid is a text woven of word and image, a post-modern illuminated manuscript. It is a hand-held object, that invites reading, looking, page turning. The format, the back and forth of the pages, compels viewer participation: the random direction of looking and reading is an act of audience involvement. Even within the paginated system of the Album the viewer's reflex is to be out of order in looking and reading: the unexpected imagery prompts double-takes and look-backs (Did I really see that?). In later exhibitions, even when Samaras has designed the installation, the insistent voice, the close coupling of the writing to the image is absent, and so the book is somewhat of an anomaly. In the Album's pairing / matching of text and picture there seems a profane reflection of Byzantium's religious texts where, equally, the visual effect of the writing inflects the image.

Writing was a seminal part of Samaras's production in the '60s. That it continued to be a significant art practice to him was evidenced by the collection and publication in 1980 of several of the most gorgeous of his scatological word poems under the title Crude Delights.³⁸ Images that surface in Samaras's photographs and pastels are laid out verbally in these fragments with great beauty and poetry; the titles give some sense of the imaginary territory described: "Shitman," "Dickman," "Killman," "Flowerman."³⁹ As critics have noted, it is Samaras's peculiar gift to transform repugnant material aesthetically. In these visual musings he shares kinship with Antonin Artaud, who described parallel preoccupations in the "Theater of Cruelty" manifestos. There he stressed the necessity of a theater - a theater similar to Samaras's private space - that would provide "the spectator with the truthful precipitates of dreams, in which his taste for crime, his erotic obsessions, his savagery, his fantasies, his utopian sense of life and things, even his cannibalism, pour out on a level that is not counterfeit and illusory but internal...the theater, like dreams, is bloody and inhuman."⁴⁰ Perhaps as object-making became more satisfying for Samaras, writing lost its privileged place. Lingering traces of writing as gestural, visual mark surface only occasionally in exhibition catalogues when Samaras will produce yet another "autointerview," and design the presentation of that verbal performance on art paper, with visually expressive type.

The title, Samaras Album is ambiguous: it offers very private photographs, but it also connotes an extended family, the natural family of his birthplace, Kastoria, in Macedonia. The brilliant, colored-ink and black-and-white patterning applied to the photographs and to the cover of the book, connotes the techniques of Greek and Byzantine craftsmanship: the hand-work references the shadowy figures of unknown medieval artists that Samaras considers "relatives." Text consisting of two "Autointerviews" and an "Autobiography: Part I Autobiographic Preserves (written in 1968)" come before "Autopolaroid," a gathering of thirty pages of photographs laid

out in grid format. The fabricated interviews and autobiographical fragments, expose a vibrant archaeology of memory that seeps into the photographs, all of them, even later ones where text is absent. The distorted emulsion transmute the images into visual signs of intertwining: of Samaras's glance into the mirror, of his bodily engagement with his double, with the multiple gaze of spectators and with the inflection of language: "I fantasize how beautiful and calm it would be if I could erase all portions of my memory...but where would I be then, an unstitched Greek up a shit creek without language, direction or self."⁴¹ The format of the Album places two gatherings of photographs - like stitched portions of illuminated manuscripts - between three sections of "Autobiography." Following the first gathering of autopolaroids is the second text: "Autobiography: Part 2 Second Washing (written in 1969)"; a second gathering of autopolaroids is followed by "Autobiography: Part 3 The Taste of My Body (written in 1970)." And at the end is the simple statement: "I did these things between December 1969 and May 1971." To look at all these photographs of Samaras's body - whole, doubled and sectioned - and to critically reflect only that Samaras's art is narcissistic and autobiographical seems both redundant and simplistic. Therefore, I prefer to explore Samaras's work within parameters marked out by Kaprow's "avant-garde effort" and by Solomon-Godeau's statement in Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation: "Cut loose...from a presumed isomorphism with biological sex, the concept of masculinity has ceded its taken-for-granted status, its previous transparency."⁴²

Therefore, beyond autobiography, Samaras's polaroids map the possible transfigurations of a body - doublings, sexual personalities, emotional states and textures; specifically, the polaroids present his body, the male body, to whomever gazes at it, a trope on the history of gendered gazing. The photographs certainly present a personal, narrative theater, but, beguilingly, also a theater that "includes the beholder."⁴³ Within their tiny scope, the day-glo photographs oddly encompass

several of the sacred mysteries: that of religion, that of performance, that of art history. While the polaroids draw on Galassi's outline of an encompassing "Western pictorial tradition," they more clearly illustrate his acknowledgement of "photography's disruptive character."⁴⁴ Samaras's photographs did make a difference in the early '70s because they presented additional possibilities and openings, and because they refrained from centering on the ontological definitions that had worked towards the medium's closure.

*

The first gathering of photographs, coming after the autointerviews/biographies, opens with a single black and white picture (fig.2). The image is small against the expanse of the white page, its measures just 3 3/8" by 2 5/8": seemingly the picture opens a view to the observer of a performance within a stage, within the camera obscura. In reality, of course, the stage, the camera, is Samaras's New York City studio / apartment: a compressed, assembled space, wound with skeins of colored yarns, encrusted with the materials of art making and collecting - glass beads - the debris of careful living, concerned continually with aesthetics.⁴⁵ Light focused within the studio has produced a hovering, phantasmagorically doubled image of the artist, an image stabilized, momentarily perhaps, beneath a theatrical-looking arch. Two ghostly, naked Samarases embrace, diffusing photographic time. The doubled figures blur the certainty of Roland Barthes' adhering referent, nothing looks like that in the real world: there are no identical, transparent, naked men embracing.⁴⁶ Time collapses, light has no source: which of the two, naked and transparent figures is Samaras? The doubled image of the embracing men proposes multiple identities, sexual possibilities and uncertainty about the reflecting Lacanian mirror: I see myself seeing myself - am I what I see?⁴⁷ The nakedness connotes Greek heroic nudity, yes, but it also connotes the nakedness of the sexual, homoerotic encounter, for as amorphous as the bodies are, the light-outlined figures are identically male.⁴⁸

After the "Autopolaroids," with "Splits" and "Transformations," Samaras pictured increasingly disjointed pieces of identity, until nothing whole or stable remained: cutting and splicing the bodyscapes in "Splits," spilling and stippling color over them phantasmagorically in "Transformations." Samaras continually scans his image in the mirror - a material he uses to surface sculpture and embed in boxes - accelerating, as Lacan phrases it, "the transformation that takes place in the subject when he assumes an image...." The transformations, the splitting, the distortions of Samaras's body signify the inevitable alienation that occurs when the image in the mirror is sighted - for, after all, the reflected image is something other. not self (on the other hand, it is all the self is.)⁴⁹ The handworking and disorienting technical manipulation of the printed set-ups is obvious: the paradox is the effort, at the same time, of Samaras as subject to make himself visible, recognizable within the panoply of images. Writing on film theory's appropriation of the Lacanian theoretical model, Joan Copjec notes: "The 'reality effect' and the 'subject effect' both name the same constructed impression: that the image makes the subject fully visible to itself."⁵⁰ Samaras constructs images of himself and searches endlessly among them for his identity. The construction, the transformation, the innumeration of the parts, generally adds up to a male body: it has - eyes, skin, hair, genitalia - specifically a penis, testicles and ejaculating fluid. But then for a few pages Samaras dons wigs of long hair and becomes, alternately, monster, medusa, siren (fig.3); a few pages later, he will appropriate stereotypically female seduction poses to the male purpose. "That there is nothing whatsoever 'natural' about masculinity and nothing preordained about the forms it might take," is a point that the psychological costuming of the polaroids seems intent on illustrating.⁵¹

Film is where the "Autopolaroids" had their genesis, particularly the film Samaras made with Kim Levin in 1969. Samaras wrote the basic script and performed, Levin ran the camera and edited. The film was called "Self," a title that gets

spelled out, spilled out and swallowed in cereal alphabet letters in Samaras's mouth. Images from that film float forward into the polaroids where they become reified, refashioned in a congealed context, like that of film stills. Samaras perhaps did not like giving up the fashioning of his filmic identity to Levin's manipulation, for he commented in the text of the Album that the polaroids were a way of regaining his dignity, of getting back the rights to his own image-making.⁵² The most interesting images in the film come out of Samaras's rituals as he moves within his most intimate spaces, the kitchen and the bathroom, places where eating and elimination and bathing happen. Slow scenes of food being carried to the mouth, of water over the body, become significant, celebratory liturgies of existence. The camera scrutinizes Samaras's mouth, as it opens and swallows, where it becomes transformed into the origin of the world, literally, as it swallows and spills out a small metal globe (fig.4). Letters, text, float off his tongue - the cereal alphabet letters promise endless formations of meaning.

Specifically, the film questions the poetic divide between the photographed and the experiential, pulling the purely conceptual and fabricated into that proposed field. An incredulity about the theory of lamination, the windowpane and the view, transfers from the film to the autopolaroids, along with Samaras's reclamation of his image-making rights.⁵³ Additionally, the concept of the filmic, of seriality, of on-going fluid imagery - one frame to the next - smoothly crosses over from the movie camera to the polaroid camera. The set-up studio scenes work most successfully in "Self," where the brilliant color begins, the colored gels swirl, and the piped in Greek cafe music supports the seductive and exotic foreignness of Samaras's production. Other scenes, of Samaras outdoors, surveying the New York skyline in war-reporter leather, to background noises of erupting gunfire are less successful - but the reference to Samaras as observer and witness to the savagery of war in Greece is understood as the basis of much of his art-making.

The first black-and-white polaroid of the Album, set alone on a white expanse of page, functions as a curtain-opener for the gridded screens of photographs that will follow, all of them documenting the intimate series of Happenings - for, however mis- and overused the term, Samaras uses it to describe this body of work.⁵⁴ Glancing into a positioned, angled mirror, within the confines of his apartment / camera obscura, Samaras reflects the ambiguities of the gendered male body: biologically constructed, socially constructed, logically destined to embrace its like, or its opposite, or itself. The uncertainties of the socially gendered bodyscape - male, female, androgynous - are blurrily traced, album page after album page, collapsing into the shifting outlines and identities of the self-photographed artist (fig.5).⁵⁵ Text continues to circle the pages of gridded photographs, as if the pictures alone could not map the fugitive identities clearly enough. "Not everyone needs to writingly restructure his past. I have to."⁵⁶ The writing and the photographs suggest multiple voices, a Greek chorus, chanting responsively. Alternatively, the words of the "autobiographies" can be read as gestural marks, working the surfaces of the photographs, finally transforming themselves into the black dots and calligraphic swirls of the backdrop papers and manipulated patterns of the polaroid emulsions. The writing, often with a repetitive beat, reinforces the sense that Samaras cannot stabilize the mirror image, that it fades in and out on him - focused, unfocused, transformed into yet another image: the self as unidentifiable, turning in primordial washes of day-glo colors and black patterning, a visual rendition of the imaginary state before language.⁵⁷

The opening photograph sets up the stage of the studio apartment; there is a work table in the foreground, a tiny kitchen, a room where a glass chandelier hangs beyond an arched opening. The photograph presents the apartment as an iteration of the early boxes Samaras made in the '60s: like those boxes, in this apartment, there will be compartments that open like gaping mouths, caves that reveal distressing secrets - unexpected genitalia, razors, dead birds.⁵⁸ As in the early boxes, where the

viewer was often invited to participate in finding the portraits of Samaras - moving colored glass jewels, opening a drawer - the images of Samaras are revealed only after some looking: in this polaroid he appears palely doubled beyond the arched opening, outlined in light, faintly visible. The first boxes contained pictures of Samaras that others had made, before he liked his body sufficiently to photograph it himself, to scrutinize himself in the angled mirror.⁵⁹ Light, reflected in the jewels, and time, in theatrical movement, stay within these boxes, and, later, within the polaroids: their configurations reflect the assembled compartments that gave form to Allan Kaprow's earliest Happening, "Immaterial Spaces," "18 Happenings in 6 Parts," in 1959.⁶⁰ As with Kaprow's Happenings, entering and engagement are essential to the experience of Samaras's boxes, equally to the spaces of the polaroids. The transformations of his body and his gaze out, at the viewer, reflect Kaprow's view that "We ourselves are shapes...We have different colored clothing...can move, feel, speak, and observe others variously...."⁶¹

The polaroid shows a wall with two hanging frames - one possibly a picture, the other possibly a mirror: with the facing door jamb, the limits of the apartment / box are defined. Directly ahead is a hanging cabinet, one door ajar to reveal another space, compartments within the primary box; beyond is the space the two Samaras inhabit, marked as stage by the doorway's proscenium arch. The arch connotes this space as stage, a small hall of intimate performance work. Additionally, nothing in this scene indicates the possibility of looking or going outside the space: there is no exit, no outside light source, and the only inhabitants are the pale doubles. This is the primary stage, and on it the kitchen, the bathroom, the bedroom, the paper-backed studio will become as familiar as the hair patterns of Samaras's body. The photographic tones are flat gray-black and white: the polaroid certainly acting here as a send up of high modernism's sophisticated, wide-ranging tonal scale. The next pages of the Album

bring photographs that have color, "many that have been helped, altered, revived or juiced up with ink dots and lines."⁶²

It can be argued that the box, as a form, represents a series of displacements: it is Samaras's immediate space, it is his room, it is a metaphor for his mind. The rooms begin with the construction of the first one, "Room # 1," exhibited at the Green Gallery in the winter of 1964 - 65, "mixed mediums, 10 x 15 x 7 1/2," - the same year that Samaras's parents sold their house in West New York and returned to Kastoria, to Greece.⁶³ It was the house that Samaras and his mother had come to from Greece in 1948, after the war. During the terrible, nightmare years his father had lived in the house, separated from his family, and Samaras, as a frightened child, had imagined him sending boxes from America that would sustain him. At the time of the sale, Samaras removed the contents of his bedroom from the house - the furniture as well as the precious collections piled up during high school and the years at Rutgers and Columbia - and, packing it all up, reconstructed the space, exactly measured, at the Green Gallery in New York. At the gallery he repainted the reassembled bedroom in the yellow ochre color of the original.⁶⁴

The work Samaras constructed was part Kaprow's "Environments," a piece shown at the cooperative gallery, the Hansa, in the late '50s - Kaprow's teaching years at Rutgers: it was also part Claes Oldenburg's "Bedroom Ensemble," shown at Janis Gallery in 1964. But these two important references aside, Samaras talks of his rooms having a closer affinity to Vincent Van Gogh's paintings of his bedroom - personal room as poetic metaphor for the artist's thinking, a space filled with the materials of art making, with art by the artist, on the walls. In a way, Samaras, in his rooms and in the boxes, has balanced two conceptual positions: Kaprow's radical viewpoint on finding the materials of art in discarded objects of living, and Van Gogh's fine-art-making instinct for the expressionist possibilities of paint and color. Kaprow's "Manifesto" of

1966 is part of what Samaras needed to absorb and correct for himself, for eventually he did want to make art that would be shown and collected by museums.

The history of art and esthetics is all on bookshelves. To its pluralism of values, add the current blurring of boundaries dividing the arts, and dividing art from life, and it is clear that the old questions of definition and standards of excellence are not only futile but naive. Even yesterday's distinctions between art, antiart, and nonart are pseudo-distinctions that simply waste our time: the side of an old building recalls Clifford Still's canvases, the guts of a dishwashing machine double as Duchamp's Bottle Rack, the voices in a train station are Jackson MacLow's poems, the sounds of eating in a luncheonette are by John Cage, and all may be part of a Happening. Moreover, as the 'found object' implies the found word, noise or action, it also demands the found environment. Not only does art become life, but life refuses to be itself.⁶⁵

And so, in 1965, in "Room # 2." a geometric construction of mirrors, a correction towards "standards of excellence" began: Samaras inserted a new formalism into the theoretical free-for-all implied by Kaprow's manifesto, brilliantly crafting the reflecting surfaces of mirror into a form of extreme elegance.

Samaras drew on three particular paintings by Van Gogh. all three of the artist's bedroom: one from October, 1888, the other two from September 1889.⁶⁶ To think of Van Gogh's first painting of his bedroom, the one from October 1888, in the manner described by the recent Rikjismuseum catalogue - a "neat, tidy bedroom" - and by Van Gogh, as an "interior without anything," misses the qualifying argument of the work.⁶⁷ The painting is clearly a portrait of the artist, indexical of his presence and absence: his gestural trace is registered in the strokes on the surface of the canvas, through the paintings on the wall, the clothes hanging on the pegs behind the bed - particularly the signature yellow straw hat - the proposed intimacies of the toiletries, the hanging towel and the imprinted linens of the bed. The painting's indexical markings are related to those of photography in that they are referential and work within the Barthesian analysis of Photography's "That-has-been:" "it has been here, and yet immediately separated; it

has been absolutely, irrefutably present, and yet already deferred."⁶⁸ The painting of the bedroom and the photograph of the bedroom share the indexical trace of someone having been there who is now absent. The mirror in the painting, whitened out, invites the viewer to gaze at that absent reflection.

Samaras curiously reworks Van Gogh's conceptualization of his bedroom. The latter cleared of the specific figure of the artist, the former, filled with an insertion of his doubled, phantasmagorical presence, a post-modern reversal of Van Gogh's whitened-out mirror. The additional traces - the pictures on the wall, the table piled with books - references - the pegged wall, the opened cabinet - replacing Van Gogh's closed shutters - complete the construction of the room as surrogate for self. Samaras seals himself within that room, within the work: the polaroids bind his image into the emulsion and into the space. Where Van Gogh's shutters are closed against possible access to the outside and thereby define the space as finite, Samaras's cabinet doors open to reveal the potential of on-going, but interior, serial compartments and spaces. A significant part of Samaras's post-modern practice is what an examination of the interior spaces of the mind, the bedroom, the box reveal: the gaze and the bodyscape - both alternately and at the same time, heterosexual and homosexual. The viewing, the gaze is implicit in what Samaras offers: the unfettered exploration of his body within the space of his room, and the gender transformations of his mind.

Past the texts, past "Autointerview," (Questions & Answers), past "Autobiography Part 1 Autobiographic Preserves (written in 1968)," past "Autopolaroid": "I could tune up or tone down emotion. I could move a little to the left or shift this or that and be my own critic, my own exciter, my own director, my own audience..." gridded pages of photographs appear: black and white, color, variations of both, a great many inked and patterned.⁶⁹ The two gatherings of photographs, separated by texts and systematized by grids cover thirty pages of the Album, and then, forty. Using the formal device of the grid, Samaras signifies the ordering system of

modernism, one analyzed with critical acuity by Rosalind Krauss: "the grid announces, among other things, modern art's will to silence, its hostility to literature, to narrative, to discourse."⁷⁰ Working against the modernist properties of the grid, the photographs in the Album are about narrative and discourse: the discourse of identity, of image, of gender and, beyond that about noise, about screaming – certainly a post-modern departure from modernism. And from Samaras, sending up a gridded approach to gender demarcations we have this comment: "Anyway, men and women are abstractions. My being, my mind, I, am not man or woman. I am not them. They are paths of my observation."⁷¹

Thirty pages present alternating, organizational grids, grids that are stuffed to overflowing with literature, narrative and gender dialogue. The subject, viewed and viewing, inhabits the kitchen, the bathroom, the materials of art and color, and wigs, hair – among the signifiers of gender. And the grids expand and contract: grids of nine, of four, of six, of three, of five. All formally laid out, mapping the topography of the bodyscape: skin, hair, parts - face, feet, torso, genitalia - doubled, sectioned, gel-colored (fig.6). The photographs are reflections of Samaras metaphorically scanning himself in the Lacanian mirror:

...the *imagos* - whose veiled faces it is our privilege to see in outline in our daily experience and in the penumbra of symbolic efficacy - the mirror-image would seem to be the threshold of the visible world, if we go by the mirror disposition that the imago of one's own body presents in hallucinations or dreams, whether it concerns its individual features, or even its infirmities, or its object projections; or if we observe the role of the mirror apparatus in the appearances of the double, in which psychical realities, however heterogeneous, are manifested.⁷²

Two of Samaras's central preoccupations float on the surfaces of the pages: the artist as formed within the matrix of art history (technique and the ancestors), and the instability of identity and gender construction (nudity, drag and the conventions of pornography). The pages are also about color (the mark of the paintbrush), and still life

– plates of cherry tomatoes (Cézanne's apples), and the artist's art (on the walls). (The artist constructs the systems of the Album within the recognized genres of art history: self-portrait, still life, drawing, photography and then blurs the distinctions the viewer is conditioned to recognize. The black and white photograph is worked with non-local, expressive color; the body is a sectioned, fragmented self-portrait (a mouth, a foot): the genitals are still life elements along with apples and tomatoes (fig.7); Samaras performs in a mirror and in a day-glo Crucifixion (fig.8). For the "Autopolaroids," he used a polaroid of the '60s - possessing different properties than the more sophisticated SX-70 of the "Transformations" - not the newest technology, but it was exciting:

When I got the polaroid in '69 that was like the opening of the floodgates. The first thing I did was go home and take my clothes off and take a picture by a mirror. The old polaroid, black and white, it was so kind of purple looking...it was almost like a beacon saying you can do it and there is going to be some kind of beauty there. I was fortunate enough...I did it when my body was just the right shape...it wasn't too young and it wasn't too old. it was just right. So it was just me and my camera. Then it became more of a campaign, once I had 10, 20, 30, 40, 50 different shots... It took a slightly different perspective, in other words, there was going to be a public involved.⁷³

The space is no longer a distinct territory: in its trajectory from Van Gogh's bedroom to Samaras's photograph, it has transmuted from bedroom to kitchen to studio / performance space. And in the kitchen / studio, the possibilities of performance are expanded: there is eating and working and maybe sex - the rituals of existence and the rites of self-examination are spun out infinitely.⁷⁴ The apples on the table catch the eye: they seem to reference Cézanne, and Meyer Schapiro's art history seminars at Columbia University.⁷⁵ And on the walls hang Samaras's paintings, artworks within the artwork of the photograph (fig.9).

Fitted into the grids of the first few Album pages are heads of Samaras, overlaid with spots of brilliant color; part Abstract Expressionist gestural marks, part

traces of the painter's brush, and part sparkling tesserae from Byzantine mosaics. Paint is a powdered color in a matrix that permits free application; glass tesserae encase fluid color in tiny units that again permit ease of application and the possibility of permanence. Samaras uses the polaroid color in a similar manner, freeing it from local limitations, using it like paint or hot glass, swirling it over the photographic print, and letting it pattern through a series of manipulated exposures and colored gels. Color, of course, is a radical move. Color is not there at the beginning of photographic history; the technology of color evolves slowly throughout the 20th century and is first associated with the commercial print - the fine art photograph remained securely dedicated to the silver gelatin print - with modest tonal variations permitted during the Pictorialist years of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Samaras's radical use of color highlights the polaroids' post-modern course: the photograph as altered, mediated index.⁷⁶ And in furthering that alteration, Samaras presents not just a "ghostly trace of a departed object," but doubly ghostly presences. outlines in gel-colored light, serial costumed sequences, and endlessly multiplied grids. Two pages of 18 photographs (figs. 10-11), set-up Samaras next to a medical chart of the human body. He is naked and black-jacketed, draped with skeins of colored yarn that duplicate the musculature behind him. In some pictures he peers curiously at a pair of crystal balls, certainly signifiers of sex; all the pictures surround purpled prints of his opening, birthing mouth: the inside and the outside of the body, the body transparent, a mapping of physical identity in corporal structure. The nakedness and the looking - self-conscious but without embarrassment or discomfort - are close to an intentional illustration of the Lacanian text on the glance from the self and the gaze from the Other: "I see only from one point...but in my existence I am looked at from all sides...We are beings who are looked at, in the spectacle of the world."⁷⁷

*

Kaprow awarded Samaras a scholarship to Rutgers University in 1955 on the basis of a cache of material that was sent in with the application.⁷⁸ The pages were beautiful - a mix of watercolors, collages, and pencil drawings; the subject matter was peculiar for an undergraduate. Crucifixion imagery, transformed by Futurism and Cubism, was the source of the figurative core; the technique was indebted to Byzantine models, with its craftsmanship of encrustation, of layering, of fiber winding.⁷⁹ The work was produced during Samaras's high school years, a time of isolation, a period where he nurtured his innate art-making skills and literary (nightmarish and scatological) fantasies. The isolation was in part chosen - his strong sense of reserve - it was in part imposed by a lack of English and his obvious foreignness. Arriving in "Ouramerica" - Samaras's descriptive term for his new country - at age 11 and speaking only Greek, he was placed in classes with younger children, reaching his age level only in time to graduate.

At Rutgers, the world changed and he received quick recognition: he was immediately a star of the art department and, oddly, an outstanding marksman on the university rifle team. Kaprow, who had awarded his scholarship, was not alone in recognizing Samaras's extraordinary, intuitive talents. Robert Whitman, interviewed by Kim Levin for the biography she wrote in 1975, remembered that "I was really impressed by his facility to make the things he wanted to make. He had a fantastic technical ability at painting and also a pretty good critical eye. He was very good at verbalizing criticism. I accepted a lot of what he said because he was so good at it...." In addition to the energy of Kaprow's studio and the critical dialogue at Rutgers, access to New York City's growing network of galleries also came through a widening circle of artists and friends. Kaprow and George Segal, who was teaching drawing at Rutgers, were active at the Hansa, a cooperative exhibition space run by Richard Bellamy and Ivan Karp. After it closed, the artists went to the Reuben Gallery, where Samaras performed in the first Happening that was staged there during the fall of 1959.

The energy of the early '60s gave spontaneous theater momentum -Happenings evolved as extensions of Environments, and Assemblages extended into Performances. All found on-going life in Claes Oldenburg's and Whitman's permutations, and later a specific form in Samaras's theatrical, polaroid performances.⁸⁰

Kaprow's collection of photographs (text too, but primarily frames, stills pulled from a "movie of a dream") was published in 1966: it was probably an example to Samaras of how cinematic a collection of photographs could be.⁸¹ The book was begun in 1959. "in the middle of things rapidly evolving," at the suggestion of Max and Anita Baker, directors of the Reuben Galleery, where many of the artists - Jim Dine, Red Grooms, Oldenburg, Robert Rauschenberg, Whitman - who participated in the Happenings were centered.⁸² Kaprow titled the published collection Assemblage, Environments & Happenings, and he understood that he was reifying an ephemeral time and bringing it into the categorized realm of art history through a tangible form, the still photograph. But, as he wrote in the Preface, "the book...is not intended to be a summary after the fact. It has been written in the midst of a young activity, with an interest that was both observant and highly biased. Being part of the activity, I was inclined to look at and judge an art-in-the-making as well as influence its course...."⁸³ In the text Kaprow unpacked unlimited possibilities for avant-garde art: elimination of distinctions between painting, sculpture, constructions and "quasi-architecture."

Painting to Environment happened because:

...the pieces of paper curled up off the canvas, were removed from the surface to exist on their own, became more solid as they grew into other materials and, reaching out further into the room, finally filled it entirely. Suddenly, there were jungles, crowded streets, littered alleys, dream spaces of science fiction, rooms of madness, and junk-filled attics of the mind....⁸⁴

Assemblages were random materials that could be suitably handled or walked around; Environments needed to be walked into, scale making all the "experiential difference in the world."⁸⁵ Environments and Happenings shared similar qualities, it

was just that the Environment was a quiet place, and the Happenings came to extend into "kaleidoscopic" events. Certainly they were events that needed more space than the contained Environment. Essential to both, however, was Kaprow's statement that "The line between art and life should be kept as fluid, and perhaps as indistinct, as possible."⁸⁶ Samaras worked to transform the large scale Happenings into a personal, psycho-sexual theatrical field; he examined his philosophic preoccupation with the Gaze, with the complexities of being both object and viewer, gazing and glancing, within a photographic matrix.

As conceptually innovative as Kaprow's Happenings were, another event in the mid-'60s had equal impact on the area of avant-garde art making. The Sony Corporation brought out a small, hand-held video recorder, the "portapak" system that placed the medium of video within the financial capabilities of artists, releasing it from the confines of the commercial television studios. Video was a flexible medium. The technology of the Porta-pak system made individual use possible; it was an obvious medium for use in a loft or out-of-doors. The video camera, like the polaroid camera, was "self-developing," and therefore privileged privacy and self-scrutiny - the self-portrait in fast forward. Part of its appeal too, like the polaroid, was the speed of gratification: videotape, unlike film, did not need processing and could be viewed, uncensored, immediately.⁸⁷ Evidence of Samaras's instinct to produce hand-worked, discrete objects is that he did not use the video camera extensively himself and that, after making the film "Self" with Kim Levin in '69, he turned to the filmic qualities of polaroid to record his serial Performances, the private Happenings gone public. The private/public duality of polaroid was initially the process's primary appeal: the print made privately, with an aura of intimacy, but published or exhibited publicly. In addition to that was the ease of quick development, a quality which would make a fluid seriality possible. The painterly color of the emulsion came as an additional benefit;

the cheapness of the medium and its status as a popular photographic tool were, in all likelihood, additional draws

Within the first gathering, thirty pages of polaroids, slotted among the self-portraits of heads and the representations of body parts, are gridded pages that unpack the signifiers of gender assignment and the mapping of sexual desire. Among four photographs, spaced equally on one page, a face is pictured looking at us looking at scenes of sexual encounter: two men are shown - one is engaged in a seductive stripping of his buttocks for the pleasure of the other (fig.12). The face gazes, as do the viewers, as do the men involved. The pink shirt and provocative pose is a stereotype associated with female strippers, I suppose. The seductive pose of the figure central to the gaze can be pictorially and historically associated with the female gender, but the looking within the picture is among males, a dislocation to the other gender. Outside the picture, all viewers gaze. The two men, of course, are Samaras doubled and mirrored. The accepted basics of gender construction seem difficult to trace on the corporeal reality of these bodies or on the transcendent experience of desire. And again, another take on the construction of the bodyscape: two pages of symmetrically gridded, black and white polaroids document Samaras's performance in oversized blonde and dark-haired wigs (fig.13). In a few pictures he adds make-up, luscious mout' and butterfly eyebrows, but in all the pictures, Samaras alternately grimaces and vamps, a performance in the masquerade of femininity, or once removed, in the mode of the transvestite. Both groups of pictures, the Samaras-in-wigs and Samaras-encountering-himself, use visual tropes associated with the signifiers of female seduction and sexuality. But here Samaras reconstructs them, implicating a male viewer of the male, as well as a female viewer of the male, and denying the exclusive field of overt sexual seduction to either gender. In "Gericault and 'Masculinity'," Norman Bryson refers to an issue that is central to Samaras's "Autopolaroids," the gender masquerade:

To be a subject constructed as male involves a necessary masquerade, the masquerade of the masculine. Although the mechanisms for producing the gender masquerade are necessarily different for each gender position...what is held in common is the strain of that continuous production. The masquerade is interminable, not least because of the sanctions against those who would try to escape it...The issue of the masquerade implies at least some common ground of experience across the genders, for the male subject no less than the female is constructed in the field of vision by a split between "I see myself" and "I see myself seeing myself"; or, more simply, between being at the same time the subject of the male gaze and its object.⁸⁸

The serious issue in the black and white polaroids, despite their campy quality, is that of "gender masquerade." "How do I look as a woman, as a transvestite - and who will look?" The hair, the length of it, becomes a signifier of "femaleness." That it swirls in controllable masses and is transparently artificial says something about the artifices that construct gender. Samaras, under the hair, is naked, with no pretense at an art-historical construction of "nudity." The male hair of upper chest and arms works as a counterpoint to the hair of the wigs and all finally merge to seem some kind of animal covering. A reference to his father's profession of furrier and the times Samaras, as apprentice, spent stitching fur pieces together seems inescapable in the pelt-like manifestation of some of the wigs. But finally, however idiosyncratic these photographs are, they are intended for public viewing; despite their aura of intimacy, they are not private studies, their concerns are offered to viewing subjects. And it is the aura of intimacy, of invaded privacy that transforms the viewing subject into voyeur; there is a visceral sensation of having crossed over into intimate space, the space of the bedroom or bathroom, and of looking and of being looked at while looking. The photographs appear to be intentionally unsettling in their connotations of personal experience and public exhibition, of private album as published book. As Samaras has put it: "I never did something just for myself. To me that was never

enough. I always wanted somebody to see what I was doing, whether it was friends or some professionals, or whatever."⁸⁹ The viewer is "whatever."

But the masquerade of the male for the male gaze is most specific in the three photographs of Samaras in an erotic encounter with himself, in the pictures where he seductively displays his buttocks. He stands aroused and positioned so that he can be "seeing myself," and "seeing myself see myself:" the absent mirror is implicated, and other mirrors too, the mirrors of his rooms, of his boxes. The viewing subject is involved in the encounter - and perhaps even aroused. As female, I admire Samaras's seductive position: it has been struck for the male gaze, not mine, but I look too, with pleasure. I like looking at the male body for I have looked at countless female bodies. I am implicated in this male encounter, as well as positioned outside it: as voyeur I am joined to this encounter by my desire to look.

*

After the text, "Autobiography: Part 2. Second Washing (Written in 1969)," is a second gathering of polaroids, again spread out on gridded pages. Although they are formatted in similar fashion, the photographs differ conceptually from the first group. They are less documented Happening, less evidence of a new medium's excitement - "the opening of floodgates" - and more an expression of the possible relationship these pictures can have to art history, by the appropriation of that history's images in the "age of mechanical reproduction." The section opens with a picture of Samaras's hand holding a pencil (fig. 14) - the background is filled in with multicolored dots, marks, in varying sizes. After that picture are ones that draw on images of the Crucifixion, the Deposition from the Cross, and genres of still life - all set against backgrounds marked in color or patterned in black or day-glo lines. Drawing on the figure Christ stripped, the pictures also unpack the issue of naked / nude: Samaras as a naked body, or as a subject clothed in nudity. But, for the emerging practice of post-modern art, these polaroids are a part of the avant-garde effort that Kaprow theorized: an effort to

eliminate the distinctions among mediums imposed by the modernist canon, chief among them the distinctions between painting and photography. On the page facing Samaras's hand, is his text:

This second section of polaroids included many that have been helped, altered, revived or juiced up with ink dots and lines. The idea originated partly as an attempt to save those photographs that were overexposed and partly to intensify the backgrounds. I scratched some of them but the painting worked better than the scratching. It provided - deposited on them - a visual excitement; it was a tense and taut collaboration.⁹⁰

The hand holding the pencil makes a clear visual argument for the manipulated, mediated photograph, highlighting Samaras's intervention in the beginning and in the final state of the picture. Light as the "pencil of nature" is necessarily joined to Samaras's pencil of artifice - demythologizing the concept that light alone makes a photograph. In this scenario, light, hand, pencil, and the saturated spectrum of colors that make the background, all equally construct the photograph. The smallness of the colored dots, and later the fine lines, propose the illusion that these marks could be on the surfaces represented in the photographs, but as the marks bring the backgrounds insistently forward, the perspective commonly associated with the photograph disappears. The working illusion seems to be that Samaras has drawn the gaze of the viewer into the theater of one of his boxes, and that these photographs, those of the second gathering, recreate the semblance of the trays and drawers of those boxes, pulled out for privileged viewing. The colored dots are uncannily similar to the colored stones that are often loosely spilled as surface coverings in the box trays: stones that the viewer is invited to push aside with a brush or a finger, to reveal the photograph hidden beneath.

In a complicated pattern of cross-referencing, the polaroids work back and forth, drawing on post-modern art practice and the tesserae of Byzantine mosaics, on Samaras's boxes of the '60s, and the encrusted, medieval reliquaries that are those

boxes major source of design.⁹¹ A significant aspect of these pictures is their visual cannibalism, a clear desire to make use of the iconography and techniques of art history. But the polaroid fabrication, by the very speed and cheapness of its manufacture, works to destabilize the appropriation of art that was essentially didactic – expensive, too – and, as an act of religious devotion, time-consuming. In an article for *Arts Magazine* in 1978, Barbara Rose made the point that artists working in the '70s were attempting to negate the concept of style as Meyer Schapiro expressed it: "constant form...in the art of an individual," and that the easy availability of art history by way of photographic reproductions, particularly to artists who were university trained in that discipline, made them "trans-historical:" "the artist was now in a position to create mutations of historical styles, to shed artistic identities like a series of masks or costumes."⁹² The polaroids reflect that understanding – that historical styles, techniques, iconography are all easily available for an artist to appropriate – that works of art have been commodified for quick access in flattened, photographed, condensed form. The history of art, as well as the history of photography, lost its tidy, linear form in the '70s, becoming not only synchronic but reproducible in day-glo colors.

After the photograph that opens the subject of art making and its instruments – the hand holding the pencil – comes a photograph from a series of four showing Samaras using the forms of the Crucifixion: religious theater fast-forwarded into Performance art, emptied of transcendence, re-made corporeal.⁹³ The naked and nude body of Samaras is presented against, within, a mass of calligraphic black lines. The genitalia are obscure, faded out, or palely covered by a traditional loincloth, focusing the viewer's attention on the significance of the artist appropriating and, emptying religious iconography. The body hangs softly, boneless, a weightless, passionless form. At the feet of this Samaras-as-Christ is Samaras-again, doubled and curled, infant and swooning Mary. The solid construction of glass tesserae has been transmuted into a patterned, inked background, but the illusion of Byzantine or

medieval manufacture remains on the worked surface of the polaroid, at odds with what my mind knows a photograph to be.⁹⁴ Past still lifes of cutlery, of body parts, past explorations of what shapes the naked or nude body can form, another image draws on the religious iconography of the Crucifixion. Slumped across a thrift-shop looking chair is Samaras molded into the form of the Deposition, Christ Removed From the Cross; a deposition where the dead Christ is laid across a horizonless background, a flat field made up of day-glo dots (fig.15). The mouth is slightly open, the eyes closed, the limbs beautifully plastic, the body emptied of animation, the feet crossed - the literary connotations, the appropriation of historical shapes is evident. (The sweetly drooping penis, following the shapes of the pendant arms, leads idly and pleasurably into formal analysis.)

Leafing forward through the gridded album pages, another group of four pictures adds to this performance of a post-modern Passion. A peculiarly cannibalistic Last Supper: Samaras very naked, very nude - his penis spilled behind a plate of cherry tomatoes that are alternatingly being offered to the viewer and eaten by himself (fig.7). It seems is nothing less than an idiosyncratic, visual reformatting of the words "Take of my body and eat." The tomatoes seem to be surrogate testicles, and the viewer is offered them. It is an offering to the Gaze: of the body, of the genitals. There is no head, there are no eyes that reflect the viewer's gaze - and so the gaze lingers, on the Last Supper, on the offered dinner of the male genitals, transforming the message of the traditional forms. And at the end of the Samaras Album, is a picture of Samaras crucified, his torso floating in and out of the bright dots, the genital area modestly covered with a loincloth that bears a painted vision of Christ at the Last Supper.

Samaras's appropriation of art historical images that privilege the male body include not only Christian iconography but also the forms of the Greek heroic nude (Samaras with a chair raised in triumph). Many of those forms blur the distinctions between nude and naked, as does the viewer's reading, but, even so, a brief critical

reading of those terms seems useful. John Berger, reassessing Kenneth Clark's definition of naked (without clothes) and nude (a form of art), works the terms without reference to sexuality:

To be naked is to be oneself. To be nude is to be seen naked by others and yet not recognized for oneself. A naked body has to be seen as an object in order to become a nude. (The sight of it as an object stimulates the use of it as an object. Nakedness reveals itself. Nudity is placed on display. To be naked is to be without disguise. To be on display is to have the surface of one's own skin, the hairs of one's own body, turned into a disguise which, in that situation, can never be discarded. The nude is condemned to never being naked. Nudity is a form of dress.⁹⁵

By including the explicitly sexual in these polaroids, Samaras expands Berger's distinctions: in presenting the male body, the male genitalia to the viewer's gaze, he places - in Laura Mulvey's terms - the "the burden of sexual objectification" on the male figure.⁹⁶ In Samaras's trope both the male and the female are bearer of the gaze: but the male is object, positioned within the fluid boundaries that mark the difference between naked and nude, that reference a history of nude poses, waiting in a field of erotic possibilities.⁹⁷

*

The pages of the Samaras Album offer arranged, but segmented parts and make comparisons among objects presented without distinction: arms, legs, penises, cutlery. The lay-outs seem to suggest laid-out trays of specimens, referencing the trays of Samaras's boxes. The white pages, the matrices, maintain separations: each polaroid working visually on its own until finally gathered by the viewer into some kind of order. Following this work, in 1973, Samaras fabricated a series of photographs that he referred to as "Splits." He used a large mass of photographic material remaining from the "Autopolaroids" and refashioned it into new, composite pictures, cannibalizing a series that continues to feed his work. In the "Splits" the distances of the Album page are eliminated, unlike images are joined, assembled to form new,

uncertain identities. Photographs are sliced cross the diagonal and put together in strange pairings, halves that certainly would not make wholes, colors that would not complement: assortments of multiple, contingent meanings. There is an implication that these are ruined photographs reused, refashioned in complex joinings, rather than works conceptually organized before the camera. In the "Splits," more than in any of Samaras's other work it would seem that "the explosive energies of difference," are explored. In The Surrealist Look, Mary Ann Caws notes the romantic / surrealist fascination with the ruin of the artwork:

In both this baroque merging of contraries and this surrealist absorption of the explosive energies of difference, the extremes of intensity reached by the passion of the poem or the painting are of romantic appeal, as is the fascination with the ruin into which the explosion internal or external forces the art work. For that ruin indicates the obsession with the incomplete, with what Thomas McFarland, in *Romanticism and the Forms of Ruin*, has called the modalities of fragmentation or 'disparactions,' a term he derives from the Greek: to render assunder or into pieces. treating romanticism as 'incompleteness, fragmentation, and ruin,' he quotes Hegel: 'The life of the mind only wins its truth when it finds itself totally torn asunder.'⁹⁸

Certainly the "Splits" can be viewed as evidence of the "mind torn asunder" - but they also can be read as post-modern as well as surrealist in their pairing of contingent, multiple imagery and their appropriation of very difficult, but in this case, very conscious material.⁹⁹ Within Caws meaning, they are tangentially attached to the internal explosion of the artwork: but here the explosion is additionally a theoretical rupture, a rupture with the canon of historic photographic practice. The "Splits," formed from extraneous pictures of the "Autopolaroid" series, draw on "incompleteness, fragmentation, and ruin" to produce new signifieds. In them, the alienation of the shattered self from the image viewed in the Lacanian mirror can be understood and seen reflected.

Critics first viewing Samaras's work immediately noted a relationship to surrealist imagery, to the theoretical framework of the object emanating from lapses in consciousness when, as Krauss describes in L'Amour fou "in dream, in free association, in hypnotic states, in automatism, in ecstasy or delirium, the 'pure creations of the mind' were able to erupt."¹⁰⁰ Krauss locates the center of surrealism in the semiological analysis of photography; conversely, Samaras locates photography in the documentation of theatrical Happenings, of Performance, of a manic self-consciousness made visible. The camera obscura is an apt metaphor for Samaras's studio, and although the photographic sessions staged there draw on a rich source of psychoanalytic imagery, the pictures produced are the result of sophisticated craft and a serious practice of object-making and photo-taking. The seamed line across the surface of the "Splits" is the mark of the artist's hand, a signifier of his conscious manufacture, a surrogate on the surface of the photograph, for the brushstroke.

Primarily the "Splits" are about disassembling and then reassembling the procedures of viewing. Pictures are neatly pasted together, in a repeated format, to make new pictures: the autobiographical, idiosyncratic images are recognizable from the "Autopolaroids." (In an uncanny way, the viewer becomes accustomed to and comfortable with Samaras's visual vocabulary, and also with the made-up words of his poetic texts.) There are pictures of Samaras swallowing the globe - North America faces the viewer - swallowing "Ouramerica," while saliva drips, Dracula-like, over a painterly concoction of colored gels. In another "Split," the haloed head of Samaras, as woeful saint, lusts at naked male buttocks.¹⁰¹ The graphically sexual cannibalism reappears: Samaras's grimacing face with a speared tomato / testicle, seeds floating, coming out of his mouth - one diagonal half of the photograph animating the other in a filmic, shot-counter-shot sequence. These pictures are about the speed of the polaroid and photographic possibilities, about Kaprow's "commingling of art and life," and his theory of the Happenings, "events in real time."¹⁰² For Samaras's photographs are

referent-based in real time, however manipulated, marked or cut they eventually become: in photography, no matter how fantastical, "the referent adheres," and yet...it is a different sense of the referent than that proposed in the poetics of modernism.¹⁰³

*

In the winter of 1996, the occasion of his 60th birthday, Samaras installed an exhibition of his work at the PaceWildenstein Gallery. Sculptures, paintings, pastels filled the elegant uptown gallery hung by Samaras, at the last minute, with skeins of his signature multi-colored wool. Downtown, in Pace's Greene Street gallery, the "Photo-Transformations" of 1973-1976 were arranged ribbon-like, around the walls of the vast space. The catalogue for the exhibition opened with a densely printed citation from "Waitingman," 1967, as reprinted in Crude Delights, 1980. The citation ended with this section:

'I'm writing my name,' he said, 'that's the least I can leave behind.' There was nothing extraordinary in grabbing hold of his name. Last names are made up of words that signify something. Because it belonged to him, the word **waiting** had a different taste for him than it would for anyone else. By owning the word he felt he owned a substantial part of life...The meaning of his name was more crucial. He grabbed it the way men unconsciously grab the word 'man' or women grab the word 'woman'. But more so...Waiting was fundamental to life, and owning the patent was similar to being the grandson of civilization.¹⁰⁴

The 3 x 3 "Photo-Transformations" encompass many permutations of Galassi's Western pictorial tradition within their miniscule format. But it is primarily the setting of mark against photograph, inking against emulsion, that works to disrupt the traditional understanding of photography's peculiar possession of reality, against the analysis Barthes defines as its essence: "That-has-been."¹⁰⁵ The "Photo-Transformations" are about transmutations, transformations: serial, fluid states, on-going Performances and narratives. In exhibitions, seeing the polaroids in a continuous, visual stream, makes them seem similar to other fluids that emanate from

Samaras; the viewer also begins to recognize the sets that are repeatedly used - the bathroom, the kitchen, and the props that reappear - the cutlery, the plastic flowers, the tiny globe, the saturated spectrum colors of the gels. Real objects and recognized sets anchors the viewer's position in relation to the stage, and also works to highlight the experience of continuous transformation. That the series widens out in increasing numbers also adds to the sense of flux: the original group from 1974 expands into a second exhibition at the Pace Gallery in 1975, into a larger circle in 1976, and again a larger one in 1996.

The salient difference between the "Photo-Transformations" and the "Autopolaroids" and "Splits," is in the increasingly worked gestural surface - as though painting were inserting itself in increasingly disruptive fashion into the photographic field (and bringing with it the history of art). It would be easy to call the surfaces simply painterly, to remark on a similarity to Francis Bacon's "Self-Portraits" of 1967.¹⁰⁶ Instead, following a line of reasoning proposed by Sidra Stich in her work on surrealism. I would suggest that the polaroid surface continues Samaras's insistence on the reality of the photographic referent as it is imbedded in the matrix of art-making, that marking brings the photographs into the realm of tactile experience, away from dreams and the unconscious. These photographs encapsulate the experience of the '70s Happenings, a place where there was a momentary blurring between art and life, a place where painted bodies physically interacted with constructed Environments in a pivotal moment in time. Stich writes at the beginning of Anxious Visions: Surrealist Art:

Specifically, this study underscores the significance of World War I and other such dislocating experiences by suggesting that they affected a critical shift in thinking about the body, the environment, human interactions, and human nature. Without rejecting the emphasis that Breton placed on dreams and the unconscious, the essay proposes to show how strongly actual experience shaped Surrealist imagery.¹⁰⁷

At last though, it is the "critical shift in thinking about the body" that is the most significant aspect of Samaras's polaroid work; the "Photo-Transformations" present the most extremely manipulated body forms pushing from the emulsion. One photograph, "August 11, 1976," shows Samaras arranged in the traditional pose of Greek hero and Rodin Thinker. Underscoring references to the history of art, Samaras gazes at a tiny reproduction of (possibly) the Cnidian Aphrodite: iconic image of the male (Bearer of the Look) gazing at iconic image of the female (The Object). However, here - in the theater of Samaras's kitchen - the male body undergoes a transformation, becoming completely amorphous, the bone structure absorbed into swirling emulsion. The male body, penis in view, is distorted by curvilinear eruptions in the photographic matrix, subverting expectations of memory-bank shapes - the hardness of the recognizable male form, the certainties about what is figure / signified / referent, and what is ground / signifier. The chest is round, female - breast-like - and encrusted with what could be a nursing, leaking nipple. The white, tiny statue of Aphrodite is, by contrast, perfect and whole. The "critical shift in thinking," would seem to be that the mapping of the body - male or female - lends itself to distortions in perspective, to dislocations as the optical lenses rotate. There seems to be nothing final about the forms or the masquerade of sexuality, the dripping penis of the polaroids notwithstanding.

Using his body in performance and the surface emulsion of the polaroid to mark, Samaras produced a writerly, photographic text that critically explored structures of the bodyscape within the shifting "scopic regime" of America in the '70s.¹⁰⁸ The political alienation that the Vietnam War produced contributed to the "critical shift in thinking," as did the activism of the civil rights and feminist movements; within the multiplicities of hybrid art there seemed to be no better way to explore the cultural complexities of the '70s than by going against the certainties posited by the visual canon of photographic high modernism. The day-glo colored, kaleidoscopic fields in which

Samaras performed and presented the transformations of his body offered the ultimate, alternative "scopic regime," a space where the complexities of gender and historically produced representations and definitions could be freely explored and transformed.

For finally, in the swirling emulsion of Samaras's polaroids, in the precincts of the small theaters of desire, the boundaries and certainties of modernism's poetics dissolve. Samaras has put gender-certainties and medium-boundaries into play among the day-glo dots and calligraphic surfaces, reflecting his shifting constructions and perceptions of a redefined bodyscape, as well as his effacement of media separations, particularly those between photography and painting, and those between art history and performance. The dissolution and melding of certain categories and media-specific materials is central to Samaras's art, and to his presentation of a post-modern visual field where painting and photography intersect.

¹ Allan Kaprow, Assemblage, Environments & Happenings (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1966), 151.

² Lucas Samaras, "Autopolaroid," *Art in America* (November-December 1970): 66-84.

³ "We have only to understand the mirror stage *as an identification*, in the full sense that analysis gives to the term, the transformation that takes place in the subject when he assumes an image...." Jacques Lacan, "The mirror stage as formative of the function of the I as revealed in psychoanalytic experience," in Ecrits: A Selection, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1977), 2. Originally published as Ecrits (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966). "Simplifying to the extreme, I define postmodern as an incredulity toward metanarratives...The narrative function is losing its great functors, its great hero, its great dangers, its great voyages, its great goal. It is being dispersed in clouds of narrative language elements - narrative, but also denotative, prescriptive, descriptive, and so on." Jean-Francois Lyotard, The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), xxiv.

⁴ A revision of the strictly diachronic viewpoint is seen in the collected essays published by Jean-Claude Lemagny and Andre Rouille, A History of Photography, Cambridge, 1986. John Szarkowski's Photography Until Now, New York, MOMA, 1989 privileged a technological viewpoint and, significantly, was the work and final exhibition of his curatorial tenure at MOMA.

⁵ Not many photographers have manipulated the polaroid emulsion as Samaras has, but polaroid color will shift - particularly the color of the '70s.

⁶ "Connotation, the imposition of second meaning on the photographic message proper, is realized at the different levels of the production of the photograph (choice, technical treatment, framing, layout) and represents, finally, a coding of the photographic analogue." Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," in A Barthes Reader, ed. Susan Sontag (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 199. Granted that Barthes was not writing about art photographs, still there is a separation

between the denoted, his body, and the connoted, narration, sexuality, art history, within Samaras's frames.

⁷ "In this day of TV-darkened homes, a live performance has become something of a rarity...I would like to say a few words regarding the direction taken by our company of dancers and musicians. Though some of the dances and music are easily enjoyed, others are perplexing to certain people, for they do not unfold along conventional lines...there is an independence of music and dance...This independence follows from Mr. Cunningham's faith, which I share, that the support of the dance is not to be found in the music but in the dancer himself, on his own two legs, that is, and occasionally on a single one." John Cage, "Four Statements on the Dance," in The Twentieth-Century Performance Reader, ed. Michael Huxley and Noel Witts (London: Routledge, 1996), 135.

⁸ "few studies have focused on the construction of masculinity in elite visual culture and even fewer on the dynamics of the male gaze in relation to male bodies. In part, this is due to the way feminist theory has tended to concentrate on the psycho-sexual and political implications of a male subject's active gaze on a female object. Hence, the rhetorical question asked by the film theorist E. Ann Kaplan, "Is the gaze male?" has the unintended consequences of implying that the gendered dynamics of looking are reducible to the relations of empowered male subjects and disempowered female ones." Abigail Solomon-Godeau, Male Trouble, A Crisis in Representation (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1997), 9.

⁹ "Performance art, a complex and constantly shifting field in its own right, becomes much more so when one tries to take into account, as any thoughtful consideration of it must, the dense web of interconnections that exists between it and ideas of performance developed in other fields and between it and the many intellectual, cultural concerns that are raised by almost any contemporary performance project. Among them are what it means to be postmodern, the quest for a contemporary subjectivity and identity, the relation of art to structures of power, the varying challenges of gender, race, and ethnicity, to name only some of the most visible of these." Marvin Carlson, Performance, a Critical Introduction (London: Routledge, 1996), 7. The sense the viewer has of peering into Samaras's small spaces can be compared to the a similar experience viewing the paperweights of Louise Lawler. In both instances, the viewer is drawn into the space by the necessity of looking closely and the fascination of the small details: both objects, the polaroids and the paperweights require close reading.

¹⁰ John Szarkowski, The Photographer's Eye (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966), unpaginated. All following quotes are from Szarkowski's introduction.

¹¹ Color did not become part of the canon of modernism in photography until the publication in 1976 of William Eggleston's Guide by The Museum of Modern Art.

¹² William M. Ivins, Jr. Prints and Visual Communication (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953), 180.

¹³ "Beginning in 1957, the New Brunswick campus of Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey, slowly evolved into a hotbed for avant-garde art. This was the year that Allan Kaprow, who was teaching at Rutgers College, the men's school, started working on his Environments with sound, lights, and odors, which he first exhibited at the Hansa Gallery in New York in 1958. In 1958, Robert Watts, who was teaching in the art department at Douglass College, the women's school at Rutgers, began making assemblages that incorporated light and sound. That same year, Kaprow and Watts, along with artist George Brecht, a scientist working at nearby Johnson & Johnson, completed a grant proposal begun in 1957 that they called "Project in Multiple Dimensions." It was their hope to receive funding to establish at Rutgers an institute for experimental art that would integrate art with science, among other disciplines. While the artists were not immediately successful in their funding quest, that did not deter them from making radical art. Their new art was designed to break down the barrier between art and life...It was often a participatory art, where the visitor handled the object and played a role in its

creation, confusing the issue of who was actually the maker and who determined the meaning of the work...From 1958 to 1960, Kaprow's prize students, Robert Whitman and Lucas Samaras, were keeping pace with their seniors - Whitman by making constructions of disposable materials, as well as Happenings that he called theater pieces; Samaras by making art out of smoke on tinfoil, or razor blades or nails embedded in wood covered with toilet paper, paint, or feathers." Mary Sue Sweeny Price "Preface," in Off Limits, Rutgers University and the Avant-Garde, 1957-1963, ed. Joan Marter (New Brunswick, New Jersey: The Newark Museum / Rutgers University Press, 1999), xi-xii.

¹⁴ Larissa Bonfante, "Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 93 (October 1989): 543. Bonfante describes the concept in ancient Greece of "nudity as a costume." "The Greeks saw their custom of athletic male nudity as something that set them apart from the barbarians, as well as from their own past. A survey of male nudity as costume in Greece attempts to trace its origin in eighth-century ritual, its gradual transformation from initiation rites to the 'civic' nudity of the classical period, and its significance in various religious, magic and social contexts." Certainly, Samaras uses nudity for its magical and social connotations.

¹⁵ Joan Marter, "The Forgotten Legacy: Happenings, Pop Art, and Fluxus at Rutgers University," in Off Limits, 12-16.

¹⁶ "The argument has its roots in the conviction - born in 1839 - that photography is the epitome of realism. Few today would accept this notion without qualification, yet it has remained indispensable to most writers who sense a need to supplement the scientific rationale for the invention of photography with an aesthetic one. Devotees of the camera obscure explain the machine's growing popularity as a symptom of a new thirst for accurate description...The object here is to show that photography was not a bastard left by science on the doorstep of art, but a legitimate child of the Western pictorial tradition." Peter Galassi, Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography (New York: The Museum of Modern Art), 12.

¹⁷ Much of the canon of modernism has dwelt upon the concept of light as a pencil, taking that analogy from the early publication by William Henry Fox Talbot, The Pencil of Nature, 1844. That book, among the first illustrated with photographs, stressed the concept of photogenic drawing and that of the photograph as trace, index of the referent.

¹⁸ "We know now that a text consists not of a line of words, releasing a single 'theological' meaning (the message of the Author-God), but of a multi-dimensional space in which are married and contested several writings, none of which is original: the text is a fabric of quotations, resulting from a thousand sources of culture...the *scriptor* no longer contains passions, moods, sentiments, impressions, but that immense dictionary from which he draws a writing will be incessant: life merely imitates the book, and this book itself is but a tissue of signs, endless imitation, infinitely postponed." Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in The Rustle of Language, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 53. Originally published as Le bruissement de la langue (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1984.)

¹⁹ Lucas Samaras, Lucas Samaras, ed. Robert Doty (New York: The Whitney Museum of American Art, 1971).

²⁰ Mildred Constantine and Arthur Drexler, The Object Transformed (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966), 26. Samaras's work was given a prominent, double-page spread, highlighting it with a small publication that presented other work doubled up on the limited number of pages.

²¹ Szarkowski was impatient with overtly homoerotic art. But it is interesting to note that Mapplethorpe considered himself, in a sense, a documentary photographer. He was intent on

documenting a particular time in San Francisco and New York, a moment of liberation and of exquisite fulfillment within the gay community during the '70s.

²² Mapplethorpe's work is well within the parameters of male nude photography and does not differ widely with the production of George Platt Lynes, Paul Outerbridge, Edward Weston. Adding the vagaries of Baron von Gloeden and F. Holland Day to that list, Mapplethorpe's Weston-influenced pictures of the male nude were, in reality, not that revolutionary. Adapting fashion's slick lighting to even the photography of male sexual activity, the Mapplethorpe images maintain their cool.

²³ Melvin B. Shestack and J. Nebraska Gifford, "Q & A: Lucas Samaras." *American Photographer* (February 1982), 80.

²⁴ "these aesthetic assumptions, rejected by the postmodern avant-garde, are often labelled 'modernist' or 'formalist,' but they are perhaps best thought of as the assumptions of modernism's formalist side, a modernism that was defined and developed by Clement Greenberg from the late thirties into the early sixties, subsequently modified by critics like Michael Fried and Barbara Rose, and that held sway, especially in academic art historical circles...The avant-garde that is the subject of this book can be said to trace its roots to a different modernism...a modernism that might be said to be founded in dada and futurism and that is oriented, in one way or another, to performance, or at least performance oriented art forms." Henry M. Sayre, The Object of Performance. The American Avant-Garde since 1970 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), xi.

²⁵ "'Performing' and 'performance' are terms so often encountered in such varied contexts that little if any common semantic ground seems to exist among them. Both the New York Times and the Village Voice now include a special category of 'performance' - separate from theatre, dance, or films - including events that are also often called 'performance art' or even 'performance theatre.' For many, this latter term seems tautological, since in simpler days all theatre was considered to be involved with performance...If we ...ask what makes performing arts performative, I imagine the answer would somehow suggest that these arts require the physical presence of trained or skilled human beings...." Carlson, Performance, 3.

²⁶ "Coming into the Happenings of the late fifties, I was certain the goal was to 'do' an art that was distinct from any known genre (or any combination of genres). It seemed important to develop something that was not another type of painting, literature, music, dance, theater, opera. Since the substance of the Happenings was events in real time, as in theater or opera, the job, logically, was to bypass all theatrical conventions. So over a couple of years, I eliminated art contexts, audiences, single time / place envelopes, staging arenas, roles, plots, acting skills, rehearsals, repeated performances, and even the usual readable scripts. Now if the models for these early Happenings were not the arts, then there were abundant alternatives in everyday life routines: brushing your teeth, getting on a bus, washing dinner dishes, asking for the time, dressing in front of a mirror, telephoning a friend, squeezing oranges...Doing life, consciously, was a compelling notion to me." Allan Kaprow, "Performing Life (1979)," in The Blurring of Art and Life, ed. Jeff Kelley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 195.

²⁷ John Szarkowski, Photography Until Now (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1989), 9.

²⁸ Samaras literally hid some of his more provocative photographs under trays of jewels in his encrusted boxes. To see the photographs, it is necessary to pull out a drawer and take a brush to sweep aside the faceted, colored glass. Then, Samaras, performing, reveals his body to the viewer in varying states of provocative allure. The tiny size and concealed aspect of these pictures does resonate with the viewer's activity in accessing the joys of a peep show.

²⁹ William S. Lieberman, *Samaras 1974*, (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1975).

³⁰ Hal Foster, "Whatever Happened to Postmodernism?" in The Return of the Real (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1996), 206.

³¹ "To the obsolescence of the metanarrative apparatus of legitimation correspond, most notably, the crisis of metaphysical philosophy and of the university institution which in the past relied on it." Lyotard, Postmodern Condition, xxiv.

³² Samaras, Lucas, "Autopolaroid," *Art in America* (November - December 1970): 66-84.

³³ Samaras, "Autopolaroid," Album, 66.

³⁴ Conversation with Lucas Samaras, September, 1997. Samaras is generous with his time when he discusses his work: his life revolves around his art practice, nothing else has any real importance for him. It is wise to call time spent with Samaras a "Conversation," for interviews produce information that he cares to give. The interviewer does not direct the word flow.

³⁵ Conversation. Samaras, 1997.

³⁶ Robert and Gayle Greenhill Gift, Department of Photography, The Museum of Modern Art, New York City.

³⁷ John Berger and Jean Mohr, Another Way of Telling (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982: reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 81-129. "The dots and lines diminished the photographic perspective and brought the background space forward. Because the lines and dots were kept fairly small, a peculiar effect was created that made it seem that these lines and dots were on the walls or surfaces depicted in the photographs. I suppose because of this blending, it is not clear whether these are photographs or paintings or some kind of tattooing, but I like this complication." Samaras, Samaras Album, 56.

³⁸ Lucas Samaras, Crude Delights (New York: Pace Gallery Publications, 1980).

³⁹ "Dickman. 'Once upon on top of smack inside a time not far ago, on the right side nearby where the Hudson kisses pisses the Atlantic, with a chopped moon's dim light, they were floating on a long tonguetreed highway cruising at a semiforty snackeronies, Dickboy and Wispy, Dickboy's motoring angel, hair screaming toward the blueblack starful magnet, eyeballs bouncing on the concrete ice staring toward Dickboy's home farther down in the future to leave him there on the jumping center playground corner, good night Dickboy, goodnight Wispy, don't go Wispy, good night until I sleep you off and into your dreamrooms, come along my angel, breathe into me, let me roam your memories, be my gorgeous America and one time I'll give you paste you full with wisdom. And that was a long time ago....'" Ibid., 30. Carol Armstrong notes a strange relationship between this passage and the writing of Jack Kerouac.

⁴⁰ Margit Rowell, Antonin Artaud (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1996), 11.

⁴¹ Samaras, Album, 8-9.

⁴² "Whatever else it might signal, the recent discursive visibility of masculinity attests to the growing perception that there is nothing whatsoever "natural" about masculinity and nothing preordained about the forms it might take. Cut loose, as it were, from a presumed isomorphism with biological sex, the concept of masculinity has ceded its taken-for-granted status, its previous transparency. It is this loss of transparency that is indicated by the term 'discursive visibility,' signaling the ways that masculinity can now be approached as a subject for literary or artistic investigation, a disciplinary object within feminist theory, gender studies, and - most recent arrival on the academic scene - men's studies." Solomon-Godeau, Male Trouble, 18.

⁴³ "The enterprise known variously as Minimal Art, ABC Art, Primary Structures, and Specific Objects is largely ideological. It seeks to declare and occupy a position - one that can be formulated in words, and in fact has been formulated by some of its leading practitioners. If this distinguishes it from modernist painting and sculpture on the one hand, it also marks an important difference between Minimal Art - or, as I prefer to call it, literalist art - and Pop or Op Art on the other...Literalist sensibility is theatrical because, to begin with, it is concerned with the actual circumstances in which the beholder encounters literalist work...Whereas in previous art 'what is to be had from the work is located strictly within (it),' the experience of literalist art is of an object *in a situation* - one that, virtually by definition, *includes the beholder....*" Michael Fried, "Art and Objecthood," in Minimal Art, A Critical Anthology, ed. Gregory Battcock (New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc. 1968), 117-125. Samaras's art is not Minimalist, but, in common with that ideology, he conceives of his body sculpturally, in performance, with the viewer "beholding" him.

⁴⁴ "But the very uncertainty of photography's status, its increasing technical versatility, and the variety of its worldly functions, combined to make it from the beginning a powerful force of change. That we now deeply value photography's disruptive character is perhaps the best measure of the degree to which the medium has shaped our conception of modern art." Galassi, Before Photography, 29.

⁴⁵ The sense is that there is little separation between the space Samaras's lives in and the boxes he constructs that are bound with bright yarn, layered within and without in jewels and filled with personal photographs.

⁴⁶ "The Photograph belongs to that class of laminated objects whose two leaves cannot be separated without destroying them both: the windowpane and the landscape, and why not: Good and Evil, desire and its object: dualities we can conceive but not perceive (I didn't yet know that this stubbornness of the Referent in always being there would produce the essence I was looking for)." Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, Inc., 1981), 6. Originally published as La Chambre Claire (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1980).

⁴⁷ "The child, at an age when he is for a time, however short, outdone by the chimpanzee in instrumental intelligence, can nevertheless already recognize as such his own image in a mirror...This act, far from exhausting itself, as in the case of the monkey, once the image has been mastered and found empty, immediately rebounds in the case of the child in a series of gestures in which he experiences in play the relation between the movements assumed in the image and the reflected environment, and between this virtual complex and the reality it reduplicates - the child's own body, and the persons and things, around him...We have only to understand the mirror stage *as an identification*, in the full sense that analysis gives to the term: namely, the transformation that takes place in the subject when he assumes an image - whose predestination to this phase-effect is sufficiently indicated by the use, in analytic theory, of the ancient term *imago*." Jacques Lacan, "The mirror stage as formative of the function of the I as revealed in psychoanalytic experience" in Écrits: A Selection, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1977), 1-2. Originally published as Écrits: (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966).

⁴⁸ "Vision is to visuality as sex is to gender: The first term of each pair is biologically constructed, the second socially constructed. But as Hal Foster has remarked, "the two are not opposed as nature to culture: Vision is social and historical too, and visuality - the definition and critique of the way societies see, of way some call their 'scopic regimes' - does much more: To a great extent it constructs the body and the psyche...Following Sartre and Jacques Lacan, current theory distinguishes two polarities in the scopic field: The glance, which emanates from the self, and the gaze, which issues from the Other. The two are not reciprocal but locked in perpetual conflict, for as soon as I register the Other's gaze, become conscious of being looked at, I not only tend to freeze and look away but also to adapt my behavior to it. By thus turning me into Another's object, the gaze cramps my freedom. It probes my body and creates my sense of shame at being caught naked." 13. "The Greeks, inspired by their own initiation rituals and naked athletics (which Bonfante thinks began before 720), extended the range of the nude: promoted it

to an aristocratic ideal in the form of the naked kouros ; and used it to differentiate themselves from women and (later) barbarians - yet they preserved its apotropaic, magical quality in the satyr and the herm. By the classical period, nakedness had become the secular 'costume' of the male citizen, who is distinguished physically from the slave and both physically and 'sartorially' from women and barbarians." 26. Andrew Stewart, Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Samaras engages the connotations of both nakedness and nudity in the polaroids. Additionally, he layers the complexities of the gaze, homoerotic desire and gendered looking within the small format of these pictures: peep show looking is not far off the mark.

⁴⁹ Lacan, Œcrits, 2.

⁵⁰ "Whether that which is represented is specularized as an image of the subject's own body or as the subject's image of someone or something else, what remains crucial is the attribution to the image of what Lacan ...calls 'that belong to me aspect so reminiscent of property.' It is this aspect that allows the subject to see in any representation not only a reflection of itself, but a reflection of itself as master of all it surveys. The imaginary relation produces the subject as master of the image...The 'reality effect' and the 'subject effect' both name the same constructed impression: that the image makes the subject fully visible to itself." Joan Copjec, "The Orthopsychic Subject: Film Theory and the Reception of Lacan." *October* 49 (Summer 1989) : 53-71.

⁵¹ Solomon-Godeau, Male Trouble, 18.

⁵² "How did you ever stumble on the polaroid? Martha Edelheit had taken some polaroids of me in 1968, and I liked the speed of the result. Also I wanted to show Kim Levin, who photographed the film we made of me called 'Self,' a year later that I was as good or better a photographer than she. It was a way of getting back some of the dignity that slipped out of me while she was manipulating the movie camera." Samaras, Album, 3. The film "Self" was shown at The Museum of Modern Art in 1969.

⁵³ Barthes, Camera, 6.

⁵⁴ "The name 'Happening' is unfortunate. It was not intended to stand for an artform, originally. It was merely a neutral word that was part of a title of one of my projected ideas in 1958-59. It was the word which I thought would get me out of the trouble of calling it a 'theater piece,' a 'performance,' a 'game,' a 'total art,' or whatever...But then it was taken up by other artists and the press to the point where now it is used all over the world in conversation by people unaware of me, and who do not know what a Happening is." Allan Kaprow, "A Statement," in Happenings, ed. Michael Kirby (New York: E.P.Dutton & Co., 1965), 47. Samaras participated in the first Happenings at the Reuben Gallery in 1959.

⁵⁵ On the destabilization of the ideal body Nicholas Mirzoeff writes: "The failure of the body politic and the idealized Classical body has, however, left the door open for a re-examination of the Classical heritage in terms other than those of pure celebration." Nicholas Mirzoeff, Bodyscape: Art, Modernity and the Ideal Figure (London: Routledge, 1995), 95. Samaras's body - beautiful, but not ideal - could be seen to reflect a re-examination of America's body politic in the '60s and '70s as well as a re-examination of sexual politics.

⁵⁶ Samaras, Album, 12.

"What evaluation finds is precisely this value: what can be written (rewritten) today: the *writerly*. Why is the writerly our value? Because the goal of literary work (of literature as work) is to make the reader no longer a consumer, but a producer of the text. Our literature is characterized by the pitiless divorce which the literary institution maintains between the producer of the text and its user, between its owner and its customer, between its author and its reader.

This reader is plunged into a kind of idleness...." Roland Barthes, *S/Z. An Essay*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974), 4. Originally published as *S/Z* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1970).

⁵⁷ "This jubilant assumption of his specular image by the child at the *infans* stage, still sunk in his motor incapacity and nursing dependence, would seem to exhibit in an exemplary situation the symbolic matrix in which the I is precipitated in a primordial form, before it is objectified in the dialectic of identification with the other, and before language restores to it, in the universal, its function as subject." Jacques Lacan, "The mirror stage as formative of the function of the I as revealed in psychoanalytic experience," in *Écrits, A Selection*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1977), 2. Originally published as *Écrits* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966).

⁵⁸ "Box # 1, 1962. A box, its surface tightly encrusted with commercial, silver-colored metal pins, opens to spill out wool, pencils, paper, wood in shapes resembling entrails. Starting with 'Box # 3,' Samaras inserts photographs of himself into the materials of the boxes." Kim Levin, *Samaras* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 1975), 244.

⁵⁹ Conversation, Samaras, September, 1997. "The photograph I used over and over was one that somebody called Robert McElroy took, I think. He was the guy that photographed all the Happenings...Anyway, once I wanted him to take head shots of me for the theatrical offices. I asked him to do that and he did and I had been using that throughout the '60s in my art."

⁶⁰ Allan Kaprow's "18 Happenings in 6 Parts," 1959, captioned "Immaterial Spaces," is a collection of rooms, or boxes that can be entered. "18 Happenings in 6 Parts" is technically the earliest Happening, and appeared as a script in the arts journal at Rutgers when Samaras was the journal's art editor.

⁶¹ "In the present exhibition (Allan Kaprow: An Exhibition, Hansa Gallery, New York) we do not come to look *at* things. We simply enter, are surrounded, and become part of what surrounds us, passively or actively according to our talents for 'engagement,' in much the same way that we have moved *out* of the totality of the street or our home where we also played a part. We ourselves are shapes (though we are not often conscious of this fact.) We have different colored clothing; can move, speak, and observe others variously; and will constantly change the 'meaning' of a work the work by doing so...In fact, we may move in and about the work at any pace or in any direction we wish...These have been composed in such a way as to offset any desire to see them in the light of the traditional, closed, clear forms of art As we have known them." Allan Kaprow, "Notes on the Creation of a Total Art (1958)," *Blurring of Art and Life*, 11-12.

⁶² Samaras, *Album*, 56.

⁶³ Levin, *Samaras*, plates 132, 133.

⁶⁴ " 'Basically it was the same room,' says Bob Whitman. 'He did what any good archaeologist would do when he's re-creating the tomb of some Egyptian king - he fixed it up.' " Levin, *Samaras*, 57. Robert Whitman's "Untitled" 1958, at 6' x 6' x 6', captioned in Kaprow's *Assemblage, Environments & Happenings*, "Fragile Geometries," is an object, as well as an assemblage, that suggests the possibilities of the box in gallery space.

⁶⁵ Kaprow, "Manifesto (1966), in *Blurring of Art and Life*, 81.

⁶⁶ Evert van Uitert van Tilborgh and Sjraar van Heugten, *Vincent van Gogh* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh, 1990), 172-177. "The Bedroom," October 1888, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh; "The Bedroom," September 1889, Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago; "The Bedroom," September, 1889, Paris, Musee d'Orsay.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 172.

⁶⁸ "Contrary to these imitations, in Photography I can never deny that *the thing has been there*. There is a superimposition here: of reality and of the past. And since this constraint exists only for Photography, we must consider it, by reduction, as the very essence, the *noeme* of Photography. What I intentionalize in a photograph (we are not yet speaking of film) is neither Art nor Communication, it is Reference, which is the founding order of Photography. The name of Photography's *noeme* will therefore be: 'That-has-been,' or again: the Intractable." Barthes, Camera Lucida, 76-77.

⁶⁹ Samaras, Album, 16.

⁷⁰ "in the early part of this century there began to appear, first in France and then in Russia and in Holland, a structure that has remained emblematic of the modernist ambition within the visual arts ever since. Surfacing in pre-War cubist painting and subsequently becoming ever more stringent and manifest, the grid announces, among other things, modern art's will to silence, its hostility to literature, to narrative, to discourse. The barrier it has lowered between the arts of vision and those of language has been almost totally successful in walling the visual arts into a realm of exclusive visuality and defending them against the intrusion of speech." Rosalind Krauss, "Grids," in The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1986), 9.

⁷¹ Samaras, Album, 15.

⁷² Lacan, "mirror stage," Écrits, 3.

⁷³ Samaras, Conversation, September, 1997.

⁷⁴ Samaras is preoccupied with scatological material. The scrutiny of all body parts and excretions - skin, hair, genitals, fluids, feces - are toward securing identity: the ancient sibyls prophesied from such cuttings. "Shitman," a piece written primarily in 1961 was part of the collection published as Crude Delights by Pace Gallery in 1980. Its importance to Samaras is underlined by the careful notation in 1980 that it was written in "July 1961 (with material from 1963, added in 1967)." That scatological memory is part of Samaras's childhood psychic makeup and that it is still with him is clearly evidenced in the odd prose poem, "Shitman": "Shitman had come from the other side because he had heard that Ouramerica was the land of opportunity, land of appreciators, land where all sort of talent was given a chance, land of the suckers. Many are the records and cases where people who ate well or screwed well or killed well became famous and wealthy in Ouramerica. So there was a chance. Our man could shit magnificently. I remember his papa was amazed at the speed with which he filled his diapers...." Samaras, Crude Delights (New York: Pace Gallery Publications, 1980), 19.

⁷⁵ Samaras reveres Meyer Schapiro and was obviously well versed in the contents of the 1937 essay, "The Nature of Abstract Art.": "The object of art is, therefore, more passionately than ever before, the occasion of spontaneity or intense feeling. The painting symbolizes an individual who realizes freedom and deep engagement of the self within his work. It is addressed to others who will cherish it, if it gives them joy, and who will recognize in it an irreplaceable quality and will be attentive to every mark of the maker's imagination and feeling." Meyer Schapiro, Modern Art: 19th and 20th Centuries (New York: George Braziller, 1978), 218.

⁷⁶ "But the photogram only forces, or makes explicit, what is the case of *all* photography. Every photograph is the result of a physical imprint transferred by light reflections onto a sensitive surface. The photograph is thus a type of icon, or visual likeness, which bears an indexical relationship to its object. Its separation from true icons is felt through the absoluteness of this physical genesis, one that seem to short-circuit or disallow those processes of schematization or

symbolic intervention that operate within the graphic representations of most paintings." Rosalind Krauss. "Notes on the Index: Part 1." in The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1986), 203.

⁷⁷ "Following Sartre and Jacques Lacan, current theory distinguishes two polarities in the scopic field: The *glance*, which emanates from the self, and the *gaze*, which issues from the Other. The two are not reciprocal but locked in perpetual conflict, for as soon as I register the Other's gaze, become conscious of being looked at, I not only tend to freeze and look away but also to adapt my behavior to it. By thus turning me into Another's object, the gaze cramps my freedom. It probes my body and creates my sense of shame at being caught naked." Stewart, Art, Desire and the Body in Ancient Greece, 13.

⁷⁸ "According to Allan Kaprow, who was then teaching at Rutgers and was in charge of awarding the scholarship: 'Along with about twenty applicants who drew misguided equivalents of movie stars there came this package of sophisticated curious stuff from Lucas - pencil, tinted watercolors, collages. They were somewhere between Futurism and Feingeresque Cubism.' 'I interpreted Cubism as crucifixion art,' says Samaras. 'Crucify, cross, criss-crossing, Cubism. There's a breaking involved; it's a slightly violent artistic mode.'" Levin, Samaras, 16.

⁷⁹ Craftsmanship, the work of the hand, continues to be important to Samaras. Encrustation, the embellishment of surfaces with jewels, with patterns of bright wool, with steel pins, appear to reflect Byzantine reliquaries and icons. In Samaras's pieces, his photograph stands in for the painted image of a holy man.

⁸⁰ Samaras went to Stella Adler's Theater Studio in New York the year after he graduated Rutgers.. Acting is an integral part of Samaras's persona and it seems likely that it is essential to his construction of identity; clothing as costume are also part of his daily, theatrical make-up. The experience and the horrifying imagery of war in Greece during his childhood, separation from his father and its attendant anxiety, his young existence in a household of women are the primal events that shattered and recast Samaras's psyche. But it would be wrong to read Samaras's work strictly from a psychological standpoint. It is likely that he would have made art with whatever imaginative and emotional materials were at hand and with whatever experience he fabricated.

⁸¹ "Photographs of art works have their own reality and sometimes they are art in turn. Those taken of the subject of this book tend to be particularly free. They refer to their models, but strangely, as would a movie taken of a dream, stopped at unexpected intervals. A movie of a dream cannot be the dream, and a frame, here and there pulled from it, must leave the viewer guessing even more. Yet guessing is dreaming :), and if we can never know another man's dream as he knows it, we can come close to the spirit of his activity by engaging in a similar process. Beyond art, sharing in dream processes is probably what we call art." Kaprow, Assemblage, 21.

⁸² Ibid., partially unpaginated.

⁸³ Ibid., 150.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 165.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 159.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 188.

⁸⁷ John Hanhardt, ed., Video Culture: A Critical Investigation (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop Press, 1986), 16.

⁸⁸ Norman Bryson, "Gericault and 'Masculinity,' in *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations*. Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey, eds. (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press / University of New England, 1994), 230-231.

⁸⁹ "When I got the polaroid in '69 that was like the opening of the floodgates. The first thing I did was go home and take my clothes off and take a picture by a mirror. The old polaroid, black and white, was so kind of purple looking. I mean the images depicted which were me - it was almost like a beacon saying you can do it and there is going to be some kind of beauty there. I was fortunate enough, as I said before, I did it when my body was just the right shape...it wasn't too young and it wasn't too old, it was just right. So it was just me and my camera. Then it became more of a campaign, once I had 10, 20, 30, 40, 50 different shots...It took a slightly different perspective, in other words, there was going to be a public involved." Samaras, *Conversation*, September, 1997.

⁹⁰ Samaras, *Album*, 56.

⁹¹ "My town has 72 churches with lots of frescoes from the 11th century on...It's a little bit like your own archaeology...you look in the mirror and you say I look like my father. I mean the features - the nose, the ears or whatever or you look like your mother or some other relative. I mean where did I come from, from what kind of genes? And as you're thinking about people, you're also thinking about you, you know, like what kind of cultural environment did you come from. So, I'm lucky to have attached to me two grand civilizations, classical Greek art and Byzantine. You know, two major artistic as well as political and philosophical traditions. And I'm always trying to find some kind of link-up - what is Byzantine, what is peasantry...." Samaras, *Conversation*, September, 1997.

⁹² Barbara Rose, *Arts Magazine* LII 6 (February 1978), 144.

⁹³ Samaras's use of the forms of the Crucifixion is essentially different from the use made of that iconography by F. Holland Day. Day attempted to make photography expressively equal to painting. Samaras is appropriating an art historical mode for its theatrical, performance value.

⁹⁴ The technique Samaras uses to encrust the outside surfaces of boxes reflects the Byzantine craftsman's use of glass or stone tesserae: "The mosaic cubes or tesserae, made either of glass or stone, were sorted (we can assume) into trays arranged by colour, with perhaps some further subdivision by size and shape, so that the craftsman could select an irregular tesserae if one was required...In the same way that the painter established his composition by drawing its main lines, the mosaicist first set rows of tesserae to establish outlines, and the main drapery folds in the figures. These were usually trimmed by one or two further lines of tesserae, set parallel...." John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1997), 258.

⁹⁵ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin Books, 1972; New York: Penguin Books, 1977), 54.

⁹⁶ "According to the principles of the ruling ideology and the psychical structures that back it up, the male figure cannot bear the burden of sexual objectification. Man is reluctant to gaze at his exhibitionist like. Hence the split between spectacle and narrative supports the man's role as the active one of advancing the story, making things happen. The man controls the film fantasy and also emerges as the representative of power in a further sense: as bearer of the look of the spectator, transferring it behind the screen to neutralize the extra-diegetic tendencies of represented by woman as spectacle." Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" in *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 20.

⁹⁷ "The most obvious feature of Greek art is that men are mostly naked or partially naked, whereas women are usually clothed. Furthermore, Greek men competed naked in the games, from which women were usually banned. All this is so familiar that it is easy to take it for granted.

Yet the custom has no obvious precedents in the ancient world, is hard to parallel elsewhere, and has generated heated debate for almost 300 years." Stewart, Art, Desire and the Body in Ancient Greece, 24.

⁹⁸ Mary Ann Caws, The Surrealist Look: An Erotics of Encounter (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1997), 178.

⁹⁹ Rosalind Krauss has found the "intrinsic definition" of surrealism within the semiological functions of photography." Krauss, "Photographic Conditions of Surrealism," in The Originality of the Avant-Garde, 101.

¹⁰⁰ Rosalind Krauss and Jane Livingston, L'Amour fou: photography and surrealism (New York: Abbeville Press, Publishers, 1985), 178.

¹⁰¹ Ben Lifson, Samaras: The Photographs of Lucas Samaras (New York: Aperture Foundation Inc., 1987), 39. I am grateful for the reproductions of the "Splits" in this monograph, they are rarely published and are less easily seen than the "Autopolaroids" and the "Transformations." Again, the exact count of this series of joined photographs is difficult to estimate for Samaras keeps his material privately, drawing on it for reworking and exhibitions. The "Splits" were not included in the retrospective given Samaras at PaceWildenstein in 1996, although large groups of the "Autopolaroids" and "Photo-Transformations" were. The work remains of interest within Samaras's oeuvre as it is evidence of the artist's continuing experimentation with the potential of a given medium.

¹⁰² Kaprow, "Performing Life (1976)." in The Blurring of Art and Life, 195.

¹⁰³ Barthes, Camera Lucida, 6.

¹⁰⁴ Lucas Samaras, Kiss Kill, Perverted Geometry, Indelibles, Self-Absorption (New York: PaceWildenstein, 1996), unpaginated.

¹⁰⁵ Barthes, Camera Lucida, 77.

¹⁰⁶ Milan Kundera and Francis Borel, Bacon: Portraits and Self-Portraits (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1996).

¹⁰⁷ Sidra Stich, Anxious Visions: Surrealist Art (Berkeley & New York: University Art Museum & Abbeville Press, 1990), 25.

¹⁰⁸ Stewart, Art, Desire, and the Body, 13.

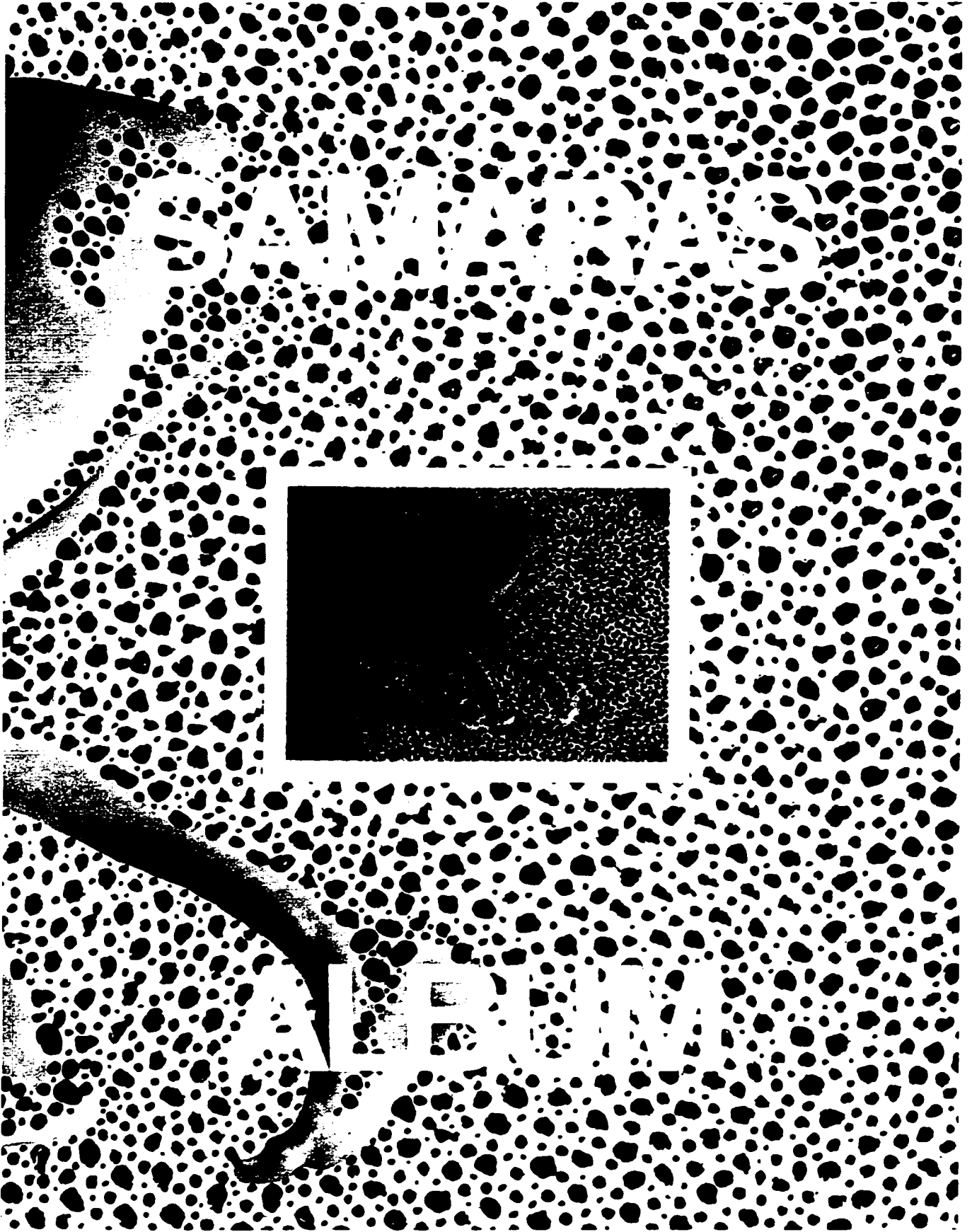


Fig.1 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971



Fig.2 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971

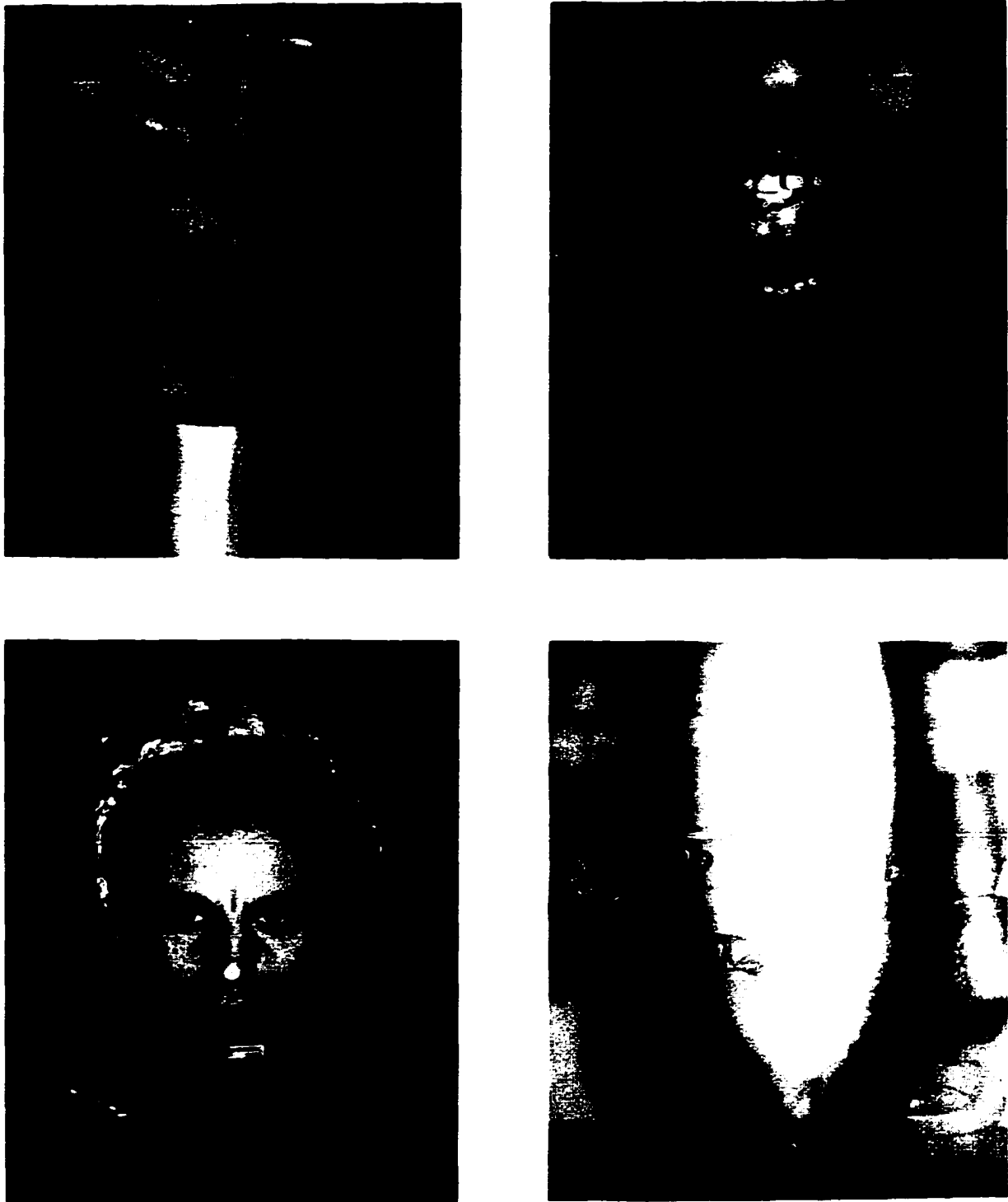


Fig.3 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971



Fig.4 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971



Fig.5 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971



Fig. 6 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971

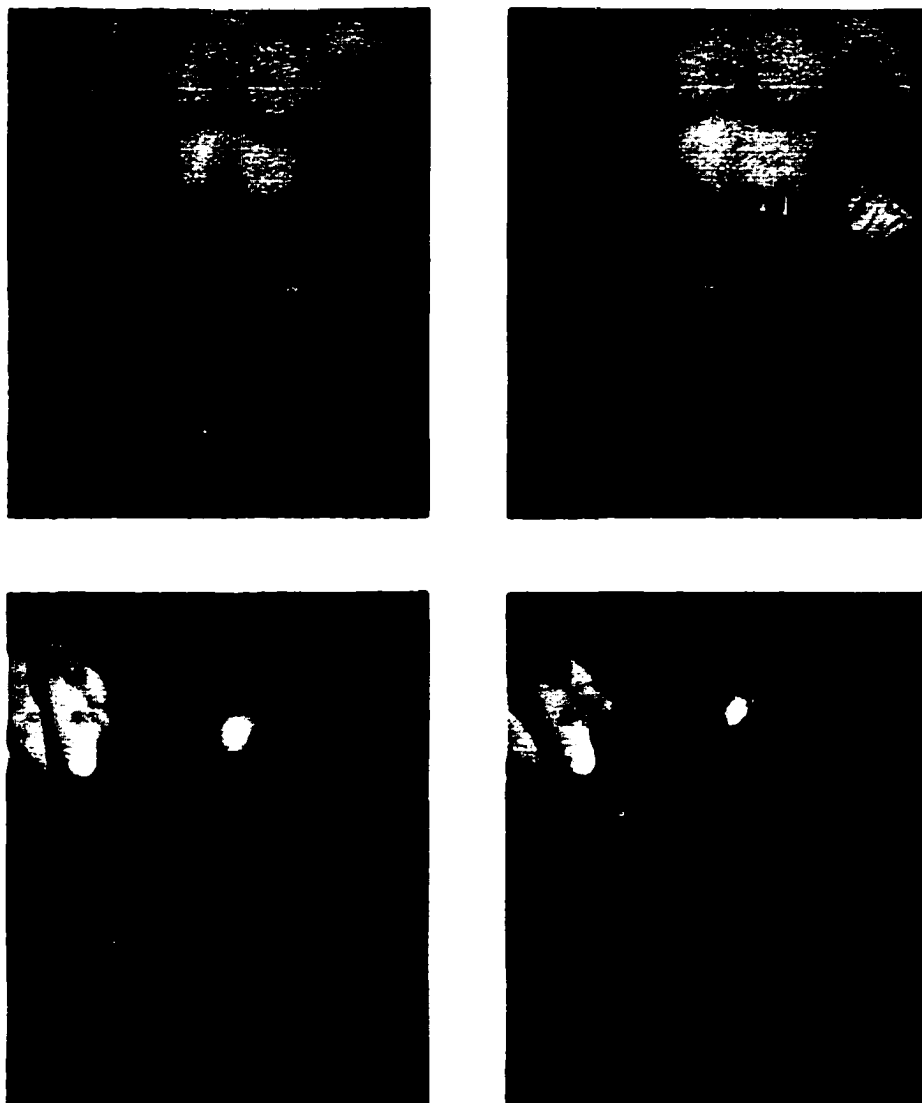


Fig.7 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971



Fig.8 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971

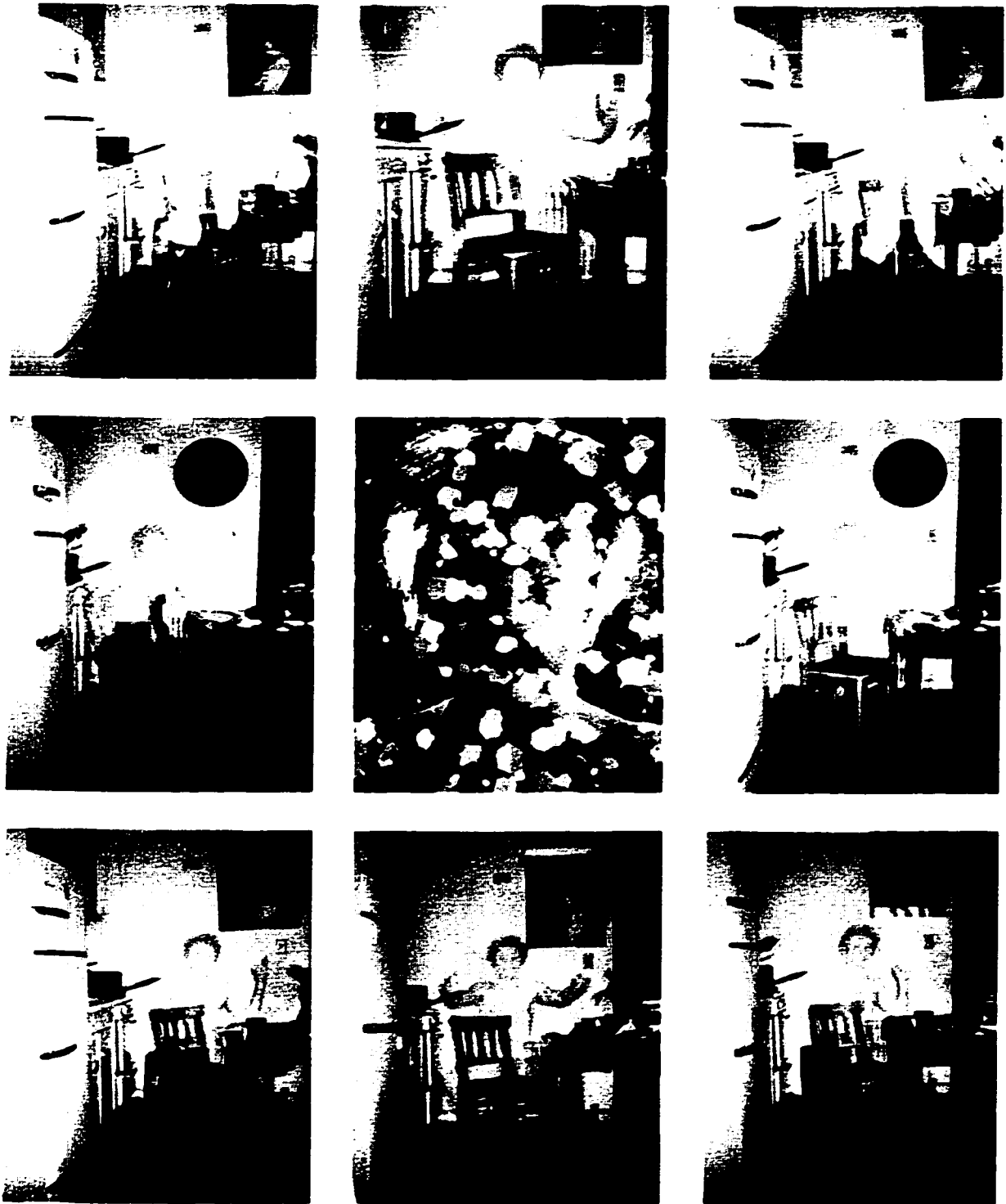


Fig.9 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971



Fig.10 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971

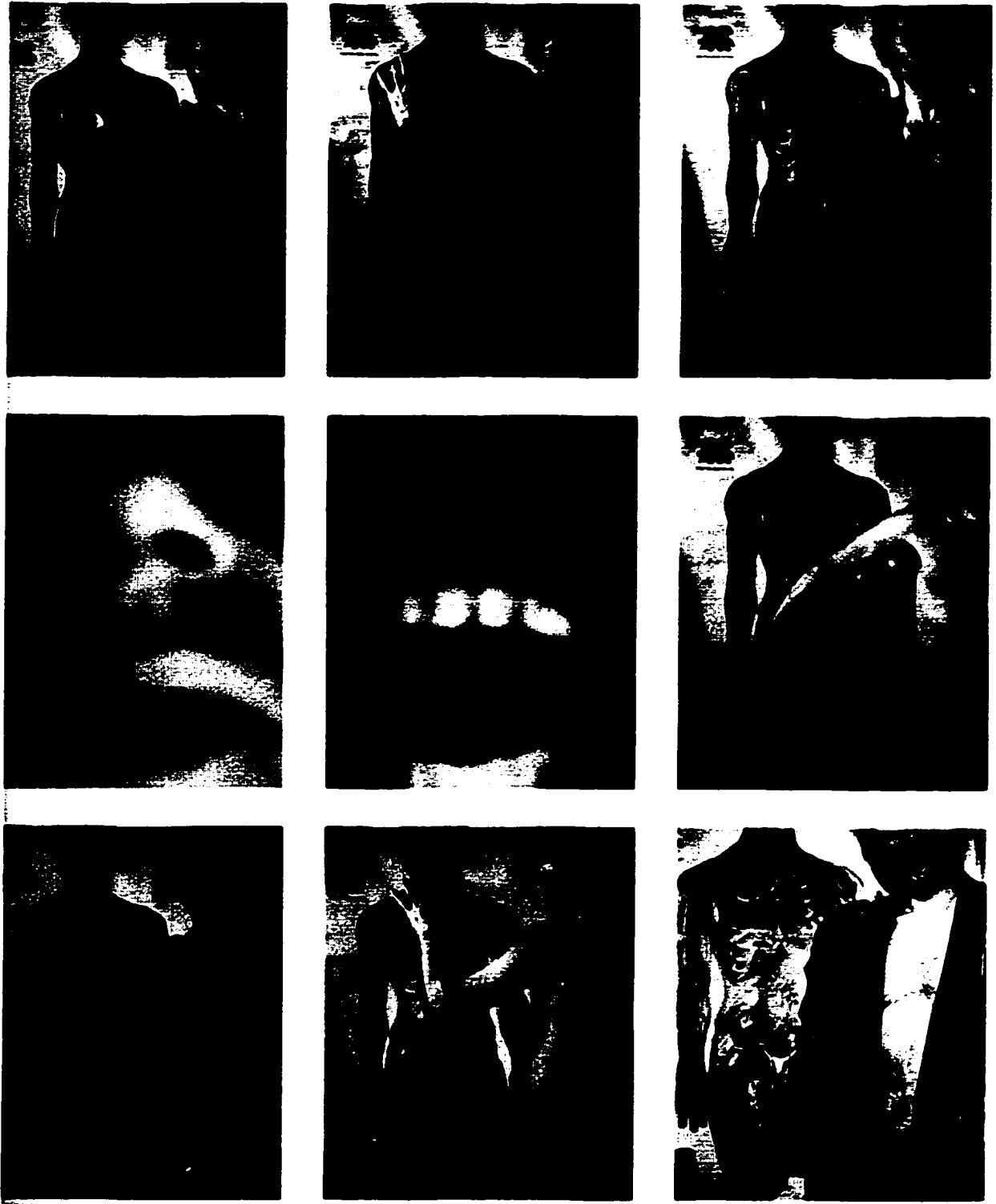


Fig.11 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971

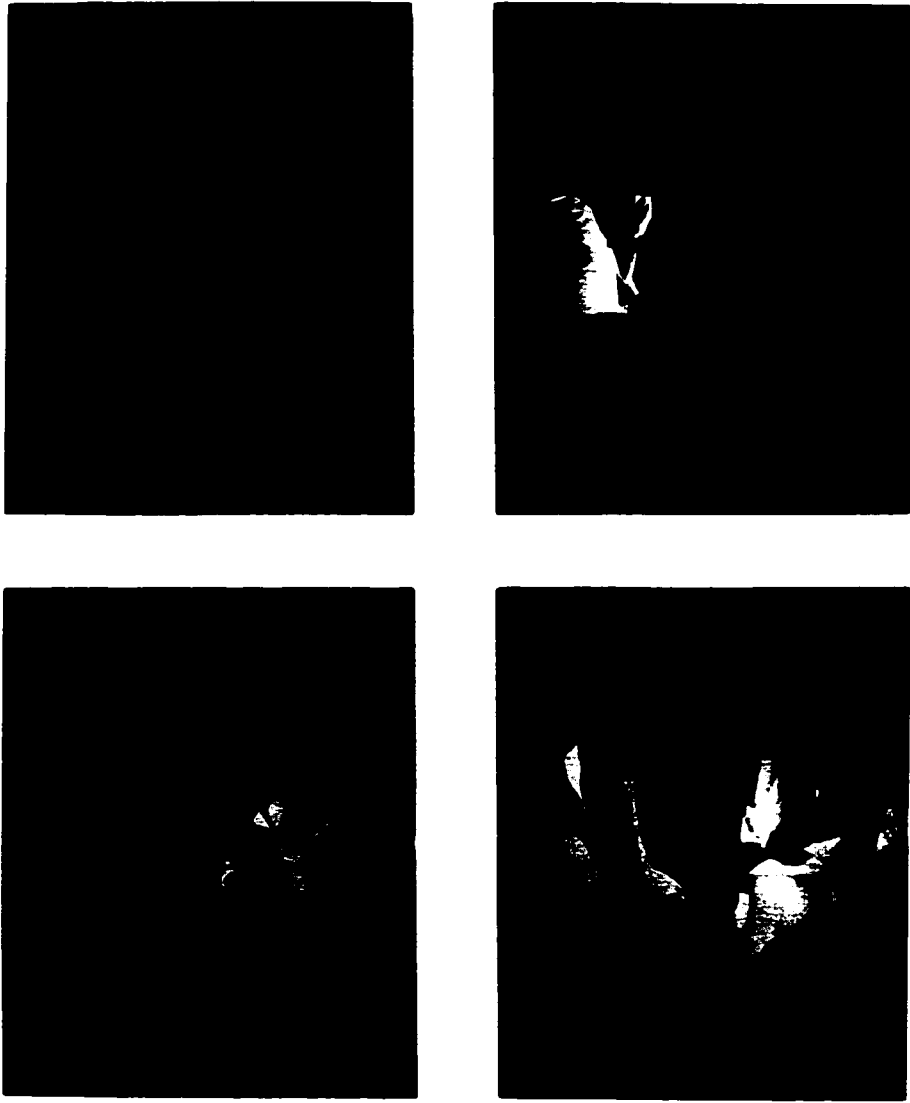


Fig.12 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971



Fig. 13 Samaras, Samaras Album, 1969-1971



Fig. 14 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971



Fig.15 Samaras, *Samaras Album*, 1969-1971

Chapter Two: David Levinthal, *The Paper Movie*¹

It is impossible to occupy Russia. It has never happened and never will. Not alone because it is a long way from Mozhaisk to Baikal. Russia always sucked the enemy in. A Russian is usually good-natured and hospitable. But he can get angry. He knows how to avenge, and he puts into the vengeance intelligence and even good management. We know that Germans are now being killed near Moscow. But Germans also know that they are being killed in Kiev, in Minsk, in thousands of villages. To be sure, Guderian maneuvers his armies well, but how can one pacify the peasants from Novgorod to Melitopol? The German army does not conquer anything: it only moves from town to town.

Ilya Ehrenburg²

Total war takes us from military secrecy (the second-hand, recorded truth of the battlefield) to the overexposure of live broadcast. For with the advent of strategic bombing everything is now brought home to the cities, and it is no longer just the few but a whole mass of spectator survivors who are the surviving spectators of combat. Nuclear deterrence means that there are no longer strictly 'foreign wars': as the mayor of Philadelphia put it twenty years ago, frontiers now pass through the middle of cities. Berlin, Harlem, Belfast, Beirut, Warsaw and Lyon...the streets themselves have now become a permanent film-set for army cameras or the tourist reporters of global civil war.

Paul Virilio³

David Levinthal's book, *Hitler Moves East, A Graphic Chronicle, 1941 - 43*, an arrangement of photographs and text, can be viewed both as a puzzle - what is happening in these photographs? - and as a critique of the modernist canon of photojournalism. Levinthal, in a panoply of post-modern practices, draws on multiple sources in his photographs: military history, film noir, magazines, combat film and combat toys. Ranging Levinthal's photographs alongside his source material, the viewer, or the reader, senses how strongly post-modern practice, multi-layered and

connotative, is built into both in the original materials and in Levinthal's quoted images of high modernism's photojournalism, epitomized by the war photography of Robert Capa. A premise of Levinthal's post-modern photographic practice is that the image can be encoded by cut, manipulation and context as well as by outright transformation.

A viewer is conditioned to regard the photograph as a trace of the natural world, an imprint, a document unassailable in its veracity despite its dislocation and reduction in size. In "Notes on the Index", an important essay that described photography's semiotic status and commented on its significant position in art making practice during the '70s, Rosalind Krauss wrote that "The connective tissue binding the objects contained by the photograph is that of the world itself, rather than that of a cultural system."⁴ However, the world, viewed through the lens of a camera, is reflective of cultural systems and systems of power: structures of governance, media, gender, - the make-up of late capitalism's consumer society. Photographs reference these cultural constructs with great inventiveness, and while not transforming or encoding the image obviously, the matrix, the connective tissue and the optical lens can still remake and inflect the message.

On a page of Hitler Moves East, text and photograph are combined.⁵ The text reads:

In the nightmare of this positional warfare the nucleus of experienced men survived, in the main; it was the new people who perished most easily. The whole of Stalingrad became a seething cauldron of small attacks.

General Talensky

The photograph below, faintly sepia in color, is blurred, and banded narrowly in black (fig. 16). The photograph's one torn corner is connotative of displacement from another context, an album perhaps. Rubble is in the foreground, a tank is barely visible, a house can be made out with lower windows apparently gaping from the fire within. The blur signifies haste, a photograph made hurriedly - here the implication is that the

photograph was made within the range of immediate danger. But the blur can also signify another activity: the short focus of photographing miniature things: the blur, as a conceptual photographic practice, can move expressly between the immediacy of the analog and the set-up of the simulacrum.⁶ And that, of course, is Levinthal's puzzle: that these photographs are not documents, visual evidence of wartime truth, but photographs of studio set-ups, that, placed within the context of text and the viewer's visual memory become, for the moment, activated - a paper movie.

*

I begin my inquiry into the make-up of Levinthal's post-modernism by comparing two slim books of photographs. One is Robert Capa's Death in the Making, the other is Levinthal's Hitler Moves East.⁷ Both volumes are collections of sequenced photographs that present the subject of war: one, it would appear, as "the second-hand, recorded truth of the battlefield," and, the other, more mysteriously, as "a permanent film-set for army cameras." Photographs in each are arranged in sequences that seem to map the progress of specific campaigns - Capa's Civil War in Spain, Levinthal's Russia during the Second World War. Text "quickens" the pace of the photographs' narration; within the design of each volume is reference to the canon of photojournalism and to its naturalism.⁸ Capa's photographs epitomize the of the canon of photojournalism: they exist as evidence, as documents of visual truth, as objects of authenticity and authority. In Death in the Making, Capa presents photographs to the viewer in terms of Roland Barthes' "perfect analogon," the "scene itself, the literal reality."⁹ For Levinthal, a photograph's verisimilitude has become "simply another artistic tool."¹⁰ Viewing the outlines of war through individual optics, each photographer seems to accept the fact that he has gained access to an area that is possibly beyond narration and re-presentation, a dimension of human activity that confounds understanding. The question of who photographs war hangs in the air unanswered.¹¹

I open with Levinthal's book, the center of my inquiry, which splinters the canon of photojournalism by means of its status as simulacrum, as studio set-up, a practice that is the polar opposite of that of evidence from the theater of war.¹² The images are re-presentations, semblances of combat photographs, photographs of models, miniature combat toys, set up in a studio. Baudrillard's description of the "hyperreal" is appropriate to this set-up space:

No more mirror of being and appearances, of the real and its concept. No more imaginary coextensivity: rather, genetic miniaturisation is the dimension of simulation. The real is produced from miniaturized units, from matrices, memory banks and command models - and with these it can be reproduced an indefinite number of times. It no longer has to be rational, since it is no longer measured against some ideal or negative instance. It is nothing more than operational. In fact, since it is no longer enveloped by an imaginary, it is no longer real at all. It is hyperreal, the product of an irradiating synthesis of combinatory models in a hyperspace without atmosphere.¹³

One dimension of Levinthal's simulacrum is certainly the miniaturization of war, another is the connotation of combat film, real and mock, both working as secondary dislocations of the natural world. Hitler Moves East, A Graphic Chronicle, 1941-43, unfolds to the viewer scanning its pages as a linear, visual narrative: its semblance to a movie is real. The photographs' graininess and blur, reproduced in sepia tones on the fairly glossy book page, give a palpable sense of flickering motion to the figures. The blur, to be noted again, signifies either haste, danger - or the short focus of photographing miniatures. Within the modernist canon, represented particularly by the work of Werner Bischoff, Capa, David Douglas Duncan, David Seymour, W. Eugene Smith, among others, the classic photojournalism essay works as a montage.¹⁴ It creates new meaning by blocking out and contrasting discrete facets of a story - the warrior, the civilian, the child, the advance, the retreat. Levinthal's "paper movie" unrolls continuously, like a celluloid strip, within a visual space marked by shallow depth of field; the busy, tiny soldiers go about the business of war, the

graphic semblance of movement underscored by the device of blurring and photographs bled across gutters to the edges of pages. The photographs seem contingent, hybrid, puzzles. The book, as an object in itself, occupies an uncanny space: viewed in the reader's hands, it is perceived as a hybrid illusion, for it lays claim to both reality and and fantasy.¹⁵ Garry Trudeau's words, appropriated and imagined, are paired with Levinthal's photographs, contextualizing the sequenced images. The written material provides concise, dramatically colored description that impels the reader forward, as frames of text do in silent movies. However, close examination of the photographs, curiously invited by the blur, reveals that they are not only about war, but also about simulation per se.

Levinthal created a strange, binary pairing in his studio. The combat soldiers are war toys, that is very evident, as is their miniature status, but the campaign he is referencing, the historic reality, is Barbarossa, Hitler's Eastern War against Russia. To make these photographs, Levinthal assembled commercial combat models on table tops in his studio: the tiny, molded plastic soldiers and slightly larger, movable, two inch types, were set in composition hillsides, placed in burnt-out diorama buildings, and perched in Tamiya trucks and tanks.¹⁶ Little model airplanes nose-dived from hanging wires above the constructed carnage. Levinthal painted all the mock soldiers in camouflage colors with thin, hair brushes, then dusted them with flour - snow - and dirt, often setting them on fire for the final photograph: certainly a studio scene that would fit Baudrillard's description of the "no longer rational."

Trudeau and Levinthal were at Yale University in the '70s and thus the conceptualization of Hitler Moves East can be viewed within the context of anti-war student protests. Both were working independently on projects that concerned war when they decided to pool their resources: storyboards, photographs, text. Trudeau's writing opens the books action. The material contextualizes the photographs: he appropriates the announcement of Major General F.W. von Mellenthin, Chief of Staff,

48th Panzer Corps, describing the tactical superiority of the German armored divisions and the strategic genius of Adolph Hitler. With this text, with the appropriation of this section of oral history, Hitler Moves East acclimates the viewer to the device of its deconstruction: mapping German military memoirs from World War II onto studio set-ups of war toys. The voices of battle and the combat toys connote the reported certainties of photojournalism and the re-presentations of war on the pages of *Life* magazine, but the juxtaposition of written context and photo-simulacrum question what the mind can know and recognize in a photograph.¹⁷ The rupture in authenticity, the challenging of a naturalized paradigm, is at the center of Levinthal's post-modern practice.¹⁸

Trudeau's text, facing the opening full-page photograph (fig. 17), begins as a photo-essay or combat film would, with the story line clearly marked, the drama insistent. The first moves of a historic military campaign are being re-presented for the viewer through blurred, post-modern optics: military miniatures and a combination of written and appropriated text. However, the time referenced is specific: shortly before 3 a.m. on June 22, 1941, when the German Wehrmacht, massed along an unimaginably vast border, began its mind-blowing assault on the territory of the Soviet Union. Impossible numbers are recorded: 3 million men and 3,000 armored vehicles, gathered for an invasion across a 2,000-mile frontier. Among them were the Panzer divisions of Heinz Guderian, architect of Germany's modern tank capabilities and future Commander-in-Chief. He writes his memoirs of this campaign as though it were a board game writ large, a history of pointing arrows, and it is this uncanny game that Levinthal picks up on. Three army groups were readied for the attack on Soviet Russia: Army Group North - to march on Leningrad; Army Group South to push into the Ukraine. Hitler Moves East focuses on Army Group Center which, with Guderian commanding Panzer Group 2, was positioned by the German High Command,

haunted but not warned by the military histories of Napoleon, to take Moscow, the Russian capital and center of communications, before the justly feared winter set in.¹⁹

The alignment and fracturing of facsimile and source material is faultless, for it is crafted from a vast memory bank of images Levinthal draws upon from the photographic and graphic production of World War II. Specifically, however, Levinthal's book works as a graphic reflection of a seminal history of the war, the German historian Paul Carell's Hitler Moves East 1941 - 1943.²⁰ Levinthal's preoccupation with military material began with delight in a childhood gift, a set of Britain's lead soldiers. The combat toys, maneuvered and displayed as tiny sets, permitted him access to a field where private and public memory could be ventilated and re-directed. The hyperreality Levinthal produces originates in a fractured alignment of simulation and authenticity, colored in mixed parts with infusions of combat film, film noir, the photo-essays of *Life* magazine, war documents from the Eastern front and the uncanny histories of the German generals.²¹

The choice of this subject matter by Levinthal, the photographs and graphics of World War II, needs no close examination or explanation. It is certainly suitable material for an artist to examine at will: the destruction of humanist philosophy at Auschwitz is reason enough. It is the combat toy that is the curious, odd ball element. Combat toys are figures that connote the preoccupations of little boys or the concerns of military minded men: Winston Churchill as a child staging history's great battles on the Indian carpets of Blenheim Palace. They are gender-based objects, objects that connote violence - the province, for the most part, of boys and grown men, not of women. Peter Schjeldahl describes the skewed viewpoint of "war-playing boys" in a recent review of Levinthal's work:

the daring of the boy to identify with the German beast - revealing a furtive secret of war-playing boys, which is that they (we, in my kidhood) dote with special tenderness on the passion of losers. Identifying with winners is too much like endorsing whatever schoolyard bully has blighted one's life lately.²²

Schjeldahl has ascertained with wicked clarity the heart of “war-playing boys”: a need to tame the bully, or possibly identify with the bully - certainly the fantasy of controlling a world of one’s own, where bullies and fathers are displaced and overcome, and little boys triumph as directors of grand plays. And enough blood is let and imagined to satisfy other urges.

Levinthal’s preoccupation has always been with multiple sets of miniaturized units: sets of soldiers, sets of military vehicles - tanks, airplanes, and, later, sets of boxed, to-be-assembled sex figures. Authenticity disassembled, to be re-assembled. He evidences little enthusiasm for larger models which involve extensive role-playing and physical handling - efforts other than the voyeuristic impulses of directing and the vicarious violences of war. And again, the scale of the combat toy points directly to the hyperreal world of miniaturization, signified by a photographic, short-focus blur, a world into which the viewing subject is invited, as it were, to participate: if not quite a Happening, in miniature, then, possibly, a photographic Play-Date.²³ Levinthal is fastidious in his concern with the particularities and the manufacture of the combat models he uses. For the photographs for Hitler Moves East he worked with both HO and 1/35 scale figures: the smaller HO figures within the buildings, 1/35 when he required greater articulation. The HO figures, about 3/4”, are cast and come in only about half-a-dozen poses. The 1/35 figures are more complex; they can be articulated and individually positioned for they come with separate heads, legs, arms, guns, bayonets, grenades, canteens, backpacks, helmets. The model builder - here Levinthal - is expected to glue pieces to a torso and then to paint on details (because of the size) with exquisite care: facial features, uniforms, insignia, camouflage, mud, sweat, blood. The original figures from Hitler Moves East remain in Levinthal’s studio, regarded with affection and stored in plastic trays. Nearby, collections of unbuilt dioramas, displaying amazing “box art” covers, are neatly stacked on shelves: all together the

pieces assembling a miniature back-lot studio, one complete with plastic actors, sets, props and the make-up waiting in paint-jars.²⁴

*

Hitler Moves East is divided into five sections: “Barbarossa, 22 June 1941”; “Summer of Victory, 16 July 1941”; “Typhoon, 16 October 1941”; “Across the Steppes, 7 May 1942”; “The Rat’s War, 18 November 1942”. Levinthal’s grouping of photographs distantly echoes the narrative of a filmic source, Frank Capra’s 1943 film *The Battle of Russia*. The film, a visually important document for Levinthal, was part of the series *Why We Fight*, a propaganda effort issued by the Office of War Information and the War Activities Committee of the Motion Picture Industry.²⁵ The book, like the film, re-stages the eastern assault by Germany against Russia, starting with the attack in June, continuing until the surrender of the German Field Marshall Paulus in February 1943, after the battle of Stalingrad. The Eastern Front, particularly the German drive to Moscow and the subsequent deflection of their armies to the Caucasus, is for many military historians the epicenter of the Second World War: the battle for Stalingrad is Armageddon and the first, bitter destruction of German forces. In contrast to the irrationalities of the German forays into Russia east and south, the Allied landing at Normandy in June of 1944 was understood as the beginning of a rational campaign whose ending was considered certain.²⁶ The German assault on Russia defies accurate analysis and becomes the site for endless inquiry; less commercially photographed than events in Europe, Levinthal considered the military history of the eastern front more conducive to visual fantasy and reinscription. The visual format of Normandy beach is Capa’s; the battle of Stalingrad has not been commodified.

The first section of Levinthal’s book, “Barbarossa: 22 June 1941,” is a sequence of twelve photographs: they are bled across pages, they fill pages to the edges, and they are collaged and re-photographed with other graphic elements. A

military map, lifted gratuitously from one of the books cited in the bibliography, a group of inky-black German military emblems, a press photograph of Hitler, a gray, grainy newsprint photograph of the underside of a German bomber, also lifted from the pages of the bibliography, complete the scrap-book like material of the first section (figs. 18-19).²⁷ The very diversity of the material connotes the visual credibility of the documentary. The leading photograph of Levinthal's book, the one of two soldiers placed on a hillside, a tank between them, its nose highlighted and menacing even in its diminutive size, begins the viewer's netting into a visual construction of Baudrillard's space of the hyperreal, "a hyperspace without atmosphere."²⁸ The space is shallow: a collapsing of planes distinguishes Levinthal's photographs consistently; his sites are airless. These are war toys, framed by studio grown grass and, with their presence they banish the certainties of reality, the witnessed and "the recorded truth of the battlefield," as defined in photojournalism's canon by the blurred, grainy pictures that Capa made in the cold waters of Normandy.²⁹ Levinthal appropriates Capa's serendipitous blurring. But the space he frames is post-modern in that his blurring signifies the diminution and miniaturization of the simulacrum – an effect that can be seen - and that of short focus photography: the rupture is active in the field between Levinthal's connoted multiplicities and Capa's proposed and denoted certainties. Parallel to the appropriation of Capa's autographic blur, there echoes the narrative-filmic, heroic-myth approach of Carell from the authentic Hitler Moves East, where the German historian presents the German general's board game / pointing arrow theory of military history to the reader dispassionately and seductively.³⁰

For two days they had been lying in the dark pinewoods with their tanks and vehicles. They had arrived, driving with masked headlights, during the night of 19th / 20th June. During the day they lay silent, they must not make a sound. At the mere rattle of a hatch-cover the troop commanders would have fits. Only when dusk fell were they allowed to go to the stream in the clearing to wash themselves, a troop at a time.³¹

Levinthal printed the original photographs for Hitler Moves East on a single weight Kodalith paper. It is a graphics arts paper, no longer available, and he chose it because it was capable of producing a wide range of evocative, tonal variations.³² Curiously, for Levinthal specifically references the blurred beauty of some of Capa's more abstract combat photographs in these Kodalith prints, he printed the negatives in warm sepia color. The tones and color of these prints are reproduced very successfully in the first edition of the book, more inkily and less so in the second. It is this odd color, odd in a late-20th century production, as well as the tonal softness and paper graininess of the photographs, that leapfrog in their references, over Capa's Normandy frames, to the photographs Gustave Le Gray made of Napoleon III's army maneuvers, the 1857 series of the French military camp at Chalons.³³ There is a visible trace of one of photography's histories in that curious color.

The photograph of the two soldiers sitting in the hillside grass, an image bled to the edges of the page, is a blurred abstraction of surprising formal beauty. The image separates into three unequal tonal bands: a large section to the top, a thinner dark band below it - the distant hills? - and the area of the hillside, where the soldiers are placed, another amorphous, light band that extends to the lower edge of the photograph. It is incongruous but evocative of the luminous bands of Mark Rothko's painting, as if in this small image both the histories of photography and mid-century American painting were traced and referenced. The three combat toys, two soldiers and a mounted gun, are placed against this painterly map of sky, hill and field. The soldier to the left raises his arm, signaling the beginning of the action: his arm seems raised in a ghostly salute to other unseen plastic warriors and to the viewer, welcoming the witness or perhaps Virilio's tourist reporter. There is a fluidity in his movement that signifies and commands attention. Then the shiny tip of the gun, the body of the machine barely seen but indicating a deadly readiness: Barthes' "punctum", perhaps, the point in the photograph that stops the eye.³⁴ But there is no mistaking that this is still a combat toy

in a diorama and in each photograph, with close reading, there is a clue for the viewer to pick up. The clue in this photograph may be in the stiffness in the shoulders of the soldier to the right. Three parts of this tiny soldier, the shoulders and arms, enclose a dark void. On close viewing, the void melts into the form of the hill behind and the signified reality of the figure as menacing gunner collapses; the figure empties of content and its abstract form transmutes into the plastic combat toy, the model. The binary pairing, documentary and simulacral, is referenced and then separately visualized in the Kodalith prints: Paul Carell's Hitler Moves East and David Levinthal's, the real and the hyperreal, and then only the hyperreal, the model.

*

Now for a caesura, a turn to examine some of the material Levinthal draws on. First, a possible model - Robert Capa's book, Death in the Making. To determine the parameters of Levinthal's "hyperreal," it is expedient to examine its contrary, the "reality effect" of the photojournalism of war. And war photojournalism - the modern canon - certainly begins with the work of Robert Capa and the iconic photograph of the *Falling Soldier* (fig.20) printed on the cover of Death in the Making.³⁵ The photograph, grainy in the book's reproduction, was originally printed with greater clarity in a French illustrated magazine, the monthly *Vu*, on September 23, 1936. It was considered, at that moment, to be the most realistic combat picture ever made: Barthes' "perfect analogon," the "scene itself, the literal reality." Published with Capa's credit line, it conferred on him immediate and lasting status as "the greatest war-photographer in the world."³⁶ With time, paradoxically, the picture has come to be considered as both the an icon of the canon and a magnet for post-modern criticism as an image mediated, manipulated, even possibly staged. What I am after, in a close reading of these two books of photographs, are the fine distinctions and mediations within Capa's re-presentations of the "seamless integrity of the real", inflected as they are by film-noir and Hemingwayesque myth - and, working from this historical

source, an investigation of what happens to those mediations within Levinthal's hyperreal, post-modern practice.³⁷ How can there ever be an analogon, a corresponding image of war?

Capa's photographs, and his biography, which collapse into each other, are constructions layered with references and narrative; they are productions waiting to be films.³⁸ Capa was born Endre Erno Friedman in Budapest. Youthful, political escapades in between-the-wars Hungary forced him to make a quick exit, and, after a short period in Berlin, he surfaced, with an invented name, Robert Capa, in early '30s Paris.³⁹ Capa's photographic methodology slips personal fantasy and several film genres, combat and noir, into the theoretical field drawn by Barthes' "opposition of the cultural code and the natural non-code."⁴⁰ For Barthes there is a "myth of photographic 'naturalness'"; it is that myth to which Capa gains access: the viewer's receptivity to acknowledging that "the scene is there, captured mechanically, not humanly (the mechanical is here a guarantee of objectivity)".⁴¹ Capa's work came to epitomize the concept that "the scene is there, captured mechanically," and he went one further in scripting for his own life roles drawn from combat and film noir genres, fictionalized composites.⁴² Capa additionally drew on audience recognition of the qualities prized in the combat film: distinctions of humanism and lonely courage. The combat film was a genre perfected by the Hollywood studios for propaganda purposes during World War II and it deployed, as did Capa, the expressionistic lighting associated with film noir, producing systems that, by repetition and recognition, actively coded the filmic and photographic message.

Capa's *Falling Soldier*, as mediated reality, points the way to Levinthal's Hitler Moves East.⁴³ To accept Death in the Making as a conceptual object begins with the presentation of the cover: the placement of the already-by-then iconic photograph of the *Falling Soldier* announces the material to come both visually and authorially. The picture not only reports the probable death of a soldier shot, but announces Capa's

presence at that moment: not only that “the thing has been there,” but that the photographer has been there too.⁴⁴ The photograph is one of two clipped from Capa’s *Vu* magazine photo-essay on the Spanish Civil War; the two photographs, originally laid out on the page one directly above the other, show different soldiers falling on the same patch of ground (fig.21). The photographs were on the left-hand page of a two-page spread and were captioned directly above with the words, “Comment Ils Sont Tombés.” The right-hand page was captioned “Comment Ils Ont Fui.” and showed women and children fleeing the encroaching warfare. The layout of the photographs visually divide the suffering of the war by gender: the harrowing experience of the refugees - the surviving women and children - and the dying bravery of the men, the soldiers. The entire essay was captioned, “la Guerre Civile En Espagne.”⁴⁵ The photo-essay is reproduced in Richard Whelan’s recent biography of Capa. Responding to the critical notoriety that details the mediation of *Falling Soldier*, Whelan offers an explanation:

To insist upon knowing whether the photograph actually shows a man at the moment he has been hit by a bullet is both morbid and trivializing. for the picture’s greatness ultimately lies in its symbolic implications, not in its literal accuracy as a report on the death of a particular man.⁴⁶

In the text, Whelan does not avoid exploring the possibilities: were two soldiers killed on the same spot, one dragged away quickly? Was it some sort of macabre set-up, prescient of studio practice? Even in the blurred (fast-forward to Levinthal) reproduction of the original photo-gravure page, the difficulty is clearly visible, readable. The greater peculiarity seems to be the photograph’s easy acceptance by the viewing public in September, 1936.

The stop-action immediacy of Capa’s 1936 photographs penetrated viewers not yet sated with extant combat newsreels or future television coverage. Later, not dispelling the myth entirely, Barthes’ critical analysis of the “myth of photographic

'naturalness'" would examine the belief that the scene could be captured mechanically, not humanly, and that it could produce, unmediated, a 'truthful' print to be published: death and the photographer, together.⁴⁷ But, on page 1106 in *Vu* there are two soldiers dying: the photographs are presented as analogs, realities, "the scene itself." The soldier in the top picture, the one selected for the book jacket wears the tasseled cap of the anarcho-syndalists, Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo, the Spanish Loyalist group dominant around Barcelona. His dark suspenders accentuate the arc of his chest as he takes the hit, we presume, that throws him back in death.

On the *Vu* page, directly underneath this photograph, is pictured the death of another Loyalist soldier, a death that is not as well composed. Two photographs, two soldiers, two deaths - their signification certain because they have been pictured and published in *Vu*. The landscape is made of a grassy, sloped hillside, cloud formations, the dark mass of distant hills - a division echoed in Levinthal's first photograph - do many soldiers wait for war and death on sunny, grassy hillsides? However, reading these two photographs closely it is apparent that Capa's two soldiers are "naturally" positioned on exactly the same site. The site has been verified by Whelan: it is somewhat different than the location recalled by Capa, somewhere on the "Cordoba front."⁴⁸ Whelan verifies the site from sequential photographs on contact sheets: the hillside is near Cerro Muriano, the day is somewhere around September 5, 1936.⁴⁹ The captioned contact sheets show several soldiers, these soldiers among them, in an action at a gully near Cerro Muriano. These soldiers are among a small group of fighters and they are distinguishable: they can be picked out among the others in the earlier photographs where they are still pictured alive, and they run in and out of the gully and fire their rifles bravely across it. But Whelan is correct about the myriad symbolic implications of Capa's photograph: it encompasses both the modernist analogon - "the scene itself", the print of reality - and, in retrospect, a partial simulacrum.

Death in the Making, like Hitler Moves East, is made up of interwoven captions and photographs. Like Levinthal's book, Capa's opens with a photograph that references his authorial intention, based on a humanist script. The opening photograph is of Loyalist soldiers sitting on the steps of a train (fig.22). One soldier is holding a standing child on his knees, he is kissing her roughly as she turns away slightly in his embrace: the soldier and the child signify Spain's defense of its future. The surface of the photograph is visibly scratched, marked, grainy; the roughness of the referent is matched by the roughness of the photo surface style. It is understood that there was little money to publish this book in 1938, still, the rough surface carries a message. Like the later pictures from the Normandy beach, published in *Life* magazine on June 19, 1944 (fig.23), and probably the products of disintegrating emulsion, this particular graininess came to signify Capa's authorial intention: a shifting camera, danger, contingency - the cameraman at quick work at the center of war. Levinthal, who picked up on the abstract beauty of Capa's unfocused photographs, mutated the shifting graininess into a blur, his own post-modern signature: for now the blur drives a wedge between the signifier and the signified intent of the pictures.⁵⁰

That Capa initialized and consciously commodified this mark of his work is clear from the title of his brief biographical record of World War II activity, Slightly Out of Focus. He intended the book to be a film, and it is written with the same eye to myth-making that lurks in the corners of all his frames. A recollection of the stylistic construction of the Normandy pictures is in the book:

Seven days later, I learned that the pictures I had taken on 'Easy Red' were the best of the invasion. But the excited darkroom assistant while drying the negatives, had turned on too much heat and the emulsions had melted and run down before the eyes of the London office. Out of one hundred and six pictures in all, only eight were salvaged. The captions under the heat-blurred pictures read that Capa's hands were badly shaking.⁵¹

If Capa preferred melting emulsion to the myth of shaking hands in the face of danger, it did not matter. Either way, blurred action shots and grainy, rough prints entered the canon of photojournalism signifying “the having been there” of the photographer. When Levinthal appropriated the connotations of the blur for a studio technique, it still signified a history and a canon; Levinthal’s rupture with that history came in the viewer’s revised reading of the blur to indicate the short focus of photographing miniatures.

Capa crouches to make his photograph of the Loyalist soldiers on the train, viewing up into their faces. The Loyalist soldiers are not in military uniforms, but they are connoted as members of the People’s Army because the soldier to the right of the child wears the cap of the CNT with the swinging tassel, first seen in the jacket cover image of the *Falling Soldier*. Capa plainly marks this first photograph with signs that will resonate throughout the book: the tasseled cap of the Loyalists, children as Spain’s future, men as fighters - in contrast to women who age and suffer visibly. And he positions himself, authorially, to frame the humanity and inhumanity of war as witness: the cool, after-the-fact chronicle of war games is not his format for reporting the Civil War in Spain. Instead, he chooses that of the macho romance of war - presented as the rough and verifiable truth - and the role of the producer of photographic myth.

In fact, Capa constructs two related myths with the opening photograph: that of the Loyalist soldiers and that of himself as hero/war photographer. The photograph of the soldiers on the train implies a mirror-image of one we do not see, that of Capa, crouching down on one knee, focussed intently up into the soldiers’ faces, cigarette dripping from the corner of his mouth, extra cameras cascading down his shoulder, in the crowded, hot station in the south of Spain. The second photograph, the one we do not see, exemplifies the connoted of Barthes’ “double structure” of photographic

denotation / connotation.⁵² Here the connoted is Capa, hero-figure of a Hemingway film.

The photographs in Death in the Making resonate, too, with Walter Benjamin's prescient intuition:

One thing, however...and that is the direction implicit in the authenticity of the photograph. It will not always be possible to link this authenticity with reportage, whose clichés associate themselves only verbally with the viewer. The camera will become smaller and smaller, more and more prepared to grasp fleeting, secret images whose shock will bring the mechanism of association in the viewer to a complete halt. At this point captions must begin to function, captions which understand the photography which turns all the relations of life into literature, and without which all photographic construction must remain bound in coincidences.⁵³

Capa, oddly, both broke the link and established the canon - authorial intention subverts authenticity - possibly because Capa's text, cohabiting the page with his photographs, finally seeps into the matrix of the pictures, turning them literary, eliminating the distinctions between the connoted and denoted scene and the connoted persona of the photographer. The viewer's introduction to the Capa legend begins with Jay Allen's text, reading like a voice over from a filmic script, possibly a Bogart movie: "I knew about him, about him and about her, of course."⁵⁴ Rolling on, text or reel:

Legends? There is no knowing how they come into being. From out of the million acts of heroism performed by humble people every day, they do arise and it is usually when there are men there to write and sing the deed. For love sometimes.⁵⁵

Allen's movie was, of course, not Bogey and Bacall, but Gerda Taro and Capa, lovers at the time. In this book about Spain Capa memorialized Taro - beautiful, young, a photographer too - perhaps because she had the grace to die there, validating an imagined filmic scenario, and then he could love her ever after. Allen describes her death: she was crushed, accidentally and unromantically, by twelve steel tons of retreating, Spanish tank.

The highlighted sections of Capa's book do not outline a clear war strategy, a military board game, as Levinthal's photographic tracing of Paul Carell's Hitler Moves East does. However both books resonate with the propagandized tremors that shake a country at war when the names of cities at the national nerve center are printed: Madrid, Moscow - the names of cities denote both texts.⁵⁶ As the insurgent and counter-insurgent battles of the Spanish Civil War were not reported as clearly as the campaigns of World War II were, which had twin armies of signal corps photographers and filmmakers (particularly in Europe), the place names give Capa some traceable format for the fluctuating movement of Spanish guerilla warfare. It was to Capa's advantage that there was no government propaganda effort requiring accurate documentation in Spain. The Spanish were engaged primarily in fighting, and they were without the cameras that the Russians later seemed to carry as easily in their backpacks as grenades. And so news magazines printed what adventurous photographers brought them or sent them, depending on the tolerance of the political home base.⁵⁷ The image of reality is fabricated by the photographer for his own narrative ends, only in Death in the Making the models are human, not plastic, and the scene is on-site, in the streets and across the fields. And of course, at the base line, the belief-system of the photographers, underlying their use of the source material, is different.

A comparison between an action shot of Capa's captioned "Bullets sing past but the enemy keeps out of sight. The Republican line moves forward to a better spot," and a text-quickenened, but uncaptioned photograph of an advancing soldier by Levinthal: what is the difference, finally?⁵⁸ The photograph by Levinthal (fig.24): a blurred, solitary soldier advancing across a grass field, the imagined bullets singing past. In this particular photograph I do not see the clues to the figure's plastic reality, but equally, looking closely, I am not more convinced of the second-hand reality of Capa's soldiers. Within the soft tonalities of the grainy, studio-grown field, Levinthal's figures advance

menacingly, while his Spanish counterpart runs across the Spanish grass in Levinthal's photograph. Capa's soldiers are bathed in sunlight I am led to believe in; the studio skylight washes Levinthal's plastic combat toys in equal illumination. The grass looks curiously similar, the shadowy hills look equally threatening and potentially filled with angry combatants. Both photographs fulfill desired and anxious expectations of war's graphic depiction: expectations which are conditioned by generations of visual images. And at the root the fabrication of Capa's photograph is not dissimilar to Levinthal's: one perhaps lies more obviously in the conscious construction by hand, the other lies in specific selectivity, in cutting, an editorial process, in blurring, in the seepage of text into the image. The cutting and the seeping, circling text are as much scrap-book material in Capa's book as in Levinthal's. But the comparison between Capa's book and Levinthal's teaches us this about Capa's: the text, the narrative approach encircles the sequence of photographs closely, without the words we cannot decipher Capa's photographs, gone is their duplication of reality, without narration and graphic layout the pieces these photographs represent do not fit.

The signified of Levinthal's book is the constructedness of Capa-esque photojournalism; the underpinnings of the argument are a critical examination of the vernacular imaging and commodification of World War II. First staking out this complex territory in the '70s, Levinthal has continued to direct his art to an examination of popular imagery, to destabilize other representations of sexual, political and racial culture.⁵⁹ The later photographs are verbally framed by group captions rather than by connective text, but the signified remains the naturalized, vernacular photographs of popular culture. Series of photographs, gathered in exhibition catalogues without extensive text, but with obvious, inherent political commentary, have followed Hitler Moves East: "Modern Romance" 1984-86; "The Wild West" 1987-89; "American Beauties" 1989-90; "Desire" 1990-91; "Mein Kampf" 1993-94; and "Blackface" 1995-96.⁶⁰ The format of the studio set-up has remained constant, as has the use of tiny

plastic toys or figurative objects as surrogates, markers of directorial control within the frame of the photograph. The combat soldiers, the western heroes, the sex dolls, the African-American objects, all work within a format of appropriated connotations.

When Levinthal first appropriated the abstract coding of certain Capa photographs, particularly the blurred photographs, he used it within the parameters of its historical connotation: that of the active participation of the war reporter. But he has continued to use blurring as an optical and a critical lens in examining other systems of popular iconography, the blur now indicating a close-up onto miniature simulacrum. Skewing traditions of war reportage as well as documentary film-making, the blurred image has been transmuted into a signifier of the rupture between reality and the hyperreal. The blur functions as a visual screen, asserting the palpability of paper and printing technique, canceling the naturalized *exactness* of the reported scene, working a transformation of the trace. The blurring of a picture, no longer Capa's accidentally melting emulsion, becomes Levinthal's gateway to the hyperreal world of studio set-ups and toys, toys that are directed with serious and didactic purpose. The blur as visual screen gives Levinthal license to work the multi-layered connotations of toys, which include gender references as well as surrogate status, and to engage the viewer in an analysis of the hyperreal.

*

Conceptually and visually, Levinthal's sequencing of pictures, first worked out in Hitler Moves East, refined, tightened in the later series of pictures, reworks the basic format of the photojournalist's "picture story," developed with acute sophistication of the pages of *Life* magazine during the Second World War. *Life* basically created the "picture story" as a photographic genre, and Levinthal has chosen to address that genre critically in work. Turning the pages of that magazine today, the chilling impression that World War II was inherently a commodified photo opportunity for editors like

Henry Luce is palpable. The sequencing of the pages is chillingly bizarre. War reportage is sandwiched between pictures of homecoming queens and Hollywood idols self-consciously recording their war effort. The marketing concept is to sell the magazine, lighten the visual load of depicted death but, when coupled with the statements of *Life's* editors and the bulletins of the journalists who wrote to their press pools from the theaters of war, there is a visceral uneasiness in a viewer conditioned by the less sanitized reporting from Vietnam.⁶¹

It was the longest story LIFE ever told. It began in 1936 on the blood-stained barricades of Madrid and Barcelona and the wind-swept plains above Peking, and it ended, nine years later, on the deck of a battleship in Tokyo Bay.⁶²

War. The big picture show...That terrifying, exciting feeling of heading into combat is an experience shared by millions, but only a few of those millions carried cameras rather than guns. I was one of those few. David Hume Kennerly⁶³

I intend to do a complete picture story showing exactly how a combat team operates. The following films are only the first part of the series...I hope that, disregarding the incidental shots, that you will be enabled, after developing the pictures, to establish a coherent sequence in continuity. Robert Capa⁶⁴

But did Capa think, even then, in story-board form, in movie format? Was the story, at its photographic inception, formatted as a commodity? That may be the aura that draws Levinthal to the material.

Life, which was published in the years 1936 to 1972, was conceived and marketed as a picture magazine and it has been said that it was the first and last of its type.⁶⁵ The mind-boggling mixture of analog - on-site photograph - and hyperreality - photographs of Norman Bel Geddes' studio-built, battle scene dioramas - that appeared on its pages is impossible to recreate from later, tastefully edited publications such as Life Goes to War, produced by David Scherman. The formatted paradigm of war, as

Capa presented it - part combat film, part film noir, part back-lot model - is somewhat at odds with the proposed and publicized concept of the "journalistic photographer photo(graphing) what is, not what was, or what might have been."⁶⁶ Unfortunately, most of the homogenous *Life* volumes published recently remove the photographs from the contextualizing matrix of the original photo-essay format, for those essays could contain as many as twenty or thirty published photographs on a single topic.⁶⁷ But the magazines are there, and the narrative range of the photo-essay has proved historically interesting to post-modern artists, reflecting as they do a wide range of cultural issues and images: constructions of gender, race and colonialism.⁶⁸ Beyond the homogenization of the Time-Warner books, the individual prints seen in museum and gallery exhibitions recently are doubly displaced: extracted and enlarged, intended to hold a museum or gallery wall, they further evaporate the idiosyncratic context of the *Life* photo-essay and the relationship of the photograph to the printed page.

The photo-essay, which became central to *Life's* success as a picture magazine, had its genesis in a series of photographs Margaret Bourke-White made of the dam being built at Fort Peck, Montana that were published in the magazine's first issue, November 23, 1936. Signifier of national economic resurgence, the dam was central to her assignment, but, stuck at Fort Peck, she wove around that subject a visual, editorialized commentary on the new frontier life in America: pictures of families on relief, construction workers and the denizens of America's traditional rowdy places, the barrooms. It was quickly clear to Henry Luce, Ralph Ingersoll and John Shaw Billings, editors at *Life*, that sequencing a collection of pictures, closely meshing that sequence with text and circling a single topic, could give information, narrate a story clearly and set an emotional tone capable of gripping a viewer - who needed only to scan the material lightly. More than that, the sequencing could determine the ideological message of the images. The mounting resonance of a sequenced collection of pictures far surpassed the impact of a single image, particularly when they were

bound to a core story. In Bourke-White's case, seventeen of her pictures were used in the first issue of *Life*, and this photo-essay created a format that would be followed: a core drama with vernacular incidentals woven into the visual fabric. With this issue, Bourke-White became a star at *Life*, for *Life*, like Hollywood, did develop a star system.

In the spring of 1941, Bourke-White was in Moscow with her husband Erskine Caldwell when the German attack on Russia began. A group of photographs she made during the summer were published a year later as a book, Shooting the Russian War.⁶⁹ The book should bear some visual correspondence with Hitler Moves East. Curiously it does not: the visual structuring of the pictures has a rigid, graphic quality that is at odds with the film-like pace of the basic *Life* magazine layout and the magazine's signature style, the style that Levinthal works on. Perhaps, reflecting upon the use *Life* editors typically made of her work, Bourke-White wanted the book to be a different presentation of on-site photography. The exposures of the night air raids on Moscow took between one and fifteen minutes, depending on the illumination of the explosives in the sky. Possibly for that reason, the lengthy exposure, the photographs have a strange, frozen quality: as though a terrible moment in history had been icily etched on the photographic negative. Bourke-White's strange formalism, in framing farm workers, in picturing transport mired in mud - the war at a halt - and in depicting death, contrasts markedly with Capa's theatrical presentation, the presentation that Levinthal transfers seamlessly to his paper movie. Bourke-White's reserve, the iconic quality of the photographs, serve to separate them from the text: perhaps the stillness of the photographs is part of the point - in this stillness the photograph shares the quiet of death, and death here is Barthes' "literal reality."

Editors publishing books and magazines in the war years, and directors making combat films, adopted a technique of spacing light-weight incidentals within the photo essays and films that covered the war theaters; without some breathing space, viewers

in a grim new world of mechanical reproduction might find the material unbearable and turn away. Of course, within the pages of the magazine, viewing could also be lightened by scanning the unrelentingly upbeat advertisements for commodities that were a reminder of how unassailably strong American's production capability had become. *Life's* war photo essay often shared its list of ingredients with those of the combat film, the genre whose distinct attributes have been defined by the film scholar Jeanine Basinger: the hero, the combat group, the objective, the defining weapons, uniforms, insignia, the civilian anecdote.⁷⁰ The photo essay sequence infused the individual photographs with a wide narrative capability and a hint of manipulation to their easy fit. But beyond narration, it is the contextualization of the photo essay within the idiosyncratic pictorial format of *Life* magazine that leads a post-modern viewer to consider Baudrillard's proposition that Americans have no sense of simulation, simulation having become their developed cultural state.⁷¹

In a move that predicts Levinthal, Norman Bel Geddes, a noted theatrical designer, was commissioned to fabricate extensive and highly realistic models from combat photographs and strategic diagrams. These models were photographed and reproduced on the pages of *Life*, where they were inserted within the context of on-site pictures, emptying both sets of images of clear, visual distinctions. The editor of one *Life* story pointed out to the reader that Bel Geddes' production was better than an on-site eyewitness.

For *Life* this week Norman Bel Geddes turns from theatrical and industrial design to a hobby of ship modeling. His 2 and 3 inch miniatures of the Japanese task force in the Coral Sea, pointing toothpick guns on swiveling turrets cross an ocean with each tiny wave to scale, give a picture of that great U.S. naval victory no eyewitness cameraman could have produced.⁷²

The editor seems to be suggesting that reality can only be believable in a hyperreal state, that simulation, not the analog, makes the most convincing pictures.

In 1942, miniature set-ups were used for battle scenes on an even broader scale than *Life's*, notably in the making of John Ford's film, **December 7: The Movie**.⁷³ Both Bel Geddes and Ford's simulations are critically recognized today, and are part of the body of World War II graphic and cultural material that is freely appropriated in post-modern studio set-ups. Ford is a favorite director of Levinthal's, and his work is well represented in Levinthal's large video library. As film has become more easily accessible to both artists and general audiences through video releases, it has become an important visual resource; post-moderns artists, generally, are committed to the exploration and use of visual imagery outside the parameter's of art history's domain of 'high art.' and the area of simulation is fertile and suitably destabilized ground.

In large part Levinthal's work can be read as a commentary on this - much of the visual imagery that appeared in newspapers, magazines and movies during the war years of the early '40s was obviously produced propaganda, promoted by the United States Army's Office of War Information. The journalistic free-for-all that typified war time coverage of the Vietnam years was entirely unknown and not tolerated during the Second World War, when reporting was characterized more by propaganda than skepticism. But by the late 1960s, resident correspondents in Vietnam were openly confronting military institutions that communicated with the press over the disparity between journalists' perception of military operations and authorized versions. Neil Sheehan describes this disjunction in *A Bright Shining Lie*:

We were being forced at the beginning of our professional lives to come to grips with a constant disparity between our perception of reality and the higher authority's version of it, the opposite of the experience of the World War II generation of journalists.⁷⁴

The disparity between reality, censorship and hyperreality is at the center of a critical examination of *Life's* photo essays and its commissioned simulations; the issue of the constructed analog is certainly at the center of Levinthal's *Hitler Moves East*.

Journalism's growing disenchantment with military information during the '60s and

'70s grew from a closer reading of the graphic material of World War II, and an utter disbelief in the material presented to the press at military briefings in Saigon.

Levinthal, who describes himself as a voyeur rather than a participant, remarks that the specter of service in Vietnam did not weigh heavily on him - a valid medical disability exempted him from service - but the attitude of journalistic skepticism and antagonism to government that infused the environment at Stanford University in the late '60s and was integral to the intellectual environment at Yale University when he arrived in the early '70s certainly shaped his inquiry into the imaging of World War II.⁷⁵

Levinthal's decision to explore the significance of World War II imagery owes as much to the sheer visual bulk of the material, as to valid questions about its production and subsequent marketing attraction. Obviously, Levinthal is intellectually drawn to the subject, both in its archival context and in the format of popular culture, but, outside his personal obsession, the centrality of that imagery within the hierarchy of American myth-making and simulation bears consideration. Second World War II movies translated into easily available videos, and combat toys are still commercially viable products. As objects they generate healthy sales and produce an atmosphere of nostalgia: their appeal may lie partially in their ability to connote a mythically less complex moment in national consciousness. With the deconstruction of accepted histories of World War II, which encompasses new attention to racist censorship and to government restrictions on the movement of Jews out of Germany, the halcyon aura surrounding World War II memorabilia dissipates to a degree.⁷⁶ However, certainly in comparison to the collective memory of Vietnam, World War II was a benchmark for American competence and moral rectitude. The nation was attacked and its leaders devised a defense that was rational and competent. The production of military commodities on an internationally unparalleled scale, with increased employment and rising wages, cured an economic depression that had eroded living conditions in the United States and caused a national loss of confidence.

From the point of view of later commercial ventures, it helped that the enemy was monstrously and clearly evil: the civilized political world was in complete solidarity on that point. As the physical structure of Europe – Allied and Axis - was devastated by bombing the American moral ethic, visually embodied in the triumphant American Armed Forces, found graphic representation in film, in photograph, in simulation. Additionally, and contrarily seductive to Levinthal, these visual records also make it clear that it was only the sheer physical and human mass of Russia that competed in any way to halt the German armies as effectively as the American production of armaments and commodities did. But that issue is an aside. What Levinthal addresses specifically is the much heralded moment in photographic history, the supposed visual coming of age of the viewer, when new technology permitted immediate recording and filming of conflict in unprecedented ways. What was not immediately apparent at this celebrated moment was that the new visual access to theaters of war was also manipulated and censored by government agencies with increasing sophistication and invisible fingers: it is that record which is now subject to close reading through critical lenses.

During the '40s public involvement in the war effort was deftly mobilized and focused. The political administration was experienced in the shaping of public opinion by its efforts to garner support for Roosevelt's New Deal. Photographers of the Farm Security Administration, covering the Dust Bowl, bread lines, and farmers of the South, directed in their efforts by Roy Stryker, had proved the value of black and white prints in shaping public opinion.⁷⁷ However, as effective as this work is, Levinthal draws more on the simulacral imagery in *Life* magazine and Hollywood film production because those sources have remained consistently central pools of visual information for the viewing public and, in increasingly transmuted states, continue to be so. But it should be noted that government mediation and censorship played out on the pages of the magazine insidiously and in full view: the courageous war effort of

African-American soldiers was not reported in *Life* magazine and the death of an American soldier was not printed until George Strock's photograph of the casualties on Buna Beach, New Guinea appeared on September, 1943.⁷⁸ The deaths of German, Japanese, and Russian soldiers had been duly exhibited in the moral certainty that those deaths were not to be mourned. But, in a calibrated effort to balance reader terror against renewed commitment to the war effort, *Life's* editors had decided that "dead men have indeed died in vain if live men refuse to look at them." and so Strock's photograph came to be published.⁷⁹ Scanning with satiated vision and the memory bank of a contemporary viewer, it is difficult to reconstruct the electrifying impact that photographs of the Second World War had on the viewing public during the '40s when images of unprecedented immediacy were made possible by wire services and long range airplanes that got newsreel and photographic film to distribution centers within hours of the recorded events. The expectation and connotation of immediacy underscored the analogic function of the journalistic photo and obscured the fact of its mediation. And it is the permutations of that mediation that Levinthal probes.

A full exploration of government censorship and the politically motivated, manipulated photograph is an area pitted with minefields and certainly too large a topic for this chapter. But the naturalization of political mediation and commercial usage of photojournalism underlies Levinthal's conceptualization of the photographs in Hitler Moves East and continues to be a subject of concern as he turns to the visual constructions of war and racism in the later series, "Mein Kampf" and "Blackface." Levinthal's studio set-ups, his "permanent film-set for army cameras and the tourist reporters of global civil war," are about contiguous meanings and accepted naturalism. Reading newspaper reports in New Haven during the '70s both Levinthal and Trudeau must have reflected that the reported ambiguities of the war in Vietnam highlighted the homogeneously moral take of World War II's photojournalism. Magazine editors in the '40s understood George Will's later assertion that the "sights of war...promote

national flinching," but control was not possible by the decade of the '60s when certification for a journalist was easily accessible and photographs, black and white and in color, were printed widely in a receptive, sensationalist press.⁸⁰ Additionally, the Hollywood studios, that had been complaisant with government control, for they were, in many cases, managed by exiles from countries Hitler overran and of a religious culture that he was condemning to the death camps, were not only cynical by the '60s but catering to a visually satiated public. Again, turning to George Will's statement in *Newsweek*: "if there had been television cameras at Gettysburg, there would be two countries: the carnage would have caused the North to let the South go," reminds the viewer of *Life's* double standard in publishing death - American dead, with respect, and Other dead, demonized.⁸¹ Both Levinthal's work and recent critical rereading of World War II visual material shreds somewhat the fabrication of total moral righteousness that *Life* magazine sold: the presentation of simulacrum and mediated photographs destabilizes photojournalism's myth of presenting "the scene itself, the literal reality."

In 1973, when Levinthal was setting up and directing the movements of HO and 1/35 scale painted, plastic combat toys on tables in his studio, the critical framework for deconstructing mediated photographs was not in place. University art history departments were a long way from teaching the history or theory of photography, possibly because photographs had not yet demonstrated their financial value in the marketplace. It is now accepted wisdom that the history of mediated war photographs spans the distance from Alexander Gardner's "Home of a Rebel Sharpshooter," to Capa's "Falling Soldier," to Joe Rosenthal's truly iconic and fully staged flag-planting on Iwo Jima of February, 1945. However, close reading was a tool of literary criticism and Levinthal was not alone in addressing issues of direction and construction in photography. A.D. Coleman, writing for *Artforum* in 1976, at a time when little serious photography writing was appearing in journals or in the press,

noted the concept of construction in the practice of photography and dubbed the manipulation of raw material "The Directorial Mode."⁸²

Distinguishing between photographs that were primarily informational, and not questioning the manipulation of that information, and productions that aimed purely at aesthetic criteria, Coleman made a third distinction: the arrangement of people and objects within the "parameters of disbelief." Parenthetically, in his argument, Coleman made the point that the directorial distinction applied equally to Edward Weston's self-consciously aesthetic nudes and to his peppers - the body as still life and the still life as body. Levinthal, working on Hitler Moves East the year Coleman wrote the article, extended the concept of the directorial mode into the realm of the hyperreal, making miniaturized units, sequenced in photo essay format, flicker into distantly remembered playbacks of film stills and movie-making. Even today, Levinthal's studio revolves within the realm of the hyperreal: a miniaturized Hollywood back lot, from the heyday of the studio system, filled with combat units, cowboys, sex dolls - all the ingredients of combat and film noir stages, as disembodied celluloid genres, awaiting construction and connotation – at a second remove. All this material, all these props, permit the ordering of the viewer's disbelief, the production of the simulacrum, and a fantasy of domination, a hyperreality newly visualized in a photograph. When Coleman called this issue to the reader's attention in the mid-'70s it made little impact, but Levinthal's photographs were the beginning of a turning in the practice of photography - away from the road trip, the street and the battlefield, into the studio and the realm of the conceptual.

*

To return to Levinthal's photographs. Section 2 of Hitler Moves East, "Summer of Victory, 16 July 1941," shows the ghostly portrait of a German soldier (fig.25), a trace of an image in which the referent is ambiguous. The form, constructed out of a range of sepia, is identified for me as a German soldier by the shape of the

helmet: a flared, overturned basket shape, coded by exposure to innumerable past images, that connote the ferocity of a German soldier.⁸³ The concept for the image probably comes from a photograph of a soldier in a much-used book still in Levinthal's library, an English-German illustrated record called The Battle for Moscow 1941-1942, published in 1972 (fig.26).⁸⁴ The German soldier pictured clearly in the West German publication is prosaic: the identifiable helmet is uncomfortably buckled under his mouth, the eyes are both mournful and baleful. The frame of the photograph is cut so that the soldier seems to be moving obliquely past the viewer, soon to be out of range. He is covered with snow and mud; that and the graininess of the photograph's surface erase any sense of the figure's corporeality. The figure is curiously stone-like: the skin of the face dissolves into mottled grays and blacks, so that the features seem carved out beneath snow and mud. The Russian war, in most photographs, seems to be given form only by elemental materials, natural detritus, that cover the living, the dying and the dead without discrimination.

Levinthal transmutes that non-human quality in his image of a helmeted soldier, and then twists it: the figure looms out of the darkness menacingly, but newly invested with a curious, undefinable energy. The pale hands arc powerfully forward, holding a weapon invisible in the dark void of the chest, but the palpable feel of threat registers on the viewer. The face, covered with mud, is connoted as human by the repressed softness of the mouth (Barthes' punctum for me, the point that stops the eye); that the figure in actuality is a two-inch combat model, painted in four-color camouflage and mud, I know in this case only - for the simulation is so perfect - because I have held the model in my hands. Within the deliberate ambiguities of this photograph Levinthal has reworked the possibilities of the studio set-up and entered the realm marked by A.D. Coleman's "suspension of disbelief."⁸⁵ The image of the combat toy, centered in Levinthal's photograph, is bled to the page's edge, and seemingly continues beyond that fragile limit: the photographic trope invests the sepia figure with an aura that the picture

in the illustrated record lacks. The "there-then" and the "here-now" are re-established within Levinthal's parameters, rupturing the paradigm as it exists within photojournalism's high modernism: a canon centered around the myth of Capa. In the world created by Levinthal and Trudeau, the graphic layout of the facing page certifies the confusion of perception: a quote - a "voice" - Sergeant-Major Hugo Raeder, a torn postcard stamped "Weisbaden," a troop of marching combat toys fitted out with rifles, backpacks, canteens (fig.27).⁸⁶ The scrapbook of remembered images, Levinthal's appropriation of fragmentary documents, constitutes itself as a simulacrum, and faces another, the soldier, on the opposite page. Trudeau and Levinthal considered the scrapbook page successful and used it again on the back of the book's cover.

The production of Russian war photographers is obliquely referenced throughout Hitler Moves East, but in the sections that are based on the battles of Moscow and Stalingrad stronger affinities are visible. That may be because those battles were more accurately documented by the Russians as they were at the political heartland of the country. Still, when Levinthal was examining this material, the work of the Russian photographers, stationed in combat zones on the Eastern front - in the snow and in the mud - was less well known as a visual record of the Second World War than the work of the mythical heroes of *Life*. The Russian photographs are perceptibly different from the work of the Americans who were assigned to stories by *Life*, and, in the '60s and '70s, only a restricted amount of the Russian material was available to an average viewer, primarily in photographic books and histories of the Second World War. Levinthal, not an average viewer and interested in the subject early on, as a high school student and as an undergraduate, immersed himself in German and Russian material in the war archives of the Hoover Institute, the conservative research center near Stanford. He viewed vast quantities of material suppressed by the office of War Information and finally, for him, even the horror worked itself into abstract, graphic forms.⁸⁷

In the Russian photographs, while formal construction of great beauty is often present, the imprint of a unified editorial ideology similar to Luce's is absent. The combat record is not as obviously commodified, as linked to a commercial editorial policy, in the Russian pictures as it is in the American images: Russians die, Germans die, women and children die without discrimination. Although the Russian pictures are obviously charged with political ideology, because the Russian photographers remained in their war zones as combatants, and could not easily "chopper out" (and if they could, the devastation of the civilian zones was no respite from the rigors of the front), the actual integration of the photographer into the theater of war is palpable in their production and is not simulated, as it seems partly to be with Capa. In his introduction to The Russian War: 1941 - 1945, Harrison Salisbury noted this essential difference between the American and the Russian combat photographers:

Soviet editors often speak of Soviet war photography as if the art of the documentary had been invented by the Russians. They point out that even before the Revolution, Russian photographers in the Russo-Japanese War and World War I did outstanding work. This is quite true but somewhat misleading. The role of American photographers, beginning with Brady in the Civil War, is at least as good, and the contribution of the German photographers has been impressive. However, the special phenomenon of Russian photographers in World War II is their remarkable closeness to the field of action...The Soviet cameraman literally shot over the shoulders of combat soldiers and not infrequently alternated between lens and pistol.⁸⁸

The work of the Russian cameramen seems clearly intended as "the second-hand, recorded truth of the battlefield," Barthes' "perfect analogon," where the Americans, inspired by the dictates of *Life's* editors, often seem present at "a permanent film-set for army cameras." Still, what we see when we look at the manufactured, structured document, the combat photography, is an image that flickers in the uncertain light between mediated record and simulacrum, between commercial function and ideological program, between the viewing subject and the participant. But all the

images enter a universal memory bank, where blurring erases the fine distinctions among levels of "literal reality." This is the action that Levinthal seems to have stationed himself to report: the manufacture and naturalizing of a hybrid document.

When the photographs of The Russian War were exhibited and published in 1977, the pictures were of particular interest and seemed of surprising freshness, despite vestiges of air-brushing in their printing.⁸⁹ The Cold War had not permitted easy viewing of Russian material and extensive research was not welcomed in Soviet archives: the visual reporting of the Eastern War by Soviet photojournalists had received little attention in Western magazines where space was reserved for highlighting American shipments of war machinery. Setting up his cameras to simulate unknown theaters of the Eastern Front seemed ideal to Levinthal in the early '70s: it was virgin territory, conceptually. The examining of photojournalism seemed particularly relevant as American standards, set originally by Robert Capa during the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War, were being drastically revised by David Douglas Duncan's pictures from Korea and David Hume Kennerly's reporting from Vietnam.⁹⁰ Bizarrely, in the '90s, increasing numbers of Russian combat photographs, radically decontextualized, have appeared in auctions, galleries and museum publications, drawn into the world of commerce by the prices offered. Suddenly and curiously, these artifacts, the productions of young Soviet soldier-photojournalists working with 35mm. German Leicas, are appearing in a sophisticated photography market as commodities, as Capa's did in the '60s and '70s.

The visual information of the Soviet photographs is instructive. Looking at some, where formal beauty is paired with grim content and matter-of-fact reporting, there is a sense of abrupt shifts. However, the distinctions of the documentary canon seem viable. Giving additional evidence to support the distinctions Salisbury makes between the American and Russian cameramen, Paul Carell's volume, Hitler Moves East, includes photographs taken by German cameramen at the Russian front. The

German photographs are pedantic, some are colorized, and none venture into the realms of pure grimness or visual interest that the Russian photographs of the war claim.

A photograph by Alexander Ustinov (fig.28) titled "Fighting Outside Moscow" seems a conceptual antecedent of the series Levinthal constructed for the third part of his book, "Typhoon, 16 October 1941." As a photographer, Ustinov draws the viewing subject into the photographic space he describes by eliminating the expected ground line: since the picture defines the tank as a support, there is no place to locate oneself except on the body of the tank. The gun looms across the frame, directly in front - moments later, if it continues to swivel, I will have to duck: I am the cameraman in that moment, denied anywhere else to establish a point of view, I am *there* on the tank. Slightly off center is a miniature tank, a type Levinthal will appropriate, rolling across the snow, aimed seemingly into an explosion: have the gunners caused the explosion (or is the tank surrounded by explosions on all sides), is the tank rolling beyond reason into certain annihilation? The second photograph of the series - not a narrative series but a panoramic unfolding, filmic in quality - places the viewer immediately behind two gunners. They seem to be lugging their machine gun through the snow and mud, up a slight hill, to a presumably better vantage point. The snow is overwhelming and endless, the cold is almost visible: an aura of menacing chill emanates from the photograph. In his set-ups Levinthal attempts to appropriate this killing cold - but the flour is never quite as menacing as the Russian ice. Levinthal's small HO scale (three quarters of an inch) models are strangely evocative of the crouching Russian soldiers, silhouetted against the snow in their positions of support for the machine gunners. The connotation of the simulacrum circles around even the recognizable immediacy of the Russian documentary photographs. The images that repeat and circle in pictures, films, videos, come back to work on the documents of the canon. Viewing a photograph can no longer be guided along formalists paths laid out

within the confines of content, viewpoint, frame or cut. depth of field, technology. Viewing is too layered with the memories - or detritus - of too many pictures seen. But perhaps that has always been so, and that even the photographers who staked out a new vision for their craft had a conceptualization process that could not entirely be cleared of pictures coded and stored.

Tanks swimming in icy snow, the obliteration of ground lines, the disintegration of measurable distance in a landscape gone completely white, the snow obscuring elements that mark visually recognizable spaces: Levinthal's images mirror Ustinov's. The book's section on the battle for Moscow opens with a quote from a German soldier, Heinrich Haape:

The highways could no longer be recognized except as lanes of hard-packed snow. During blizzards it was cold, bitterly cold, but when clouds cleared and the sun hung low in the sky it was colder still. It was as if the sky itself had frozen into a crystal of cold lead. Death came with icy pinions and stood at our elbows.⁹¹

Levinthal works his German tanks through the snow in parallel lines and then, across the page, focuses on a single tank on which a key, the signifier of simulacral status, is mounted on the gun turret (fig.29). The death-bringing devastation of the snow is established in these photographs to a convincing degree, particularly if you have not seen the Russian work. The doubling back begins when you have seen the others, but that is what post-modern viewing is about. Of course, the eye also reads into the photograph Levinthal's technical note, placed at the end of the book: the note mentions flour, so that there is a disconnect between what you see and what you know. In a photograph that Trudeau, as the graphic designer of the book, has bled across two pages, three soldiers man their machine gun in this flour / snow: two crouching gunners work the gun, while another soldier stands stiffly to the side, with arms raised, apparently trying to peer through the blizzard with binoculars (fig.30). The viewpoint is angled to look down on the two soldiers, their heads circled by the flared, basket

shapes that suggest helmets - one shape whitened with snow, the other dark - in contrast - the position possibly taken up within the disintegrating shelter of a German tank, stuck in the snow, fuel freezing.

I know from the texts that the German tanks stuck and jammed: the quote from German General Blumentritt describes the paralysis of German military material by the cold, the feared machinery iced-over, suddenly useless in the bitter weather.⁹² Paul Carell, in the military chronicle that serves as the written referent for Levinthal's photographic trace, analyzes in specific detail the human cost of German unpreparedness for the Russian winter - the peculiar, arbitrary military strategy that functioned in the Blitzkrieg across Europe and disintegrated in foul weather and mud roads - curiously evoking some sympathy in the viewer for the three soldiers stuck in Levinthal's flour / snow..⁹³ That there is not text to disturb the photographed diorama of the three soldiers allows the formal beauty of Levinthal's image to spill freely over the facing pages. The heightened graininess recalls Capa's abstract Normandy pictures with their blurred, dissolving figures swimming between German amphibious tank barricades on the beach. Here, in the flour / snow, the guns, slanting obliquely to the sides and out from the central form of the gun, provide an armature similar to the tank barricades: without that armature the figures might dissolve into the fabricated storm that blows across the miniature landscape. Stationing these tiny combat toys in the drifting snow, in the sifting flour, between the evocation of the Russian material and the Capa material, is central to Levinthal's post-modern practice. The double page spread, eliminating the edges of the photographer's cut, is an image that twists distinctions between the analogon and the hyperreal, between denotation and connotation, in continually shifting time and space.

The snow saved Moscow from the Germans, as it had saved the city from the French, but, in a bitter reversal, the ice kept relief supplies from reaching Leningrad. To the consternation of the German Generals, Hitler redirected the divisions of the

German Army Group Center south to the Caucasus in the spring of 1942, to the rich mineral region of the Donets Basin and the prospect of the oilfields beyond Stalingrad. Joining the German 6th Army, the divisions turned to Rostov and marched on to Stalingrad and its factories. The city of Stalingrad, bearing the aura of Stalin's name and the burden of his pride, was resolutely defended by Russian troops and for that courage, or defiance, it was systematically razed by the Germans. The Germans considered the city secured by the end of October, 1942 but by then their supply lines were disintegrating. Russian fighters, holed up in the rubble of a narrow strip near the Volga, and receiving adequate supplies from the other side of the river, slowly reclaimed Stalin's city invisibly, block by block, at horrible human cost. Field Marshall Paulus, gradually encircled by Russian troops and commanding emaciated, wounded soldiers, surrendered to the Russian High Command on 3 February 1943 against Hitler's adamant orders. A description from one of Levinthal's documents, sounding like a filmic voice-over, transmutes into a searing visual image:

Among piles of rubble, which no tank could penetrate, a man would sit there, inside his manhole or crater, or hole in the floor, and, looking through his simple periscope, he would turn his tommygun the moment he saw any German within firing distance. Seldom anything short of a direct hit could knock him out; he was very hard to pick out of his hole, and bombing only tended to create new shelters.

General Talensky²⁴

As a trace of recorded and remembered documents that describe and picture the blazing hell that Stalingrad was in the winter of 1942-43, Levinthal presents a double page spread of surpassing formal beauty and flickering motion (fig.31). His use of shallow depth of field, found throughout Hitler Moves East, is fully evident in this large photograph, unfolded like a flattened paper cut-out across the book's center divide. Here the shallow depth of field - with its connotations of hyperreality and miniaturization - actively works to suspend parameters of belief in the specificity of

location, making these pages part of a paper movie that turns around a mysterious central light. Here the photograph is clearly a trace, a skin stripped from a referent ambiguous as to its site. A paper movie, no question - the movement is perceptible, the narrative implied; the image continues to flicker, in its graininess, with a pulse infinitely more discernable than that of a still made from Frank Capra's **The Battle of Russia**, which lies quiet on the glossy page, frozen.⁹⁵

The spread shows a single soldier with a machine gun, propped up in the window of a paper-cut-out, a model of the burnt, ruined remainder of a Stalingrad factory building. The left hand page is deeply shadowed, the dark tones alive with potential danger to the soldier facing into the light. The single soldier is a Levinthal surrogate for a film noir hero, the lone fighter - out of the shadows, facing the light - fighting the dark powers of the world, alone.⁹⁶ The helmeted figure of the soldier is given abstract form against the darkness of his station in the cut-out corner of the building, but the power of the hand grasping the machine gun centers my eye and as I look, the hand swells past believable form and disintegrates, becoming an empty space opening to absence. The trace, the skin of the referent, has dissolved, perhaps in the heat of the surrounding fire, and it is only the certainty of the helmeted head and the aim of the machine gun that rights the image before my eyes again. The shifting uncertainty of what the picture is - document, film, set-up - remains.

This particular image, from "The Rat's War, 18 November 1942," the last and fifth section of Levinthal's Hitler Moves East, is unusual in its ambiguity, in its absence of clues and in its cinematic presence. The 1/35 scale figure, close to two inches, is a size particularly beloved by Levinthal. And that he has kept these figures from the work of the '70s is additional evidence of their meaning to him. The two-inch size permits him to give the toy a highly individualized characterization and articulation; as an object, it fits comfortably in the hand, the separate parts assemble with ease and tactile pleasure. A boy's toy, the combat toy is gender specific. The diorama Levinthal

built for these images of Stalingrad was meticulous in scaled accuracy and detail: military toys come boxed with site specific environments.⁹⁷ To achieve the necessary devastation of the site the pictures required, Levinthal devised and destroyed the tiny city he had built "with a variety of homemade incendiary devices."⁹⁸ The construction of a world that goes "kaboom" signifies directorial control:

The connection of desire with death is central to *film noir*, for it is with *film noir* that American cinema finds for the first time a form in which to represent desire as something that not only renders the desiring subject helpless, but also propels him or her to destruction.⁹⁹

Desire and death are intertwined with these toys: in the play and the jouissance of destruction (fig.32).

In "Notes on the Index," written in 1977, in the second part of an essay on post-modernism that has remained central to much critical theory, Rosalind Krauss wrote:

It is the order of the natural world that imprints itself on the photographic emulsion and subsequently on the photographic print. This quality of transfer or trace gives to the photograph its documentary status, its undeniable veracity. But at the same time this veracity is beyond the reach of those possible internal adjustments which are the necessary property of language. The connective tissue binding the objects contained by the photograph is that of the world itself, rather than that of a cultural system.¹⁰⁰

Working off Roland Barthes' definition of a photograph as a "message without a code," an image uncoded by an "institutional reserve," Krauss underlines the seminal position of the photograph in the art making of the '70s. The photograph functioned as trace, as index, as sign, and in these equivalencies it became significant to the theoretical permutations of post-modernism.¹⁰¹ However, it is at the heart of Levinthal's post-modern practice to dissolve and collapse certainties: the position of the photograph as index remains, but what dissolves is the certainty that the "world itself," is "real." According to Barthes' analysis of the news photograph, the coding of naturalized

"news" photographs comes from contextualization, and from "the 'art', or the treatment, or the 'writing,' or the rhetoric, of the photograph."¹⁰² The photographic paradox: it is both analogon and connoted message. In Levinthal's photographs a second-order coding comes in the form of appropriation: of film, of archive, of document; it is a coding that seeps into the very matrix of the image. The coding is in the printing of the blur: the certainty of the "natural world" beyond the trace dissolves in that softness, in the shallow depths of field, in sites without atmosphere, in spaces of hyperreality, in miniaturization. The world, miniaturized, as Benjamin noted, and put under control by the photograph, is here further reduced to model scale: HO and 1/35.¹⁰³ And then it is blown up.

¹ David Levinthal and Garrt Trudeau. Hitler Moves East (Kansas City: Sheed Andrews & McMeel, Inc., 1977), 8.

² Ilya Ehrenburg. The Tempering of Russia, trans. Alexander Kaun (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944), 69.

³ Paul Virilio. War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception, trans. Patrick Camiller (New York: Verso, 1989), 66.

⁴ "It is the order of the natural world that imprints itself on the photographic emulsion and subsequently on the photographic print. This quality of transfer or trace gives to the photograph its documentary status, its undeniable veracity. But at the same time this veracity is beyond the reach of those possible internal adjustments which are the necessary property of language. The connective tissue binding the objects contained by the photograph is that of the world itself, rather than that of a cultural system." Rosalind Krauss, "Notes on the Index: Part 2," in The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1986), 211-212. I acknowledge with gratitude my debt to Rosalind Krauss's seminal scholarship.

⁵ Levinthal, Hitler, 72.

⁶ It is important to note here, as I will throughout this dissertation, Carol Armstrong's intellectual and creative generosity. The conceptualization of the blur's agency is distinctly hers and she has kindly shared it with me.

⁷ Robert Capa, Death in the Making, trans. Jay Allen (New York: Covici, Friede, 1938).

⁸ The sequencing in Hitler Moves East is by Garry Trudeau, in Death in the Making it is by André Kertész.

⁹ Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," in Image-Music-Text, trans. by Stephen Heath (New York: Noonday Press, 1988), 17; "The Rhetoric of the Image," in Image-Music-Text, 44.

-
- ¹⁰ Peter Weiermaier, Prospect: Photography in Contemporary Art (Zurich: Frankfurter Kunstverein / Edition Stemmler, 1966), 204.
- ¹¹ Harry James Cargas, Shadows of Auschwitz: A Christian Response to the Holocaust (Denver, Colorado: Stonehenge Books, 1981. Reprint, New York: Crossroad, 1992).
- ¹² "Theater of war," a term which runs through both photojournalism and reportage, is a curious phrase. It is prescient, peculiarly, of Levinthal's conceptual studio theater.
- ¹³ Jean Baudrillard, Simulations, trans. Paul Foss, Paul Patton and Philip Beitchman (New York: Semiotext(e), Columbia University, 1983), 3.
- ¹⁴ For the canon of photojournalism, in the 20th century, I note photographers that are particularly revered by Cornell Capa, The International Center of Photography, and John Szarkowski, The Museum of Modern Art.
- ¹⁵ Weiermaier, 204.
- ¹⁶ Levinthal's military model of preference is Tamiya, a Japanese manufacturer. The sets are labeled specifically: "German Panzer Grenadiers Set," or by battle, "Stalingrad." The world of miniature military model building, particularly the devotion applied to the construction of the large dioramas, often glassed in, defies accurate description. Levinthal interview: 4.25.96.
- ¹⁷ *Life* magazine: all issues, 1939-1945.
- ¹⁸ Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 2nd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 34.
- ¹⁹ General Heinz Guderian, Panzer Leader, trans. Constantine Fitzgibbon (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1952), 145.
- ²⁰ Paul Carell, Hitler Moves East 1941-1943, trans. Ewald Osers (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1964).
- ²¹
- ²² Peter Schjeldahl, "Down in Flames," *Village Voice* 4 February 1997, 90.
- ²³ A foolish image perhaps, but what is important is the invitation to the viewer to scrutinize closely, to penetrate the puzzle of the set-up, not to remain outside.
- ²⁴ This material drawn from ongoing discussions with Levinthal on the subject of combat toys, 1996-1997, and excursions to combat model shops.
- ²⁵ The Battle of Russia, Why We Fight. Frank Capra, director. Special Service Division, Army Service Forces War Department.
- ²⁶ R.H.S. Stolfi, Hitler's Panzers East: World War II Reinterpreted (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1993).
- ²⁷ Levinthal, Hitler, 93-94.
- ²⁸ Baudrillard, Simulations, 3.
- ²⁹ Robert Capa, Images of War (New York: Grossman Publishers, Inc., 1964), 111-115.
- ³⁰ Carell's and Guderian's military histories are written with an approach that abstracts the military strategy and resulting maneuvers from the context of political and human consequence.

The only definition I can devise for the viewpoint and sense of icy removal in these histories is "board game," or "pointing arrow" theory of military history. Obviously the remove or distancing is attributable to the fact that these histories are written after defeat.

³¹ Carell, Hitler Moves East, 11.

³² Levinthal, Hitler, 95.

³³ Eugenia Parry Janis, The Photography of Gustave Le Gray (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

³⁴ "In this habitually unary space, occasionally (but alas all too rarely) a "detail" attracts me. I feel that its mere presence changes my reading, that I am looking at a new photograph, marked in my eyes with a higher value. This 'detail' is the *punctum*." Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida, Reflections on Photography, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981. Originally published as La Chambre Claire, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1980), 42.

³⁵ The *Falling Soldier* appears on the book's cover and in the French magazine *Vu*; it was not reproduced within the book or as part of a photo-essay. The picture was produced as an exhibition print in 1937 and at that time given the title, the *Falling Soldier*. The first exhibition print was given to The Museum of Modern Art by Cornell Capa, marking its collection and entry into the holdings of an institution that, to a large extent, has established the canon of modern photography.

³⁶ Richard Whelan, Robert Capa: A Biography (New York: Knopf, 1985. Reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.), 308; picture inset between 216-217.

³⁷ Rosalind Krauss, "Photographic Conditions of Surrealism," in Originality of the Avant-Garde, 107.

³⁸ Robert Capa, Slightly Out of Focus (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947).

³⁹ Whelan, Capa.

⁴⁰ Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in Image-Music-Text, 44.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² A genre is viewpoint that by repetition and convention becomes a category. Audience participation depends largely on recognition, on responding to the repetition within the genre. The exact parameters of these genres are argued by film critics, but they are useful distinctions. Barry Keith Grant, ed. Film Genre: Theory and criticism (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1977); Barry Keith Grant, ed. Film Genre Reader (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986) Barry Keith Grant Film Genre Reader II (Austin: University of Press, 1995).

⁴³ Cornell Capa and Richard Whelan, Robert Capa: Testimony Against War (Tokyo: Magnum Photos, 1995). Weiermaier, Prospect, 10.

⁴⁴ "I call 'photographic referent' not the *optionally* real thing to which an image or sign refers but the *necessarily*...real thing which has been placed before the lens, without which there would be no photograph...in Photography I can never deny that *the thing has been there*." Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida, 76.

⁴⁵ Whelan, Capa: picture inset 97-100.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 100.

-
- ⁴⁷ Barthes. "Rhetoric of the Image." in Image-Music-Text. 44.
- ⁴⁸ Whelan. Capa. 96-99.
- ⁴⁹ Robert Capa: Contact Sheets. Spain. Books 1-5, 1936. Robert Capa Archive. International Center of Photography, New York City.
- ⁵⁰ "Beachheads of Normandy: The fateful battle for Europe is joined by sea and air. The picture above and those on the next six pages were taken by Life photographer Robert Capa who went in with the first wave of troops. Although the first reports of landings indicated little opposition, his pictures show how violent the battle was and how strong the German defenses. His best pictures were made when he photographed the floundering American doughboys advancing through the deadly hail of enemy fire to goals on the beaches of Normandy." "Immense excitement of the moment made Photographer Capa move his camera and blur the picture...." "Landings in Normandy," *Life Magazine*, 19 June 1944, 25-31.
- ⁵¹ Capa. Out of Focus, 151.
- ⁵² Barthes. "The Photographic Message." in Image-Music-Text. 22.
- ⁵³ Walter Benjamin. "A Short History of Photography." in Classic Essays on Photography. ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 215.
- ⁵⁴ Capa. Death, unpaginated.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ The German generals were certain that Russia would fall with the capture of the capital: Hitler did not fully support that position, believing that securing areas rich in natural resources - oil, metals, minerals - were more useful to the war effort. R.H. Stolfi, Hitler's Panzers East.
- ⁵⁷ European campaigns were closely documented by the military and commercial press and, while certainly censored, were published widely; Soviet information was guarded from easy access by the West and publication of photographs was sparse. Only recently have large archives of Soviet photographs become available. The Department of the Army began to publish material seized during the war immediately at its conclusion: photographs, newsreels, strategic maps, lists of military armaments and organizational charts. Reports by the German General Staff were also published. It is impossible to ever adequately describe the horror and the sheer mass of what has been photographed, both in terrible seriousness and in grim callousness. Department of the Army: Combat in Russian Forests and Swamps, 1951; Department of the Army: German Campaign in Russia: Planning and Operations 1940-1941, 1951; Department of the Army: Terrain Factors in the Russian Campaign, 1951. This photographic material is bizarrely reflected in the meticulous accuracy of commercially produced combat toys and models: the boxes that contain these objects feature "box art" on their covers that graphically use the names of cities that resonate with the tragedies of historic battles - Kharkov, Stalingrad, Bataan.
- ⁵⁸ "The press photograph is a message...The point of reception is the public which reads the paper. As for the channel of transmission, this is the newspaper itself, or, more precisely, a complex of concurrent messages with the photograph as centre and surrounds constituted by the text, the title, the caption, the layout and, in a more but no less informative way, by the very name of the paper...." Barthes, "The Photographic Message," Image-Music-Text, 15.
- ⁵⁹ Levinthal's set-ups were singular in the '70s and of great interest to a number of artists, including Cindy Sherman.

⁶⁰ A retrospective of this work, "David Levinthal 1975-1996," was held at the International Center of Photography, New York City, January 17-March 21, 1997.

⁶¹ The Library of America, Reporting World War II. Part One: American Journalism 1938-1944 (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1995).

⁶² David E. Scherman, ed., Life Goes to War (New York: Little, Brown & Company, 1977), 4.

⁶³ Norman B. Moyes, Battle Eye: A History of American Combat Photography (New York: Metro Books, 1996), 5.

⁶⁴ "Pix Captions from Robert Capa to *Life* magazine." Story 43-44 13367, Robert Capa Archive, The International Center of Photography, New York City.

⁶⁵ Scherman, *Life*, 4.

⁶⁶ "The integrity and purity of press photography and photojournalism are inviolable. The fountainhead of journalistic photography is its testament to truth. Therefore, the elements in a news journalistic photograph cannot be moved, reordered, reconstructed, directed or manipulated, or managed. The journalistic photographer photographs what is, not what was, or what might have been." Howard Chapnick, "Observations on Photojournalism in the Second Half of the 20th Century," in World Press Photo, This Critical Mirror, ed. Stephen Mayes (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 6.

⁶⁷ Maitland Edey and Constance Sullivan, Great Photographic Essays From Life (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1979).

⁶⁸ The dress of women, the absence of people of color and the inherent set-upness of many of the photo-essays could be usefully examined.

⁶⁹ Margaret Bourke-White, Shooting the Russian War (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1942), 189.

⁷⁰ "I am comfortable with the idea that film can claim for itself what other art forms claim - the right to study the objects themselves for various kinds of information and meaning, and for the rules and non-rules that govern the form....The careful viewing of a great many films for a list of recurring characteristics with which to prove the observation of - and thus the existence of - a genre definition is only one aspect of genre study, a respectable piece of historical scholarship...this book is based on study of the films themselves. It will present a history of World War II combat films, tracing their origin and evolution and indicating important information about the system that produced them, the individuals that created them, and the technological developments that changed them." "The combat film from World War II can indeed generate such a list: The hero, the group of mixed ethnic types...who come from all over the United States, the objective they must accomplish, their little mascot, their mail call, their weapons and uniforms." Jeanine Basinger, The World War II Combat Film, Anatomy of a Genre (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 5-6, 16.

⁷¹ "America is neither dream nor reality. It is hyperreality...The Americans, for their part, have no sense of simulation. They are themselves simulation in its most developed state, but they have no language in which to describe it, since they themselves are the model." Jean Baudrillard, America, translated by Chris Turner (New York: Verso, 1989), 16.

⁷² "Life's Pictures," *Life* 25 May 1943, 19.

⁷³ December 7: The Movie, 1942. Director: John Ford. Screenplay: John Ford, Gregg Toland, Walter Huston. I am indebted to Jeanine Basinger's Filmography in The World War II Combat Film, Anatomy of a Genre for the form for film citations and for the filmography.

⁷⁴ "The controversy was another issue of these years that had its origins in World War II. There had been little to argue about once the shooting had started in that war. The threat to national survival was beyond question, and the generals and admirals were sometimes brilliant and normally capable - or they were dismissed. Reporters became habituated to a role that was characterized more by support than skepticism. With some exceptions, the ability to stand aside and exercise independent and critical judgment of basic policy and authority was lost as a result...The secrecy that in the 1940s had protected the nation was by the 1960s concealing the fact that the system was no longer rational...We were forced at the beginning of our professional lives to come to grips with a constant disparity between our perception of reality and higher authority's version of it, the opposite of the experience of the World War II generation of journalists." Neil Sheehan, A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 314-315.

⁷⁵ Levinthal graduated from Stanford University in 1970, Yale University in 1973 and M.I.T. in 1981. His degrees are in Studio Art, Photography and Management Science.

⁷⁶ "World War II was the first movie every American could be in. As portrayed by the government and the news and entertainment media the war had compelling story line, a huge assemblage of costumed performers, easily identifiable good and bad guys, and an outcome that viewers could anticipate but not take for granted...more effectively than any film. World War II offered each citizen the dual role of spectator and participant. A fierce struggle engaging tens of millions of people around the globe could not fail to attract spectators. The demands of the war, and the way it was presented, assured that most spectators would see themselves also as participants. The theme propagandists promoted most insistently was that everyone had a part to play. Yet this theme presented them with a major problem: How could they encourage those excluded from equal participation in American society to become fully engaged in the war effort without frightening a large portion of the population who agreed with practices that linked opportunity to race, gender, class, religion, and ethnicity." George H. Roeder, Jr. The Censored War, American Visual Experience During World War Two (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 44.

⁷⁷ Jerald C. Maddox, ed., Walker Evans: Photographs for the Farm Security Administration, 1935-1938 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973).

⁷⁸ Robert W. Mullen, Blacks in America's Wars: The Shift in Attitudes from the Revolutionary War to Vietnam (New York: Pathfinder, 1973).

⁷⁹ "During the first twenty-one months of World War II, when censors withheld all photographs of the American dead, the images of the dead that did appear were comforting ones...Later in the war Allied victories made guarding against complacency seem a more urgent task than providing reassurance." Roeder, The Censored War, 33-34.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 5.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² A.D. Coleman, "The Directorial Mode," in Artforum, September, 1976 and Light Readings: A Photography Critic's Writings 1968-1978 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 246-257.

⁸³ The particular savagery of German soldiers in the field is attested to by Heinz Guderian in an uncharacteristic notation: "Shortly before the opening of hostilities the OKW sent an order

direct to all corps and divisions concerning the treatment that was to be given to the civilian population and to prisoners of war in Russia. It specified that in the event of excesses being committed against civilians or prisoners, the responsible soldier was not to be automatically tried and punished according to military law...This order, which was to play an important part in the post-war trials of German generals by our former enemies, was consequently never carried out by my Panzer group...Looking back, one can only deeply regret that neither the OKW nor the OKH blocked these two orders in the first place. Many brave and innocent soldiers would have thus been saved bitter suffering, and the good name of Germany would have been spared a great shame." Heinz Guderian, "The Campaign in Russia, 1941," Panzer Leader, 152.

⁸⁴ Werner Haupt. The Battle for Moscow 1941-1942. An Illustrated Record of the German Attack on Russia in World War 2 (New Malden, Surrey: Almark International, 1972) 75. Levinthal started the photographic series that would be published as Hitler Moves East in 1972-73 as a graduate student in Yale University's studio art department. Garry Trudeau was in the same program studying graphic design - their mutual interest in German military history led them to work together. Levinthal continued the series until 1976 and the photographic project became more sophisticated when they received a contract to publish the book. Levinthal lived in New Haven during this period teaching and using the darkroom facilities of Yale University. I have borrowed all books on military history and all combat films from Levinthal's library.

⁸⁵ "A third, atheistic branch of photography stands at the far end...Here the photographer consciously and intentionally *creates* events for the express purpose of making images thereof. This may be achieved by intervening in ongoing real events or by staging tableaux - in either case, by causing something to take place which would not have occurred had the photographer not made it happen...Such falsified documents may at first glance evoke the same act of faith as those at the opposite end of this scale, but they don't require the permanent sustaining of it; all they ask for is the suspension of disbelief. This mode I would define as the directorial." Coleman, "Directorial Mode," Light Readings, 250-251.

⁸⁶ For a sophisticated, illustrated catalogue that gives some idea of the extensive variety of military models and the on-going demand for the see Dennis Fontanna, The War Toys 2 Kriegsspielzeug: The Story of / Die Geschichte von Lineol (London: New Cavendish Books, 1991).

⁸⁷ Interview with David Levinthal, 6/97. For the researcher, the sheer bulk of film and photographic material is staggering; much of the material retained at the Hoover Institute and the United States Army's Center of Military History are photographic documents, records made by the Germans and the Russians - it entered these archives as captured war intelligence. Although it is assumed that history is written by the victors, in the case of the Second World War, much of the history was photographed and transcribed by the vanquished. The sheer level of horror, of violence, of atrocity, that these photographs record stop my mind in a way I have no words for. Levinthal both absorbs the material and filters it, somehow coming up with a close reading and a visually abstract system of signs. It is not frivolous work.

⁸⁸ Daniela Mrazkova and Vladimir Remes, eds. The Russian War: 1941-1945 (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1977), 1-2.

⁸⁹ The Russian War Archive, The International Center of Photography, New York City.

⁹⁰ Moyes, Battle Eye.

⁹¹ Levinthal, Hitler, 44.

⁹² "Paralyzed by cold, the German troops could not aim their rifle fire, and bolt mechanism's jammed or strikers shattered in the bitter winter weather." General Blumentritt Levinthal, Hitler, 52.

⁹³ "Their unpreparedness for the Russian winter had to be paid for dearly. Not only were there no fur jackets and felt boots - what was even worse, the German High Command did not know, or failed to apply, certain perfectly simple and easily practicable rules of winter warfare...Thus when, after the first snowfalls, the Finns saw that the Germans were still wearing their jackboots with steel nails, they shook their heads in amazement: 'You nailed boots are ideal conductors of the cold - you might just as well walk about in your stockings feet!'" Carell, Hitler, 178.

⁹⁴ Levinthal, Hitler, 83.

⁹⁵ "The massive warehouse of moving-image documentation and dramatization that came out of the Second World War comprises a comprehensive and spectacular archival record. No accurate measure exists of the sheer quantity of film exposed during 1941-45, but military photographic units and the Hollywood trade press took it for granted that the Second World War was the most thoroughly documented event in human history." Thomas Doherty, Projections of War (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 6. For the influence of Leni Riefenstahl on Frank Capra: Doherty, "Riefenstahl's Contribution," Projections of War, 16-35.

⁹⁶ "The hero, emblematically, is an American named Free. Like Samuel Spade or Philip Marlowe, he is a private detective, obliged to be in contact with corruption, fighting alone against all for the reestablishment of right...Private Detective 62 has one of the most classic noir scripts, as much in its pessimistic tendencies (the solitary struggle of the individual in a universe overrun by evil) as those that are sentimental (pure love surviving in evil's midst.)" Marc Vernet, "Film Noir on the Edge of Doom," in Joan Copjec, ed. Shades of Noir (New York: Verso, 1993), 15.

⁹⁷ The range of military models is enormous. Specific battle sites are represented: from the Civil War, the Second World War, Vietnam. The uniforms, military equipment, and armament is varied and scrupulously accurate. The combat toys are presented as prepared for the terrain and weather historically reported at each battle. "Stalingrad," the battle as a commodified object, was offered in half a dozen boxes on the shelves of a model store Levinthal and I visited together.

⁹⁸ Levinthal, Hitler, 95.

⁹⁹ Elizabeth Cowie, "Film Noir and Women," Copjec, Shades of Noir, 149.

¹⁰⁰ Krauss, Avant-Garde, 211-212.

¹⁰¹ C. S. Pierce, "Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs," Philosophic Writings of Pierce (New York: Dover Publications, 1955).

¹⁰² "The photographic paradox can be seen as the co-existence of two messages, the one without a code (the photographic analogue), the other with a code (the 'art,' or the treatment, or the 'writing,' or the rhetoric of the photograph); ...here the connoted (or coded) message develops on the basis of a message *without a code*." Barthes, "A Photographic Message," in A Barthes Reader, ed. Susan Sontag, 198-199.

¹⁰³ Walter Benjamin, "A Short History of Photography," Classic Essays, ed. Trachtenberg.

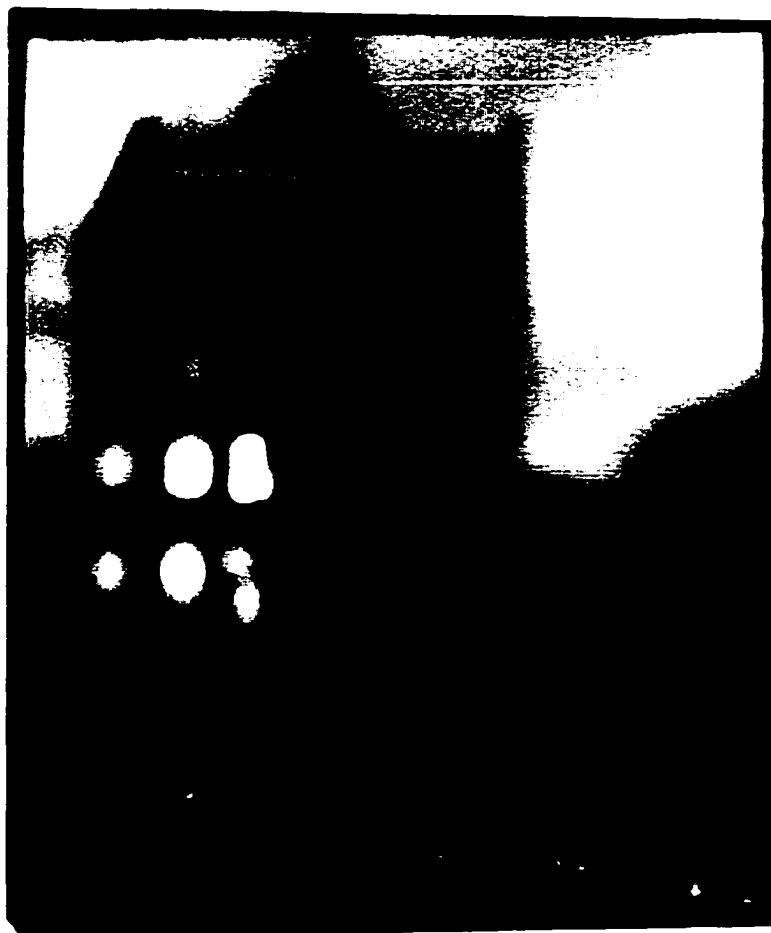


Fig.16 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973

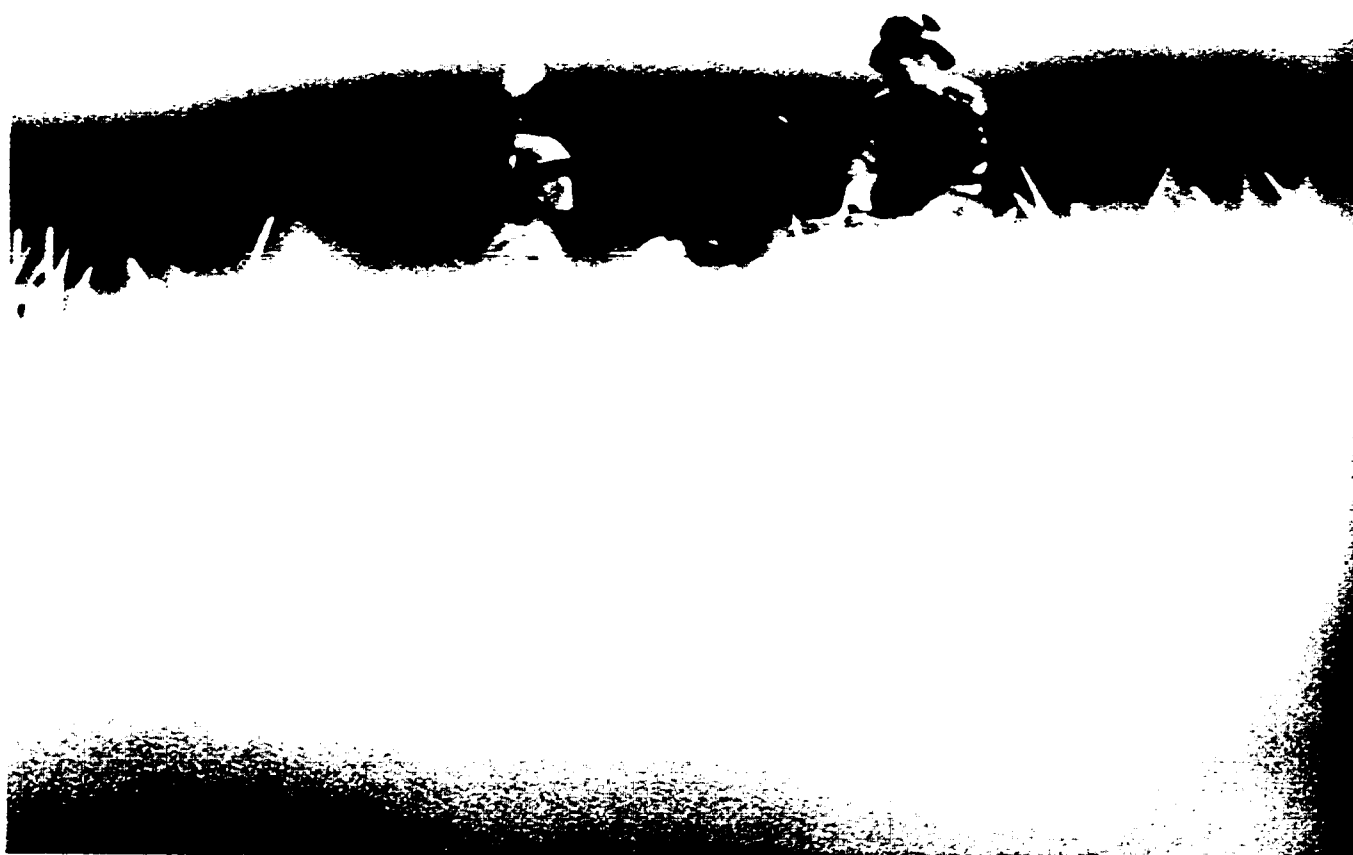


Fig.17 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973



"German soldiers! You are about to join battle, a hard and crucial battle. The destiny of Europe, the future of the German Reich, the existence of our nation, now lie in your hands alone."

Order of the Fuehrer
21 June 1941

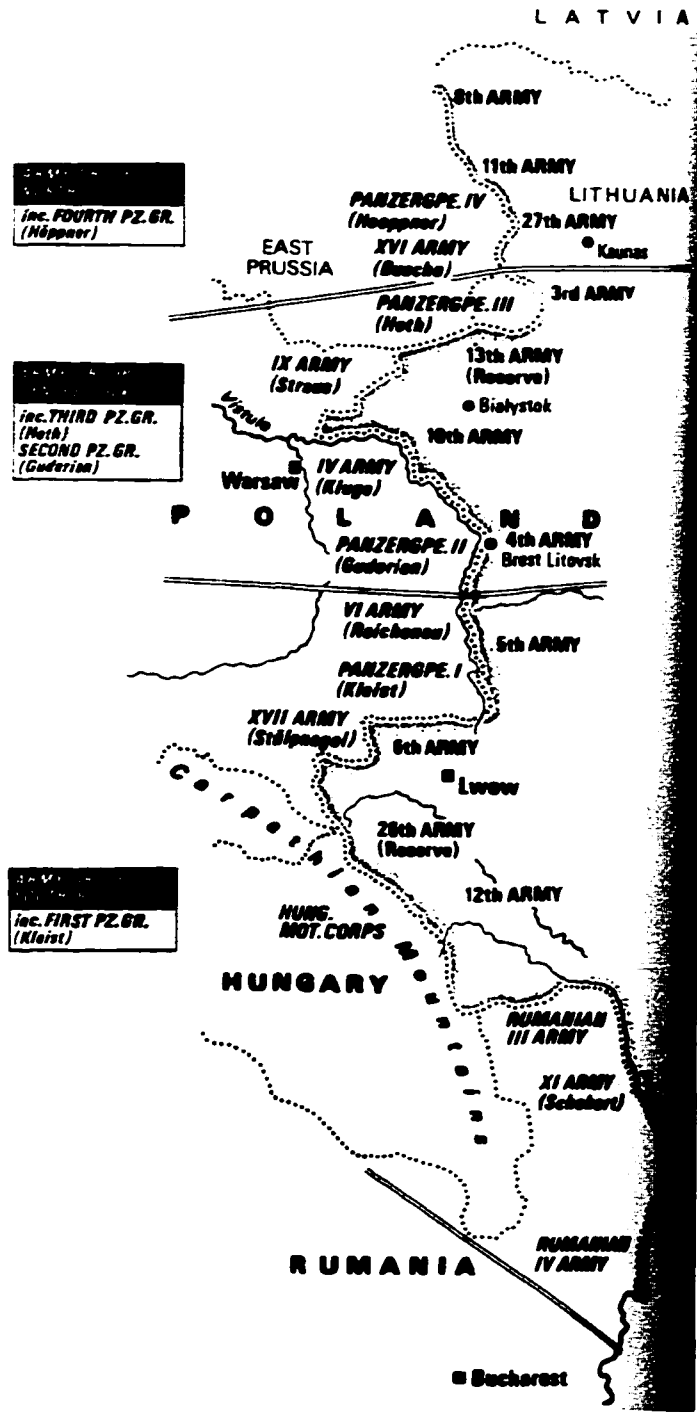


Fig. 18 Levinthal, Hitler Moves East, 1973

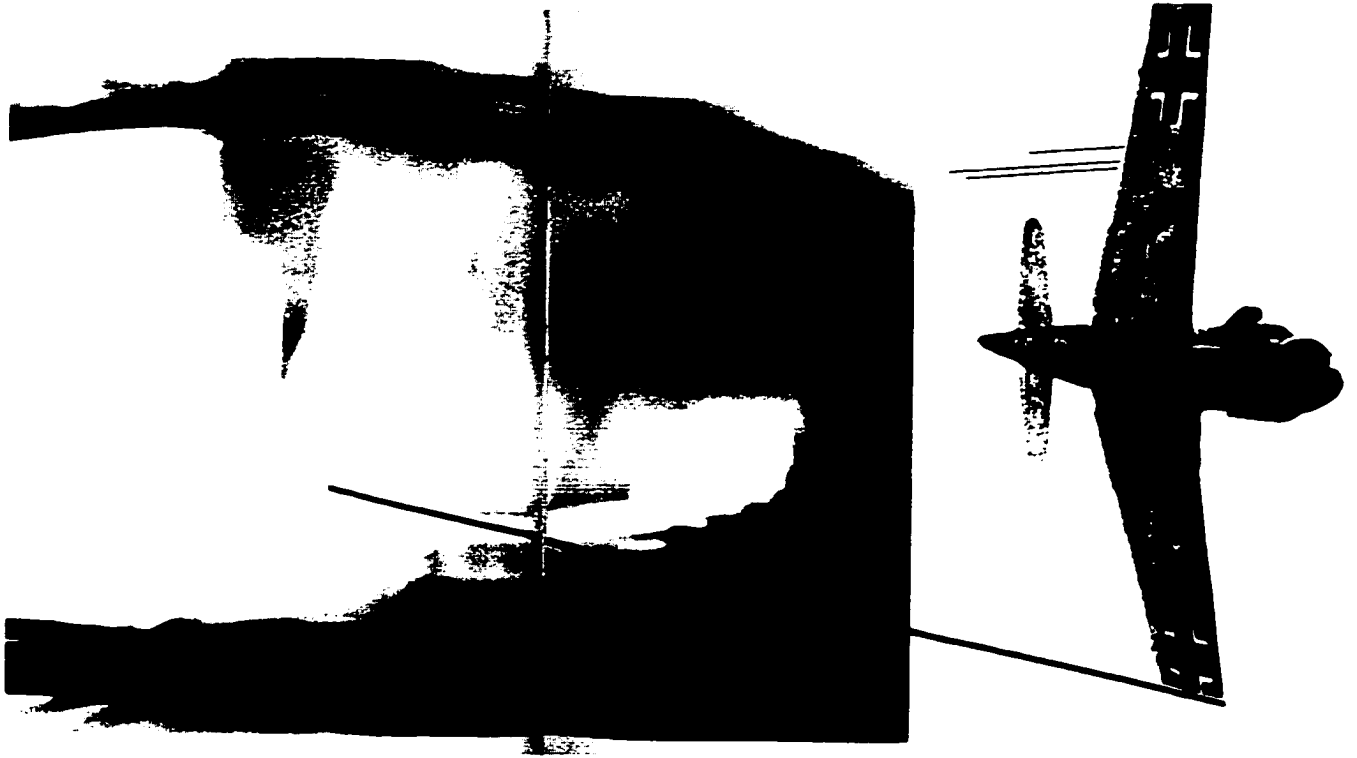


Fig.19 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973

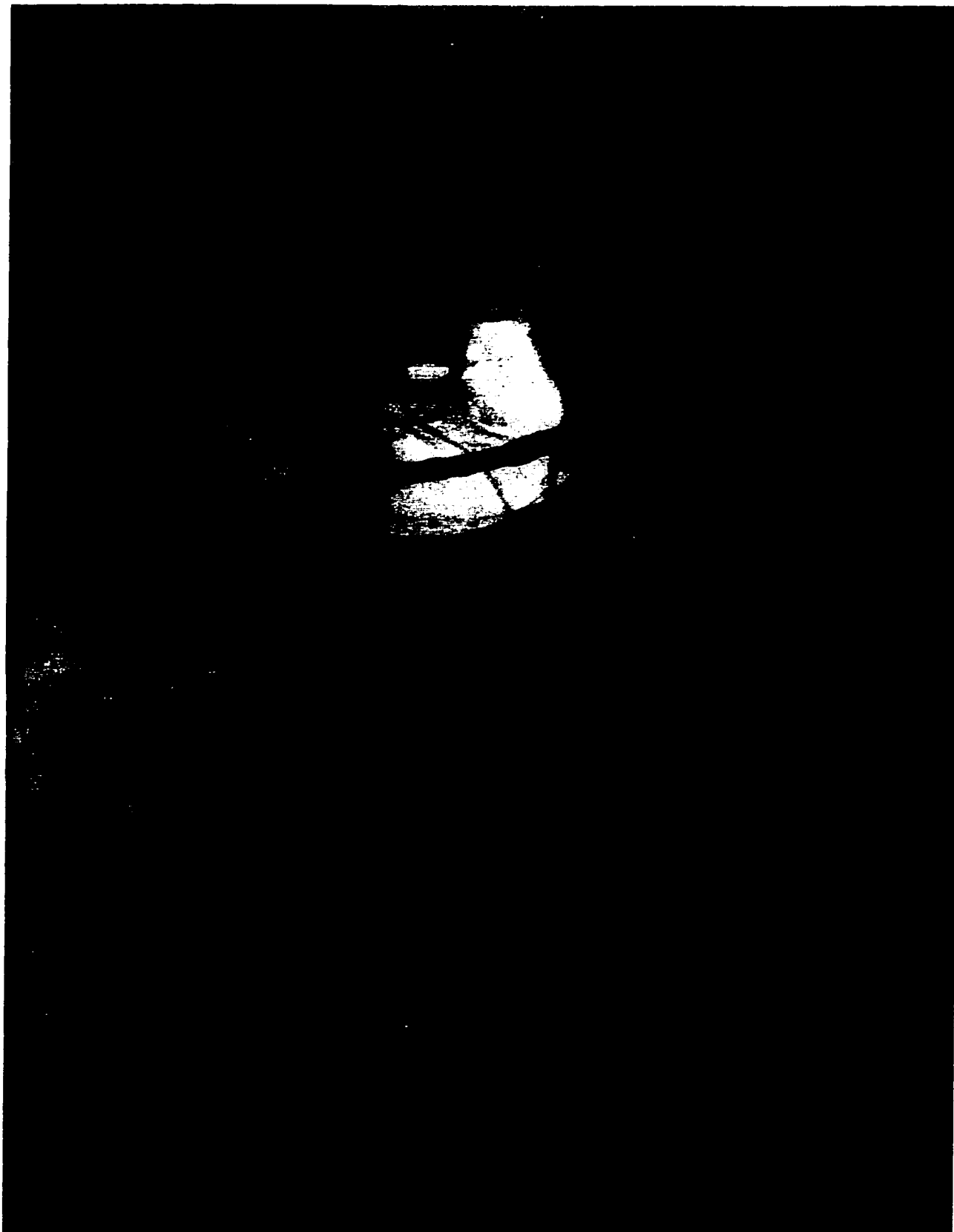


Fig.20 Capa, *Falling Soldier*, 1936

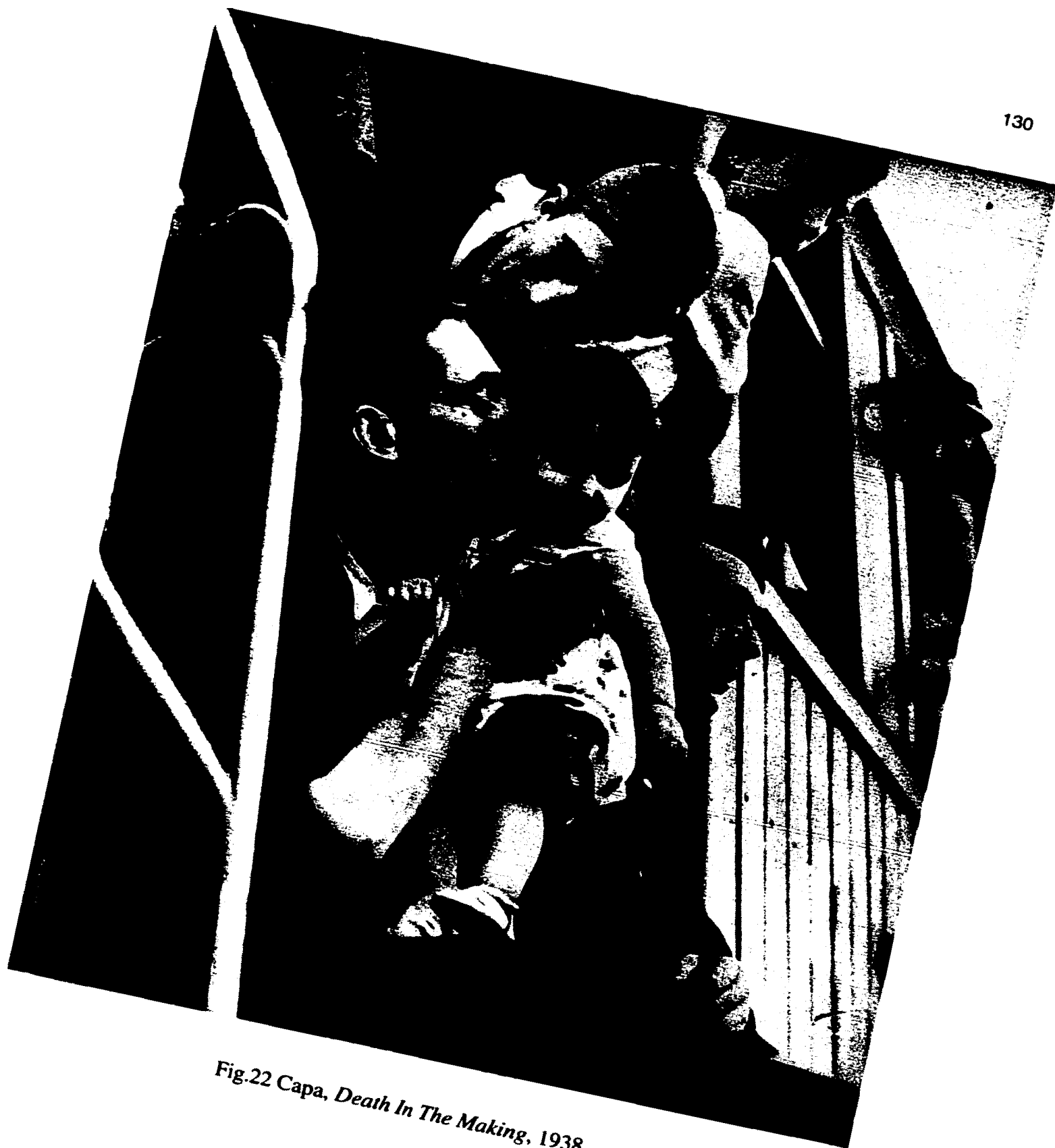


Fig.22 Capa, *Death In The Making*, 1938

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Fig.23 Capa, *Normandy, June 6, 1944*



Fig.24 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973

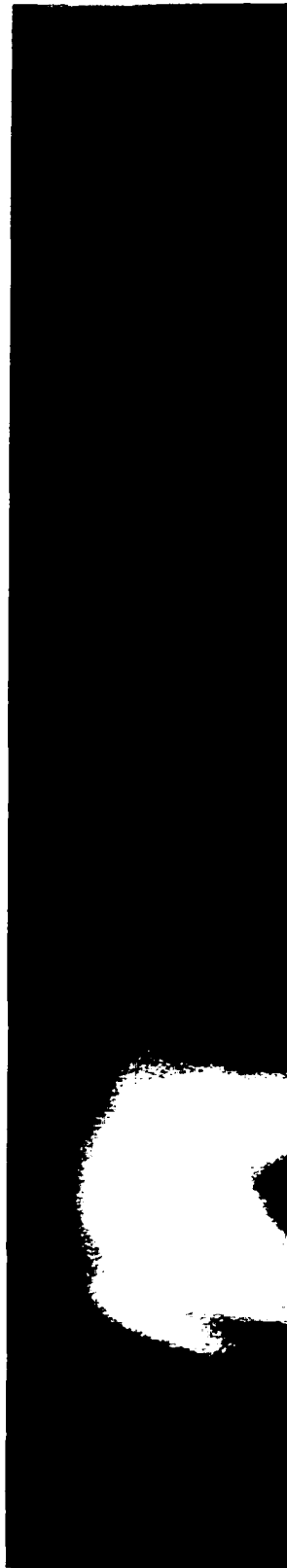




Fig.26 Haupt, *The Battle For Moscow 1941-42* (photographer unknown)



Fig.28 Ustinov, *Fighting Outside Moscow*, 1941



Fig.29 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973



Fig.30 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973



Fig.31 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973



Fig.32 Levinthal, *Hitler Moves East*, 1973

Chapter Three: William Wegman, Ideas Outside the Box

By 1970 it was clear that a new type of art was emerging in the New York and European art worlds. Quickly labeled Conceptual or Idea Art, the form encompassed an extraordinary variety of works. What they all seemed to have in common was a rejection of the "bourgeois" aspects of traditional art. Works of Idea Art frequently did not actually exist as objects. Rather, they remained as ideas; frequently, what did exist was only some kind of documentation referring to the concept...The idea that Conceptual works would become a subject for qualitative speculation engaging the attention of the connoisseur was unimaginable. In addition, such matters of technique as color value, drawing, composition, and pictorial depth became all but useless when applied to the new form.

Gregory Battcock¹

In the light of the new critical skepticism toward "high art" that began to surface in the intellectual glimmerings around Pop art and its mythologies, the lack of interest of art marketeers and collectors marked photography with a Utopian potential. Thus, the thought occurred that a photograph might be the Picture which could not be integrated into "the regime," the commercial-bureaucratic-discursive order which was rapidly becoming the object of criticisms animated by the attitudes of the Student Movement and the New Left...Photography could emerge socially as art only at the moment when its aesthetic presuppositions seemed to be undergoing a withering radical critique, a critique apparently aimed at foreclosing any further aestheticization or "artification" of the medium. Photoconceptualism led the way toward the complete acceptance of photography as art - autonomous, bourgeois, collectible art - by virtue of insisting that this medium might be privileged to be the negation of that whole idea...Inscribed in a new avant-gardism, and blended with elements of text, sculpture, painting, or drawing, photography became the quintessential "anti-object."

Jeff Wall²

In 1978, John Szarkowski, Director of the Department of Photography at The Museum of Modern Art published a book, Mirrors and Windows, American Photography Since 1960, to accompany an exhibition at the museum.³ Szarkowski presented this work as a "critically focused view of the art of photography as it has evolved in the United States during the past two decades." The photographs of William Wegman were not in the catalogue of pictures, although they would, in time, be brought into the collection of the museum. Wegman's photographs, were neither "mirrors" nor "windows," they were not portraits of the artist and they were not windows "through which one might better know the world."⁴ Rather than engaging any of these canonical modernist practices, Wegman developed fluid, ideational constructs in his pictures: studio or outdoor set-ups, ideas originating outside the frame of the photograph, which were then photographed.

Wegman's pictures are the intentional, visual formatting of conceptual ideas and performance projects - often jokes, but always involving a manipulation of the viewer's perceptual expectations. Central to many of these ideas is the relationship between the artist and a surrogate, involving the displacement of the photographer as artist or performer. The surrogate that Wegman frequently moves in, problematizing expectations of stable signifiers, is a dog, a sculptural canine; the dog is short-haired, a minimalist if large creature, and named, in a fairly clear appropriation of art history, Man Ray. Some of the conceptual techniques that Wegman uses in his photographs - and in his short videos - recall the metaphoric structures that Freud analyzed in Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious.⁵ In that text, published in 1905, five years after The Interpretation of Dreams, Freud analyzed the mechanisms of joke-work as a developed form of play, one that shared with dream-work the techniques of reduction, substitution, faulty reasoning, and displacement.⁶ Wegman's appropriation of joke-work structure - the techniques of substitution, reduction and absurdity - is reinforced

by a parallel appropriation of television's situation comedy and advertising strategies.⁷ But most significantly, in the anti-aestheticism of Wegman's photographs and the construction of studio and site set-ups, the purpose of these photographs is not to be either "mirror" or "window," but to be a collation of disparate parts, post-modern in logic, and having as its aspiration the formation of an innovative viewing experience.

"Drinking Milk," 1971 (fig.33), is a diptych, a work made up of two photographs of Wegman's stomach, positioned to play off one another by presenting slight differences and uneven sizes. The photographs re-present an idea Wegman was working on simultaneously in a video - well-loved in video circles - the idea of a stomach engaged in activities usually reserved to a face; in the video the stomach sings, in the diptych the stomach drinks milk.⁸ Both the video, **Stomach Song**, 1970 - 1971, and the photographs, "Drinking Milk," problematize the reference and the reality; in Fredric Jameson's sense the viewer is left "with that pure and random play of signifiers that we call postmodernism."⁹ In the two photographs of the diptych, the face is displaced downwards to the stomach, and is reduced to what is recognizably a face's essential markers: the eyes and the mouth.¹⁰ The nipples of the torso substitute for the eyes, the bellybutton becomes a tiny mouth - almost no mouth. Wegman's torso, for the displacement is within the frame of his own body, absurdly becomes capable of having an expression: the nipple / eyes stare straight out at the viewer in the first photograph, possibly with the pleasure of staisfaction, and squint with concentration in the second photograph. In both photographs the bellybutton drinks milk from a hand-held glass with a bent straw. The attribute of hairiness becomes a destabilized signifier as it shifts from bodyhair to facial hair, descriptive of eyelashes / beard. The expressiveness of the torso in all likelihood comes from Wegman raising and lowering his arms, but the viewer reads the sectioned bodyscape presented here as inscribed with functional capabilities generally attributed to the head: a stomach does register sensations internally, but here Wegman proposes that a stomach should actually view

its own filling, as this one does at its filling with milk. The photographs' cut, uneven size, and the natural indentation of the lines of the torso, give the viewer an uncanny sense of the "face's" expressive movement: an abstracted re-working of the video's concept, where pulling the stomach in and out to Wegman's accompanying noises produces the "song."¹¹ Central images of the video performance, **Stomach Song**, are cut and reassembled in the diptych, working in much the same way that film stills abstract and re-present the significant, dramatic activity of a film. In the process of collation, the diptych loosely "reshuffles the fragments of preexistent texts."¹²

The reshuffling of pre-existent texts must additionally include a reference to Man Ray's photograph, "Le Minotaure" of circa 1935 (fig.34).¹³ In that photograph, the torso's shifting position between female form and bull's head is visually achieved by the elimination of the human head and the upraised arms that simulate the shape of the bull's horns. However, the aesthetic parameters of Man Ray's photograph are visually clear: the abstract, sculptural form of the torso is privileged, hair, raised nipple, swelling breast are seductively rendered in tonal contrasts that deliver a palpable sensation of theatrical presence. The photograph is cleared of vernacular reference, the slight roughness of the underarm notwithstanding. As an aesthetic object, the photograph signifies the surrealism or the non-realism of the project. In opposition, Wegman's photographs announce a situation in non-abstract, non-aesthetic, vernacular culture. The edge of blue jean material, the bent paper straw, the undifferentiated tonalities present the appearance of reality, the thing itself: the snapshot, perhaps. Wegman's photographic images are situated in the gap between the presentation and the suggestion; the pictures imply issues that are rooted, in Hal Foster's sense, in "forms that deny the idea of a privileged aesthetic realm," and in the visual field of contemporary culture.¹⁴

Humor is rare and difficult to accept in art. Lyrical humor - perhaps - as in Joan Miro's art, where it combines with extraordinary formal, visual beauty.

Wegman's humor is subversive; Craig Owens wrote in a review: "He uses it to undermine all belief, to dislodge all certainty, to discredit all dogma."¹⁵ The humor is vernacular and drawn from mass culture: from the abbreviated, situation comedy of television and television advertising - short segments that have an easily accessible entrance and exit - and also from the viewer's naturalization of photography's system of signifiers. The techniques of Freudian joke-work and situation comedy, along with manipulations of perception are the mechanisms of Wegman's working practice, both in video and in photography. But the pictures resonate seriously with Jeff Wall's expectations of a Utopian potential for photography: the "Picture which could not be integrated into 'the regime.'" If Wegman's pictures are formatted to address issues of perception and the dubious nature of representation, the methodology is to appropriate verbal punning to visual ends, and to offer ideational constructions for rereadings. The play of concept against visual image is central to Wegman's photographic process: in opposition to a decisive, photographic moment, stopped by the click of a shutter, the fluidity of on-going narration is presented as one of many possible capabilities of the photographic frame.

Wegman's black-and-white photographs, the diptychs and the series, were worked out during the years that minimal and conceptual artists were using photography to document processes of art making that did not easily yield exhibitable objects.¹⁶ During the late '60s and '70s, some artists had as their innovative goal the presentation of a new viewing field that was both creative and political in its objective¹⁷ References to the work of Carl Andre, Robert Morris, Sol Le Witt and Richard Serra, can be traced in Wegman's photographs of the early '70s, but the unifying concern, past the humorous allusions to Serra's sheets of steel or Robert Smithson's rock sites, was an idea that, as Gregory Battcock phrased it, "The artist has to create new notions of scale, space, containment, shape and object. He must reconstruct the relationship between art as object and between object and man."¹⁸ Wegman addressed some of

the problems of scale and space through strategies of conceptual and visual manipulation; shifting perspectives on object and viewer were skewed further by the introduction of a dog, formally and sculpturally beautiful, as object and subject. Within a field of obvious play, Wegman outlined a highly idiosyncratic strategy for the "anti-aesthetic:" it was a strategy that denied both a "privileged aesthetic realm," and the high seriousness of contemporary critical texts.¹⁹ Purposefully eliding the space between high art and mass culture, Wegman's forms - photography, video, drawing - significantly question the role of the avant-garde as necessarily either elite or oppositional and propose instead a working space within contemporary culture.

*

Video, a technology that became affordably available to artists in the late '60s, became a practice of significance to Wegman. It was a space where he worked out ideas that were seminal to his simultaneous production of photographs in the '70s. Noted down but unscripted ideas were experimented with in the short videos: later reels collect the free-flowing and easily humorous segments into sequenced gatherings. Wegman drew the video formats loosely from television's situation comedy and from television's advertising: there were short, quick points to make - there was a narrative entrance and exit.²⁰ If the conceptual construction could be played out fully in the few-minute videos, the photographic format forced a reduction that seemed to abstract and still the original scenario. However, the lengthier activity continued to resonate in the photographs - like an after-image - imparting a narrative fluidity that continued to operate in opposition to strictures about photography's connection to a "decisive moment." The latent energy of condensed narrative and movement continues to work within the frames, as the viewing subject imagines an expansion of their defined space. In absorbing and transmuting the formats of mass media technology, Wegman's video production and sequential photography worked within parameters analyzed by Rosalind Krauss in a seminal article on video art, published in a collection of essays

edited by Gregory Battcock in 1978.²¹ The article has continued to have resonance in the field of video studies because the closely reasoned, theoretical structure provided a framework for much future work.²² Titled "Video: The Aesthetics of Narcissism," Krauss primarily analyzed the central core of the new technology's mechanism of instant feedback, and, referencing Jacques Lacan's work, the disconcerting split between self and monitor (screen / mirror).²³ Additionally she discussed the impact of mass media and mass culture on the working practices of artists in the '70s.

She noted the increasing evaporation of boundaries separating the art world from mass media, and wrote particularly about art produced specifically for the cultural media, an area that the art journals *Artforum* and *Avalanche* were pursuing creatively and aggressively throughout the '70s and '80s.²⁴

I do wish to make a connection...And that is between the institution of a self formed by video feedback and the real situation that exists in the art world from which the makers of video come. In the last fifteen years that world has been deeply and disastrously affected by its relation to mass media. That an artist's work be published, reproduced, and disseminated through the media has become, for the generation that has matured in the last decade, virtually the only means of verifying its existence as art. The demand for instant replay in the media - in fact the creation of work that does not exist outside of that replay, as is true of conceptual art and its nether side, body art - finds its obvious correlative in an aesthetic mode by which the self is created through the electronic device of feedback.²⁵

The essay is significant because Wegman's video and photographic work of the '70s address many of the issues Krauss outlined: the intentional separation of the modernist art world from the post-modern world of media forms and mass culture, the construction and analysis of the bodyscape from sources of electronic feedback, and particularly the impact of the readily available video monitor. Wegman's shift to the dog, Man Ray, as artist / performer problematizes the issue of narcissism in his work; in all likelihood, the shift was part of a serious effort to critique the hermetic position of

the modernist artist, conceived as safely outside the precincts of mass culture. As an aside, Wegman noted in an interview simply that the dog “was fun to use in the taping and diverting from the inherent narcissism concerning ‘putting oneself on TV.’”²⁶ During the '60s and the '70s, performance art became a field for conceptual ideas, and either videos or photographs a way to preserve them.²⁷ For Wegman, the fields of performance, video and photography freely intersected – ideas transferring from one space to another because boundaries between mediums had intentionally been obscured. Radical, serious, and often humorous in their seriousness, at that time performance art could not be handily valued or situated in the marketplace. However, the deliberately un-aesthetic records of the performances – photographs first, the more difficult-to-view videos later, did acquire institutional validation and became the objects / documents that entered museum departments in the '80s and '90s.

“Back Bend (True / False),” 1970, (fig.35) consists of two photographs, again arranged as a diptych: the two photographs, in comparison to one another, making a point that the single one cannot. Wegman, in performance, is bent at the knees, stiffly executing half a back bend: “becoming a line experienced abstractly in relation to depth,” a foreshadowing of Krauss’s analysis of Richard Serra’s sculpture.²⁸ His arms are held closely at his sides, maintaining the profile of an intended, tilted arc: he is standing on what appears to be a Carl-Andre-inspired, gridded, concrete field. The background of the enterprise is a landscape that looks as though a long tube of Dan Flavin’s light runs along the baseline of the trees. One of the photographs is mounted to show the light strip and Wegman on a diagonal axis; the other has Wegman and the light strip at a horizontal level. Either take on the world seems plausible: is Wegman balanced on the side of an incline or is he bending back over a level playing field? On close examination it becomes noticeable that the trees in the photograph that shows the incline are growing straight, whereas at the site of the level field they veer distinctly off the perpendicular. Wegman offers the viewer a series of perceptual choices and

additionally, as performance artist turned literally anthropomorphic sculpture, several "theatrical" takes on the purity of minimalist sculpture. The new convention of non-anthropomorphic horizontal format, the serious seriality of the grid, and the formalist purging sculpture of humanist association are all offered for examination, if in seeming lightheartedness. Transmuted into a minimalist sculpture, the scale of Wegman's body against the site becomes a shifting signifier, as does the play between Wegman as subject and object.

Wegman's photographic work of the early '70s is generally arranged either sequentially or in diptych format, documenting a performance or a contrast that operates on a perceptual manipulation of the viewing field. It is possible that Wegman draws the concept from the art history classroom, where viewing comparative slides to illustrate a point of similarity and difference is traditional practice. In "Milk / Floor," 1970 (fig.36), the dog, Man Ray, shapes a form - oddly reminiscent of Lynda Benglis' liquid shapes of the late '60s - by lapping the edges of a mass of spilt / thrown milk.²⁹ The milk mass lies on floor boards placed horizontally in one photograph, vertically in the other; the dog is formatted as a performer, an artist - irreverent humor is certainly built into the pictures. There is a sense of condensed narrative in these frames, an encouragement to the viewer to read what is *going on*, an overt elimination of the fixed moment traditionally associated with the still photograph. The structure of abstract performance continues to be the central core of Wegman's confidently commercial polaroid work of the '80s and '90s, and it is explicit in the beautiful, slick video work of the same period.

On a page from a catalogue of Wegman's drawings, why draw, a combined schematic sign and text serves as an abbreviated summation of Wegman's working methodology and an illustration of his combination of media. The text is scrawled freely above, and below, in separate boxes are - "(photo) (video) (drawing)" William Wegman."³⁰ The diagram situates video between the photographs and the drawings: a

moving medium that shifts between two stabilized systems of signs. But behind the diagram, unseen in yet another space, are Wegman's stories: simple, short, notations of verbal sketches and situations. The stories, the "little tales," function as ideational structures for gossamer happenings that shape the form of the photographs and the videos.³¹ Is the dog lapping milk or shaping a form; is the space different because the floorboards are in opposition? The shifting perception of what the two photographs accomplish undermine the modernist understanding of the photograph as "the decisive moment," a time when the camera's shutter clicks and a frame is produced that defines a particular and absolute meaning. Wegman's photographs are post-modern in their effort to undermine absolute meaning, and they turn instead to contingencies, possibilities: "I know the normal take well enough to have a different take, but I don't have any set notion about the nature of reality or what the world's really about."³²

Wegman's appropriation of the visual language of video media addresses the point Frederic Jameson makes about video's "cultural hegemony:"

That film has today become postmodernist, or at least certain films have, is obvious enough...The argument turned, however, on the priority of these forms, that is, their capacity to serve as some supreme and privileged, symptomatic, index of the zeitgeist...Film and literature no longer do that, although I will not belabor the largely circumstantial evidence of the increasing dependency of each on materials, forms, technology, and even thematics borrowed from the other art or medium I have in mind as the most likely candidate for cultural hegemony today. The identity of that candidate is certainly no secret: it is clearly video, in its twin manifestations as commercial television and experimental video, or "video art."³³

Perhaps commercial television was the clearer and more controlling representative of the zeitgeist, for video art was, in the '60s and early '70s, still situated in a removed, Utopian sphere. Video, produced by determinedly inaccessible avant-garde filmmakers, with a positive commitment to boredom, was viewed in a format that presented the visually unseductive quality of real time - as opposed to filmic, fictive

time - on grainy, wobbly electromagnetic tapes.³⁴ Martha Rosler, an artist who became involved with video in its earliest stages, described the theoretical position of her work in the '60s as a socially activist critique of the hegemonic power of commercial, broadcast television:

Not only a systemic but also a utopian critique was implicit in video's early use, for the effort was not to enter the system but to transform every aspect of it and - legacy of the revolutionary avant-garde project - to redefine the system out of existence by merging art with social life and making audience and producer interchangeable.³⁵

The histories of video have been written from both creative and technological viewpoints. The creative histories begin with the innovations of the Fluxus artists and Nam June Paik's extraordinary work of the early '60s.³⁶ Sony's introduction of the inexpensive, user-friendly Portapak in the mid-'60s heads into the teleology of technology, a methodology often associated with the histories of photography. If Krauss argued that video formats narcissism, and defines a theater of the self inflected by media practices, than Rosler, in opposition, describes video art as an attempt to "develop a new poetry from this everyday 'language' of television."³⁷

Wegman draws on the forms of television for the video art he produces, not necessarily for potential poetry or the possibilities of a theater of the self, but for issues of scale, containment, and the relationship between object and viewer. The work explores John Hartley's point: "that television ought to be understood not as a technology, nor even as an aesthetic system, but much more broadly as one of the fundamental human mechanisms for sense-making, comparable to speech itself."³⁸ The connections, and the abstractions that Wegman makes between video work, photographs, drawings and the "little tales," describe a system of constantly shifting signifiers, clearly an intention to upset the modernist paradigm of photograph's "decisive moment," and the "capacity of a small hand-held camera to seize a telling picture from the flux of life."³⁹ Further underscoring a post-modern withdrawal from

the sense-making of the photographic analogon, Wegman's construction of site and studio set-up also dispensed with Robert Frank's model of the "road trip," the journey to find meaning, to "better know the world."⁴⁰ Wegman's post-modern constructions avoid the stable fields signified by the "decisive moment" or the "road trip;" in their place he has substituted the reductive language of video and television, and a range of narrative devices and shifting signifiers.

*

Wegman began experimenting with video technology in 1969 when he was teaching sculpture in the university art department at Madison, Wisconsin.⁴¹ After graduating from the University of Illinois at Champaign, he went to Wisconsin to teach. He circulated throughout the state's studio art departments for the next three years - Wausau in 1967, Waukesha University in 1968, finally being awarded the position of "visiting artist" at Madison University in 1969. There, in addition to beginning work with video, he did performance pieces - "throwing radios off buildings and photographing them" - and site constructions: "This was the era of the piece movement...outdoor pieces and indoor pieces - floor pieces."⁴² However, the studio art department at Madison had half-inch recording equipment available, and Wegman used the video-recorder on a regular basis. He began to produce short video pieces, generally under a minute long.⁴³

My first use of video was in 1969 when I was a visiting artist in painting and sculpture at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. I had been using photographs in my installation pieces and made two super 8 films. I borrowed a VTR and camera from the education department and set it up alone in my studio. By pointing the camera at an area and setting the monitor so I could view it in front, I could turn it on, run to the area, and do something, then play it back....⁴⁴

In Video Culture, John Hanhardt notes that the history of experimental video is often considered in its relationship to the appropriated techniques of television, and to its meta-critical discourse on the hegemonic position of broadcast television.⁴⁵

Certainly the techniques of Wegman's first short video pieces are part and parcel of this history in their use of the mechanisms of commercial television. But what made Wegman's early video pieces different from other experimental work was their accessibility, the mode of television-like quick humor, the deliberate avoidance of the attitudes of hermeticism, and critical boredom. Wegman worked easily with the basic premises of television and video – accessible, domestic scale and the materiality of the monitor's opaque, milky screen. In terms of viewing, television's material effect departs fundamentally from that of film, in large part because of the domestic, physical space – the living room, the bedroom - it incorporates. If film is a social activity, a participation with other viewing subjects within a viewing space sought as a destination - a dimly lit, public theater - then television, in contrast, is a predominantly domestic, private, on-off activity, a peering at a relatively small, glass screen, off in scale for a persuasive illusion of reality – or so it was with the screen sizes of the '70s.

The viewing activity of film and television divides at still another level: the strip of film is viewed through projected light, within a space of darkness, while television contains its own light and holds the image on the surface of its box. Television, as Sean Cubitt remarks, is "perfectly real, perfectly material. There is nothing immaterial about the sounds and images that emanate from the box in the corner."⁴⁶ Television programming, more than film, has become a reductive visual language geared to short segment viewing, on / off attention: its images have been absorbed into visual patterns and vernacular speech.⁴⁷ The codes and short-hand economies of the "box in the corner" are a vocabulary that Wegman has appropriated.

Wegman's strategies with video art and performance at Madison situated him with a group of artists that Jeff Wall describes as uncomfortable with the fact that "photography had not yet become 'avant-garde' in 1960 or 1965...It had not yet accomplished the preliminary autodestruction, or deconstruction, which the other arts had established as fundamental to their development...."⁴⁸ But if photography had

not become 'avant-garde' by 1965, it was in the process of that transformation by 1969. Wegman and Robert Cumming, two artists involved in that process, are pictured in a photograph of 1969 at a site in Milwaukee, Wisconsin (fig.37).⁴⁹ They have arranged themselves in an area that looks somewhat like a stage - possibly the remains of a cellar or building foundation - they are perched on rocks, between the sides of the cellar and back wall, which is covered with large lettering- a woman's name and a date, "9 / 10 / 60." marking the beginning of a decade particularly associated with political, sexual, and racial upheaval. References to site work, to the work of Michael Heizer, Robert Morris, and Robert Smithson, are suggested in the assembled and strewn materials: the soft hanging strings on the left of the photograph, reaching down from supports in the wall, can be read as an allusion to the work of Eva Hesse. Planks of wood or styrofoam are in Wegman's and Cumming's hands and in the surrounding debris. Scattered cubes of white material, in all likelihood styrofoam again, can be read as either giant marshmallows or shapes of controlled substances. This is a picture of artists performing at a site-specific cookout, conscious perhaps of other outdoor picnics in the history of painting, but intending in the photograph to present either the record of a Happening, or a commentary about shifting signifiers: but not a "mirror" nor a "window," and not, at any rate, to be conclusive in meaning.

*

In 1970, Wegman deliberately turned from documenting performance and ephemeral site pieces to the construction of studio and site set-ups: "I could construct a picture and that way directly produce a work - not a secondary record of it."⁵⁰ Among the first photographs of studio set-ups was "Cotto" (fig.38). It is a photograph of Wegman's ink-circled, ringed hand picking up one of five slices of Cotto salami that lie, in orderly fashion, on a white plate. The plate is set against a dark background splattered with galaxies of light dot-like shapes; the relationships of the forms are spatially indeterminate, but pictorial depth and recession are eliminated. The controlled

studio set-up offered a directorial space to resolve the problems and the flux of site pieces. With the production of set-up studio photographs, and constructed moments, Wegman turned away, for the time being, from the production of complicated outdoor performance pieces.⁵¹

In 1970 Wegman also left Wisconsin for California. However, on that journey he did not attempt to re-experience Robert Frank's searching road trip; he did not, in Jack Kerouac's words, attempt to suck "a sad poem right out of America onto film."⁵² Frank's journey, and the photographs that he made along the way, had resulted in a highly influential book, The Americans, published with an introduction by Kerouac. Wegman did not respond to either the heat of Kerouac's city streets or to hearing Kerouac's music coming from America's jukeboxes.⁵³ He avoided the intellectual ground of the American road trip, where, unavoidably, during that experience, a moving photographer stops and speedily records, or "shoots" a picture, finding if not a "Decisive Moment," at least a significant scene. Frank's photographs suggest to the viewer, following Cartier-Bresson in some respects, that the visible world produces photographic representation, and that embedded in that representation can be a spiritual reflection of the artist. In its infinite permutations, The Americans, is a synthesis of Szarkowski's paradigms: for the book's purpose was to illustrate that a photograph could be both "mirror" and "window." Wegman avoided these issues and the precedent of The Americans by simply driving across country, and arriving in California. That the issues were there and by-passed was noted later in a video, Trip Across Country, Reel 4, 1973-74: "You go through a lot of little towns and its mostly flat...."⁵⁴ Settled in California, in September of 1970 he bought a dog and named the dog Man Ray.

Wegman had left Wisconsin to teach at the California State University at Long Beach; once there he joined a community of artists who were both in modest rebellion against the textual strictures of minimalist purity and conceptualist rigor and interested

in examining the mass culture of Hollywood. The same year that Wegman arrived, John Baldessari was invited to join the faculty at the California Institute of the Arts. Baldessari developed into a seminal figure, teaching a wide circle of artists, and offering students a methodology that evolved from his first courses on "Post-studio Art."⁵⁵ Like Allan Kaprow at Rutgers University, Baldessari was trying to eliminate the traditional boundaries that had separated the fields of painting, sculpture and photography; he was also trying to eliminate the art historical methodology that separated ideas into groups of practitioners: abstract expressionist, conceptualists, minimalists. In his own art practice, he was constructing works based more on cerebral mechanisms than retinal pleasures and noted in an interview with Coosje van Bruggen that "the ideal art for me would be complex for myself and simple enough for the public." ⁵⁶

Ed Ruscha's work was also highly significant to the interconnected arts community that Wegman joined in California, particularly the work he developed as small books of photographs. The most widely known among them were Twentysix Gasoline Stations, Every Building on the Sunset Strip and Royal Road Trip, which documented the demise of a typewriter ejected from a car on a California highway: it was both a performance piece and notice of the end of a genre. During the '60s the Pasadena Art Museum mounted three extraordinary exhibitions: in 1963 an exhibition of Pop Art, a revelatory exhibition of Marcel Duchamp's work in 1964, and in 1970 an extensive showing of Andy Warhol's work. The innovative artistic culture of California, largely situated in the university art programs, was strengthened during the '70s by visiting artists. Baldessari was the source of many of the invitations:

One of the things I worked for at CalArts was to break the stranglehold of the L.A. aesthetic. I constantly pushed to hire not from L.A. but from New York and Europe - to bring an alternative aesthetic...In the 1970s, we were bringing out artists who are known now, but they were formative then: Doug Huebler, Joseph Kosuth, Robert Smithson, Robert Barry, Lawrence

Weiner, Daniel Buren, Vito Acconci, Dan Graham,
Hans Haacke, Sol Lewitt.⁵⁷

*

In 1970, the summer that Wegman arrived in California, Kynaston L. McShine curated an exhibition called "INFORMATION" for The Museum of Modern Art in New York City. In an essay for the catalogue, McShine summed up the working practices of the contributing artists to the exhibition:

The material presented by the artists is considerably varied, and also spirited, if not rebellious - which is not very surprising, considering the general social, political, and economic crises that are almost the universal phenomena of 1970. If you are an artist in Brazil, you know of at least one friend who is being tortured; if you are in Argentina, you probably have had a neighbor who has been in jail for having long hair, or for not being 'dressed properly'; and if you are living in the United States, you may fear that you will be shot at, either in the universities, in your bed, or more formally in Indochina. It may seem too inappropriate, if not absurd, to get up in the morning, walk into a room, and apply dabs of paint from a little tube to a square of canvas. What can you as a young artist do that seems relevant and meaningful? One necessity is, therefore, at least to move with the cultural stresses...to extend the idea of art, to renew the definition. Many of the highly intellectual and serious young artists represented here have addressed themselves to the question of how to create an art that reaches out to an audience larger than that which has been interested in contemporary art in the last few decades. Their attempt to be poetic and imaginative, without either being aloof or condescending has led them into the communications areas that INFORMATION reflects.⁵⁸

The production of the catalogue reflected the mediating presence of new communication formats as represented in younger artists' work: the design of the front cover shows typewriters, telephones, televisions, cars - all printed in newsprint dot, the image broken up by the screen of mechanical reproduction. The pages of the catalogue are of a soft, newspaper buff and the titles and text are the graphics of a typewriter font reproduced. The catalogue's production contrasted markedly with the museum's traditional format, evidenced in Walker Evans' American Photographs (1938) or

Edward Steichen's catalogue for another museum exhibition, The Family of Man (1955).

The material gathered for McShine's exhibition, originally intended by the museum as an international overview of advanced, young art production, was both provocative and illuminating. Its major thesis was the pervasive influence on culture of new communications systems, specifically television and film, but, even more significantly, for those media had been around awhile, the new immediacy of transmission. The art of INFORMATION was provided by film stills, photographs, documents, directions, diagrams, ideas.

Dan Graham's contribution, "March 31, 1966," listed numbers of miles, in graduated form, from the edge of the known universe down to the distance from the cornea to the retinal wall: the solar system, Washington, D.C., and the typewriter paper, among others, were intermediate distances. Two of the artists represented in the exhibition, Douglas Huebler and Ruscha, produced work that Wegman drew from: Huebler had exhibited both Wegman's and Cumming's work when he was teaching, uncharacteristically, at a small girls' school in Massachusetts, Bradford Junior College.⁵⁹ Huebler's contribution to the INFORMATION exhibition was a series of fifteen photographs, "Location Piece #28: New England, December, 1969."⁶⁰ The photographs were made at the moment the driver of an automobile or truck looked up at Huebler's "passing car." Two photographs from the series were included in the catalogue. Ruscha exhibited a boxed portfolio, "Stains," consisting of 75 listed marks.⁶¹ But the lasting impact of "INFORMATION," as an exhibition and as a reference catalogue, was to present the formatting of media signifying systems within the context of art-making practice and to present ideas as art.⁶²

McShine also included a wide range of films in the exhibition. Among the selection were the films of Willoughby Sharp, the editor of *Avalanche* - where a generous representation of Wegman's work of the '70s was published - and two films

of Andy Warhol's.⁶³ The Warhol films, both produced in a 16mm, silent, black and white format, were **Sleep**, 1963, and **Empire**, 1964.⁶⁴ Those films were the introduction for many video-makers to the radical concept of real time, as opposed to fictive time, and through exceptionally extended film length, the means of extending the boundaries of viewing perception and participation.⁶⁵ Sol Lewitt contributed a "Proposal For Wall Drawing, INFORMATION Show," a project that involved four draftsmen working on four squares for four hours for four days. But the ideational core of the exhibition and of the catalogue was the production of a new system of signs and meanings that drew from the codes of film and television: it was not just that the art object had dematerialized, it had also moved to different wave lengths and signification systems.

For Wegman, some of the radical formatting of the "INFORMATION" exhibition had been accessible to him through contact with Huebler, who though older became, somewhat belatedly, a significant figure in the development of conceptual art.⁶⁶ In the years 1967-68, Huebler devised a format, linguistic and photographic, that structured the visual presentation of an idea - it was a format that clearly influenced Wegman, as well as other artists. Typewritten directions and photographs documented the information that Huebler intended to convey: together the two signifying systems mapped the referential terrain of the piece to be produced. For a catalogue cobbled together to accompany an exhibition at Seth Siegelau's gallery in January of 1969, Huebler formulated a statement that would continue to ripple in ever-widening circles throughout the '70s:

The world is full of objects, more or less interesting; I do not wish to add any more.

I prefer, simply, to state the existence of things in terms of time and place.

More specifically, the work concerns itself with things whose interrelationship is beyond direct perceptual experience.

Because the work is beyond direct perceptual experience, awareness of the work depends on a system of documentation.

This documentation takes the form of photographs, maps, drawings and descriptive language.⁶⁷

Huebler, echoing Walter Benjamin, referred to photography as a "duplicating device," further freeing the medium from its "mirror / window" status and placing the practice, non-hierarchically, within a complex system of representation comprised of language sign and visual sign.⁶⁸ In the late '60s, Huebler was producing the conceptual work that led Wegman to name the time as the "era of the piece movement": the "Variable Pieces," the "Duration Pieces," and the "Location Pieces."⁶⁹ "Location Piece #1." February, 1969, consisted of thirteen photographs: each photograph was made through an airplane window as it flew over the thirteen states that separated New York from Los Angeles. The photographs were not aesthetic objects but were the documents that gave visual form to the ideational core of the piece, the mechanism for reproducing an artist's experience in the mind of the viewer, much as the idea of Warhol's film *Sleep* was initially traced in the film and then later only in the viewer's mind.⁷⁰

In an interview with Sharp, the editor of *Avalanche*, an art magazine that published original work by artists in the early '70s, Ruscha described the development of Twentysix Gasoline Stations, a small, book of silver-gray photographs that he published in 1963.⁷¹ In wording that is reflected in Wegman's "eureka" text, and in the moment that produced the photograph "Cotto," Ruscha recounted waking in the middle of the night with an idea about a work that would be photographs of twenty-six gasoline stations and titled accordingly.⁷² In the work, as with Huebler's, the idea would have priority over the execution, but the book would also be published with infinite care as Ruscha, more than Huebler, considered the finished book essentially a work of art. The art was about looking at a certain southwestern lifestyle, and finding a particular significance in some things, and not as much significance in other things. Ruscha's infinite care with the book's production reflected the premise that it was an art

object, but an art object designed to pass into a wide circle of contemporary culture by means of editions numbered in the thousands. Ideationally different than other work of the '60s that existed beyond the spheres of galleries and museums, such as site work or piece work, Ruscha's book was innovative in the sense that it moved art from site or gallery into the hands of viewers and entailed very little expense in the process.

Sharp commented: "I can't think of any artist of the sixties who could produce something he could call his art for a couple of bucks."⁷³ Twentysix Gasoline Stations, 1962, was first published in 1963 by the Cunningham Press in Alhambra, California in a numbered edition of 400; a second edition was republished in 1967 in 500 unnumbered copies. The book is still available through Ruscha's studio. The idea of owning semi-commercial art, produced for the media, "for a couple of bucks," informs Wegman's later video productions of the '90s, **Alphabet Soup** and **Hardly Gold**. With Ruscha, Wegman took the position that an affordable art object could bridge the gap between elite and vernacular culture: that accessibility was not antithetical to seriousness of intent.⁷⁴

Twentysix Gasoline Stations is a small white book: the title, printed in orange, divides the book cover into three spaces, as does the title printed on the slim spine. The book cover is protected by a very thin sheet of glassine: an indication that the book is possibly fragile and a suggestion to take care. The twenty-six photographs of gasoline stations are a group culled from fifty, and they are of stations across the west and southwest: Texas, Oklahoma, Arizona, New Mexico, California. The collection does not read as a narrative road trip. The photographs, devoid of people or of "human interest," present the gas stations as signifiers of culture, as sculptural forms that vernacular culture produces. In Ruscha's pictures the stations are transmuted into icons, shapes that signify a particular segment of American life and way of living: a lifestyle that is intrinsic to the highway, the strip and later the mall. Two photographs of stations from the same town are sequenced consecutively and placed on facing

pages: "Mobil, Williams, Arizona," and "Standard, Williams, Arizona." The buildings, the stations, their signage, the pumps and cars fill the center spaces of both frames. Blank sky, minimal landscape, and a foreground of lined and eroding concrete brackets the central strip. Devoid of human content or association, the station becomes a site specific sculptural form of vernacular culture, briefly heroicized.

Ruscha's The Sunset Strip, 1966, is again a small book, intentionally produced as an object of formal beauty, but also mass-produced – the same everywhere. Designed to fit easily into the hand of the viewer, it was presented in layers that require consecutive unwrapping. There is a narrow buff band that goes round a slip-case: the case is fabricated in shiny silver over white board. The book is fitted into the slip-case, presented with great care, as something precious, if not expensive. The book is intended to slide lightly out of the case and in turn to spill out a long, narrow sheet of low-gloss paper, ribboned at the top and bottom with bands of connected photographs. Each band pictures, by number, every building on the Sunset Strip. The book necessitates the viewer unfolding the contents: holding it in the left hand, and drawing it out with the right hand. Although the photographs spill in serial connection, there is no visual clarity of that fact and disconnections play into the viewing field. The horizon line of buildings flows continuously - there seems no apparent intention to stop time or place each building securely in a discrete photographic frame: the frames are marked but the pictures slip through the lines. There is a sense of filmic, on-going movement to the serial spill of like photographs, devoid of noticeable markers and ideationally in opposition to the "decisive moment."⁷⁵ Wegman appropriates this concept of serial spilling and sequencing, but places markers so that the viewer must note and read a perceptual differentiation.

Enter humor: "to have something come across as humor you have to be methodical about it. It has to be planned carefully," Ruscha noted in an interview with Willoughby Sharp.⁷⁶ Royal Road Test, a work Ruscha developed again in the format

of a small book, was published by Ruscha and Mason Williams. The photographer was Patrick Blackwell.⁷⁷ The spiral bound book, the size of a medium notebook, chronicles the destruction of a Royal (Model X) typewriter after it was thrown from the window of a 1963 Buick Le Sabre on Sunday, August 21, 1966 at 5:07, somewhere off U.S. Highway 91, southwest of Las Vegas, Nevada. The weather was perfect. The photographs meticulously record of remains of the typewriter as it scattered across the highway and into the desert.

In the photographs' total absence of scale there is a monumentality that references the earthworks projects of Michael Heizer and Robert Smithson and the incongruity of presenting the record of such monumental work in such small frames. The explosion of the typewriter into infinite, twisted bits is organized into pictures of formal elegance: "Carriage Roll Guide With Sleeves," (fig.39) sequenced across from "Tab Key Top (photographed as found in bush)," (fig.40) records the rod's perfect horizontal position across a section of the desert terrain. The composition simulates a minimalist sculpture: a form of steel sited against the rough grain of boulder and earth. the heroic and the miniature calibrated to be of equal measure. Across, "Tab Key Top," the painterly abstraction of roadside branches have caught the Key in a web of simulation: here referencing Jackson Pollock's thrown paint skeins and the heroic myths of abstract expressionism's histories. Humor, methodically wrought and seriously intended, informs this work of Ruscha's: circling the road trip of American literature and the texts of American conceptualism and minimalism. Some of this content, reasoning skewed and performers substituted, will be appropriated in Wegman's work where the humor is a little more foregrounded and accessible.

*

When Wegman's contract at California State University at Long Beach was not renewed, he picked up and moved to a large studio in Santa Monica, near Venice. There, sustained by Ruscha's regular purchases of photographs, Wegman bought an

assemblage of prop's from Goodwill's used supplies: the growing stock of objects served as an odd stimulation for the development and interaction between the production of videos and the conceptual photographs.⁷⁸ Wegman described the studio set-ups to Liza Bear in an *Avalanche* interview: "I present a situation and develop some kind of explanation around it. By the time the story is over you get to know why that particular prop or mannerism was displayed."⁷⁹ Seven reels of videos were produced between 1970 and 1978, based on situations or short narratives and lasting, in direct contrast to much other video work of this period, comparatively short viewing times.⁸⁰ The photographs, done simultaneously, also circled situations and depended on props: perceptual situations, short performances and joke-work. All situations continued to draw from the vocabulary of situation television and upon mechanisms of substitution, absurdity and skewed reasoning.

"Portable TV," 1971, (fig.41) is a model for this studio set-up work: the one-liner photograph that implies the understood vocabulary of situation comedy and the lines of narrative. The title is typed beneath the photograph, working as a caption that imparts the meaning of the picture. What Wegman marks out in this set-up is the visual formatting of Paul Valery's description "of those components of the narrative or of the thesis that originate in the mind and are consequently imaginary...bodiless things by nature invisible to the photographic eye...."⁸¹ The idea is that Wegman is watching a television, here represented by a suitcase – thus it is portable. The photograph is neither "quick take," nor "decisive moment." It is an on-going, short narrative that invites viewer participation by reading: an idea developed outside the frame of the picture, set-up, then photographed. The technical level of the photographs in the early '70s was given little consideration: the idea was privileged and connotations of the fine art photograph avoided.⁸²

In 1971 Wegman's work was exhibited at the Pomona College Art Gallery. The exhibition, curated by Helene Weiner, director of the gallery, was called "Video

Tapes Photographic Works Arrangements." The lines between media were intentionally obscured, reflecting Wegman's practice; the focus on the modernist ontology of the photograph was also avoided. The exhibition corresponded to the theoretical position that Allan Kaprow was teaching at Rutgers University and had outlined in a "Manifesto" in 1966: that "the current blurring of boundaries dividing the arts, and dividing art from life...are not only futile but naive...yesterdays distinctions between art, antiart, and nonart are pseudo-distinctions that simply waste our time...."⁸³ Beyond the blurring of distinctions in the arts and with vernacular culture was the issue of accessibility: fine art, as a hermetic practice, was as anathetical to Kaprow's dogma as it was to Wegman's aesthetic and to Ruscha's. As much as the video work reflected Wegman's reaction to the vocabulary of television and the availability of low-tech, low-cost video equipment - the cameras, recorders, monitors, microphones - what intrigued him equally was the relative accessibility of photographs and video to public viewing.⁸⁴

Sean Cubitt describes the transmutation of TV from "the box in the corner" into myriad channels of social exchange:

TV is not a language, it is a complex of many languages - musical, literary, graphic, photographic, animated, and so on - some of which are mutually incompatible...At the same time, TV is neither an alternative nor a surrogate for reality because it doesn't replace anything: it is mere additional. Video media - camcorders, VCRs, computer games played on the TV screen - reinforce the growing materialization of TV, its movement from mere channel of other interests to the status of social fact.⁸⁵

In the videos and photographs of the '70s, Wegman is working in a space between multiple media, abstracting the complexities of TV's vernacular images and languages and reformatting them. If the core of the reasoning was minimalist-conceptualist, the production of the performance art for the photographs and videos was laced with the mechanisms of situation comedy and the structures of television advertising.

Freud's summation of joke technique, "displacement, faulty reasoning, absurdity, indirect representation, representation by the opposite," would seem in line

with the underlying strategy of Wegman's substitution of the Weimeraner dog, Man Ray, for himself as a performance artist.⁸⁶ The dog was bought as a puppy by Wegman when he was living in Long Beach and gracefully matured into a willing substitute during photography and video sessions at the studio. The play of dog-as-substitute-for-the-artist is seen in its earliest representation in a video from Reel 1: **Milk / Floor**, 1970-72.

Wegman, hair flopped down to hide all features except his nose, crawls back - away from the camera - across a floor dribbling milk from his mouth. As he exits, Man Ray emerges from the same space and, covering the track Wegman has just made, laps up the milk on the floor in front of him. The situation is reduced to essentials: the form of the man, of the dog, the shape the puddles of milk make on the floor. Here the puddle reads as abstract expressionist gesture reversed, coming from the mouth (as text) rather than the hand (as paint.) As the dog finishes, he knocks over the microphone and the camera, and so ends the piece. Frames from the video, published as stills, indicate how closely the two body forms - dog and man - correspond: the video is a play on indirect representation and the surrealist desire to transmute the bodyscape into other forms. If the shape here is not the minotaur, it is at least a very large dog. Wegman's videos have an opaque quality to them: they lie on the screen of the monitor with the flatness of photographic space, making the displacement from video to photograph or photograph to video not an unlikely transmutation. The continuing, ephemeral relationship that is spun between the videos and the photographs is in the adaptation of sequential movement and visual narration from one medium to the other – the boundaries between the forms are not discrete.

Spelling Lesson, from Reel 4 1973-74, is with **Stomach Song**, possibly among video's most enjoyable performances, particularly as viewing pleasure was not a specification of early video art.⁸⁷ In a simulation of a TV interview format, Wegman sits with Man Ray and corrects the dog's spelling: the difference between BEECH ?

BEACH seems to have been a difficulty, however PARK was spelt correctly and OUT was also gotten right. But BEACH was not - Man Ray whines, licks Wegman, and is told "okay...but remember it next time."⁸⁸ The Freudian mechanisms of joke-work can be read in the structure of the video's studio set-up and in the brief story-line - they are the techniques that similarly appear in dream-work, to the detraction in literature. Freud noted, of the subject's psychical dignity. "Displacement is responsible for the puzzling appearance of dreams, which prevents our recognizing that they are a continuation of our waking life...." Wegman's post-modern set-ups - surrogate subjects, perceptual transgressions - hover within an opaque field between cognition and recognition, suggested ideas antithetical to the premise of the classic still photograph, with its focus on a "decisive moment," and on stillness.

The sequential or paired photographs that Wegman produced during the '70s are intended to be read comparatively, or at least referentially; ideationally they form the basis for the implicit narrative content of the commercially successful, glossy polaroids of the '80s and '90s. "Before / On / After: Permutations," 1972 (fig.42) is made up of seven pictures of Man Ray arranged in grid format. The dog is displayed as a piece of sculpture, set-up, on, and off a wooden pedestal. There is a reflection in these frames of another dog, "Dread," the one pictured in Eadweard Muybridge's Animal Locomotion, published in 1887 under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania.⁸⁹ The Muybridge plate consists of twenty-four frames that document Dread moving: "One-half stride in 9 phases, An interrupted walk" (fig.43). The photographic problem posed was to record the physical motion of the dog in action: the phenomenal event as it occurred and was accessible to a series of specially rigged photographic lenses. The myth of the Muybridge construct is that the dog performs freely, without human interference or instruction; the lined grid of the backdrop behind the dog serving as the marker of unmediated, scientific accuracy. The dog appears to freeze in each frame, holding the fraction of the movement to be examined in infinitely

extended time. The intention of the original inquiry continues to still the photographic sequence: to announce the pictures as document, the photograph as analog. Despite the proximity of the pictures on the page, each unit appears discrete within its frame; the movement is contained and does not seep from picture to picture. There is an odor of formaldehyde, a visual sense of the specimen pinned to the page, an exhibition in a cabinet of curiosities. Muybridge's dog is not implicated in mechanisms of displacement or absurdity: the animal seems, on the contrary, a patient explorer of human concerns and scientific parameters

"Before / On / After: Permutations," 1972, reshuffles many texts: the modernist grid (used early by Muybridge), the minimalist-conceptualist sculpture of Sol Lewitt, Carl Andre, and Robert Smithson, and infusions of post-modern narration.⁹⁰

Wegman's use of narrative content was not singular, but part of a subtle move of inclusion in the art making practices of the early '70s: an opposition to the theoretical absence of narration in abstract expressionist work. The tendency was described by Paul Schimmel in an introduction to a conceptual exhibition catalogue, American Narrative / Story Art: 1967-1977.

Story-telling predates all other forms of expression. These stories, or themes, are not limited to the church or politics or great events as they might once have been, but encompass all these things and more. They range from stories about art to yarns that have a pureness and naivete. In this exhibition, it is the artist, his life and thinking process, his sensations, desires and visions that are seen by the viewer. The artists rely heavily on personal systems for both content and form....⁹¹

Wegman's narrative content is a personal system, but it comes into the photographs by way of video and the reductive visual vocabulary of television; the "yarns" are developed in the studio to format ideas and represent a turning away from the street, the road trip, and the wars of modernism.

The seven pictures in "Before / On / After: Permutations" are laid out in grid format - almost. The seventh picture extending at the lower right, violates the purity of

the formal grid: a shape that in the 20th century, as Krauss writes, " announces among other things, modern art's will to silence, its hostility to literature, to narrative, to discourse."⁹² Wegman's personal system includes narrative and discourse, it undermines the hermeticism and silence of the grid. For narration and the grid are inimical to one another in this sense: the grid marks discrete space within which gestures are registered - narration and discourse are fluid, continuous, linked to the viewer's reading and re-reading. Man Ray, in the seven frames of this work, ponders Platonic forms: the square, the triangle, the circle while negotiating the form of the pedestal in several positions. In the three top photographs the dog looks at cards with single marks. In the bottom row the marks are doubled: the seventh card bears all three shapes. The viewer participates in Man Ray's reading of the forms by checking the formations: the doubling and the final tripling. The story of the dog's tutelage, requires referencing the different frames: the viewer participates by examining the dog's progress. Muybridge's *Dread*, of inelegant form and drooping belly, is frozen in discrete containers: Man Ray participates in a narrative performance.

*

In 1979 Wegman bought a large scale polaroid camera. After that purchase, he turned from producing tonally indifferent black-and-white prints and conceptual studio set-ups to concentrate on portraits of Man Ray and his successors. The photographs constructed in these years describe a transference of the role of performance artist to the dogs, who seem to manage the burden without undue stress. A photograph from 1975-82, "Contemplating Art, Life and Photography," (fig.44) is an image where a new graphic complexity is evidenced - perhaps tied to the monetary ease of a Guggenheim grant and an expanded technical proficiency made possible by a Hasselblad camera and its range of filters. The photograph reaches for an aesthetic level that Wegman previously seems not to have considered necessary to his working methodology. The Hasselblad's sophisticated filters give the surface of the lake a

luminous presence, a glowing surface with multiple points of light on the waves that Wegman, with studio hand work, coalesces into tiny stars. The division of the photograph, narrow landscape band at the top and full field of water, flattens the photographic space into an absolute absence of planar recession: there is a touch of the transcendent in the presentation. Man Ray, in silhouette, sits meditatively upon the water (perhaps barely in it), looking as if he might rise and preach to the masses. The resonance of that particular iconography is inescapable as is the reference to the art history of that image. The ink-penned lettering, sprinkled against the light emanating from the water, is either Wegman's mumbling or a saint's meditation: "IDEALISM I GET SO CONFUSED ABOUT PHOTOGRAPHY LIFE ART." Interspersed with the mainframe musing are scattered "ABCs," the makings of words, and an odd "NK."

It is as if this particular photograph was set to lightly illustrate Walter Benjamin's point about captions, "captions which understand the photography which turns all the relations of life into literature, and without which all photographic constructions must remain bound in coincidences."⁹³ The photograph sets-up eternally posited truths - life, art, photography - but Wegman has removed the quickening caption from its usual position beneath the picture, freed it from the printed font and sprinkled it, by way of a lettering pen, over the star-dotted waves. The inking works to further rupture the surface of the print and the burden of representation that it bears. Benjamin wrote that the authenticity of the photograph would finally be halted by the production, by small cameras, of "fleeting, secret images" whose surprise would halt the "mechanism of association" in the viewer.⁹⁴ At that point captions would redirect the viewer's reception. Wegman's post-modernist practice is based, in large part, on undermining routinely accepted perceptual associations: frames are presented that map "the relations of life," or certainly situations, and rework them as photographic literature, pictures that need reading and participating as well as viewing. If the vocabulary of this literature was drawn from the usage of television, this remove was

part of the "dissident photographic practices" that emerged during the '70s, a period that questioned the authenticity of representation that modernist photography, be it in the form of "mirror" or "window," had laid claim to.⁹⁵ Wegman's manipulation of perceptual understanding and his fluid use of narration within pictures, sequence of pictures and video, outlined both the potential mutability of the photograph and the potential expansion of the photographic frame. In a sense his pictures absorb the quickening caption and seem to point to a photography that would really turn life – or photography at least - into literature.

By eliminating any notion of a hierarchy of media or intention from his practice, and in drawing freely on a panoply of visual structures - those of TV, video, photography, photosequencing, photographically illustrated books - Wegman offers an alternative to the modernist concept of the "decisive moment," the significance of a photographic stillness in time and space, with a narrative quickening and the mental inclusion of the viewing subject within the visual field and within the joke. For the perceptual manipulations that Wegman performs must include the complicity and understanding of the viewer, in a sense the inclusion of the viewer with *what is going on*, for the successful completion of a joke is that it must be understood. And that, in one sense, centers Wegman's post-modernism and is its response to modernism – the inclusion of the viewing subject within the full understanding and completion of the photographic frame. If the "mirror" and the "window" of modernism referred specifically to the concerns of the photographer; Wegman's manipulations, in Allan Kaprow's sense, invite the viewer to "STEP RIGHT IN."⁹⁶

¹ Gregory Battcock, ed., Idea Art (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1973), 1.

² Jeff Wall, " 'Marks of Indifference': Aspects of Photography In, Or As, Conceptual Art," in Reconsidering the Object of Art: 1965-1975, ed. Ann Goldstein and Anne Rorimer (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art, 1995), 252.

³ John Szarkowski, Mirrors and Windows. American Photography since 1960 (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1978), 11.

⁴ Ibid., 25.

⁵⁵ "The interesting processes of condensation accompanied by the formation of a substitute, which we have recognized as the core of the technique of verbal jokes, point towards the formation of dreams, in the mechanism of which the same psychical processes have been discovered. This is equally true, however, of the techniques of conceptual jokes - displacement, faulty reasoning, absurdity, indirect representation, representation by the opposite - which reappear one and all in the technique of dream-work. Displacement is responsible for the puzzling appearance of dreams, which prevents our recognizing that they are a continuation of our waking life. The use of absurdity and nonsense in dreams has cost them the dignity of being regarded as psychical products and has led authorities to suppose that a disintegration of the mental activities and a cessation of criticism, morality and logic are necessary conditions of the formations of dreams." Sigmund Freud, Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1989), 104-105; originally published as Der Witz und seine Beziehung zum Unbewussten (Vienna: 1905).

⁶ "The Freud Wars, as they have recently been called, have generated such a vast literature that it would take a sizeable chunk out of an academic lifetime to document comprehensively and in detail the variety of positions that have been occupied pro and contra psychoanalysis. A time must come when it will be possible to view the arguments surrounding psychoanalysis in the same calm light as other extended disputes in the history of ideas, but it is not on the horizon: as The Interpretation of Dreams approaches its centenary, disagreement about psychoanalysis remains as pronounced as ever; there is still no consensus in relevant disciplines as to whether psychoanalysis is a triumph of human self-understanding or a preposterous web of falsehoods. Consequently, for the present and the foreseeable future, writers on the subject of Freud cannot hope not to be treated as combatants, as taking a stand on the truth or falsity of psychoanalysis and the integrity or mendacity of Freud." Sebastian Gardner, review of Freud and the Question of Pseudoscience, by Frank Cioffi, *The Times Literary Supplement* (October 29, 1999): 5. I am aware of the difficulties involved in using Freud's theoretical constructs; in his analysis of the construction of jokes, I have found useful material.

⁷ "Going all the way back to the golden days of radio, the situation comedy, marked by joke-a-minute writing and zany characters, has been the reliably pumping heart of broadcasting entertainment and American popular culture." Bill Carter, "Zany Characters, but Who's Smiling?", *The New York Times*, 6 December 1999, sec. E1, p.1. The comedy team of Bob and Ray were much admired by Wegman and his friends who were artists. "Bob and Ray Goulding started out as serious newscasters in the 1940s. But they began to amuse themselves on the air and soon became a comedy team on radio and early TV...." Kim Levin, "Wegman's Video: Funny Instead of Formal," in Wegman's World, ed. Lisa Lyons and Kim Levin (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1983), 69.

⁸ Videotape Catalogue: Reel I, 1970-1972, Stomach Song. Frédéric Paul, William Wegman, Photographic Works 1969-1976 L'Oeuvre photographique (Limousin: Fonds Regional d'Art Contemporain du Limousin, 1991), 215.

⁹ "Now reference and reality disappear altogether, and even meaning - the signified - is problematized. We are left with that pure and random play of signifiers that we call postmodernism, which no longer produces monumental works of the modernist type but ceaselessly reshuffles the fragments of preexistent texts, the building blocks of older cultural and social production, in some new and heightened bricolage: metabooks which cannibalize other books, metatexts which collate bits of other texts - such is the logic of postmodernism in general, which finds one of its strongest and most original, authentic forms in the new art of experimental video." Frederic Jameson, Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 96.

¹⁰ The shifting of the face as marker is the subject of Wegman's video **Born With No Mouth**. Reel 3, 1972-1973. "I was born with no mouth at all - just a smooth kind of plane across my face. I did have a well developed nose when I was born, but actually I did have a mouth, it was more a kind of slit. It was about 1/8 inch wide and hardly 1/16 high and my parents just figured that gradually it would develop - that it would grow into a real mouth - but by the time I was six they could see that it wasn't going to happen and they were afraid to send me to school with a mouth like that - so when my grandfather died - when I was six, they transplanted his mouth onto mine - took out my mouth - and I think they gave it to the University of Massachusetts - so I have been shaving ever since I was six." William Wegman (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art, 1982).

¹¹ There is a modest reflection of Carolee Schneemann's radical performance work in Wegman's focus on the expressive possibilities of his body. "**Meat Joy** developed from dream sensation images gathered in journals stretching back to 1960. By February '64 more elaborate drawings and notes accumulated as scraps of paper, on the wall over my bed, in tablets. I'd been concentrating on the possibility of capturing interactions between physical / metabolic changes, dream content, and my sensory orientation upon and after waking: an attempt to view paths between conscious and unconscious organization of image, pun, double-entendre, masking, and the release of random memory fragments (often welldefined sounds, instructions, light, textures, weather, places from the past, solutions to problems)....My body streamed with currents of imagery...." *Meat Joy*, May 29 1964, Festival de La Libre Expression, Paris; June 8 1964 Dennison Hall, London; November 16 17 18 1964, Judson Church, New York. Carolee Schneemann. More Than Meat Joy, Performance Works and Selected Writings, ed. Bruce R. McPherson (New York: DOCUMENTEXT, 1997), 63-87.

¹² Jameson. Postmodernism, 96. The concept of collating pre-existent material or fabricating a photograph to present a conceptual idea generated outside of the frame is in opposition to a premise central to the canon of modernist photography: Henri Cartier-Bresson's "decisive moment." That moment was an event the photographer waited for, a fragment of time where a picture coalesced within a frame to instantly reveal a photographer's pictorial intention. Henri Cartier-Bresson, The Decisive Moment (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1952.) Title chosen by the publisher, Dick Simon. "I will say right off that if Cartier-Bresson 'composes' his shots, it is only in the instant, the very brief instant when, between the event's surprise and the shutter's click, his intuition simultaneously flashes and spends itself, without his feeling the slightest need to return afterwards to the situation or the object in order to approach it in a more deliberate and calculated way. 'Composition' means a perception so sudden and a capture so swift that synthesis will have preceded all analysis, thus revealing its futility." Yves Bonnefoy, Henri Cartier-Bresson: Photographer (Paris: Delpire Editeur, 1979; reprint, New York: Bulfinch Press), 7.

¹³ Man Ray, Photographs, with an introduction by Jean-Hubert Martin (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981). I am indebted to Carol Armstrong for this reference.

¹⁴ "Like 'postmodernism,' then, 'anti-aesthetic' marks a cultural position on the present: are categories afforded by the aesthetic still valid? (For example, is the model of subjective taste not threatened by mass mediation, or that of universal vision by the rise of other cultures?) More locally, 'anti-aesthetic' also signals a practice, cross-disciplinary in nature, that is sensitive to cultural forms engaged in a politic (e.g. feminist art) or rooted in a vernacular- that is, to forms that deny the idea of a privileged aesthetic realm." Hal Foster, "Postmodernism: A Preface," in The Anti-Aesthetic, Essays On Postmodern Culture, ed. by Hal Foster (Port Townsend, Washington: Bay Press, 1983), xv. "The changing social aspirations of the 1960s also conditioned the art of the period. These young sculptors shared a growing sense of empowerment, nurtured by the struggle for civil rights. A wide-spread demand for freedom - political, intellectual, artistic - animated the era. Righting justice at home, however, was gradually overcome by the rage of its perpetration in Southeast Asia....By 1967-68, resistance to the imperatives of the war was the dominant social concern of these young artists. Not unexpectedly, the liberating effects of skepticism toward authority mark their work. Their methods and their common aspiration to formulate a new aesthetic were artistic and political acts." Richard

Armstrong, "Between Geometry and Gesture." in The New Sculpture 1965-75, ed. Richard Armstrong and Richard Marshall (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1990), 12.

¹⁵ "This aspect of Wegman's activity is reminiscent of that of the late Roland Barthes; as Paul Smith writes in a recent essay on Barthes's last texts: 'Barthes was never a master, would never have wanted to be one...In his project of decomposing the certainties and fixities of a kingly structure, our culture, Barthes acts almost as that most trifling value in the game, the pawn who makes relentless forays against the space of the king....' Barthes's weapon in this subversive activity was, of course, *écriture*, writing; Wegman's is laughter. He uses it to undermine all belief, to dislodge all certainty, to discredit all dogma." Craig Owens, "William Wegman's Psychoanalytic Vaudeville," *Art in America* LXXI / 3 (March 1983): 101.

¹⁶ "Perhaps the first public signal of the emergence of a widespread anti-formalist aesthetic was the exhibition 'Eccentric Abstraction,' organized by Lucy Lippard for the Fischbach Gallery in late September 1966." Armstrong, "Between Geometry and Gesture," 13.

¹⁷ "As a '60s minimalist - conceptualist, I worked myself into a tough corner of what to do next (that would be new and different) not painting - not sculpture not too much like Sol LeWitt Carl Andre, Robert Smithson etc. Using mud and string, carrots acetone radios tennis rackets gun powder pots and pans etc. I hoped to find a way out...." Wegman, Photographic Works, 11.

¹⁸ "Minimal style is extremely complex. the artist has to create new notions of scale, space, containment, shape, and object. He must reconstruct the relationship between art as object and between object and man. Negative space, architectural enclosure, nature, and the mechanical are all concerns of the Minimal artist, and as such become some of the characteristics that unify the movement...Today, the artist is more immediately involved in daily concerns. Vietnam, technological development, sociology, and philosophy are all subjects of immediate importance." Gregory Battcock, "Introduction," in Minimal Art, A Critical Anthology, ed. Gregory Battcock (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc.), 26.

¹⁹ Foster, Anti-Aesthetic, xv. "A significant trend in modern art has been that of a closer interaction between art and criticism, between the artist as doer and the critic as interpreter....In order to declare his intentions effectively, and to emphasize his achievements, the new artist has moved into a much closer working relationship with the art critic. Many of the new artists are both writing and talking more about their art in a highly articulate and critical manner. At the same time, the appraisals of critics go beyond mere judgment and evaluation; they provide a sympathetic contribution." Battcock, Minimal Art, 26.

²⁰ "I'm trying to sell you a new or used car from our downtown lot and trying to talk you into buying one and I hope that if perhaps if I have this dog on my lap you'll come to see me as a kind person...And so too, just as this dog trusts me, I would like you out there to trust me and come down to our new and used car lot and buy some of our quality cars. I know you'll be satisfied. Thousands of others have been. Thank you for listening. Reel 4 (1973-74): New & Used Car Salesman. Martin Kunz, ed., William Wegman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 1990), 37.

²¹ Rosalind Krauss, "Video: The Aesthetics of Narcissism," in Video Culture, A Critical Investigation, ed. John Hanhardt (Rochester, New York: Peregrine Smith Books 'Visual Studies Workshop Press, 1990), 179-191. Reprinted from Gregory Battcock, ed., New Artists Video (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1978, 43-64.

²² Chrissie Isles and David Ross, "Four Seminars on the History of Video," Whitney Museum of American Art, February, 1998.

²³ Jacques Lacan, Écrits, A Selection, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1977); originally published as Écrits (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966).

²⁴ In 1980 Ingrid Sichy, beginning her editorship of *Artforum*, described the work she would encourage on the pages of the journal: "I invited thirteen artists to join this issue. They represent a wide range of views but they have in common an admitted, proven exemplary commitment to using the page as ground. Apart from the reviews none of the pages in this issue is a reproduction of a work of art, all are primary art intended for this, and only this format. I also invited the editors of three other magazines to participate. Each represents a different sensibility along a wide spectrum. They are united by editorial integrity and tenacity to their individual goals. Their dynamic solutions for the printed page have propelled our understanding of how the contemporary page can work." Ingrid Sichy, "Letter From the Editor," *Artforum* XVIII / 6 (February 1980): 25.

²⁵ Krauss, "Video: The Aesthetics of Narcissism," 186.

²⁶ William Wegman, William Wegman (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art, 1982).

²⁷ "Such a radical stance has made performance a catalyst in the history of twentieth-century art; whenever a certain school, be it Cubism, Minimalism or conceptual art, seemed to have reached an impasse, artists have turned to performance as a way of breaking down categories and indicating new directions. Moreover, within the history of the avant-garde - meaning those artists who led the field in breaking with each successive tradition - performance has been at the forefront of such an activity: an 'avant-garde.'" Roselee Goldberg, Performance Art, From Futurism to the Present (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1988), 7.

²⁸ Rosalind Krauss, "Richard Serra: Sculpture Redrawn," in The New Sculpture, 276.

²⁹ Lynda Benglis, "Bounce," 1969; "Eat Meat," 1969; "Quartered Meteor," 1969." The New Sculpture, 181.

³⁰ William Wegman, why draw, (New York: Sperone Westwater Gallery, 1990).

³¹ Kunz, Wegman, 205.

³² "I think that the things I write about or deal with on tape are what people generally think about whether they like to admit it or not. Sometimes I've drawn on autobiographical material, maybe situations that I've felt trapped by, and turned them into something else, but in a very superficial way, not an intense psychological way. When you find yourself thinking and worrying about certain things they become ridiculous. In general, I might distort or change or reorient certain conventional attitudes but I'm aware that I'm playing with them, and I'm more interested in what I do with them formally. I know the normal take well enough to have a different take, but I don't have any set notion about the nature of reality or what the world's really about...." Liza Bear, "Man Ray, Do You Want To...An Interview With William Wegman," *Avalanche* 7 (Winter / Spring 1973), 40. For Wegman's stories: "Little Tales, 1972-1974," Paul, Wegman, 205.

³³ Jameson, Postmodernism, 69.

³⁴ "We all know, but always forget, that the fictive scenes and conversations on the movie screen radically foreshorten reality as the clock ticks and are never...coterminous with the putative length of such moments in real life...." *Ibid.*, 74.

³⁵ Martha Rosler, "Video: Shedding the Utopian Moment," in Illuminating Video, ed. Doug Hall and Sally Jo Fifer (New York: Aperture / Bay Area Video Coalition, 1990), 31.

³⁶ George Maciunas gave the descriptive term "Fluxus" to a loosely organized, internationally based group of artists who were ambiguously committed to change, flow and the presentation of art in anti-institutional format. Fluxus was closely involved with avant-garde music; Nam June Paik, who knew John Cage through the German experimental music festivals

was an early participant in the Flux Festivals. Lisa Phillips, The American Century. Art & Culture 1950-2000 (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art / W.W. Norton, 1999), 203. "In 1963 in an exhibition entitled 'Exposition of Music - Electronic Television' at the Galerie Parnass. Paik included prepared televisions - sets whose components had been altered to produce unexpected effects - as part of his performance and installation. It was the first time Paik appropriated television technology and it signaled the beginning of a lifelong effort to deconstruct and demystify television." John G. Hanhardt, "Paik's Video Sculpture," in Nam June Paik, ed. John G. Hanhardt (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1983), 91-92.

³⁷ "The attempt to use the premier vernacular and popular medium had several streams. The surrealist-inspired or -influenced effort meant to develop a new poetry from this everyday 'language' of television, to insert aesthetic pleasure into a mass form and to provide the utopic glimpse afforded by 'liberated' sensibilities." Rosler, "Video," 32.

³⁸ "'media' are preconditions for sense making. It is no longer necessary to fret about television's supposed effects on individual behavior, for these are marginal to its main business of developing the social power of speech into a hi-tech industry." John Hartley, Tele-ology. Studies in Television (London: Routledge, 1992), 14.

³⁹ "On one hand, Cartier-Bresson's photography is celebrated as the expression of an intuitive talent beyond the reach of historical analysis. On the other, it is classified as the exemplar of an anonymous formal principle: the capacity of the small, hand-held camera to seize a telling picture from the flux of life." Peter Galassi, Henri Cartier-Bresson. The Early Work (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1987), 9.

⁴⁰ "Certainly the image is not the reality but at least it is its perfect *analogon* and it is exactly this analogical perfection which, to common sense, defines the photograph." Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," in A Barthes Reader, ed. Susan Sontag (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 196; originally published in Image-Music-Text, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).

⁴¹ "Video is exciting because it's so much like TV. But unlike TV, you have to make it yourself and it can be expensive....I first got into video at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in 1969. I used a video camera and recorder made by an electronics company named Craig. The necessary equipment - camera, recorder, monitor, and microphone - was in separate components that had to be hooked up properly to work....The first video equipment that I owned myself was something I picked up at White Front in L.A. It was housed in a box by G.E. but deep down it was a Sony CV format...My primary occupation with video lasted through seven reels made over seven years. All the reels are comprised of brief vignettes involving studio and familiar household props. They are unassuming and straightforward in set and lighting, with clear and definite beginnings, middles, and ends. Reel I consists mainly of visual puns and manipulations of logical constructs." Wegman, "Videotapes: Seven Reels," in Kunz, Wegman, 25.

⁴² "I was in Wisconsin teaching sculpture - which for me was anything done in space and time...I remember John Chamberlain came into my studio. He was a visiting artist. Some stuff I had stuck to the wall had fallen down. I was working with mud and photographs and thread, eyelashes, carrots, and acetone. He thought it looked great. It was a big mess. I knew what he meant though, but for me I needed some more clarity of intent. A way to start and finish a work and this was all middle...." David Ross, "An Interview With William Wegman," in Kunz, Wegman, 15.

⁴³ Liza Bear, "Man Ray, Do You Want TO...", Avalanche 40.

⁴⁴ William Wegman, William Wegman (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art, 1982).

⁴⁵ "The history of video as an art form has often been perceived in terms of its relationship to television. The second group of essays, *Video and Television*, begins with the poet and critic David Antin's "Video: The Distinctive Features of the Medium," an early look at how video art and its strategies contradicted the norms of television...David Ross...examines the strategies of video artists who deliberately exploit television's techniques and styles. Art historian Rosalind Krauss turns to the process of video production, the camera and the screen, as a conduit for exploring the self of the artist and relates this strategy to the 'process art' of the early 1970s." John G. Hanhardt, ed., *Video Culture, A Critical Investigation* (Rochester, New York: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc. / Peregrine Smith Books / Visual Studies Workshop Press.1990), 10.

⁴⁶ Sean Cubitt, *Videography, Video Media as Art and Culture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 13.

⁴⁷ Hartley, *Tele-ology*, 14.

⁴⁸ "But, for the sixties generation, art-photography remained too comfortably rooted in the pictorial traditions of modern art, it had an irritatingly serene, marginal existence, a way of holding itself at a distance from the intellectual drama of avant-gardism while claiming a prominent, even definitive place within it. The younger artists wanted to disturb that, to uproot and radicalize the medium, and they did so with the most sophisticated means they had in hand at the time, the auto-critique of art identified with the tradition of the avant-garde. Their approach implied that photography had not yet become 'avant-garde' in 1960 or 1965, despite the epithets being casually being applied to it. It had not yet accomplished the preliminary autodethronement, or deconstruction, which the other arts had established as fundamental to their development and their amour-propre." Wall, "Marks of Indifference," 247.

⁴⁹ Robert Cumming was a close friend of Wegman's and an occasional roommate since their days at the Massachusetts College of Arts in Boston and at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana. Cumming photographed Wegman's outdoor pieces until it became too time consuming a project, at which point Wegman learned to use a camera himself. Frederic Paul, "The Work In Front Of My Eyes. The Idea In My Head." in *Robert Cumming*, ed. Frédéric Paul (Limousin: Fonds Regional d'Art Contemporain du Limousin, 1994), 16.

⁵⁰ David Ross, "An Interview With William Wegman," in Kunz, *Wegman*, 15.

⁵¹ One of the outdoor pieces consisted of floating styrofoam commas down the Milwaukee River. Wegman originally had his close friend Robert Cumming photograph the "Piece" work until Cumming resisted. At that point Wegman learned to do his own photography. From photographs in Wegman's archives it is possible to get a sense of a certain beauty and elegance in the early site pieces: they are sculpture-like works made of a fabric-seeming material, evocative of Eva Hesse's work, but with a fey intelligence of their own. The performances work would begin again with Wegman's commercially popular videos of the Weimarans, **Dog Baseball** and **Alphabet Soup**.

⁵² Robert Frank, *The Americans*, with an introduction by Jack Kerouac (Paris: Robert Delpire, 1958; New York: Grove Press, 1959; reprint, New York: SCALO Publishers / National Gallery of Art, 1995), 9.

⁵³ "That crazy feeling in America when the sun is hot on the streets and the music comes out of the jukebox or from a near-by funeral, that's what Robert Frank has captured in tremendous photographs taken as he traveled on the road around practically forty-eight states in an old used car (on Guggenheim Fellowship) and with the agility, mystery, genius, sadness and strange secrecy of a shadow photographed scenes that have never been seen before on film. For this he will be definitely be hailed as a great artist in his field." Jack Kerouac, "Introduction," in *The Americans*, 5.

⁵⁴ "For the most part, the trip across the country is really pretty boring. You go through a lot of little towns and it's mostly flat. You know, I thought that there'd be, uh, more green. It's that kind of arid, dry, brown dull. It's really boring. And the food, especially along Route 66, we had some really terrible, awful dinners. But then we got to the Grand Canyon...I can still see it now. It's uh, truly amazing. But other than that, there wasn't much else to see." Kunz, Wegman, 36.

⁵⁵ "I was hired as a painter and decided when I got there that I wasn't painting as I was into something else. I said I'd like some situation to talk about this information I was involved with and I called it 'Post-studio Art' because I didn't want to call it Conceptual art; that was too specific, too constraining. I wanted the course to be a catchall to anyone who wasn't doing straight painting or straight sculpture." Coosje van Bruggen, John Baldessari (New York: The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles / Rizzoli, 1990), 57.

⁵⁶ "The work gets harder and harder because you get more easily dissatisfied and then it becomes so much harder to please each time. You have to make up increasingly sophisticated games to keep yourself occupied. And as you get more sophisticated, you have to think what's going to keep your audience interested...The ideal art for me would be complex for myself and simple enough for the public; it would have to satisfy both those needs." Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Kynaston McShine, ed., INFORMATION (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1970), 139.

⁵⁹ A more likely teaching career developed for Huebler after he left Bradford and went first to Harvard University and then to California Institute of the Arts at Valencia. Frédéric Paul's monograph on Douglas Huebler is important: the work is not easily accessible. Douglas Huebler, <Variable>, etc. (Limousin: Fonds Regional d'Art Contemporain du Limousin, 1993).

⁶⁰ INFORMATION, 63.

⁶¹ Ibid., 119. Ruscha was both a friend of Wegman's and a financial mainstay, collecting Wegman's photographs seriously and paying amounts for them that were essentially Wegman's living expenses during the first lean years in California.

⁶² It should be noted that McShine's catalogue, fragile and not readily available today, preceded Lucy Lippard's Six Years: The dematerialization of the art object from 1966-1972: a cross-reference book of information on some aesthetic boundaries.... (New York: Praeger, Inc. 1973).

⁶³ Three of Willoughby Sharp's films were included in "INFORMATION": **EARTH**, 1969; **ELEMENTAL EVENTS**, 1969; **PLACE AND PROCESS**, 1969. Andy Warhol's **SLEEP**, 1963-64 and **EMPIRE**, 1964 were shown as were Ed Ruscha's **BOOKS**, 1970, and Lucas Samaras's **SELF**, 1969.

⁶⁴ The catalogue's listing of films is thoughtful and useful because it includes not only films shown but films considered significant by participating artists. "This is a partial but representative list of films that reflect many of the concerns and attitudes of the artists represented in exhibition. Most of the films will be shown in the galleries in the 'information machine' during the exhibition, and, for a more careful viewing in the auditorium. Unfortunately some of the films listed were unavailable because of technical limitations." McShine, INFORMATION, 193. It is interesting to note that video was not included - it remained in a Utopian state of non-recognition by the established art-world.

⁶⁵ "Andy Warhol made only a few films which can be regarded as conceptual works - films that can be instantaneously and successfully conveyed as ideas without actually being seen. Both **Sleep** (1963), which was initially announced as an 'eight-hour film of a man sleeping,' and

Empire (1964), widely (and inaccurately) known as 'eight hours of the Empire State Building from sunset to sunrise,' function, at least in part, as works of art at this purely conceptual level: the simplicity and outrageousness of their encapsulated descriptions have all the efficiency of a Pop Art statement like 'a painting of a Campbell soup can' - instantly memorable at the moment we imagine them. The withdrawal of all Warhol's films in 1972 solidified the success of these films in the realm of pure idea; unmediated by the demands of direct experience and freed from the physical specifics of their making, impossible to see yet easy to imagine, **Sleep** and **Empire** have been perhaps the most famous unseen films in the history of cinema." Callie Angell and John G. Hanhardt, The Films of Andy Warhol, Part II (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1994), 10.

⁶⁶ "Although Douglas Huebler was born in 1924, he made a relatively belated appearance in American art circles, only exhibiting seriously from 1966 onwards...The difficulty we have in placing Huebler's critical and historical contribution ultimately derives from the impure mixture of his output, in total contrast with preconceived notions of conceptual art as a cold, clear-cut, exercise in intellect. The truth is that intellect is always *impure* and unclean, since if it were unpolluted it would be entirely sterile! Huebler instinctively grasped this early on, as did the young William Wegman...." Frédéric Paul, "Douglas Huebler Still is a Real Artist," Huebler, 29.

⁶⁷ Lippard, dematerialization, 74.

⁶⁸ "Huebler includes multiple photographs to illustrate the information conveyed in the text, and thereby presents an alternative to the singularly painted or photographic image. In his work, the ensemble of photographs supplement language; each photograph alone presents just one of a myriad possible points of reference to the real world, as opposed to presenting a single, aesthetically chosen view." Anne Rorimer, "Douglas Huebler," in Reconsidering The Object of Art: 1965-1975, 132.

⁶⁹ Paul, Huebler.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ "WS: Was Twentysix Gasoline Stations your first book?

ER: Yeah, months went into the planning of that. I could have saved myself a lot of trouble by loosening up. You know, not gotten so concerned with how I wanted the thing to look. I changed the format about fifty times at the printer's. I couldn't decide what I wanted. I just won't jump right in and do something spontaneously. I'm talking about making a work of art not about anything else...I'd always wanted to make a book of some kind. When I was in Oklahoma I got a brainstorm in the middle of the night to do this little book called Twentysix Gasoline Stations. I knew the title, I knew it would be photographs of twenty-six gasoline stations. Blind faith to an idea. I do that a lot. When I get an idea I don't disturb it. I'm not always sure what form it will take, but I keep the idea." Willoughby Sharp, "'...a kind of a HuH?' An Interview With Ed Ruscha by Willoughby Sharp," Avalanche 7 (Winter / Spring 1973), 30. This issue also published an interview with William Wegman by Liza Béar, "Man Ray Do You Want To?"

⁷² "On reading 'Eureka,' through its obviously analytical approach, it is striking how the artist immediately attaches great significance to his discovery and the manner of its coming about. The text also reveals that "Cotto," a clear manifesto, was plainly already an image before it ever became a photograph. Lastly, the very existence of such a text, uncommon among artists, indicates on the one hand Wegman's interest in his own biography and on the other hand a close attention to detail in his account of a specific happening. As we shall see later, Wegman's work is haunted by the problem of narrating a sequence of events...." Paul, Wegman, 17.

⁷³ Sharp's interview with Ruscha is an interesting document. Only casually edited, it preserves a sense of the original exchange - it seems possible to hear the voices of Sharp and

Ruscha developing complex issues with great clarity - issues that critical overview would make opaque with time.

WS: But what about the multiple aspect of your book? When you make a painting there's only one, but your books are printed in editions of thousands. You're adapting a medium that exists very persuasively in the culture into something which is beginning to be classified as art. And it's a work of yours that people can buy for six bucks. Now some people might construe that to be a rather revolutionary idea. I can't think of any artist of the sixties who could produce something he could call his art for a couple of bucks.

Sharp. "Ed Ruscha." partially unpaginated.

⁷⁴ This position would also be taken by Louise Lawler, influencing her decision to produce a crystal paperweight in conjunction with the exhibition "The Museum As Muse: Artists Reflect," March 14 through June 1, 1999 at The Museum of Modern Art, New York City.

⁷⁵ Jules Marey and Eadweard Muybridge explored the possibilities of serially connected photography in the nineteenth century.

⁷⁶ Sharp. "Ed Ruscha." partially unpaginated.

⁷⁷ Mason Williams and Ed Ruscha, Royal Road Trip (Los Angeles, California, 1967). First edition, 1000 copies, 1967. Second edition, 1000 copies, 1969. Third edition, 2000 copies, 1971.

⁷⁸ Wegman recalls that Ruscha bought 50 photographs for \$4,600 and that this was primarily what he lived on. He also recalls that he played basketball with Baldessari who took over the studio when he left for New York.

⁷⁹ Béar, "Man Ray Do You Want To." *Avalanche* 7 (Winter / Spring 1973), 40.

⁸⁰ "My primary preoccupation with video lasted through seven reels made over seven years. All the reels are comprised of brief vignettes involving studio and familiar household props. They are unassuming and straightforward in set and lighting, with clear and definite beginnings, middles, and ends. Reel 1 (1970-72) consists mainly of visual puns and manipulations of logical constructs. Reels 2 (1972), 3 (1972-73), and 4 (1973-74) are more audio oriented than the earlier works, given somewhat to a fascination with narrative...Reel 5 (1975) is dark and obtuse...Reel 6 (1975-76) was made at two locations...in Waterville, Massachusetts, and my studio...in New York...The first all-color reel is Reel 7 (1976-77)...." Ku: Wegman, 26-27.

⁸¹ "Since History can apprehend only sensible things, being based on verbal testimony relayed through words, everything on which it grounds its affirmations can be broken down into things written, into moments that were caught in 'quick takes' or could have been caught had a cameraman, some star news photographer, been on hand. All the rest is literature. All that is left consists of those components of the narrative or of the thesis that originate in the mind and are consequently imaginary, mere constructions, bodiless things by nature invisible to the photographic eye...." Paul Valéry, "The Centenary of Photography," in Alan Trachtenberg, ed. Classic Essays on Photography (New Haven, Conn.: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 196; originally published in 1931.

⁸² The technical level saw some improvement in 1975 when Wegman bought a Hasselblad 500 C/M with money from a Guggenheim grant. The earlier work was done with a Mamiya C330 camera. It was a twin-lens camera and presented the image upside down. Lighting was provided by the skylights of the Sanat Monica Studio, aided by a few flood lights. In discussing his lack of a formal photography education in an interview with Chuck Close, Wegman agreed with Close's comment: "I just took photographs because I needed them." William Bartman, The portraits speak: Chuck Close in conversation with 27 of his subjects (New York: A.R.T. Press, 1997), 472. In 1979 Wegman bought a large-scale polaroid camera and began to concentrate almost entirely

on photographing Man Ray, and then Fay Ray and her descendants. The early conceptual work has been entirely absorbed into a fully commercial production.

⁸³ "The history of art and aesthetics is all on bookshelves. To its pluralism of values, add the current blurring of boundaries dividing the arts, and dividing art from life, and it is clear that the old questions of definition and standards of excellence are not only futile but naive. Even yesterday's distinctions between art, antiart, and nonart are pseudo-distinctions that simply waste our time...." Allan Kaprow, "Manifesto (1966)" in Allan Kaprow, Essays On The Blurring of Art and Life, ed. Jeff Kelley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 81.

⁸⁴ Wegman's pleasure in the technology of video is palpable. "Video is exciting because it's so much like TV. But unlike TV, you have to make it yourself and it can be expensive...I first got into video at the University of Wisconsin, Madison in 1969. I used a video camera and recorder made by an electronics company named Craig...The first video equipment that I owned myself was something I picked up at White Front in L.A. It was housed in a box by GE but deep down it was a Sony CV format. I used this deck for two years...." Kunz, Wegman, 26.

⁸⁵ Cubit, Videography, 14.

⁸⁶ Freud, Jokes, 104.

⁸⁷ The classic Wegman videos of the '70s have been highly influential and are a significant part of the histories of early video art: other artists whose work has maintained lasting significance would include Nam June Paik, John Baldessari, Joan Jonas, Vito Acconci, Bruce Nauman, Peter Campus, Bill Viola.

⁸⁸ Kunz, Wegman, 38.

⁸⁹ Eadweard Muybridge, Animals in Motion, ed. Lewis S. Brown (New York: Dover Publications, 1957), Plate 113. The Dover edition is a selection of plates from Muybridge's eleven-volume work, Animal Locomotion, published in 1887.

⁹⁰ "Eureka - As a '60s minimalist-conceptualist, I worked myself into a tough corner of what to do next (that would be new and different) not painting - not sculpture not too much like Sol Lewitt Carl Andre, Robert Smithson, etc." Paul Wegman, 10.

⁹¹ Paul Schimmel, American Narrative / Story Art: 1967-1977 (Houston, Texas: Contemporary Arts Museum, 1977), 4.

⁹² "In the early part of this century there began to appear, first in France and then in Russia and in Holland, a structure that has remained emblematic of the modernist ambition within the visual arts ever since. Surfacing in pre-War cubist painting and subsequently becoming ever more stringent and manifest, the grid announces, among other things, modern art's will to silence, its hostility to literature, to narrative, to discourse...The barrier it has lowered between the arts of vision and those of language has been almost totally successful in walling the visual arts into a realm of exclusive visuality and defending them against the intrusion of speech...." Rosalind Krauss, "Grids," in The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1986), 9.

⁹³ "the camera will become smaller and smaller, more and more prepared to grasp fleeting, secret images whose shock will bring the mechanism of association in the viewer to a complete halt. At this point captions must begin to function, captions which understand the photography which turns all the relations of life into literature, and without which all photographic construction must remain bound in coincidences." Benjamin, "A Short History," 215.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Douglas Crimp. "Photographs at the End of Modernism." in On the Museums Ruins, with photographs by Louise Lawler (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1993). 2.

⁹⁶ Allan Kaprow. Assemblage, Environments & Happenings (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1966).



Fig.33 Wegman, *Drinking Milk*, 1971

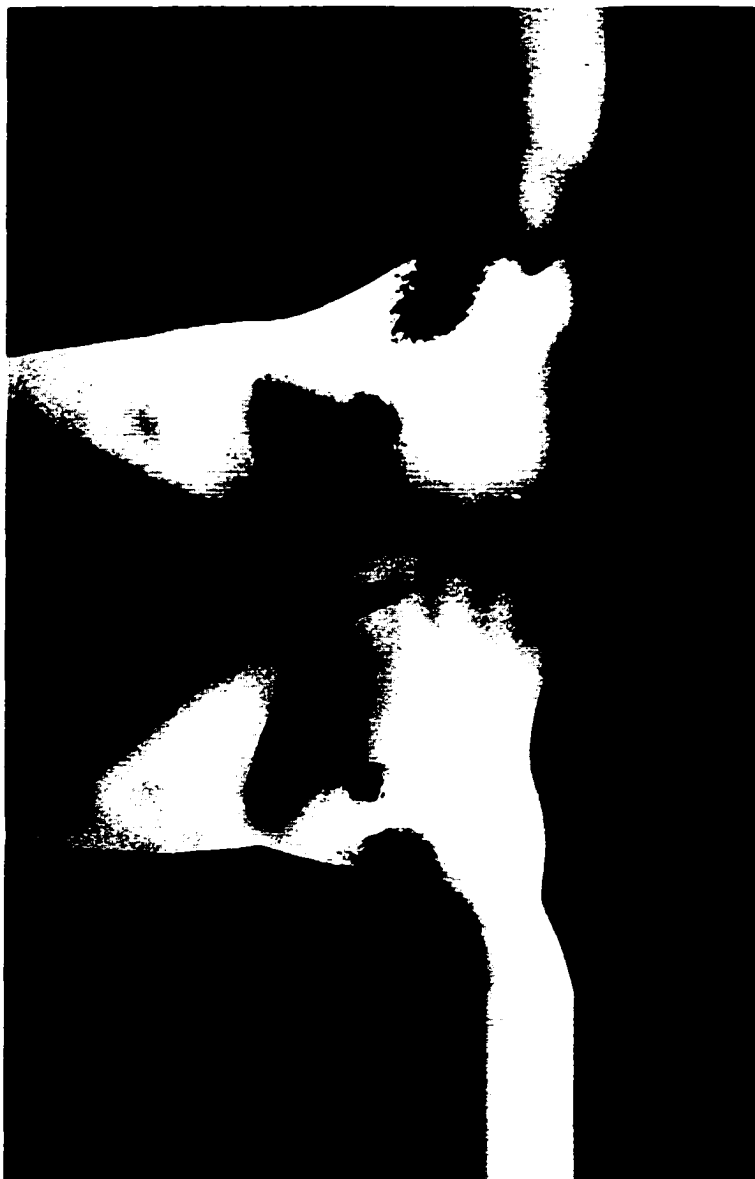


Fig.34 Man Ray, *Le Minotaure*, c.1935



Fig.35 Wegman, *Back Bend (True / False)*, 1970

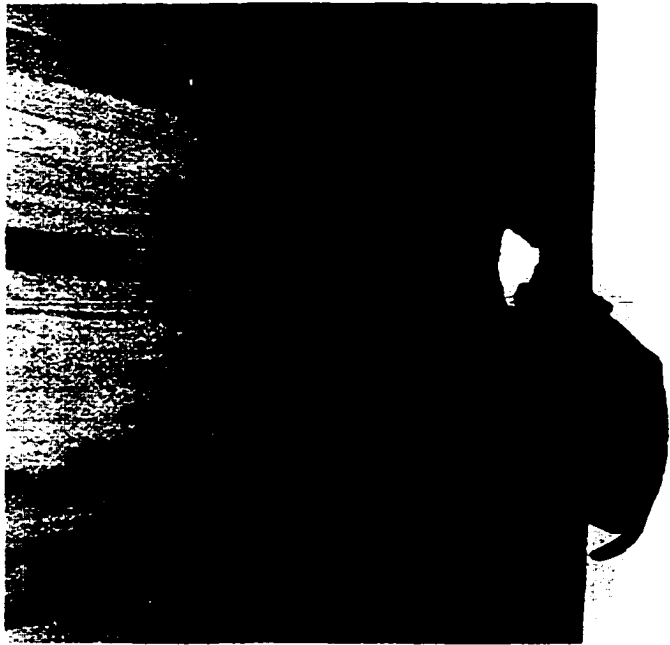
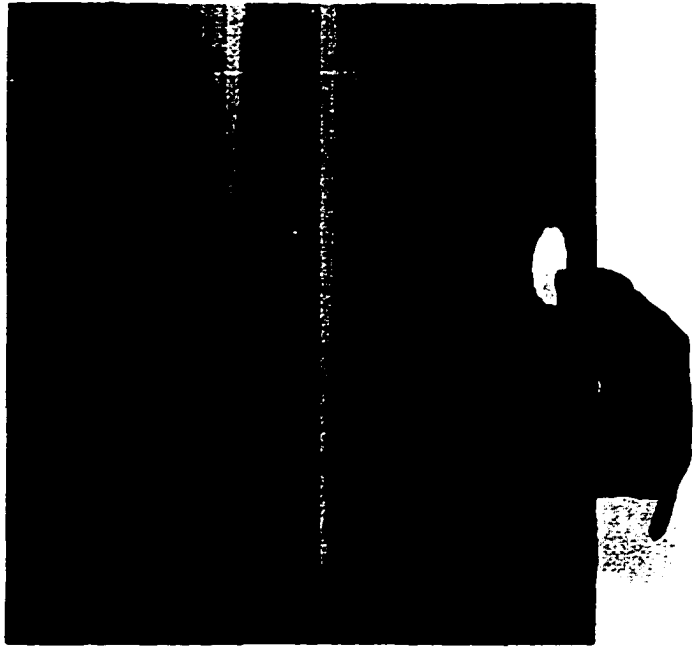


Fig.36 Wegman, Milk / Floor, 1970



Fig.37 Robert Cumming, William Wegman, *Robert Cumming, William Wegman*, 1969



Fig.38 Wegman, Cotto, 1970

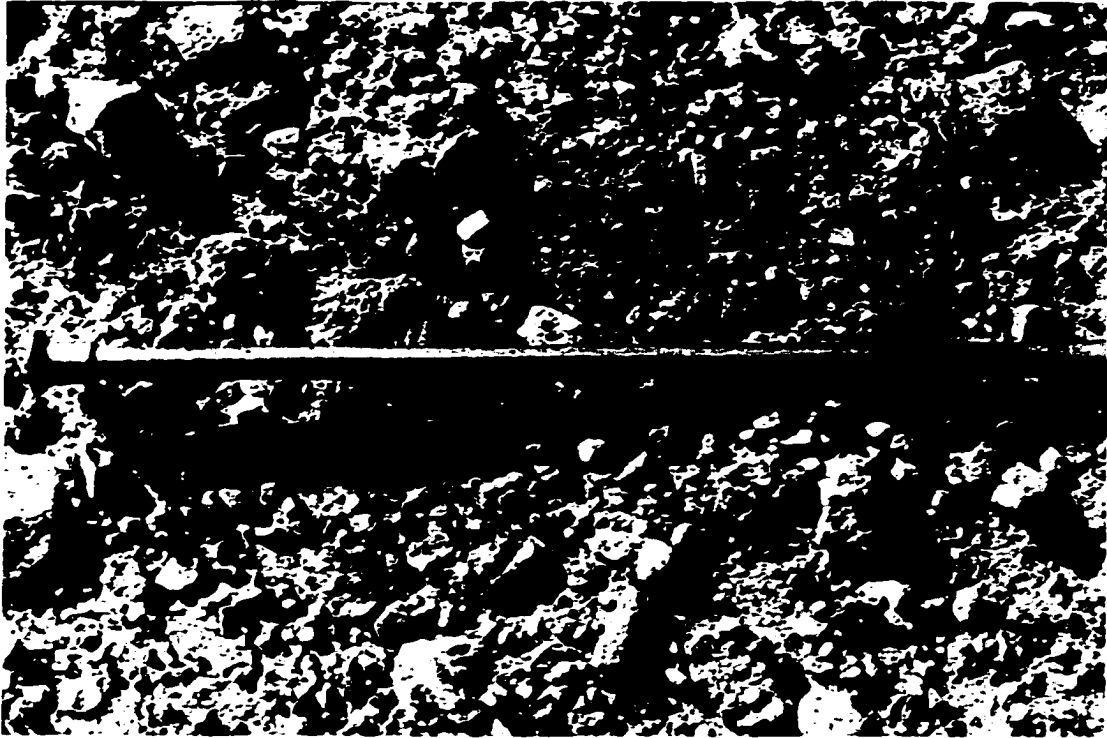


Fig.39 Ruscha, *Carriage Roll Guide Rod With Sleeves*, 1967



Fig.40 Ruscha, *Tab Key Top* (photographed as found in bush), 1967

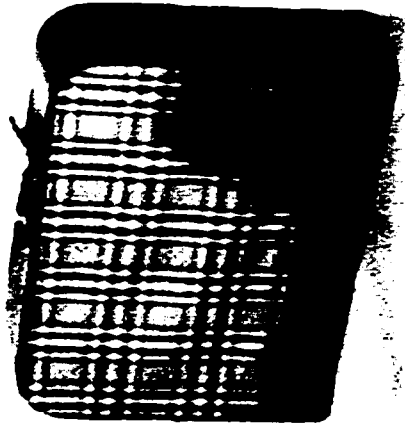


Fig.41 Wegman, *Portable TV*, 1971

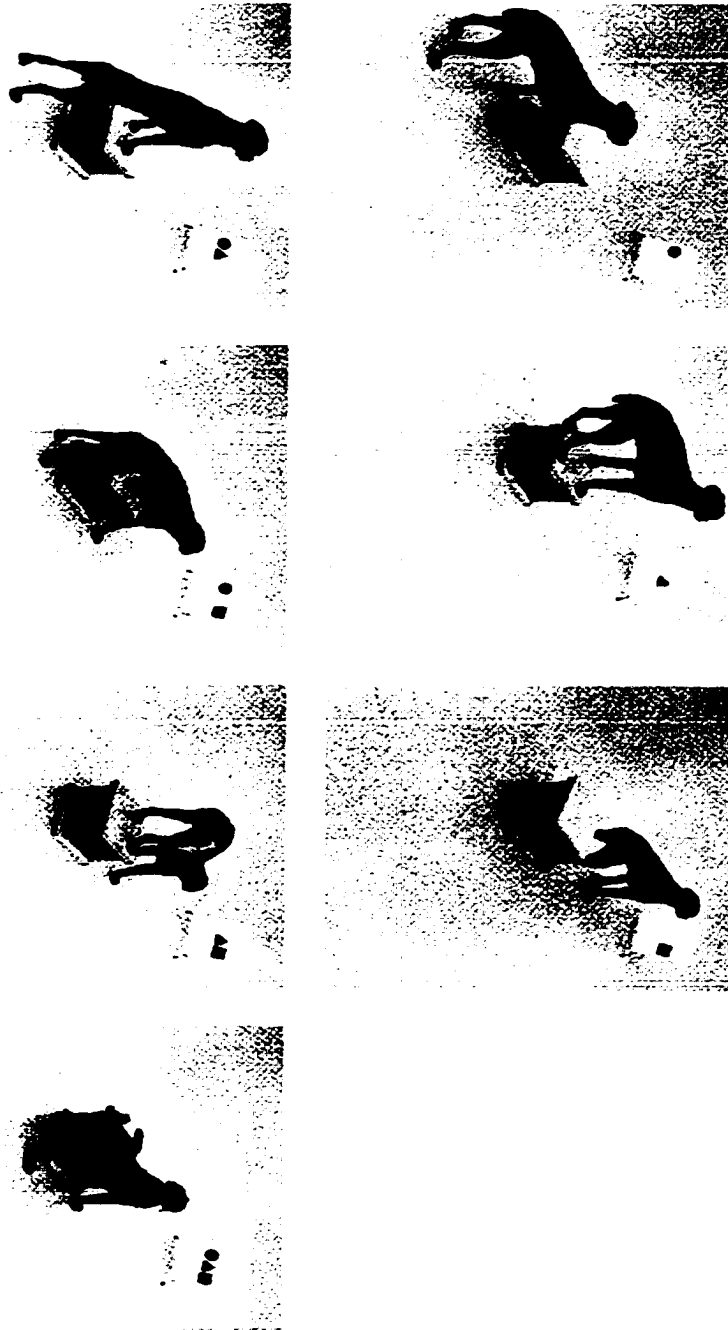


Fig.42 Wegman, *Before / On / After: Permutations*, 1972



Fig.43 Muybridge, *Dread Walking*, 1887

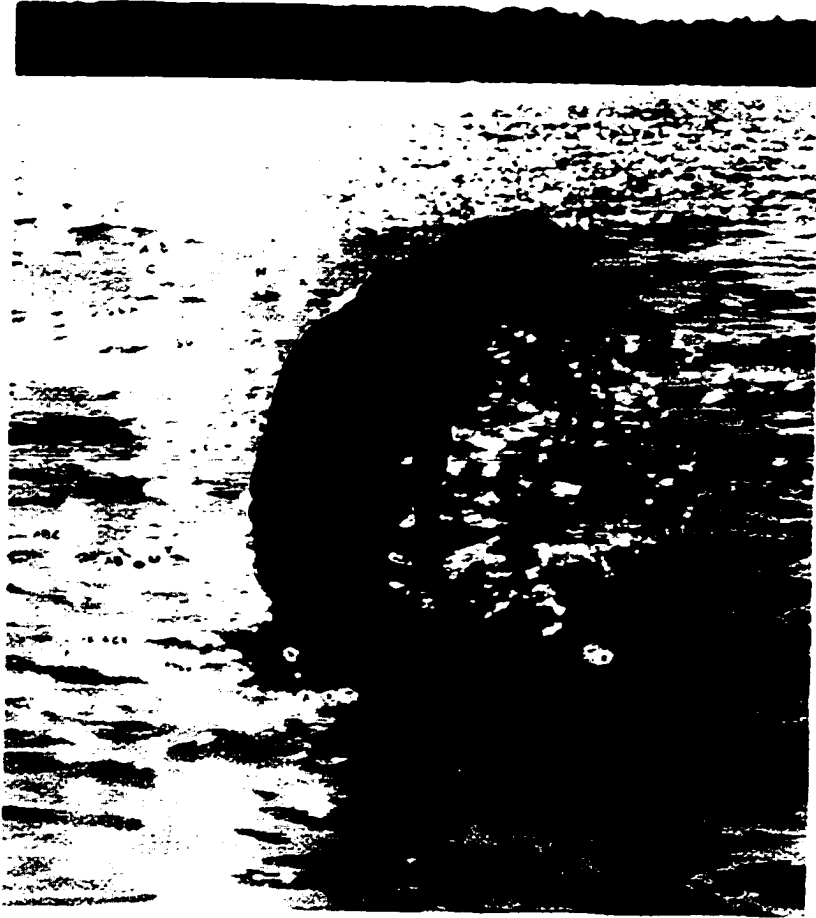


Fig.44 Wegman, Contemplating Art, Life, Photography, 1975-82

Chapter Four: Cindy Sherman, "Film Stills,"¹ or In the Looking Glass

As for the other meaning, the third, the one "too many," the supplement that my intellection cannot succeed in absorbing, at once persistent and fleeting, smooth and elusive, I propose to call it *the obtuse meaning*. The word springs readily to mind and, miracle, when its etymology is unfolded, it already provides us with a theory of the supplementary meaning. *Obtusus* means *that which is blunted, rounded in form*. Are not the traits which I indicated (the make-up, the whiteness, the wig, etc, etc.) just like the blunting of a meaning too clear, too violent? Do they not give the obvious signified a kind of difficulty prehensible roundness, cause my reading to slip? An obtuse angle is greater than a right angle: *an obtuse angle of 100 (degrees)*, says the dictionary; the third meaning also seems to me greater than the pure, upright, secant, legal perpendicular of the narrative, it seems to open the field of meaning totally, that is infinitely.

Roland Barthes¹

The hallmark of what I want to call contemporary avant-garde fiction, however - and I have in mind not only the work of French writers loosely associated with the nouveau roman and with *Tel Quel*, but also that of Americans who constituted the "first wave" of postmodernist fiction...is that such fiction defies, aggressively and provocatively, the narrative intelligibility, and correlatively the reader's sense-making ability: where the reader expects logical and temporal development, avant-garde fiction offers repetition or else the juxtaposition of apparently random events; where the reader expects consistency, it offers contradiction; where the reader expects characters, it offers disembodied voices; where the reader expects the sense of an ending, it offers merely a stop. Even typographically, it may assault the reader...by offering fragments with no indication of the order in which to read them....

Susan Rubin Suleiman²

Cindy Sherman has situated her work conceptually within the parameters and mediations of a post-modern photography. I mean this in the sense that the structures she devises are contrary to the canon of modernism: the pictures are neither “mirrors” nor “windows,” neither attempts to be self-revelatory, nor efforts to better know the world.³ Instead Sherman proposes the construction of a photographic series based on set-ups of her own random staging.⁴ The photographs are produced in serial clusters that feature the artist as model, and that repeat a post-modern format that is replete with stops, gaps and contradictions. Within a group of photographs collectively referred to as the “Untitled Film Stills” made between 1977 and 1980, Sherman references the distinctions between stops and fluidity: the series (photographic) and the sequence (filmic).⁵ An initial exploration by Sherman into the parameters of the photographic and the filmic is evidenced in an early, complex piece made in 1976, the year before the first of the “Film Stills.”⁶ “The Giant” is a photomontage (fig.45): a wide, horizontal ribbon of a picture (like a movie screen) in which Sherman presents herself serially, copied, in a repeating, long line of lumberjacks, seeming to perform in a slow-motion movie.⁷ The relationship between the Sherman figures is serial, but the stops and gaps between the images of the photomontage can also be read. The fluidity of unfolding filmic shots sequenced seamlessly into one another is absent: each Sherman figure is a single, still photograph, superimposed, one upon another.⁸ The work brings to mind Roland Barthes description of a the photograph repeating mechanically what could never be repeated existentially: Sherman’s repetition of herself is photographic.⁹ These thirty-six mechanically repeated, but specifically differentiated Shermans appropriate a rhythm, the rhythm of a flip-book: the stopped time of a still photograph glued disconnectedly and in contradiction to the connoted fluidity of on-going filmic time.

Paradoxically, because Sherman’s production utilizes methodologies of post-modern parodic appropriation and pastiche, critical discourse has moved consideration of her work outside the parameters of photographic structure into the playing fields of

high art.¹⁰ The difficulty appears to be that, in appropriating a format from mass culture to produce the "Film Stills," Sherman's pictures presented a rupture with photographic modernism, centered as that practice had been on formal experimentation, technical progression, and utopian metanarratives.¹¹ The critical discourse that surrounds the "Film Stills" as conceptual art-making practice, generally avoids the issues of that rupture and instead searches vainly for the subject of the representations, Sherman's present and absent self.

To note that the photographs in their artistry and intelligence, struck a highly responsive chord in viewers when they were first shown, would be an understatement.¹² Drawing upon American and French New Wave Films, delving into the cultural study of cinema and appropriated media imagery, the "Film Stills" were additionally rich with material that addressed feminist issues: the woman as subject and as disempowered object. The photographs became the site of an on-going and extensive critical dialogue, which it continues to permeate the fabric of their reading and presentation. Two decades after initial, fragmentary exhibitions of the work - first at an alternative artists' space in Buffalo, Hallwalls, and then in New York at The Kitchen, it seems important to reconfigure the work as photographic, and to closely examine what constitutes its post-modern relationship to the modernist canon.¹³

To insist on the photographic is not to work idly from a sense of the contrary, but because the photographic - the frame, the flickering light, the paper - is part of their facture, is intrinsic to the poetics of their production.¹⁴ It is also because the issue of facture is often the first to be dismissed within the large body of criticism that has focused on Sherman's meteoric artistic career.¹⁵ For over a twenty-year span, Sherman's work has proven to be both singularly significant to other artists, particularly during the decade of the '80s, and highly receptive to critical reinscription by writers, evolving into a veritable post-modern literary palimpsest.¹⁶ That the photographs offer a "plurality of entrances" suggests their position as a "writerly text" within the

Barthesian framework: the photographs propose fictions and connections to the viewer, breaking with the modernist expectation of photography as index of the real, as evidence, as producer of sense-making description.¹⁷

*

There are sixty-nine "Film Stills" - that number certainly makes a humorous sexual allusion.¹⁸ The numbers assigned to the pictures run higher - to eighty-four - the numbering gaps referencing other projects - color work - that were finally not included as part of the black-and-white series. Sherman conceived of the photographs within the commercial film still format - pictures on cheap, glossy paper. In viewing the images, the connotations that circle them widen out to include memory-bank cuts of popular films, photo-romance magazines, movie posters, as well as the specifically posed, well-lit, set-up scene that was traditionally used to advertise a movie to viewers gazing in a theater lobby. The lobby picture was a set-up scene, and came to be called the film still: it was shot before or after the action on the movie set was completed, it was fictive time stopped, telescoped - in it the dramatic action was abstracted and advertised. It must be considered as a unique species of image, separate from the instance where an individual frame of a film is cut from sequenced, narratively connected shots.

The "Film Stills" have a serial relationship based on format and set-up, but the poetic structure or visual narrative that connects the pictures, giving them a beginning, end or center, remains elusive, beyond conclusive reading. A comparison with a filmic model is visually suggested where costume or scene appears to repeat or to be consistent, leading to the expectation that sequences will move the ideational content forward: but it is the borderline between filmic and photographic that is being explored, the differences between fluid, fictive time and the stopped down containment of the still frame. Sherman raises the possibility that within the serial cluster a symbolic or informational meaning may emerge: but the meaning, in the Barthesian sense, remains "evident, erratic, obstinate".¹⁹ A signified that cannot be given a name. That there are

clusters within the sixty-nine photographs is clear - but the similar pictures are variations, repetitions, not explications.

To say that the photographs are not iconic film stills is to say that they are not staged scenes that widen purposefully, in the viewer's imagination, to an implicated, on-going dramatic or pictorial purpose. Rather, they are pictures that circle each other, and they share a connection through the black-and-white, roughly eight-by-ten photographic format, vertical and horizontal, appropriated from the picture in the movie house lobby. The discernable features of the artist, Cindy Sherman, centrally depicted in the frames in a kaleidoscopic mirror of costumed set-ups, connotative of American and French New Wave Films, underlines the pictures' intertwining similarities.²⁰

As objects, the pictures exist, canonically, for museum exhibition or sale, as silver gelatin photographs, in editions of ten, on inexpensive, glossy photographic paper. (Other sizes, larger than eight-by-ten, of some of the more popular images, were printed additionally.) Insisting on the "objectness" of these pictures is not a pedantic exercise, but central to a critical position, a braking restraint on some of the more speculative discussion these photographs have occasioned. A cut from Peter Schjeldahl's essay for the Whitney Museum's catalogue that accompanied the Sherman retrospective in 1978 points to the difficulty:

As a male, I also find these pictures sentimentally, charmingly, and sometimes pretty erotic: I'm in love again with every look at the insecure blonde in the nighttime city. I am responding to Sherman's knack, shared with many movie actresses, of projecting feminine vulnerability, thereby triggering (masculine) urges to ravish and/or protect. But it is the frame, with its exciting safety, that makes my responses possible.²¹

The critics who attempt to extricate Sherman from her location site, to probe for the "portrait of the artist" as viewed subject or sited object, do so as Laura Mulvey would describe, with "the look, pleasurable in form, (that) can be threatening in content."²²

Arthur Danto searches for *The Girl*:

The invariable subject is the Girl in Trouble, even if the Girl herself does not always know it. In Barbie-doll garments, in the suburbs or at the beach or in the city. The Girl is always alone, waiting, worried, watchful, but she is wary of, waiting for, worried about, and her very posture and expression phenomenologically imply The Other: the Stalker, the Saver, the Evil and Good who struggle for her possession...The Girl is feminine to her fingertips, Vulnerability is her middle name, and yet she has all the great virtues: bravery, independence, determination, spunk and a tremulous dignity.²³

And beyond the search for the portrait is the problematic of Sherman's work as photographic: can it be possible that the medium still gives difficulty, can still be considered resistant to the marking of the maker? In the essay that accompanies the monograph Untitled Film Stills, Danto wrote that "Her product is not the photograph as a work of art, but the work of art that happens to be a photograph."²⁴ I would argue that it matters very much that the "Film Stills" are photographs and that much of their reading, and the poetics of their production, lies in their photographic materiality: the analogical representation of an object / subject through the double agency of light and lens, the adherence of the referent, the cut of the frame, the paper surface of the print.

For the structure of each of the "Film Stills" can be seen to examine a wide range of photographic devices - inside as opposed to outside, grain / reticulation as opposed to sharp focus, depth of field and perhaps, most interestingly, the frame - as edge, hallway, doorway, room and mirror. The mirror, which appears in a number of the "Film Stills," connotes the full panoply of art history as a structural device and an allusion to the tradition of self-portraiture. The mirror equally signifies post-modern theoretical texts - specifically the difference between the Lacanian and Irigarayan mirrors, the one flat, the other - the speculum - convex.²⁵ The locations in the photographs are varied, changed in all likelihood as the occasion presented itself: interior, exterior, city, beach, the road trip, the kitchen, the bedroom, and work to root the pictures in experience. For the most part, close-ups predominate over distance shots, but often

there will be elements of both in the stills. The location aside, all the photographs are site or studio set-ups arranged by Sherman, although a few of the pictures, outside-the-studio or on-the-road, are taken by friends, the artist Robert Longo or her father. Sherman consistently uses herself as model and in doing so engages the complexity of the self-portrait as opposed to the set-up copy or ambiguous simulacrum. Always presenting herself as the subject of the photographic inquiry, she is equally an object, part of the studio site.²⁶ Sherman's self-photographs, copied and mediated, open a fictive space that creates the role of the observer, who is frequently also the object of the (her) gaze, and in an intricate maneuver, there is an unspecified third agency outside the frame, not pictured, obliquely implicated in the complex viewing fields.

The changing, but similar - the features are recognizable once you go looking for them - representations of Sherman thread the photographs in linear fashion: viewing the entire series references the line-up of lumberjacks in the photomontage. "The Giant". To view all sixty-nine, eight-by-ten "Film Stills" in order of production involves a choice between two equally arbitrary arrangements or mechanisms.²⁷ Through the intervention of copy-prints it is possible to gather the photographs chronologically and then flip through them - back and forth at will - as though they were a book, or lay them out in a long, linear drift of black-and-white paper - on the floor. Or within the context of a museum collection and curatorial design, it is possible to arrange prints, selected from the editions of ten, on a museum wall.²⁸ In any of these circumstances, it is possible to examine the full spectrum of art-making strategies and photographic mediations used in their production. The props of masquerade - the wigs, costumes and make-up - signifying shifts in the serial representation rather than "woman" - are only a part of the visible aspect of Sherman's storyboard. The formal devices - framing, depth of field, viewpoint, lighting - are equally significant; they are the identifying marks of a photographic structure - but one that is gutted, from within.²⁹

*

The first six "Film Stills" were produced as a unit; they were a conceptual project.³⁰ They can be viewed as the opening gambit to the on-going work for they address theoretical issues that are central to the reading of all the photographs: that of the photographic fiction against the real, or the index; the self as present and absent - subject and object; the fragmentary still as serial, in opposition to sequential time. They are serial in the sense of being repetitions, photographs of one person, of Cindy Sherman – that identity is marked for the viewer through the clear representation of her features, transformed but made recognizable under make-up and wig. Sherman's masquerade is drawn from Irigaray's "dominant economy of desire." set-up, staged as a performance artist recreating stereotypical roles from '50s movies and photo-romance magazines.³¹ It is also drawn from a particular period in American memory, the Eisenhower era, the 1950s, described well by Jameson:

Nostalgia films restructure the whole issue of pastiche and project it onto a collective and social level, where the desperate attempt to appropriate a missing past is now refracted through the iron law of fashion change and the emergent ideology of a generation. The inaugural film of this new aesthetic discourse, George Lucas's *American Graffiti* (1973), set out to recapture, as so many films have attempted since, the henceforth mesmerizing lost reality of the Eisenhower era; and one tends to feel, that for Americans at least, the 1950s remain the privileged last object of desire – not merely the stability and prosperity of a pax Americana but also the first naïve innocence of the countercultural impulses of early rock and roll and youth gangs....³²

The first group is numbered consecutively #1 - #6, and all were made in 1977. They are, in order of numbering, "Woman in hallway," "Woman in bathroom," "Woman in kitchen," "Woman in hallway with coat," "Woman with letter," "Reclining woman in lingerie." The titles of the pictures were supplied by The Museum of Modern Art when the prints were purchased from Sherman through Metro Gallery.³³ These photographs are joined as a series both by the repeated appearance of Sherman

and the highly visible grain that comes up in the printed surface of the paper. The surface dotting is pronounced in character, it makes the paper flicker, almost glitter. Additionally, it signifies a wealth of photographic information: the chemically active silver salts of the photographic process, that the photographer was either a technical novice or uninterested, or liked the imperfect surface. At any rate, the achievement of a tonally perfect gray scale was not a requirement of the completed photographic picture - not meaning, however, that the boundary of the photographic was not important to the work. For the artist and the viewer, perhaps the dot also references the high-color pointillist mark of post-impressionism and with that the aura of art history; it is not an unsatisfactory effect. The uncertainties, the inconsistencies of these pictures: portrait or not, fiction or not, appropriation / simulacrum or not - are assuredly not registered in the canon of modernism, but the plurality of entrances, the "writerly" text associated with post-modernism. The grain, the dot, is in fact reticulation, an untimely congealing of photographic chemicals.³⁴

In 1977 Sherman was, if not a novice photographer, certainly not committed whole-heartedly to the niceties of printing and fine darkroom technique. However, these six prints are the only ones in the series of sixty-nine that carry the mark of the active silver gelatin, going against the photographic grain in a rejection of clarity, for the printing difficulty was accepted if not repeated. Obviously, in these first prints the grain was considered an interesting mark by the photographer - beyond the devices of art history - connotative of the cheap film stills then available in boxes in sidewalk stalls on 42nd Street in New York City. The concept of series, of repetition, was stabilized in these six prints and then widened into an on-going project. Sherman eventually compiled lists of photographs she intended to make, with descriptive notes for costume and setting.

Sherman started art-making young, and moved easily from art course to art course throughout high school. In interviews, art-making, dressing up and TV run as

parallel interests and led eventually to her entering the State University of New York at Buffalo in 1972. There it seemed reasonable to major in art education and to take art courses with the expectation of eventually teaching. At SUNY she met Longo who was living in one of the studios that Ashford Hollow Foundation had carved out of its 60,000-square-foot institutional location. Local artists and SUNY artists shared studios supportively in the enormous building. Eventually Hallwalls, an extremely vital, artist-run alternative space organized by Longo and Charles Clough, grew out of the converging halls and walls of an old ice-house on the property. Sherman, arrayed in changing outfits, was recognized early on as an interesting presence at Hallwalls, an artist who was on to something her that her peers felt was compelling. In 1975, influenced by Longo's conceptual theories and the continuous discussion of art-making practices in the community of artists around her, she changed her course work from painting to photography.

I started in the painting department. I tried to switch and they wouldn't let me, but I became more interested in photography as a tool, and I think when I finally made that switch, it was as a result of about a year's worth of frustration of not knowing what to do. This was about the point where I met Robert Longo and the Hallwalls crowd and learned what was going on in the art world up to that moment. I hadn't learned anything about this in school and never knew about it from growing up on Long Island. Once I learned about what was going on, I felt like it was useless to paint anymore.³⁵

The first photography course she signed up for was highly technical and, uninterested, she failed it. But Sherman did not return to painting and at Longo's suggestion, fulfilled a class assignment to make a serial work that considered time and sequence by photographing herself in the process of making-up and dressing-up to effect a physical transformation.³⁶ There was a simple plot to the next group of photographs and several characters: Sherman would accordingly costume herself for each role. The photographs would be cut out and assembled story-board fashion, and

then mounted on the wall. They were effective, if time-consuming, and Linda Cathcart included them in a 1975 survey show at the Albright-Knox Museum.³⁷

The positive feedback from peers was immediate, and feeling that she had hit on something right, Sherman moved into performance work, advanced photography courses and a studio in Hallwalls. In addition to the concentration of artists at Hallwalls, Buffalo was also a city to which a number of experimental filmmakers had gravitated in the late '60s, among them Tony Conrad, Hollis Frampton and Paul Sharits.³⁸ The Hallwall artists and Sherman became familiar with their work and the film making strategies enriched their thinking. It was a vital artistic community, and, for a time and a space, it seemed wise to Sherman to remain in Buffalo. Longo also remained. For a year after graduating SUNY, Sherman continued at Hallwalls, masquerading or costumed as the mood took her, and making art when it seemed possible. She moved to New York City with Longo in the summer of 1977, the move fueled partially by her grant from the National Endowment for the Arts of three thousand dollars.³⁹

Sherman and Longo shared a loft on Fulton Street, and in the fall they moved together to another one on South Street. Sherman took a job as a receptionist at Artists' Space; it was organized at the time, administratively and curatorially, by Helene Winer, who had come there from the art gallery at Pomona College. Sherman often arrived at work in costume and then backed off because her performance drew unwanted attention. The city proved a difficult environment for Sherman and much of the time she stayed in the loft watching movies and TV. Boxes in the stands on 42nd Street, in the movie theater district, supplied her with hundreds of cheap publicity stills - they were available at thirty-five cents a piece. An additional resource was David Salle's collection of old porno-magazine pictures in his loft.⁴⁰ Late in 1977, in the hallways adjoining their living space, Sherman began to make photographs, using descriptive titles drawn from the 42nd Street boxes of film-still pictures.

In an essay for an exhibition he curated at Artists Space in 1977, Douglas Crimp described a tenet of making art in an historical moment saturated with the production of mass media images:

To an ever greater extent our experience is governed by pictures, pictures in newspapers and magazines, on television and in cinema. Next to these pictures firsthand experience begins to retreat, to seem more and more trivial. While it once seemed that pictures had the function of interpreting reality, it now seems that they have usurped it. It therefore becomes imperative to understand the picture itself, not in order to uncover a lost reality, but to determine how a picture becomes a signifying structure of its own accord.⁴¹

The signifying structure of the "Film Stills" is one that offers the photograph as index, as trace, but, superimposed on that, another significance, that of simulacrum, as a copy beyond "the simple *existence* of the scene."⁴² Signifying the fragmentary and the fiction is Sherman's repetitive role as model: it works as trope and as negation of the portrait tradition and of the presentation of woman as object. While the viewer can identify Sherman's features, her masquerade widens the field of the fictionalized / photographic structure to encompass a review of the gender specific guises assigned women in visual / popular culture, in mass media. The photographs turn on axes of the photographic simulacrum and the artist's masquerade.⁴³

Of the first six photographs, two particularly explore the issues of reflection and fiction while graphically utilizing the formal devices of photographic focus, cut and paper.⁴⁴ "Untitled Film Still #2," 1977 (fig.46), opens the subject of portrait and representation.⁴⁵ The photograph frames a bathroom, the doorjambs reading as black and gray bars rising vertically on either side, with threshold and lintel cut away. A young woman is pictured standing within the bathroom, draped in a towel, posing herself from the shoulders up in front of an arched, wall hung, mirror. Below the mirror is a porcelain sink and plumbing - whitened out to a sculptural form that suggests both Edward Weston's shapes and Marcel Duchamp's urinal - that identifies

the ambiguous space as a bathroom. Underneath the sink a wastebasket piled with crushed paper lends a temporal air to the staging, underlining the constant desublimation, de-aesthetization of photographic form. It becomes, with close looking, a more complex set-up than first appears: it is layered with the signifiers of art history and self-portraiture, and then with those - perhaps better known - of Hitchcockian film-noir.⁴⁶

The young woman looks at herself in the mirror, the graceful hand held to her chin in a consciously artful pose, the slightly opened mouth and eyes focused on the reflected image, performing the traditional role of draped, artist's model. But here the artist *is* model, viewer and photographer all at once. In these pictures, Sherman proposes that the artist as model is not necessarily identical with the self as portrait: despite the fact that in the entire series of "Film Stills" Sherman reflects herself as clearly recognizable - by facial shape, configuration of eyes and nose, curve of mouth. Prostheses are not used in these pictures, as they will be in future set-ups. The trope on the self as model highlights at the same time an absence of biographical detail and emotional revelation, expectations the viewer may have had from the traditional experience of the self-portrait with its attendant self-exposure. These pictures are not about self-analysis - access to the personal is denied: they are in opposition to the autobiographical paradigm, or John Szarkowski's photograph as a "mirror, reflecting a portrait of the artist who made it."⁴⁷ Sherman, as both artist and model, permits the gaze to shuttle between herself and the viewer, but, by looking first, she stakes her claim to her reflection and representation in advance of the viewer's imposition of the gaze. Here the gaze is understood as the artist's, and in the mirror the look, the reflection, is privileged first as belonging to that woman / artist. In this early picture Sherman constructs a viewing and photographic structure that she will repeat throughout the "Film Stills:" herself as artist / model and the positioning of oblique, additional viewing sites outside the frame. In this photograph, the artist looks at her

reflection in the arched mirror and the viewer looks at the artist looking at herself in the guise of the model: a memory-bank image of Gustave Courbet's painting, *The Studio* surfaces - and that model as a paradigm of all draped, female models. But access to the artist's psyche is barred: the still remains a structured photograph whose significance is embedded in its own stopped, fragmentary nature.

The site of this photograph is a '70s style bathroom. The lighting flattens the forms to abstractions: the mirror pictures the face clearly enough to be Sherman's face, but without the extraneous detail that would draw the viewer to a personalized scrutiny. The self is pictured, but without the infusion of the personal. Formally the photographic space is bisected: the opaque shower curtain is drawn neatly down the center of the print, halving the space into areas of presence and absence - also of more or less grain - for here the grain verifies the referent. Tonal bars on either side of the print, dark to the left, pale to the right begin a series of framings that cut and delineate the space of the photograph: the first cut from whatever is out there in front of the camera that will be printed on paper. Another cut is the cut of the reflecting mirror, a reading on the first decision. The grays, the blacks, the grain reduce the depth of the photographic field in the print, pulling the image securely back to the plane of the paper. Sherman's camera, set in advance to permit her entry, pose and privacy, tilts up slightly to her vertical position. The gray scale signifies the photographic - Sherman's set-up signifies the fiction, or a fragment of it.⁴⁸

The context of the reflecting mirror can additionally be read as a parody and appropriation of both the mechanism of the artist's self-portrait and the Lacanian psychoanalytic "mirror stage."⁴⁹ The Lacanian text opens usefully onto these pictures because Sherman - herself archly anti-theoretical - looks into the camera / mirror for a reflection, and it is a reflected fiction, herself in costume and masquerade (clothing and role playing), at once recognizable and othered, alienated. But first, parody here is marked in the sense of simultaneously utilizing and destabilizing a form - the mirror is

a grained surface represented on paper, it offers no illusion of ongoing depth, of endlessly reflecting surfaces, or even of reflecting the young woman accurately.⁵⁰ The image of the mirror is curiously destabilized by its fixing, the viewing in the mirror controlled by the photographer, not surrendered to the silvered surface, or ambiguously to the viewer. Sherman has also appropriated to herself the viewing position, denying or destabilizing the Mulveyan psychoanalytic identification of the viewer as masculine and the object of the look as feminine.⁵¹ In Sherman's mirror the subject and the object are splintered in the gaze and the viewer is implicated in the construction of the difference between the form in the glass - slightly comic - and the fictionalized model, slightly erotic. And the viewer, site of the third gaze, is rendered bi-gendered, for Sherman has implicated both female gaze, complicitly, and male gaze, contradictorily and erotically, in her reappropriation of the image in the mirror to herself.⁵²

A post-modern distinction is being made in this picture between the self as model and the self as portrait. The white face is pictured in the grained paper surface of the mirror as a mask, blonde wig atop dark eyes, open mouth, unrevealing of thought and emotion, signifying a pose, an image, a picture remembered. The photograph calls to mind Barthes' essay on Garbo's face:

Garbo still belongs to that moment in cinema when capturing the human face still plunged audiences into the deepest ecstasy, when one literally lost oneself in a human image as one would in a philtre, when the face represented a kind of absolute state of the flesh, which could be neither reached nor renounced...In spite of its extreme beauty, this face, not drawn but sculpted in something smooth and friable, that is, at once perfect and ephemeral, comes to resemble the flour-white complexion of Charlie Chaplin, the dark vegetation of his eyes, his totem-like countenance.⁵³

Perhaps the face is still the "absolute state of the flesh," but here the face is smooth, flour white, certainly to be "neither reached nor renounced" - close to the Chaplin "totem-like countenance," and yet curiously everyday too, not iconic. This starlet-like face, signifying the history of cinematic female faces - faces mask-like, beautiful,

waiting for the viewer's inscription of identity and expression. I turn to a comparison, to a photograph that is considered a self-portrait. In this picture, Lee Friedlander's picture of his shadow on the desert floor of the Canyon de Chelly, 1983 (fig.47), the face is less visible than Sherman's face and the body in greater disguise; the picture is the last portrait in a collection published as a book, Lee Friedlander, Portrait self, 1998.⁵⁴

Friedlander's portrait is a perfect foil to Sherman's mirror reflection: the mirror revealing nothing, the shadow in the sand revealing all the essentials of the modernist, abstract and expressionist portrait. The man, the photographer: camera bag slung on hip, symbol of his craft, lens held to eye. The sand, the rocks, the grass / hair revealing, signifying the man's individual humanity: of dust we are and to dust we will return. The clarity of the photograph to document, to give evidence of what was there, before the camera at a given moment, is privileged. Friedlander's portrait-shadow intentionally reads as a footprint, a trace, the index, the sign. The man was here, the camera captured the shadow of his being, his essential dust before it returns to dust. The clarity of the gray scale permits perfect reading of the textures as grass, as dust, as rock. John Szarkowski describes the picture in the book's afterword:

Perhaps we will be closer to the truth if we think of the whole picture - including the rocks and weeds and the pattern and the eye-watering highlights and the brilliant shadows - as one indivisible thing, a whole, a simple idea, not a mixture of two or three separate things. Let us call it a photograph, an example of that species of picture that attempts to produce the illusion of clear meaning by recording the image on a camera's screen.⁵⁵

Certainly Sherman's picture does not present the illusion of clear meaning, and the personal self is even less present in the visible flesh than Friedlander's self in the dust of the desert floor. Although both pictures suggest the easy availability of the artist as model, the dissimilarity, the divergence, of their photographic productions is evidence of a rupture in the geneology of the image-bank each photographer draws on -

there are different histories of photography evident here. Friedlander draws on a world that can be documented, on evidence that can be photographed, on a history of landscape as revelatory of a humanist soul. Sherman constructs a world to photograph from a memory filled with filmic frames frozen, a photographic vocabulary stocked from magazines, movies, photographs seen: the photograph as index, as trace, not of the world, but of a remembered photograph, the object reflecting light onto the photographic screen notwithstanding.⁵⁶

"Untitled Film Still #2" does not so much represent the unfolding, sequential, Hitchcockian drama that has so often been suggested, as the positing of the photograph as fragmentary fiction, and as the construction of photographic space - grained, flat, cut, angled - as an unstable area. The fiction is connoted by the costumed / uncostumed model / artist as well as by complementary image bank memories drawn up on the viewer's interior screen. Which leads to a reading of the photographs as both parody and pastiche - a repetition of forms remembered, of things seen and known before, reframed with connotations of critical differences.⁵⁷ The photograph denotes what is there, but more significantly comes to connote a genealogy of images that are not there: a dip into the Pandora's box of media culture and media culture's representations of women. Laura Mulvey opens her essay on Sherman's work with a cut from a Sherman interview:

When I was at school I was getting disgusted with the attitude of art being so religious or sacred, so I wanted to make something which people could relate to without having read a book about it first. So that anybody off the street could appreciate it, even if they couldn't fully understand it. That's the reason why I wanted to imitate something out of the culture, and also make fun of the culture as I was doing it.⁵⁸

Cutting up culture for reuse, re-pasting it together, the "Film Stills" are drawn from the photo-conceptual processes of Sherman's early cut-outs, photo-booth shots and syncopated storyboards like the "The Giant," where the possibilities of the

photograph as a serial transformation of the self are transcribed. The choice of a vocabulary of mythic feminine identities, drawn from mass culture, seemed retrograde in a contrarian fashion for an artist working in the environment of '70s feminism (and Sherman has been criticized for this), a time in which, as Mulvey notes, "the responsibility of the female body underwent a crisis."⁵⁹ However, what Sherman did do within the fictive space of the photographs was collapse the boundaries between "high culture and low culture," parodying in that collapse the mythic dimension of filmic femininity. What became tantalizing to critics was Sherman's theoretical silence, her abstention from running commentary and her refusal of a didactic position. As an artist, apart from a few simple interviews granted, she has continued to maintain an eloquent silence.

The first six photographs, "Woman in Doorway," "Woman in Bathroom," "Woman in Kitchen," "Woman in Hallway," "Woman Reading a Letter," "Woman As Pin-Up," are visually linked together by the grainy surface of the congealed silver print. Then a photographic seriality becomes apparent as well. Sherman's features and wigs, blond or dark, become easily identifiable: the configuration of the artist / model is played with, not concealed. Sherman seems to produce one fairly consistent but not so legible identity in these pictures, which yields an illusion of narrative sequence with big gaps. Viewing the six, a connection establishes itself between the set-up spaces and the photographic devices that Sherman structures. Judith Williamson writes that Sherman has established a "whole lexicon of feminine identities" but, in fact, in these six prints she seems more intent on addressing the transformation of a model by photographic format: set-up, framing, lighting, focus, depth of field, shutter release.⁶⁰ Sherman is alone and central in the framing of these pictures: she is subject and object. The set-ups perform serial transformations in their connotations of '50s films seen and remembered, but the signifying transmutation of Sherman into a photograph is worked by the camera.

Flipping quickly through the six, the first shows a light figure cut out against the dark vertical of doorway, the shadow - the trace of the figure - marked against the flat white space of a wall. The second suggests a progression of viewers - outside the frame, the model, the reflection. The third demonstrates the distortion produced when the camera tilts up at the model and when the model's gaze implicates a space outside the photographic frame. In the fourth, the figure has moved into the receding space of the long hallway where the empty oval of light comes on as significant a form as the figure leaning against the flat, black vertical of a door. (And the telephone book - a throwaway reminder that this is a set-up.) The fifth shows Sherman with a letter, angling wide-eyed out of a frame at a complicit observer. In this "Film Still" particularly the camera's viewpoint is splintered: by Sherman's gaze out of the frame to the observer who looks into the space that her head defines, the viewpoint of the camera angled up at Sherman and up into the room's corner where the convergence of three planes acts against the flat surface of the print, connoted as photographic paper by the visible dotting - newsprint additionally comes to mind. And the sixth is the famous "Pin-Up" (my title): the photograph sliced paper flat, adhering to the referent which Sherman, but also her memory bank images of other photographs (how would I look?).⁶¹ This is a run-through of media culture's vocabulary of young women: ways of viewing, of being seen, mythic forms of representation. However, I question that the "Film Stills" present a "whole lexicon of feminine identities": issues of class, race, age are certainly absent as is the requisite range and readability of such a lexicon. The vocabulary for the set-ups is cobbled together from film viewing and TV watching, but the subject is the activity and agency of still photography, the construction of fragmentary, fictive spaces and the enjoyment of playing in them.

The sixth picture in the first series of six is described as "Reclining Woman in Lingerie" in the catalogue entry of The Museum of Modern Art (fig.48). Captioning it, as opposed to describing it, as a "Pin-Up" would layer the image with myriad, complex

connotations.⁶² There is a disruptive relationship of appropriation and parody in the structure of this photograph of Sherman playing a subject playing pin-up: it certainly calls up remembered, iconic, film still pin-ups, but in no way changes the position of the picture as a simulacrum. It is a point well made by Rosalind Krauss in her monograph on Cindy Sherman, that the "Untitled Film Stills" are just that: simulacra, copies without originals, offering layers of multiple meanings, not takes on specific film stills.

What is always under the hood is the signifier, the material whose very articulation conditions the signified. And further, working away under the hood, either *on* or *with* the signifier, is the effort perhaps to limit the possibility that it might produce a multiplicity of unstable signifieds and promote a "sliding," or blurring among the, or, on the other hand, to do the reverse and welcome or even facilitate such a sliding. Limitation is the work of realism in novels and films: to every signifier, one and only one signified. Conversely, sliding and proliferation of meanings have always interested the anti-realist (what used to be called the avant-garde) artist.⁶³

It is useful to look at an iconic film still, a fragment of the appropriated cultural vocabulary, to recognize that "Untitled Film Stills" are not, in any way, intended to reproduce a film still correctly, but are conceptualized as complex structures that offer not only a multiplicity of meanings, but a post-modern parody and pastiche of mass media imagery. The Hollywood film still that makes an interesting cultural cut and companion to "Untitled Film Still #6," or "Pin-Up," or "Reclining woman in lingerie," is Rita Hayworth in **Cover Girl**, Columbia, 1944 (fig.49). To begin with the interesting classification "pin-up." Pin-ups were pictures of Hollywood actresses that were distributed to male troops during World War II. They received some degree of official dispensation from housekeeping regulations and so could be freely attached to military property, i.e. the walls, furniture, and bedding of a wide variety of military installations. The pictures signified to the men in part what they were fighting for: that

imaginary access to blonde, supine, open-mouthed American women as commodities were among the liberties they were protecting with their lives.⁶⁴

The Hayworth pin-up is highly forthright and simplistic in its visual offering of the female form to the male gaze for penetration.⁶⁵ The camera angles straight down on Hayworth's supine body, spread across a silky material that limits depth of field and presents the subject as an object directly underneath the lens of the camera. Hayworth's open mouth, lightly veiled as a yawn, signifies the suggestion of penetration that the walking stick next to Hayworth completes; the lifted arm works to bring the breast in to view, the torsion of the body works to further suggest the pinned immobility of the "perfect product," the commodified woman.⁶⁶ The sharp focus of the camera highlights the slippery, shiny fabric that partially encases Hayworth's body completing the visual simulacrum of easy penetration. The gaze of the male viewer is uninterrupted by Hayworth's gaze: her eyes, obliquely lidded, unfocused, contact nothing. The picture has the intimacy of the pictorial pornographic. Oddly, the dangling white garter - attached to nothing - works as a punctum. Barthes' "detail": it stops the viewer and invites a close reading, alternatively - a prurient gazing. The white, dangling garter - it can only signify unclothing - yet, what is it doing there - marking the known experience against the display of so much Hollywood glamour?

"Untitled Film Still #6" is Sherman's post-modern reconstruction of the formal film still pin-up. Probably conceptually pasted together from all the pin-ups bought from the boxes on 42nd Street, a genealogy of pictures from Jane Russell through Marilyn Monroe, (and a hint of Salle's pornographic magazine picture files): an image-bank montage of all the pictures seen, conceptualized in the new format, of the simulacrum. Sherman has focused the camera straight down - before moving in front of it - the depth of field is shallow, making the female body, Sherman's, seem offered as object. The "punctum" in this picture is the antithesis of the dangling white garter - signifier of known delights and daily routines - for it is the extension cord of the

camera's shutter release, curled behind Sherman's back and visible on the left side of the picture. The shutter release itself seems lodged in Sherman's curled hand on the right, presumably having just been snapped. The big eyes are open as is the glossy mouth, but the hand mirror held at the left indicates that the artist has set this scene up as much for personal interest in the transformation as for the viewer's interest. How would any woman look in the "pin-up" pose, offered as a commodity? Prurience is oddly off set by the funny flowered sheets and the oddly mismatched underwear - the black bra opaque, revealing no form whatsoever, and the white lace pants oddly modest. This is certainly not an outfit Hayworth would have posed in: the difference in '40s underwear notwithstanding, the humor of the clothing offsets the notion of "perfect product." Sherman plays with the history of the pin-up and the certainty of the signified slides off to the side.

This photograph of artist-as-model, of an artist exploring representations in photographic format, in photographic seriality - the sixth following five preceding pictures that are similar in staged identities - suggests a possible narrative, but also wide gaps. For the grain, the choice of black-and-white film, the cut / the frame, all focus on the stopped, still, photographic materiality of the picture rather than a filmic, unfolding sequence. Again, what is going on here is not the concern of the traditional film still, shot by a unit stillsman and duplicating as closely as possible the production values of the film, as described in a history of the genre:

Stills are the photographs shot by the unit stillsman. They should as near as possible, duplicate the imagery on the footage shot by the movie camera. The object is to show who is in the movie and what it looks like, to give - as the producers say - some indication of the movie's 'PV,' its production value. 'Have we got big names?' 'Yes.' 'Have we got beautiful women?' 'Yes.' 'Have we got wonderful scenery?' 'Yes.' 'Have we got steam trains?' 'Yes.' 'Have we got a car chase?' 'Yes.' 'Does it look like we've spent a whole lot of money on this picture?' 'Yes.' 'Well, then, let's see it in the goddamn stills!'⁶⁷

It is the photograph of a young artist photographing herself, exploring the implications of that experience: sensing the tension of the body folded up, pressed flat between the picture plane and the lens, between the framing edges of the camera's built-in boundaries. And in the series, in the connections among the six photographs, the narrative is about Sherman's prerogative to picture herself, as subject and object, and to experience the tensions of the frame within and without the picture, basically destabilizing the signifieds of film still and film heroine.

*

And now another exercise: gathering all the Sherman stills together and flipping through them as though they were in a bound book.⁶⁸ Certain series appear, united by site or costume or fragmented identity, in which something appears about to happen and either does or does not. Instead, what becomes apparent is the opacity of Sherman as model, arrayed in costume and in the masquerade of feminine types – translated into the format of the black and white photographic image, eight by ten. The full panoply of types, viewed in this fashion, quickly flipping through sixty-nine pictures, eliminates the experience of close reading and the seduction of the single picture and its character. Here, all together, are represented many media types of women (young, pretty ones) reformatted photographically: collected in the hand, easily managed, the control over “forms of representation, the transformation of woman into object,” dissipates in the multiplicity of pictures, in the visibility of Sherman within the appropriated roles. Within this gathering is evidence that Sherman has addressed an issue that Annette Kuhn identifies in an essay, “Living dolls and ‘real women.’” This issue is highly charged, and has led to criticism of Sherman's work from feminist writers.

It is by now a commonplace that the transformation of the unclothed woman from being naked to be nude (one of the major ‘achievements’ of the European high art tradition) also brings about, in all forms of representation, the transformation of woman into object, the site of structures both of exchange and of looking. The spectator is the buyer, the buyer is the spectator. To possess a woman's sexuality is to possess the woman;

to possess the image of a woman's sexuality is, however mass-produced the image, also in some way to possess, to maintain a degree of control over, woman in general. In this situation the female spectator of images of woman has until very recently been faced with a single option – to identify with the male in the spectator and to see woman, to see herself, as an object of desire.⁶⁹

In Sherman's claim to the role of subject and object, artist and model, exhibitor and receiver of the gaze, she has challenged an identification with the "male in the spectator" and empowered the female to join the looking with equal, creative pleasure.

Sherman does not use photographic grain as a signifier again. The remaining sixty-three photographs are taken and printed in either clear or soft focus, with the exception of "Untitled Film Still #38" from 1979 (fig.50), catalogued in the MOMA collection as "Woman wading through stream." A hazy photograph, the shutter was manipulated by her father during a road trip in Arizona, and the print can be read as a kindly send-up of early 20th century Pictorialist practice; the connotation of that painterly photography obviously proved interesting to Sherman for the print remained in the final collection of "Film Stills." The picture shows Sherman, identifiable only because of its insertion in the series, posed awkwardly perhaps, in a dappled stream, in a dappled print. A loose white dress and a outstretched arm connote generations of idyllically posed girls in equally dappled sunlight. Framed from a distance, the forms are brought to the surface by the manipulated-seeming, Pictorialist modeling; the formal arrangement of the photograph is marked by the dark vertical of the tree at the right that stabilizes the pale washes of the gray tonal scale. Whistlerian in attitude, it brings Sherman's connotations of the iconic images of art history to the photographic page, and runs them alongside the appropriations of film and magazine frames and even "off" photographs.⁷⁰

Finally, the collection of "Film Stills," in their variety of constructed venues, can be read as a coded discourse, a dialogue about the representation of desire and

woman in photography and Sherman's use of recognizable forms of art history and film vocabulary to frame that discourse. Sherman's set-ups are a broadside both at the concept that photography is a transparent record and at the domination in the history of photography by images of women. Kuhn, in "Lawless seeing," writes on the "signifier 'woman'":

Representations are productive: photographs, far from merely reproducing a pre-existing world, constitute a highly coded discourse which, among other things, constructs whatever is in the image as object of consumption – consumption by looking, as well as often quite literally by purchase. It is no coincidence, therefore, that in many highly socially visible (and profitable) forms of photography women dominate the image. Where photography takes women as its subject matter, it also constructs 'woman' as a set of meanings which then enter cultural and economic circulation on their own account... Cultural meanings centered on the signifier 'woman' may become relatively fixed in use: but a certain range of meaning is still available.⁷¹

In the full gathering of "Film Stills," Sherman draws on those representations and expands the fixed "range of meanings." It is the serial transformations between the myriad, fragmented photographic representations of Sherman's young women that is significant, not the specific reference of a particular picture to a remembered Hitchcock or Sirk heroine. That excavation work misses the significance of Sherman's post-modern practice.

Back to a swift flipping through the pictures. "Untitled Film Still #7," from 1978 (fig.51), catalogued by MOMA as "Two women at beach house," is about representation certainly, but it is also about the camera's ability to record the world inside and outside simultaneously, close-up and mid-range in equal focus, in the gray, black and white tonal scale that translates the world of color into the black-and-white of silver gelatin printing that we accept as code for the real world. And in this photograph, beyond the intrigue of the costume and character that Sherman has donned for the set-up, are the photographic details marks that deliver enjoyment in close reading: the

clarity of the weaving in the straw hat that the second woman wears, rendering her anonymous and the delicacy of the decal on the glass above her head. Then there is the division of the photograph into roughly black and white halves: the white of Sherman's opaque stockings and '50s underwear highlighted against the black interior of the bedroom, where a chair is silhouetted against a pale bed-skirt. And again, Barthes' 'punctum': why are the garters above Sherman's white hose trimmed in a dark ribbon? Sherman's body leaning against the frame of the sliding glass door, presses against the door frame but also against the edge of the photographic frame, establishing the photographic activity in the structure of the picture.

Flipping through a few subsequent beach scenes – posed at Longo's parents' beachhouse, the camera's shutter released by friends – and then through scenes set-up in front of a mirror and a camera and distance shutter-released by Sherman, a serial viewing experience is established, based on identification and transformation – an idiosyncratic narrative with gaps. This viewing experience is essentially different than viewing the "Film Stills" in edited, published monographs where the individual "Film Stills" are pulled from serial connections and often enlarged – or reduced – from the original eight-by-ten format to make editorial content explicit.⁷² Viewing copyprints, the ability to flip back and forth easily familiarizes Sherman as subject / object, highlights the opacity of both the constructed representations and the photographic devices of the picture making, laying flat on the pages as they turn. Although the pages spill over with the visual connotations of filmic melodrama, and the heroine is sometimes seductive, the boundaries between fluid sequence and fragmentary still remain intact, pointing to an intended signification of a "self-reflexive awareness of the conditions of (photographic) representation."⁷³

"Untitled Film Still #17 – 20," of 1978 represent respectively "Face of woman with scarf"; "Distant view of woman with scarf"; "Side view of woman with scarf"; and "Woman with scarf exits building (fig.52)." These four photographs are all set up

on West 23rd Street in New York City; camera, tripod and effects loaded into a van, with a friend brought along to release the shutter for Sherman as directed. All four prints were kept in the final cut of the “Film Stills.” There is an unusual serial connection between them in Sherman’s identity and the viewer’s ability to recognize the site: Sherman’s interest in the seriality is written in the retention of all four in the final collection. However, in opposition to a sequential unfolding, nothing “happens” between one frame and the next, nothing is resolved; there is no narrative connection, although one could certainly make one up and fill in the gaps.

In the first photograph, “#17,” the camera is angled up into Sherman’s face which is in focus against the buildings behind her that slide out of focus. To the right, is an arched doorway that echoes the shape of the scarf covering her head. The activity of the close-up details the presentation, the costume, the connotations of dress-up. The bound and cinched wardrobes of Sirk’s heroines come to mind: the bowed dresses, the tight waists, the scarfed and hatted heads – although those additional signifiers are not yet in view – but the viewer understands that they will be. This scarfed head stares down at the viewer without focusing, the eyes are wide – widened by the double lined, mascared eyes. The two knots that bind the woman – one tucked under the chin, one tied at the neck of the blouse – are clearly visible. Cropped just at the shoulder line, the face is pressed forward against the plane of the photographic paper by the soft focus building that looms in a deceptively shallow space. A street portrait, but not really: the face of the model is as impenetrable as the stone façade of the building background. The viewer reads the details of the representation: the dotted, flowered and gathered fabrics, the wig, the face paint. Visual penetration into the picture as “mirror” or “window” is blocked by a reading of the print’s photographic activity.

In the next photograph, “#18,” the camera is moved back – or Sherman steps back – so that the camera frames almost all of her body, cutting off just the feet. That elimination underlines the effect of the frame’s cut of the world. The costume, still

resonant of Sirk's coded wardrobes, now includes a little handbag (what *could* she carry it in?): certain of the location from the previous photograph, the viewer scans the page to read inconsistencies in details from the first picture, or an indication that something *has* happened, which might make the reading of this second photograph a different experience from the first. What *has* happened is that the arched doorway is cut off and the building is focused – each brick can be read separately, the patterns in the laying of the brick are clear – the leaves of the privet hedge now frame Sherman's walking figure differently than did the looming architecture of the first picture. The viewer may fill in the gaps at will, but each picture is an unresolved narrative fragment.

And that is the final, serial connection of these pictures, that is their narrative: that the cut, the frame, the inclusions and exclusions, the set-ups are all the mediated practice of a post-modern photography and the imagined heroine is the artist, the model. In this series, the transmutation of the photograph continues into two additional states. In “#19,” Sherman gazes out furtively, implicating an additional presence beyond the camera and the immediate viewer. The camera angle is directed up, and she turns her body slightly away. The brick building façade is chosen to be dense with brick detailing: a black shadow inclines slightly towards Sherman's shape, black edged windows press in to activate the picture's edge, the black band on Sherman's headscarf completes a geometrical banding that pins her butterfly-style to the building's brickwork. And in the last photograph of the group, “#20,”: Sherman, scarved and bowed, short skirt falling in pleats from the waistband that holds in the blouse – and it is a blouse, of a soft material – little pocketbook in hand, strides from the doorway of a generic building – city or suburban, domestic or commercial? The grasses growing to the right, at the base of the privet hedge, make the scene as visually redolent of suburbia as of urban New York; the site has no conclusive or narrative connotation except that there is a similarity to the other set-ups. Because the representation, the picture, has

transmuted through four “states” the viewer reads the photographs for differences, for signifiers that connote a different representational condition, another gloss on a possible meaning. And the meaning seems to be about the mediation of photographic activity and the potential transformations of identity within the serial and the similar: a transformation that is stilled, not sequential, unfolding or filmic.

Finally, four “Film Stills” from 1980: “#53 ‘Woman before lamp,’” (fig.53): “#54 ‘Woman at night pulls collar,’” (fig.54); “#55 ‘Woman at night on cobblestone street’” (fig.55); “#56 ‘Woman peers into reflection’” (fig.56). As commentary on the fairly random, though chronological ordering of the “Film Stills,” “#53” and “#56” are linked by site – Sherman’s loft – and costume (a stitched, jewel-necked blouse), and bracket the two night scenes in a curious, ruptured relationship. It puts the serial connections and transformations to the test as to the retentiveness of the viewer’s memory: it exposes gaps in whatever narrative the viewer enjoys constructing. It is almost as if the contents of the box of film stills on 42nd Street had been pulled out of order by continuing perusal.⁷⁴ With these four photographs, perhaps because sexually suggestive clothing is absent from the costuming of the set-up, the issues of the “women in the audience,” and the act of random role playing as opposed to masquerade are addressed.

First (the ‘women in the audience’), whether the female spectator is carried along, as it were by the scruff of the text, or whether her pleasure can be more deep-rooted and complex. Second (the melodrama issue), how the text and its attendant identifications are affected by a female character occupying the centre of the narrative arena. So far as the first issue is concerned, it is always possible that the female spectator may find herself so out of key with the pleasure on offer, with its ‘masculinisation,’ that the spell of fascination is broken. On the other hand, she may not.⁷⁵

The masculinisation of the gaze is as applicable to the workings of the still camera, to the production of the fragment, as it is to the unfolding of sequential, filmic, fictive time, for it is ultimately about the “female form displayed for (his)

enjoyment.”⁷⁶ In the collection of “Film Stills,” gathered together for back-and-forth looking, that gaze and that enjoyment broadens out and is invited to become bi-sexed: the transformations in the artist’s identity, directed and observed by Sherman, become available to multiple, bi-sexual enjoyment. A combination of desires and identification positions is effected: the artist’s ability to move herself at will through varied roles, permutations and photographic mediations – with stops and gaps – is staked out in the two interrupted series evidenced in these four pictures: the interior set-ups bi-sected by the two street scenes. Multiple, complex viewing possibilities are offered: the artist / model / woman looking at her reflection and offering that reflection to the exterior observer; the woman on the street, pulling at her collar, seeming vulnerable to the observer, on the street, and the viewer of the photograph who notes the differences between that print and the similar one and the other transformations that follow after and come before it. In Sherman’s solid position as artist and woman is embedded the invitation for women to enjoy the display and the chameleon-like transformations: in her obvious, young attractiveness is the display “for (his enjoyment.)”⁷⁷

“Film Still #54” is an image of Sherman backlit by a figured tall lamp, standing in front of the white brick wall that has come, from multiple viewings in other set-ups, to be associated with the wall of her living space. Her look is directed out of the frame, watching an activity that inflects her stance; there is a chain-reaction – she is observing something we cannot see, while we observe her. She looks, we look and there is no connection. Is it possible that what she looks at also looks at her observer? This is far from the canon of modern photographic portrait making. Sherman is recognizable and yet impenetrable, possessed of another transformed, fragmentary identity, connected narratively to the series only in a memory of the viewer’s own making. Her image is neither, in Szarkowski’s terms, a “mirror” nor a “window.” The photograph is not “a portrait of the artist who made it,” “or a window, through which one might better know the world.”⁷⁸ It is instead the creation of a self-

referencing fiction, or the fragment of one; a simulacrum – as Krauss points out, “a copy *without* an original” – a space where the artist moves at will, inside and outside the presented frame.⁷⁹ And, looking again, to unfocus the theoretical lens, there is the formal aspect of the picture, the formal arrangement of the photograph: the rounded head on the graceful neck retelling the shape of the lamp’s figured globe on the curved, metal base.

“Film Stills #54” and “#55” are late night pictures that use the full connotative range of black-and-white photography. The set-ups evoke the multiple, coded formats of film noir (melodrama: flawed characters, certain doom); newspaper reporting (Jacob Riis to Weegee); and the process of silver gelatin that transforms the retinally received world of color into the fiction of black-and-white tones.⁸⁰ Sherman is recognizable, identifiable, with her blond hair gleaming against the dark, nighttime site: a black backdrop of a city street given depth of field by random, luminous globes of light that hang above her and the city street, stretching behind her, the paving stones slick with a substance that bodes no good.⁸¹ The artist has positioned herself in the set-up of “#54” off the safety of the pavement and . on the stones of the slickly wet, glistening street. She is cut off mid-legs, trapped – as it were – on the surface of the silver gelatin print. The activity on the left part of the photograph relates her physically to the vernacular architecture of the white-doorwayed brick buildings to her side. The right part of the photograph falls off into a black space to which any significance can be inscribed; the scattered lights may be anything at all, their meaning placed entirely within viewer’s reading. Sherman’s position in the street calls attention to the sculptural metal patch on the sidewalk to her left: an odd form that reflects the forms of minimalist sculpture, a Carl Andre piece left out in the rain (my reading). Sherman is dressed in a light suit and coat, with a shiny slouch shoulder bag that reflects the lights that make the camera’s photograph technically possible. Her eyes, in a face flattened and whitened by the flash, encounter an observer that is not the viewer, it could be a paparazzi, a latter

day Weegee. It could also be herself, her image projected in her mind's mirror, a conceptual screen.

"#55" is the serially similar photograph: a transformation of the artist and the site. The viewer looks for the represented differences – they are there in the details – the costume, the artist's expression and attitude. In the transformations of the model run the recalled vocabulary of film and still viewing, the conceptual amalgamation of remembered fictive fragments. An important contribution to this store of memory-bank images were the film retrospectives that ran in New York during the '70s.

Barbara Klinger describes their importance in her work on the melodramas of Douglas Sirk:

After their original release, Sirk's melodramas, like the work of so many other directors, reappeared publicly via retrospectives from the 1970s through the 1980s. In New York City, a prime location for such activities, screenings invariably took place in museums, theaters wholly or partially devoted to revivals, and other institutions associated with public intellectual life. Specific revival enterprises for Hollywood films in New York included The Museum of Modern Art, Theater 80, St. Marks, Carnegie Hall, the Bleecker Street Theater, the Regency, the Thalia, and the New York Film Festival. Such forums differed from mainstream commercial theaters in presenting old films as part of enlightened culture, edifying for an urban cognoscente, rather than as simply entertainment for the average moviegoer. Assisting this enterprise were a cadre of film reviewers often similarly situated within an alternative framework, whether *The Village Voice* or the *Soho Weekly News* ... The growth of exhibition site as archive clearly aided the critical rewriting of past products of the film industry.⁸²

"#55," is not published as frequently as "#54."⁸³ Is it because the figure is less vulnerable, accessible? Is it a formal consideration? That omission is unfortunate, because it misses the place of the picture as a variation, a reworking of the serial connection and its concomitant invitation to the viewer to imagine a fiction played out differently. The similarly costumed female character is presented, but with a changed facial expression, and a different body language. (The costume looks dark because of a

different lighting system.) The street site is also similar: it stretches far back behind her, and again the cobble stones are slick with connotations of 'film noir.' The stones, highlighted with simple flicks of light, extend the depth of field deeper into photographic space than "#54" and serve as a reminder of the infinite variety of descriptive possibilities that black-and-white film can produce in its transformative coding of the retinal world of color. Played against each other the two photographs may be seen to work as an inverted sequence with gaps: they are serial and again they explore the difference between sequence and seriality.

The following is from a conversation between Cindy Sherman and Laurie Simmons, published as an interview:

LS: What do you feel like while you are working? Do you feel transformed by make-up and a costume?

CS: The best way for me to feel any transformation is to look in a mirror...A photograph should trigger your memory so that you feel you've seen it before. Some people have told me they remember the movie that one of my images is derived from, but in fact I had no film in mind at all.⁸⁴

"Film Still #56," from 1980, "Woman peers into reflection," is again part of an inverted sequence, with gaps. Sherman repeats the costume of "#53," a soft white blouse, pin-tucked and string-rolled at the neck, blond hair (or wig) teased out into a rounded form: she substitutes her / the model's oblique look out of the picture with a directed look into a large, facing mirror that fills the photographic frame. The two interior photographs (probably the second was also made in her loft) bracket the two nighttime street scenes: the photographic seriality placed in a sequential gap, "fragments with no indication of the order in which to read them."⁸⁵ The picture presents the back of Sherman's head, an indistinct, soft-focus mass of blond hair, the column of neck with the glow of a small ball, probably a pearl button closing the blouse. The gray circle of that head's shadow is traced on the reflected face, presented to the viewer in soft-focus and back-lighting: the eye, the nose, the lipsticked mouth are

clearly drawn and level with the lens of the camera. That it is a mirror, a reflecting glass that Sherman looks into is implied in the doubled image – no frame makes that supposition explicit. Two heads: one pictured from behind, the other only partially obscured by the shadow on the reflection as well as the back of the head, presented as three-quarters of a frontal face, sighted in a mirror that avoids full revelation. The viewer has no certain knowledge that the head of hair could not also turn and be an unexpected surprise, a contradiction.⁸⁶ However, after flipping back and forth through the other “Film Stills,” the likelihood is that the viewer will read this image as Sherman facing off with her reflection in a mirror, the mirror she alludes to in her conversation with Laurie Simmons.

This photograph, of Sherman positioned in front of a mirror, brings to the screen of my mind two other iconic images: the text of the Lacanian mirror stage, and Edouard Manet’s painting, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergere*.⁸⁷ The Lacanian text describes an infant’s stages of identification and alienation within the structure (metaphor) of a viewed mirror’s reflection, and proceeds to “the transformation that takes place in a subject when he assumes an image.”⁸⁸ Inverting the Lacanian textual image of the direct look, the structure of Manet’s painting places the woman’s mirrored reflection behind her, and she faces the viewer, deflecting his gaze (possibly signified by the man represented in the mirror to her right) and ours by her oblique one. Her transformation is worked in a mirror she cannot see. In the photograph the viewer is both present and absent in the visual dialogue: between the spacing of the two heads, the back of the artist / model’s and the reflected one, there is a gap that admits the presence of a third gaze, unidentified in the mirror - it can be thought of as either a woman’s – identifying with Sherman, or a man’s. And that is finally one of the non-fictions that Sherman is outlining in the “Film Stills” – that the pictures are visually conceptualizing the not only the parameters of a subject, an artist, assuming an image, but assuming that image in a newly bi-sexed viewing field.

If, as Armstrong points out about the “Film Stills,” “Their photographic medium matters *and* their address to femininity matters,” this last, “their address to femininity” is curiously underlined in this odd comparison between reflections in “Film Still #56” and the Manet painting, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergere*.⁸⁹ The painting’s presentation of the back of the woman’s head is in a broken, angled line of reflection in the mirror; there is a disconnect between the woman and the reflection behind her, an ambiguity in the perspective. In the “Film Still” Sherman turns her back to the gaze of viewers to scan her reflection directly and closely in a large mirror, probably one of those in which she has tried on the costumes and attitudes for many of the preceding set-ups. And that comparison between the two, the photograph and the painting, taken from the traditional strategies of art history, can be seen as a parable about post-modern viewing: that among a multiplicity of structures in the “Untitled Film Stills,” one structure has been about the reappropriation of the gaze and the act of representation to the female artist who is both subject and object, split between two roles as this “Film Still” explicitly suggests.

Sherman’s post-modern practice is additionally about Barthes’ “veritable mutation in reading” and the offering of fictions that defy “narrative intelligibility.”⁹⁰ It is about exploring the borders between sequence and seriality, and the significance of gaps: it is about the fragmentary nature of a film still, and the relationship of that stilled, stopped time to the unfolding of another fiction, that which takes place in filmic time. The multiplicity of possibilities makes the reading of the “Film Stills” mutant and mutating, differentiated conceptually from the self-reflexivity of modernism’s production, the “mirror” and the “window.” That self-reflexivity refers closely to known categories, those of individual expression and visual commentary, as well as those of technical excellence - the mark of the eye and darkroom virtuosity. The self-reflexivity of post-modern photography is about the medium too, but it includes, in a kaleidoscopic fashion, freely changing patterns of referenced pictures as added-ons and

fragments – back to photography, but rearranged in terms of what is pictured and how the viewing goes. There is an on-going expansion of the frame implied both in the serial gatherings of similar photographs, and in the connotations of memory-bank images that join the picture that is presented to the viewer. And the certainty of who that viewer is and where their enjoyment lies is also put into play. The certainties of the photograph and its theoretical boundaries – who it is of and why it is viewed - are turned inside-out; the boundaries can no longer be drawn and the certainties are not there for easy categorization. Instead, there is a rearrangement of pictures and a multiplicity of readings.

¹ Roland Barthes, "The Third Meaning, Research Notes On Some Eisenstein Stills (1970)" in Image - Music - Text, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: The Noonday Press, 1988), 54-55.

² Susan Rubin Suleiman, Subversive Intent: Gender, Politics and the Avant-Garde (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), 36.

³ John Szarkowski, Mirrors and Windows, American Photography Since 1960 (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1978), 25.

⁴ "Instead I want to say that their photographic medium matters *and* their address to femininity matters, and that the two re inextricable from one another." The point of view in this chapter is deeply indebted to Carol Armstrong's work on Cindy Sherman's "Film Stills," delivered in a paper, "That Old F...Word. Or: Objects, Theory and What They Can Do For One Another," at the Bard College Center for Curatorial Studies, April 1994. This quote is from page 11 of that paper which is unpublished and has been generously made available to me by Professor Armstrong.

⁵ A point made to me by Armstrong.

⁶ "it exceeds the copy of the referential motif, it compels an interrogative reading (interrogation bears precisely on the signifier not on the signified, on reading not on intellection: it is a 'poetical' grasp" Barthes, "The Third Meaning," 53.

⁷ "For Baudrillard and many others, however, it is clearly the nineteenth century, alongside the development of new industrial techniques and new forms of political power, that a new kind of sign emerges. These new signs, 'potentially identical objects produced in indefinite series,' herald the moment when the problem of mimesis disappears." Jonathan Crary, Techniques of the Observer, On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992), 12.

⁸ "then the 'movement' regarded as the essence of film is not animation, flux, mobility, 'life', copy, but simply the framework of a permutational unfolding and a theory of the still becomes necessary...The still offers us the *inside* of the fragment...the still throws off the constraint of filmic time...The still, by instituting a reading that is at once instantaneous and vertical, scorns logical time...." Barthes, "The Third Meaning," 67-68.

⁹ "What the Photograph reproduces to infinity has occurred only once: the Photograph mechanically repeats what could never be repeated existentially." Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 4. Originally published as La Chambre Claire (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1980). Note: Sherman varies her mechanical repetition.

¹⁰ "Photography cannot find alternatives to depiction, as could the other fine arts. It is in the physical nature of the medium to depict things. In order to participate in the kind of reflexivity made mandatory for modernist art, photography can put into play only its own necessary condition of being a depiction-which-constitutes-an-object. In its attempts to make visible this condition, Conceptual art hoped to reconnect the medium to the world in a new fresh way, beyond the worn-out criteria for photography as sheer picture-making. Several important directions emerged in this process...The first involves the rethinking and "refunctioning" of reportage, the dominant type of art-photography as it existed at the beginning of the 1960s. The second is the issue of the de-skilling and re-skilling of the artist in a context defined by the culture industry, and made controversial by aspects of Pop art." Jeff Wall, "Marks of Indifference": Aspects of Photography In, Or As, Conceptual Art," in Reconsidering the Object of Art: 1965-1975, Ann Goldstein and Anne Rorimer, eds. (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art / The MIT Press, 1995), 247-248.

¹¹ "At any rate, it becomes minimally obvious that the newer artists no longer 'quote' the materials, the fragments and motifs, of a mass or popular culture, as Flaubert began to do: they somehow incorporate them to the point where many of our older critical and evaluative categories (founded precisely on the radical differentiation of modernist and mass culture) no longer seem functional." Frederic Jameson, Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1991), 64.

¹² Judith Williamson notes in her introduction to Deadline At Dawn, collection of her essays on film criticism, that films can be read "symptomatically." "Against the backdrop of this evaluative criticism it has been an important project to place cinema in a social context and examine its meanings as part of a wider cultural currency. As I have frequently pointed out, to 'work' successfully (make money) mainstream films have to deal in some way, however oblique, with the concerns of their audience and thus function to some extent as a barometer of the social climate." Judith Williamson, "The Short Good-bye" in Deadline At Dawn, Film Criticism 1980-1990 (New York: Marion Boyars, 1993), 23. Sherman's photographs functioned as a "barometer of the social climate" to an extraordinary extent. It is not the point of this chapter to examine the significance the "Film Stills" attained early among artists and critics, but the immediate, intelligent response to the work and its on-going influence should be noted.

¹³ Sherman also had one-person exhibitions at the Contemporary Arts Museum in Houston and at Metro Pictures in New York in 1980.

¹⁴ "The narrative impact of these images tends to submerge the elements through which the situation is constructed, elements such as depth-of-field, grain, light, etc., which, it would seem, are too easy to dismiss as merely 'formal' integers, whereas they function as signifiers crucial to the semantic effect." Rosalind Krauss, Cindy Sherman, 1975-1993 (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), 56. Krauss has clearly situated the work within the field of the photographic.

¹⁵ In 1984 Peter Schjeldahl wrote a short essay that was included in the Whitney Museum's catalogue for the Sherman exhibition of 1987. It was part of the critical trajectory that lifted Sherman's work from the "photographic" to the "artistic." Schjeldahl began his essay "Since 1977, when she was twenty-three years old and a student at the State College University of New York at Buffalo, Cindy Sherman has exhibited about one hundred thirty photographs of herself as art - not as 'art photography' but as art, period. Or art, exclamation point...With her most recent work, she stands clear of all affiliations, as a major artist demanding specific critical scrutiny...."

Peter Schjeldahl, "The Oracle of Images," in Cindy Sherman (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1987), 7.

¹⁶ Roberta Smith reported on the purchase of the "Film Stills" by The Museum of Modern Art in a sentence that neatly sums up the iconic position the series has attained in contemporary culture: the price paid by the museum further underlined the significance of the acquisition. "The Museum of Modern Art has purchased what is widely considered a cornerstone of post-modernism, a complete set of Cindy Sherman's "Untitled Film Stills," the museum announced yesterday." *New York Times*, 23 January, 1996.

¹⁷ "The writerly text is a perpetual present, upon which no *consequent* language can be superimposed; the writerly text is *ourselves writing*, before the infinite play of the world (the world as function) is traversed, intersected, stopped, plasticized by some singular system (Ideology, Genus, Criticism) which reduces the plurality of entrances, the opening of networks, the infinity of languages." Roland Barthes, *S/Z*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974), 5. Originally published as *S/Z* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1970). Within this discussion I will oppose the concept of the modernist aesthetics of self-reflexivity and the established canon to the post-modern appropriation of the historical, the popular and the political. "I want to call a 'poetics' of postmodernism, a flexible conceptual structure which could at once constitute and contain postmodern culture and our discourses both about it and adjacent to it. The points of overlap that seem most evident to me are those of the paradoxes set up when modernist aesthetic autonomy and self-reflexivity come up against a counterforce in the form of a grounding in the historical, social, and political world." Linda Hutcheon, A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction (London: Routledge, 1988), ix.

¹⁸ A note on the dating and numbering of the "Film Stills": the chronology of the "Film Stills" has been kept by Helene Winer, formerly director of Artists Space and now, with Janelle Reiring, owner of Metro Pictures. As the prints came into the gallery from Sherman, dates were affixed to the back of the images. Winer has known Sherman since she was a student at SUNY. She employed Sherman as a receptionist at Artists Space when she came to New York from Buffalo in 1977 and was sharing a loft with Robert Longo on South Street. Although a few "Film Stills" were exhibited at Hallwalls in Buffalo and at The Kitchen in New York, Winer has represented Sherman since her first commercial show in 1980, and has sold the "Film Still" prints from the gallery. In September of 1983 Gerald Marzorati wrote that Sherman "made about 75 'Untitled Film Stills.'" Gerald Marzorati, "imitation of Life," *Artnews* 7 (September 1983): 79-87. Phyllis Rosenzweig exhibited 69 "Film Stills" at the Hirschhorn Museum in 1995, an exhibit that she described as "the first in which all of Cindy Sherman's 'Film Stills' will have been shown together and treated as a single body of work." Phyllis Rosenzweig, "Cindy Sherman: Film Stills." (Washington: Hirschhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, 1995). The Museum of Modern Art now has Sherman's own complete series of "Film Stills" in its collection: Peter Galassi, Curator of Photography, has also numbered the print series at 69.

¹⁹ "I read, I receive (and probably even first and foremost) a third meaning - evident, erratic, obstinate. I do not know what what its signified is, at least I am unable to give it a name, but I can see clearly the traits, the signifying accidents of which this - consequently incomplete - sign is composed...On the one hand, it cannot be conflated with the simple existence of the scene, it exceeds the copy of the referential motif, it compels an interrogative reading (interrogation bears precisely on the signifier not on the signified, on reading not on intellection: it is a 'poetical' grasp); on the other, neither can it be with the dramatic meaning of the episode...." Barthes, "The Third Meaning," 53.

²⁰ The signifying aspects of women's costuming in the films of Alfred Hitchcock and Douglas Sirk are an area that Sherman addresses in the set-ups of the "Film Stills."

²¹ Peter Schjeldahl, "The Oracle of Images," Sherman, 9.

²² "Desire, born with language, allows the possibility of transcending the instinctual and the imaginary, but its point of reference continually returns to the traumatic moment of its birth: the castration complex. Hence the look, pleasurable in form, can be threatening in content, and it is woman as representation/image that crystallizes this paradox." Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," in Visual and Other Pleasures (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 19.

²³ Arthur C. Danto, Cindy Sherman, Untitled Film Stills (New York: Rizzoli, 1990), 13-14.

²⁴ Ibid., 8. Also, Laura Mulvey, "Cindy Sherman's are photographs. She is not a photographer but an artist who uses photography. Each image is built around a photographic depiction of a woman." "Cosmetics and Abjection: Cindy Sherman 1977-1987," in fetishism and curiosity (Bloomington: British Film Institute and Indiana University Press, 1996), 19.

²⁵ Jacques Lacan, "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the Function of the 'I,'" in Écrits: A Selection, trans. A. Sheridan (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1977), 1-8. Originally published as Écrits (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966). Luce Irigaray, Speculum of the Other Woman, trans. Gillian C. Gill (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1985). Originally published as Speculum. De l'autre femme (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1974).

²⁶ "At a basic level, self-portraiture offers women the chance to put right the mischief caused by female images constructed and manipulated by men over the years, and heavily charged with voyeurism, subjugation, idealization." Belinda Thomson, "At their occupations: a review of Frances Borzello's Seeing Ourselves, Women's Self-portraits," *Times Literary Supplement* (November 13, 1998), 23.

"How is the body, including the observing body, becoming a component of new machines, economies, apparatuses, whether social, libidinal, or technological? In what ways is subjectivity becoming a precarious condition of interface between rationalized systems of exchange and networks of information?" Crary, Techniques of the Observer, 2.

²⁷ Danto's Untitled Film Stills, the Whitney catalogue and Rosalind Krauss's monograph on Sherman reproduce the "Film Stills" as a reflection of the writer's visual editing. The guttering, enlarging and reducing of the pictures produce different readings. Only Phyllis Rosenzweig, of the Hirschhorn Museum in Washington, has chosen a uniform format to publish the pictures.

²⁸ The complete series of "Film Stills" was exhibited at The Hirschhorn Museum and at The Museum of Modern Art. The Hirschhorn published a small catalogue that shows the sequential production of the "Film Stills." I am grateful to Helene Winer for making a copy print set of the photographs available to me for study purposes and for repeatedly reminding me that these were originally printed on inexpensive paper and intended to be viewed and handled in a comparable state to the cheap film stills that Sherman had picked up on Forty-Second Street in New York City.

²⁹ "I think the masquerade has to be understood as what women do in order to recuperate some element of desire, but at the price of renouncing their own. In the masquerade, they submit to the dominant economy of desire in an attempt to remain 'on the market' in spite of everything. But they are there as objects for sexual enjoyment, not as those who enjoy." Luce Irigaray, This Sex Which Is Not One (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1985), 135. Originally published as Ce Sexe qui n'en est pas un (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1977). "Womanliness therefore could be assumed and worn as a mask, both to hide the possession of masculinity and to avert the reprisals expected if she was found to possess it - much as a thief will turn out his pockets and ask to be searched to prove he has not stolen goods...The reader may now ask how I define womanliness or where I draw the line between genuine womanliness and the 'masquerade'. My suggestion is not, however, that there is any such difference: whether radical or superficial, they are the same thing." Joan Riviere, "Womanliness As A Masquerade," an essay originally

published in France in 1929, in Formations of Fantasy, ed. Victor Burgin, James Donald and Cora Kaplan (New York: Methuen, 1986), 37.

³⁰ "These first six or so photographs were an experiment. I wasn't sure where I was going to wind up with this body of work, but I had recently seen some publicity stills for old movies and actually didn't know if they were indeed from movies or were stage photographs for a magazine, and I wanted to recreate that look by staging this action just for the photograph. I was also more interested in the image, and would purposely make the photographs more grainy or sometimes out of focus, sometimes very contrasty, or under or overexposed, because I wanted to have that cheap quality that goes along with a lot of these kinds of photographs that you find." "Cindy Sherman," *Camera Austria* (15 / 16 / 1984), 40.

³¹ *Kiss*, February, 1982. "Kiss, The International Magazine For Lovers Of Romance: A movie You Can Take Home With You, PHOTOROMANCE." This issue provides photographs in a narrative sequence with dialogue captions. The photographs provide an interesting comparison to Sherman's as they project sequential, filmic time as opposed to the stopped, fragmented time of Sherman's stills. The issue of *Kiss* is from Sherman's Artist's File at The Museum of Modern Art.

³² Jameson. Postmodernism, 19.

³³ Descriptions, dates and numbers, The Museum of Modern Art catalogue. Sherman's "Film Stills" were given descriptive titles when they were registered in the museum catalogue for purposes of identification. Sherman unequivocally has always referred to them as "Untitled Film Stills," with no appended description of their pictorial contents.

³⁴ I am indebted to Peter Galassi, Curator of Photography at The Museum of Modern Art for bringing to my attention the mark of reticulation.

³⁵ Jeanne Siegel, Art Talk: The Early '80s (New York: Da Capo Press, 1988), 270.

³⁶ "there was even earlier work...It was really conceptually-based where I did a series of a transition of putting make-up on my face so it looked like a photo-booth shot where my face turned kin of vampy." Paul Taylor, "Cindy Sherman," *Flash Art* (October/November, 1985), 78-79.

³⁷ Marzorati, *Artnews*, 85.

³⁸ "Actually, at that time I was seeing a lot of experimental films. Buffalo has a pretty good media program; a lot of well-known filmmakers like Paul Sharits and Tony Conrad were up there teaching. I knew those people and worked with some of them. They invited up other people like Hollis Frampton and Michael Snow. I saw most of the films they were working on and so my introduction to film was really from the experimental avant-garde '60s and '70s. Later on I became more interested in nostalgic films. I would go to the local cinema or watch reruns on T.V." Thom Thompson, "An Interview with Cindy Sherman," *Cindy Sherman* (New York: Stae University of New York at Stony Brook / Art Gallery, Fine Arts Center, 1983). Kerry Brougher, "Hall of Mirrors," in Art and Film Since 1945, Hall of Mirrors, org. Kerry Brougher and ed., Russel Ferguson (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art, 1996), 106.

³⁹ Marzorati, *Artnews*, 85.

⁴⁰ Taylor, *Flash Art*, 78. Marzorati, *Artnews*, 85.

⁴¹ Douglas Crimp, *Pictures* (New York: Artists Space/Committee for the Visual Arts, 1977), 3.

⁴² Barthes, "The Third Meaning," 53.

⁴³ "Knowing that Sherman's model in her representations is herself is critical to our reading of them...If it were the case that Sherman directed models to pose in these representations, they might have a very different effect. For example, in the Untitled Film Still, no.6 of 1977, there is staged a collision of the subject and the object: the woman artist masquerading as the pin-up challenges are objectification of 'woman' in these archetypal images. However, if Sherman were absent as the object and present only as the one who staged the 'masquerade', the representation might more easily be reappropriated as the typical objectification of a disempowered model by the empowered artist." Marsha Meskimmon, The Art of Reflection. Women Artists' Self-portraiture in the Twentieth Century (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 91.

⁴⁴ "the distance between the 'real' person pictured and the 'types' explored in the works is critical to their meaning. These works are not about Sherman the woman or the artist, they are about the multiple guises assumed by women in our visual culture. They play on the many ways in which 'woman' is shown to us as an image in contemporary life, from cinema to fine art and mass media, and reveal the constructed nature of these representations." Meskimmon, Art of Reflection, 90.

⁴⁵ "Untitled film Still #2." 1977 opens the section of plates in Danto's monograph Untitled film Stills. The 8 x 10 photograph is reproduced in the Rizzoli book as 9 x 11; other reproductions are enlarged to an 11 x 14 size and are guttered by a two-page spread. This is a form of re-reading an editing.

⁴⁶ Another reading of the photograph could lead equally to the shower scene of Alfred Hitchcock's **Psycho**.

⁴⁷ Szarkowski, Mirrors and Windows), 25.

⁴⁸ "The still offers us the *inside* of the fragment. In this connection we would need to take up - displacing them - Eisenstein's own formulations when envisioning the new possibilities of audio-visual montage: '...the basic centre of gravity...is transferred to *inside* the fragment, into the elements included in the image itself...." Barthes, "The Third Meaning," 67.

⁴⁹ "We have only to understand the mirror stage as an identification, in the full sense that analysis gives to the term: namely the transformation that takes place in the subject when he assumes an image - whose predestination to this phase-effect is sufficiently indicated by the use, in analytic theory, of the ancient term *imago*." Jacques Lacan, Écrits. A Selection, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1977), 3. Originally published as Écrits (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966).

⁵⁰ On parody and post-modernism: "Parody is a perfect post-modern form, in some senses, for it paradoxically both incorporates and challenges that which it parodies. It also forces a reconsideration of the idea or origin or originality that is compatible with other postmodern interrogations of liberal humanist assumptions." Hutcheon, A Poetics of Postmodernism, 11.

⁵¹ "Woman then stands in patriarchal culture as a signifier for the male other, bound by a symbolic order in which man can live out his fantasies and obsessions through linguistic command by imposing them on the silent image of woman still tied to her place as bearer, not maker of meaning." Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," 15.

⁵² "Women, who for centuries had been the objects of male theorizing, male desires, male fears, and male representations, had to discover and reappropriate themselves as subjects; and the obvious place to begin was the silent place to which they had been assigned again and again, that dark continent which had ever provoked assault and puzzlement. (Was will das Weib?). The call went out to invent both anew poetics and a new politics, based on women's reclaiming what had always been theirs but had been usurped from them: control over their bodies and a voice with

which to speak about it." Suleiman, "The Politics and Poetics of Female Eroticism," in Subversive Intent, 119.

⁵³ Roland Barthes, "The Face of Garbo," in Mythologies, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), 56. Originally published as Mythologies (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1957).

⁵⁴ "I suspect it is for one's self-interest that one looks at one's surroundings and one's self. This search is personally born and is indeed my reason and motive for making photographs. the camera is not merely a reflecting pool and the photographs are not exactly the mirror. mirror on the wall that speaks with a twisted tongue. Witness is borne and puzzles come together at the photographic moment which is very simple and complete. The mind-finger presses the release on the silly machine and it stops time and holds what its jaws can encompass and what the light will stain." Lee Friedlander, February, 1970. John Szarkowski, Lee Friedlander Portait self (San Francisco: Fraenkel Gallery / D.A.P., 1998), unpaginated.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ "I didn't actually lift the image as Richard Prince or Sherrie Levine had. I would rehash it and spit it out, which was a different sort of a process. Watching a lot of movies, looking at a lot of movie books. I absorbed as much information about the 'look' of movies as possible. No one had ever literally seen any of my images until they were produced, and yet one felt the gnawing recognition upon viewing them." Siegel, "Sherman," Art Talk, 273.

⁵⁷ "What I mean by 'parody' here...is not the ridiculing imitation of the standard theories and definitions that are rooted in eighteenth-century theories of wit. The collective weight of parodic practice suggests a redefinition of parody as repetition with a critical distance that allows ironic signaling of difference at the very heart of similarity. In historiographic metafiction, in film, in painting, in music, and in architecture, this parody paradoxically enacts both change and cultural continuity: the Greek prefix para can mean both 'counter' or 'against' and 'near' or 'beside.'" Hutcheon, Poetics of Postmodernism, 26.

⁵⁸ Mulvey, "Cosmetics and Abjection," in fetishism, 65. Quote from Sandy Nairne's interview with Cindy Sherman in The State of the Art: Ideas and Images in the 1980s (London: Chatto & Windus, 1967), 132.

⁵⁹ Mulvey, fetishism, 66.

⁶⁰ Judith Williamson, "A Piece of the Action, Images of 'Woman' in the Photography of Cindy Sherman," in Consuming Passions, the dynamics of popular culture (New York: Marion Boyars, 1988), 92.

⁶¹ "Whatever it grants to vision and whatever its manner, a photograph is always invisible: it is not what we see. In short, the referent adheres." Barthes, Camera Lucida, 6.

⁶² "Untitled Film Still #34," "Woman with romance novel," 1979, also addresses the layered imagery of "pin-up."

⁶³ "Footnote 6. In invoking the metaphor of the used car salesman and the buyer who does or does not look under the hood, I am perhaps implying that the myth's manipulation of signifiers and signified is somehow concealed. But it is important to emphasize that it is wholly visible, out in the open. As Barthes says: 'This is why myth is experienced as innocent speech: not because its intentions are hidden – if they were hidden, they could not be efficacious – but because they are naturalized.'" (Mythologies, p.131.)" Krauss, Cindy Sherman 1975-1993, 28.

⁶⁴ Dominique Lebrun, Hollywood (Hamburg, Germany: Ginko Press, 1996), 448.

⁶⁵ "the beauty of the woman as object and the screen space coalesce; she is no longer the bearer of guilt but a perfect product, whose body, stylized and fragmented by close-ups, is the content of the film and the direct recipient of the spectator's look." Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure." Visual and Other Pleasures, 23.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ "The stillsman's pictures have four main functions: 1. To show financiers where their money has gone. 2. To help drum up enthusiasm for the movie among the world's distribution companies. 3. To promote the film in magazine features, newspaper previews and reviews, on posters and on merchandise. 4. For display in those glazed cabinets outside the cinema." Daniel Meadows, Set Pieces, Being About Film Stills Mostly (London: British Film Institute, 1993), 12.

⁶⁸ "And here it helps quite a bit to consider the Film Stills as a book sequence that one can flip back and forth between, and mimic the flickering motion of film itself." Armstrong, "That old F...Word." 11.

⁶⁹ Annette Kuhn, "Living dolls and 'real women' " in The Power of the Image, Essays on Repression and Sexuality (London: Routledge, 1992), 11. Kuhn references John Berger, Ways of Seeing (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972) in this citation.

⁷⁰ In "Untitled Film Still # 13," 1978, "Woman at bookshelf," Sherman can be seen reaching above the shelf holding the collection of books on film to the shelf holding the art history books. The book she reaches for is The ...cal Dialogue. The partially obscured title of the book still permits the word "dialogue" to be seen, oddly suggestive of the "writerly" texts her photographs have become. The titles of the movie books can be seen more clearly.

⁷¹ Kuhn, "Lawless seeing," in The Power of the Image, 19.

⁷² Phyllis Rosenzweig eases this difficulty with the publication of the complete series of "Film Stills" in the Hirshhorn catalogue that accompanied the exhibition in 1995.

⁷³ Barbara Klinger, Melodrama & Meaning, History, Culture and the Films of Douglas Sirk (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 11.

⁷⁴ "I titled my pictures 'film stills' because I was thinking of publicity stills like you'd see around 42nd Street, in boxes of hundreds for thirty-five cents each." "The 'Unfinished Beauty,' Conversations between Cindy Sherman and Laurie Simmons," in Cindy Sherman (Tokyo: Parco, Ltd., 1987), 15.

⁷⁵ Laura Mulvey, "Afterthoughts on 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' inspired by King Vidor's Duel in the Sun (1946)" in Visual and Other Pleasures, 29.

⁷⁶ "Each is associated with a look: that of the spectator in direct scopophilic contact with the female form displayed for his enjoyment (connoting male fantasy)...." Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure," 21.

⁷⁷ "It is one thing to recognise that the reinstatement of female pleasure in viewing and explorations of visual representations of female sexuality have a subversive and liberating potential, but another to act upon this insight. The social stigma attached to women who demonstrate their sexuality in any public form of visual media remains with us even today. In the early years of this century, it was nearly impossible for a woman artist to consider her own sexuality and sexual identity as topics worthy of representation. Not surprisingly, most of the self-portrait imagery which deals with female sexuality derives from the post-1968 period as a direct response to the calls of the women's movement to re-examine the variety of women's sexual

desires and feelings in both physiological and psychic terms." Meskimmon, The Art of Reflection, 107.

⁷⁸ Szarkowski, Mirrors and Windows, 29.

⁷⁹ "The condition of Sherman's work in the Film Stills – and part of their point, we could say – is the simulacral nature of what they contain, the condition of being a copy without..an original." Krauss, Cindy Sherman, 17.

⁸⁰ Film noir is just that, a movie, generally made in black-and-white, where the characters cannot escape from their past errors or character flaws: the doom of the ending is foretold in the beginning. Historically these films were low-budget affairs shot in Hollywood during the Second War, work on the studio sets eliminating the expense of moving out to locations. Jacob Riis, a newspaper reporter who worked in New York City at the end of the 19th century was renowned for his ability to make photographs at night; although he was sympathetic to his subjects his light explosions often gave the faces in his pictures the look of perpetrators caught in a police raid. Weegee, Arthur Fellig, another newspaper reporter who worked in New York in the '30s and '40s, was famous for his timely arrival at crime scenes, and again, in his pictures, subjects often look assaulted.

⁸¹ There is an odd connotation for me of Charles Marville's photographs of pre- Baron Haussmann Paris and the slick substance that covers the stones of those 19th century winding streets. The potential harm lurking in the shiny covering of those stones was called to my attention in a lecture delivered by Professor Kirk Varnedoe at New York University's Institute of Fine Arts, winter 1980.

⁸² Klinger, Films of Douglas Sirk, 84.

⁸³ It is absent from Danto's Film Stills.

⁸⁴ "The Unfinished Beauty," in Cindy Sherman (Tokyo: Parco, Ltd., 1987).

⁸⁵ Suleiman, Subversive Intent, 36.

⁸⁶ In Sherman's later work such a surprise, a contradiction might be expected. I read back into this picture that knowledge.

⁸⁷ I am grateful to Carol Armstrong for the insights I have gained through her work on Manet's painting.

⁸⁸ "We have only to understand the mirror stage as an identification, in the full sense that analysis gives to the term: namely, the transformation that takes place in the subject when he assumes an image – whose predestination to this phase effect is sufficiently indicated by the use, in analytic theory, of the ancient term imago." Lacan, "The mirror stage," Écrits, 2.

⁸⁹ Armstrong, "That Old F...Word," 11.

⁹⁰ "This seeing and this hearing are obviously not the postulation of some simple need to apply the mind (that would be banal, a pious wish) but rather a veritable mutation of reading and its object, text or film." Barthes, "The Third Meaning," 68. Suleiman, Subversive Intent, 36.

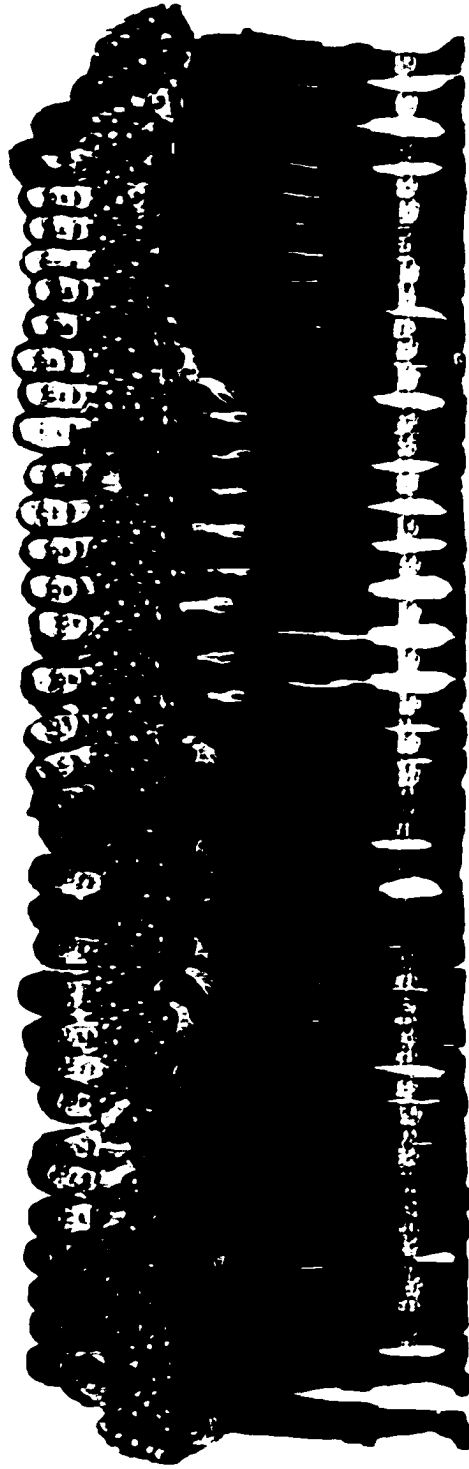


Fig.45 Sherman, *The Giant*, 1976



Fig.46 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #2*, 1977



Fig. 47 Friedlander, *Canyon de Chelly*, 1983



Fig.48 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #6*, 1977



Fig.49 Vidor, *Rita Hayworth, Cover Girl*, 1944



Fig.50 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #38*, 1979



Fig.51 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #7*, 1977



Fig.52 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #20*, 1978

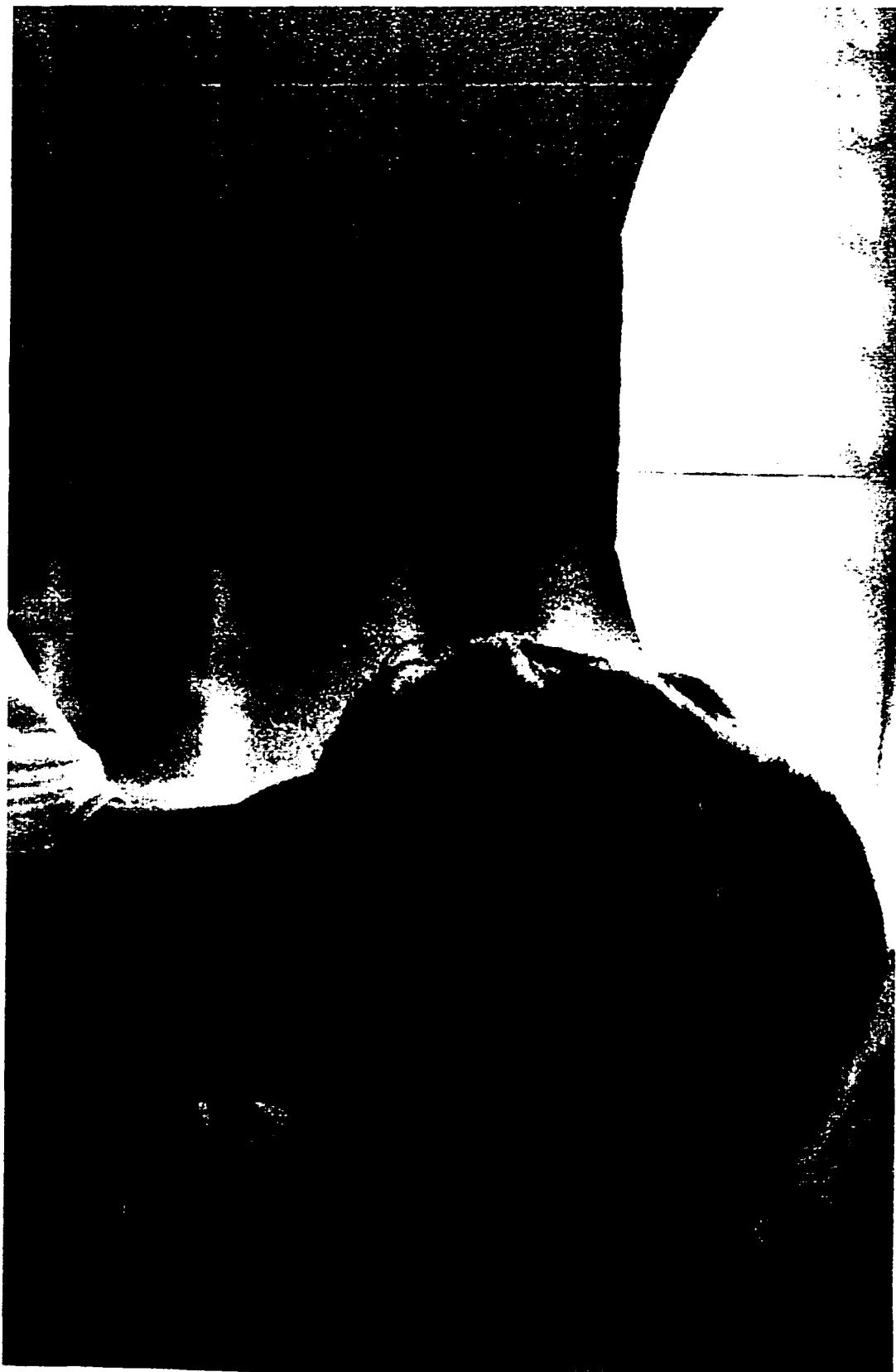


Fig.53 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #53*, 1980

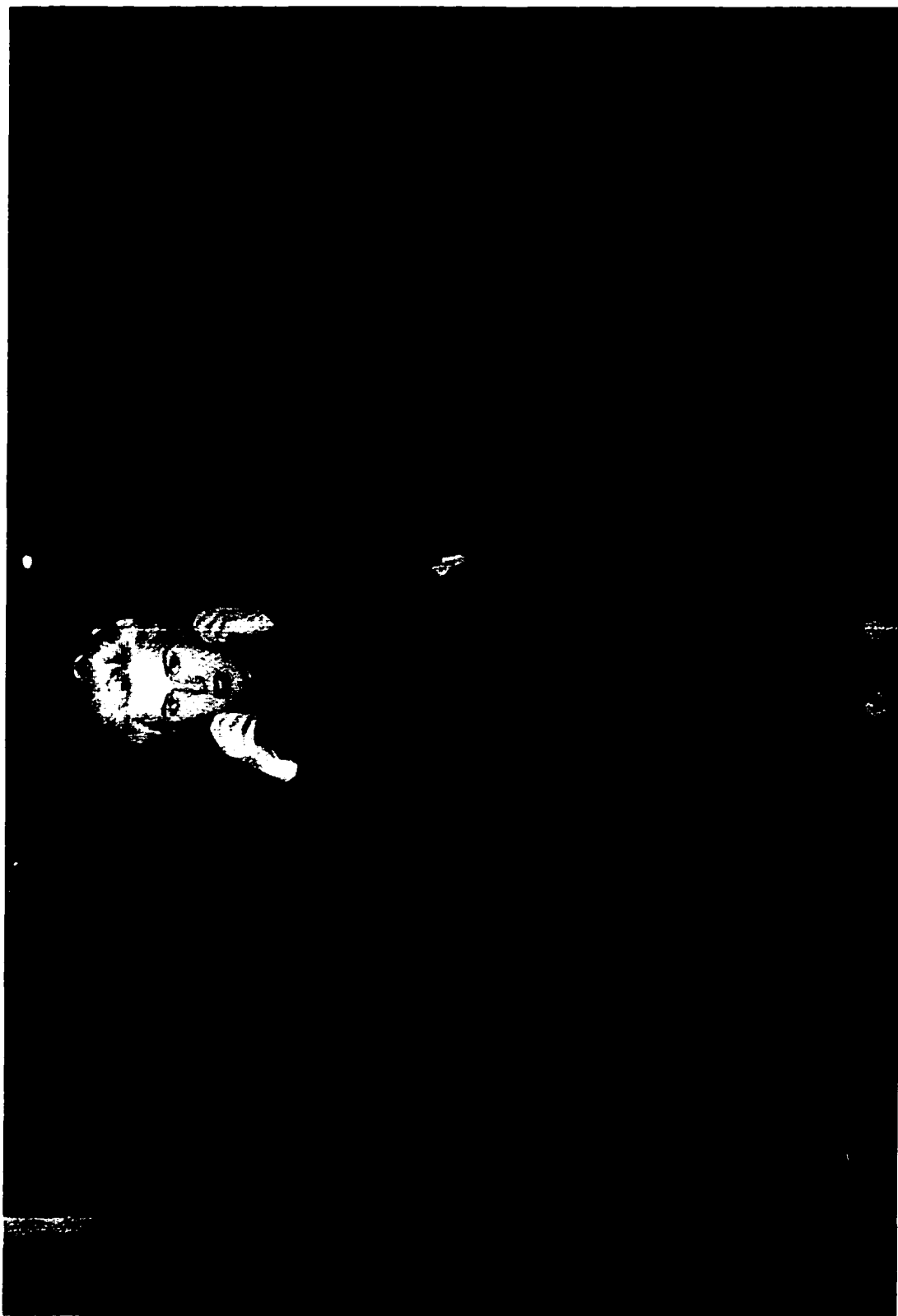


Fig.54 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #54*, 1980



Fig.55 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #55*, 1980

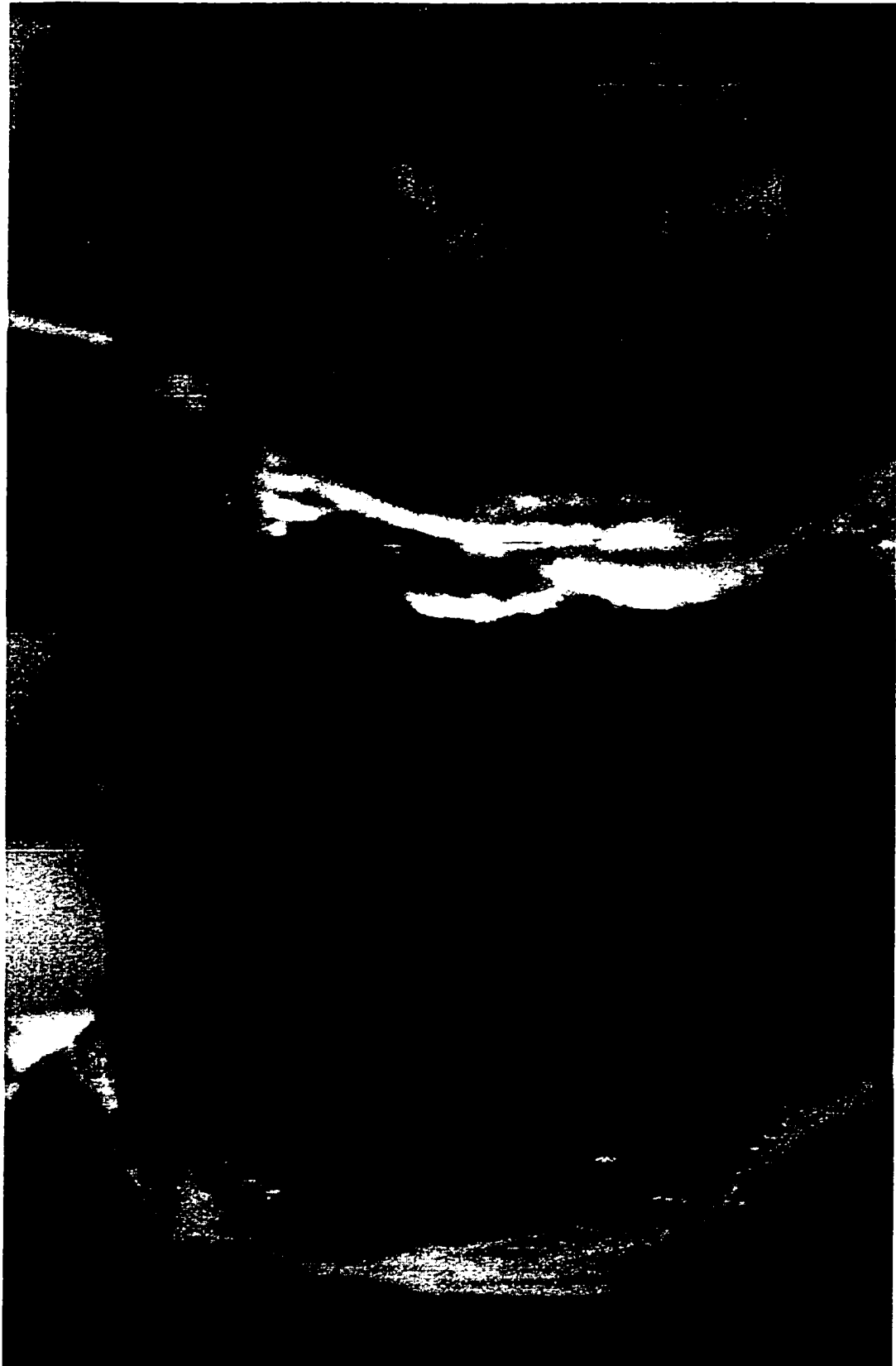


Fig.56 Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #56*, 1980

Chapter Five: Louise Lawler, Culture As Still Life

...Guy Debord, the theorist of the spectacle, noted how, in modern times, an excess of display has the effect of concealing the truth of the society that produces it, providing the viewer with an unending stream of images that might be best understood, not simply as detached from a real world of things, as Debord implied, but as working to efface any trace of the symbolic, condemning the viewer to a world in which we can see everything but understand nothing - allowing us, as viewer-victims, in Debord's phrase, only a "random 'choice of ephemera.'"...The world of the spectacle is an imaginary world, offering transient and illusory satisfactions, while thereby denying access through the signifier to cure or truth...Display, however, when its flow is arrested, can still have a revelatory power, provided it is seen, not in terms of the image, but in terms of the symptom. In fact, it is only through display that truth is revealed - not, of course, directly, but obliquely...It is through modes of display that regimes of all sorts reveal the truths they mean to conceal.

Peter Wollen¹

In invoking a space between object and label I have in mind a sort of intellectual space in which the third agent, the viewer, establishes contact between the first and second agents, the maker and the exhibitor. And I use the word label *here* to denote the elements of naming, information, and the exposition the exhibitor makes available to the viewer in whatever form: a label is not just a piece of card, but includes the briefing given in the catalogue entry and even selection or lighting that aims to make a point. To attend to this space, it seems to me, is to attend not only to the scene but to the source of the viewer's activity.

Michael Baxandall²

A citation from an essay by Douglas Crimp, "Photographs at the End of Modernism," opens this dissertation.³ That essay, one in a series of essays that Crimp wrote during the '80s, when he was an editor of the journal *October*, was republished

in the early '90s. It presents an idea that I have drawn upon in writing these chapters about post-modern photographs, and in a sense bridges their separate concerns.

Crimp's idea was that during the '70s, photographic work was produced that could be defined as "dissident," and that the practices involved – grounded in conceptual and theoretical structures - were in opposition to those of an emerging "canon of master photographers." As a corollary to this idea, and shading it, came the supporting belief that criteria were being developed, drawn from modernist poetics and from museum publications, that would define the construction of the canon, and that there would be institutional and economic reverberations to the canon's construction – referred to as both "master" or "modern," terms often conflated in use. Defining, perhaps guarding, the space between the "dissident" work and the "canon of master photographers," were the cultural managers who not only "framed" the presentation of photographs, but guided their movement, as newly-valued objects, into the acquisition patterns of private, corporate and museum collections. Their strategy brought an end to a time that Jeff Wall has described as a moment when the "lack of interest of art marketers and collectors marked photography with a Utopian potential."⁴ But if that potential was gone, the widening interest of the late '70s and '80s began a radical expansion of the practice and the field of photography - it also saw the dissident practitioners define their use of theoretical discourse and work out conceptually post-modern constructions.

Crimp's essays were published together as a book, On the Museum's Ruins, and it was a way of looking back and reconsidering the theoretical concerns of the '70s and '80s from the vantage point of the '90s. If the essays reviewed the perspectives of those decades, the accompanying photographs by Louise Lawler, were presented as an integral part of the critical text, and they did that by visually framing a panoply of post-modern viewpoints. Central to those viewpoints was noting the positioning of art in its relationship to cultural institutions, particularly to that of the newly hegemonic

museum. The photographs selected for the book detailed the exhibition of art – paintings, sculpture, photographs, books, frames, installations – in contexts that illustrated and expanded on Crimp’s theoretical description of “institutional framings.”⁵ Lawler’s photographs were about collections of photographs and photographs of collections. Her pictures presented art objects framed and hung, glassed in vitrines, packaged protectively in storage, displayed in galleries, private spaces, and corporate collections – seen on their way or in their place at the final destination point of the museum.

In one of the book’s essays, “The Museum’s Old, the Library’s New Subject.” written in 1981, Crimp discussed Ed Ruscha’s small book, Twentysix Gasoline Stations (1962):

I now know that Ed Ruscha’s books make no sense in relations to the categories of art according to which art books are catalogued in the library, and that that is part of their achievement. The fact that there is nowhere for *Twentysix Gasoline Stations* within the present system of classification is an index of the book’s radicalism with respect to established modes of thought.⁶

Lawler’s two accompanying photographs (figs.57-58), made for the book in the early ‘90s, equally made “no sense in relations to the categories of art” photography. The photographs are neither self-reflexive or revelatory, and they do not present a coherent view of Ruscha’s book. One presents the small book angled, opened to a photograph of a Standard station in Amarillo, Texas and framed so that the edges of other pages of photographs are visible behind it. The framing cuts off the top of the book, and added to this sense of dislocation is the fact that close looking reveals no apparent support of the book. It hangs freely in a photographic field that does not declare its boundaries as document or art. Angled and slightly cut off, the book and the photograph invent a new viewing space in which to look – one that defies categorization and suggests movement, not the stillness expected from a photograph. Lawler’s second picture for

the essay is again of Ruscha's book, and shows the pages turning in even more fluid movement – a Mobilgas station is about to vanish from view, as another page flips over on it. If Ruscha's art book is difficult to categorize, in its mass produced, fine art representation of mass culture icons, than Lawler's photographs appropriate and reproduce some of that unsettled effect. For at the center of Lawler's post-modern, dissident practice are cut, angled and framed views of collections, categories and presentations of art that seem to continually shift, a practice that works against the grain of a canon that privileges the fully decided and the clearly defined.

*

An arrangement in of one of the galleries assigned to the exhibition, "The Museum As Muse." held at The Museum of Modern Art in New York City in the spring of 1999, consisted of eight white pedestals bearing clear, plexiglass boxes (Fig.59).⁷ Placed within the plexiglass boxes were paperweights made of crystal, Cibachrome and felt. The pedestals were arranged somewhat irregularly in two parallel lines, four to a side, with one of the pedestals off the configuration of the line, slightly detached from the two groupings. The installation was titled "Paperweights 1982 - 99": the paperweights and installation were by Louise Lawler. To the attentive viewer, the pedestals connoted the small vitrines of precious, exotic objects characteristic of the sixteenth and seventeenth century: the "cabinet of curiosities," often considered the precursor of the modern museum (fig.60).⁸ Lawler's white pedestals were placed in front of a gray painted wall, one among several temporarily constructed to compartmentalize the cavernous spaces of the museum's gallery into intimate chambers for close viewing of the exhibition. While the gray wall ostensibly bore information concerning and / or labeling each paperweight, its primary function was to create a space for viewing: as Svetlana Alpers has phrased it, a space for "attentive looking at crafted objects."⁹

The graphic design of the wall text, somewhat circular, mirrored the arrangement of the pedestals on the gallery floor and served to create an active field of vision for the viewer that was separate from the surrounding installations of artwork by other artists. Fluid movement between the pedestals and wall text is a learned response from educated museum visitors conditioned by previous experiences. The wall text was printed in deep royal blue and read as a gesture of color against the gray base paint: two lines referring to different paperweights stood out visually by being printed in bright red. On the same wall that bore the text for Lawler's paperweights was a large work by another artist, a panel of color photographs by Jan Dibbets. "The Shortest Day at the van Abbemuseum Eindhoven."¹⁰

Across the gallery from Lawler's "Paperweights" were two large round photographs also by Dibbets, "Kroller-Muller - Saenredam II."¹¹ Next to the Dibbets photographs was a work by Kate Ericson and Mel Ziegler. "MOMA Whites."¹² Glass jars etched with labels were filled with white powdered pigment. The labels read: "Photo White," "Decorator White," "Linen White," "McShine White," "Clemente White," "Rubin White," "Riva White," and "High Hide White," - indiscriminately mixing the names of paint colors with those of artists and curators. Next to the Ericson and Ziegler work were four works by Richard Hamilton, each labeled "The Solomon R. Guggenheim," and air gunned in cellulose lacquer finishes: (Black and White), (Black), (Gold), and (Spectrum).¹³ The physical and hegemonic presence of the museum as a political and structural monument, posited as the seat of judgement, was conjured up in these works: the museum as space, as steel, as concrete, as paint, as "arbiter of excellence."¹⁴ Lawler's vitrines stood within the circle of these signifiers: the small Cibachrome photographs under the crystal domes, set within the plexiglass boxes, became surrogates for the other validated objects enclosed within the marked off territory of the exhibition space. The circles of signification widened from the small photographs, optically enlarged and given new configuration under the crystal domes.

There was a space of several feet between the arrangement of pedestals and the wall text. The viewer walked between the wall and the work depending on an individual compulsion to obtain or not obtain additional information about the easily visible crystal spheres and the not-so visible photographs set beneath them. To view the photographs under the crystal, it was necessary to approach the pedestals and lean over: from a distance, on entering the gallery, the clear domes, like so many drops of water, could be seen - the photographs could not. The pedestals were constructed to be about chest high for an average viewer. To find the photograph, the precious object within the display box, the viewer bowed over the vitrine: then the brightly colored, jewel-like photograph offered itself to "attentive looking." These photographs appeared to have been returned to their original viewing position - horizontal - reminiscent of the developing tray or the first, 19th century albums of amateur photographs (exhibition walls and the vertical installation came later). Additionally, the pedestals had a toe kick cut away at their bases that structurally invited the viewer to close in for peering.

In an essay on Lawler's work, first published in the journal *Aperture* and then expanded for an exhibition catalogue, Rosalind Krauss refers to Marcel Duchamp's late, large work, "Etant Donnes" installed at the Philadelphia Museum, proposing a visual, genealogical link between that piece and Lawler's paperweights.¹⁵ The linkage between the paperweights and the tableau lies not only in the invitation to a viewing ritual implicit in the object, an opening to a participatory, physical movement by the viewer, and a close direction of the viewing subject's gaze, but in the construction of a fictive space. In the case of the Duchamp work (fig.61), the viewing experience is tightly controlled by the construction of an intentional installation format: only a single viewer at a time can look through the two small holes drilled in a wooden door that are the only access to the fabricated tableau beyond. Lawler's pedestals can be surrounded by a few people, perhaps three. But the close view, in both cases, opens to unexpected vistas and visual experiences: behind Duchamp's wooden door is a realistic figure

(nude, female) placed in scenic, dimensional space; within the paperweights, there are expansive exhibition sites that present precious artefacts, art objects, commodities.

There is, additionally, with both Duchamp's and Lawler's scenes, the connotation of nineteenth century stereoscopic viewing: the remembrance of an artificial space where small, doubled photographs came together on a viewer's retinal screen (and on the screen of an appliance) to coat a paper photograph with unexpected depth. Within the viewing of stereos, fictive realism was separated into two parts, and then reconstituted through a mechanism for viewing. In Duchamp's and Lawler's constructions, the viewer's physical involvement – closing in on the holes in Duchamp's door or bending over Lawler's domes - is the contrivance that initiates participation in the fiction of the set-ups. But in both works, the tableau and the series of paperweights, the scenes inscribed within their circles and expanded views offer spectacles of "an imaginary world" - to sight, not to touch - and a disruption of a "cognitively unified" field.¹⁶

The eight paperweights cover eight tiny color photographs, that through the agency of the crystal come to possess a new and uncanny evocation of depth. The photographs are circular: some were originally exhibited as rectangular prints. The fluidity with which Lawler reuses her photographs (and prints them in black-and-white or in color, as necessary) indicates a practice that clearly signifies her decision to separate herself from the poetics of photographic modernism and theories of authorial intention and of decisive selection. The exhibition of these circles, set against the history of modernism's reflexive formalism, is particularly provocative in the gallery spaces of MOMA. For it was under the guidance of MOMA's strategically wise and intellectually powerful director of the department of photography, John Szarkowski, that the strategies of photography's modernism were set, both in a series of exhibitions and in the publication of a group of theoretically seminal texts. Szarkowski's intention in outlining the canon of photographic modernism reflected a direction literally charted

by Alfred Barr at the founding of the museum.¹⁷ Barr's positioning of the responsive viewing subject within the suggestively neutral gallery spaces of The Museum of Modern Art is repeated in Szarkowski's positioning of the photograph in the conceptual space of the viewing subject's eye. The parameters of that viewing space are described in Szarkowski's text, *The Photographer's Eye*, and the signifying markers of the photograph are noted..¹⁸ Szarkowski wrote that the "central act of photography, the act of choosing and eliminating, forces a concentration on the picture edge - the line that separates in from out..."¹⁹ "The line" in many ways defines modernism, that there is an "in" and an "out,;" the fluidity of post-modern, dissident conceptualism stands in opposition to that paradigm, intent as its practitioners are in obscuring the boundaries and certainties of the photographic frame. In Lawler's work the questioning seems to be about the definitive lines that separate art from context, creation from ownership, authenticity from appropriation.

The lines in Lawler's Cibachrome photographs are blurred both by the dome's distorting properties and the reflections that are mirrored by the crystal surface - the viewing subject's space is effectively destabilized by these agents. Each scene, each photograph offers an idiosyncratic entry into the photographic space, through the glass, and then is presented with yet another space, exhibition or installation, for "attentive viewing." Clockwise Lawler's MOMA installation exhibited photographs of: the back of an antique female crouching figure; the interior of a Leo Castelli bedroom, "Untitled (Dreams)," (fig.62); a formal drawing room decorated with Ferdinand Hodler paintings; a gallery at MOMA that display Marcel Duchamp's "Wheel"; the Metro Pictures space with an installation by Mike Kelly (fig.63); the Brancusi display at MOMA: a stuffed parrot (fig.64); an exhibition space displaying an installation by Bruce Nauman. The photographs seem curious, as though they are documenting something that requires further explanation, textual "quickenings;" they appear as set-ups, scenes without formal self-reflexivity, scenes of shifting signification. They are

not, in Szarkowski's terms, "windows" than enable the viewer to better know the world; the spheres fluctuate between position of peephole and agency of lens.

The conditioned viewer moved between object and wall text or label, physically and conceptually, fixing the photographs on a mental compass as a point of reference, moving within a field invisibly drawn by Lawler. The spaces between the object viewed and the artist's information became activated by the experienced subject's expectations of museum display, in the dialogue between the object's production value and the information offered – materials, history of ownership, museum acquisition date.³⁰ Here that expectation is slightly skewed by Lawler's provision of untitles, records and stories; yet within her domes, in Walter Benjamin's words are the "most profound enchantment for the collector...the locking of individual items with a magic circle...."³¹ On the gray wall the references to the paperweights were printed in slanted, sequenced lines, from left to right, roughly reflecting the arrangement of the two lines on the gallery floor. The one pedestal separated from the lines was centered in the graphic design of the wall text, providing the viewer with a point of reference and subtly encouraging the activity of gazing at the object and referencing the "quickenings" information.³²

There are eight paperweights, eight different photographs. All the photographs are Cibachrome and some are appropriated from large format, rectangular work that has appeared in other exhibitions. The text on the wall reads: "Untitled, 1993"; "Untitled (Parrot) 1982 / 1993, Portrait"; "Untitled (No Man is an Island) 1999"; "Untitled (Martin & Mike) 1992, bronze, iron and clothing, stuffed animals and steel" ; "Untitled (Hand on Her Back) 1997 / 99; "Untitled (Dreams) 1993," with extended text (ownership record); "Untitled (Salon Hodler) 1992," with extended text (Chekhov story); "Untitled (Wheel) 1999, with text: "she made no attempt to rescue art from ritual, " and two boxes "yes," "no." The "no" box is checked in pencil.

In the foreword to the catalogue that accompanies the exhibition, Glenn D. Lowry, Director of The Museum of Modern Art, writes that the museum has become in the twentieth century not only a “repository of objects” but a “locus of artistic inspiration and activity.....a muse itself.”²³ Obliquely side-stepping these claims, Lawler’s installation explores the borderlines between the museum’s economic and political activity in structuring the “‘reception’ of artworks,” the creation of institutional production values, the commodification of objects displayed, and the fabrication of viewing fields - the lines that necessarily keep people to one side and objects to the other.²⁴ For it is certain that the museum, debatably as muse, decidedly as arbiter of value, has certainly become an active agent in the arena of art production, both of value and of meaning. For the art reproduction has worked to validate value and authenticity, contrary to Benjamin’s belief that “the presence of the original” was a necessary factor in the placement of the art object in a viewing field: the reproduction facilitates and publicly eases the movement with which an art object, at the end of the 20th century, is guided into the progression from studio, to gallery, to auction room, to museum.²⁵

Lawler’s photographs examine the production of ancillary codes of value within collection, installation and exhibition practice. The installation at The Museum of Modern Art functioned both as a register of the viewing subject’s physical response to the placement of objects and activity within the field of vision, and a highlighting of the directorial control of installation design. While genealogical lines (past the Duchamp tableau) to historical “cabinets of curiosities” may be reinscribed under the subject’s gaze in the plexiglass box, and again deeper into the depths of the small scene of the dome, it is the political discourse represented in the collecting and viewing of artwork that is at the center of Lawler’s curiosity. With the installation of “Paperweights,” Lawler has fabricated a modern “cabinet of curiosities,” setting a kindly critique of commodity and museum culture against the larger exhibition’s mythology of the museum as enlightened and liberal muse.

Lawler's paperweights are fabricated from crystal, felt and Cibachrome. The Cibachrome part is a colored photograph, but it is partially reconfigured by the sphere of crystal and by the reflections that the crystal mirrors on its curved surface. It is distorted further by its dual aspects of diminution and enlargement. The small pictures oscillate between registering the referent's "transfer or trace" and asserting their simulacral, miniaturized set-up: the crystal giving depth to the small, flat circle of photographic paper - obscuring the lines of frame and of cut.²⁶ It is in this opposition between miniaturization and uncanny depth, that the photographs become post-modern situations: in Frederic Jameson sense of post-modernism as not only a "systemic form of capitalism," but "a *situation* in which the artist must work and to which culture is understood as an active response."²⁷ Lawler's appropriation of exhibition spaces and artwork is a response to a system of artmaking: production, selling, the museum as a form of final validation. The aesthetic, formal qualities of her work, modulated in often exquisite color or tonal gradations, provide easy access to "attentive looking."

While the referent adheres to the photograph in the paperweight, the distorting crystal ruptures the certainty of what is being looked at, distancing that referent.²⁸ The rupture in certainty, in the reading of the photograph as trace, as document, leads to a third meaning for the object, a realm suggested by Roland Barthes. In an essay titled "The Third Meaning," Barthes writes about a selection of Eisenstein film stills and distinguishes between an informational level and a symbolic level.²⁹ Then he proposes another meaning, "the obtuse meaning."

It is clear that the obtuse meaning is the epitome of a counter-narrative; disseminated, reversible, set to its own temporality, it inevitably determines (if one follows it) a quite different analytical segmentation to that in shots, sequences and syntagms (technical or narrative) - an extraordinary segmentation: counter-logical and yet "true."...A theme with neither variations nor development (the obvious meaning is fully thematic: there is a theme of the Funeral), the obtuse meaning can only come and go, appearing - disappearing....

Granted that Barthes was writing about film stills, segments staged and fragmented from a cinematic narrative, produced to highlight production values. However, there are diffuse meanings, a counter-narratives linked to Lawler's paperweights that proposes fictions and tangential signifieds that come and go. The counter-narratives that run with the photographs are connoted: they are segmented analyses of structures of display, commodification and the power of culture. The paperweight from the MOMA installation, "Untitled (Dreams)", proposes the sequence of these counter-narratives.

First, the object: a crystal dome overlaying a Cibachrome photograph, backed by felt, appropriated from a large format, rectangular work by the artist. The photograph's flat surface is distorted by the dome, presenting an aspect of theatrical depth, the perspectives of the stereographic viewer. The scene displayed - for it seems substantial, volumetric - shows a white bed with two pillows; above the bed is a picture with words that spell "DREAMS" and next to it another picture, of a ball of twine. Below the picture of the twine is a small bedside table holding a white lamp, a telephone, a clock. The tableau, resonant with the Duchamp work, invites close reading. A greenish-blue light diffuses the photograph: the crystal reflects the pale colors of the photograph with an enamel-like glow, in part an aspect of the museum's refracted lighting. The text that accompanies the photograph further refracts an understanding of the scene.

Untitled (Dreams)
1993
crystal, cibachrome and felt

Edward Ruscha
Dreams #1, 1987
Acrylic on paper 17 x 46 inches

To 420 from artist 3/14/89
To Thaddeus Ropac, Salzburg "Freud" 5/2/89
To Castelli Gallery, 578 Broadway for group drawing
exhibit 9/26/89

Purchased by Leo Castelli 9/28/89
To L/C apartment 1/22/90

Roy Lichtenstein
Ball of Twine, 1963
Pencil and tusche on paper
15 x 12 1/2 inches

Gift to Leo Castelli from the artist 6/64
To LC apartment 6/24/64
To Philadelphia Museum of Art for Exhibit (6/63-9/65)
To LC apartment 10/5/65
To Pasadena Museum (first Museum Retrospective
4/18-5/28/67), travels
To Walker Art Center (6/23-7/30/67)
To Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam 10/5/67
To LC apartment 6/26/68
To Guggenheim Museum (first museum retrospective in
New York), travels
To Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City; Seattle Art
Museum; Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts; and Museum
of Contemporary Art, Chicago
To Lc apartment 12/9/70
To Centre National d'Art Contemporaine, Paris,
retrospective drawing exhibition, "Dessins sans Bande,"
travels to Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen
Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
To Ohio State University 10/21/75
To Metropolitan Museum & Arts Center, Miami
2/17/76
To LC apartment 5/8/79
To MOMA "In Honor of Toiny Castelli: Drawings
from the Toiny, Leo and Jean-Cristophe Castelli
Collection (4/6-7/1/88)
To LC apartment 1/24/89
To Guild Hall, East Hampton "A View from the Sixties:
Selections from the Leo Castelli Collection and the
Michael and Ileana Sonnabend Collection (8/10-9/22/91)
To LC apartment 10/21/91

This will mean more to some of you than others³⁰

The bright red of the last line of text reads as commentary on the main body of text.

If Lawler's crystal can be understood both as a surrogate for the glass display case and the enclosed spaces of a museum, then the viewing subject's ritual of movement between wall text and object becomes part participation in the artwork and part performance, a small circling involvement with a tiny spectacle. The information

the text presents becomes the activating link between object and viewer, the instrument of audience activity. Lawler's wall text offers a history, or a choice among available histories, of the two paintings presented in the paperweight's photograph. Rather than the wall label of standard museum practice, giving date and origin of manufacture, genealogy of ownership, the text chronicles the passage of the two paintings, one by Ruscha and one by Lichtenstein, in multiple viewing venues. Imbedded in the methodology of Lawler's art production is an examination of those exhibition structures as spaces of political and economic power, stripped, as Rosalyn Deutsche has phrased it, of the "assumption that the places of perception are politically and socially neutral."³¹ The Castelli bedroom is a space proposed as a surrogate, in this instance for the dealer's gallery. It is declared as a marketing site, a locus of commodity culture, the Spartan simplicity of the white-sheeted bedroom notwithstanding. The two paintings, the Ruscha and the Lichtenstein, as the text informs the viewer, continually move in and out of that site, in and out of viewing venues, "the places of perception." Commercial value and the connotations of cultural significance incrementally accrue to the objects with each museum venue; the connotation of commercial value, as Lawler suggests, becomes imbedded in their viewing experience.

Lawler addresses viewers with the phrase "This will mean more to some of you than others," but the seductive graphics of the wall text lures all viewers, experienced ones understanding from past visits to museums spaces that the wall text adds an additional value to their visit. Allan McCollum, an artist who has collaborated with Lawler on several projects, said in an interview that he liked "to ask questions about how society creates objects, and what those objects mean."³² In the installation of the paperweights at MOMA, Lawler has recycled art history, or decorative arts history. She has appropriated the form of a precious object turned kitsch, using the playland products of popular culture, where fine crystal has been replaced by cheap plastic, and reinvested those objects with value, giving them a surrogate status, as an

authentic artwork. Here this works in part here because her objects are surrounded by other productions that also reference the position of the museum in contemporary culture. However, central to Lawler's practice, post-modern in its rupture with the Utopian prospects imbedded in the canon of formal modernism, is to both propose and distort the paradigm of the photographic analogon: in the paperweights that reality is denoted and then skewed both by the expected diminution and the unexpected dimensionality of the concave crystal dome. In a further expansion of the rupture, adopting Barthes' analysis of text and image in the context of press photography, Lawler utilizes the wall text, separated but tracking the photograph, as a device to "load the image, burdening it with a culture, a moral, an imagination."³³

In the summer of 1970 Kynaston McShine produced a visually radical museum catalogue titled Information. The catalogue, for an exhibition at The Museum of Modern Art, used graphics that simulated typewriter fonts: the cover was green and screen dotted, the title bright red. The exhibition concept was "to extend the idea of art." and McShine presented an international gathering of work by younger artists whose theoretical culture had been radically transformed by global media systems of film and television. McShine, certainly aware of the provocative installation by Marcel Broodthaers in 1968, "Musée d'Art Moderne, Département des Aigles," put forward as a premise for the exhibition that established museum systems would be challenged by new forms of production and technology.³⁴ He wrote: "the whole nature of collecting is perhaps becoming obsolete, and what is the traditional museum going to do about work at the bottom of the Sargasso Sea...How is the museum going to deal with the introduction of new technology...."³⁵ Twenty-nine years later McShine was still tracking the practice of the museum as a social, political and economic structure and the artist's symbiotic relationship to it. A section of McShine's "Introduction" to the catalogue for "The Museum As Muse" addresses the intertwining of institution and artist:

The museum as an institution generally, and maybe even The Museum of Modern Art specifically, has had a great meaning for contemporary artists, and they often have felt strong emotional connections to it, whether of love or hate....Most artists' education involves the habit of visiting museums and reflecting on what is seen there...The fascinating thing about the relationship between artists and museums is that artists have studied every aspect of the museum, as if anatomizing an organism....³⁶

Lawler's photographs of museum installations, of storage spaces (fig.65), of exhibition practices, are the visual product of her conceptual examination of display and a continuing investigation of the commodification of art and the institutional controls on artistic production. The strategies of display that involve the commodification and political positioning of artwork are worked out in auction rooms, corporate spaces, and in homes. Those strategies are ultimately bound into the presentation of art in museum spaces (final destinations) and the decisions that place them there (in public spaces or storage rooms): decisions made by directors, curators, the ritual of trustee gift-giving. There are different configurations at each site, involving the cumulative layering of value. Lawler's final reduction of the photograph of Bruce Nauman's exhibition to fit under the dome of a paperweight suggests the concept that artworks can be infinitely reproduced visually, graphically, and carted away. The trajectory of Lawler's practice may be envisioned as arcing through Marcel Broodthaers' assemblage of crates, postcards and slide projections, the "Musée d'Art Moderne, Département des Aigles, Section XIXème Siècle," back to Duchamp's collection of miniature items in "The Box In A Valise."³⁷ The one a museum in an apartment, the other a museum in a box: both an upending of the utopian expectations of modernism and the primacy of institutional spaces.³⁸

Broodthaers' museum proved to be a seminal work of the '60s and cast a long theoretical shadow over the cultural politics of the '70s. The first installation of the museum opened in his Brussels apartment in September, 1968 - shortly after the

Parisian demonstrations of May and the work was clearly intended as a challenge to Belgian cultural authority.³⁹ Lawler's work poses a similar challenge to the process of cultural commodification and political control. Additionally, in fashioning the paperweights as objects, a visible affinity exists between the miniature photographs of Lawler's paperweights and the miniature objects of Duchamp's "The Box In A Valise." Sixty-nine small artworks fit into the "Box" which "simulates the horizontals and verticals of a room, perfectly to scale....when all is in place and packed, the *Boite* can be fitted into a little carrying case or valise."⁴⁰ If Duchamp's *Boite* was a miniature 'portable' museum, then that practice is redrawn within Lawler's paperweights: in the miniature photograph, the spatial simulation of the crystal dome, the access to and portability of the object. Eliminating the meticulous craftsmanship with which Duchamp worked to produce about 300 editions, Lawler proceeded to produce a paperweight in an unlimited edition in conjunction with The Museum of Modern Art. The paperweight is called "Untitled (Wheel), 1999." "Wheel" references Duchamp's bicycle wheel, which is installed in one of MoMA's galleries. Under the crystal of the paperweight, Lawler's photograph shows the "Wheel" in an installation with two paintings by Piet Mondrian and one by Theo van Doesburg. The "Bicycle Wheel" is a third version, produced as a copy of the 1913 work, now lost. The paintings and the "Wheel" were gifts to The Museum of Modern Art by Sidney and Harriet Janis, dealers and collectors.⁴¹

The photograph presents Duchamp's bicycle wheel affixed to a white painted stool centered in a white painted gallery space, floored in neutral gray. Through the spokes of the upended wheel the yellow, red, and black squares of van Doesburg's painting center the eye and entice the viewer's gaze into a simulation of spatial depth. To the right of the van Doesburg painting is a shadowed doorway that, in simulation, extends even further into what symbolically presents a Platonic cave - the shadows of the simulacra.⁴² The reflections of the crystal play other lights and reflections against

the tiny photograph lying in a horizontal position: in this relatively inexpensive edition the object can be placed at will by the viewing subject. Held vertically, the lights in the hand-held gallery go out, and the viewing subject is likely to return the paperweight again to horizontality, to see the picture clearly. The edges of the photograph are blurred by the distortion of the crystal: tilting the object from side to side is an inducement to see additional objects on the walls of the referenced gallery - or cave of high modernist art. Of Szarkowski's distinctions, "The Thing Itself" is there, as much object as reference to object, and so is "The Detail"; "The Frame," "Vantage Point." are obscured by the properties of the crystal enclosure.⁴³ "Time" is stopped, like a creature in amber. Lawler's paperweight, as an object, presents a tangible rupture with the productions of high modernism generally exhibited in this gallery and the photography galleries at MOMA: for this photograph is a tangible, portable simulation - its qualities are spatial and portable. It is an invitation to the viewing subject to take a chunk of MOMA - one of its galleries, out on to the street.

In a passage from Museum Without Walls, Andre Malraux commented on the newly significant role of the museum in shaping the viewing subject's perception of the art object.

So vital is the part played by the art museum in our approach to works of art today that we find it difficult to realize that no museums exist, none has ever existed, in lands where the civilization of modern Europe is, or was, unknown; and that, even in the Western world, they have existed for barely two hundred years. They were so important to the artistic life of the nineteenth century and are so much a part of our lives today that we forget they have imposed on the spectator a wholly new attitude toward the work of art.⁴⁴

Twenty-five years later Hal Foster would write about a group of artists who conceptually based the production of their work on the "institutional frame" and the economic structure of the art object.

As is well known (in part because of a counter-memory afforded by later artists and critics), the investigation of

(Daniel) Buren, (Michael) Asher, (Hans) Haacke and Broodthaers focuses primarily on the institutional frame, and secondarily on the economic logic, of the modern art object. In critical writings and works in situ, these four artists (among others) have sought to reveal the ways in which the production and reception of art are institutionally predetermined, recuperated, used.⁴⁵

If, as Haacke as put it, “museums work in the vineyards of consciousness,” Lawler’s interest is in examining the social structures that are at play at the parameters of the subject’s vision, informing that consciousness.⁴⁶ However, a closer affinity to Lawler’s production is found in the work of Daniel Buren and Michael Asher.

In an anthology of seminal essays culled from the critical journal, October: The First Decade, 1976-1986, Daniel Buren’s essay “The Function of the Studio,” is placed immediately before Louise Lawler’s photographs, “Arrangements of Pictures.”(figs.66-68).⁴⁷ Both works are placed in the section “Critique of Institutions”; the affinity between the two efforts is implicit. Buren describes the space of the studio as a filter, first screening the artist’s work from public view and in turn permitting the selection process by curators and dealers, beginning the passage of work from one refuge to the next - dependent on those spaces for its existence. The work must be portable, manipulable, and finally compromised – separated from the conceptual context of origin. By incorporating the critique of the system into the production of the artwork, Lawler’s paperweights, particularly the paperweight produced in conjunction with The Museum of Modern Art, beats the odds by being portable, enclosed and uniquely uncompromised. As the passage of an artwork begins, the work begins its distancing process from its production site, its reality.

The work is thus totally foreign to the world into which it is welcomed (museum, gallery, collection). This gives rise to the ever-widening gap between the work and its place (and not its *placement*), an abyss which, were it to become apparent, as sooner or later it must, would hurl the entire parade of art (art as we know it today and, 99% of the time, as it is made) into historical oblivion. This gap is tentatively bridged, however, by the system which makes acceptable to ourselves as public, artist, historian,

and critic, the convention that establishes the museum and the gallery as inevitable neutral frames, the unique and definitive locales of art.⁴⁸

Buren concluded the essay with the point that if the studio historically had been a unique and essential place of production, the “work proceeds from its extinction.”⁴⁹

In the essay “Function of the Museum,” Buren describes the museum primarily as a privileged space functioning aesthetically, economically and mystically.⁵⁰ Essentially, however, he states that the “Museum is an asylum.” A space that shelters work from weather, danger and questioning. A space metaphorically rendered by Lawler’s crystal domes, in the instance of the paperweights: the small photographs sheltered, entombed, in small portable museum spaces, enabled to continue the passage from venue to venue, the frame of the studio exchanged for the frame of the glass. Glass and frames appear frequently in Lawler’s photographs of both museum and corporate spaces: marks that set the work of art apart from the social and political reality of the contextual setting. The work that Buren produced for the exhibition at The Museum of Modern Art, “The Museum As Muse: Artists Reflect,” consisted of displacing four paintings by Giorgio de Chirico from the permanent collections galleries, repositioning them in the temporary exhibition and painting green and white stripes on the walls where the de Chirico paintings hung, leaving the spaces of the framed paintings untouched, “(more-or-less white).”⁵¹ The paintings move, within the safety of the “asylum,” from permanent space to temporary space, and register both the fragility of exhibition placement - a curatorial whim - and the unexpected shock of economic value in a space delegated to work that has not, in equal measure, attained the refuge of museum status. Buren’s green and white walls read as paintings, the mute white spaces as registers of presence and absence.

Michael Asher’s practice, again bearing a close relationship to Lawler’s theoretical explorations, concerns the exhibition situation: it is the exhibiting paradigm itself that is worked upon, displacing the production of an object. Contrary to that

practice, the production of an outside object that is then brought into the exhibition space, Asher works within the structure of the exhibition space - eliminating even the concept of a site-specific work that would involve bringing in outside materials. In 1992, for an exhibition at the Kunsthalle in Bern, Asher resituated the functional heating system of the building, reassembling heating pipes and radiators, turning a concealed apparatus of the institutional exhibition space inside out: revealing the concealed.⁵² For "The Museum As Muse," Asher revealed an apparatus as essential as heating to the functioning of the museum as an institutional space: the selection process. Asher produced an inventory of the paintings and sculptures deaccessioned from the permanent holdings of The Museum of Modern Art, noting that the removal of works of art exposed a history of the museum as significant as the history of acquisition.⁵³ In a mindset similar to Asher's, beyond the apparatus of the exhibition space and auction room, Lawler has added another history - that of the institutional storeroom. A photograph of Lawler's, "Le Vesinet (Twenty Minutes Outside Paris) from 1985 is on the front cover of an exhibition catalogue, Deep Storage: Collecting, Storing, and Archiving in Art. The photograph shows an expectant lot of stuffed animals crammed together in a viewing / storage space, looking like a camp replica of a animal diorama at the Museum of Natural History. The animals have been collected, tagged, stored, looking not very different than areas of museum storage where, as Ingrid Schaffner, in her essay for the Deep Storage catalogue writes: "To visit the storeroom, where objects dwell cut off from critical aura, is to contemplate art in a state of temporal remission."⁵⁴ The histories of art objects - production, circulation, concealment - and the history of the photograph as document of the object in museum space are intertwined from the earliest period of photography's invention.

Lawler's art practice is hybrid, contingent, experiential. Separating herself from the practices of high modernist photography - decisively framed, expressively viewpointed, tonally attentive - Lawler's attention is directed not only to photographs,

but to slide projections, wall texts and collaborations with other artists, museum staff and collectors.⁵⁵ After completing a degree in studio art at Cornell University in 1969, Lawler returned to New York City where she had grown up. She met Janelle Reiring, now one of the owners of the gallery in Chelsea, Metro Pictures, when they were both working at Leo Castelli's gallery. In 1978 Lawler participated in an exhibition with Adrian Piper and Cindy Sherman at Artists Space that Reiring organized, and later, after many of the Artist Space people had joined Reiring and Helene Weiner at Metro Pictures, a commercial gallery, Lawler was asked to do an exhibition there. Lawler expressed an interest to Reiring in following the art of the gallery, generally produced by friends, to after sale destinations. And so she photographed the work in new contexts: corporate locations, private locations, public spaces. After Cornell, Lawler had not generally worked within the studio, but had developed projects suggested by the installation space. She has also avoided interviews and discussions about her work, feeling that personal biography should not be read into what she produces.⁵⁶

A wall text Lawler wrote for an exhibition at The Museum of Modern Art in 1987, entitled "Enough," laid out the direction of her inquiry and her exploration into the possibility of the art object's integrity and autonomy within structures of institutional viewing.

I am showing what they are showing: painting, sculpture, pictures, glasses and words on painted walls furnishing the same material experience; my work is to exchange the positions of exposition and voyeurism. You are standing in your own shoes.⁵⁷

The trip that an art object makes from the studio to the museum (exhibition space or storage space) includes a multiplicity of reframings and repositionings. Two photographs that Lawler included in "Enough," installed in the MOMA "Projects" room (a small space located on the way to the museum café), were part of a series that she had made in 1984 of the large, well-known, and publicly valuable (as established at

auction) modern art collection of Mr. and Mrs. Burton Tremain. If an “Analysis of the art system must inevitably be carried on in terms of the studio as the *unique space* of production and the museum as the *unique space* of exposition,” then the privileged space of the private or corporate collection is an aesthetic, economic and mystical weigh station where an artwork makes a significant transition.⁵⁸ Lawler chronicled this transition as the Tremain objects traversed the cultural and economic spaces of domestic setting, auction room, museum.

Lawler originally photographed the installation of the Tremain collection - paintings by Jasper Johns, Andy Warhol, Jackson Pollock, Piet Mondrian, among others - as the couple had arranged it in their home (fig.69). The photographs - accomplished with the Tremaines’ implicit cooperation - document the instability of the artwork’s contextual placement beyond the studio: a Johns painting above a bed with a monogrammed coverlet in matching tones; a Pollock painting installed with a visual relationship to a nearby soup tureen; a red and blue Warhol serial stamp painting displayed on a red wall, flanked by blue porcelain horses (fig.70); a painting of three women by Leger above three precisely placed dining room chairs. The dialogue between the artwork and the collectors’ domestic arrangement speaks clearly to the diffusion of the artwork’s self-referentiality and aura of autonomy.⁵⁹ The photographs in the Tremain series are Lawler’s effort to represent the reframing of the artwork and the interconnection between artwork and cultural display: culture as still life. It also placed those objects, the artworks, as “celebrated...older forms of individual production” in a world, typified by photography, where multiplicity and mechanical production were achieving ascendancy.⁶⁰

Lawler chose two of the photographs in the Tremain series for the “Projects” exhibition. In the Cibachrome photograph “(Stevie Wonder) Livingroom Corner, Arranged by Mr. and Mrs. Burton Tremain, New York City, 1984,” Lawler juxtaposes a Roy Lichtenstein lamp base with the head of Stevie Wonder viewed on a

television screen, and in an expanded cultural critique, invites the viewer to consider them additionally in the context of the form of a tribal head mounted as an art object on the wall. Circular, contingent correspondences seem pointed up by the Robert Delauney painting, an Orphic abstraction, squeezed between the drum shaped lampshade and the television set. Or as Walter Benjamin noted, "The most profound enchantment for the collector is the locking of individual items within a magic circle in which they are fixed as the final thrill, the thrill of acquisition, passes over them."⁶¹ The camera is set level, the implied viewpoint neutral. Lawler's position as maker of the photograph is presented as one amiably worked out with the Tremaines. A collaboration is presented to the viewer: the Tremaines as stylists of this set, the photographer as producer of the finished document, and the viewer free to bring to the exercise an additional reading.

In the second photograph of the Tremaine Collection included in the "Projects" exhibition, Lawler chose one that showed a few of the same objects on view at the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut. In a photograph titled "Arranged By Tracy Atkinson, Director and Gregor Hedberg, Chief Curator At The Wadsworth Atheneum." the Delaunay painting is viewed within the white cube of museum space (fig.71).⁶² Removed from the whimsical arrangement of domestic placement, context and encounter, the circular painting inhabits a wide space of white wall and the structural area of a museum validated, fine art installation: close by, a Piet Mondrian painting, a Louise Nevelson sculpture, an Alberto Giacometti sculpture and the commanding wall text, "The Tremaine Collection." The transfiguration from "The Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Burton Tremaine" to the institutionalized banner that unrolls as "Tremaine Collection" has unlimited aesthetic, economic and mystical connotations.

Looking closely at the Cibachrome photograph of the Tremaine collection displayed at the Wadsworth Atheneum, a visual paradox in Lawler's work surfaces. If

the theoretical base of Lawler's work has been to examine closely the values - aesthetic, economic, mystical - that social and institutional context deposits in the art object, then it is remarkable that a purely formal, aesthetic production has been equally of concern to her.⁶³ The perfect, geometrical balance of the Tremaine / Wadsworth photograph calls into visual recognition the counterpoint of the circular Delaunay painting to the diamond-shaped Mondrian, and again the severe rectangularity of the Nevelson sculpture counterpoised against the rounded, voluptuous curves of Giacometti's "Spoon Woman." The color values of the Cibachrome print render the vibrant paintings in satisfying distinction against the dark forms of the sculpture, rough-edged in the Nevelson wood piece, softly glowing in the Giacometti bronze. The dark rectangle that is the bench cover in the foreground reads suspiciously - perhaps with irony - as a Minimalist sculpture: pointing to a potential misrecognition by the viewing subject is a space without wall text. The application of formal means of aesthetic production in the photographs and in the reduced photographs of the paperweights appears to be of concern and of use to Lawler in the process of her cultural critique. But what is most apparent in the Tremaine series of photographs is Lawler's appropriation and representation of pictures already seen and here reproduced as rearrangements, dispersed elements repositioned collaboratively in institutional spaces. They are pictures becoming "Arrangements of Pictures."

Lawler's photographs appropriate the artefacts of culture and are in themselves pastiche and quotation: visual documentation both of Walter Benjamin's critical analysis of the withering of art's aura through mechanical reproduction and the unforeseen agency of the photograph as the advertisement of art's value. If museum and the auction house exist to recuperate it, Lawler's work continues to document, as Douglas Crimp describes the activity, "the depletion of the aura" and the inversion of that aura into economic value.⁶⁴ In a practice that is analagous to Sherrie Levine's -an artist with whom Lawler has collaborated - Lawler appropriates a wide variety of

objects -paintings, sculptures, thimbles – inserting the process of their acquisition into a critical discourse.⁶⁵ The photograph she produces places the known critical discourse (on value and exhibition history) and aesthetic object in a dialogue that engages the viewer's experience. In "Photography in the Museum," one of the essays published with Lawler's photographs, Crimp describes the centrality of photography to the critical discourse of post-modernism:

The centrality of photography within the current range of practices makes it crucial to a theoretical distinction between modernism and postmodernism. Not only has photography so thoroughly saturated our visual environment as to make the invention of visual images seem archaic, but it is also clear that photography is too multiple, too useful to other discourses, ever to be wholly contained within traditional definitions of art. Photography will always exceed the institutions of art, will always participate in nonart practices, will always threaten the insularity of art's discourse.⁶⁶

By appropriating the icons of art history - plaster casts, bronzes, paintings - and inserting them into new contexts, matrices - cutting and pasting, making new edges and taking incomplete parts - Lawler uses photography to examine the discourse of art as a utopian practice and to chronicle the ways of institutions that propose their spaces as privileged and hermetic rather than as the paths of economic power. The photographs, which oscillate between fine art and document, become part of new, fluid systems that are open to multiple readings and revise previously marked boundaries.

*

Although they were fabricated in the '90s, Lawler's crystal domes can be read as paradigms and lenses through which to look back on a collection of post-modern photographs, "dissident practices," that emerged in the '70s and '80s, five of which – not necessarily representative - are gathered here. Looking through these defusing and transforming lenses to the photographs beneath, a wide expanse of complex signifying systems are indicated beyond: those of performance art and psychological theater, studio set-ups, simulacra, cultural critiques. These post-modern lenses signify a newly

widened field of viewing, a photographic space where lines and boundaries between media are not finely drawn, where the viewer is invited – in Allan Kaprow’s words - to “STEP RIGHT IN” – entering a space where nothing is either distinctly in or out of the frame. In the frames of the five post-modern photographs gathered here, conceptual set-ups are placed before the viewer, frequently drawn from memory bank images of other spaces and other media. If the 20th century opened believing that what was referenced on photographic paper was true, an index of the visually perceived world, I think that some form of mediated lens – in the form of the choice, cut, button pressed – was always understood, even if that understanding was only at the back of the viewer’s mind. The canonical photographs of modernism, the expressive “mirrors” and the documentary “windows,” were seriously rooted in Utopian systems of belief, and in the critical theories of modernist architecture, painting and sculpture - the photographic version of which was that the picture revealed truths about the world we experienced.⁶⁷ The rupture between modernism and post-modernism in critical reasoning and in practice provided the latent mediation of the photographic field to fully emerge and to put the naturalized myth of photographic truth into play.

This collection of five post-modern photographs presents a cross-section of the complexities of dissident practices, working as evidence of the rupture with the belief systems of modernism’s “mirrors” and “windows.” Within their frames the photographs signify multiple databases of visual knowledge, for they draw freely from other sources - photographs, artwork, films, video, mass culture media. Their’s are third meanings that continue to resonate, and ones into which the viewer continues to insert additional images drawn from filmic shows that replay on individual, retinal screens. The referent adheres, it always does in the photograph: but the combinations, the set-ups, the performances that are printed out in the work examined in this dissertation are not always what we have expected of the photograph as still image, stopped time, document, verifiable report.

These last words are not a conclusion, not the closure of an argument, but the setting out of ways of thinking about more photographs, additional photographies. It has been said that the only photograph ever made without consideration of other photographs was the very first one Nicéphore Niepce made. Even with the second, he must have referred to the first. Pictures make the viewer think of other pictures.

The pictures that these post-modern photographers present reference a wide panoply of imagery and conceptual constructions. In drawing upon images from performance, video, and film, Samaras, Wegman and Sherman have appropriated forms of seriality and narration to make fluid the parameters of the stilled, stopped photographic frame; Levinthal and Lawler have appropriated techniques of miniaturization and simulacra to overlay conceptual systems on a remembered and reprinted trace of the visible world. The significance of their gathered post-modern practices lies in the expansion of the photographic viewing field to receive the imprint of the visible and the conceptual in equal measure, and in the development of structures that obscure the boundaries and certainties embedded in photography's original ontological framings. The philosophic rupture between modernism and post-modernism has validated the conceptual capability of photography to extend well beyond the aesthetics of technical excellence and reportage, additionally offering photographers the structures of theoretical discourse to expand their practices into areas of complex and multi-layered photographic production.

¹ Peter Wollen, "Introduction," in Visual Display, Culture Beyond Appearances, ed. Lynne Cooke and Peter Wollen (New York: The New Press, 1998), 9.

² Michael Baxandall, "Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects," in Exhibiting Cultures. The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 37.

³ Douglas Crimp, with photographs by Louise Lawler. On The Museum's Ruins (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1993), 2.

⁴ Jeff Wall, " 'Marks of Indifference' : Aspects of Photography In. Or As. Conceptual Art." in Reconsidering the Object of Art: 1965-1975, ed. Ann Goldstein and Anne Rorimer (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art, 1995), 252.

⁵ "One governing idea of these essays is that an artwork's meaning is formed in relation to its institutional framing conditions...." Crimp, On the Museum's Ruins, viii.

⁶ Crimp and Lawler, "The Museum's Old, the Library's New Subject," in On the Museum's Ruins, 78.

⁷ "The Museum As Muse: Artists Reflect," an exhibition organized by Kynaston McShine, Senior Curator, Department of Painting and Sculpture, for The Museum of Modern Art, New York, March 14 - June 1, 1999.

⁸ "It has become customary in the last few years to look at the genealogical links between contemporary museum practice and what can be taken as its direct ancestor, the cabinet of curiosities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Indeed, now that the institution of the museum is frequently shown to be afflicted with a kind of Hegelian death wish, the precedent of the cabinet of curiosities can seem to be a highly relevant model; it shares the contemporary museum's intimate concern with particulars - eccentric in its coverage and modest in scale." Stephen Bann, "Shrines, Curiosities, and the Rhetoric of Display," in Visual Display, 15.

⁹ "The taste for isolating this kind of attentive looking at crafted objects is as peculiar to our culture as is the museum as the space or institution where this activity takes place...The museum effect, I want to argue, is a way of seeing." Svetlana Alpers, "A Way of Seeing," in Exhibiting Cultures, 26-27.

¹⁰ Jan Dibbets, "The Shortest Day at the van Abbemuseum Eindhoven." 1970. Color photographs mounted on aluminum, 69 3/4 x 67 3/8". Stedelijk van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven. MOMA, wall label.

¹¹ Jan Dibbets, "Kroller - Muller - Saenredam II." 1987. Two color photographs and pencil on paper, mounted on chipboard, each photograph 6' 1/4 x 6' 1/4. Collection the artist. MOMA, wall label.

¹² Kate Ericson and Mel Ziegler, "MOMA Whites." 1990. Various white pigments in glass jars, steel shelf, 10 x 56 x 5". Private collection, Basel. MoMA, wall label.

¹³ Richard Hamilton, "The Solomon R. Guggenheim (Black and White). 1965 - 66. Fiberglass and cellulose, 48 x 48 x 7 1/2. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York. "The Solomon R. Guggenheim (Black). 1965 - 66. Fiberglass and cellulose, 48 x 48 x 7 1/2. "Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York. The Solomon R. Guggenheim (Gold)." 1965 - 66. Fiberglass, cellulose, and gold leaf, 48 x 48 x 7 1/2. Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark. "The Solomon R. Guggenheim (Spectrum). 1965 - 66. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.

¹⁴ "as perceived by the larger part of its public, the art museum functions principally as an arbiter of excellence. It has the authority to confer substantial and enduring value on the works of art that it chooses to collect and / or exhibit. To describe a painting as being of 'museum quality' is to attest to its excellence." Stephen E. Weil, A Cabinet of Curiosities, Inquiries Into Museums and Their Prospects (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 83.

¹⁵ Rosalind Krauss describes the paperweights as jewel and peep show combined: "For if the jewelry store is signaled by the rows of chest-high pedestals with their plexiglass tops, within which the little crystal half-globes are on show as so-many identically precious objects, the peep show is triggered by the action of the objects' semi-spherical 'lenses' which narrow down the viewer's gaze to an almost impossibly small point of entry into the work's visual field he or she

must hunch over to see - Duchamp's *Étant donné* rewritten as tiny kitsch souvenirs." Rosalind Krauss, "Louise Lawler: Souvenir Memories," *Aperture* 145 (Fall 1996) : 36-39. Rosalind Krauss, "Louise Lawler: Souvenir Memories," in Louise Lawler. A Spot On The Wall (Köln: Oktagon, 1998), 35.

""Étant Donnés: 1 LA CHUTE D'EAU, 2 LE GAZ D'ECLAIRAGE (Given: 1. The Waterfall, 2. The Illuminating Gas), 1946-66, New York." Anne d'Harnoncourt and McShine, Kynaston, ed. Marcel Duchamp (New York: The Museum of Modern Art / the Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1989), 315.

¹⁶ "The loss of touch as a conceptual component of vision meant unloosening of the eye from the network of referentiality incarnated in tactility and its subjective relation to perceived space. This autonomization of sight, occurring in many different domains, was a historical condition for the rebuilding of an observer fitted for the tasks of 'spectacular' consumption. Not only did the empirical isolation of vision allow its quantification and homogenization but it also enabled the new objects of vision (whether commodities, photographs, or the act of perception itself) to assume a mystified and abstract identity, sundered from any relation to the observer's position within a cognitively unified field. The stereoscope is one major cultural site on which this breach between tangibility and visibility is singularly evident." Jonathan Crary, Techniques of the Observer. On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1992), 19.

¹⁷ "For this first exhibition, Barr - who perhaps more than any other individual has influenced the reception of modern art in the United States - thought it important to experiment with the installation...Barr did more than place paintings and sculpture in spare, beige installations: he staged a seemingly autonomous site for a stationary, ideal viewer. In Barr's exhibitions, the viewing subject was presumed to fit a specific standard and to match an ideal height. Such an arrangement treated the viewer as an immobile, atemporal being. Both the work of art and the viewing subject were framed in these suggestive, neutral interiors as if each were unfettered by other social formations." Mary Anne Staniszewski, The Power of Display. A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1998), 61-67.

¹⁸ John Szarkowski, The Photographer's Eye (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966).

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ "Around 1900 technical reproduction had reached a standard that not only permitted it to reproduce all transmitted works of art and thus to cause the most profound change in their impact upon the public; it also had captured a place of its own among the artistic processes. For the study of this standard nothing is more revealing than the nature of the repercussions that these two different manifestations - the reproduction of works of art and the art of the film - have had on art in its traditional form....Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be." Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction, 1936" in Illuminations (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 220. The effect of art reproductions has been to increase the perceived value of art objects: the more reproduced, the more valuable. The art photograph has a curious relationship to the film still: originally offered to advertise the production values of a film. Museums, galleries appear to advertise their "production values" in a similar fashion - through the objects (commodities) they own.

²¹ "the most profound enchantment for the collector is the locking of individual items within a magic circle in which they are fixed as the final thrill, the thrill of acquisition, passes over them. Everything remembered and thought, everything conscious, becomes the pedestal, the frame, the base, the lock of his property. The period, the region, the craftsmanship, the former ownership - for a true collector the whole background of an item adds up to a magic encyclopedia

whose quintessence is the fate of his object." Benjamin, "Unpacking My Library, 1931," Illuminations, 60.

²² "What I want to lay emphasis on is that the viewer, moving about in the space between object and label, is highly active. He is not a passive subject for instruction. He moves with great vitality between visually pleasurable (or at least intriguing) objects and equally pleasurable cause finding: then he moves back from information about causes to visually interesting objects, scanning the objects for applications of these causes." Michael Baxandall, "Exhibiting Intention." 38.

²³ Kynaston McShine, The Museum as Muse, Artists Reflect (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1999), 6.

²⁴ "These essays are an aspect of the reception of the work. Published here, it is part of the presentation. My pictures present information about the 'reception' of artworks." Louise Lawler, A Spot On The Wall . 9.

²⁵ Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of a is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be....The presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity." Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," (1936), in Illuminations, Essays and Reflections, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 220.

²⁶ "It is the order of the natural world that imprints itself on the photographic emulsion and subsequently on the photographic print. This quality of transfer or trace gives to the photograph its documentary status, its undeniable veracity." Rosalind Krauss "Notes on the Index: Part 2." in The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1986), 211.

²⁷ "The advantage of this difficult and sometimes confusing dual use of the term postmodernism - designating both a certain systemic cultural logic, and also a whole socioeconomic period -is that it helps us to avoid the often more sterile debates that arise when postmodernism is given a narrow and specifically stylistic sense, as one contemporary artistic 'movement' or current among others...To insist, then, on 'postmodernism' as a system form of capitalism - in other words, as a *situation* in which the artist must work and to which culture is understood as an active response (and often an intervention and a reappropriation) - ought to free us from the more facile solutions of a purely aesthetic debate, and, at the same time, to confront us with the far more difficult ar. complex problem of grasping the relationship between what is new in contemporary culture and in its (equally new and unparalleled) situation of production and struggle." FredericJameson, "Hans Haacke and the Cultural Logic of Postmodernism," in Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, New York / M.I.T. Press, 1986), 39.

²⁸ Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 6. Originally published as La Chambre Claire (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1980).

²⁹ Roland Barthes, "The Third Meaning," in A Barthes Reader, ed. Susan Sontag (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 328.

³⁰ Computer typographics do not permit transcription of the text as it is layed out on the wall at MoMA: "to" begins most lines and the transcription does reflect that intentional beat. The wall text is in blue, the last line "this will..." is printed in bright red. The text is also reproduced in Lawler's A Spot On The Wall. 24. The movement in Lawler's work between installation, photograph and reproduced or reappropriated photograph (her own) becomes her own "arrangement of pictures." "The physical presentation of my work - size, format, framing,

enclosure in a paperweight, projection a wall - is shown as it these locations, and as 'pictures in a book'." Ibid..7.

³¹ "The temporary, site-specific installations mounted by minimalists incorporated the place of a work's perception into the work itself and demonstrated that perceptual experience depends on the conditions in which viewers encounter works of art. But formalism reentered minimalist art in the assumption that places of perception are politically and socially neutral. A more decisive shift in contemporary art occurred when artists broadened the concept of site to embrace not only the aesthetic context of the work's exhibition but the site's symbolic, social, and political meanings as well as the historical circumstances within which art work, spectator, and place are situated. These inquiries led in diverse directions. A small group of artists pursued an investigation of the institutions that mediate between individual works of art and their public reception, eventually exploring appropriate means of intervention in institutional spaces and discourses." Rosalyn Deutsch, "Property Values: Hans Haacke, Real Estate, and the Museum." in Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business, 22.

³² Thomas Lawson, Allan McCollum (Los Angeles: A.R.T. Press, 1996), 1.

³³ "Formerly, the image illustrated the text (made it clearer); today, the text loads the image, burdening it with a culture, a moral, an imagination." Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," in A Barthes Reader, 205.

³⁴ "Marcel Broodthaers is...an artist of our own time, an artist who has found his own unique imagery for conveying his own unique message, neither of which can be interpreted in any other way but as a reaction to our modern society and to the standards which today govern life, art and the 'art business.' It was the latter in particular which he not only subjected to frequent attacks of irony but also countered, in 1968, with his 'Musée d'Art Moderne, Département d'Aigles' which represented an entirely new and valid way of collecting, and coming to terms with works of art." Norbert Nobis and Werner Meyer, Marcel Broodthaers, Museum (Hannover: Sprengel Museum, 1996), 11.

³⁵ "The general attitude of the artists in this exhibition is certainly not hostile. It is straightforward, friendly, coolly involved, and allows experiences which are refreshing. It enables us to participate...The constant demand is a more aware relation to our natural and artificial environments. There is always the sense of communication. These artists are questioning our prejudices, asking us to renounce our inhibitions, and if they are reevaluating the nature of art, they are also asking that we reassess what we have always taken for granted as our accepted and culturally conditioned aesthetic response to art. Kynaston L. McShine, Associated Curator of Painting and Sculpture, The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Kynaston L. McShine, Information (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1970), 140-141.

³⁶ Kynaston McShine, The Museum As Muse, 11.

³⁷ I use the word "perhaps" advisedly. In an interview with Martha Buskirk, published in the journal *October* Lawler disclaimed "connections." "You can make suppositions about that, but you can't necessarily ascribe them to the artist. You see connections, but that doesn't necessarily mean that's where the artist got them. But that also doesn't mean that they're not there. This discussion of Duchamp seems a good opportunity to express my discomfort with too much referencing of authority that is restrictive, rather than acknowledging the work's 'kindling effect' and use." Martha Buskirk, "Interviews with Sherrie Levine, Louise Lawler, and Fred Wilson." *October* 70 (1994), 108.

³⁸ "Modern art, in this respect, drew its power and its possibilities from being a backwater and an archaic holdover within a modernizing economy: it glorified, celebrated, and dramatized older forms of individual production which the new mode of production was elsewhere on the point of displacing and blotting out. Aesthetic production then offered the Utopian vision of a more human production generally; and in the world of the monopoly stage of capitalism it

exercised a fascination by way of the image it offered of a Utopian transformation of human life." Jameson, Postmodernism, 307.

³⁹ "The museum, a 'political parody of art institutions and...an artistic parody of political events,' consisted of empty packing cases, postcards of objects from other museums' collections, projected slides and a transport truck. Following the logic of Walter Benjamin, Broodthaers conceived of his work as an intervention in the relationship between artistic authority and cultural politics." Sheryl Conkelton, "The Deceptive Play of the Individual, or in the Archive," in Deep Storage, Collecting, Storing, and Archiving in Art, ed. Ingrid Schaffner and Matthias Winzen (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1998), 125.

⁴⁰ "It was only when finally collected, in a miniature, folding exhibition space, that the reproductions finally achieved the status of miniature replicas. The *Boite*, instead of presenting its contents in the linear sequence of a book, simulates the horizontals and verticals of a room, perfectly to scale. Through a simple but ingenious constructional system, the elaborate reproductions in the *Boite* become a scaled-down ensemble in which even the flat reproductions of the paintings acquire the quality of a miniaturized object, an 'item.'" Ecke Bonk, Marcel Duchamp, The Box In A Valise, Inventory of an Edition, trans. David Britt (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), 20.

⁴¹ The Museum of Modern Art, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, The History and the Collection (New York: Abradale Press / The Museum of Modern Art, 1997), 118, 122, 129.

⁴² "it is for such objects that we reserve Plato's conception of the "simulacrum," the identical copy for which no original has ever existed. Appropriately enough, the culture of the simulacrum comes to life in a society where exchange value has been generalized to the point at which the very memory of use value is effaced, a society of which Guy Debord has observed, in an extraordinary phrase, that in it 'the image has become the final form of commodity reification' (The Society of the *Spectacle*.)" Jameson, Postmodernism, 19.

⁴³ Szarkowski, The Photographer's Eye.

⁴⁴ André Malraux, Museum Without Walls, 1965. In Trudy Wilner Stack, Art Museum (Tucson, Arizona: Center for Creative Photography / The University of Arizona, 1995), 4.

⁴⁵ "Thus since 1965 Buren, with his banners and flags of alternately colored and white (or transparent) stripes set in specific art and nonart spaces for specific periods of time, has stressed the *spatiotemporal* predisposition of the work of art by its institutional frame. And since 1969 Asher, with his (did)placements of different gallery / museum objects, services and spaces, has foregrounded the *functional* delimitation of all artistic activity sited there. Before his death in 1976, Broodthaers, with his fictitious museums (in which the roles of artist and curator are reversed), allegorically doubled the ways in which the museum *acculturates* heterogeneous objects and activities as art. And finally, since 1970 Haacke, with his detailed exposes of different museums, corporate benefactors and art collectors, has probed the *material* bases of the fine-art apparatus which, repressed, allows for its pretenses of social neutrality and cultural autonomy." Hal Foster, Recodings: Art, Spectacle, Cultural Politics (Seattle, Washington: Bay Press, 1985), 100-101.

⁴⁶ "Within the art world, museums and other institutions that stage exhibitions play an important role in the inculcation of opinions and attitudes. Indeed, they usually present themselves as educational organizations and consider education as one of their primary responsibilities....An institution's intellectual and moral position becomes tenuous only if it claims to be free of ideological bias. And such an institution should be challenged if it refuses to acknowledge that it operates under constraints deriving from its sources of funding and from the authority to which it reports." Hans Haacke, "Museums, Managers of Consciousness" in Hans Haacke, Unfinished Business, 66.

⁴⁷ Daniel Buren, "The Function of the Studio," and Louise Lawler, "Arrangement of Pictures," in Annette Michelson, Rosalind Krauss, Douglas Crimp, Joan Copjec, ed., October: The First Decade, 1976-1986 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1987), 201-223.

⁴⁸ Daniel Buren, "The Function of the Studio," 203. Buren's essay was written in 1971 and first published in the critical journal, *October*. As starred in the reprinted essay published in October: The First Decade, this essay was one of three, the others being "Function of the Museum," and "Function of an Exhibition."

⁴⁹ Ibid. 207.

⁵⁰ Daniel Buren, "Function of the Museum," New York, 1970, reprinted in The Museum As Muse, 220.

⁵¹ Ibid., 149.

⁵² Ulrich Loock, "Michael Asher in Bern," in Michael Asher, ed. Ulrich Loock (Bern: Kunsthalle Bern, 1992), 8.

⁵³ "The construction of the museum collection suggests at least two histories, the one that the museum wants to tell to the viewer and the history of selection. The history of selection includes, in addition to new acquisitions, the removal of works to sharpen the collection...Michael Asher" The Museum As Muse, 156.

⁵⁴ "If the gallery is the museum's public face, the storerooms are its private parts - the place where art is collated, concealed, and kept from view. Of the museum collection's obscure bulk, only a tiny proportion ever makes it into the light of exhibition. To visit the storeroom, where objects dwell cut off from critical aura, is to contemplate art in a state of temporal remission. Paintings hang in row upon graceless row, on rack after regimented rack. Sculptures mill about like excess baggage. In that other great repository, the museum archive, dead documents lie in a state of suspended insignificance." Ingrid Schaffner, "Deep Storage," in Deep Storage, 11.

⁵⁵ Lawler also has produced matchbooks, posters, covers for art journals and stationary that was sold at Documenta 7 in 1982. She showed work at Artists Space in New York and has been represented by Metro Pictures since 1982.

⁵⁶ In conversation, February, 2000. As Lawler has expressed her dislike of interviews and published biographical material. I have avoided this as a subject.

⁵⁷ "Projects: Louise Lawler, "Enough."" The Museum of Modern Art, New York: September 19 - November 10, 1987.

⁵⁸ Daniel Buren, "The Function of the Museum," "The Function of the Studio," The Museum As Muse, 220-221.

⁵⁹ "Painting, the principal museum art, developed throughout the modern period in antagonism to photography's descriptive powers, its wide dissemination, and its mass appeal. Isolated in the museum, painting increasingly shunned objective depiction, asserted its material uniqueness, became hermetic and difficult. It referred, according to formalist criticism, only to itself - "itself" indicating both its material essence and the self-enclosed history of the medium. But behind painting's self-referentiality, guaranteeing its particular meanings, stood the artist's subjectivity, for ultimately painting had to transcend its materiality and become human. The autonomy of art always defers, if only implicitly, to a prior autonomy, that of the sovereign human subject." Douglas Crimp, "Photographs at the End of Modernism," in On the Museum's Ruins,

Douglas Crimp with photographs by Louise Lawler (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1993), 15.

⁶⁰ "Modern art, in this respect, drew its power and its possibilities from being a backwater and an archaic holdover within a modernizing economy: it glorified, celebrated, and dramatized older forms of individual production which the new mode of production was elsewhere on the point of displacing and blotting out." Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 307.

⁶¹ "the most profound enchantment for the collector is the locking of individual items within a magic circle in which they are fixed as the final thrill, the thrill of acquisition, passes over them. Everything remembered and thought, everything conscious, becomes the pedestal, the frame, the base, the lock of his property. The period, the region, the craftsmanship, the former ownership - for a true collector the whole background of an item adds up to a magic encyclopedia whose quintessence is the fate of his object." Walter Benjamin, "Unpacking My Library," in Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 60. Originally published: *Literarische Welt*, 1931.

⁶² Robert Storr, "Louise Lawler: Unpacking the White Cube," *Parkett* 22 (1989): 105-108.

⁶³ "If the intention of Lawler's work is to call into question the idea that aesthetic value (Beauty) intrinsically resides in an art object, it is also ironic that she achieves this via the production of other beautiful objects - photographs characterized by compelling off-center geometries, affecting hints at narrative, and saturated Cibachrome hues." Phyllis Rosenzweig, *Louise Lawler: Monochrome* (Washington, D.C.: Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, 1997).

⁶⁴ "It would seem, though, that if the withering away of the aura is an inevitable fact of our time, then equally inevitable are all those projects to reuperate it, to pretend that the original and the unique are still possible and desirable.. And this is nowhere more apparent than in the field of photography itself, the very culprit of mechanical reproduction." Douglas Crimp, "Photography in the Museum," *In On The Museum's Ruins*, 112-113.

⁶⁵ "The Alden Collection of thimbles; still-life paintings from the Spaulding Bequest; a painting on extended loan from the artist Roy Lichtenstein; photographs;* painted walls, glasses, and words by Louise Lawler; texts by Susan Dimmock, Trevor Fairbrother, Kathryn Potts, and Jeffrey Weaver; and this pamphlet designed by Janet O'Donoghue are the materials arranged for this display. *The photographs of the thimbles were taken with the expertise and assistance of Tom Lang, photographer, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. *Connections: Louise Lawler*, Contemporary Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, November 17, 1990-March 3, 1991.

⁶⁶ Crimp, "Photography in the Museum," 134.

⁶⁷ "if modernism thought of itself as a prodigious revolution in cultural production, however, postmodernism thinks of itself as a renewal of production as such after a long period of ossification and dwelling among dead monuments...I think we now have to talk about the relief of the postmodern generally, a thunderous unblocking of logjams and a release of new productivity that was somehow tensed up and frozen, locked liked cramped muscles, at the latter end of the modern period." Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 313.

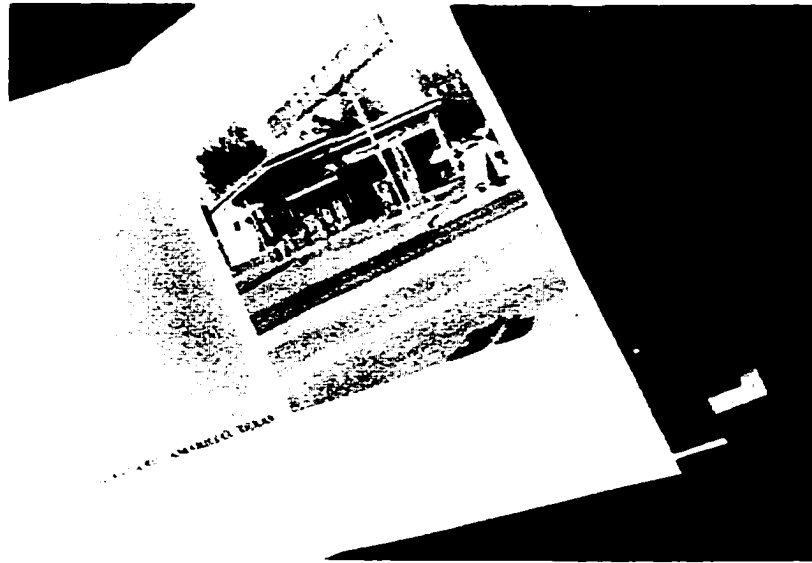


Fig.57 Lawler, *Ed Ruscha's Twentysix Gasoline Stations*, 1962



Fig.58 Lawler, *Ed Ruscha's Twentysix Gasoline Stations*, 1962

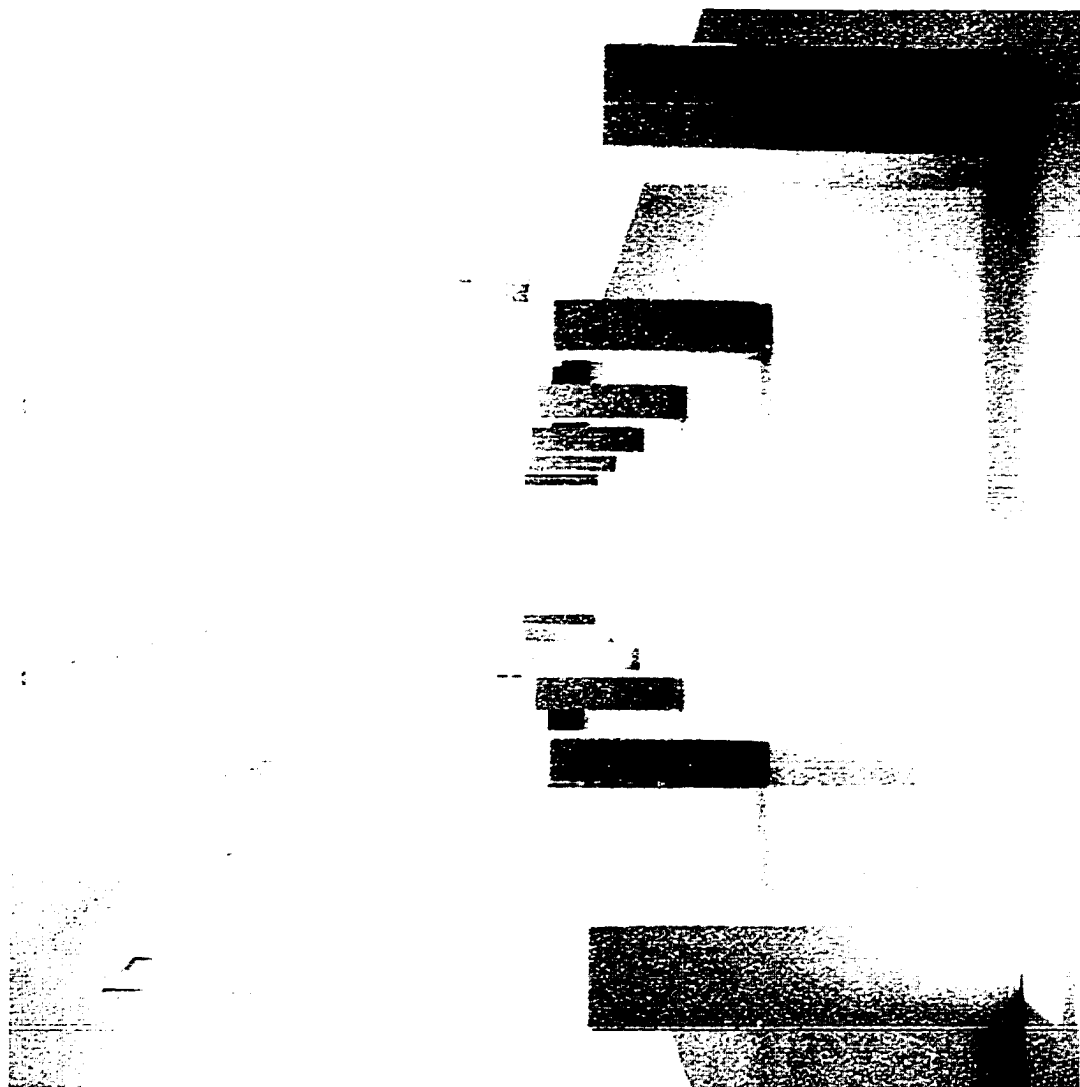


Fig.59 Lawler, *A Spot On The Wall* (Kunstverein, Munich), 1994. Similar installation.

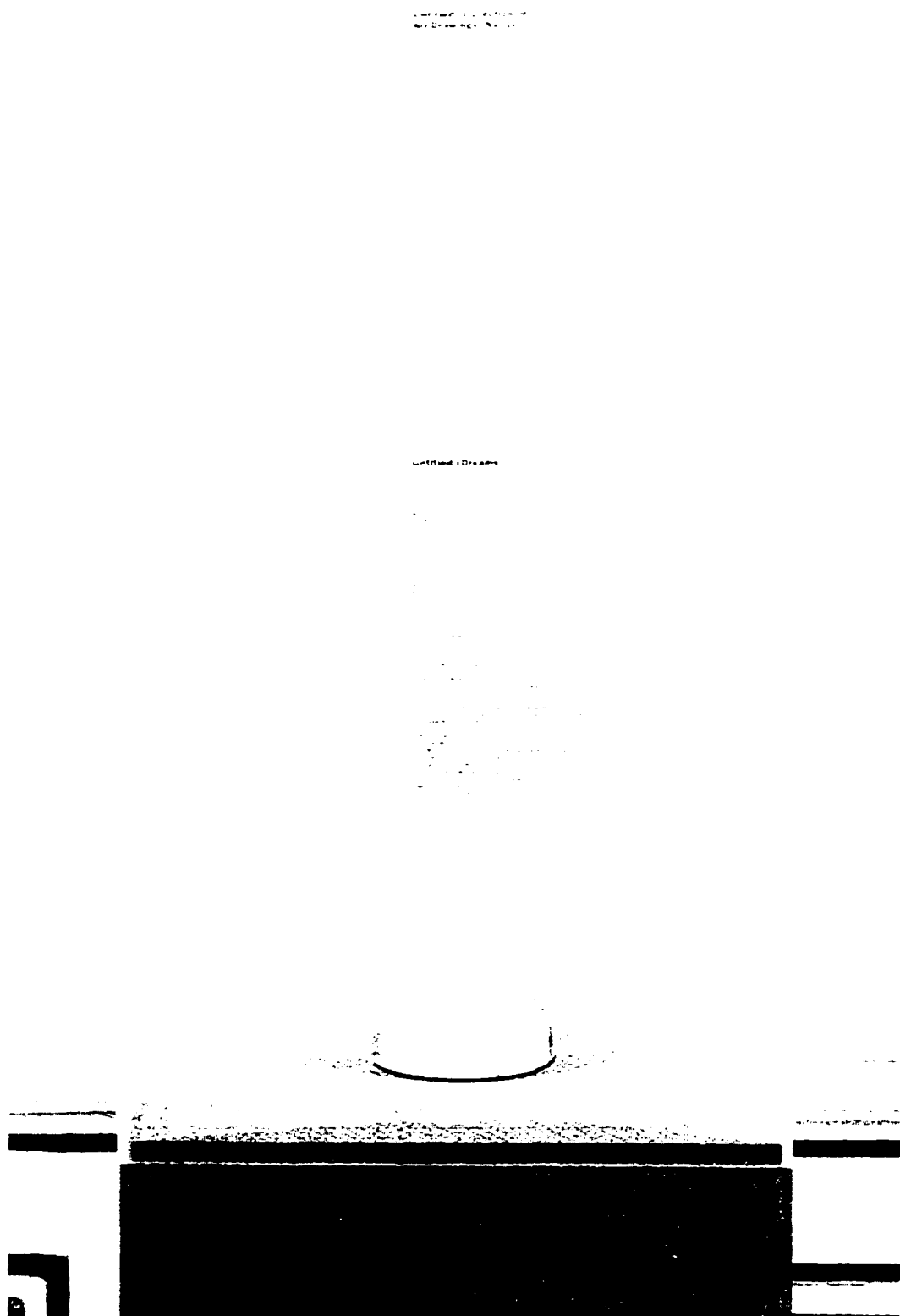


Fig.60 Lawler, *A Spot On The Wall* (Kunstverein, Munich), 1994. Similar installation.

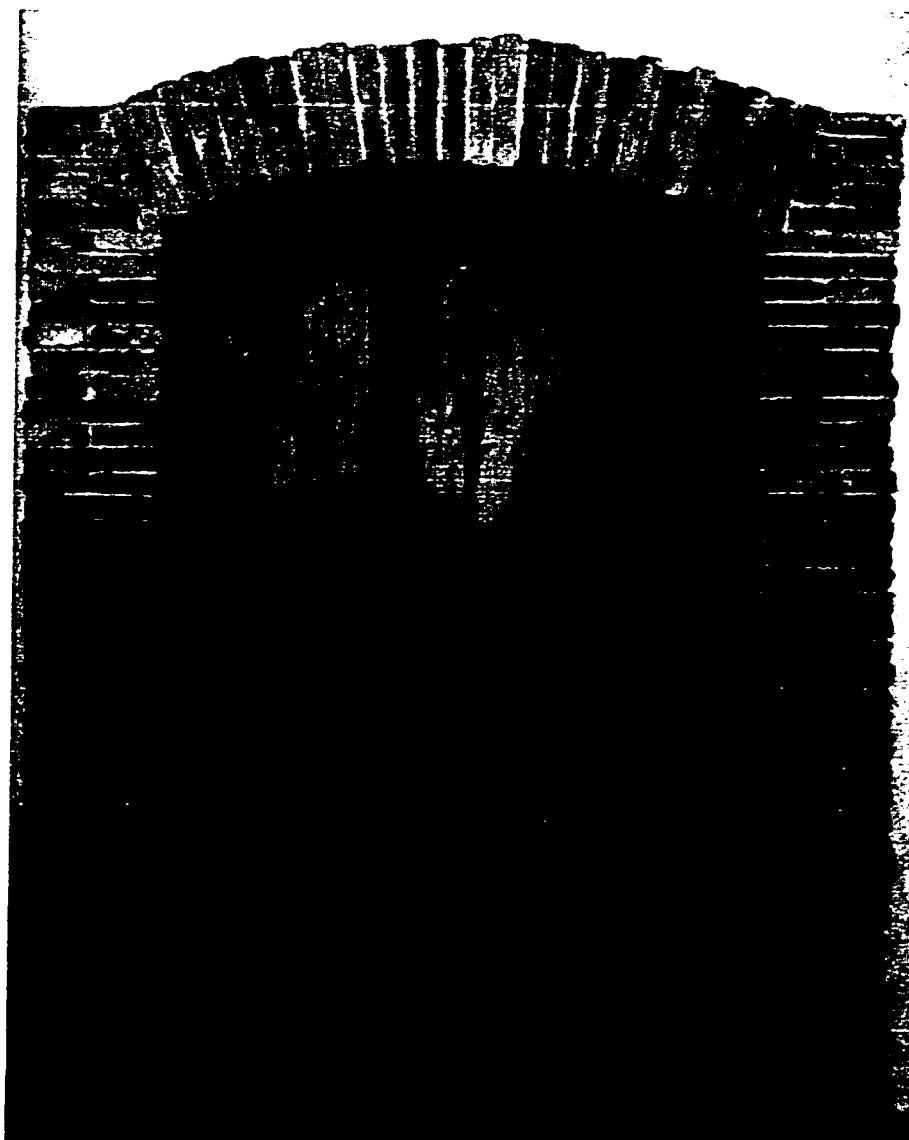


Fig.61 Duchamp, *Door of Given: 1. The Waterfall, 2. The Illuminated Gas*, 1946-66



Fig.62 Lawler, *Untitled (Dreams)*, 1993



Fig.63 Lawler, *Untitled (Martin & Mike)*, 1992

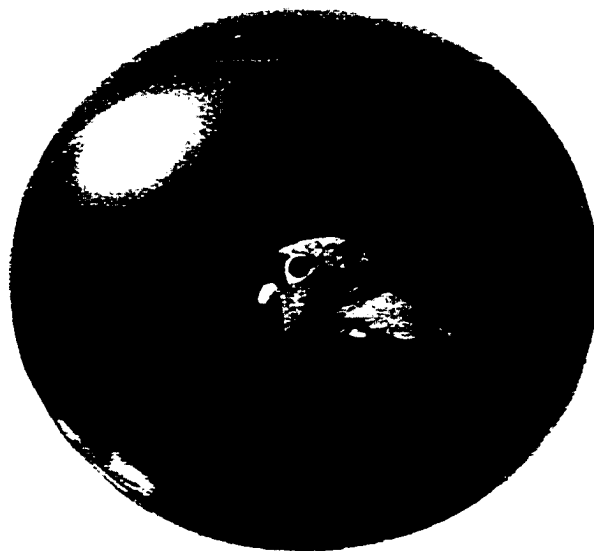


Fig.64 Lawler, *Untitled (Parrot)*, 1982/93

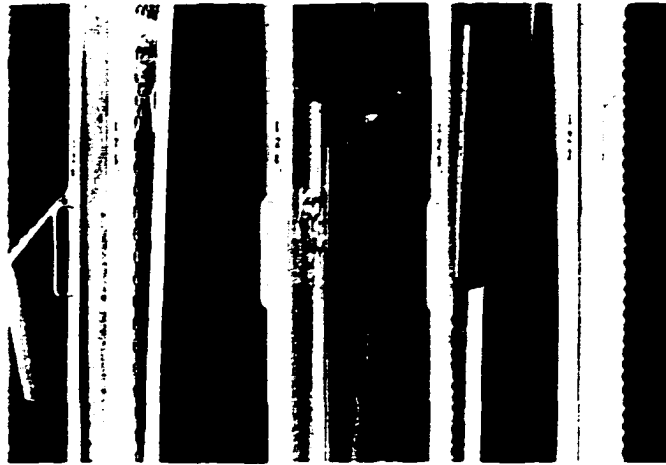


Fig.65 Lawler, Sargent, 1990



Fig.66 Lawler, *Arrangement of Pictures*. 1983

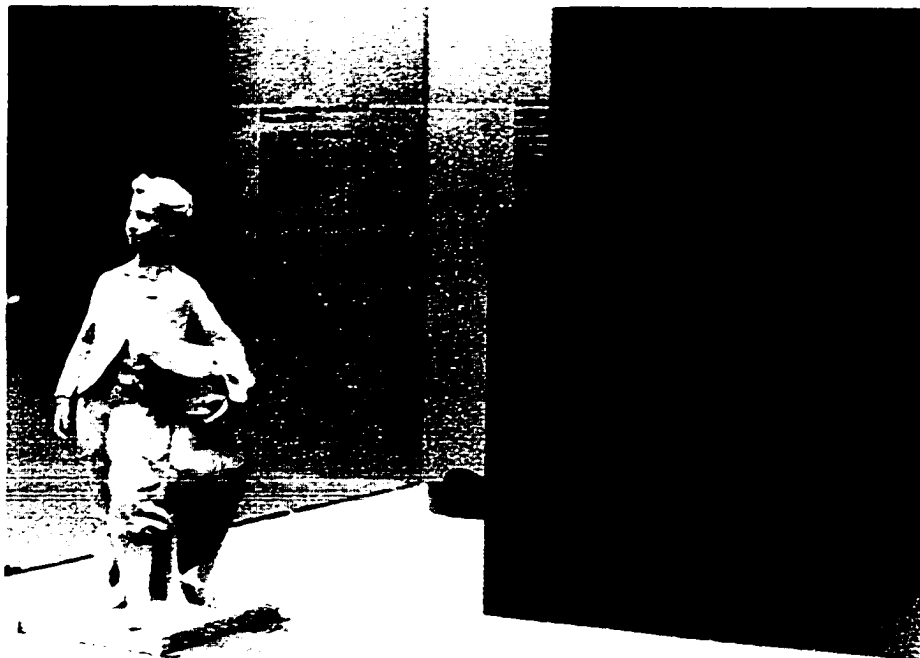


Fig.67 Lawler, *Arrangement of Pictures*, 1983



Fig.68 Lawler, *Arrangement of Pictures*, 1983

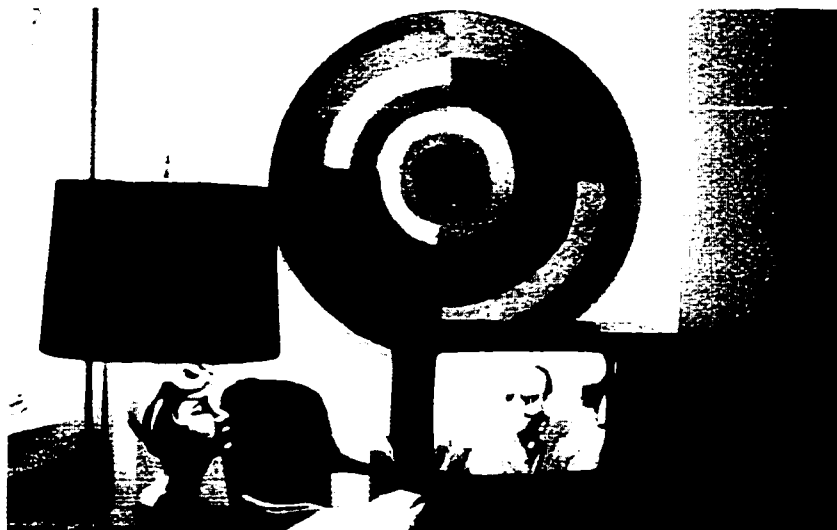


Fig.69 Lawler, *(Stevie Wonder) Livingroom Corner, Arranged by Mr. & Mrs. Burton Tremain, New York City, 1984*



Fig.70 Lawler, *untitled (Warhol Stamps)*, 1984

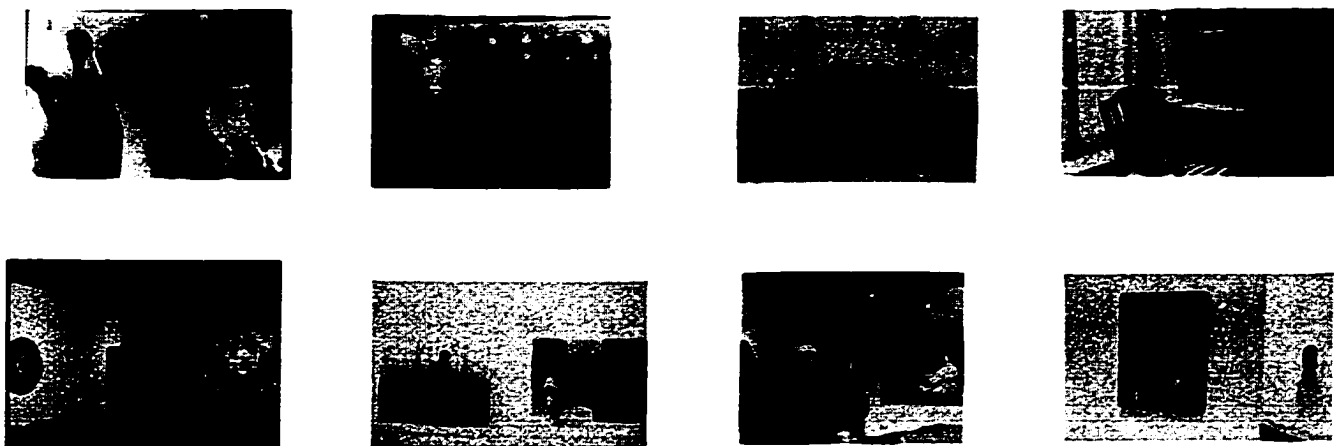


Fig.71 Lawler, Arranged By Tracy Atkinson, Director and Gregor Hedberg, Chief Curator At The Wadsworth Atheneum, 1984

Selected Bibliography: Lucas Samaras

- Ades, Dawn. Dali. Rev.ed. New York: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1995.
- Avgikos, Jan. "Prima Facie Anomalies: Cubes, Pragmata + Trapezoids." Lucas Samaras. New York: PaceWildenstein, 1994.
- Barthes, Roland. Camera Lucida. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981. Originally published as La chambre claire. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1980.
- Barthes, Roland. The Rustle of Language. Translated by Richard Howard. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. Originally published as Le bruissement de la langue. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1984.
- Battcock, Gregory and Nickas, Robert, eds. The Art of Performance: A Critical Anthology. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1984.
- Battcock, Gregory, ed. Idea Art. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1973.
- Battcock, Gregory, ed. Minimal Art, A Critical Anthology. New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc., 1968.
- Berger, John. Ways of Seeing. New York: Viking Press, 1973. Reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1977.
- Bersani, Leo. The Freudian Body: Psychoanalysis and Art. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- Blau, Douglas. "Shiftings: Things Beside Himself," Samaras: Chairs, Heads, Panoramas. New York: The Pace Gallery, 1984.
- Bonfante, Larissa. "Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art." *American Journal of Archaeology* 93 (October 1989) : 543-70.
- Bowie, Malcolm. Freud, Proust and Lacan: Theory as Fiction. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Breton, André. Surrealism and Painting. Translated by Simon Watson Taylor. New York: Icon Editions / Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972. Originally published as Le Surrealisme et la peinture (Paris, Editions Gallimard, 1965).
- Breton, André. Manifestoes of Surrealism. Translated by Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane. Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Paperbacks, 1972. Originally published as Manifestes du Surrealisme (Paris, Jean-Jacques Pauvert, 1962).

- Bryson, Norman. "Gericault and 'Masculinity.'" In Visual Culture, edited by Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey, 228-259. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press / University Press of New England, 1994.
- Carlson, Marvin. Performance, a critical introduction. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Caws, Mary Ann. The Surrealist Look: An Erotics of Encounter. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1997.
- Chadwick, Whitney. Myth in Surrealist Painting, 1929-1939. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980.
- Cooke, Lynne. "Unrequited Dreams, Signs and Insignia," Lucas Samaras. London: Waddington Galleries, 1990.
- Coleman, A.D. Light Readings: A Photography Critic's Writings 1968 - 1978. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Constantine, Mildred and Arthur Drexler. The Object Transformed. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966.
- Copjec, Joan. "The Orthopsychic Subject: Film Theory and the Reception of Lacan." *October* 49 (Summer 1989) : 53-71.
- Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, U.S.A., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Fascicule 2 (U.S.A. 11). Attic Black-figured Kylikes, by Gisela M.A. Richter. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953.
- Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, U.S.A., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Fascicule 3 (U.S.A. 12), Attic Black-figured Amphorae, by Dietrich von Bothmer. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1963.
- Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, U.S.A., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Fascicule 4 (U.S.A. 16). Attic Black-figured Amphorae, by Mary B. Moore and Dietrich von Bothmer. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976.
- Cummings, Paul. Artists in Their Own Words. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979.
- Dor, Joel. Introduction to the Reading of Lacan: The Unconscious Structured Like a Language. Northvale, New Jersey: Jason Aronson, Inc., 1997. Originally published as Introduction a la lecture de Lacan, I: L'inconscient structure comme un langage (Paris: Editions Denoel, 1985).
- Durand, Regis. Lucas Samaras: Photo-Transformations 1973-1976. Paris: Galerie Xippas, 1997.
- Elderfield, John, ed. American Art of the 1960s. New York: The Museum of American Art, 1991.

- Eshleman, Clayton and Bernard Bador, eds. Translated by Clayton Eshleman and Bernard Bador. Watchfiends & Rack Screams: Works From the Final Period, Antonin Artaud. Boston: Exact Change, 1995.
- Feher, Michel, Ramona Naddaff and Nadia Tazi. Fragments for a History of the Human Body, Part Three. New York: Zone, 1989.
- Ferguson, Russell, ed. Art and Film Since 1945: Hall of Mirrors. Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art, 1996.
- Foster, Hal. "Whatever Happened to Postmodernism?" In The Return of the Real, 205- 226. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1996.
- Galassi, Peter. Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1981.
- Glenn, Constance. Lucas Samaras: Sketches, Drawings, Doodles, and Plans. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1985.
- Glimcher, Arnold. Lucas Samaras Photo-Transformations. New York: The Pace Gallery, 1974.
- Glimcher, Arnold. "Lucas Samaras." *Flash Art* 124 (October - November 1985): 40-44.
- Glueck, Grace. "The 20th-Century Artists Most Admired By Other Artists." *Art News* (November 1977): 78-100.
- Glueck, Grace. "Celebrating Lucas Samaras." *The New York Times*, 15 November 1996, C25.
- Goldberg, Roselee. Performance Art From Futurism to the Present. Originally published as Performance: Live Art 1909 to the Present, 1979. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988.
- Gruen, John. "The Apocalyptic Disguises of Lucas Samaras." *Art News* LXXV / 4 (April 1976): 32-37.
- Hanhardt, John G., ed. Video Culture, A Critical Investigation. Layton, Utah: Peregrine Smith Books / Visual Studies Workshop, 1986.
- Heartney, Eleanor. "Through the Mind's Eye: Samaras's Abstractions." *Art in America* (March 1992): 88-93.
- Hughes, Robert. "Menaced Skin." *Time*, 27 November 1972, 64.
- Huxley, Michael and Noel Witts, eds. The Twentieth-Century Performance Reader. New York: Routledge, 1996.

- Indiana, Gary. "Poetic Injustice," Lucas Samaras: Chairs and Drawings. New York: The Pace Gallery, 1987.
- Kaprow, Allan. Assemblage, Environments & Happenings. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1966.
- Kaprow, Allan. The Blurring of Art and Life. Edited by Jeff Kelley. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993.
- Kaufmann, Elisabeth, ed. Translated by Elisabeth Brockmann. Dialog / dialogue Lucas Samaras / Demosthenes Davvetas. Zurich, 1986.
- Kirby, Michael, ed. Happenings. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1965.
- Rosalind E. Krauss. The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1986.
- Kuspit, Donald. "Exhibitionism." *Art in America* LXIX / 3 (March, 1981): 88-90.
- Kuspit, Donald. "Samaras Winged and Wingless, Celestial and Demonic, Anointed and Demented," Samaras: Pastels and Bronzes. New York: Pace Gallery, 1982.
- Kuspit, Donald. "Lucas Samaras's Death Instinct," Samaras. New York: Pace Gallery, 1985.
- Kuspit, Donald. "On Being Boxed In." *Sculpture* (November - December, 1991): 31-37.
- Lacan, Jacques. Écrits, A Selection. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1977. A selection originally published as Écrits (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966.)
- Lacan, Jacques. The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1981. Originally published as "Le Séminaire de Jacques Lacan, Livre XI, 'Les quatre concepts fondamentaux de la psychanalyse'" (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1973).
- Levin, Kim. Lucas Samaras. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1975.
- Lifson, Ben. André Kertész: A Lifetime of Perception. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1982.
- Lifson, Ben. Samaras: The Photographs of Lucas Samaras. New York: Aperture Foundation, 1987.
- Lippard, Lucy R. Six Years: the dematerialization of the art object from 1966 to 1972. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973.

- Magelon, Alex and Norman Zaliberte. Art in Boxes. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1974.
- Mast, Gerald, Marshall Cohen and Leo Braudy, eds. Film Theory and Criticism. 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- McEvelley, Thomas. Lucas Samaras, and Ingrid Sichy. "Age." *Artforum* XXVI / 6 (February 1988): 3 -139.
- McEvelley, Thomas, Donald Kuspit and Roberta Smith. Lucas Samaras, Objects and Subjects 1969 - 1986. New York: Abbeville Press, 1988.
- McShine, Kynaston. Joseph Cornell. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1980.
- Mirzoeff, Nicholas. Bodyscape: Art, Modernity and the Ideal Figure. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Moufarrege, Nicolas A. "Face a Face: Dust, Spit, and Thread: The Pastels of Lucas Samaras." *Arts Magazine* LV 11 / 9 (May 1983): 74-77.
- Pace Gallery. Chair Transformations: Lucas Samaras. New York: Pace Gallery, 1970.
- Pace Gallery. Samaras and Someothers: Matrix. New York: Pace Gallery, 1975.
- Pace Gallery. Samaras: Reconstructions. New York: Pace Gallery, 1980.
- Pace Gallery. Samaras: Pastels and Bronzes. New York: Pace Gallery, 1982.
- Pace Gallery. Lucas Samaras: Boxes and Mirrored Cell. New York: Pace Gallery, 1988.
- Pace Gallery. Kiss Kill, Perverted Geometry, Inedibles, Self-Absorption. New York: Pace Gallery, 1996.
- PaceWildenstein Gallery. Photo-Transformations 1973 -1976. New York: Pace Wildenstein Gallery, 1996.
- Plagens, Peter. "Lucas Samras." *Artforum* (February 1997).
- Potts, Alex. Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Ratcliff, Carter. "Modernism Turned Inside Out: Lucas Samaras' 'Reconstructions.'" *Arts Magazine* LIV / 3 (November 1979): 92-95.
- Ratcliff, Carter. "Lucas Samaras," Sittings. New York: The Pace Gallery, 1980.

- Rose, Barbara. "Lucas Samaras: the Self as Icon and Environment." *Arts Magazine* LII / 6 (February 1978): 144-149.
- Rose, Barbara. "Barbara Rose Interviews Lucas Samaras," Samaras: Reconstructions. New York: The Pace Gallery, 1978.
- Rose, Jacqueline. Sexuality in the Field of Vision. London: Verso, 1986.
- Rowell, Margit. Antonin Artaud, Works on Paper. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1996.
- Samaras, Lucas. "Autopolaroid." *Art in America* (November - December 1970) : 66-84.
- Samaras, Lucas. Samaras Album: Autointerview, Autobiography, Autopolaroid. New York: The Whitney Museum of American Art and Pace Editions, 1971.
- Samaras, Lucas. "On the film 'Self.'" Opus International (May-June 1973) : 27-31.
- Samaras, Lucas. Lucas Samaras. New York: The Whitney Museum of American Art. 1973.
- Samaras, Lucas. "Samaras 1974: March 3 - April 13, 1975." New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1975.
- Samaras, Lucas. Crude Delights. New York: Pace Gallery Publications, 1980.
- Samaras, Lucas. "The Marketplace." *Artforum* XXIII / 10 (Summer 1985): 62-69.
- Samaras, Lucas. Slices of Abstraction, Slivers of Passion, and / or Mere Decor. New York: Pace Gallery, 1991.
- Sandford, Mariellen R., ed. Happenings and Other Acts. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Schiff, Gert. Images of Horror and Fantasy. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1978.
- Schjeldahl, Peter. "The Wizard in the Tower," Lucas Samaras. New York: Pace / MacGill Gallery, 1991.
- Schapiro, Meyer. Modern Art, 19th and 20th Centuries. New York: George Braziller, 1978.
- Schneider Adams, Laurie. Art and Psychoanalysis. New York: Icon Editions, 1994.
- Shestack, Melvin B. and J. Nebraska Gifford. "Q & A: Lucas Samaras." *American Photographer* (February 1982): 81-83.

- Sichy, Ingrid. "The Samaras Spectrum." *House & Garden* (December 1990): 124-128.
- Silverman, Kaja. "Fassbinder and Lacan: A Reconsideration of Gaze, Look, and Image." In Visual Culture, edited by Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey, 272-301. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press / University Press of New England, 1994.
- Smith, Roberta. "Samaras Flagrante." *The Village Voice* XXIX / 6 (7 February 1984).
- Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1997.
- Stewart, Andrew. Art, Desire, and The Body in Ancient Greece. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Stich, Sidra. Anxious Visions, Surrealist Art. New York / Berkeley: University Art Museum, Berkeley / Abbeville Press, 1990.
- Summers, David. "Form and Gender." In Visual Culture, edited by Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey, 384-411. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press / University Press of New England, 1994.
- Sussman, Elisabeth, ed. on the Passage of a few people through a rather brief moment in time: The Situationist International 1957 - 1972. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1989.
- Szarkowski, John. The Photographer's Eye. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966.
- Szarkowski, John. Photography Until Now. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1939.
- Van Tilborgh, Evert van Uitert Louis and Sjraar van Heugten. Vincent van Gogh: Paintings. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh, 1990.
- Wallis, Brian, ed. Art After Modernism: Rethinking Representations. New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art / David R. Godine, Publishers, Inc., 1984.

Selected Bibliography: David Levinthal

Archives

Capa, Robert. **Master Prints, vols. II - V. Contact Sheets, Books 1 - 22.** Robert Capa Archive. International Center of Photography, New York City.

Film Still Archive. The Museum of Modern Art, New York City.

Levinthal, David. **Archives: combat toy collection, photographs, library, video library.** New York City.

Steichen, Edward. **Naval Photographs.** The Museum of Modern Art, New York City.

Russia At War. International Center of Photography, New York City.

Articles and Books

Aiger, Carl. "Mein Kampf/Hitler Moves East." *EIKON: Internationale Zeitschrift Fur Photographie & Mediakunst.* August 1995, 94-95.

Aletti, Vince. "Valley of the Dolls." *The Village Voice.* 21 May 1991, 95.

Barnes, Lucinda. Centric 35:David Levinthal. Long Beach, California: University Art Museum, California State University, 1989.

Barthes, Roland. Camera Lucida. Translated by Richard Howard. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981. Originally published as La Chambre Claire (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1980).

Barthes, Roland. Elements of Semiology. Translated by Annette Lavers and Colin Smith. New York: Hill and Wang, 1973. Originally published as Elements de Semiology (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1964).

Barthes, Roland. Mythologies. Translated by Annette Lavers. New York: Hill and Wang, 1972. Originally published as Mythologies (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1957).

Bartov, Omer. Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis and War in the Third Reich. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Basinger, Jeanine. The World War II Combat Film: Anatomy of a Genre. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.

Baudrillard, Jean. Simulacra and Simulation. Translated by Sheila Faria Glaser. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994. Originally published as Simulacres et Simulation (Paris: Editions Galilee, 1981).

- Baudrillard, Jean. Simulations. Translated by Paul Foss, Paul Patton and Philip Beitchman. New York: Semiotext(e), 1983.
- Bazin, Andre. What Is Cinema? Volume I. Translated by Hugh Gray. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967. Originally published as Que-est-ce que le Cinema? (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1958-1965).
- Bazin, Andre. What Is Cinema? Volume II. Translated by Hugh Gray. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. Originally published as Que-est-ce que le Cinema? (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1958-1965).
- Bekker, Cajus. The Luftwaffe War Diaries. Translated by Frank Ziegler. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1968.
- Benjamin, Walter. "A Short History of Photography." In Classic Essays on Photography, ed. Alan Trachtenberg, 199-216. New Haven, Conn.: Leete's Island Books, 1980.
- Berger, John. About Looking. New York: Pantheon Books, c.1980. Reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1991.
- Berry, Wendell. "Property, Patriotism and National Defense." In The Return of the Hero. New York: Aperture, 1988.
- Boorstin, Daniel J. The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America. New York: Atheneum, 1961. Reprint. New York: Vintage Books, 1992.
- Bourke-White, Margaret. Shooting the Russian War. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1942.
- Brooks, Rosetta. David Levinthal: American Beauties. New York: Laurence Miller Gallery, 1990.
- Camera Austria. David Levinthal: Hitler Moves East: A Graphic Chronicle, 1941-43. 33/34, 1990, 49-56.
- Capa, Cornell and Whelan, Richard. Robert Capa: Testimony Against War. Tokyo: Magnum Photos, 1995.
- Capa, Robert. Death in the Making. Translated by Jay Allen. New York: Covici, Friede, 1938.
- Capa, Robert. Images of War. New York: Grossman Publishers, Inc., 1964.
- Capa, Robert and Steinbeck, John. A Russian Journal. New York: Viking, 1948.
- Capa, Robert. Slightly Out Of Focus. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947.
- Carell, Paul. Hitler Moves East 1941-1943. Translated by Ewald Osers. Boston:

- Little, Brown and Company, 1964.
- Carell, Paul. Scorched Earth: The Russian-German War 1943-1944. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970.
- Cargas, Harry James. Shadows of Auschwitz: A Christian Response to the Holocaust. Denver, Colo.: Stonehenge Books, 1981. Reprint, New York: Crossroad, 1992.
- Carney, Ray. American Vision: The Films of Frank Capra. London: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Reprint, Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press/University Press of New England, 1996.
- Center of Military History, United States Army. The United States Army in World War II. Pictorial Record: The War Against Germany: Europe and Adjacent Areas. Washington, D.C.: Center for Military History, 1951. Reprint, Washington, D.C.: Center for Military History, 1989.
- Center for Military History, United States Army. The United States Army in World War II. Pictorial Record: The War Against Germany: Italy, the Mediterranean and Adjacent Areas. Washington, D.C.: Center for Military History, 1951. Reprint, Washington, D.C.: Center for Military History, 1988.
- Chuikov, Marshall Vasili Ivanovitch. The Battle for Stalingrad. Translated by Howard Silver. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.
- Ciano, Count Galeazzo. The Ciano Diaries 1939-1943. Edited by Hugh Gibson. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1946.
- Clark, Alan. Barbarossa: The Russian-German Conflict, 1941-45. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1965. Reprint, New York: Quill, 1985.
- Coleman, A.D. "Hitler Moves East Turns Fourteen." *Camera & Darkroom*, January 1992, 54-56.
- Coleman, A.D. "The Image in Question." *Center Quarterly*, Summer 1988, 4-9.
- Coleman, A.D. Light Readings: A Photography Critic's Writings 1968-1978. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979. Reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Cork, Richard. A Bitter Truth: Avant-Garde Art and the Great War. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Crane, Aimee, ed. Art in the Armed Forces: Pictured By Men In Action. New York: Hyperion Press, 1944.
- Crow, Thomas. The Rise of the Sixties: American and European Art in the Era of Dissent. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996.

- Deming, Barbara. Running Away From Myself: A Dream Portrait of America Drawn From the Films of the 40s. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1969.
- Doherty, Thomas. Projections of War: Hollywood, American Culture and World War II. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Dunne, John. The Studio. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968. Reprint, New York: Touchstone, 1979.
- Edey, Maitland and Sullivan, Constance. Great Photographic Essays from Life. Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1979.
- Ehrenburg, Ilya. The Tempering of Russia. Translated by Alexander Kaun. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944.
- Erickson, John. The Road to Stalingrad. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.
- Eauclaire, Sally. "Hitler: A Chronicle of Horror." *Rochester Democrat & Chronicle*, 19 February 1978, 1E, 4E.
- Faber, Monika and Rugoff, Ralph. Sofort-Bild-Geschichten/Instant-Imaging-Stories. Vienna: Osterreichisches Fotoarchiv im Museum moderner Kunst, 1992.
- Farova, Anna, ed. Robert Capa. New York: Paragraphic Books, 1969.
- Fontana, Dennis. The War Toys 2 Kriegsspielzeug: The Story of/Die Geschichte von Lineol. London: New Cavendish Books, 1991.
- Galassi, Peter and Kismaric, Susan, eds. Pictures of the Times: A Century of Photography from The New York Times. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1996.
- Gilbert, Felix. Hitler Directs His War: The Secret Records of His Daily Military Conferences, Selected and Annotated, from the Manuscript in the University of Pennsylvania Library. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950.
- Grant, Barry Keith, ed. Film Genre Reader. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986.
- Grundberg, Andy. "Where Blurred Focus Makes Sharp Statements." *The New York Times*, 20 December 1987, 39, 42.
- Grundberg, Andy. "Image and Idea." *The New York Times Magazine*, 30 August, 1987, 74, 117.
- Grundberg, Andy and Gauss, Kathleen McCarthy. Photography and Art Interactions Since 1946. New York: Abbeville Press, 1987.
- Guderian, Heinz General. Panzer Leader. Translated by Constantine Fitzgibbon. New

- York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1952.
- Haupt, Werner. The Battle For Moscow 1941-42: An Illustrated Record of the German Attack on Russia in World War 2. Surrey, England: Almark Publishing Co. Ltd, 1972.
- James, David E. Allegories of Cinema: American Film in the Sixties. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Janis, Eugenia Parry. The Photographs of Gustave Le Gray. Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago and The University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Jones, James. WWII. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1975.
- Karpov, Vladimir; Drozdov, Georgii; and Ryabho, Evgenii. Russia At War. London: Stanley Paul, 1987.
- Keegan, John. The Second World War. New York : Penguin Books, 1990.
- Kellner, Douglas. Media Culture: Cultural Studies, Identity and Politics Between the Modern and the Postmodern. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Kozloff, Max. "Hapless Figures in an Artificial Storm." *Artforum*, November, 1989, 132.
- Krauss, Rosalind E. The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths. Cambridge, Mass.: The Mit Press, 1986.
- Levinthal, David and Trudeau, Garry.
- Liddell Hart, B.H. The German Generals Talk. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1948.
- Mann, Thomas. This War. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940.
- Mauldin, Bill. Up Front. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1945. Facsimile, New York: W.W. Norton, 1995.
- Mayes, Stephen, ed. World Press Photo: This Critical Mirror. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996.
- Mellenthin, F. W. von. Panzer Battles 1939-1940. London: Cassell, 1955.
- Moody, Sidney C., Jr. War in Europe. Novato, Ca.: The Associated Press and Presidio Press, 1993.
- Moyes, Norman B. Battle Eye: A History of American Combat Photography. New York: Metro Books, 1996.

- Mrazkova, Daniela and Remes, Vladimir, eds. The Russian War: 1941-1945. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1977.
- Mullen, Robert W. Blacks in America's Wars. New York: Pathfinder, 1973.
- Parkinson, David. History of Film. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1995.
- Prince, Richard. Why I Go To The Movies Alone. New York: Tanam Press, 1983.
- Rhodes, Anthony. Edited by Victor Margolin. Propaganda, The Art of Persuasion: World War II. London: Angus & Robertson Publishers, 1975.
- Roeder, George H., Jr. The Censored War: American Visual Experience During World War II. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993.
- Salisbury, Harrison E. The 900 Days: The Siege of Leningrad. New York: Harper & Row, 1969. Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, Inc., 1985.
- Schatz, Thomas. The Genius of the System: Hollywood Filmmaking in the Studio Era. New York: Pantheon Books, 1989. Reprint, New York: Metropolitan Books. 1996.
- Scheibert, Horst. Panzer Grenadier Division Grossdeutschland. Edited by Bruce Culver. Warren, Michigan: Squadron/Signal Publications, Inc., 1977.
- Scherman, David E. Life Goes To War. New York: Little, Brown and Co., 1977.
- Sheehan, Neil. A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam. New York: Vintage Books, 1989.
- Sherry, Michael S. In the Shadow of War: the United States since in 1930s. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. "Photography at the Dock." The Art of Memory/The Loss of History. New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1985, 48-52.
- Steichen, Edward. The Blue Ghost. New York: Hatcourt Brace, 1947.
- Steichen, Edward, Captain, USNR. Power in the Pacific, A Navy Picture Record Compiled by Captain Edward Steichen, USNR. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1945.
- Steichen, Edward. The Family of Man. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955.
- Steichen, Edward, ed. United States Navy War Photographs: Pearl Harbor to Tokyo Bay. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc. 1956.
- Sultan, Terrie. Surrogate Selves: David Levinthal, Cindy Sherman, Laurie Simmons.

Washington, D.C.:The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1989.

Szarkowski, John, ed. From the Picture Press. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1973.

The Library of America. Reporting World War II. Part 1: American Journalism 1938-1944. Part 2: American Journalism 1944-1946. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1995.

Virilio, Paul. War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception. Translated by Patrick Camiller. New York: Verso, 1989. Originally published as Guerre et cinema (Paris: Cahiers du cinema/Editions de l'Etoile, 1984).

Von Manstein, Field Marshall Erich. Lost Victories. Edited and translated by Anthony G. Powell,. Chicago: Henry Regener Company, 1958.

Warhol, Andy and Hackett, Pat. Popism, The Warhol '60s. New York: Harcourt Brace & Company. 1980; reprinted., New York: Harcourt Brace, 1990.

Warshow, Robert. The Immediate Experience: Movies, Comics, Theatre and Other Aspects of Popular Culture. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1962.

Weiss, Jeffrey. The Popular Culture of Modern Art: Picasso, Duchamp, and Avant-Gardism. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Werth, Alexander. Moscow War Diary. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942.

Whelan, Richard. Robert Capa: A Biography. New York: Knopf, 1985. Reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.

Wollen, Peter. Raiding the IceBox: Reflections on Twentieth-Century Culture. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Wollen, Peter. Readings and Writings. London: Verso Editions, 1982.

Filmography¹

All Quiet On The Western Front, 1930.

Director: Lewis Milestone. Screenplay: George Abbott. With: Lew Ayres, Louis Wolheim.

Triumph Of The Will, 1935/36.

Director: Leni Riefenstahl.

Sergeant York, 1941.

Director: Howard Hawks. Screenplay: Abem Finkel and Harry Chandler; Howard Koch and John Huston. With: Walter Brennan, Joan Leslie, Gary Cooper.

Casablanca, 1942.

Director: Michael Curtiz. Screenplay: Julius J. and Philip G. Epstein and Howard Koch. With: Humphrey Bogart, Ingrid Bergman, Sidney Greenstreet, Peter Lorre, Claude Rains.

December 7th: The Movie, 1942.

Director: John Ford and Gregg Toland. With: John Huston, Dana Andrews, Harry Davenport, Paul Hurst.

For Whom The Bell Tolls, 1943.

Director: Sam Wood. Screenplay: Dudley Nichols. With: Gary Cooper, Ingrid Bergman.

The Battle of Russia, The Nazi March Frozen: Why We Fight.

Director: Frank Capra. Special Service Division, Army Service Forces War Department.

The Memphis Belle, 1944.

Documentary. Director: Lt. Col. William Wyler. Distributed by Paramount for the War Department and the Office of War Information.

Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo, 1944.

Director: Mervyn LeRoy. Screenplay: Dalton Trumbo. With Van Johnson, Spencer Tracy, Robert Walker, Phyllis Thaxter.

They Were Expendable, 1945.

Director: John Ford. Screenplay: Frank Wead. With: Robert Montgomery, John Wayne, Donna Reed, Jack Holt, Ward Bond.

A Walk In The Sun, 1946.

Director: Lewis Mileston. Screenplay: Robert Rossen. With Dana Andrews, Richard Conte, John Ireland, Norman Lloyd.

Sink The Bismarck, 1960.

Director: Lewis Gilbert. Screenplay: Edmund H. North. With: Kenneth More, Dana Wynter.

The Longest Day, 1962.

Director: Ken Annakin, Andrew Marton, and Bernhard Wicki. Screenplay: Cornelius Ryan and Romain Gary, James Jones, David Pursall, Jack Seddon. With: John Wayne, Robert Mitchum, Henry Fonda, Sean Connery, Richard Todd, Richard Burton.

Midway, 1976.

Director: Jack Smight. Screenplay: Donald S. Sanford. With: Charlton Heston, Henry Fonda, James Coburn, Glenn Ford, Robert Mitchum.

¹ I am indebted to Jeanine Basinger for the format for this filmography.

Selected Bibliography: William Wegman

- Angell, Callie. The Films of Andy Warhol: Part II. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1994.
- Armstrong, Elizabeth and Joan Rothfuss. In the Spirit of Fluxus. Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1993.
- Armstrong, Richard and Richard Marshall, ed. The New Sculpture 1965 - 1975. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1990.
- Aupetitallot, Yves, Bernard Blistene, and Peter Schjeldahl. William Wegman. Saint-Etienne, France: Maison de la Culture et de la Communication de Saint-Etienne, 1988.
- Bandy, Mary Lea and John G. Hanhardt. The Films of Andy Warhol: An Introduction. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1988.
- Battcock, Gregory, ed. Idea Art. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1973.
- Bartman, William. The portraits speak: Chuck Close in conversation with 27 of his subjects. Edited by Joanne Kesten. New York: A.R.T. Press, 1997.
- Bear, Liza. "'Man Ray, Do You Want To... ' An Interview With William Wegman." *Avalanche* 7 (Winter / Spring 1973) : 40.
- Berger, John. "Why Look At Animals?" In About Looking, 3-28. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980; Vintage International, 1991.
- Bois, Yve-Alain. Edward Ruscha, Romance With Liquids, Paintings 1966 -1969. New York: Rizzoli, 1993.
- Bonnefoy, Yves. Henri Cartier-Bresson: Photographer. Paris: Delpire Editeur, 1979; reprint, New York: Bulfinch Press, 1992.
- Breder, Hans and Herman Rapaport, eds. "The Luminous Object: video art / video theory." *Visible Language* 29 /2 (1995).
- Buchloh, Benjamin H.D., ed. Dan Graham, Video-Architecture-Television, Writings on Video and Video Works 1970 - 1978. Halifax, Canada and New York: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design / New York University Press, 1979.
- Burgin, Victor. Two Essays On Art Photography And Semiotics. Robert Self (Publications): 1976.

- Chang, Chris. Reel Work: Artists' Film and Video of the 1970s. Miami, Florida: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1996.
- Crimp, Douglas, ed. Joan Jonas, Scripts and Descriptions 1968 - 1982. Berkeley, California and Eindhoven, Holland: The University Art Museum, Berkeley and The Stedelijk Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven, 1983
- Crow, Thomas. Modern Art in the Common Culture. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Crow, Thomas. The Rise of the Sixties, American and European Art in the Era of Dissent. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, 1996.
- Cubitt, Sean. Videography, Video Media as Art and Culture. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.
- de Duve, Thierry, Arielle Pelenc and Boris Groys. Jeff Wall. London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1996.
- Foster, Hal, ed. The Anti-Aesthetic, Essays On Postmodern Culture. Port Townsend, Washington: Bay Press, 1983.
- Frank, Robert. The Americans. With an introduction by Jack Kerouac. Paris: Robert Delpire, 1958; New York: Grove Press, 1959; reprint, New York: SCALO Publishers / National Gallery of Art, 1995.
- Freud, Sigmund. Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious. Translated and edited by James Strachey. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989.
- Fuchs, Rudi, ed. Joan Jonas, Works 1968 - 1994. Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1994.
- Galassi, Peter. Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Early Work. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1987.
- Goldstein, Ann and Anne Rorimer. Reconsidering the Object of Art: 1965 - 1975. Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art, 1995.
- Halbreich, Kathy and Neal Benezra. Bruce Nauman. Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1994.
- Hanhardt, John G. Andy Warhol's Video and Television. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1991.
- Hanhardt, John G. "Beyond Illusion: American Film and Video Art 1965 - 75." In The New Sculpture 1965 - 75: Between Geometry and Gesture, ed. Richard Armstrong and Richard Marshall, 29-40. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1990.

- Hanhardt, John G. "De-collage / Collage: Notes Toward a Reexamination of the Origins of Video Art." In Illuminating Video, An Essential Guide to Video Art, ed. Doug Hall and Sally Jo Fifer, 71-80. New York: Aperture Foundation, 1990.
- Hanhardt, John G. "Film and Video in the Age of Television." In Image World, Art and Media Culture, ed. Marvin Heiferman, Lisa Phillips with John G. Hanhardt, 95- 111. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1990.
- Hanhardt, John G., ed. Nam June Paik. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1982.
- Hanhardt, John G. "Re-framing Time and Place: The Art of William Anastasi." In William Anastasi, A Retrospective, 1960 - 1995, ed. Elsa Longhauser, 23-26. Philadelphia: Moore College of Art and Design, 1995.
- Hanhardt, John G. and Maria Christina Villasenor, eds. "Video Art." *Art Journal* 54 / 4 (Winter 1995).
- Jameson, Frederic. Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism. Durham: Duke University Press, 1991.
- Karshan, Donald. Conceptual Art and Conceptual Aspects. New York: New York Cultural Center, 1970.
- Kozloff, Max. "Pygmalion Reversed." *Artforum* XIV / 3 (November 1975) : 30-37.
- Krauss, Rosalind. "Overcoming the Limits of Matter: On Revising Minimalism." In Studies in Modern Art, vol. 1, American Art of the 1960s, ed. John Elderfield, 123-141. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1991.
- Krauss, Rosalind. "Video: The Aesthetics of Narcissism." In Video Culture, A Critical Investigation, ed. John G. Hanhardt, 179-191. Rochester, New York: Visual Studies Workshop Press / Peregrine Smith Books, 1990.
- Kunz, Martin, Alain Sayag, Peter Schjeldahl, William Wegman, and Peter Weiermair. William Wegman: Paintings, Drawings, Photographs, Videotapes. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990.
- Kurtz, Bruce D. Contemporary Art 1965 - 1990. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1992.
- Lavin, Maud. "Notes on William Wegman." *Artforum* XIII / 7 (March 1975) : 44-47.
- Livingston, Jane. William Wegman. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1973.

- Lyons, Lisa and Kim Levin. Wegman's World. Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1983.
- Marshall, Richard. Edward Ruscha. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1990.
- McShine, Kynaston L. INFORMATION. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1970.
- Metz, Christian. The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and the Cinema. Translated by Celia Britton, Annwyl Williams, Ben Brewster and Alfred Guzzetti. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- Monte, James and Marcia Tucker. Anti-Illusion: Procedures / Materials. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1969.
- Morley, David. "Television: Not so much a visual medium, more a visible object." In Visual Culture, ed. Chris Jenks, 170-189. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Muybridge, Eadweard. Animals in Motion. Edited by Lewis S. Brown. Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1957.
- Nemser, Cindy. "Subject - Object Body Art." *Arts Magazine* (September-October 1971) : 38-42.
- Owens, Craig. "William Wegman's Psychoanalytic Vaudeville." *Art in America* LXXI / 3 (March 1983) : 100-109.
- Paul, Frederic. Robert Cumming, Photographic Works : 1969-80. Translated by Jonathan Bass. Limoges: Fonds Regional D'Art Contemporain Limousin, 1994.
- Paul, Frederic. Douglas Huebler << Variable >>, etc. Translated by Jonathan Bass. Limoges: Fonds Regional D'Art Contemporain Limousin, 1993.
- Paul, Frederic. William Wegman : Photographic Works / L'oeuvre photographique 1969 - 1976. Translated by Jonathan Bass. Limoges: Fonds Regional D'Art Contemporain Limousin, 1991.
- Robbins, D.A. "William Wegman's Pop Gun." *Arts Magazine* LVIII / 7 (March 1984) : 116-121.
- Rosenblum, Robert. The Dog In Art, From Rococo to Post-Modernism. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1988.
- Rosler, Martha. "Video: Shedding the Utopian Moment." In Illuminating Video, An Essential Guide to Video Art, ed. Doug Hall and Sally Jo Fifer, 31-50. New York: Aperture Foundation, 1990.

- Ruscha, Ed. Twentysix Gasoline Stations. (1962) Alhambra, California: The Cunningham Press, 1963.
- Ruscha, Ed. Various Small Fires And Milk. (1964) Los Angeles: Anderson, Ritchie & Simon, 1964.
- Ruscha, Ed. Every Building On The Sunset Strip. 1966.
- Ruscha, Ed. Thirtyfour Parking Lots in Los Angeles. 1967.
- Ruscha, Ed. Royal Road Test. 1967.
- Ruscha, Ed. Business Cards. 1968.
- Ruscha, Ed. Crackers. Hollywood, California: Heavy Industry Publications, 1969.
- Ruscha, Ed. Real Estate Opportunities. 1970.
- Ruscha, Ed. Records. Hollywood, California: Heavy Industry Publications, 1971.
- Schimmel, Paul, ed. American Narrative / Story Art: 1967 - 1977. Houston, Texas: Contemporary Arts Museum, 1977.
- Schjeldahl, Peter. William Wegman. Monterrey, Mexico: Museo de Monterrey, Mexico. 1993.
- Schneemann, Carolee. More Than Meat Joy, Performance Works and Selected Writings. Edited by Bruce R. McPherson. New York: DOCUMENTEXT, 1997.
- Schwartz, Sanford. Review of Man's Best Friend: Photographs and Drawings by William Wegman and Wegman's World by Lisa Lyons and Kim Levin. *The New York Review* (August 18 1989) : 44-45.
- Shapiro, Gary. Earthwards, Robert Smithson and Art after Babel. Los Angeles: University of California Press, Berkeley, 1997.
- Sharp, Willoughby. "Body Works." *Avalanche* (Fall 1970) : 8-17.
- Sharp, Willoughby. "'...a kind of a Huh?' An Interview with Ed Ruscha" *Avalanche* 7 (Winter / Spring 1973) : 30.
- Sharp, Willoughby. "Place and Process." *Artforum* VIII / 3 (November 1969) : 46-49.
- Sharp, Willoughby. "William Wegman." *Avalanche* (Winter 1971) : 58-69.

- Sichy, Ingrid. "Projects: William Wegman." *Artforum* XVIII / 6 (February 1980) : 26- 28.
- Smith, Michael and William Wegman. "The World of Photography." *Artforum* XXV / 2 (October 1986) : 106-111.
- Szarkowski, John. Mirrors and Windows, American Photography Since 1960. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1978.
- Szarkowski, John. Winogrand, Figments From The Real World. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1988.
- Vanderlip, Dianne Perry. Recorded Activities. Philadelphia: Moore College of Art, 1970.
- Varnedoe, Kirk and Adam Gopnik. High & Low, Modern Art and Popular Culture. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1990.
- Wall, Jeff. "'Marks of Indifference' : Aspects of Photography In, Or As, Conceptual Art." In Reconsidering The Object of Art : 1965 - 1975, ed. Ann Goldstein and Anne Rorimer, 246 - 268. Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art, 1995.
- Wegman, William. The Making of Little Red Riding Hood. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1994.
- Wegman, William. Man's Best Friend. With an introduction by Laurance Wieder. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1982.
- Wegman, William. \$19.84. Buffalo, New York: CEPA, 1984.
- Wegman, William. Puppies. New York: Hyperion, 1997.
- Wegman, William. why draw? New York: Sperone Westwater, 1990.
- Wegman, William. William Wegman: Videotapes, Photographic Works, Arrangements. Claremont, California: Pomona College Art Gallery, 1971.
- Wegman, William. "Untitled: Color photograph, Polaroid Land 20 x 24 camera on Polacolor II film." *Artforum* XIX / 8 (April 1981) : Cover.
- Wieder, Laurance. William Wegman. Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art, 1982.
- Weiner, Lawrence. Displacement. New York: Dia Center for the Arts, 1991.
- Woolf, Virginia. Flush, A Biography. New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1933; Harcourt Brace & Company, 1983.

Selected Bibliography: Cindy Sherman

Armstrong, Carol. "That Old F...Word, Or: Objects, Theory and What They Can Do For One Another." Annandale-on-Hudson, New York: Bard Center For Curatorial Studies, 1994. Photocopied.

Avgikos, Jan. "Cindy Sherman: Burning Down the House." *Artforum* 31 (January 1993) 74-79.

Badger, Gerry. *American Images: Photography 1945-1980*. London: The Barbican Art Gallery, 1985.

Basinger, Jeanine. *American Cinema, One Hundred Years of Filmmaking*. New York: Rizzoli, 1994.

Barents, Els. *Cindy Sherman*. Munich: The Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam and Schirmer / Mosel, 1982.

Barthes, Roland. *S / Z*. Translated by Richard Miller. New York: Hill and Wang, 1974. Originally published as *S / Z* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1970).

Barthes, Roland. "The Face of Garbo." In *Mythologies*. Translated by Annette Lavers. New York: Hill & Wang, 1972. Originally published as *Mythologies* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1957).

Bellour, Raymond with Mary Lea Bandy, ed. *Jean-Luc Goddard, Son + Image 1974 - 1991*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1992.

Bender, Gretchen. "Interview With Cindy Sherman." *Bomb Magazine* 43 (Winter 1987): 20-24.

Biennial Exhibition. *Catalogue*. New York: Whitney Museum of Contemporary Art, 1983.

Biennial Exhibition. *Catalogue*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1985.

Biennial Exhibition. *Catalogue*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1991.

Biennial Exhibition. *Catalogue*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1993.

Biennial Exhibition. *Catalogue*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1995.

Bordwell, David. *On the History of Film Style*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997.

- Borzello, Frances. Seeing Ourselves, Women's Self-portraits. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998.
- Brehm, Margrit. "The Body and Its Surrogates." In Cindy Sherman. Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 1996.
- Brougher, Kerry and Russell Ferguson, ed. Art and Film Since 1945, Hall of Mirrors. Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art, 1996.
- Bryson, Norman. "The Ideal and the Object." *Parkett*, no. 29 (1991): 91-102.
- Cathcart, Linda L. Cindy Sherman: Photographs. Houston, Texas: Contemporary Arts Museum, 1980.
- Caujolle, Christian. Cindy Sherman. Sainte-Etienne: Musee d'Art et d'Industrie, 1983.
- Chapman, H. Perry. Rembrandt's Self-Portraits, A Study in Seventeenth Century Identity. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Cone, Michelle. "Cindy Sherman, Metro Pictures." *Flash Art* 17 (March, 1983): 39.
- Craven, Wayne. American Art: History and Culture. New York: Brown & Benchmark / Harry N. Abrams, 1994.
- Crimp, Douglas. Pictures. New York: Artists Space, 1977.
- Crimp, Douglas. "Pictures." *October* 8 (Spring 1979): 75-88.
- Crimp, Douglas. "The Photographic Activity of Postmodernism." *October* 15 (Winter 1981): 99-102.
- Cruz, Amada. "Movies, Monstrosities, and Masks: Twenty Years of Cindy Sherman." In Cindy Sherman, Retrospective. New York: Thames and Hudson / Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago: The Museum of Contemporary Art, 1997.
- Danto, Arthur C. "Women Artists, 1970-85." *The Nation* 249 (December 1989): 794-798.
- Danto, Arthur C. "The State of the Art World: The Nineties Begin." *The Nation* 251 (July 9 1990): 64-68.
- Danto, Arthur C. Cindy Sherman, Untitled Film Stills. New York: Rizzoli, 1990.
- Danto, Arthur C. Cindy Sherman, History Portraits. New York: Rizzoli, 1991.
- Dickhoff, Wilfried. "Untitled Nr.179." *Parkett* no. 29 (1991): 103-111.

- Felix, Zdenek and Martin Schwander. Cindy Sherman. Photographic Work 1975 - 1995. Munich: Schirmer Art Books, 1995.
- Flood, Richard. "Cindy Sherman, Metro Pictures." *Artforum* 19 (March 1981): 80.
- Foresta, Merry A. and Joshua Smith. The Photography of Invention. Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution / Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1989.
- Foster, Hal. "The Real Thing." In Cindy Sherman. Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 1996.
- Friedlander, Lee. Portrait self. San Francisco: D.A.P. / Fraenkel Gallery, 1998.
- Four Artists. New York: Artists Space, 1978.
- Gambrell, Jamey. "Cindy Sherman, Metro Pictures." *Artforum* 20 (February 1982): 85- 86.
- Gambrell, Jamey. "Marginal Acts." *Art in America* 72 (March 1984): 114-119.
- Gauss, Kathleen McCarthy and Andy Grundberg. Photography and Art: Interactions Since 1946. Fort Lauderdale: Museum of Art, 1987; Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1987.
- Goldsmith, David. "Cindy Sherman." In On Location. New York: Aperture, 1993.
- Greenberg, Emily B. "Cindy Sherman and the Female Grotesque." *Art Criticism* 9 (1994): 49-55.
- Grundberg, Andy. "Self-Portraits Minus Self." *New York Times Book Review* (22 July 1984): 11-12.
- Grundberg, Andy. Crisis of the Real. Writings on Photography, 1974-1989. New York: Aperture, 1991.
- Halbreich, Kathy. Culture and Commentary: An Eighties Perspective. Washington, D.C.: The Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, 1990.
- Hapgood, Susan. "Cindy Sherman / Metro Pictures." *Flash Art* 16 (January 1983): 63.
- Hoffman, Katherine. Concepts of Identity. Historical and Contemporary Images and Portraits of Self and Family. New York: Westview Press, 1996.
- Hurlimann, Annemarie and Alois Martin Muller, eds. Film Stills. Emotions Made in Hollywood. Zurich: Museum fur Gestaltung, 1993.

- Hutcheon, Linda. A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Irigaray, Luce. Speculum of the Other Woman. Translated by Gillian C. Gill. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1985. Originally published as Speculum. De l'autre femme (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1974.)
- Jauch, Ursula Pia. "I am Always the Other." *Parkett* no.29 (1991): 74-80.
- Jelinek, Elfriede. "Sidelines." *Parkett* no. 29 (1991): 82-90.
- Johnson, Ken. "Cindy Sherman and the Anti-Self: An Interpretation of Her Imagery." *Arts Magazine* 62 (November 1987): 47-53.
- Johnson, Ken. "Cindy Sherman." *Art in America* 83 (May 1995): 112-113.
- Jones, Amelia. "Tracing the Subject with Cindy Sherman." In Cindy Sherman. Retrospective. New York: Thames and Hudson, The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles and the Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 1997.
- Kellein, Thomas. Cindy Sherman. Basel: Basel Kunsthalle / London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1991.
- Klinger, Barbara. Melodrama & Meaning, History Culture, and the Films of Douglas Sirk. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Klinger, Linda S. "Where's the Artist? Feminist Practice and Poststructural Theories of Authorship." *Art Journal* 50 (Summer 1991): 39-47.
- Klein, Michael. "Cindy Sherman." *Arts Magazine* 55 (March 1981): 5.
- Krauss, Rosalind and Norman Bryson. Cindy Sherman 1975 - 1993. New York: Rizzoli, 1993.
- Kuhn, Annette. The Power of The Image: Essays on Representation and Sexuality. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1985. Reprint, New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Kurtz, Bruce D. Contemporary Art 1965-1990. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1992.
- Lacan, Jacques. "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the Function of the 'I'." In Ecrits: A Selection. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1977. Originally published as Ecrits (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966).
- Lebrun, Dominique. Hollywood. Hamburg, Germany: Ginko Press, 1996.

- Lifson, Ben. *Faces Photographed: Contemporary Camera Images*. New York: New York University / Grey Art Gallery, 1982.
- Linker, Kate. "Melodramatic Tactics." *Artforum* 21 (September 1982): 30-32.
- Linker, Kate. "Cindy Sherman, Metro Pictures." *Artforum* 21 (January 1983): 79.
- Lippard, Lucy. *The Pink Glass Swan: Selected Feminist Essays On Art*. New York: The New Press, 1995.
- Louise Lawler, Cindy Sherman, Laurie Simmons. Oslo: Kunsternes Hus / Helsinki: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1993.
- Lucie-Smith, Edward. *Race, Sex and Gender in Contemporary Art*. London: Art Books International, 1994.
- Lueken, Verena. "Cindy Sherman and Her 'Film Stills' - Frozen Performances." In *Cindy Sherman*. Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 1996.
- Lyons, Lisa. *Anxious Edge*. Minneapolis: The Walker Art Center, 1982.
- Marzorati, Gerald. "Imitation of Life." *Artnews* 82 (September 1983): 78-87.
- Meadows, Daniel. *Set Pieces, Being About Film Stills Mostly*. London: British Film Institute, 1993.
- Meskimmon, Marsha. *The Art of Reflection, Women Artist' Self-portraiture in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Mulvey, Laura. "Cosmetics and Abjection: Cindy Sherman 1977-87." In *fetishism and curiosity*. Bloomington: British Film Institute / Indiana University Press, 1996.
- Mulvey, Laura. *Visual and Other Pleasures*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- Nairne, Sandy. *The State of the Art: Ideas and Images in the 1980s*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1987.
- Neumaier, Diane, ed. *Reframings: New American Feminist Photographies*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995.
- Next Wave of American Women. *Cindy Sherman*. Tokyo: Laforet Museum Harajuko, 1984.
- Nilson, Lisbet. "Q & A: Cindy Sherman." *American Photographer* (September 1983): 70-77.

- Nochlin, Linda. The Body in Pieces: The Fragment as Metaphor of Modernity. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994.
- Olivares, Rosa. "Bad Girl." In Cindy Sherman. Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 1996.
- Owens, Craig. "The Allegorical Impulse: Toward a Theory of Postmodernism, Part 2." *October* 13 (Summer 1980): 59-80.
- Perl, Jed. "Starring Cindy Sherman." *The New Criterion* 4 (January 1986): 15-25.
- Phillips, Lisa and Marvin Heiferman. Image World: Art and Media Culture. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1989.
- Phillips, Lisa and Peter Schjeldahl. Cindy Sherman. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1987.
- Riviere, Joan. "Womanliness As Masquerade." In Formations of Fantasy, ed. Victor Burgin, James Donald and Cora Kaplan. New York: Metheun, 1986.
- Rosenblum, Naomi. A History of Women Photographers. New York: Abbeville Press, 1994.
- Rosenthal, Mark. Art of Our Time: The Saatchi Collection. New York: Rizzoli, 1985.
- Rosenzweig, Phyllis. Cindy Sherman: Film Stills. Washington, D.C.: Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, 1995.
- Schjeldahl, Peter and I. Michael Danoff. Cindy Sherman. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.
- Schjeldahl, Peter. "Shermanettes." *Art in America* 70 (March 1982): 110-111.
- Schjeldahl, Peter. "The Oracle of Images." In Cindy Sherman. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1987.
- Schjeldahl, Peter. "Portrait: She is a Camera." *7 Days* (March 28, 1990): 17-19.
- Schjeldahl, Peter. "Delirious Watching: Cindy Sherman and Horror Movies." In Cindy Sherman. Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 1996.
- Cindy Sherman. Exhibition catalogue. Tokyo: Laforet Museum, 1983.
- Cindy Sherman. Exhibition catalogue. Tokyo: The Seibu Contemporary Art Gallery, 1983.
- Cindy Sherman. Exhibition catalogue. Tokyo: Parco Co., Ltd. 1987.

- Cindy Sherman. Exhibition catalogue. Shiga, Japan: Museum of Modern Art / Marugame Genichiro-Inokuma: Museum of Contemporary Art / Tokyo: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1996.
- Sherman, Cindy. Fitcher's Bird. New York: Rizzoli, 1992.
- Siegel, Jeanne. Art Talk: The Early 80s. New York: Da Capo Press, 1988.
- Sischy, Ingrid. "Photography: Let's Pretend." *The New Yorker* 67 (May 6, 1991): 86-96.
- Sischy, Ingrid. "On Location: Cindy Sherman's Camera Kabuki." *Artforum* 24 (December 1985): 4-5.
- Smith, Elizabeth A.T. "The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters." In Cindy Sherman. Retrospective. New York: Thames and Hudson, The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles and the Museum of Contemporary Art. Chicago, 1997.
- Smith, Roberta. *Body Language*. Cambridge: Committee for the Visual Arts. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1982.
- Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. "Sexual Difference: Both Sides of the Camera." *CEPA Quarterly* (Spring / Summer 1980), 17-24.
- Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. "Suitable for Framing." *Parkett* no.29 (1991): 112-121.
- Starenko, Michael. "What's An Artist To Do? A Short History of Postmodernism and Photography." *Afterimage* 10 (January 1983): 4-5.
- Sturman, John. "The Art of Becoming Someone Else." *Artnews* 83 (November): 35.
- Suleiman, Susan Rubin, ed. The FemaleBody in Western Culture. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986.
- Suleiman, Susan Rubin. Subversive Intent: Gender, Politics and the Avant-Garde. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Suleiman, Susan Rubin. Risking Who One Is. Encounters With Contemporary Art and Literature. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Sullivan, Constance, ed. Women Photographers. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990.
- Szarkowski, John. Mirrors and Windows. American Photography Since 1960. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1978.

- Szarkowski, John. 20th Century Photographs from the Museum of Modern Art. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982.
- Szarkowski, John. Photography Until Now. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1990.
- Tatransky, Valentine. "Cindy Sherman, Artists Space." *Arts Magazine* 53 (January 1979): 19.
- Taylor, Paul. "Cindy Sherman." *Flash Art* 18 (October / November): 78-79.
- Thomas, Lew and Peter D'Agostino. Still Photography, the Problematic Model. San Francisco: NFS Press, 1981.
- Thompson, Thom. A Conversation with Cindy Sherman. Stony Brook, New York: State University of New York, 1983.
- Williamson, Judith. "Images of 'Woman': The Photographs of Cindy Sherman." *Screen* (November / December 1983): 102-116.
- Williamson, Judith. "A Piece of the Action: Images of 'Woman' in the Photographs of Cindy Sherman." In Consuming Passions: The dynamics of popular culture. New York: Marion Boyars, 1988.
- Williamson, Judith. Deadline at Dawn, Film Criticism 1980-1990. New York: Marion Boyars, 1993.
- Woodward, Rick. "Film Stills." *Film Comment* 25 (March 1989): 51-54.
- Zelavansky, Lynn. "Cindy Sherman, Metro Pictures." *Flash Art* 14 (March/April 1981): 43.
- Zelevansky, Lynn. "Cindy Sherman, Metro Pictures." *Arnews* 82 (January): 145-146.

Selected Bibliography: Louise Lawler

- Alpers, Svetlana. "The Museum as a Way of Seeing." In Exhibiting Cultures, The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 25 - 32. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.
- Bankowsky, Jack. "Spotlight: Louise Lawler." *Flash Art* 133 (April 1987), 86.
- Bann, Stephen. "Shrines, Curiosities, and the Rhetoric of Display." In Visual Display, Culture Beyond Appearances, ed. Lynne Cooke and Peter Wollen, 14 - 29. New York: Dia Center for the Arts / The New Press, 1998.
- Baxandall, Michael. "Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects." In Exhibiting Cultures, The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 33 - 41. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.
- Belting, Hans. Thomas Struth, Museum Photographs. Translated by Michael Robertson. Munich: Schirmer / Mosel, 1998.
- Benezra, Neil, ed. Affinities and Intuitions: The Gerald S. Eliot Collection of Contemporary Art. Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago / Thames and Hudson, 1990.
- Bennett, Tony. The Birth of the Museum - History, theory, politics. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Bershad, Deborah, Hal Foster and Brian Wallis. Damaged Goods: Desire and the Economy of the Object. New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1986.
- Buchloh, Benjamin H.D. "Allegorical Procedures: Appropriation and Montage in Contemporary Art." *Artforum* 21(September 1982): 43 - 56.
- Buchloh, Benjamin H.D., ed. Broodthaers: Writings, Interviews, Photographs. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1987.
- Buchloh, Benjamin D. "From Faktura to Factography." In October, The First Decade, 1976-1986, ed. Annette Michelson, Rosalind Krauss, Douglas Crimp, Joan Copjec, 76 - 113. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1987.
- Buren, Daniel. "The Function of the Studio." In October, The First Decade, 1976-1986, ed. Annette Michelson, Rosalind Krauss, Douglas Crimp, Joan Copjec, 201 - 208. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1987.
- Buskirk, Martha. "Interviews with Sherrie Levine, Louise Lawler, and Fred Wilson." *October* 70 (1994) : 104 -108.

- Cameron, Dan. "Four Installations: Francesc Torres, Merle Ukeles, Luoise Lawler / Allan McCollum." *Arts* (December 1984): 66 - 70.
- Cameron, Dan. Art and Its Double: A New York Perspective. Barcelona: Fundacio Caixa de Pensions, 1987.
- Celant, Germano, Kate Linker, Lars Nittve, and Craig Owens. Implosion: A Postmodern Perspective. Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1987.
- Crimp, Douglas. "The Art of Exhibition." In October, the First Decade, 1976-1986, ed. Annette Michaelson, Rosalind Krauss, Douglas Crimp, Joan Copjec, 223 - 255. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1987.
- Crimp, Douglas. On the Museum's Ruins. Photographs by Louise Lawler. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1993.
- Dent, Tory. "Already made 'Female' Louise Lawler." *Parachute* 76 (October / November / December 1994): 20 - 24.
- Deutsche, Rosalyn. "Property Values: Hans Haacke, Real Estate, and the Museum." In Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business, ed. Brian Wallis, 20 - 37. New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art / The MIT Press, 1986.
- Dimmock, Susan, Trevor Fairbrother, Kathryn Potts and Jeffrey Weaver. Connections: Louise Lawler. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1990.
- Duncan, Carol. "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship." In Exhibiting Cultures, The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 88 - 103.
- Duncan, Carol. Civilizing Rituals, Inside Public Art Museums. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Elger, Dietmar and Thomas Weski. Louise Lawler - For Sale. Stuttgart: Cantz Verlag, 1994.
- Fehlau, Fred. "Louise Lawler Dosen't Take Pictures." *Artscribe* (June 1985): 62 - 65.
- Fisher, Jean. "Louise Lawler." *Artforum* 25 (April 1987): 121 - 122.
- Foresta, Merry A. and Joshua P. Smith. The Photography of Invention. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1989.
- Frank, Peter and Michael McKenzie. New, Used and Improved: Art for the '80s. New York: Abbeville Press, Inc., 1987.
- Fraser, Andrea. "In and Out of Place." *Art in America* 73 (June 1985): 122 - 129.

- Foster, Hal. Recodings: Art, Spectacle, Cultural Politics. Seattle, Washington: Bay Press, 1985.
- Gintz, Claude. *Elsewhere and Otherwise*. Paris: ARC Musee d' Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, 1985.
- Gintz, Claude. *What is the Same: Louise Lawler*. Saint-Etienne: Maison de la Culture et de la Communication de Saint-Etienne, 1986.
- Goldstein, Ann and Howard Singerman. A Forest of Signs: Art in the Crisis of Representation. Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art / MIT Press, 1989.
- Grundberg, Andy and Kathleen McCarthy Gauss. Photography and Art: Interactions Since 1946. Los Angeles: Museum of Art, Fort Lauderdale / Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1987.
- Guercid, Gabriele. *Rooted Rhetoric*. Naples: Guida Editore, 1986.
- Haacke, Hans. "Museums, Managers of Consciousness." In Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business, ed. Brian Wallis, 60 - 73. New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1986.
- Haworth-Booth, Mark and Anne McCauley. The Museum & The Photograph. Collecting Photography at the Victoria and Albert Museum 1853 -1900. Williamstown, Massachusetts: Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, 1998.
- Heifferman, Marvin and Andy Grundberg. The Indomitable Spirit. New York: International Center of Photography, 1990.
- Jameson, Frederic. "Postmodernism and Consumer Society." In The Anti-Aesthetic, Essays On Postmodern Culture, ed. Hal Foster, 111 - 125. Port Townsend, Washington: Bay Press, 1983.
- Jameson, Frederic. "Hans Haacke and the Cultural Logic of Postmodernism." In Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business, ed. Brian Wallis, 38 - 51. New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art / The MIT Press, 1986.
- Jones, Alan. Correspondences: New York Art Now. Tokyo: Laforet Museum, 1985.
- Joselit, David. "Investigating the Ordinary." *Art in America* (May 1988): 149 - 155.
- Krauss, Rosalind. "Louise Lawler: Souvenir Memories." *Aperture* 145 (1996): 36 - 39.
- Krauss, Rosalind. "Louise Lawler: Souvenir Memories." In Louise Lawler, A Spot On The Wall, ed. Hedwig Saxenhuber, 35 - 44. Koln: Oktagon, 1998.

- Kruger, Barbara. Remote Control - Power, Cultures, and the World of Appearances. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1994.
- Lander, Timothy, et al. The Desire of the Museum. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1989.
- Lavine, Steven D. "Audience, Ownership, and Authority: Designing Relations between Museums and Communities." In Museums and Communities, ed. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine, 137 - 157. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.
- Lawler, Louise. Untitled, Red / Blue. New York, 1978.
- Lawler, Louise and Janelle Reiring. Black / White. New York: 1978.
- Lawler, Louise. "An Arrangement of Pictures." *October* 26 (Fall 1983): 3 - 16.
- Lawler, Louise. Louise Lawler Matrix 77. Hartford, Connecticut: The Wadsworth Atheneum, 1984.
- Lawler, Louise. Enough / Projects. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1987.
- Lawler, Louise. "Louise Lawler, Project For Flash Art." *Flash Art* (November / December 1988): 93-94.
- Lawson, Thomas. "Interference on the Line," in Contemporary Perspectives 1984. Lewisburg, Pennsylvania: Bucknell University, 1985.
- Lawson, Thomas. Allan McCollum. Los Angeles, California: A.R.T. Press, 1996.
- Linker, Kate. "Rites of Exchange." *Artforum* 25 (November 1986): 99 - 101.
- MacCabe, Colin, Mark Francis and Peter Wollen. Who Is Andy Warhol? London / Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: British Film Institute and The Andy Warhol Museum, 1997.
- Meinhardt, Johannes and Jeffrey Rian. Allan McCollum, Richard Prince, Louise Lawler, Barbara Bloom, Larry Johnson. Stuttgart: Galerie Isabella Kacprzak, 1988.
- Meinhardt, Johannes. "The Places of Art - The Photography of Louise Lawler." In Hugo- Erfruth-Preis. Leverkusen: Museum Morsbroich, 1991.
- Nobis, Norbert. Marcel Broodthaers. Hannover: Sprengel Museum, 1996.
- Owens, Craig. "The Discourse of Others: Feminists and Post-modernism." In The Anti- Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture, ed. Hal Foster, 57 - 77. Port Townsend, Washington: Bay Press, 1983.

- Pollock, Griselda. Differencing The Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Rosenzweig, Phyllis. *Louise Lawler: Monochrome*. Washington, D.C.: Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, 1997.
- Rosevear, Cora. *Projects: Louise Lawler*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1987.
- Saltz, Jerry, ed. Beyond Boundaries: New York's New Art. New York: Alfred Van der Marck Editions, 1987.
- Sayre, Henry M. The Object of Performance, The American Avant-Garde since 1970. Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Serota, Nicholas. Experience Or Interpretation, The Dilemma Of Museums Of Modern Art. New York: Thames and Hudson, Inc., 1996.
- Schaffner, Ingrid. "Deep Storage." *Frieze* (Summer 1995): 58 - 61.
- Schaffner, Ingrid and Matthias Winzen. Deep Storage - Collecting, Storing and Archiving in Art. Munich / New York: Prestel, 1998.
- Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. "'The Label Show': Contemporary Art and the Museum." *Art in America* (October 1994): 51-55.
- Stack, Trudy Wilner. Art Museum. Tucson, Arizona: Center for Creative Photography / The University of Arizona, 1995.
- Stainbach, Charles. Commodity Image. New York: International Center of Photography, 1993.
- Staniszewski, Mary Anne. The Power of Display, A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1998.
- Storr, Robert. "Louise Lawler: Unpacking the White Cube." *Parkett* 22 (1989): 105 - 108.
- Wallis, Brian, ed. Selection and arrangement of photographs by Louise Lawler. In Art After Modernism: Rethinking Representation. New York / Boston: The New Museum of Contemporary Art / David R. Godine, 1984.
- Weil, Stephen E. A Cabinet of Curiosities, Inquiries Into Museums and Their Prospects. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995.
- Weiner, Lawrence. Photographs by Louise Lawler. Passage to the North. Great River, New York: Tongue Press, 1981.

Wollen, Peter. "Tales of Total Art and Dreams of the Total Museum." In Visual Display. Culture Beyond Appearances, ed. Lynne Cooke and Peter Wollen, 154 - 177. New York: Dia Center for the Arts / The New Press, 1998.

Zolberg, Vera L. "Art Museums and Living Artists: Contentious Communities." In Museums and Communities, ed. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven D. Lavine, 105 - 136. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.