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Sculptural tableaux of the sixties: Edward Kienholz, Claes Oldenburg, and George Segal. [Volumes I and II]

Clark-Langager, Sarah Ann, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1988

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**SCULPTURAL TABLEAUX OF THE SIXTIES:
EDWARD KIENHOLZ, CLAES OLDENBURG, AND GEORGE SEGAL**

by

SARAH CLARK-LANGAGER

**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**

1988

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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.

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Abstract

SCULPTURAL TABLEAUX OF THE SIXTIES:
EDWARD KIENHOLZ, CLAES OLDENBURG, AND GEORGE SEGAL

by

Sarah Clark-Langager

Advisor: Professor Rose-Carol Washton Long
Co-advisor: Professor Robert Pincus-Witten

In the dynamic period of the sixties, Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal reinvigorated the tradition of tableau in order to engage the spectator in the conditions of American society. This dissertation sets forth Diderot's tableau concept of a dramatic scene, including its stop action, in a staged space without spectators, proposes the Dadaists' and Surrealists' changes in the eighteenth century format, and introduces new influences in the fifties from the visual and performing arts.

Chapter one pinpoints three publications of 1951-52 which provide crucial models for these young artists: Harold Rosenberg's article stressing the "living drama" of the Abstract Expressionists; Cyril Connolly's article emphasizing the Surrealist object and the environmental

exhibition; and Robert Motherwell's anthology of Dadaist texts and art ranging from Tzara and Schwitters to Duchamp.

Chapter two discusses the three artists' early work (1958-64) and the formation of their attitudes towards sculptural tableau. The issue is what they obtained from traditional variants of tableau as monuments and moving pictures, the Abstract Expressionist legacy of an art of the environment, assemblages of ordinary objects, and Happenings. Allan Kaprow's publications on aspects of environmental art are used as a gauge for these three artists' diverse choices for their tableau format.

Since critics were initially oriented to the ambiguous meanings of this Neo-Dada and/or Pop Art rather than to the idea of tableau, chapter three focuses on how the three artists used the Dadaist-Surrealist concerns of chapter one and how they built new themes. Their themes are the urban street, the new grotto, social-political events, and the artist in his studio.

Since literalism and an environmental focus are common to Pop and Minimal Art and since Michael Fried grouped these three artists under the theatrical effects of Minimal Art, chapter four suggests comparisons between these three artists and the Minimalist Robert Morris. The conclusion is that these three artists used the Dadaist-Surrealist base of Motherwell's anthology versus Morris

who worked with its abstract Dadaist-Constructivist examples. Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal used sculptural tableau to move sculpture off its formal axis and into an arena of contextual response.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Both my advisor, Professor Rose-Carol Washton Long, and co-advisor, Professor Robert Pincus-Witten, have provided exemplary lectures and publications and probing questions to inspire me in my own research. I am deeply appreciative of Professor Long's continuing interest in the art of the sixties which is strengthened by her own early reviews of environments and Happenings. I am also indebted to her illuminating seminar on the origins of abstraction in twentieth century art and to her well-known research on European art, especially Kandinsky. Professor Pincus-Witten's invaluable seminar on Surrealism and another on Rauschenberg and Johns have broadened my background on Dadaist-Surrealist sources and contemporary issues. His various writings on contemporary art always refresh my own insights. In addition, Professor Long has encouraged me to persevere in my studies. Professor Pincus-Witten has kept me from wandering off the main track in the writing of the so-called "book."

Professor Milton Brown and Professor Mona Hadler

kindly agreed to read this dissertation and offered their well-founded criticism. Professor Brown's historical position in publications on American Art and his seminar on the machine image in American Art have extended my knowledge in that field. Professor Hadler's seminar on American art of the forties and fifties provoked my interest in Surrealism and Abstract Expressionism. I am also grateful to her penetrating questions and general support.

Finally, I have benefitted from the disciplined and dynamic criticism given to me in the interchange among Professor Long, Professor Hadler, Professor Pincus-Witten and Professor Brown.

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INTRODUCTION

The sixties in America were marked by a high level of activity, often disparate and clamorous, on all fronts. A sampling of headlines from newspapers of the early sixties would reveal the following dramatic events: after the first televised presidential debate, John F. Kennedy was elected the youngest president in the history of the United States. In that same year, Khrushchev chose the United Nations as his theatrical arena where in one scene he pounded his shoe on the assembly podium. On another dramatic level, the first lunch counter sit-ins signaled new strategies in the fight for social integration in the South.

In general, the forecasters saw the sixties as a decade of continuing economic strides and seemingly limitless resources. As the decade progressed, the advances in mass media communication and aerospace, the building of the Great Society, and the emphasis on youth fostered an open-minded spirit. Yet the attention to urban blight, the rising expectations of minorities and women,

and the polarization about the Vietnam war contributed to the ferment as well as the activism.

During the decade of the sixties, artists challenged the status quo or prevailing rules, notably the separation of the visual arts from the performing arts. Three of these artists who crossed boundaries at that time were Claes Oldenburg and George Segal in New York and Edward Kienholz in Los Angeles.

Edward Kienholz, Claes Oldenburg, and George Segal expanded the boundaries between painting and sculpture. Recognizing the potential interaction between the visual arts and the performing arts, they also focused on a specific type of staged space. Their crucial strategy was to revive the tradition of tableau.¹ A tableau is a staged image. In European theater, tableau refers to a brief enactment of human destiny as well as the change of a scene.² Tableau vivant³ in the theater is a scene where the actors freeze their positions to form a still life with living actors. In the visual arts the term tableau

¹Tableau is the French word for picture. Because it is in common usage, this word will not be italicized in this dissertation.

²Willy Rotzler, "Messages-Coded by Edward Kienholz," in Edward Kienholz. Volksempfänger (Zurich: Maeght Gallery, 1977), 7.

³Because the term tableau vivant is specifically used in theater and is not a common phrase, this term will continue to be italicized in this dissertation.

embraces the concepts of a dramatic scene and its stop action. It is a format utilizing a three-dimensional set or stage setting and depicting a dramatic action frozen in time. Generally speaking, a sculptural tableau is a pictorial, three-dimensional work with its own environment.

In his first major environment, The Street, shown in his solo exhibition at the Reuben Gallery in 1960, Oldenburg projected from floor to ceiling graffiti-like sketches of the old tenements and disheveled activities of New York's Lower East Side. By hanging ragged, cutout reliefs on all four walls and by having them project out into the room he consequently merged painting, sculpture, and architecture into one single episode. Oldenburg further heightened the expressionist nature of these fragments by performing himself in several incidents or "happenings"⁴ in the gallery environment. Within this first happening, Snapshots from the City, he specifically used the technique of tableau vivant.

At the same time that Oldenburg was developing this environment in New York, Edward Kienholz in Los Angeles was removing his reliefs and box structures from the walls

⁴Following Allan Kaprow's performance 18 Happenings in 6 Parts at the Reuben Gallery in 1959, the press labeled these live events as "happenings." Although covering a wide range of activity, the term "Happening" will be capitalized when referring to the movement within performance art and will be used in lower case when referring to the general type of event.

and placing them on the floor. Contrary to Oldenburg's constructed cardboard, burlap, and plaster reliefs, Kienholz's work was assembled from miscellaneous parts or trashed articles, including mannequins. In 1962 at the Ferus Gallery, he placed a group of his personages on low pedestals in a room resembling a whorehouse in Las Vegas; the work was named Roxys. Furthermore, he specifically called the work a tableau.

George Segal further shocked the art world by positioning a life cast of his own body sitting in a real chair at a table framed by a window. His Man at a Table of 1961, exhibited in his solo exhibition in 1962 at the Green Gallery in New York, was the culminating work of a painter. Working at first in two-dimensions, he had wanted to employ the figure. The only resolution to transferring life back into art was to stage a three-dimensional figure against a planar background.

In this introduction, there are four issues pertaining to the sculptural tableaux of Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal in the sixties. The first issue pertains to the initial reaction of the critics to their work. The critics' discussions will help in understanding why one can focus on these three artists together. The second issue is the general concept of tableau and how it has been developed in the twentieth century. Through an understanding of the changes in the tableau format, one

can see what these three artists inherited, what new factors influenced their own development, and what they have in common. The third issue is what themes they shared together and how their tableaux relates to the cultural period of the sixties. The fourth issue is the theatrical effect found in art of the sixties by the critic Michael Fried. From his viewpoint one can find how these three artists connect with other artists in this period. In general, why is Kienholz's, Oldenburg's and Segal's reinvigoration of an old format significant for the sixties?

This dissertation will show that tableau, a multi-media, three-dimensional format, was an important device in the sixties. It could be a container for different types of narration stemming from both private and public concerns. It played an important role for the Minimalists and Pop artists who addressed the viewer as an occupant of a particular space or of the mass-media environment. It served those who went beyond cool realism and addressed the viewer with more subjective appraisals and current imagery. Tableau in the sixties was a cipher for the merging of painting and sculpture, architecture and sculpture, and art and theater; it provided a format for the inquiry as to whether art was a "formal" object or an idea. The work of Edward Kienholz, Claes Oldenburg, and George Segal will demonstrate the importance of tableau in

distinguishing these different realities of the sixties. This dissertation will show that these three artists chose the mode of tableau involving the spectator in order to create a span of time between his instant perception and his habitual thought patterns.

The Initial Approach by Critics

The first problem is to establish the common links between Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal. On one level, their bond was manifested in the type of exhibition in which they were shown. After exhibiting together for the first time in 1960 in the "Below Zero" exhibition at the Reuben Gallery in New York, Segal and Oldenburg exhibited together again in 1962; both were in the "New Realists" show at the Sidney Janis Gallery. In that same year on the West Coast, Oldenburg and Kienholz were included together in "My Country 'Tis of Thee" at the Dwan Gallery in Los Angeles. In 1964 Kienholz and Oldenburg exhibited together in the Dwan Gallery's exhibition "Boxes." While the three artists' work was included in the Whitney Annuals of 1964 and 1966, their work was thematically grouped for the first time in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art's 1967 exhibition, "American Sculpture of the Sixties." In 1967 and 1969 Segal and Kienholz continued together in the New School's "Protest and Hope" exhibition and the Whitney Museum's "Human Concern/Personal Torment: The Grotesque in American Art." In 1968 The Museum of Modern Art chose

both Kienholz and Oldenburg for their exhibitions, "Dada, Surrealism and Their Heritage" and "The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age." Finally, in 1969 the three artists came together on the international scene in London for the Hayward Gallery's exhibition "Pop Art."

On another level, their bond developed through critical attention. It is important to realize that it was the critics who actually placed Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal under a common umbrella. The first critical attention came in the period 1958 to 1963 and included such writers as Lawrence Alloway, Thomas Hess, Harriet Janis and Rudi Blesh, Allan Kaprow, Jules Langsner, Pierre Restany, Barbara Rose, Harold Rosenberg, Irving Sandler, and Sidney Tillim. The importance of Allan Kaprow will be discussed in the second issue, the development of sculptural tableau. Later in the decade, Michael Fried wrote a major article which linked Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal; this 1967 essay will be discussed here in the introduction under the fourth issue of theatricality.

In originally viewing their work and their associates' work, the critics in the earlier period used not only the label Neo-Dada but also those of New Realists and Pop Art. The primary issue of these critics' discussion was whether the new art, including such artists as Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal, focused totally on social comment or on aesthetic concerns. Although the

formal qualities of these critical labels were finally stressed, this introduction will place emphasis on the Neo-Dada umbrella under which Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal were placed. The critics' discussion will also serve my interest in showing the third problem of the interpretation of their common themes as will be mentioned here and fully outlined in chapter three.

In order to understand the critics' use of the term Neo-Dada, it is necessary to point out that Robert Motherwell had published in 1951 The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology.⁵ By the late fifties Dadaist and Surrealist roots which had been submerged in Abstract Expressionism resurfaced. Although in chapter one Motherwell's book will be seen as a vital source for the development of sculptural tableau, the emphasis here is its important role in providing a background for the critics. Motherwell's book is a crucial compendium of ideas on the historical movement and the Dadaist spirit.

One of the original Dadaists, Richard Huelsenbeck, acted as an advisor to Motherwell and had several of his documents printed in this publication. Significantly, Huelsenbeck was living in New York and continued to write on Dada but from an existentialist viewpoint. For artists

⁵Robert Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, Documents of Modern Art (New York: Wittenborn Schultz, 1951; reprint ed., Boston: G. K. Hall, 1981). Future references will be to the reprint edition.

George Segal and Claes Oldenburg, and their friend and critic Allan Kaprow in New York, who knew the second generation Abstract Expressionists in the fifties, the link initially would have been important even though they might reject it in the end. In Motherwell's book, four of Huelsenbeck's documents were published. The first, En Avant Dada: A History of Dadaism written in 1920, was praised by Motherwell for its clearest interpretation of the avant-garde spirit.⁶ While naming the Dadaist strategies and media, such as bruitism, simultaneity, and collage, Huelsenbeck essentially contrasted the earlier abstract version of Dada at the Cabaret Voltaire with its later more potent thrust in Germany. The change was from a utopian spirit and cosmology towards art as an aggressive force in society.⁷ In his Collective Dada Manifesto (1920) Richard Huelsenbeck succinctly restated his position and ended with the conclusion: "Dada is a state

⁶Motherwell, ed., introduction to The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, xvi.

⁷Richard Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada: A History of Dadaism," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 23-47. First publication was En avant Dada: eine Geschichte des Dadaismus (Hannover, Leipzig, Wien, Zurich: Paul Steegemann, 1920). A section was translated by Ralph Manheim for Possibilities, no. 1 (Winter, 1947-48), 41-43.

of mind. . . ."⁹

Huelsenbeck's third document Dada Lives! was written in 1936 before he became a psychiatrist in the United States. In this essay he reiterated his view that Dada is not an artistic movement but rather a permanent "volcanic eruption" aimed at rationalistic bourgeois art; Dada's gift or spirit is this ongoing urge for the renovation of art.⁹ He also perceived Dada as a protest against dictatorship and totalitarian regimes and restated this political role more forcefully in Dada Manifesto 1949. As explained by Motherwell in his preface and introduction, it was necessary to put this document in an appendix because its political attack against the Soviet Union was not endorsed by another major Dadaist, Tristan Tzara.¹⁰ Also important in this document was Huelsenbeck's statement at the end that Dada was a forerunner of

⁹Richard Huelsenbeck, "Collective Dada Manifesto," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 242-246; quotation, 246. Dadaistisches Manifest was signed by Tzara, Franz Jung, George Grosz, Hausmann, and others and the manuscript was incorporated in Dada Almanach, ed. Huelsenbeck (Berlin: Eric Reiss, 1920).

⁹Richard Huelsenbeck, "Dada Lives!," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 279-281; quotation, 281. Essay was first published in Transition, no. 25 (Fall 1936), 77-80.

¹⁰Motherwell, ed., preface and introduction to The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, xvii, xxx-xxxi and xxxvi. For "Dada Manifesto 1949," see 1981 reprint edition, 398-401.

Existentialism. Although not published in Motherwell's book, Huelsenbeck wrote an article in 1957 called "Dada and Existentialism"; in it he carefully channeled the Dadaist paradoxical attitude toward life into a psycho-analytic reading of both negative and positive creativity. Although realizing that the world had changed, Huelsenbeck continued to be committed to the Dadaist spirit.¹¹ In fact, in Motherwell's introduction, he highlighted a 1950 letter from M. Levesque who reiterated the importance of the concept of the Dadaist spirit.¹²

Richard Huelsenbeck went on to give lectures on Dada at the Abstract Expressionist school, "Subjects of the Artist." The new group meetings at the Club in the fifties no doubt continued to focus informally on the ramifications of the Dadaist spirit. For example, Irving Sandler related that at a Club panel in 1955 the assemblage sculptor Richard Stankiewicz was accused of being a Dadaist because the members interpreted his use of

¹¹For an excellent study of Huelsenbeck's writings, see Karin Füllner, "The 'Meister-Dada': The Image of Dada through the Eyes of Richard Huelsenbeck," in New Studies in Dada. Essays and Documents, ed. Richard Sheppard (Hutton, Driffeld, England: Hutton Press, 1981), 16-31. "Dada and Existentialism" first published in Dada: Monographie einer Bewegung, ed. Willy Verkauf (Teufen: 1957).

¹²Motherwell, ed., introduction to The Dada Painters and Poets. An Anthology, xxxviii-xxxix. Georges Hugnet also made reference to the Dadaist state of mind in Zurich and New York in "The Dada Spirit in Painting," *ibid.*, 125.

junk materials from the city as the old "shock the bourgeois" method. The Abstract Expressionists in their time were radical in their means, but they did care about the creative process and the aesthetic qualities of their work. Although de Kooning's paintings in 1952 incorporated bits of urban advertisements, Stankiewicz's assemblages with their total use of urban refuse would have been a stumbling block. Furthermore, the Abstract Expressionists on the whole were painters who believed that an artist created his own identity in the act of painting; this act was considered a struggle. Perhaps, Stankiewicz's work looked "too accidental."¹³

Two years after Jackson Pollock's death in 1956, the artist and writer Allan Kaprow announced at the Club and in Art News that Abstract Expressionist painting had gone as far as it could and had no future. As Irving Sandler has reported, he was interested in abandoning discipline, ". . . [in] moving arms instead of a brush, [in] making noise instead of music, [in] doing everything and anything." Perhaps unintentionally, Kaprow sounded like Richard Huelsenbeck in his acceptance of the new type of reality where life is "unmodified" in art and where noise and simultaneity of values are praised. Kaprow also was accused of being a Neo-Dadaist and later tried to

¹³Irving Sandler, The New York School. The Painters and Sculptors of the Fifties (New York: Harper and Row, Icon Editions, 1978), 147.

reexplain his viewpoint.¹⁴

At a Club panel on "Patriotism in the American Home," Kaprow expressed his interest in Motherwell's publication.¹⁵ In this book, as in the writings of Huelsenbeck, he had seen the polemics of making art while declaring its lack of value. Yet, to him, the Dadaist anti-art position was more of a liberation from traditional aesthetics than a general anarchistic direction towards society.

As a student of John Cage, Kaprow knew that beauty was relative and that all aspects of the American city, even the ugly debris and noise, were candidates for that category. Kaprow was interested in Cage's "presents of the streets" as fact rather than as comments on the American scene.¹⁶ To Kaprow, any moment in life and any subject matter could serve as the "poetic kernel of a work of

¹⁴For mention of the Club panel "Has the Situation Changed?" on January 17, 1958 and for Sandler's quote on Kaprow, see *ibid.*, 203 and 212, footnote 19. Allan Kaprow announced the same in his essay; see Kaprow, "The Legacy of Jackson Pollock," Art News 57 (October 1958): 24-26, 55-57.

¹⁵Sandler, The New York School, 212, footnote 20.

¹⁶Cage's remark ". . . the streets were full of presents" is in his essay "On Rauschenberg, Artist and His Work" in Silence (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 103.

art," particularly a happening.¹⁷

Indeed, Schwitters, in his 1920 document Merz, published in Motherwell's anthology, had spoken about the "kernel" and the "husk." Schwitters's essay is a fine example where Kaprow would have found the Dadaist polemics of making art which, as mentioned, is how he summed up Motherwell's anthology. In his essay, Schwitters, in contrast to the other Dadaists, clearly stated the need to work in art. He also established merz as a principle of freedom, accepted the representation, not the reproduction, of nature in art, and called the artist a nonspecialist. Most importantly, he distinguished the kernel Dadaists, such as Hans Arp, as those who were for art and culture and sense and nonsense; the husk Dadaists were those, like Huelsenbeck, who were against art and culture and oriented to politics. Although Schwitters defined Dadaist art as abstract, he concluded with Tzara that "Everyone makes his art in his own way," and energetically set forth his theoretical proposal for a Merz theater.¹⁸ Just as Schwitters abstracted materials from all experiences as his poetic materials, Kaprow

¹⁷Allan Kaprow, "The Principles of Modern Art," It Is 4 (Autumn 1959): 51-52.

¹⁸Kurt Schwitters, "Merz," in The Dada Painters and Poets. An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 57-63; for reference to "kernel" and "husk" Dadaists and Tzara's quotation, see 60.

predicted "anything goes" and that "[a] moment picked out of the stream of activity serves as the poetic kernel of a work of art. . . ."¹⁹ To Kaprow the kernel was this natural poetry which occurred in the selection of the object or event. Finally, Kaprow could have read in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, as well as learned from Cage, that Duchamp was a model for fusing art and life. In his anthology, Robert Motherwell published Andre Breton's essay on Duchamp which ended with the following statement: "For Marcel Duchamp the question of art and life, as well as any other question capable of dividing us at the present moment, does not arise."²⁰

By the end of the fifties, the term Neo-Dada had been applied to assemblage, including artists as Richard Stankiewicz, Allan Kaprow, and Edward Kienholz. In a survey of articles from 1959 to 1960 on New York assemblage makers, there was a general agreement that the nihilistic view of Dada towards art and society had been softened. Yet, what is evident is that in the critics' focus on the new materialism of the fifties there is an ambivalence in how it reflects society. In 1960, Irving Sandler summed up the situation with New York assemblage.

¹⁹Kaprow, "The Principles of Modern Art," 51-52.

²⁰André Breton, "Marcel Duchamp," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 209-211; quotation, 211. Essay was first published in Littérature, no. 5 (1 October 1922), 7-10.

Dada had given these artists license to combine a great variety of unusual materials in seemingly unaesthetic modes. However, these artists did not accept the anti-art position of the older Dadaists. They acknowledged their conditions and wanted to draw attention to "the streets," not to "the barricades," even if "seamy, crude and unnerving."²¹ In California, Jules Langsner, for a spring 1959 issue of Art News, had reviewed Kienholz's exhibition at the Ferus Gallery; he called his work Dadaist constructions which satirized "the pretensions of the art world and civilization."²² Although Kienholz would later deny any intention of aligning himself with Neo-Dada, it is clear that this manifestation was on the West as well as the East Coast.

Although Thomas Hess, a long time supporter of Abstract Expressionism, was negative towards these new developments in assemblage and in the Cage-inspired art, he also toned down the original connotations of Neo-Dada. He felt that the new protest was against the "basic limits of Art" and the values of high art, not against middle class society. In fact, in its urban material and general

²¹See Sandler, The New York School, 148. His viewpoint was originally published in "Ash Can Revisited, A New York Letter," Art International 4 (25 October 1960): 28.

²²Jules Langsner, "Los Angeles: Kienholz collages inter alia," Art News 58 (April 1959): 65-66.

orientation to the spectator, it was directed towards the public.²³

Lawrence Alloway, another critic, wrote an essay entitled "Junk Culture as a Tradition" for the New Forms--New Media I exhibition catalogue of 1960. This exhibition included such artists as Hans Arp, Joseph Cornell, Bruce Connor, Jim Dine, Jean Follett, Red Grooms, Jasper Johns, Allan Kaprow, Louise Nevelson, Oldenburg, Robert Rauschenberg, Kurt Schwitters, and Richard Stankiewicz. Alloway agreed with Hess that Neo-Dada accepted society and the city. Furthermore, he was adamant in reasserting Dada's constructive side. This was the establishment of a new relation between popular art and high art. Alloway's examples were Duchamp's ready-mades, Picabia's monkey doll for a Portrait of Cezanne (1920), and the mass media as seen in Dadaist collages using advertisements and layout of the newspaper.²⁴

Alloway could see a relation between Dadaism and

²³See Sandler, The New York School, 161 (footnote 26), 170. For first publication of article by Thomas B. Hess, see Hess, "Mixed Mediums for a Soft Revolution," Art News 59 (Summer 1960): 45, 62, 68.

²⁴Lawrence Alloway, "Junk Culture as a Tradition," in New Forms--New Media I (New York: Martha Jackson Gallery, 1960), unpaginated. Picabia's Portrait of Cezanne was illustrated in Motherwell's anthology, p. 175.

popular culture.²⁵ Although in his discussion of junk culture Alloway was careful to mention Schwitters, he felt that the New York artists, in contrast, allowed the obsolete objects to retain their original status. To him the objects stubbornly withstood any neat aesthetic unity. Alloway ended his essay with two ideas which characterize the dual spirit found in the interpretations of Dadaism at this time. He concluded that the junk traced a way of life and that "The objects have an anonymous intimacy with our own lives."²⁶

This dichotomy between "anonymous" and "intimate" is clearly reflected in Harold Rosenberg's essay for the exhibition "Out of the Ordinary" in 1959. His essay for the catalogue, "Audience as subject," declared that the late works of the fifties, by such artists as George Cohen, Leon Golub, Jasper Johns, Allan Kaprow, Robert Rauschenberg, and H. C. Westermann, were called Neo-Dada. Although these artists were not interested in depriving

²⁵Katherine Dreier in 1923 had stated almost the same idea in her concept of "natural-born American Dadaism." For an analysis, see Estera Millman, "Dada New York: An Historiographic Analysis," in Dada/Dimensions, ed. Stephen C. Foster (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1985), 165-186, especially 181.

²⁶Alloway, "Junk Culture as a Tradition," unpaginated. Kaprow, in his essay for the same catalogue, was just as ambiguous. He first stated that the source of the subjects was not the Dadaist tradition and then concluded that the human condition was the source of their meaning.

the ruling classes of art, they were interested in provoking the audience. Rosenberg felt that these artists' works "sp[oke] to the audience about itself," and were "disguised mirrors." Even though their work was not directed towards a future form of painting and sculpture, it was timely ". . . in having found out how to make materials talk back in unexpected ways to the civilization that is producing them."²⁷

In 1962, the authors of the book Collage suggested a new name of Factualism to replace the Neo-Dada label. Yet they also found this ambivalent undercurrent in the artists' objective position. The factualists were involved with the environment and with the material entity of the object, not its reproduction. However, these artists presented both irrational and rational facts and "the facts of the human predicament today."²⁸ In this book, Kienholz's assemblages, such as John Doe and Jane Doe (1959), were included in the chapter focusing on artists who moved toward primitive and junk materials, such as Dubuffet and Stankiewicz. For these authors, Stankiewicz

²⁷Harold Rosenberg, "Audience as subject," Out of the Ordinary (Houston: The Contemporary Arts Association of Houston, 1959), unpaginated. The only artists included from the Dadaist-Surrealist traditions were Grosz, Miro, Picabia, and Tanguy.

²⁸Harriet Janis and Rudi Blesh, Collage: Personalities, Concepts, Techniques (New York: Chilton, 1962), 243.

and Kienholz served to introduce the idea of this new way of confronting reality.²⁹ Given their focus on the street, the authors in their next chapter discussed the most radical developments, the environment and the Happening. As part of their concentration on these newest developments, which they called "collages of action," they published Kaprow's views on various artists. Kaprow already had stated earlier in his essay for the New Forms--New Media I catalogue that the environments and happenings had less connection to Neo-Dada than to the radical painting of the Abstract Expressionists. But in trying to stress the formal developments, he did admit that the new art did not divorce itself from the human condition.³⁰ Thus, he could say: "Claes Oldenburg--very literary, a social critic using archetypal situations with a warm feeling for people and a strong sense of moral purpose; . . ."³¹

The whole question of what was the relationship of

²⁹Ibid., chapters 13-14. Artists in chapter 13, "The Image: Man, Machine, Mathematics," ranged from Jean Dubuffet, George Cohen, Bruce Conner, Kienholz, and Stankiewicz. Chapter 14, "Factualism or Neo-Dada," included Alberto Burri, César, Jasper Johns, Robert Mallery, Louise Nevelson, and Robert Rauschenberg.

³⁰Allan Kaprow, "Some Observations on Contemporary Art" in New Forms--New Media I (New York: Martha Jackson Gallery, 1960), unpaginated.

³¹Janis and Blesh, Chapter 15, "Environments and Happenings," in Collage; quotation, 274.

this new art to Dada came to a head in 1962. In November, the Sidney Janis Gallery presented the "New Realists" exhibition which included Oldenburg and Segal. This was the first time that Segal was placed under this broad Neo-Dada label. As reviewed by Pierre Restany for Art International in January 1963, this international exhibition included some of the following artists under Restany's categories: static or moving assemblages--Oldenburg's Stove, Segal's The Bus Driver, Arman's boxed paint tubes, Christo's wrapped packages, and Jean Tinguely's machines; combine paintings--Jim Dine's lawnmower and the relief sponges of Yves Klein; collage--Tom Wesselmann; and trompl'e-oel paintings--Roy Lichtenstein, James Rosenquist, and Andy Warhol.³² He noted that many of the same type of artists were in "The Art of Assemblage" exhibition and regretted the absence of avant-garde artists in California, such as Kienholz and

³²Pierre Restany, "Le Nouveau Réalisme à la Conquête de New York," Art International 7 (25 January 1963): 29-36. Restany was particularly interested in European artists, such as Arman, Yves Klein, Jean Tinguely, and Daniel Spoerri.

Bruce Connor, in the Janis exhibition.³³ Restany also noted that a lot of emphasis had been given to the name of this new direction: neo-dada, junk art, pop art, popular realists, commonists, and factualists.

While Restany was specifically interested in the European Nouveaux Réalistes who came to the foreground in 1960, Sonya Rudikoff reviewed only the exhibition's New York artists in the same magazine issue. She referred to the use of popular culture in these artists' works and their conscious attempt to use the means of the mass media to comment on it. She cited Oldenburg and Segal as characteristic of these artists who used representation in an abstract way; that is, they distorted representative images through their selective process and their isolation and fragmentation of images. Although Oldenburg used advertising's illusionistic methods in his objects of food, he went further in vulgarizing the object. To Rudikoff, Segal appropriated realistic figures, but their function as props evoked a different level of communication. While their message on the disgusting

³³Kienholz exhibited John Doe and Jane Doe in "The Art of Assemblage" exhibition organized by The Museum of Modern Art in 1961 and circulated to Dallas and San Francisco during 1961-62. Because of the controversial nature of the show where a wide variety of art, including painting, sculpture, environments, and happenings, were formally allied under the term assemblage, the curator William Seitz wrote an article reemphasizing the strong subject matter of some of this art; see Seitz, "Assemblage: Problems and Issues," Art International 6 (February 1962): 26-34.

aspects of commercial society was evident, she also felt these artists were just as "murderously methodical" in their means of construction.³⁴ Rudikoff's comments parallel many which were made at a symposium on Pop Art at The Museum of Modern Art in December, one month after the Sidney Janis show.

At the symposium the moderator Peter Selz showed slides of American works by such artists as Oldenburg and Kienholz; he also proposed that the name Neo-Dada be changed to Pop Art for the following reasons. The new artists embraced the bourgeois rather than challenging him or wanting to change life as in the original Dadaist movement. In general, the panelists--art historians, critics, and curators--repeated the same conflicting feelings expressed towards assemblage; that is, the current art set up a tension about the intention of this embrace of materialistic culture. The dialogue focused on what was of most value, its new formal qualities or its subjects.³⁵

Leo Steinberg felt that the formal concerns of this

³⁴Sonya Rudikoff, "New Realists in New York," Art International 7 (25 January 1963): 39-41. She illustrated Segal's The Bus Driver and a view of Oldenburg's exhibition featuring The Store at the Green Gallery (September-October 1962). Oldenburg actually exhibited Lingerie Counter, Stove, and Pastry Case, II and Segal exhibited The Bus Driver and The Dinner Table.

³⁵Peter Selz, ed., "A Symposium on Pop Art," Arts Magazine 37 (April 1963): 36-44.

new art were hidden behind the subject matter; however, he was hesitant to pinpoint whether the work confirmed middle class values, was satire, or was a social formalism. Henry Geldzahler could find some strong formal qualities and some satire, in contrast to Hilton Kramer who saw these artists merely presenting the "evidence," the commodities and banal advertisements of our civilization. Dore Ashton, author of one of the first major books on Abstract Expressionism, was defensive of the previous artists' idealism and metaphorical powers. She was the most upset in finding that the new work suggested a different attitude on the part of the artist; this was a reduction of individual choices, if not a refusal of the responsible act of choosing. Hilton Kramer was the most adamant in stating that the art, dependent on Duchamp, was a "conversation piece par excellence." Its form of address was contextual; its content was what critics said about it. As will be mentioned, Kienholz had executed his Conversation Piece in 1957 when he was aware of Duchamp. Geldzahler felt that the work made one aware of the original context from which the object was removed and manifested a new type of American regionalism as seen in Life magazine and on Madison Avenue.

When it came time to address the moderator's question of the new work's relationship to Dada, most believed that it was not an ideological attack on culture or art. It was

Steinberg who suggested that the new artist was not a revolutionist, only a nondissenter. However, Steinberg found that he could use for this new art Victor Hugo's summary of aesthetics after reading Baudelaire's Les Fleurs du Mal. Repeating Hugo, Steinberg said, "You create a new shudder." Interestingly, Kaprow used in his own anthology the word "shudder" for the caption of Oldenburg's reliefs from the environment The Store.³⁶

The culminating article in the same Art International issue was Barbara Rose's "Dada Then and Now."³⁷ While Rose prefaced her article with remarks on the appropriate but conservative title of "New Paintings of the Common Object" for a Pasadena exhibition, she illustrated her article with examples from the "New Realists" exhibition. On the front page was Segal's tableau The Dinner Table, followed closely by an installation shot of the Sidney Janis Gallery featuring Oldenburg's Stove (Oldenburg's old fashioned gas stove stuffed with food set on a pedestal).

Assuming that Rose could focus on these two artists, what were some of her conclusions? Similar to Kaprow, Rose chose to emphasize the new Dadaists' relationship to the new Dadaists' relationship to

³⁶For Kramer's and Steinberg's quotations, see respectively *ibid.*, 38, 40. For reference to Allan Kaprow's caption, see Kaprow, Assemblage, Environments and Happenings (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1966), fig. 102.

³⁷Barbara Rose, "Dada Then and Now," Art International 7 (25 January 1963): 23-28.

Abstract Expressionism. Although midway between abstraction and realism, these artists used their predecessor's scale and brushwork--lumpy surfaces or dripping paint. To Rose, the only European Dadaists who seemed relevant in technical means were Schwitters and his use of collage and Duchamp and his ready-mades. Only Schwitters's work was illustrated; opposite the beginning of Rose's article was Schwitters's 1947 collage For Kate (collection of the Pasadena Art Museum). What seemed particularly new to Rose was the artists' dedication to the images of the everyday world; she named John Cage as the major source. One of the ways Oldenburg and Segal were different from Richard Stankiewicz, for instance, was that Stankiewicz focused for the most part on the materials and not the blatant image. Although Rose was similar to the other critics in stating that the new Dadaist intent was not to attack society and art, she was the most clear in stating that the original bourgeois is now the "shock-proof" patron. Although she pinpointed protest, irony, and the irrational as the key factors in the original Dadaist movement, she formulated a new mood in these artists' use of old means.

Rose concurred with the critic Sidney Tillim, who had written on Oldenburg's environment The Store, that the subject matter of new Dada is the "American Dream." Since these artists were of the post-war generation, they both

accepted the cold world and commercialism and could see its failures. In an uneditorial manner, the new artist reports on the world in a way which still allows him to protest as well as to assert his individual will. For example, both Oldenburg and Segal focus their attention on the spectator through life casts or the change of scale of objects; in this recreation of the real objects the artist forces the spectator to define reality. Although not protesting, the artist refers to acute situations: fast pace, impermanence, the blur of past time, absurdity of life, and search for money. He takes the old Dadaist attitude of negation and inverts it into worship. While the old Dadaists have the "irony of despair," Rose found now an "irony of determination." Perhaps, as another critic, James Kelly, firmly concluded, one is just as cathartic as the other.³⁰ Yet, for all her emphasis on the new cool attitude, Rose concluded her essay with the belief that these artists, in ". . . giving us back in the form of art the sights and sounds of everyday experience, are creating an iconography as serious, as profoundly disturbing as the infernal tortures of Bosch's

³⁰Edward T. Kelly, "Neo-Dada: A Critique of Pop Art," Art Journal 23 (Spring 1964): 192-201. Kelly was the most adamant in relating Dada, Neo-Dada, and Pop Art. He believed that the iconological relation of Pop Art to Dada was stronger than the formal and iconographic relationship.

Millenium."³⁹

In the spring of 1962, Arts Magazine reported that "Neo-Dada Goes West." While mentioning shows of Dadaist sympathizers, such as Kurt Schwitters, Joseph Cornell, Edward Kienholz, and Louise Nevelson, had occurred, Gerald Nordland concentrated on a group of Neo-Dadaist activities. Not only were John Cage and Merce Cunningham giving performances in Los Angeles, but also there were major exhibitions by Tinguely, Rauschenberg, and Kienholz. To Nordland, all of these artists were not role-players, but rather "ironic spirits" who pointed out the tragic and comic aspects of our materialistic culture.⁴⁰ In 1963, Jules Langsner in a review would again note that Kienholz's wit saved him from being a social realist.⁴¹

In 1962, Andy Warhol's first one man exhibition featuring his subject of soup cans was at the Ferus Gallery in Los Angeles. Reviewed in the new West Coast magazine Artforum, these works reminded the reviewer of the early days of advertisements, such as the Campbell Soup Kids found in The Saturday Evening Post. These works

³⁹Rose, "Dada Then and Now," 28.

⁴⁰Gerald Nordland, "Neo-Dada Goes West," Arts Magazine 36 (May 1962): 102-103. Tinguely was at the Everett Ellin Gallery, Rauschenberg at the Dwan Gallery, and Kienholz at the Ferus Gallery.

⁴¹Jules Langsner, "Art News from Los Angeles; Kienholz," Art News 62 (September 1963): 16.

were said to make a "neat negative point about standardization" as well as a positive point of "a nostalgic call for a return to nature."⁴² In a fall issue of Artforum Kienholz was quoted in regard to his feelings on Warhol's paintings. He said:

Everybody lumps us together and says, "Oh well, it's just a rebirth of Dada"--which is not true. The need is different. There is no Dada need, it's just a thing of this time. The thing right now is social protest. The show down at the Ferus Gallery right now, the Andy Warhol show--the Campbell's Soup Show--is social protest.⁴³

As Robert Pincus has analyzed, Kienholz did not wish to be labeled with the past movement, much less allied with New York art. According to Pincus, Kienholz is more pessimistic in contrast to Warhol's bland attitude towards society. However, Kienholz could be read as recognizing just what the critics had been stating. That is, the time was different and the messages were pertinent to the fast culture. Moreover, Kienholz, along with Oldenburg and Segal, had chosen a more assertive format in their mixed media constructions and tableaux than silk screened

⁴²Henry Hopkins, "Andy Warhol, Ferus Gallery," Artforum 1 (September 1962): 15.

⁴³Robert L. Pincus, "An Ode and An 'Odious' for Neo-Dada: Edward Kienholz' Assemblages and Tableaux, 1959-1965," Images and Issues 2 (Fall 1981): 54; quotation originally published in: Arthur Secunda, "John Bernhardt, Charles Frazier, Edward Kienholz," Artforum 1 (November 1962): 31-32.

images. The fact that in 1963 Kienholz and Oldenburg were included in the same exhibition, "My Country 'Tis of Thee," at the Dwan Gallery in Los Angeles shows the attempt to allow broad responses to the commercial, popular subject matter.⁴⁴

However, in an interview in Art News, Warhol had revealed the ambivalent attitude behind the commercial art he was executing. Although to him the outcome was machinelike in execution, the people who hired him were emotional about their products and the style. To him, the indifference of Dada and Pop Art were the same. Following up the same idea in a radio interview in June 1964, Oldenburg essentially got the same answer from Warhol. He concluded that the point was that the choice of these "hot subjects," such as soup cans and "death" pictures, only brought the "cold" manner in which Warhol presented them

⁴⁴The exhibition "My Country 'Tis of Thee" at the Dwan Gallery during November-December 1962 with catalogue text by Gerald Nordland included Oldenburg and Kienholz among the following artists: John Chamberlain, Charles Frazier, Jasper Johns, Robert Indiana, Roy Lichtenstein, Marisol, Larry Rivers, James Rosenquist, Andy Warhol, and Tom Wesselmann. For a review, see R. G. Wholden, "My Country 'Tis of Thee," Artforum 1 (February 1963): 20.

more into the foreground.⁴⁵

At the same time, Segal admitted that his early juxtaposition of real objects and their duplicates were a Dadaist inspiration; however, he was not interested in shocking anyone.⁴⁶ In 1963, in an interview with Sidney Tillim, Segal stated that Pop Art to him was just the flexibility of being able to raise questions about an artistic environment and not having to make a traditional answer. In that same interview, Tillim remarked that Oldenburg presented a very conflicting attitude towards the consumers of this society when he transferred a lot of the articles in his original environment of The Store to the Green Gallery.⁴⁷

Eleven years later, a reviewer of a Pop Art exhibition at the Whitney Museum of American Art regretted that the show did not have the "charged" feeling as Pop

⁴⁵Andy Warhol in "Pop Art," in American Artists on Art from 1940 to 1980, ed. Ellen Johnson (New York: Harper and Row, Icon Editions, 1982), 86-89; originally published in Gene R. Swenson, "What is Pop Art," Part I, Art News 62 (November 1963). See also Warhol's answers in: Bruce Glaser, moderator, "Oldenburg, Lichtenstein, Warhol: A Discussion," WBAI, New York, June 1964; transcript later published in Artforum 4 (February 1966): 21-24.

⁴⁶Ellen Johnson quoted Segal as saying that he made Man at a Table as a Dada joke, "a ready-made person at a ready-made table"; see Ellen Johnson, "The Sculpture of George Segal," Art International 8 (March 1964): 49.

⁴⁷George Segal and Sidney Tillim, "Pop Art: A Dialogue," Eastern Arts Quarterly (Kurtstown, Pennsylvania) 2 (September-October 1963): 6-19, 38.

had originally presented. He quoted Oldenburg as having spoken of the "subversive" quality of Pop Art. As Oldenburg said:

. . . Some of those people in the midwest who invited us around thought at first that we were one of them, but after a few drinks it was clear that we weren't--and we got the pretty distinct impression that we'd better get out of town.⁴⁸

In summary, the primary issues of the critical discussions were the suitable name and nature of Neo-Dada and/or Pop Art, its ambivalent meanings, and formal alliances. Moreover, the critics did not focus on the tableau format or distinguish it from environments and Happenings.

The Extension of the Format of Sculptural Tableau

The second problem of this dissertation is to establish a background for sculptural tableau and to formulate the various factors influencing its general development and the three artists' individual understanding of the format. Although there are several texts on the concept of tableau in the theater and the literary arts, there has been very little exposition of the concept in twentieth century sculpture. However, during the last few years, at least four major exhibitions have been devoted to its contemporary usage in the

⁴⁸Carl R. Baldwin, "On the Nature of Pop," Artforum 12 (June 1974): 34-37; quotation, 37.

seventies and eighties. The authors of these catalogues cited Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal as key predecessors for American artists of the seventies and eighties. However, while the authors pointed to the three artists linked by some critics in the sixties, they did not fully explicate what they have in common in theme or format.⁴⁹

In their short catalogue essays, Michael Klein and Robert Stearns, Kim Levin, and Elaine Dines have attempted to outline the origins of tableau in the theater. Klein and Stearns have been the most specific in stating that in its early history the static, lifelike, staged image was intended to clarify and highlight widely held social, religious, and political values. They cited the eighteenth century French critic, Denis Diderot as the first to have called for the use of this framing device in the visual

⁴⁹Phyllis Plous, Contemporary Tableaux/Constructions 1974-1977 (Santa Barbara: University of California Press, 1977), defined tableau as an art of time and space and focused on four contemporary artists--Ira Joel Haber, Cletus Johnson, Ree Morton, and John Willenbecher. Kim Levin, Wave Hill 1981: Tableaux (Bronx, New York: Wave Hill, Inc., 1981), defined sculptural tableau as an staged image and mentioned a few nineteenth and twentieth century examples, such as the work of Dali, Duchamp, and Cornell. Michael Klein and Robert Stearns, Tableaux: Nine Contemporary Sculptors (Cincinnati: The Contemporary Arts Center, 1982) were the most specific in suggesting a short history for the term in theater, art, and literature; while Oldenburg was only listed as an important predecessor, Kienholz and Segal had work of the late seventies in the exhibition. Elaine Dines, Anxious Interiors. An Exhibition of Tableau Photography and Sculpture (Laguna Beach: Laguna Beach Museum of Art, 1984), included only Kienholz from the sixties who was represented by a 1971 sculptural relief with photography.

arts to give additional power to the visual effects of a particular scene.

Diderot expressed his ideas in both writings on the theater and painting. He used pictorial concepts to reform the theater and dramatic characteristics to heighten didactic purposes in the visual arts. In his critical writings of the 1760s he contended that the stage conventions of classical theater produced artificial undramatic groupings of figures. In theater he called for a stage space devoid of spectators and for a type of dramatic unfolding which would make the spectator think he was before a canvas or tableau. A tableau was not merely the visual component of the stage action at different times during the play. To Diderot, a tableau was the staging of actors before painted scenery as if they were giving a lesson in virtue; he demanded the same approach, one of maximum intensity in dramatic effect. He called for the same "radical intelligibility" found in moral discourse. However, the audience was there not only to hear but also to see. He believed a sense of dramatic motivation and pictorial unity would occur if the actors were unaware of the audience. In turn, this decisive, instantaneous unity would occur if the visual artist took into account that every scene in the theater had an ideal viewpoint. It was from this point of view that the picture could be unified as to dramatic motivation and the

spectator contained as if he were not there.⁵⁰

Diderot stressed a pictorial unity which was the result or implication of an ideal viewpoint. Since the visual arts are a static medium, Diderot knew that the artist had to choose the most pregnant moment of an event to relate the past and future. When Diderot chose to reform theater, he stressed concepts which applied equally to a painting and to a sculptural relief. In a relief the solid ground acts like an illusionistic background through which the figure can move. From the single viewpoint of a painting and with the similar frontality of a relief, the viewer could understand the forms in space, the implications of the gesture, and the meaning of the depicted moment in the narrative context. Although interested in multiple vantage points, the artist and the theatrical director would have to seek the ideal view that gave all the necessary information to understand the one dramatic moment. In other words, the viewer, even in a frontal position, would feel as if he had viewed the scene from different vantage points in the theater.⁵¹

⁵⁰For an analysis of Diderot's writings on tableau in two early texts, Entretiens sur le Fils naturel (1757) and Discours de la poésie dramatique (1758), see Michael Fried, Absorption and Theatricality. Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 75-105.

⁵¹For an analysis on sculptural relief incorporating Diderot's ideals, see Rosalind E. Krauss, Passages in Modern Sculpture (New York: Viking Press, 1977), 9-14.

These recent contemporary writers on tableau used Diderot's idea of a more self-sufficient, contained picture to set forth a general sense of this theatrical means of expression. They gave a few examples of painters and photographers from the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; in terms of sculpture, they also named, for example, the monuments of Antonio Canova and the narrative groups of John Rogers.⁵²

Although this dissertation will not focus on earlier examples of tableau, it is important to mention the monument as part of the development of sculptural tableau. By the end of the eighteenth century, sculptors had begun to engage in commissions for large-scale monuments. Instead of an accessory to architecture, sculpture itself had taken on the function of memorializing church and state, particularly in Rome. Generally speaking, a monument is a stone, a marker or pedestal with figure, or a building commemorating a person, event or idea. Although used for private funerary purposes, the monument had

⁵²For a discussion of Rogers's work, see Wayne Craven, Sculpture in America, new and rev. ed. (Newark: University of Delaware Press and New York and London: Cornwall Books, 1984), 357-366. Similar to Rogers's sculpture, the popular Victorian theater also featured Uncle Tom's Cabin, The Old Homestead, and the story of Rip Van Winkle. Although Rogers did not build the three walls of the box set interior, then new to the Victorian theater, he did have the compactness and intimate setting typical of their evergrowing peephole stage; see Sheldon Cheney, The Theater. Three Thousand Years of Acting and Stagecraft, rev. ed. (New York: David McKay, 1972), 464, 476.

predominated as a public art form. It became an instrument of national patriotism where great men and their achievements were celebrated in squares, broad avenues, and places of pilgrimage in parks and open countryside. In the United States from the Civil War through World War I, sculpture was a public art unfolding the history of the Republic on buildings, in parks, and at world fairs.⁸³

In commemorating a single figure, there are various types of monuments which come closer to the idea of tableau where there is an illusion of a dramatic action in or on a stage set. Several examples follow: in the eighteenth century, Antonio Canova's idea for a marker as a building in low relief with sculptural figures on the steps; in nineteenth century America, Daniel Chester French's idea of a marker on a low step with the sculptural interaction between two figures and the relief background; Frederick MacMonnies's entourage of nereids in a stately barge floating down the lagoon towards the monumental statue of The Republic at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893; and, Auguste Rodin's The Burghers of

⁸³For a discussion of American sculpture, including monuments, of the late nineteenth through early twentieth century, see Daniel Robbins, "Statues to Sculpture, From the Nineties to the Thirties," in 200 Years of American Sculpture (New York: David R. Godine in association with the Whitney Museum of American Art, 1976), 113-159.

Calais.⁵⁴

Although these are highly selective examples from the history of tableau prior to the twentieth century, there is, first, a primary focus on an ideal moment, place, and time stemming from a linear sense of history. Secondly, in these examples, there is an emphasis on didactic expression whether from a religious viewpoint or secular viewpoint. The history partakes of both sacred and secular events: a funereal spectacle in a sacred theater in the eighteenth century and historic figures and/or events chronicled against the sky in a public square or in a lagoon in the nineteenth century.

In terms of the use of tableau in twentieth century sculpture, the previous authors, Klein and Stearns, Levin, and Dines, all pointed to the significance of context in Dadaism and the free, personal association of Surrealism as important in extending this tableau format. While Dada and Surrealism are extremely important, this dissertation will also show that the three artists have a wide knowledge of the history of the dramatic scene in the visual arts as well as in the theater. More importantly, these three artists, particularly Kienholz and Oldenburg,

⁵⁴For a review of nineteenth century American monuments, see Craven, Sculpture in America, 245-257, 295-300, and 392-406. One analogy with MacMonnies's picturing on a barge might be the wagon stages, pageant cars, and festival stages of medieval to eighteenth century theater; see Cheney, The Theater. Three Thousand Years of Acting and Stagecraft, 172-173, 182, 210-213.

did not lose sight of this earlier background. When Kienholz exhibited Roxys at the Ferus Gallery, he specifically used the term tableau. As will be seen, his knowledge of the history of tableau vivant embraced the staged presentations in churches, the nineteenth century historical rooms in museums and waxwork museums, and the entertainment on variety stages and at fairgrounds.⁵⁵ In the case of Oldenburg, he went back to the idea of a monument to form his major contribution to sculptural tableau.

Klein and Stearns, Levin, and Dine are correct in placing emphasis on Dada and Surrealism. However, this dissertation in chapter one will not only pinpoint specific examples but also will focus on two primary sources published in the early fifties: Cyril Connolly's 1952 article on "Surrealism" in Art News⁵⁶ and Robert Motherwell's 1951 book, The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology. Both of these sources had crucial texts and illustrations for the development of sculptural tableau. The Dadaists took the cabaret format and transformed it

⁵⁵Also, in affluent homes abroad and in the United States, types of tableau vivant, shadow plays, pantomime, and amateur theatricals had been staged with the assistance of source books or "how to" books, such as George Bartlett's An Evening of Statuary and Tableaux published in Boston in 1888; see Klein and Stearns, Tableaux: Nine Contemporary Sculptors, 6.

⁵⁶Cyril Connolly, "Surrealism," Art News Annual 21 (1952): 130-170.

into a new type of theater. This dissertation will show how performance affected the dramatic form of tableau vivant itself and how their experiments reappeared in sculptural or three-dimensional forms of tableau. Furthermore, the Surrealists took these assemblages and either placed them in thematic environments or developed the object into a large-scale environmental tableau utilizing architectural elements.

The majority of writers have not been concerned with actually relating the works of Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal in order to focus on their contributions in the sixties to the development of tableau sculpture since Dadaism and Surrealism. The second chapter will discuss the development of these three artists' works, focusing specifically on their early work from 1958 to 1964. As these artists developed their works through the means of paintings or reliefs to life-size environments, they too moved deeper into real space. They began to investigate the meanings of both private and public space. Their space was physically shared with the spectator on a new, dramatic level.

In studying the formal sources of each of these artist's works, one can begin to understand their common background and their individual attitudes towards the use of the format. The term "proto-tableau" occurred in both Anne Ayres's and Barbara Rose's separate discussions of

the early constructions of Kienholz and of the happenings by Oldenburg.⁵⁷ This is a prime example where the amplification of each writer's term and a comparison of the early works of Kienholz and Oldenburg might clarify the roles of assemblage and the different types of theater in the development of tableau sculpture in their individual works in the sixties.

Particularly important is the reformation of performance art, such as the creation of Happenings, during the sixties in New York. Roselee Goldberg's book has provided a framework in which to discuss the interrelationship of Oldenburg's and Segal's works with their contemporaries in the visual and performing arts: for example, George Brecht, Jim Dine, Red Grooms, Robert Rauschenberg, Lucas Samaras, Carolee Schneeman, and Robert Whitman. However, Goldberg was primarily interested in discussing the background and manifestation of live performance, not tableau sculpture.⁵⁸ Still, Goldberg's overall historical analysis along with Michael Kirby's, Al Hansen's, and Allan Kaprow's emphasis on the background

⁵⁷Anne Ayres, "Berman and Kienholz: Progenitors of Los Angeles Assemblage," in Los Angeles. Seventeen Artists in the Sixties, with an introduction by Maurice Tuchman (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of Art, 1981), 11-18; specific term, 14. Barbara Rose, Claes Oldenburg (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1970), 183.

⁵⁸Roselee Goldberg, Performance Art. Live Art 1909 to the Present (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1979), 79-91.

and theoretical nature of Happenings and their anthologies do contribute to an understanding of the interrelationship of Happenings and sculptural tableau in the sixties.⁵⁹

For example, Hansen's book assists in pinpointing the Dadaist and Surrealist sources of some of these Happenings using sculptural objects in environments. The fact that these performing artists were aware of Robert Motherwell's anthology comes from Hansen's descriptions of one event: according to Hansen, Larry Poons sat inside a cardboard giant and read out loud from Motherwell's book, particularly Tristan Tzara's poem "Roar." Poons was another occasional participant along with Segal in John Cage's classes at the New School. As will be seen in chapter one, Cage was an important link for these artists in understanding the Dadaist spirit and artistic methods. Hansen also stated that the idea of multi-film projection in some of these happenings stemmed from the popularity of Kurt Schwitters's idea of environmental art.⁶⁰

In discerning each of these three artist's attitudes towards the use of tableau, this dissertation will focus on the polemical roles of Allan Kaprow as artist and

⁵⁹Michael Kirby, ed., Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1965). Al Hansen, A Primer of Happenings & Time/Space Art (New York: Something Else Press, 1965). Allan Kaprow, Assemblage, Environments and Happenings (1966).

⁶⁰Hansen, A Primer of Happenings & Time/Space Art, 13, 16, 18, 95; Schwitters, 105.

writer. Most authors have concluded that Kaprow had initiated Segal's interest in such artists as Kurt Schwitters and Marcel Duchamp; both were featured in Motherwell's anthology and in Cage's classes. For example, Sam Hunter has stated that Segal was dependent on Kaprow's interpretation of Cage, Duchamp, and Dada.⁶¹ Phyllis Tuchman has quoted Segal on the fact that he and Kaprow combined Duchamp, Schwitters, and the Italian Futurists with the industrial society of New Jersey.⁶² In turn, Graham Beal has suggested the mutual knowledge of each other's works by quoting Duchamp on Segal: ". . . with Segal it is not a matter of the found object; it's the chosen object."⁶³

In several articles and his book Assemblage, Environments and Happenings, Kaprow discussed the seminal role of Jackson Pollock. In his book Kaprow included Segal's work through 1963-64. His selection and careful placement of Segal's work supports Kaprow's argument that Pollock in his use of gesture and extension in his action

⁶¹Sam Hunter, "History and Biography: Sculpture and Environment," in George Segal (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1984), 20, 23.

⁶²Phyllis Tuchman, George Segal, Modern Master Series (New York: Abbeville Press, 1983), 14.

⁶³Graham Beal, "Realism at a Distance," in George Segal: Sculptures (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1978), 69.

paintings had pointed to the development of room-size environments. To Kaprow, Segal's work was a part of the ongoing action of Happenings. However, as will be seen in chapter two, Segal would establish by 1963 his own sense of static time in opposition to Kaprow's happenings. Due to Kaprow's total emphasis on action painting, some writers have continued to discuss Segal's tableaux only in relation to the gestural tradition of Abstract Expressionism. For example, in contrast to Roselee Goldberg and to William Seitz, Jan van der Marck and Phyllis Tuchman in their respective books have tended to play down Segal's relationship to Happenings and to favor his background as an Abstract Expressionist painter.⁶⁴ However, recent discussions have shown that color field painting and the teachings of Tony Smith would further assist Segal in understanding the concept of the environment.⁶⁵

In his discussion of the seven tenets of Happenings in Assemblage, Environments and Happenings, Kaprow had insisted that their themes, materials, actions, and associations should not come from the arts. He wanted to

⁶⁴William Seitz, Segal (Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje and New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1972). Jan van der Marck, George Segal, rev. ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1979). Tuchman, George Segal (1983).

⁶⁵Paula Harper, "American Space," in George Segal Sculpture (Miami: Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami, 1983), n.p.

deemphasize the idea of a total theater. As will be explained in chapter two, Oldenburg would gradually find that some of his attitudes towards Happenings were in contrast to Kaprow's ideas. In fact, Kaprow's book only featured Oldenburg's work through 1961.

Interested in the interrelationship of the arts, Oldenburg would work with the relationship of objects in space and in time as well as with the single object to build a picture. Although the nature of Happenings by definition is a one-time event, Oldenburg's happenings can be studied through his scripts, the reports on his productions, published photographs, and film clips. Major sources are Kaprow's pictorial anthology, Kirby's anthology, and the films Store Days and Injun, Dallas (1962).⁶⁶ In her major monograph on Oldenburg, Barbara Rose relegated Oldenburg's performance work to an appendix and did not explore in detail his relationship to Kaprow or the formal and thematic relationships of his happenings with his sculpture.⁶⁷ Only Ellen Johnson has been the most consistent in suggesting his happenings as a resource

⁶⁶Claes Oldenburg, Store Days (1962, 1975), filmed by Raymond Saroff, The Store, 1962, and edited by Lana Jokol, 1975 (New York: Castelli-Sonnabend Videotapes and Films); Injun, Dallas 1962, filmed by Roy Fridge, Dallas, 1962 and edited in 1971 (Dallas Museum for Contemporary Arts, 1962; New York: Castelli-Sonnabend Videotapes and Films).

⁶⁷Rose, "Appendix: The Theater of Action," in Claes Oldenburg, 183-188.

for his sculpture.⁶⁰ However, this dissertation will show that Oldenburg's attitude towards tableau within his happenings was crucial for the development of his monuments. In many of his early happenings he actually used tableau vivant, the freezing of the action to form a still life with living actors and objects. His monuments form his major contribution to sculptural tableau.

Kienholz's initial attitude towards sculptural tableau involved his reactions to the New York art scene and Happenings. As will be seen, Kienholz labeled his assemblages in environmental settings as tableaux. Perhaps he also had reflected on the example of Schwitters whose work he knew by 1957; in wanting to call attention to his own brand of Dadaist constructions, Schwitters had called his art merz. Although he was not a participant in performance as Segal and Oldenburg, Kienholz had a strong connection to the Dadaist-Surrealist tradition and to theater. This dissertation will show that he had a rich background which ranged from the traditional tableau vivant of creche scenes and the history of film to the small and large-scale boxes of Duchamp.

In bringing together these three artists, this dissertation also will emphasize the simultaneous development of Oldenburg's and Kienholz's conceptual

⁶⁰Ellen H. Johnson, "The Living Object," Art International 7 (25 January 1963): 43-44.

approach to tableau. Both artists depended on text for the development of their sculpture. In 1963 Kienholz would begin his series of framed texts for future tableaux. In 1965 Oldenburg would begin his series of proposals through drawings and text for dramatic enactments in monumental form.

Common Themes

Sidney Tillim was one of the first critics to state that the content of the new realism or Pop Art was based on the American dream.⁶⁹ This art was based on the post-war consumer's paradise of gleaming products, new brand names, and television and film icons. Despite the fact of a highly sophisticated, urban technological society, there are signs in the work of Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal that they were not celebrating consumerism. As explained earlier in the critics' attempts to come to terms with art of the early sixties, these artists' attitudes towards changes in society ranged from ambivalence to outright protest. Even from a retrospective viewpoint, authors in the seventies and eighties have not fully explored how each artist used the satirical and transformative aspects

⁶⁹Sidney Tillim, "New York Exhibitions. Month in Review," Arts Magazine 36 (February 1962): 34-37.

of their Dadaist and Surrealist backgrounds.⁷⁰

Chapter three of this dissertation will determine how each artist built upon the foundations of these movements set forth in chapter one. Furthermore, this discussion will demonstrate that these three artists had similar themes. These center on their recurrent subjects such as religion, technology, urban environment, the life cycle involving birth, sex, violence, and death, and the artist in his studio. Chapter three will clarify their attitudes towards art and society and their themes in relation to the artistic, social, and political climate of the sixties.

The Issue of Theatricality

As mentioned in the discussion of early critical approaches, Michael Fried in 1967 wrote an article again linking Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal. In his article "Art and Objecthood" he felt that the theatricalization of experience associated with Minimal Art was detrimental to

⁷⁰Although Barbara Rose has mentioned Surrealism as a source for Oldenburg, she has not developed these vital roots. In the case of Kienholz, Gerald Silk has led the field in comparing several of Kienholz's works to those by Dali and Duchamp, but the individual catalogue essays by Anne Ayres and David Scott did not further elaborate on this important foundation; see Gerald D. Silk, "Edward Kienholz's 'Back Seat Dodge '38'," Arts Magazine 52 (January 1978): 112-118; Ayres, "Berman and Kienholz: Progenitors of Los Angeles Assemblage," 11-18; David Scott, Edward Kienholz: Tableaux 1961-1979 (Dublin, Ireland: The Douglas Hyde Gallery, Trinity College, 1981), 5-21, especially 8-10.

modern art. However, in his discussion he made a useful point; he said that it is this theatrical effect which connects together such diverse artists as the Minimalists along with Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal.⁷¹

Fried's argument against theatricality stemmed from his understanding of Diderot and his concept of tableau.⁷² To Fried, the modernist arts should maintain their separatist attitudes because in this way they could become models for the perception of distinct values. An example of the value of separatism is in the setup of conventional drama. There, the spectator is located off the stage and ignored by the actors. This fiction that the spectator is not there assists in the independence of the art on stage and in the analytic and absorbing stance of the viewer. In his recent book, as in his 1967 article on theatricality, Fried argued Diderot's case for and his own belief in the value of absorption; that is, the physical absence of the spectator in art is the highest example for achieving this moral goal of conviction. To Fried, as to Diderot, the condition in the theater of recognizing the beholder was

⁷¹Michael Fried, "Art and Objecthood," in Minimal Art. A Critical Anthology, ed. Gregory Battcock (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1968), 116-147. Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal are mentioned in footnote 8, p. 130 as being linked in this concept of theatricality.

⁷²In his recent book on Diderot's criticism, he stated that he saw his book as a background for his 1967 article; see Fried, Absorption and Theatricality, 1-5.

called theatricality. To these critics, theatricality was to dislocate the viewer and to estrange him from a mode to truth and conviction.

In his recent book, Fried found that in eighteenth century art there was a deferral of the satisfaction of completeness through the multiple centers of landscape painting.⁷³ In contemporary art Fried had argued for the same strategy of suspension in order to avoid literalism. Fried first defined Minimalism as literalist art.⁷⁴ He believed that this art did not declare itself either as painting or sculpture in the true modernist spirit; it occupied another position which borrowed effects from the theater. Quoting Donald Judd, one of the spokesmen for Minimalism, Fried saw the literalist position against painting because of its inescapable pictorial illusionism. Also, he believed the literalist chose to work in three-dimensions in order to avoid the potential exhaustion of painting; this was a recent modernist problem of how to relate literal and depicted shapes in painting.

In terms of sculpture, Fried saw the literalist position as preoccupied with shape. Whereas Judd could bring together such diverse artists as Oldenburg and

⁷³Fried discussed the viewer in the landscape in Absorption and Theatricality, 118-136.

⁷⁴Unless clarified with a footnote, the summary of Fried's contemporary views comes from his article "Art and Objecthood."

Robert Morris under his category of "specific objects,"⁷⁵ Fried did not dwell on the unusual relationship of the literalist nature in a representational art such as Pop and in the abstract art of Minimalism. Ignoring that problem, Fried went on to choose Judd and Morris as exemplars of the Minimalist mode in their focus on unitary, abstract forms. Fried stated that the aim of the Minimalists was to make literal objects and to relate them in ensembles. Since these objects had the barest look and had an insignificant meaning as mere objects, he called their condition one of objecthood. He thought that the objective of modernist painting and sculpture was "to suspend" or "to defeat" this situation of objecthood. Objecthood in sculpture was difficult to access because sculpture is three-dimensional like an ordinary object. Yet to Fried and another critic, Clement Greenberg,⁷⁶ modernist sculptors could "defeat" this same condition of objecthood by making sculpture's substance seem incorporeal and optical, as in the late work of David Smith. Another method was to make the sculpture's surface like painting, as in the sculptural work of the painter Jules Olitski. Fried accused sculptors such as Judd and

⁷⁵Donald Judd, "Specific Objects," in American Artists on Art from 1940 to 1980, ed. Ellen Johnson, 105-111; article reprinted from Arts Yearbook 8 (1965).

⁷⁶Fried quoted Greenberg extensively in his article "Art and Objecthood," 120, 123-124, 127, 137-138.

Morris of reacting in theatrical terms to the same problems of the painters. What he also implied was that this sensibility had already been influenced by the theater. Perhaps he had in mind Happenings or other types of performance, which other critics such as Suzi Gablik had seen as so crucial to Pop and Minimal Art.⁷⁷

Fried believed that the literalist sensibility was oriented to theater. Because Minimalist work related to the spectator's scale and because it was in an ensemble, it demanded distance and an extended time to view it. Fried, along with Greenberg, believed the resulting sense of presence was theatrical, because the literalist object and the spectator were in the same controlled situation of space, light, and scale. Furthermore, human scale, a simple type of natural order or repetition, and a hollow feeling to the work itself gave this sense of presence a hidden anthropomorphism.

Fried quoted the now famous passage by Tony Smith about being on the New Jersey Turnpike. As will be seen in chapter two, Smith's viewpoint was important to Segal. However, to Fried, Smith's passage was a clear example of the literalist focusing on or experiencing a situation or even "abandoned situations" in the case of Smith's other landscapes of airstrips and drill grounds. Fried saw the

⁷⁷Suzi Gablik, introduction to Pop Art Redefined (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), 14-20.

situation of the minimal object isolating the spectator in the closed room or gallery space similar to the persistent, explicit experience of the ongoing turnpike on Smith's mind. Two aspects were troublesome to Fried. The first was Smith's remark that there was no way to frame that experience; in other words, the more effective the setting or theater, the more unnecessary the pictorial or sculptural object. The second was that the literalist sensibility was oriented to a duration of experience just as in theater.

To Fried, the model of modernist sculpture was a work by Anthony Caro because it had the power to produce results. Caro's totally abstract compositions of industrial I-beams, piping, sheet metal, grill work, etc., worked together; each element inflected another element as if they could make gestures. To Fried, Caro's work pointed to the notion that there was still a possibility of art making a meaning. He did not see this result in Minimalist work. One reason was the fact that it seemed to him that Minimalist work never "eclipsed" or absorbed the spectator to a point where he believed the meaning of the art was always true. To Fried, this meaning was art's spiritual assurance and its "radical unlikeness to nature."

In experiencing the Minimalist work the factor of time was crucial; it emphasized the work's and the spectator's worldly nature. With an emphasis on spatial

extension or recession and temporality, the artist and the spectator could bring to the work psychological factors of time, such as memory, nostalgia, anxiety, stagnant thought, and expectations.⁷⁰ Contrary to Fried's search, these, of course, are the exact emotions involved in the tableaux of Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal.

The discussion of Fried's viewpoint here in the introduction sets up the issues of chapter four. Besides the issue of theatricality, there is the critical problem of placing the sculptural tableaux of Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal within the dominant trends of the sixties--Pop Art and Minimal Art. Through a brief comparison of these three artists' works with those of the Minimalist Robert Morris, Fried's issue of theatricality and the commonalities of Pop and Minimal Art will be clearer. This dissertation will show that sculptural tableau was an important strategy in the sixties.

⁷⁰In "Art and Objecthood" Fried stated that there was an affinity between the literalist and Surrealist sensibility and that "temporality--manifested, for example, as expectation, dread, anxiety . . . --is often the subject of their paintings"; see footnote 19, p. 145.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF TABLEAU PRIOR TO THE SIXTIES

The Period 1948-1952

From 1946 to 1950 Oldenburg was enrolled as an art student at Yale University. During the summer of 1947, he was at the University of Chicago, the city which had just hosted the Museum of Modern Art exhibition Abstract and Surrealist Art. Perhaps Kienholz had heard about or seen the touring show while traveling in Minneapolis and Chicago that year. In 1947 Segal was at New York University under the instruction of the Abstract Expressionists Tony Smith and William Baziotes. During this period art was undergoing change which would be most evident in the mid to late fifties and in the early work of Edward Kienholz, Claes Oldenburg, and George Segal.

This chapter will focus specifically on one major work by Frederick Kiesler of the period 1948-52 and on three publications of 1951-52 which would provide crucial models for these three tableau artists. Harold Rosenberg's, Cyril Connolly's and Robert Motherwell's

publications not only summarized the important movements of Dadaism, Surrealism, and Abstract Expressionism, but they also highlighted factors important to the development of sculptural tableau.¹ The one factor they have in common is their stress on the dramatic act whether in painting, sculpture, performance or film.

In 1952 Harold Rosenberg in his article "The American Action Painters" saw the Abstract Expressionists' painting as breaking the barriers of art and life. His essay reverberates with theatrical words as "act," "role," and "drama." He stressed the canvas as an arena for an event focusing not on aesthetic or tasteful choices but on the way the artist handled his "role" as if he were in a living drama.

Although Rosenberg did not mention sculpture, it is important to mention the sculptor Frederick Kiesler who was challenging the spatial limitations of sculpture in order to unite the spectator with a dramatic act. An important example is Kiesler's Galaxy which was exhibited in 1952 in the exhibition "15 Americans" at The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Its aim to physically unite the spectator with the sculpture relates to the Abstract Expressionist painters' desire for their art to be a

¹Harold Rosenberg, "The American Action Painters," Art News 51 (December 1952): 22-23, 48-50. Connolly, "Surrealism," (Art News, 1952); Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology (1951).

living experience.

As will be seen in Salvador Dali's Rainy Taxi (1938), Kiesler in his Galaxy (1948-51; fig. 1) also set up a singular sculptural object as an environmental tableau. Kiesler's Galaxy was adapted from his stage set for a 1948 production of Le Pauvre Matelot (The Poor Sailor). For the production of the Julliard School of Music, Galaxy was only a part of the whole set; it was a bar and house as well as a fantastic sea setting with spiked forms for a story about a woman who eventually kills her husband, home from the sea. When Kiesler exhibited this side of the set as an independent sculpture in 1952, he replaced the floor of the set with a crossbar base.² Thus, the new floor boards allow the spectator to penetrate the cage sculpture established earlier by Alberto Giacometti and Dali. The spectator can not only observe the four piers as individual totemic figures, but also he can see the tableau as an architectural construction with imagery.

In a sense, Kiesler's crossbar in Galaxy is like a street, only it is a skywalk; it physically leads the spectator into a place, only this time giving a world

²For a discussion of Galaxy, see Joan Pachner, "The Odd Couple: Two Installations by David Hare and Frederick Kiesler," Arts Magazine 57 (December 1982): 85-86. For a more general discussion of the beginning of environmental sculptural works, including the work of Louise Bourgeois, of the decades of the forties and fifties, see Lisa Phillips, The Third Dimension. Sculpture of the New York School (Whitney Museum of American Art, 1984), especially 39, 99.

view, a brilliant array of things on an universal level. As will be seen in the 1938 Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme (International Surrealist Exhibition), there was a constant interchange of interior and exterior spaces on a poetical and concrete level; the major installations involved the street and the grotto (figs. 4-6). On the 1938 street, an exterior space, man met the mannequin, a construction of his innermost thoughts. On the 1938 street, man confronted the taxi, but it was inside the taxi where his literal, physical, and psychological sense of man and nature merged. This street led to the grotto, a cavelike summer house where man-made and natural, architecturally enclosed spaces merged. Inside was a storeroom of objects. Upon the beds the spectator could dream; around the pool he could reflect his psyche; in the storeroom he could make contact with specific objects symbolically functioning and could gaze at windows or pictures or his desires and fears.

Kiesler's Galaxy of the late forties and early fifties demonstrates the Surrealist sense of space continuing on an abstract level. The work manifests a strong relation to the primitive's conception of the world and to his mode of thinking. Supposedly, the primitive believed that he was only one force in a surrounding field of supra-sensible forces. Through intuition and omens, he penetrated into himself and into the surrounding physical

and spiritual environment. In order to simplify the fusion of nature, society, and his own psychic experiences into a comprehensible whole, artists as Kiesler imaginatively constructed a poetic device; he used myths like André Breton's "great invisibles."³ Alfred Barr suggested this primitive and primordial world of animal-vegetable-mineral matter when he wrote on Kiesler's Galaxy:

. . . its four caryatids are a dolphin's spine, a hippo's campus, a lobster's claw, and an ichthyosaur caressed by a boomerang; its lintels are driftwood, and a comb-finned gar.

But he also said:

GALAXY is a four-poster in which Sinbad, Jonah, Crusoe and Ahab may sit eternally, back to back, telling each other their stories, slowly, with low voices, and credulous ears. . . .⁴

Contrary to Kiesler's abstract "four-poster" or "gazebo," Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal would return to the more concrete images of the street and grotto--home

³The catalogue of the 1942 Reid Mansion exhibition in New York was called "First Papers of Surrealism." It featured an album by Breton, "On the Survival of Certain Myths and on Some Other Myths in Growth and Formation." It concluded with Breton's "Great Invisibles," one of which was illustrated by David Hare. Breton had earlier focused on a search for a new myth and invisible beings in "Prolegomena to a Third Manifesto of Surrealism or Else," published in VVV, no. 1 (June 1942), 18-26.

⁴Quotation from Alfred H. Barr, Jr., "Kiesler's Galaxy," Grey Gallery Art Gallery Bulletin 4, no. 2 (Summer 1982), unpaginated. Barr's statement was originally published in Harpers Bazaar 185 (April 1952): 142-143.

and store--in the early sixties. Yet the scale of Kiesler's work was crucial to their undertaking.

These three artists might not have read Barr's characterization of Kiesler's work in Harpers Bazaar where he described Kiesler's work as a space for "Sinbad, Jonah, Crusoe and Ahab." However, they probably read in Art News Rosenberg's article which spoke of the painter who "took off to the white expanse of the canvas as Melville's Ishmael to the sea." Both men related the art to an "adventure over depths," but Rosenberg emphasized the creation of new private myths, a "true image of the artist's identity." Furthermore, Rosenberg believed the artist in this spirit of risk would be involved in a personal revolt and in a state of "constant No."⁵

In the same year in which Harold Rosenberg published his article "The American Action Painters" in Art News, there was a major article by Cyril Connolly on Surrealism in the Art News Annual. One year prior, Robert Motherwell, an Abstract Expressionist, had published The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology. It is important to look at these two other publications of 1951 and 1952 as immediate, more crucial sources for Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal, who were to begin their careers in the fifties. The next discussion will center on Connolly's article and its

⁵Harold Rosenberg, "The American Action Painters," 22-23, 48-50.

illustrated sections. As will be seen, Connolly's emphasis on the Surrealist object and the environmental exhibition was an important model for these three artists. The second part of the discussion will be a review of Motherwell's anthology and what Dadaism proposed for the development of sculptural tableau. The selection here of specific artists, art, and texts from these two vital publications will become more relevant in the discussion of Kienholz's, Oldenburg's, and Segal's works in chapter two and three.

Connolly's Article on Surrealism: A Summary

In 1952 the editors of Art News began the article on Surrealism in this way:

The mystery and fantasy of one of Paris' most famous and recent avant-gardes has become part of the man-on-the street's favorite experience. What was . . . the private game of brilliant poets and painters is now the main feature of Broadway second-act ballets, Hollywood dream sequences, fashion magazine designs, even Coney Island shooting galleries. . . . The designers of popular visual art quickly followed suit--suspending mannequins from department store ceilings, depicting beer cans surrounded by endless nostalgic horizons and generally relaxing the codes of safe-and-sane behavior which had been the rule of good taste since the last Victorian gew-gaws went out of fashion.⁶

Their selection of Cyril Connolly, described as a

⁶Editors, "Surrealism" in Art News Annual, 130.

"chronicler of gaiety and decay of modern European culture," to write on the Surrealists' achievements also exemplifies their bias that, perhaps, this movement's heyday had come.⁷

Cyril Connolly's nine points on the past and present conditions of Surrealism was interspersed with elaborate sections of illustrations selected by him and the editors of Art News. Through the points in his essay and the illustrations there is a distinct feeling that Surrealism had a new face or had manifested itself now in commercial displays and films. Yet in his article and these illustrations there are important precedents in format and theme for the artists of sculptural tableau. The following discussion will stress his sections on the Surrealist object and the environmental exhibition.

In his first four points Connolly emphasized, as would Robert Motherwell on Dadaism, that Surrealism was a state of mind. Connolly related that it was a group effort beginning with the Dadaist attempt to change life first by damaging the credit of conventional reason; in a public forum they used both literary and visual works. To point out that Dada was an important precedent, Connolly illustrated one of Schwitters's two-dimensional collages of "rubbish" along with Sophie Tauber-Arp's abstract, wood construction of a head, and examples of Dadaist

⁷Ibid.

typography.⁶

Connolly noted that André Breton, one of the poets, soon proclaimed a new order of the subconscious mind. The Surrealist leader Breton believed that a new kind of human consciousness could be created. What was needed was a liberation of the human spirit from middle class sensibility and its inbred censoring devices. The revolutionary element was not only a disruption of the authority of all patterns of reasoning but also a search for a new beauty incorporating only the quality of the marvelous. In order to facilitate Surrealism's firm belief in various levels of reality incorporating the conscious and unconscious worlds, in the power of the dream, and in the importance of playful thought, Breton set up a Bureau of Experimental Research.

In this Bureau, the Surrealists conducted research in order to exercise and to free the mind. Some of their research involved dream recording, automatic writing, spontaneous games, such as the "cadavre exquis" game, and random questioning. Although Connolly did not explicitly mention the experiments published in one of the Surrealist magazines in 1933, he did illustrate the abstract field of Surrealism and the Surrealist automatists as Joan Miro and Hans Arp along with the Abstract Expressionist Robert

⁶For Dadaist precedents, see Connolly, "Surrealism," 138-139.

Motherwell. He also stressed the creation of objects through the composite drawing game and illustrated a 1932 pen drawing by Valentine Hugo, Yves Tanguy, Paul Eluard, and Tristan Tzara.⁹

These experiments are pertinent for the development of sculptural tableau, because they indicate an increasing awareness of the importance of spatial penetration for communication. One experiment was based on Giorgio de Chirico's painting Enigma of a Day: ". . . sur les possibilités irrationnelles de pénétration et d'orientation dans un tableau."¹⁰ Although Connolly did not mention this experiment, he identified de Chirico as one of the important forerunners and illustrated de Chirico's 1916 painting The Disquieting Muse. Robert Motherwell also illustrated de Chirico's work in his anthology. In observing de Chirico's pictures or tableaux, such as Enigma of a Day or The Disquieting Muse, the mystery of de Chirico's modern day objects was made

⁹For illustrations, see *ibid.*, 140-141, 151.

¹⁰Haim Finkelstein commented on de Chirico's importance in making an art object which manifested his foreboding sense of reality; see Finkelstein, Surrealism and the Crisis of the Object (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1979), 13. The question "Recherches expérimentales: . . ." was originally published in Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution, no. 6 (May 15, 1933). One of the first depictions of the Surrealist street is in de Chirico's work, such as the Mystery and Melancholy of the Street (1914). For illustration in Motherwell's anthology, see Motherwell, The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 5.

evident in several ways: his use of isolation, uncommon juxtaposition of these objects on the ground, multiple perspectives on these objects, and the deep spaces of the streets, squares, and colonnades. Through encountering the object on its own terms and its projection into a mysterious space in de Chirico's painting, the Surrealists could theoretically experiment in real life with the movement of objects and architectural structures. Thus, there was another similar question in the "Recherches expérimentales: . . . sur certaines possibilités d'embellissement irrationnel d'une ville"; here, the Surrealists proposed either to humorously transform or totally move to an incongruous position buildings and monuments such as the L'Arc de Triomphe, l'Obélisque, Colonne Vendôme, and the Pantheon.

Earlier, during the period of the Bureau of Surrealist Research, the Surrealists had used these types of experiments as catalysts for discovering their unconscious worlds without necessarily projecting their frame of mind into sculptural objects. However, in his recognition of the possibility of displacing monuments in the attempt to discredit the accepted conventions of modern life, Breton with Louis Aragon published an object in La Révolution Surréaliste in 1928. The object joins together the two experiments published later in 1933. They placed a sewing machine and a model of the leaning Tower

of Pisa in a framed box and called their object Ci-gît Giorgio de Chirico.¹¹ While not reproducing any one painting by de Chirico, they obviously paid homage by selecting two of his isolated images such as machines as trains, statues, and architectural monuments; they displaced them even further in their box.

Breton also realized the oneiric impact of concrete objects discovered in dreams. In his book Point du Jour of 1924, he described a dream in which he had found in a market a wool-infested book whose spine was shaped as a gnome with an Assyrian beard.¹² Breton did not make his dream object. However, working from his book to his box of 1928--spinelike statue to monument--it is a short step to the architectural structure he eventually transformed into his one-time concrete dream object. The object was a model of a hotel corridor with five doors opening onto it. Behind each of the five doors appeared a green tuft; an ape crying "oup"; the letter "O" with quotes from nineteenth century poems using the invocation of "O"; the

¹¹Their object was published in La Révolution Surréaliste, no. 11 (March 15, 1928). For description, see ADES, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, 206, 260. The object obviously refers to the nineteenth century poet Lautreamont's line on the chance meeting of a sewing machine and an umbrella.

¹²David G. Zinder, The Surrealist Connection. An Approach to a Surrealist Aesthetic of Theater (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1976; 2nd printing, 1980), 47.

word "oup" and the sign of Neptune (O); a peephole with a jet of water and the exclamation, "C'est moi, l'eau huppée!" Besides the sexual implications, it is important to realize that the doors act as cages or trays for the various objects. Furthermore, these objects are spread along a corridor, a type of Surrealist street where the mystery of the objects is manifest. Breton's work Rêve-Objet was not reproduced until 1935, the period when Dali had outlined his realization of Surrealist objects.¹³ Both his wool-infested book and his hotel corridor would emerge in the work of Kienholz and Oldenburg.

One of Connolly's main sections was devoted to the Surrealist object. He was careful to provide a broad range of these Surrealist objects: Breton's framed collage of objects making a poem; the composite pen drawing of the "exquisite corpse"; Miro's scaffold holding mixed objects, including a parrot and a dangling leg with the shoed foot of a mannequin; and the "gardens of Tanguy," a platform for his scaffolded objects of bones. Furthermore, in the illustrated section called the "new anatomy," Connolly included both a costume design for a dummy by the Dadaist George Grosz and a Surrealist mannequin with violin-head, among others. Connolly's selection of objects clearly gave

¹³For a description of Breton's work see Finkelstein, Surrealism and the Crisis of the Object, 21-22. Breton's object was originally published in Cahiers d'Art, 10 Année, nos. 5-6 (1935), 125.

an overview of what Dali had proposed.¹⁴

In 1931 Dali had selected one of Breton's objects to be illustrated in an article, "Surrealist Objects," in the periodical Le Surrealisme au Service de la Revolution. In this article Dali introduced the idea that there were six categories of Surrealist objects, a primary one being "the object of symbolic functioning." As Dali stated:

These objects, which lend themselves to a minimum of mechanical functioning, are based on phantoms and representations susceptible of being provoked by the realization of unconscious acts . . . these acts correspond to clearly characteristic erotic fantasies and desires.¹⁵

Breton's object (fig. 2) consisted of a platform covered with vegetation harboring an alabaster sculpture and a photograph of the Leaning Tower of Pisa, among other things. Out of this jungle, a vertical stage flat rose at one corner to hold two horns and a ball resembling a figure with head and arms. Beginning with this figure and stretching diagonally across the platform, various elements were attached to each other as if a trap with bait.

¹⁴For the section on the Surrealist object, see: Connolly, "Surrealism," 150-151; for the section on anatomy, see 146-147.

¹⁵Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, 260. Dali's article "Objets surrealistes; objets à fonctionnement symbolique" was originally published in Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution, no. 3 (December 1931), 16-17.

Dali's object (fig. 3) was a scaffold holding similar enticing elements of sugar cubes, milk, and an erotic photograph; its mechanism dissolved one of the fetishes of the woman's shoe. Another object on a scaffold was Alberto Giacometti's wood ball with a groove resembling female genitalia; it hung slightly above and fit over a sharp crescent shape. As with Breton's and Dali's objects, the spectator would instinctively reach out to gratify his desire to move the grooved ball over the ridge. Although Connolly did not illustrate this particular spaceage by Giacometti, he did label similar works by Giacometti in his captions and essay as "human embodiments of frustration."¹⁶

In Dali's essay "The Object Revealed in the Surrealist Experiment" of 1932, he further outlined the development of the object as real and imaginary with a life of its own, dream state objects, and these new objects which can be operated on by the spectator according to his desires. Connolly suggested the same sensations in his section devoted to "the dreams of

¹⁶Dali, "Objets surréalistes; objets à fonctionnement symbolique," 16-17. For Connolly's comment on Giacometti, see "Surrealism," 164. Connolly did not illustrate Giacometti's well-known object Palace at 4 A.M. in the collection of The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Dali."¹⁷

What is important for the development of sculptural tableau is that by 1932 Dali had outlined for sculpture various ingredients necessary for the dramatic interplay between the object and the spectator. First, Breton's and Giacometti's symbolically functioning objects of 1930 and 1931 provided a horizontal plaque, tray or caged platform on which dreams and desires could be enacted and set out into the space of the observer. These platforms are three-dimensional correspondents of the picture boxes of "illuminated pleasures" in Dali's painting by the same name.¹⁸ Dali's Objet escatologique de fonctionnement symbolique (Scatological Object Symbolically Functioning) (fig. 3) involving the real shoe and its sugar cube version dangling from the post is similar in that it demands physical contact. Yet, what is also important in Dali's work is this manifestation of the framework which is more vertically oriented. With its vertical thrust and its objects, such as pieces of clothing hanging from its projections, the object is not far from the "exquisite projections"

¹⁷For a discussion of this article, see Finkelstein, Surrealism and the Crisis of the Object, 34-35. The article was translated by David Gascoyne and first published in This Quarter 1, no 1 (Paris, 1932): 197-207; also see Lucy Lippard, ed., Surrealists on Art (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: 1970), 87-96. For Connolly's section on Dali, see "Surrealism," 148-149.

¹⁸Dali's painting Illuminated Pleasures (1929) is in the collection of The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

corpse" or the store window mannequin.

Dali's object of the shoe on the scaffold--or Miro's scaffolded object illustrated in Connolly's article--sets up a display where the spectator is directed towards specific actions: the act of pulling the chain to dip the sugar into the shoe; the dissolving of the sugar cube; and the tipping over of the real shoe. While this total act has its psychological effect, the object itself sets up a tension between the real and depicted versions of the shoe.

In 1952 the editors of Art News used René Magritte's painting The Eternal Evidence (1930) to introduce Connolly's article because the painting poses a similar dichotomy.¹⁹ Here, the depicted body of a woman is cut up into individually framed sections, so that the depicted version of the body is made more tangible by the fact it consists of five real objects. Magritte exhibited this sequence in the thirties as a "tableau object." Magritte's work is a further extension of Dali's objects symbolically functioning in that the woman functions as an erotic object as well as an elaborate object similar to furniture for an interior. However, it was Dali who pushed these strange, functional objects into every aspect of man's daily life, even into decoration, advertising, and

¹⁹For Magritte's object, see Connolly, "Surrealism," 131. Also see Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, p. 214, catalogue no. 9.36.

fashion. For example, in 1936 he designed an interior representing the face of Mae West as well as a couch shaped like the actress's mouth. Connolly illustrated the sketch for this couch.

Recognizing the proliferation of these types of Surrealist objects and the development of exhibitions where all types of things could be seen mixed together, Connolly devoted a section of his illustrations to these exhibitions of the thirties.²⁰ He began with a cartoon reinforcing Max Ernst's earlier point. In his introduction to the 1933 exhibition at the Galerie Pierre Colle, Max Ernst, along with Tristan Tzara, had written that painting was just one item among many and that, like the object, it had a vital presence in the decorative scheme of things. Also, Connolly illustrated Breton's Galerie Gradiva, a sacred showcase for objects, paintings, and books representing a whole collection of things from different aspects of his life. He knew that Breton's specialized gallery was but a stepping stone to the Surrealist exhibitions of the thirties and forties. These are the types of exhibitions where architecture, painting, sculpture, and the full category of objects became one thematic environment.²¹

²⁰Connolly, "Surrealism," 154-155.

²¹Finkelstein, Surrealism and the Crisis of the Object, 114-118.

Breton and Dali were creating individual objects and providing within these objects' own framework aspects of furniture, the human figure, and a platform on which to enact a drama. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that the two major environments of the 1938 Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme (International Surrealist Exhibition) in Paris at the Galerie Beaux Arts were oriented to the street--a path--filled with mannequins and a taxi and to a grotto--a place--incorporating beds and a brazier among other things.

The hall of the Surrealist exhibition can be compared to a city with a myriad of sights. This analogy can be made because of the Dadaists' and Surrealists' general focus on the city itself. The Parisian Dadaists, followed by the Surrealists, thought in large-scale terms when they focused their theatrical activities on the street or dispersed them around the environment. They had two modes of operation. They planned a series of visits to particular sites: for example, the Morgue, St. Lazare Train Station, Church of St. Julien le Pauvre. In his anthology Robert Motherwell illustrated the announcement

of this trip.²² The idea of a trip in time, a theatrical event itself, plus the unusual characteristics of the site--a stage--were crucial to the concept of random time and chance discovery. The Surrealists also went one step further and speculated on the transformation of architectural structures in their "Recherches expérimentales: . . . sur certaines possibilités d'embellissement irrationnel d'une ville" published in 1933.²³ Connolly referred to both of these ideas when he illustrated Dali's painting City of Drawers (1936) where a figure, with a torso of stuffed dresser drawers, hails a realistic group of figures from the street in the distance.

It is interesting to speculate that Dali and the other Surrealists had in mind their taxi trip in the rain to the Church of St. Julien le Pauvre when they planned their 1938 international exhibition at the Galerie Beaux

²²Annabelle Melzer stated that only the trip in the "teaming rain" to St. Julien le Pauvre took place; see: Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1976; reprint ed., 1980), 153. For the illustrated announcement, see Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 114-115. In Georges Hugnet's "The Dada Spirit in Painting" included in Motherwell's anthology, he made reference to these trips on p. 184. For a photograph of the excursion to the church, see Goldberg, Performance. Live Art 1909 to the Present, 56.

²³Finkelstein, Surrealism and the Crisis of the Object, 113. Article originally published in Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution, no. 6 (1933).

Arts. For this exhibition they created three separate tableaux in two central environments. The exhibition began with Dali's Rainy Taxi (fig. 4) which led to the second tableau Rue Surréaliste (fig. 5) with mannequins; the third tableau in the second hall was the grotto (fig. 6). Connolly illustrated details of both of these major environments: from the Rue Surréaliste, Kurt Seligmann's mannequin of The Bride and André Masson's mannequin with bird cage head; from the grotto, one corner with bed, pool, diverse "pictures" or tableaux on the wall, and Marcel Jean's dressmaker's dummy clothed in a topographical contour map.

As will be seen, Kurt Schwitters had already used the idea of the grotto in several of his tableaux in his Merzbau. In this architectural environment, individual columns with specific themes of the grotto were embedded in a geometric labyrinth covering several real rooms of his house. This is one type of exhibition space where diverse tableaux were housed in an architectural environment. Also significant is Galerie Gradiva; this was Breton's personal shrine where various paintings and objects were brought together under one display area.

The great hall of the 1938 exhibition containing the grotto was now under a singular theme. In Connolly's illustration one can see that the grotto had a central water lilies pool with a brazier on its banks and was

surrounded by beds at the four corners of the room. The ceiling was carpeted with dead leaves and sacks of coal while the walls and floor were covered with paintings and objects of different scale. One dominant object, for example, was Oscar Dominquez's Jamais, wherein two female legs emerge from the horn of a gramophone; the pickup arm in the shape of a hand is poised above the turntable.²⁴

On a smaller scale, Dali and Marcel Duchamp narrowed their focus and decor in their World's Fair displays and window displays. Connolly illustrated Dali's pavilion at the New York World's Fair of 1939, where he used the melting watches of his painting The Persistence of Memory as a background for his Aphrodisiac Garment, a figure wearing a tuxedo jacket studded with spikes upon which tumblers were inserted upside down. In 1946 Duchamp, along with Enrico Donati, had designed a window display in New York for the advertisement of Breton's book Le Surréalisme et la Peinture (Surrealism and Painting); the window contained a wire screen figure, a diaphanous curtain and light--transparent beings--which mixed with photographs and books--symbols or passages to other worlds--and discarded objects as old shoes--remnants of well worn

²⁴For a description of Dominquez's object, see *ibid.*, 71.

paths.²⁵

Whereas Galerie Gradiva or the window display were Breton's personal spaces, the grotto in the great hall of 1938 brought together many diverse paintings and objects by many artists under one definitive decor: a grotto with pool and murky ceiling covering the four corners of the earth and containing a diversity of objects reflecting man's subterranean fears and desires.

Before discussing the other central environment with the two main tableaux, Dali's Rainy Taxi and Rue Surréaliste (The Street), it is necessary to realize that Connolly illustrated another facet of this first format of diverse tableaux in an architectural environment. Connolly's section pointed to the fact that this first format not only involved literal "pictures" or tableaux in an environment but also a progression towards the idea of a path or procession to a place.

Connolly focused on Frederick Kiesler's interests in making a path, street or track on which man's exterior and interior views and shapes would make a continuum. First, on the scale of a small box, Connolly referred to Kiesler's invitation to the spectator to plunge

²⁵Dali's display was photographed by Julien Levy; see Connolly, "Surrealism," 199. Duchamp's display is illustrated in André Breton's book; see Breton, Surrealism and Painting, translated by Simon Watson Taylor (London: Macdonald and New York: Harper and Row, Icon Editions, 1972), 96.

mysteriously into the world of the subconscious. Kiesler's box for the wall had an oval opening for an amulet reminiscent of the human eye and/or the moon. Reflecting the design of the box called The Moon Eye (1947), Kiesler also designed in 1942 Peggy Guggenheim's New York gallery, Art of This Century, in a similar fashion. The general decor of the gallery furniture and art objects had analogous shapes and even took on the organic structures of its visitors; he also transformed the room into a tunnel with intermittent train whistles. At that time, Kiesler might have had in mind the general idea of a taxi trip or a train ride on a track for the gallery. In both types of travel various scenes are framed or caught by the windows, just as the paintings and objects were projected out from the gallery walls.²⁶

Second, on the scale of the exhibition hall Connolly illustrated a detail from Kiesler's layout for the "Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme" in Paris at the Galerie Maeght in 1947. In his design for this exhibition, Kiesler integrated diverse tableaux into a more circuitous

²⁶For Kiesler's work in Connolly's article, see "Surrealism," 158. The information concerning the special effects of the train come from Daniel Cameron, "Two Installations. Frederick Kiesler and David Hare," Grey Gallery Bulletin 4, no. 2 (Summer 1982), unpaginated. He has relied on information from the essay by Cynthia Goodman, "Frederick Kiesler (1890-1965). Visionary Architecture, Drawings and Models, Galaxies and Paintings, Sculpture," for an exhibition at the André Emmerich Gallery, New York, in 1979.

design. Reflecting Breton's call in 1942 for a belief in "other beings" and a need for a collective myth, Kiesler and the Surrealists created a labyrinth focusing on different rituals of initiation. In general, the initiate was introduced to a honeycomb maze in which artists' objects were strangely grouped and mysteriously lighted on the walls, floors, and ceilings painted with abstract meandering bands of color, line, and text. For example, an initiate obtained knowledge by climbing the twenty-one books of the Tarot set in steps; entered the Hall of Superstition and faced his fears, individually shaped around a black lake painted by Max Ernst on the floor; tested his skills in the indoor game of billiards amidst "curtains of rain"; and walked through a maze presenting twelve other transparent beings.²⁷ Kiesler's two designs for exhibitions bring diverse tableaux together to form an environment or network of spaces. Each contained the suggestion that the spectator follow a path on which he would come in contact with distinctive and interlocking spaces.

The unity of the Rue Surréaliste (fig. 5) in the second central environment of the 1938 exhibition stems from a more consistent idea of a street peopled with

²⁷For Kiesler's design, see Connolly, "Surrealism," 155. For a full description, see Finkelstein, Surrealism and the Crisis of the Object, 117. The American artist David Hare exhibited two works in the exhibition.

mannequins and a taxi. However, while the street signs evoked historic Parisian names, its inhabitants were life-size mannequins, frames upon which desires were hung. Connolly only illustrated Seligmann's and Masson's mannequins; but from the following description, Masson's was the highlight of the show:

Man Ray's mannequin wept crystal tears and had clay pipes in her hair with glass bubbles emerging from them; Duchamp's wore a man's jacket with a red light bulb in the breast-pocket; Dali had his covered with small spoons; Leo Malet had a glass globe with a small gold fish inside installed on his mannequin at stomach-level (the effect, however, was too suggestive, and it was decided to remove it.) Unanimously acclaimed was Masson's mannequin, "Girl in a black gag with a pansy mouth"; her head enclosed in a bird cage, she was otherwise unadorned except for a G-string covered with glass eyes.²⁰

Dali's Rainy Taxi (fig. 4) was part of the street environment in the 1938 exhibition. Connolly did not illustrate this well-known tableau. However, as if to stress the theme of the street, he highlighted at the beginning of his article a photograph focusing on the Surrealist group efforts in an automobile. The amusement park's snapshot shows several of the Parisian Surrealists

²⁰Finkelstein, Surrealism and the Crisis of the Object, 73.

in an automobile beside which is Max Ernst on a bicycle.²⁹

Dali's Rainy Taxi led the way down the street with the mannequins to the grotto. His taxi carried two mannequins: one with a shark's head drove the taxi and the other, a blonde passenger, sat in the back seat among heads of lettuce and live snails. In Dali's taxi the interior scene was dominant, but the fluidity between the exterior and interior space was not only evident in the organic growth but also in the rainstorm occurring inside the vehicle.

Dali's taxi was a compact singular object. The taxi's literal frame could be allied to scaffolding. As discussed and illustrated by Connolly, the scaffolding of the object of symbolic functioning displayed various incongruous objects. Within its scaffolding framework, aspects of the human figure and diverse objects as furniture intersected to form an elaborate mannequin, such as Masson's with a bird cage as a head. Also within this vertical framework, a horizontal platform was often devised; therefore, the objects were hung and spread out as if to enact a more detailed drama. Connolly illustrated Yves Tanguy's painting Divisibility Undefined (now called Indefinite Divisibility) (1942; fig. 7); this work has in the foreground bony objects exemplifying this vertical and

²⁹For illustration of the automobile, see: Connolly, "Surrealism," 135.

horizontal scaffolding. Dali's Rainy Taxi (fig. 4) also had this cagelike framework, only it was in the shape of a car. It was a cagelike object housing a dramatic tableau. It is a clear example of a second type of tableau format where a singular object takes on the scale of an environment.

Connolly's essay and illustrations did not specifically indicate the Surrealists' movement towards the three-dimensional on stage; this was a shift from literary techniques as readings to an arrangement of bodies and movement in space. However, his essay and illustrations did point to the habitable settings of Tanguy's, Dali's, and Ernst's paintings and collages and to the exhibitions merging the objects with the specific environment.

In the last five points of Connolly's essay, he continued to single out certain artists. He already had highlighted the "case of Duchamp" (fig. 8) as exemplifying the connection of verbal and visual works in Dada and Surrealism. In his illustration of Duchamp's valise, he focused on this ordinary's object's compartmental format holding a retrospective of Duchamp's art.

In the last part of his essay, Connolly stressed Max Ernst's collages of repressed sexuality, already featured in Ernst's own illustrated section. Ernst had found a stage setting for his collaged objects. For example, in

his work Two Children Are Threatened by a Nightingale (1924) a carved gate and house frame, a cabinet knob, and miscellaneous wood fragments of a frame join with an oil painting. This well-known work is similar to Breton's dream image of a book stuffed with wool and looks forward to Ernst's own collage texts. In Ernst's collaged painting the frame with a title and the architectural fragments and structures lead to different scenes as if the pages of a book were penetrated. His interests in such scenic devices culminated in his collage texts, such as La Femme 100 Têtes (1929) which Connolly illustrated. Connolly also was careful to point to Ernst's use of nineteenth century illustrations in these Freudian oriented collages and to the nineteenth century poet Lautréamont who had called attention to the chance union of objects.³⁰

Connolly, then, praised the "gardens of Tanguy," the abstract patterning of Miro and Arp, the violence of Giacometti and Masson, and the new approach of their media versus the more academic but imaginative work of the illustrators as Dali, Delvaux, and Magritte. Both Connolly's illustrated sections and essay also stressed Dali's turn from painting and sculpture to an exploration of film; his film was related to German films of the twenties and to the slapstick humor of the Marx Brothers

³⁰For Ernst's section, see *ibid.*, 144-145. His painting Two Children Are Threatened by a Nightingale is in the collection of The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

in Hollywood. However, just as Connolly began his essay with the comment on the appropriation of Surrealist design in commercial advertisements, he and the editors ended with a similar pictorial section.

Motherwell's Anthology on Dadaism: A Summary and Prophecy

In 1951 when Robert Motherwell published The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, he made three points in the preface pertaining to Dada's relationship to Surrealism, to the political nature of Dada, and to the new "dada strain in the minds of the New York School of abstract painters that has emerged in the last decade." Motherwell felt that Dada had too often been seen from the French viewpoint of its relationship to Surrealism. For a complete analysis it was important to him to consider the German viewpoint in the literature as well as the relation of visual and verbal works documented through Dada's special organ of the magazines. In selecting his literature, he realized that Dada was an ongoing political issue. Earlier, there had been a division between those who saw Dadaism in literature and in abstract art as a means for affirming the nihilism of the age and those who used the artistic means in order to change the world's systems. Now, in the late forties, the position between Tristan Tzara and Richard Huelsenbeck was reversed in terms of their sympathies towards leftist politics. Given the present views of the two men, Motherwell had to solve

the controversy as to how Dada would be interpreted.³¹

In his introduction Motherwell followed up these issues raised in his preface. He not only sought a more balanced account but used the introduction to make his editorial selection clear and to give further information on those Dadaists long overlooked in the critical literature. It is obvious that the following writers and artists are the ones to be highlighted here: Richard Huelsenbeck, Tristan Tzara, Kurt Schwitters, Erik Satie, and Marcel Duchamp. However, the German artists Raoul Hausmann and Johannes Baader also emerge as important figures through the writings of Huelsenbeck and Georges Hugnet. Motherwell's selection is a crucial contemporary source for the future tableau artists. The following discussion will be organized by the artists and writers mentioned above and will focus on their Dadaist attitudes and contributions to sculptural tableau.

Richard Huelsenbeck not only was one of the Dadaists living in New York at the time of Motherwell's publication, but one who attended the meetings of the Abstract Expressionists' group, Studio 35. In 1951, the same year of Motherwell's anthology, Huelsenbeck wrote an article "Dada Lives!" for the magazine Transition. Motherwell began the main part of his anthology with

³¹Motherwell, ed., preface to The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, xi-xiii; quotation, xiii.

Huelsenbeck's history of Dada, which emphasized the background of the war.³²

Huelsenbeck, Hugo Ball, Tristan Tzara, Hans Arp, and Marcel Janco had left their own countries because of the war. In 1916, in Zurich, they had come together at an artistic center begun by Ball and called the Cabaret Voltaire. Ball hoped that the artists would not only find that they had a common protest against war, and, thus, rationalist and bourgeois values, but also that they could provide a spiritual renaissance. In his history Huelsenbeck noted that Ball's previous work with Wassily Kandinsky in pre-war Munich had assisted Ball in his multi-disciplinary approach to theater.

Kandinsky had been influenced by Wagner's concept of fusing text, stage, and music (drama, opera, and ballet) into a total work of art. However, Kandinsky had proposed a composition where every art was reduced to its essentials. Ball was made aware of this potential drama of abstract time and movements of sound, color, and objects. Thus, when the cabaret artist began his performance, he stepped onto a platform and began his act in a blank space. This unidealized space, as evidenced in Marcel Janco's painting of the Cabaret Voltaire which was illustrated by Motherwell, gave the artist the opportunity

³²Richard Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada: A History of Dadaism," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 22-47.

to develop a type of performance which approached a picture or tableau.³³

Ball believed this multi-disciplinary approach in theater, if directed towards a common pursuit of an inner spiritual nature, would not only demonstrate the saving powers of the arts but also would provide a source for building society. While Huelsenbeck also believed in this utopian spirit--the liberation of creative forces--he also stated another aim:

. . . We wanted to make the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich a focal point for the "newest art," although we did not neglect from time to time to tell the fat and utterly uncomprehending Zurich philistines that we regarded them as pigs and the German Kaiser as the initiator of the war.³⁴

In his preface, Motherwell stated that Huelsenbeck's view represented the strictest interpretation of the avant-garde spirit. In his introduction, he applauded Huelsenbeck's attempt to outline also the expressive means of Dada: these were the principles of bruitism,

³³For Huelsenbeck on Ball and Kandinsky, see *ibid.*, 24; for illustration of Janco's painting, see 50. For a discussion of Kandinsky's theater proposals, see Melzer, The Latest Rage the Big Drum, 16-25. Also see John Elderfield, Kurt Schwitters (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 31-32. For a general discussion of Zurich Dada, see Roy F. Allen, "Zurich Dada, 1916-1919: The Proto-Phase of the Movement," in Dada/Dimensions, ed. Stephen C. Foster, 1-22; and Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, 11-44.

³⁴Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada: A History of Dadaism," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 23-24.

simultaneity, and collage. While Huelsenbeck recognized the importance of Ball's work with Kandinsky, he also stressed the precedents of the Futurists.³⁵ Motherwell went on to quote the following statement of Huelsenbeck's: "The appropriation by dada of these three principles, . . . is of course the 'accident' leading to psychological factors to which the real dadaist movement owed its existence."³⁶ Given the Abstract Expressionist's interest in the ethical and psychological side of man, Motherwell thus emphasized the connection of the psyche to its artistic means, particularly the use of collage in painting. Huelsenbeck had accepted collage as the new medium in his "Collective Dada Manifesto" of 1920. He and other signers, including Tzara, extolled the "unmodified" environment in all its "brutal" and "simultaneous" aspects and acclaimed the artists who could embrace this collage aspect of contemporary life.³⁷

³⁵For Huelsenbeck on the Futurists, see *ibid.*, 24, 35. Ball also was aware of the Futurists and had corresponded with Marinetti; see Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, 29.

³⁶For Motherwell on Huelsenbeck, see Motherwell, ed., introduction to The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, xxiv.

³⁷For Huelsenbeck's manifesto, see Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 242-246. Huelsenbeck's manifesto was originally published as "Dadaistisches Manifest," in Dada Almanach, ed. Richard Huelsenbeck (Berlin: Eric Reiss, 1920).

In his history of Dada, Richard Huelsenbeck related that he had returned to Germany in 1917. By 1919 he had formed a "company" with Raoul Hausmann, George Grosz, John Heartfield, Wieland Herzfelde, Walter Mehring, and "a certain [Johannes] Baader."³⁸ The Dadaists were concerned with communication because they desired to make public statements. Huelsenbeck knew that the cabaret was a public art form inviting audience response rather than forbidding it as in traditional theatrical performance. The Zurich Dadaists without a specific political ideology agreed on a goal of change in the direction of freedom, spontaneity, and humanity. They sought to influence change by educating people to inner freedom. In Germany, particularly Berlin, Huelsenbeck and these artists also questioned the course of western society.

They, too, believed that self-criticism, self-awareness, and humor were essential methods and chose the cabaret as one of their mediums.³⁹ By choosing the cabaret format, the Dadaist movement in Germany was of general social-political significance. With the assumption that anything involving words or deeds may be political in

³⁸Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada: A History of Dadaism," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 39, 45.

³⁹For an analysis of German cabaret, see Allen C. Greenberg, "The Dadaists and the Cabaret as Form and Forum," in Dada/Dimensions, ed. Stephen C. Foster, 23-37.

nature, artists by joining the cabaret format sought changes in people. They went beyond the formal issues of works of art.

In Huelsenbeck's history of Dada, he reinforced their belief that art and politics are aspects of life. If necessary, they would take the cabaret to the street. For example, in the middle of the Demands of the Dadaist Revolutionary Central Council of Huelsenbeck and Hausmann are three items pertaining to the cabaret format:

- . . . (e) Introduction of the simultaneist poem as a Communist state prayer; (f) Requisition of churches for the perfection of bruitism, simultaneist and Dadaist poems; . . .
- (h) Immediate organization of a large scale Dadaist propaganda campaign with 150 circuses for the enlightenment of the proletariat; . . .⁴⁰

Likewise, on his cover of En Avant Dada: . . . he could insert, among numerous phrases, references to abstract art and to another request of the Council: " . . . (a) Daily meals at public expense for all creative and intelligent men and women on the Potsdamer Platz (Berlin); . . ."⁴¹

One of the well-known cabarets in Berlin during the period 1919 to 1924 was Schall und Rauch. This German cabaret was a middle class institution oriented to

⁴⁰Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada: A History of Dadaism," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 41-42.

⁴¹Ibid., 41.

satirizing current bourgeois modes of life. They attacked social mores, entertainment values--amusement theater and nudity cults--economic attitudes, and political developments. Walter Mehring was one of the main Dadaists at the Schall und Rauch along with Grosz, Hausmann, and Heartfield. Mehring, as did many artists and intellectuals, condemned the war and saw society's decline stemming from profit-oriented, self-indulgent individualism.⁴²

As the co-signer of the Dadaist Revolutionary Central Council, Raoul Hausmann also was concerned with the social conditions of the Weimar Republic. In 1920 he wrote a proposal in the periodical Schall und Rauch for a cabaret event. He had proposed that a two-story iron cage be filled with machinery. On hand would be ten thousand pieces of paper with the word "soul" printed on them. In an event of three short minutes, man would be perceived as a machine involved in "profiteering, murder, adultery, birth, marriage, and death." The climax of the event would be that all the pieces of paper would be thrown out over the audience as if released by the machinery. To Hausmann, bourgeois man was a machine running on an empty tank, caught in his conventions, and entirely without

⁴²For Huelsenbeck's mention of Hausmann and Mehring, see *ibid.*, 46-47.

humanity.⁴³

Huelsenbeck did not mention this event in his history. However, Hausmann's performance does relate to his sculpture. This proposal for the stage is closely allied to several of Hausmann's two and three-dimensional collages illustrated by Motherwell in his anthology: Photomontage [Synthetisches Cino der Malereil], 1918; Photomontage [Tatlin at Home], 1920; Dada-Plastic [Tête mécanique: L'esprit de notre temps], 1920.⁴⁴

Through the media of performance and visual arts, Hausmann extended the range of Dadaist activities to include a more direct comment on culture. For example, in Hausmann's Tête mécanique: L'esprit de notre temps (Mechanical Head: The Spirit of Our Times) (1920; fig. 9), he randomly affixed to a mannequin's head diverse manufactured objects associated with the measure of time and space: for example, a cloth measuring tape, ruler, watch, collapsible drinking cup, screws, fragment from a violin, and mysterious objects enclosed in a case. Using a

⁴³Greenberg, "The Dadaists and the Cabaret as Form and Forum," in Dada/Dimensions, ed. Stephen Foster, 33 and footnote no. 35, p. 37. Hausmann's original publication was "Kabarett zum Menschen," Schall und Rauch 3 (February 1920): 1-2. For a discussion of Hausmann's work including this cabaret event, see Timothy O. Benson, "The Functional and the Conventional in the Dada Philosophy of Raoul Hausmann," in Dada/Dimensions, ed. Stephen Foster, 131-163; cabaret, p. 141 and footnote no. 54 on p. 160.

⁴⁴For illustrations, see Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 254.

head where man perceives a world through a mask of symbols, Hausmann reinforced his belief that man is bound by conventions and needs to confront that particular issue. To Hausmann nothing in life was stable, eternal, unified or absolute. He thought that meaning came only from man addressing his immediate situation, relationships, and the processes of art, religion, and politics. Furthermore, it was not enough to point out that man himself had become a machine, as in his Kabarett zum Menschen and his collage Tatlin at Home.

In Motherwell's introduction, he reinforced his inclusion of Hausmann's art by using Moholy-Nagy's description of him as one of the first artists of photomontage along with Heartfield, Hannah Hoch, and Grosz. Moholy-Nagy quoted Hausmann's statement:

In the dismal grey of a protestant
despair we will open all the vents
and let the electric fans furiously
revolve in order to create an
atmosphere for our contemporary
ideas. . . . What is art? It is
nonsense when it gives us only
esthetic rules to move with
security between the geography of
the metropolis and agriculture,
the apple pie and the women's
bosom. . . . The new man should
have the courage to be new. . . .⁴⁰

One of the other members of Huelsenbeck's "company" was Johannes Baader. Both Hausmann and Baader undertook

⁴⁰Motherwell, ed., introduction to The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, xli.

many roles. In accepting a role, Hausmann and Baader had a platform from which to speak. One difference is that while Hausmann actually wrote for the cabaret, Baader tended to move his platform or make his staged moments outside of the theater proper, for example, in the Berlin Cathedral or Weimar National Assembly. These staged moments were similar to those in the cabaret. Just as Hausmann at the end of this cabaret act had his machine throw out papers stamped with the word "soul," so, too, did Baader strew the assembly's press boxes with a pamphlet from a nonexistent newspaper; it declared him as "Präsident des Weltballs (President of the World Balls)." Furthermore, whereas Dadaists such as Tzara used the theater to verbalize his manifesto, Baader took his words and printed them on a broadside.⁴⁶

Huelsenbeck related that Baader, fearing for his life, eventually had deserted him and Hausmann. Yet, Baader's name "Der Ober-dada" is honored on Huelsenbeck's cover of En Avant Dada: Perhaps, to give a more balanced picture, Motherwell included several references to the mysterious Baader. In his introduction, Motherwell quoted Grosz in his 1946 autobiography as describing Baader as mad. Motherwell also illustrated the manifesto threatening to dynamite Weimar; in the center of this 1919

⁴⁶For an analysis of Baader's work, see Stephen C. Foster, "Johannes Baader: The Complete Dada," in Dada/Dimensions, 249-271; quotation, 252-253.

manifesto is Baader as "Oberdada als Präsident des Erdballs." Motherwell also included a 1919 photograph of Baader and an illustration of his June 1918 handbill Gruene Leiche (The Green Corpse) with the bold typography "Der Präsident des Erdballs sitzt im Sattel des weissen Pferdes Dada (The President of the Earth sits in the saddle of the White Horse Dada)." Finally, Motherwell included Georges Hugnet's history of Dada, which focused on Baader in Berlin. Thus, Hugnet's details of Baader's events backed up Motherwell's selection of illustrations.⁴⁷

In discussing the Berlin Dada Fair of 1920, Georges Hugnet stressed that Baader was not a painter; he exhibited his manuscripts and objects. Although Hugnet mentioned Grosz's and Heartfield's politically oriented sculpture--the dummy of a German officer with a pig's head hanging from the ceiling--he did not specifically describe Baader's monument. Baader had translated his verbal-visual collages and broadsides into a sculptural tableau. This construction was called Das Grosse Plasto Dio-Dada-Drama: Deutschlands Grosse und Untergang (The Great Plastic Dio-

⁴⁷For Huelsenbeck's references, see Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada: A History of Dadaism," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 22, 45-46. For Motherwell's quote from George Grosz in his introduction, see xxvii; for illustrations, see 145, 282. For Georges Hugnet's references, see Hugnet, "The Dada Spirit in Painting," in *ibid.*, 149, 152; Hugnet's article ran as a serial, "L'Espirit dada dans la peinture" in Cahiers d'Art, nos. 1-2, 6-7, 8-10 (1932), and nos. 1-4 (1934).

Dada-Drama: The Rise and Fall of Germany). However, Hugnet did indicate Baader's background as an architect, his desire to build a pyramidal "monument to humanity," and his significant artistic strategies. Specifically, these strategies were the use of text, acceptance of roles, and a format of text and photograph resembling the documentation of an event in a newspaper. Baader not only wanted a new world but also wanted to point to the mechanism of the newspaper medium which organizes man's perceptions of the world.⁴⁸

In his discussion of Tristan Tzara, Motherwell commented that his manifestoes from 1916 to 1920 range from a protest against the state of the world--similar ideas to Huelsenbeck--to an address of personal anguish. For example, one of Tzara's most vehement poem manifestoes was "Roar." It was structured with twenty-one lines of the word "roar" repeated seven times in one line; it ended with the line "who still considers himself very charming." Tzara's manifestoes gave evidence of the inner conflicts

⁴⁸For Hugnet's remarks, see Hugnet, "The Dada Spirit in Painting," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 149. Later, in 1964, Hausmann reflected on the June 1920 Dada Fair in Berlin in which Baader had exhibited his sculptural tableau. He stressed that one of the German characteristics was to use the method of assemblage and to place these works in the active environment. See Foster, "Johannes Baader: The Complete Dada," in Dada/Dimensions, 266 and footnote no. 32 on p. 271. For a full description of Baader's monument, see John Erickson, Dada: Performance, Poetry and Art (Boston: Twayne Publishers and G. K. Hall, 1984), 42.

of the Dadaists. When he lectured on Dada in 1922, Tzara's summation also was that "Dada is a state of mind. . . . Dada is without pretension, as life should be."⁴⁹

Important to the artists of the late fifties was Motherwell's choice of Tzara's annals of Zurich Dada (1915-19), which chronicled the range of expressionist and abstract art and theater performance and demonstrations using silence, music, dance, poems, paintings, costumes with masks, and manifestoes.⁵⁰ First, Tzara's annals of Zurich Dada do reinforce other references to the Cabaret Voltaire in Motherwell's anthology. Huelsenbeck had suggested both on the cover and in the text of his En Avant Dada: . . . the artistic precedents of Expressionism, Cubism, and Futurism for Dadaist bruitism and the cabaret leaders Ball, Arp, and Tzara. Motherwell also was careful to include in his introduction fragments from Ball's Flight from Time (1927), which further emphasized the paintings and prints on the walls of the

⁴⁹For Motherwell on Tzara, see Motherwell, ed., introduction to The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, xxiv-xxv and xxxi. For Tzara's poem "Roar," see "XVI" in "Seven Dada Manifestoes (1916-1920)," in Motherwell's anthology, 96-97; manifestoes originally published in book form in Paris, 1924. For Tzara's "Lecture on Dada," (1922), see *ibid.*, 246-251; quotation, 251; Tzara's lecture originally published in Merz 2, no. 7 (January 1924).

⁵⁰Tristan Tzara, "Zurich Chronicle (1915-1919)," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 235-242; manuscript first published in Huelsenbeck, ed. Dada Almanach (1920).

Cabaret Voltaire and the exotic masks of cabaret member Marcel Janco. One of the best documents of a Cabaret Voltaire event came from a painting by Janco which was both illustrated in the anthology and annotated by Arp in Motherwell's introduction. The illustration and the annotation stress the "overcrowded room splashed with color," the simultaneous poems vocally orchestrated, danced-songs, and costumes.⁵¹

Given the international mix and diverse predilection of the group of artists in Zurich, Hugo Ball had constructed the early performances at the Cabaret Voltaire as if they were conventional cabaret fare. In fact, the traditional variety format of the cabaret lent itself well to the fragmented nature and "compartmentalized" structure of the new performances.⁵² In Tzara's annals, his description of one of the Zurich Dadaist evenings, the night of July 14, 1916, at Waag Hall, serves to illustrate the general nature of these cabaret events and these mixed genres. The evening's program was to include everything

⁵¹For Huelsenbeck's cover, see Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 22. For Motherwell's references in his introduction to Ball, Janco, and Arp, see *ibid.*, respectively, xxiv-xxv; xxvi; xx and 50.

⁵²Annabelle Melzer used the term "compartmentalized" in describing Dadaist performance, although the term itself probably was not prevalent until performance art was revived in the late fifties and early sixties; see Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, 30.

from music to dance, poems to pictures, and the usual manifestoes. Each event became an experiment reinforcing spontaneity and avoiding the traditional expectations of the medium. Among the events was a dance combining Cubist and primitivist tendencies described as ". . . each man his own big drum on his head, noise, Negro music/ . . ." Tzara, formally dressed, performed different types of poems: for example, a gymnastic poem; a concert of vowels; a bruitist poem; and a static poem where one word placards were placed on chairs to be reordered each time the curtain fell. Further described by Hugnet in Motherwell's anthology, Tzara's static poem consisted of chairs holding costumed figures with placards and/or mere placards with words for each chair; the picture was changed by the curtain closing.⁵³

Tzara's gymnastic poems, static poems, and chemical poems are good examples where the Dadaists assisted in making the performance approximate tableau vivant. As generally defined, tableau vivant in the theater is a frozen moment when actors create a static image. Dadaists like Tzara used such factors as richly concentrated focus, the selection of brief actions, and an emphasis on verbal

⁵³For Tzara's description, see "Zurich Chronicle (1915-1919)," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 236-237. Georges Hugnet in his article "The Dada Spirit in Painting" in Motherwell's anthology, also referred to Tzara's tableau on p. 132. For the mixed genres of Dadaist theater and the Waag Hall event, see also Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, 38, 69.

sound or words.

In his annals Tzara had a writing style which matched the characterization of himself and his art in one of his manifestoes: "Myself: mixture kitchen theater." He kept up this same nonstop style of reporting to the end of his chronicles where he even noted in a May 1919 event that ". . . de Chirico rolls the Dada statue out full length L'Aragon invents streets. . . ." ⁵⁴

Particularly important to the development of the theatrical art form of the cabaret and to its different manifestations was Tzara's reference to his own production La Première aventure céleste de M'Antipyrine at Waag Hall, July 1916. Not only was it the first Dadaist play, but also it illustrated the mixed genre of tableau-manifesto. Although Motherwell did not include the play itself, he did reprint Tzara's "Manifesto of Mr. Antipyrine" which was used in the production; he also referred to this manifesto in his introduction. ⁵⁵

Annabelle Melzer has described the text in general as a maze of words emphasizing sound rather than meaning,

⁵⁴For quotation on kitchen theater, see Tzara, "4. Manifesto of mr. aa the anti-philosopher" in "Seven Dada Manifestoes," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 85. For quotation from May 1919 event, see "Zurich Chronicle (1915-1919)" in anthology, 242.

⁵⁵Tzara, "1. Manifesto of Mr. Antipyrine" in "Seven Dada Manifestoes," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 75-76. For Motherwell's remarks, see his introduction in the anthology, p. xxxi.

similar to the verbal collages of the simultaneous poem. What is important is that in the middle of this absurdity Tzara inserted this major manifesto, just before the two monologues closing the play.⁵⁶ He clearly stated:

Dada is our intensity: it sets
up inconsequential bayonets the
sumatran head of the german baby;
Dada is life without carpet-slippers
or parallels; . . . A harsh necessity
without discipline or morality and
we spit on humanity. Dada remains
within the European frame of weaknesses
it's shit after all but from now on
we mean to shit in assorted colors
and bedeck the artistic zoo with
the flags of every consulate . . .⁵⁷

Tzara's play was performed in Paris in 1920. Its staging was described by Georges Hugnet as a transparent set placed in front of the performers. It was composed of a bicycle wheel, and several ropes were strung across the stage from which nonsensical signs hung. In his earlier description of the Waag Hall events, Tzara had referred to the mixed events as if to boxing. Later, he would recall

⁵⁶Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, 69-72.

⁵⁷Tzara, "1. Manifesto of Mr. Antipyrine" in "Seven Dada Manifestoes" in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 75.

that "This play is a boxing match with words."⁸⁸

Probably the most coherent scene of Tzara's play was this monologue or manifesto proclaiming the recognition of individual human limitations; they could be overcome through an international display of protest in the Dadaist spirit. What is important is the fact that in their theatrical art form or cabaret acts there was room for a didactic statement or scene; it could focus on the nature of art, the Dada spirit, or the general social-political situation. Form and content were important in the cabaret and Dadaist activities. Also, Tzara's tableau-manifesto was another approximation of tableau vivant where all the clamor on stage was stopped in order for a person to make an exclamatory statement, often didactic.

Also, it is important to realize, here, that another contribution of the Dadaists to sculptural tableau was to play a disarray of objects and nonlinear events against a message. Besides timing and spacing, the Dadaists used the effect of verbal sound to add to their pictures or tableau. In his annals Tzara reported that "Serger takes the floor to illuminate his dadaist MANIFESTO. . . ." At

⁸⁸For Hugnet's description, see Hugnet, "The Dada Spirit in Painting," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 176. Tzara's reference to boxing comes from his "Zurich Chronicle (1915-1919)" in the anthology, 236. For a full description of the set, see Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, 73. Tzara's description of the set and play was originally published in his "Memoirs of Dadaism" in Edmund Wilson, Axel's Castle (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931), 307.

the "Grand Soirée" in Zurich in 1919, the Austrian poet Werner Serner presented a performance which made the audience look at the picture or scene he himself set up in the act. In his performance he appeared on stage with a headless dummy. The dummy stood in his place while he went behind the stage to get flowers; then, he allowed the dummy to smell them and dropped the bouquet at its feet. Again, he left the dummy with flowers on the stage while he retrieved a chair; he finally sat down with his back to the audience. While viewing both the headless dummy with flowers and the faceless, motionless Serner in the chair, the audience heard Serner read his credo "Final Dissolution."⁵⁹ Whereas Serner had alternated between this moving and static presence on the stage, Tristan Tzara was a static presence in his La Première aventure céleste de M'Antipyrine. As described earlier, his production in Paris had the actors immobile in colored sacks, some wearing placards; they stood behind a setting of a bicycle wheel and a web of ropes. Not only did the Dadaists increasingly use costumes and props, but also they seemed to pay attention to scenery.

In a Dadaist manifestation in 1920 in Paris, the

⁵⁹For Tzara's quotation on Serner, see Tzara, "Zurich Chronicle (1915-1919)," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 240. For Hugnet on Serner, see Hugnet, "The Dada Spirit in Painting" in the anthology, 131. Motherwell referred to Serner in his introduction, p. xxxi. Also see Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, 84.

events took place before a permanent setting designed by Francis Picabia (fig. 10). Illustrated by Motherwell in his anthology, the set consisted of two walls of fake hedge lining the steps; the formal geometry of the greenery was reiterated by large, wrapped cartons labeled with some of the performer's names and set across the stage; miscellaneous props were a barrel and striped stove pipes topped with an umbrella.⁶⁰ When Tzara had placed his swinging set before the actors, he indicated a type of window frame. When Picabia had set up his greenery along both sides of the steps leading to his stage or when he had boxed in the background, he clearly pointed to a location, even though abstract. Also, Hausmann's frame or cage surrounding his machine parts clearly indicated the Dadaist use of a more enclosed space.

Yet, this predilection for a stage set was not a renewal of the basic scenic flats but rather a conscious attempt for artists to integrate the art of performance with art on the stage. Not only had the Zurich Dadaists begun their manifestation among art on the walls, but also they considered the exhibition and presentation of art objects as one form of manifestation. During the same early May evening in Paris in 1920 when Tzara had presented his performance behind the freely floating

⁶⁰For illustration, see Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 112. For a description, see also Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, 147-148.

bicycle wheel and ropes, Picabia demonstrated his work: a Portrait of Cezanne, wherein a stuffed monkey substituted for the master. Motherwell illustrated this work in his anthology. Also, among the formal hedge and wrapped cartons of Picabia's setting for the late May manifestation, one of the art objects or props had performed: the evening had opened with a white cardboard cylinder placed on top of two balloons which rose and fell, so that these geometric shapes took on the role of the sex of Dada.⁶¹

Tzara and these artists merged their interest in theatrical experiments and the visual arts so closely that gradually their experiments hinted at a sculptural, three-dimensional form. Kurt Schwitters, too, came to realize that his proposal for the theater could best be fulfilled in a sculptural environment.

In his introduction, Robert Motherwell stated that although there were many important artists, Schwitters had been the most underestimated; he devoted a primary part of his introduction to him. First, Motherwell clarified Schwitters's use of the word merz as being an independent move on the artist's part; however, he felt Schwitters's

⁶¹For illustration of Picabia's portrait and Hugnet's description, see Hugnet, "The Dada Spirit in Painting," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 175, 177. For description of the set for the Paris manifestation, see Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, 76, 144, 147. See also Goldberg, Performance. Live Art 1909 to the Present, 54-56.

abstract art was similar to works by other artists. Second, Motherwell pointed to Schwitters's development of an architecture of grottoes and a columnar wood cathedral. He related Moholy-Nagy's story about Schwitters's analogy of a tree and a cathedral. Furthermore, in his introduction Motherwell actually referred to Alfred Barr's illustrations of these grottoes and Merzbau in Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism (1936). Third, Motherwell published Schwitters's poem "Anna Blume Has Wheels," which he called a satirical comment on social conditions although interspersed with emotional outbursts. He also printed the letter by Schwitters's son which stated that his father was not political. Then, in the main body of the anthology Motherwell published Schwitters's discussion of "Merz" (1920) in plastic form, architecture, and theater; for the essay Motherwell inserted an illustration of a boxed construction from 1923. Also, crucial to the picture of Dada was Schwitters's discussion of Theo van Doesburg's Dadaist performance at a Constructivist gathering.⁶²

In his essay on Dadaism in the anthology, Georges

⁶²For Motherwell's and other descriptions of Schwitters, see Motherwell, ed., introduction to The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, xxvii-xxx; for specific references to Barr's illustrations and Moholy-Nagy's story, see xxvii. For Schwitters's "Merz" (1920) in Motherwell's anthology, see 57-65; it was originally published in Der Ararat 2 (Munich, 1921): 3-11. For Schwitters on van Doesburg in the anthology, see 275-276; "Theo van Doesburg and Dada" was originally published in De Stijl (1932).

Hugnet stated that Schwitters was isolated in Germany because of his nonpolitical attitude. However, Hugnet believed that he was a Dadaist because of his confirmation and denial of the term itself, because he labeled his work with a term which had no meaning, because he created an atmosphere around him that upheld disorder as part of his life, and because he accepted popular, vulgar, bad taste. In his characterization, Hugnet specifically mentioned Schwitters's house filled with materials discarded from the street.⁶³

From 1919 to 1923, Schwitters's art was totally oriented towards his picture making and literary pursuits. In 1919 he had called his assemblage principle merz and had spoken of it as a "sum total of individual art forms." As he stated, "My ultimate aspiration is the union of art and non-art in the Merz total world view [Merz-Gesamtweltbild]. Schwitters wanted to synthesize the arts into a total work. In practice, what he did was to erase their boundaries; he did this not by connecting them one by one but by using the common principle of assemblage in all the arts. Schwitters's concept of Merzbühne (Merz-theater) in 1919 was probably initiated by Kandinsky's ideas that there could be a common ground in the methods of the different arts and that theater could play a major

⁶³For Georges Hugnet's comments, see Hugnet, "The Dada Spirit in Painting," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 163-164.

role in the synthesis of the arts. Schwitters focused on his materials building a new type of combined construction of artistic elements which would evoke a spiritual essence. His ultimate work would be the Merzbau, but he began by putting forth, not an architectural, but a theatrical total work of art. In his proposal for a Merzbühne, materials acted as characters in a dynamic assemblage which drew on the visual arts and his literary works.⁶⁴

From his acquaintance with the Expressionist theater and cinema in Berlin and from Kandinsky's essays, Schwitters published his own theory of Merzbühne in 1919 in Herwarth Walden's Sturm-Bühne series. His proposal was dependent on Kandinsky's belief that all parts had the same equality and on his concept of a total drama, as Der gelbe Klang (The Yellow Sound), as a series of "individual pictures." While Kandinsky's abstract stage composition had an organic development, Schwitters's proposal was more absurd. This proposal, reprinted in Motherwell's anthology, was for a moving Merzbild of large-scale proportions. Schwitters described first the general setting and then the active components--the different materials and how they combine. Classes and certain

⁶⁴For an excellent analysis of Schwitters's work in various media, see Elderfield, Kurt Schwitters; for summary of Schwitters's relationship to Kandinsky and the theory in Der blaue Reiter, see 31-32; quotation, 31.

characteristics of materials (surfaces, lines, meshes, machine and even human forms, etc.) continue side by side and finally combine or become "wed" to each other. In his proposal materials were to act as characters. The continuous mixing of the diverse materials was similar to a cross section of humans thrown together; the ensuing relationships were totally abstract and formed a nonstructured narrative.⁶⁰

Perhaps realizing that this theoretical proposal was too unwieldy to execute, Schwitters designed in model form a new version in 1924. This Normalbühne Merz (Normal or Standard Merz Theater) used the frame of the proscenium arch. While the stage set was conventional, the stage properties and actors were abstract forms to be mechanically mobilized onto and within the picture frame stage.⁶¹ What is important to realize is that Schwitters was simultaneously making proposals for theater models, performing on stage, and translating his two-dimensional

⁶⁰Schwitters, "Merz" (1920), in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 57-65; quotation, 63. For Elderfield's description of Schwitters's proposal, see: Kurt Schwitters, 106-111.

⁶¹For the description of Schwitters's later theater proposals, see Elderfield, Kurt Schwitters, 141-143 and illustrations nos. 157, 158, 160.

collages into three-dimensional sculpture.⁶⁷

Schwitters's Construction (1923; fig. 11) illustrated in Motherwell's anthology is similar to a miniature stage set. On an abstract level, it is a shallow cabaret stage with any of its compartmentalized acts. Although Schwitters constructed more three-dimensional objects related to the zany mix of the cabaret stage, his Construction with its overall frame and two frontal planes at the top right and middle left approaches his later 1924 theater model with proscenium arch.

Schwitters's Mz 151. Wenzel Kind (Knave Child) (1921; fig. 12) has more representational fragments and used curtains in place of the abstract, frontal planes on the sides of Schwitters's 1923 Construction. In Mz 151. Wenzel Kind the fragments of the collage mix like Schwitters's elements in his Merzbühne, occasionally implying fragments of a narrative and coming together in a picturesque arrangement of objects. In this collage he mocked the conventions of religion by turning the Sistine Madonna into a bourgeois lady, the holy angel into a racing bookie, and the putti into wheeling elements. As the curtain is drawn back, the reigning Madonna is his

⁶⁷For Elderfield's point that Schwitters's assemblages are generally related to his Merzbühne, see Elderfield, Kurt Schwitters, 112. For his analysis of his poems and performance art, see 27, 94-106. For a description of one of Schwitters's and Hausmann's performances, see Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, 206.

heroine Anna Blume surrounded by old and new race horses of the fashionable world. What is important here is Schwitters's replacement of body parts, his placement of the collage fragments to suggest an actual holy scene, and his use of the curtains to reinforce the scenic view. Perhaps this is the closest he came to the work of Max Ernst and why Motherwell chose to illustrate Ernst's scenic collages instead of those by Schwitters.⁶⁸ In his collages Ernst would develop the backdrop and scenic games of the Dadaists into a fully developed space. For example, in one finale, Hugo Ball and his friends inserted their own faces into holes which were cut out in the curtain and placed over painted bodies on the curtain.⁶⁹

Although Schwitters's collage Mz 151. Wenzel Kind of 1921 may be unusual in providing a stage set with curtains for the appearance of a bourgeois madonna and child, it does closely relate to his search for an appropriate site and stage set for his sculptures. One of Georges Hugnet's most valuable points for artists of the late fifties and early sixties was his reminder that Schwitters had constructed two and three-dimensional forms. To Hugnet,

⁶⁸For Ernst's collages, see Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 93, 96, 328, and especially 160-161. Georges Hugnet mentioned Ernst's "Manufacture of Pictures Guaranteed to be Gasometric" in "The Dada Spirit in Painting" in the anthology, 132, 157.

⁶⁹For Dadaist scenic backdrops, see Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, 80.

Schwitters's poem "Anna Blume," reprinted in Motherwell's anthology, was "a written transcription of all that is eccentric in his sculpture." Similar to the poem, his sculpture was a "grab-bag" of life's materials. Furthermore, Hugnet related that Schwitters had translated his two- and three-dimensional collages into a monument. As Hugnet stated: "He made a model of a project for a monument to humanity, in which all sorts of materials were to be used helter-skelter: wood, plaster, a corset, musical toys, and life-size houses in the Swiss style."⁷⁰

As John Elderfield has described, Schwitters essentially progressed from making Dadaist constructions to placing them in glazed boxes, to erecting columns with or without glazed boxes, and to situating these columns in his studio; he gradually transformed his studio into a geometric labyrinth. Motherwell referred to Alfred Barr's illustrations which show several of these steps: "The Gold Grotto" with Dadaist constructions in glazed boxes, one of which has more columnar forms; and "The Blue Window" of the Merzbau which is covered with constructivist forms

⁷⁰Hugnet, "The Dada Spirit in Painting," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 164. For Schwitters's poem, see Motherwell's introduction, xxvii-xxviii.

(figs. 13-14).⁷¹

One Dadaist construction predicts several of these steps and might be an example to which Hugnet referred when he stated, "Parts of the monument were to move and emit sounds."⁷² Die heilige Bekümmernis (The Holy Affliction) (fig. 15) was a dressmaker's dummy placed on a stool with the result that the two forms took on human scale. The mannequin's head consisted of a light bulb backed by a halolike plate. Around the neck of the dummy was a sign asking for help and a box with a handle resembling a street organ or toy theater. The front of the box was open to make a stage which was collaged over with pictures and inscriptions. The inscription along the base of the box was "Wahnsinn! Fröhliche Weihnachten (Madness! Happy Christmas)."

This construction is important for two reasons; it closely resembles Baader's columnar construction in the Berlin Dada Fair and anticipates some of Kienholz's early sculptures. Schwitters's sculpture has been verbally documented as one of the known works actually enclosed in his grotto or environment. In 1930, when describing the

⁷¹For an excellent analysis of the progress of the Merzbau, see Elderfield, Kurt Schwitters, chapter 7, especially 144-157. For Alfred Barr's original illustrations, see Barr, Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1936), plates 670-671.

⁷²Hugnet, "The Dada Spirit in Painting," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 164.

grottoes or diverse scenes within the entire environment, he had referred to one of the enclosed caves (possibly glazed) as containing "the organ, which you turn anti-clockwise to play 'Silent Night, Holy Night' and 'Come Ye Little Children' and beside it 'The 10% disabled War Veteran.'" ⁷³

Also, this early sculpture's original base, shaft, and head, or columnar form punctuated with open box, is related to other columns which did not hold glazed assemblages. Between 1919 and 1921, Schwitters worked on different types of columns, generally described by visitors as a tower, a tree or a house with concave openings. Two columns which have been documented through photographs are similar in that the tall, rectangular bases support wood and plaster columns covered with collaged papers and drawings, figurines, a model house, bottles, etc., and topped by a sculptural head. Other photographs document glazed assemblages stuck into columns. One was given the name of Kathedrale des erotischen Elends (Cathedral of Erotic Misery) (fig. 16). A photograph of this 1923 column shows that by 1928 its miniature objects and diverse collage items had begun to be a part of the actual wall. ⁷⁴

⁷³Elderfield, Kurt Schwitters, 145 and illustration no. 161.

⁷⁴Ibid., illustration nos. 187-189.

Elderfield has pointed out that while the Merzbau began with columnar sculptures, one of which was the Kathedrale des erotischen Elends (Cathedral of Erotic Misery), Schwitters and his friends often referred to the total environment as the "column" or the "Cathedral of Erotic Misery." From 1923 to 1926 Schwitters increased the geometric environment around the columns, even changing during 1926 to 1932 to a more curvilinear style. However, the important points are these: the total environment covering the three rooms was large and on a human scale; the architectural elements of these complexes were fantastic sets in their own right, caves or grottoes containing fetish objects and representative fragments or human lives and scenes; and while containing a picturesque arrangement of objects, the columns were like miniature boxes or stage sets situated in the walls.

Similar to Schwitters, Marcel Duchamp was given an important role in Motherwell's anthology. In his introduction Motherwell summed up Duchamp's Bottle Rack (1914) in the following manner: "It is also a subtle solution to an essential dada dilemma, how to express oneself without art when all means of expression are potentially artistic." Motherwell could have been trying to comment on the Dadaist condition in Abstract Expressionism. However, Motherwell rounded out the general view of New York Dada as opposed to the European movement

by including viewpoints of it as "gay blasphemy"; this was Gabriele Buffet-Picabia's quote labeling New York Dadaism.⁷⁵

In his introduction, Motherwell also published a few notes on Duchamp's The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even. The extraction from the notes came from Andre Breton who had commented in 1932 that the notes had value for the Surrealists, no doubt referring to its erotic content. Motherwell further selected Breton's article on Duchamp wherein Breton, referring to the Large Glass, found that Duchamp's strength was in his refusal to define limits and separate art from life.⁷⁶

Following Breton's article there was a facsimile of the 1921 issue of New York Dada by Duchamp and Man Ray. While there is no proof of influence, the four pages of the single issue of the magazine must have provoked a similar spirit in the artists of the late fifties and early sixties. Besides an advertisement highlighting an exhibition of Schwitters's work at the Société Anonyme, the four pages contained images mixed with narrative text:

⁷⁵For Motherwell on Duchamp, including the illustration of Bottle Rack, and Gabriele Buffet-Picabia's quotation, see Motherwell, ed., introduction to The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, xxxiii-xxxiv; illustration, 6.

⁷⁶For Breton's remarks on Duchamp, see *ibid.*, xxxii-xxxiv. Also see: André Breton, "Marcel Duchamp," in the anthology, 209-211; originally published in Littérature (October 1922).

collage of a woman's leg with caption "Watch Your Step!"; a mannequin with "corset-cover"; and references to the Dada Taxi, Ltd. As will be mentioned, some of these images seem to reoccur sporadically in the Happenings of the early sixties and specifically in the work of Oldenburg and Kienholz.⁷⁷

The 1945 article in View magazine by Harriet and Sidney Janis, although in Motherwell's appendix, was probably one of the most noted contemporary views of Marcel Duchamp. In their article, the writers pointed out that Duchamp was an original Dadaist working before the historical movement, that he was still active, and moreover, that like Kurt Schwitters, Duchamp had a "natural dada personality." As an example, they called attention to his Dadaist installation of a cobweb maze for the Surrealist exhibition "First Papers of Surrealism" in 1942 in New York. Emphasizing this "native dada spirit," Harriet and Sidney Janis, then, outlined Duchamp's development of a series of playful, but thoughtful, techniques highlighting the concept of movement, the concept of the machine, chance, and irony. Furthermore, they believed that "Contemporary points of view may be found in Duchamp's work, cubism, futurism, collage, dada,

⁷⁷For reference to the issue of New York Dada, see Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 214-218. The single issue of the magazine was originally published in April 1921.

and surrealism." They suggested that his work would be an important aid in reexamining contemporary art and life.⁷⁸

Duchamp had suggested to Motherwell that he should include a pre-Dada section in his anthology. It is interesting to note that one person touted in this section was the musician Erik Satie. In his introduction, Motherwell called upon his own contemporary John Cage to analyze Satie's unique qualities. Cage characterized his music as having a great mix of eternal qualities, yet it was totally "structure[d] by means of related lengths of time." Believing in chance arrangements and the inseparability of art and life, Cage highlighted Satie's "Musique d'ameublement" or "furniture-set music."⁷⁹

With his inclusion of Cage's opinion of Satie and Harriet and Sidney Janis's review of Duchamp's achievements, Motherwell essentially brought the Dadaist spirit to contemporary times. This blend of the old and the new also was evident in Motherwell's group meetings in New York during 1948 and 1949, the same period he was collecting data for his anthology. In 1948, from a concern that abstract art be recognized as having strong content,

⁷⁸Harriet and Sidney Janis, "Marcel Duchamp: Anti-Artist," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 306-315; quotations, 307. Their essay was originally published in View 5, no. 1 (March 21, 1945).

⁷⁹For John Cage's views on Satie, see Motherwell, ed. introduction to The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, xxii-xxiii.

Clyfford Still, Mark Rothko, and Motherwell started a loosely organized school with public, Friday night seminars; they called the school "Subjects of the Artist." In a review of these Friday night programs of the Abstract Expressionists, one would expect to find the topic of Surrealism, due to its importance to Abstract Expressionism. During 1949, both Julien Levy and Joseph Cornell presented programs at the school. While Levy's presence reflects his early support of Surrealism in the thirties, Cornell's film showings exemplify the importance of cinema to the Surrealists in the thirties and forties, as revealed in Cyril Connolly's article of 1952. What was new to the Abstract Expressionists' program was their reexamination of Dadaism and, no doubt, Surrealist principles, such as the role of chance, first found in Dadaism. Richard Huelsenbeck, a member of the original group in Zurich, and John Cage, a new follower of the Dadaist spirit, presented programs on old "Dada Days" and new interpretations; one new manifestation was Cage's lecture "Indian Sand Painting; or the picture that is valid for one day."⁸⁰

⁸⁰For a discussion of "Subjects of the Artist" school, see Barbara Cavaliere and Robert C. Hobbs, "Against a Newer Laocoon," Arts Magazine 52 (April 1977): 110-111 and footnotes nos. 6-10. Joseph Cornell featured some of the early pioneers in film, such as Charles Pathe, Charles Urban, George Melies, and Charlie Chaplin. The trick films of Melies with their double exposures and fades and the slapstick pantomimes of Charlie Chaplin were particularly favored by the Surrealists.

Cage had begun his association with the Abstract Expressionist painter Motherwell and critic Harold Rosenberg in 1947 when he became the music editor of Possibilities. Perhaps more important was their summer together in 1948 at Black Mountain College. Because of Cage's interest in Satie, he had staged at Black Mountain Satie's one-act musical comedy, The Rise of Medusa. Reflecting the Zurich Dadaists' use of group participation in both means and spirit, Cage had called on the summer school artists and dancers to take part. During the following summer, another member of the Black Mountain group, Charles Olson, directed "Wanadu/After Frobenius"; this work combined poetry, mime, music, color, and dance. This conjunction of various media was similar to Hugo Ball's idea in Zurich to build a new version of Gesamtkunstwerk.⁸¹ But it was Cage who further directed the Dadaist spirit of the Black Mountain group.

Cage thought that theater was everywhere and it was the artist's function to help the spectator focus his attention. Furthermore, Cage believed in the total experience of life and a work of art; to him, contemporary art was the union of the two. In his own music, he used a nonpersonal structure of specific lengths of time; he

⁸¹For reference to Olson's work at Black Mountain, see: Martin Duberman, Black Mountain. An Exploration in Community (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press and Doubleday, 1973), 334, 352-356.

perceived music as programmed silence and sounds of life determined by chance. As Satie, he set up a situation using the "furniture" of life.⁸²

Therefore, in the summer of 1952, it was not unusual to find Cage producing an evening wherein he used a compartmentalized structure which allowed a free flow between artists, spectators and artists, and art and life. Just as he arranged lengths of time, he placed the action within the audience's seating area which was marked by four triangular sections. To reinforce these sections, but also to reflect an art of the environment, he placed Robert Rauschenberg's paintings over the audience's heads. In the program the sets of readings, music, dance, poems, and lectures interrelated and overlapped; film, slides, and art joined simultaneous music of piano, phonograph, and radio.⁸³

One year later, in 1953, Duchamp was to bring the audience back to original Dada by assisting in the Dadaist exhibition at the Sidney Janis Gallery in New York. While it is important to note the international exhibition, it

⁸²In 1949 at the Artists Club in New York, Cage gave his "Lecture on Nothing" which was structured in the same way as his musical compositions. His lecture is one of many writings from 1939 to 1961 printed in his book Silence; for specific lecture, see 109.

⁸³For performance in general and for Cage's work at Black Mountain, see Goldberg, Performance. Live Art 1909 to the Present, 79-82. Also see: Duberman, Black Mountain, 370-379.

is also crucial to see again the type of structure used in Duchamp's installation. Similar to the set readings of the Dadaist programs, partitions and overhead shelves divided the exhibition. Furthermore, these plastic units also allowed an overlap of art works, and the spectators could be seen juxtaposed with the works. Along with the art on display was a recording of Schwitters's poems, which were, too, a mixture of abstract guttural sounds and fragments of real life.⁸⁴

From 1948 to 1952, while Motherwell was involved with his anthology, the stage was already set for the Dadaist revival. Even if these events were behind the scenes among a small group of artists, the public did have the opportunity to see the work of Schwitters in 1948 at the Rose Fried Gallery and in 1952 at the Janis Gallery in New York. Even the article on the culmination of Surrealism had included Schwitters in the pre-Surrealist work. Sidney Janis also followed up the forties's appraisal of Duchamp and gave him his own shows in 1952 and 1953. To capture this timely art, Life published in 1952 an article on this master of Dada. Particularly relevant to the format of sculptural tableau was the editor's focus on Duchamp's

⁸⁴For installation views of "International Dada: 1916-1923" held at the Sidney Janis Gallery, April-May 1953, see catalogues: Sidney Janis Gallery 5th Anniversary (September 29-October 31, 1953); Sidney Janis Gallery 10th Anniversary (September 29-November 1, 1958); and 25 Years Part I. From Picasso to Dubuffet, from Brancusi to Giacometti (October 2-November 3, 1973), unpaginated.

Boîte-en-Valise (Box in a Valise) (1941; fig. 8). Spread across two pages, this "One Man Show in a Suitcase" was Duchamp's compartmentalized set incorporating replicas of his personal narratives.⁸⁸

⁸⁸W. Sargeant, "Dada's Daddy," Life Magazine 32 (28 April 1952): 100-111. Life had also illustrated Duchamp's Nude Descending a Staircase (1912) in 2 January 1950. In 1953 Time interviewed Duchamp; see "Dadadada," Time 61 (27 April 1953): 93.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY WORK OF SEGAL, OLDENBURG, AND KIENHOLZ DEVELOPMENT OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS TABLEAU FORMAT

In chapter one models for the development of dramatic acts on the three-dimensional plane were established in the Dadaist-Surrealist tradition. These earlier models were presented in publications of the early fifties. During the late fifties and early sixties an art of the environment came to the foreground. While developing directly out of Abstract Expressionism, the art of the environment had its roots in the Dadaist-Surrealist tradition.

This chapter on the early work of Segal, Oldenburg, and Kienholz from 1958 to 1964 focuses on their involvement with this new idea of an art of the environment. The issue here is to what extent they each engaged in the immediate Abstract Expressionist legacy, assemblage and Happenings, and also how they used these ideas to formulate their own development of sculptural tableaux. Because of the extensive writing of Allan Kaprow

at this time, his publications are used as a gauge for these three artists' individual choices.

The legacy of Abstract Expressionism was that it was an art based on human experience and the emotions which are a part of that experience. This emphasis on the act of painting made the painter discover his self-image and be conscious of the process of art, both with its challenges and defeats. Particularly important was the idea of extension, and in the act of searching in the world, the artist created an unbounded sense of space. This sense of scale in the large canvas suggested radical departures for the artists of the fifties. Given the scale of the two-dimensional surfaces and the surrounding illumination, the observer could literally become a part of the painting. This was one of the implications Robert Rauschenberg found in 1953 when he exhibited his all black and all white paintings in New York after his previous study at Black Mountain College. In the right light, viewers' shadows were projected on the paintings' surfaces.¹ Also such artists as Segal, Oldenburg, and Kienholz gradually began to think of themselves outside of their paintings. As

¹Lawrence Alloway, "Rauschenberg's Development," in Robert Rauschenberg, with Foreword by Joshua C. Taylor (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, 1976), 3. For a more definite statement by Rauschenberg on these paintings as a "field for happening," see Neil A. Chassman, "Poets of the Cities: Levelling of Meaning," in Poets of the Cities New York and San Francisco 1950-1965 (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Fine Arts and New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974), 27.

Oldenburg stated in his homage to the Abstract Expressionist Jackson Pollock, he conceived of standing on a canvas which became his surroundings which "stretched as far as I can see or hear."² Oldenburg, Segal, and Kienholz did not wish to cut themselves off from the personal spaces in which they lived, but they went further than their predecessors by incorporating objects existing in their environment into their work.

In 1958 Allan Kaprow published in Art News an article called "The Legacy of Jackson Pollock."³ To Kaprow, the meaning of Pollock's work was its inclusion of his lived action and its liberation from traditional means. This emphasis on movement, gesture, and expansion suggested that the painter, now, could become an artist who worked with various media, including the theater. This general relaxation of medium and structure led to new interpretations of space and subject.

There also was an increased tendency in the fifties for artists to represent and to present objects of the everyday world, including the human figure. Rather than indulging in mere description or isolated viewpoints in the studio, these artists attempted to reveal the

²"Jackson Pollock: An Artists' Symposium, Part 2," Art News 66 (May 1967): 27, 66-67.

³Allan Kaprow, "The Legacy of Jackson Pollock," 24-26, 55-57.

relations between individuals and between individuals and objects. In the encompassing surroundings some artists tended to see human attributes in objects. The sculptor Richard Stankiewicz used the method of assemblage for these purposes. Other artists, such as Robert Rauschenberg and Allan Kaprow, employed or assembled objects in the manner of Kurt Schwitters to amplify the general fact of urban living.

At this time the composer John Cage was instrumental in stating that art was a vehicle to reinforce living; to him art was a perceptual tool assisting in the recognition that art, life, and theater were one in their methods. From Cage's philosophical position that life was the source for artistic creation, artists began to work toward an art involved in actual time. Influenced by Cage, Allan Kaprow developed a new medium called Happenings in order to merge art and life. Through Cage he became more aware of Duchamp and Schwitters and their attraction to involving the spectator on a physical level. Kaprow was aware of Schwitters's premature coining of happenings and he also believed that the erasure of the boundaries between the arts would assist in uniting art and life.⁴

In this tendency to merge the categories of art and life, artists had several means at their disposal. They

⁴See Kaprow's statement on Duchamp and Schwitters in Dore Ashton, ed., Twentieth Century Artists on Art (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), 221.

could take the approach of Happenings and incorporate life within the work itself; or, they could represent or stage living in a static environment. Originally painters, Segal, Oldenburg, and Kienholz rejected the two-dimensional surface and accepted a space with actual physical presences. They replaced their painted canvases with sculpture in an environment and/or with theatrical events as a means for establishing a closer relationship between art and life. This chapter explores each artist's choices for the formation of the tableau format.

The Early Work of George Segal

Of the three artists, George Segal had the most contact with those artists who bridged the Abstract Expressionists and developed a new art based on the environment. Even though Segal rarely has steered from a traditional model of narrative time, he did engage in most all of the issues pertinent to the development of environmental art in the late fifties and early sixties. In a review of his links with the older generation of Hans Hofmann, the transitional figure of Tony Smith, and the new generation of Allan Kaprow, the issues and development of Segal's particular attitudes towards environments and the sculptural tableau format will emerge.

Born in the Bronx in 1924, Segal in his later teens moved with his family to a chicken farm in South Brunswick, New Jersey. From 1949 to 1958 he operated his

own chicken farm in Middlesex County, New Jersey, adjacent to his parent's farm. From 1948 to 1949 he finished his studies in art education at New York University, where he studied with Tony Smith and William Baziotes. While in New York City he often visited the Eighth Street Club. In 1953, he met Allan Kaprow, who introduced him to the Hansa Gallery where he had his first one man show in 1956. In 1959, one year after he closed his farm, he had his fourth and last show at the Hansa Gallery where he showed paintings and his first plaster figures. From 1959 to 1960 he participated in group exhibitions at the Reuben Gallery, but in 1960 he had a one man exhibition at the Green Gallery; there, he exhibited plaster figures in environments. In 1962 his second one man exhibition at the Green Gallery focused on his newly developed life casts, as in Man at a Table (fig. 17). This new work was highlighted that same year in the "New Realists" exhibition at the Sidney Janis Gallery; The Dinner Table (fig. 18) and The Bus Driver were also featured.

Similar to Kienholz and Oldenburg, Segal began his career as a painter. From 1958 to 1960 he was painting and exhibiting large canvases at the same time he was experimenting with single sculptural figures. It seems that Segal immediately took the most drastic, if obvious, step in separating his sculpture from painting. He did not spend much effort on bas-reliefs, a transitional and

traditional step from painting to sculpture, and he radically eliminated any color on his plaster figures. Yet writers have been correct in seeing in Segal's tableaux a rigid retention of his painting background. The primary problem until recently has been the total concentration on the historical relationship of environmental sculptors as Segal to action painters as Jackson Pollock. This is due to the writings of Segal's close friend Allan Kaprow who emphatically emphasized the development of room-size environments from the principles of gesture and extension in the action paintings of Pollock. But also underlying this gestural tradition were the teachings of Hans Hofmann, admired by the Hansa Gallery artists, including Segal and Kaprow. In addition to the gestural tradition of the Abstract Expressionists, other critics believe that the color field artists as Mark Rothko and Barnett Newman were equally important to Segal.² The resource for these color field artists in the late forties and early fifties was Segal's teacher of the Abstract Expressionist generation, Tony Smith. Although equally as important as Kaprow, Smith would assist Segal further in understanding the concept of the environment,

² Graham Beal, Phyllis Tuchman, and Sam Hunter all stress his relation to the Abstract Expressionists and its color field artists. Graham W. J. Beal, "Realism at a Distance," in George Segal: Sculptures, catalogue (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1978), 59-60, 68. Tuchman, George Segal, 20-21. Sam Hunter, George Segal, 11-12.

particularly the environmental content in Rothko's and Newman's fields of pure color.

In order to show how Segal developed, there will be an analysis of several works from 1957 to 1963: two of Segal's early paintings, Man with Dead Chicken Around His Neck (1957) and Upside Down Man (1960; fig. 19); a transitional work incorporating painting and sculpture, The Legend of Lot (1958; fig. 20); and three sculptural tableaux, Man at a Table (1961; fig. 17), The Dinner Table (1962; fig. 18), and Gas Station (1963-64; fig. 21). Even though two of these early works were published in Kaprow's culminating book, Assemblage, Environments and Happenings in 1966, there will be a demonstration of how Segal by late 1963 diverged from or modified to his own terms Kaprow's philosophy.

The first work to be discussed is Segal's Man with Dead Chicken Around His Neck (1957). Segal painted the canvas one year before he was to close his chicken farm. In the painting a close to life-size figure looms against an abstract background; around his neck a dead chicken hangs upside down. In the heavily and forcefully brushed figure and general mythical theme of the ancient mariner, Segal demonstrates his connections with an expressionist figurative mode, as that of de Kooning, and an interest in subject matter with important spiritual meaning. In addition, the subject of the man and chicken was a part of

Segal's personal life. The man strung with a dead chicken and standing cut below the knees in an abstract space emphasized the pain with which Segal had eked out a living as a farmer; but the farmer wanted to be an artist on his own terms and ground.⁶

At this time Segal was a close friend with Allan Kaprow, a member of the Hansa Gallery who would begin in 1958 a series of important articles on the role of Jackson Pollock in suggesting an environmental space which artists should literally develop. In his 1958 article "The Legacy of Jackson Pollock," Kaprow praised Pollock for a type of optical space which ". . . tends to lose itself out of bounds, tends to fill our world with itself, ..." Kaprow now proposed that the artist take the necessary step of adding to the abstract or visual sense of Pollock's space the "specific substances of sight, sound, movements, people, odors, touch." In this literal environment artists and spectators would "disclose entirely unheard of happenings and events," and find a dialogue with commonplace objects. Kaprow concluded, "He will discover out of ordinary things the meaning of ordinariness."⁷

⁶For reference to Segal's painting, see Hunter, George Segal, 15-16.

⁷All quotations are from Allan Kaprow, "The Legacy of Jackson Pollock," 24-26, 55-57.

Although Kaprow would express these ideas in a more developed argument in his 1966 publication, he believed in 1958 that Pollock was the progenitor of environmental art. Given Pollock's all-over technique and statement about being in his work while he painted, this idea of immersion also would become the spectator's thoughts. With the implication of a close relationship of artist and spectator, the next step would be to literally envelop the spectator in an enclosure. Given the transitory nature of ordinary objects and materials, real time and movement could be incorporated into the environment. During the summer of 1958, Kaprow, no longer simply a painter, poet or dancer but an "artist," took the final step; he created his first happening. In the natural environment of Segal's chicken farm he directed the Hansa Gallery members to move among the props of the farm. As predicted, "All of life will be open to him."⁸ In 1962 he would stage an interior happening Chicken Man, no doubt a reference to his long friendship with Segal.

Although Segal soon converted his chicken coop into his studio, Segal or the chicken man appeared again in 1960 (fig. 19) but without the bird. This time the figure, not the chicken, was upside down. Since Segal at this time was beginning to try not "to report the world as

⁸For summary and quotation, see *ibid.* For an elaboration of this argument, see Kaprow, Assemblage, Environments and Happenings, 154-161, 165.

reflection of my own blood vessels,"⁹ it is logical to think that the figure's or Segal's feelings are dead. But to Segal the painting expressed his feelings about his own art at that time.

It was my crisis painting, it was an explosion of unresolved, contradictory extremes . . . I painted a guy with volume and modeling, except I turned him upside down. I painted a round table--a still-life--in abstract expressionist paint. I quoted a Goya painting on the wall and put an abstract background in it. I threw everything into the painting, all the factors that were pressuring me as truth . . . it was probably a turning point for me.¹⁰

The key words here reflect the fact that Segal "threw" a lot of objects into the painting. Segal's psychological condition in this painting might stem partly from Kaprow's further development of art as an environment or an event. In 1959 Kaprow had written an essay for the Rutgers University literary magazine, Anthologist. At the end of the essay he attached his proposal or script for an happening; later in October at the Reuben Gallery, he

⁹For quotation, see George Segal, "The Sense of 'Why not?': George Segal on his art," Studio International 174 (October 1967): 149.

¹⁰Graham W. J. Beal, "Realism at a Distance," 60.

staged 18 Happenings in 6 Parts.¹¹ A little bit of everything did go into Kaprow's script, but the section which could parallel Segal's feeling on his own painting occurred in the fifth part.

In a brief summary, here is what occurred in Kaprow's fifth section: in one of the three rooms enclosed by plastic, a girl began by wheeling a construction into the next room. With mirrors on its long, rectangular front and back, with a gallon paint can as head, and with wooden arms on each side, the long box construction resembled a painter (fig. 22); this time he had a new role, as one of his hands held cards similar to those instruction cards already given to the participants and his body also held a record player. When the wheeled construction passed the second room, a man designated as painter in the detailed script stepped in front of the canvas panel set in the wall. In the third room another man/painter walked to his side of the panel/canvas. With a single color they each painted lines or circles on the unprimed canvas. As the stain bled through the unprimed canvas the painter on one side responded to the shapes--lines or circles--made by

¹¹The 1959 Rutgers review had a cover by Lucas Samaras and photographs of constructions by Kaprow and Robert Whitman, sculpture by Segal, and paintings by Samaras. At the end of Kaprow's script/essay "The Demiurge," he inserted a heading "Something to take place: a happening"; for Kaprow's original script, see "The Demiurge," Anthologist (Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey), 30, no.4 (1959): 5-16. For this note, see Kirby, ed., Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, 53.

the painter on the other side. Segal was one of the eight painters listed in the program.¹²

An analogy between this event in Kaprow's fifth section and Segal's painting Upside Down Man can be made. Just as Kaprow made a statement about the new developments in painting, so too did Segal. Kaprow was interested in representing the penetration of the stained canvas, the breakthrough of the space, and the extension of the picture plane out into space. The painters came from the audience, responded to the space of the canvas and to each other, thus immersing the audience and artist in the same space. The construction on wheels in the described event had vestiges of the old painter and aspects of the new artist. This painter in his one gallon hat and holding the participant's instruction card, then, activated the space; the mirrors on his torso reflected the real time of the participants, and a part of his personal space had sound. In Kaprow's section the constructed machine quoted the old painter but gives him a new role.

In Segal's painting, he "quoted" an old master of expressionism--Goya--but placed Goya's figure in a new abstract space, not unlike Segal's own painted figures.

¹²For Kirby's description of the production, see: Kirby, ed., Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, 67-83; fifth section, 71-81. For Kaprow's script, see *ibid.*, Other painters in the program were Robert Rauschenberg and Jasper Johns, substitutes for Red Grooms and Lester Johnson, Sam Francis, Al Leslie, and Robert Whitman.

This abstract field or block of color is similar to the large expanse of color in the work of such Abstract Expressionists as Rothko and Newman. But Segal was not able to abolish the object or the figure. He continued the gestural realism in his "round table . . . in abstract-expressionist paint" and to a greater degree in the upside down man. Segal was one of the Hansa artists, who, if not an actual student, was an admirer of Hans Hofmann. He had spent several of his summers in Hofmann's locale of Provincetown and was aware of Hofmann's dialectic of placing objects in a vibrating tension on the two-dimensional surface of the canvas. In his essay "The Search for the Real," Hofmann emphasized an empathetic response to the world.¹³ He stressed the necessary, generative process which can occur only if the artist allowed the grammar of Cubism to be affected by personal, subjective sensations, the invisible tensions and forces of nature, and the mystery of the creative process. Yet to Segal, at this point in his art, there was an unresolved conflict in his modeling of a man in a space supposedly flat and abstract.

In an increasing desire to look out at the world, Segal had trouble placing his modeled figure in a flat

¹³For Hofmann's 1948 essay published at the time of his retrospective exhibition at the Addison Gallery of American Art, see Sara T. Weeks and Bartlett H. Hayes, Jr., eds., Search for the Real and Other Essays by Hans Hofmann, rev. ed. (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1967), 40-48.

space. Perhaps in an effort to make the figure more abstract and less lifelike, he turned the figure upside down. Ironically, the result is that the modeled upside down man diagonally opposite the "quoted" Goya sets up a dialogue across the still life. The reproduced portrait in the expressionist mode faces the displaced man; the dispassionate man relates upside down to the quoted expressionist portrait. Kaprow's painters in his happening responded to each other through the unprimed canvas and set up an ideal model of artist and spectator response in the same space and spatial extension. Segal set up a similar situation within the canvas; the difference is that the implied one-to-one response was not totally resolved. This tension of two-dimensional and three-dimensional space also was implied in Kaprow's flat box construction of a man with a mirror on his torso reflecting the volume of a real man.

Although Segal was working out his problems of abstraction versus figuration, flat versus illusionistic space, two-dimensional object versus three-dimensional object, he already had taken the step of moving his figure literally out of the canvas. In 1958 he had developed several golemlike plaster figures on wire armatures. Several of the plaster figures he actually staged in front of canvases, as in The Legend of Lot (1958; fig. 20). Therefore, in a sense Upside Down Man (fig. 19) was a

regressive step for Segal.

However, this painting clearly illustrates an attitude towards collage which was crucial to Segal's development. Although Segal actually engaged in a few abstract collages, his general attitude to the process was more important than the mere actualization itself.¹⁴ In 1960 Kaprow wrote a statement for the "New Forms--New Media I" exhibition at the Reuben Gallery; his statement summed up contemporary art as consisting of mixed media as well as rearrangeable parts. This "changeableness" was part of his principle of extension which was not restricted to the canvas. In the end, it was these clustered forms which could become a full scale environment or an happening, where events occurred according to sketchy notations.¹⁵ In a sense, Segal in his Upside Down Man (fig. 19) engaged in Kaprow's rearrangeable parts but he indulged in order to solve the painter's problem of figure versus abstract ground. He did not return to the abstract mode in the collages of 1959. It is interesting to note that in 1963 Kaprow wrote a script for a happening dedicated to the teachings of Hans Hofmann. However, instead of participants personally

¹⁴Sam Hunter illustrated one of Segal's collages of 1959, but he is not explicit in relating Segal's attitudes to Kaprow; see Hunter, George Segal, 24, 27.

¹⁵Allan Kaprow, "Some Observations on Contemporary Art," in New Forms--New Media I, unpaginated.

composing their individual forms in unique arrangements, they were asked to deal with a larger idea of rooms of furniture, rooms of people, empty rooms, and rooms in the out-of-doors. By that time, Kaprow was extending his idea of rearrangeable parts beyond Hofmann's personal sensations on canvas to larger concepts of space relations and composition of forms.¹⁶

Although Segal's close friendship with Kaprow was important in his own development, his attitudes towards the method of collage and scale could also have come from the Abstract Expressionist Tony Smith. From 1948 to 1949 Segal had taken a collage course from Smith at New York University. As Segal has recalled, the assignment was for the whole class to make a mural by using photographs from Life magazine.

. . . The one instruction Tony gave us was that we had to imagine ourselves suspended over the western United States, as if we were in an airplane, looking down on the wild--Grand Canyon, places like that. . . .

That was the way Abstract-Expressionist paintings looked. But while everybody else was talking about the "look" of purely abstract painting that had no reference to nature, Tony was always talking about nature and culture. For me that was the biggest useful clue in coming to myself.

¹⁶"Push and Pull: a Furniture Comedy for Hans Hofmann" was prepared for The Museum of Modern Art's traveling exhibition "Hans Hofmann and His Students," April 1963; see Kaprow, Assemblages, Environments and Happenings, 314-316.

I was getting all sorts of instructions on the surface of the Abstract-Expressionist style from everyone else--paint big, paint abstract, don't paint what you see, et cetera; . . . Tony was different--he was talking about culture and the real world and how the real world was connected to art. . . .¹⁷

In speaking about this new vision of both real and metaphorical space and about an art tied to the world of nature and man-made things--the wild, Grand Canyon, man to airplane, culture--Tony Smith often used Mark Rothko's work as an example.¹⁸ During the time when Smith was conducting his collage class at New York University, he also was a participant in the Friday night seminars of the school "Subjects of the Artist" founded by Rothko, Clyfford Still, and Robert Motherwell. After the discontinuation of the "Subjects of the Artist" in May 1949, Smith had taken over the Eighth Street loft and renamed the group meetings "Studio 35."¹⁹ Therefore, Smith was well aware of the importance of subject matter in the Abstract Expressionist group.

¹⁷In her four page catalogue essay Paula Harper was the first to quote a significant passage by Segal on Tony Smith. She primarily mentioned Segal's late work of the sixties and seventies; see Harper, "American Space," in George Segal Sculpture, unpaginated.

¹⁸Hunter mentioned that Smith often walked around NYU with a Rothko painting under his arm; see Hunter, George Segal, 11, 22. Smith's early paintings were also influenced by Rothko.

¹⁹Cavaliere and Hobbs, "Against a Newer Laocoon," 110.

Perhaps in discussing Rothko's work in 1948 and 1949, Smith had made reference to his early work such as the Subway series of the thirties. Originating from American Scene painting, Rothko's subject of the descent into and exiting from the subway went beyond mere description. His lonely figures in dominant architectural spaces introduced strong feelings of introspection and isolation. The subject and mood is similar to some of Edward Hopper's paintings of the late twenties and thirties. Since critics have often compared Segal's and Hopper's works, it might be that Segal responded to Hopper's American Scene paintings only through Rothko's early work.²⁰ It is illuminating that Mark Rothko actually told Segal at one point that his sculptures were "walk-in Hoppers."²¹ Even though Segal would not tell Rothko until 1961 about seeing the beauty of real figures against Rothko's "illuminist band[s] of light," Segal, no doubt, had come to understand from Smith the validity of this environmental frame of

²⁰No writer has explicitly suggested Segal's viewpoint on Hopper as seen through Rothko's work. However, for a possible implication, see Beal, "Realism at a Distance," 68. Robert Pincus-Witten was one of the first critics to make a comparison between Segal and Hopper; see Pincus-Witten, "George Segal," exhibition review, Artforum 4 (December 1965): 51-53. As late as 1983 Donald Kuspit also used the comparison with Hopper in his six page catalogue essay; see Kuspit, "George Segal's Exploration of Absence," in George Segal Sculpture (Miami: Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami, 1983), unpaginated.

²¹Beal, "Realism at a Distance," 68. Beal discounted any major influence by Hopper on Segal.

reference in Rothko's work.²²

From the Subway series of the late thirties to the early forties, Rothko had moved to another level of emotional life underground. Rothko's early work of the forties continued to reflect man's general need for continuity and renewal of the spirit. Instead of the underground world of the subway, Rothko made an analogy of the evolution of consciousness with the unfolding of cultural images or myths and with the evolution of elemental forces in nature. In the late forties, he gradually transformed his biomorphic shapes within layers of the earth into a complete union of figure and strata. The entire field consisted of two-dimensional, painterly, rectangular shapes emerging from or merging with one another. In his 1948 and 1949 paintings, defined geometric shapes of color contrast with the more amorphous rectangles of pulsating color. As Stephen Polcari has described them, ". . . they are conceived of more in terms of shaped activities than static complete entities."²³ Therefore, knowing Rothko's geologic, cultural, and human references within his condensed paintings, Smith would be able to speak about "looking down on the wild" and about

²²Ibid.

²³Stephen Polcari, "The Intellectual Roots of Abstract Expressionism: Mark Rothko," Arts Magazine 54 (September 1979): 130.

embodying the anti-static or ongoing evolution of forms in the collage technique.

Thus, in returning to Segal's Upside Down Man (fig. 19), the painting might be a homage to Tony Smith. The painting itself is not a collage, but insistent in this work is the freedom to take a different viewpoint on things. As if working with collage elements, Segal could insert past culture--the "quoted" Goya--and nature--himself. He could turn man on his head and measure his activity against an abstract space of blocks of color; or, from another viewpoint, he could move the figure out in space as he did in The Legend of Lot.

Before discussing The Legend of Lot (fig. 20), it is important to continue Segal's reflections on Smith's influences.

Tony spoke to us about James Joyce, too. I remember vividly reading a section on Joyce. . . . So you had [in Joyce] a whole crazy mix going on at the same time. I got absolutely intrigued with how in one section like that you could deal with near reality, far reality--that's the real world--plus what's inside your head.

. . . It was Tony who pointed out that that kind of shuffle was like the time shuffle in cubist painting-- . . . like it was opened in time. Tony was the guy who pointed out that cubist painting was like a movie camera moving in a modern movie. All these connections were important for me. They were all connections with the real world and that was the most important one.²⁴

²⁴Harper, "American Space," unpaginated.

Keeping Segal's views on Tony Smith in mind, one can see that Segal's mixed media work The Legend of Lot (1958; fig. 20) was a crucial experimental work via Allan Kaprow, but one he had to rework on more familiar grounds via Smith in the painting Upside Down Man (1960). In Segal's The Legend of Lot, a male nude with crossed arms stands on a low rough pedestal in front of the canvas which contains static and rapidly sketched, moving figures against an abstract background. The male figure, with a chicken wire armature covered with plaster coated burlap, is the same scale as the painted figures. The sculpture of the brooding figure is placed to the left slightly in front of a male figure of the same scale in the painting. On one level, the sculpture of the brooding figure is Lot who has stepped out of the painting of himself with his wife and daughter.

On another level, the brooding figure is Segal as the artist and as Lot. This view is based on how the work was shown in 1959 at the Hansa Gallery. In February of that year, Segal exhibited The Legend of Lot along with several other paintings and plaster sculptures based on the same biblical story of Lot. One painting in the series, Lot and His Daughters is identical to the painting behind the standing sculpture of the male nude in The Legend of Lot. In Lot and His Daughters, Lot himself stands to the far left and adjacent to a large vertical block of light;

through the light his arm reaches across rapidly sketched, moving figures and extends to the outstretched arm of a crouching female in the center. To the far right stands a female with her hand to her mouth backed by a second vertical path or block of light. Other paintings in the series were: Lot's Wife (1958), in which the female figure with her hand raised to her mouth stands alone; Lot's Daughters (1958-59), in which female figures stand, crouch, and crawl on the floor; and Pillar of Salt, in which the frame of a man is merged with the architectural framework.²⁵ The sculptures used in the exhibition were those of a standing, brooding man, a woman in a broken chair (fig. 23), and a male figure sprawled on the floor.

Given Segal's Abstract Expressionist background with a belief in important subject matter with deep levels of meaning, it is natural that he would develop this biblical myth into a series of works. At the same time, his involvement with metaphorical subject matter was coupled with his personal conflict about the implications of space in the Abstract Expressionist canvas. Thus, when he brought the series together at the Hansa Gallery he made an environment of these paintings, which were all the same height of six feet, and his life-scale sculptures. The specific painting Lot and His Daughters was changed into a

²⁵For illustrations of these paintings, see Hunter, George Segal, 28-30.

broader legend by his placement of the plaster figure in front of the canvas. In the center of the room was a woman on a chair and a sprawling man on the floor. If one conceives the paintings and sculpture together, then the brooding figure is not only Lot, but also the artist, who has moved with Lot and the figures as they have metaphorically and literally shifted in and out of the spaces. Therefore, in the central work of The Legend of Lot (fig. 20), the crouching figure who reaches to Lot is, first, his wife and, then, one of his daughters. In the environment of the paintings and sculpture, she stands alone in Lot's Wife, extends her arm to his side in The Legend of Lot, sits alone in a chair in Seated Figure (1958; fig. 23), and moves into the distance in a pillar of light. His daughters, like their mother, stand firm, crouch, and move across their father; they sit with their heads bent on the floor or in a chair. Lot alternates between standing tall or lying prone, having fallen as husband and father figure.²⁶

As Segal has related, Tony Smith was the one who made

²⁶Most authors only relate the facts of the exhibition, what was exhibited and how Segal exhibited plastered sculptures with paintings for the first time. See Tuchman, George Segal, 17-18. Real, "Realism at a Distance," 60. Jan van der Marck made the point that the figure in front of The Legend of Lot looked as if it had stepped out of the canvas; see van der Marck, George Segal, 24. Sam Hunter is the only author on Segal to state that the plaster figure was the "artist regarding the canvas"; see Hunter, George Segal, 28, 30.

him realize that there was a "time shuffle in cubist painting" and that art could be "opened in time." Although he did not publicize this idea until 1983, Segal's continuing thoughts concerning Smith could still apply to his environment in 1958. As he further stated:

So making a sculpture and walking up to it and around it and making an environment and walking through it involves time and seeing it from different aspects. So what I do is literal cubism.²⁷

In Segal's biblical series itself, there is a progression on how to develop the idea of space and time. First, the idea is embodied in the three positions or movements of each of the figures. For example, in Lot's Daughters each of the female figures exemplify, counter-clockwise, the movements of standing, crouching, and crawling to possess their father. In Lot and His Daughters the movement of the females towards Lot extends from right to left: from a figure locked in paint, to a heavily sketched crouching figure, to only gestural lines of figures overlapping in space. In both works the shifting viewpoint remains fixed behind the picture plane. In the single work of The Legend of Lot, the solution was to move the figure out into real space implying, now, the artist's and spectator's moving viewpoint on a two-dimensional

²⁷Harper, "American Space," unpaginated. Although Harper quoted this important passage by Segal on Smith, she did not relate it to The Legend of Lot.

painting. Finally, in Segal's exhibition of 1959, the plaster figure of Lot and/or the artist take shifting views of both the two-dimensional and three-dimensional spaces. This is a moving viewpoint on a space about to become a total three-dimensional picture or environment.

Segal's class with Tony Smith was to end in 1949, but his influence, if not friendship, persisted through the fifties. Smith did not identify the students in the now famous event on the New Jersey Turnpike, but his description seems to correspond to Segal's thoughts. Segal had praised Smith's clarity of vision, his initial sense of art rising from or reflecting the scale and structure of the environment, and his impulse about art being "opened in time." These feelings reverberate in Smith's own description of the events on the turnpike.

When I was teaching at Cooper Union in the first year or so of the fifties, someone told me how I could get onto the unfinished New Jersey Turnpike. I took three students and drove from somewhere in the Meadows to New Brunswick. It was a dark night and there were no lights or shoulder markers, lines, railings, or anything at all except the dark pavement moving through the landscape of the flats, rimmed by hills in the distance, but punctuated by stacks, towers, fumes and colored lights. This drive was a revealing experience. The road and much of the landscape was artificial, and yet it couldn't be called a work of art. On the other hand, it did something for me that art had never done. At first, I didn't know what it was, but its effect was to liberate me from many of the views I had had about art. It seemed that there had been a reality there

that had not had any expression in art.

The experience on the road was something mapped out but not socially recognized. I thought to myself, it ought to be clear that's the end of art. Most painting looks pretty pictorial after that. There is no way you can frame it, you just have to experience it. . . .²⁰

Even if Segal was not one of the students, he certainly seemed ready for the experience. In 1967 he reflected back on his experience of first seeing the work of Jackson Pollock in the late forties while at New York University. Pollock's work provoked in Segal a strong response, even though Segal's first words reiterate those used by Kaprow on Pollock's space.

. . . Where was the beginning,
middle and end of his pictures? . . .

But where was my own beginning,
middle and end? I was on an endless
shuttle between a chicken-farm in New
Jersey and downtown New York. The coops
were the city simplified to a nightmare:
rows of brown wooden rooms, old tenement
doors, slimy brown muck on the floors,
hysterical wind impact of white wings.
Train rides and city buildings were gray
and the only color seemed to come from
electric and neon light. The colors in
Impressionist paintings looked as made
up as a Hollywood technic-color movie. . . .

All this new work fascinated and
disturbed me. How could these paintings
catch the feeling of how and where I
was living, then change and become
places of the mind? I felt

²⁰Samuel Wagstaff, Jr., "Talking with Tony Smith," Artforum 5 (December 1966): 52. Also published in Gregory Battcock, ed., Minimal Art. A Critical Anthology (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1968), 386.

earth-bound, . . .²⁹

By 1953 Segal and Kaprow found they shared a common feeling about the New Jersey landscape which Smith had already described. Later described by Kaprow, the New Jersey area was ". . . a waste of filled-in marshes, constantly smoking dumps, treeless flats crusted over with housing projects, and vast industry whose gasses swirl permanently around the ankles. . . ."³⁰ Although they found a grim landscape, Segal, Kaprow, and Smith all felt the intensity of that experience.

Contrary to the Abstract Expressionists, Segal and Kaprow believed not only that a genuine experience could be grounded in and could consist of real materials of the raw world but also that their resulting art would be superior to the traditional Cubist aesthetics.³¹ As Segal had stated, Tony Smith had originally equated the simultaneity of Cubist painting with the effects of a simultaneity of Cubist painting with the effects of a

²⁹See Segal on Pollock in "Jackson Pollock: An Artists' Symposium, Part 2," 69. For similar wording--"the beginning, middle and end"--by Kaprow, see Kaprow, "The Legacy of Jackson Pollock," 56. Later he would say the same in Kaprow, "'Happenings' in the New York Scene," Art News 60 (May 1961): 58.

³⁰Kaprow's quote is from a four page essay in Jan van der Marck, George Segal. 12 Human Situations (Chicago: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1968), n.p.

³¹For reference to Segal's and Kaprow's new aesthetic, see Beal, "Realism at a Distance," 62; and Hunter, George Segal, 20.

modern movie camera. Then, in the early fifties he came to speak about an experience in time where real objects in space were relative to his own position in space. Likewise, in The Legend of Lot (1958; fig. 20), Segal had begun to break from the internal logic and overlapping time sequences and had shifted the internal relations of movement to the functions of the spectator, or, in this case, to the plaster figure of Lot and/or himself.

Yet, in thinking about a new aesthetic, Segal did not focus only on "literal cubism."³² In the spirit of Duchamp's break with Cubism, he and Kaprow wanted to go beyond a pure retinal art. They began to question all conventional values. Even though Kaprow made this following statement in 1964 in reference to Segal's works, it applies to their open attitude of the late fifties:

. . . A remark like, "the New Jersey Turnpike, as it passes through the industrial complex around Newark, is better than art" is frequent among some of us, and it is not at all cynical. One is not faced here with a rejection of art, but with an amplification of its domain and a blurring of its limits, because, far from stopping at that point, these artists go on to make works of art of their own.³³

From 1956 to 1957 Kaprow had studied with John Cage

³²Quotation from Segal in Harper, "American Space"; see p. 148 of this text for full quotation.

³³For Kaprow's quote, which is reminiscent of Tony Smith's views, see Allan Kaprow, "Segal's vital mummies," Art News 62 (February 1964): 30-33, 65; quotation, 31.

at the New School for Social Research. Al Hansen, also one of the class participants, has reported that from time to time the students brought friends, one of whom was Segal. Certainly in Cage's class, any previous or tentative feelings which Segal and Kaprow had on a concept of art tied to the experience of life was reinforced. As an example, take one of Hansen's descriptions of one day in class where Cage approached a music composition as if it were a picnic. The class had set up a composition based on the name of a woman; each letter of her name was assigned a number relative to its position in the alphabet. After each class member was given a noise-making toy, Cage suggested how the members could begin the piece:

Let's all consider it a picnic. When one arrives at the picnic site, he then proceeds to do whatever one does at a picnic and after a while goes home or goes away or isn't there anymore.³⁴

Therefore, anyone in the picnic spirit could begin and end his part in the number chain or music notation.

Certainly, this story is illuminating for its reference to the use of ready-made objects as instruments and to its method of nonpersonal composition based on numbers. Although the exact structure of Kaprow's first happening in 1957 is not known and is described only as a "sober procession," it does not seem too far-fetched to

³⁴For quotation see Al Hansen, A Primer of Happenings & Time/Space Art, 98; for discussion of class see 94-102.

imagine it in the spirit of Cage's picnic.³⁵ The other important fact is that Kaprow attempted his first happening during the Hansa Gallery picnic on Segal's farm in 1957. Therefore, aware of Kaprow's own collage of events in real time, Segal also decided to place the figure of Lot and/or himself out in real space.

While the pictorial space of Upside Down Man (1960; fig. 19) contrasts with the more adventuresome use of pictorial and literal space in The Legend of Lot (fig. 20), the painting clearly demonstrates Segal's interest in moveable parts. Finally, in 1961 Segal made clear his previous tentative directions in dealing with different types of space and mixed media. Instead of handbuilding a plaster figure over an armature, he cast himself and reassembled his plaster self-image on a real chair at a real table in front of a window frame with dirty panes. In Man at a Table (1961; fig. 17), he substituted the principles of exchange and extension on a two-dimensional surface for a similar engagement in three-dimensional space. The following year he enlarged the scene to include six figures at The Dinner Table (fig. 18).

What is important in these two early works is Segal's active engagement with many of the ideas he shared with Kaprow. In a review of Kaprow's major book, Assemblage, Environments and Happenings, in relationship to these two

³⁵Hunter, George Segal, 20.

table works, one can see how Segal by 1963 established his own tableau format in opposition to further developments in Kaprow's happenings.

Kaprow's book was begun in 1959 in the midst of this type of art being shown at the Reuben Gallery. For the 1960 exhibition "New Forms--New Media I" at the Martha Jackson Gallery, he condensed these thoughts into a statement titled, "Some Observations on Contemporary Art." As discussed in regard to The Legend of Lot and Upside Down Man, Kaprow advocated an interchange of different media and stressed changeable parts used with the principle of "extension." He believed these "agglomerates" which stemmed from action painting would develop into "environments" in which the spectator would take part. Although not a part of the exhibition, the "most extended form" would be "happenings," where the spectator would be more active in events arranged "according to flexible scores."³⁶ In 1961 Kaprow revised

³⁶Kaprow, "Some Observations on Contemporary Art," unpaginated. At the end of the two page essay he noted that these thoughts were condensed from a forthcoming book, then titled, Paintings, Environments and Happenings. Artists in the exhibition included, among others: Hans Arp (wood relief), Lee Bontecou, George Brecht (chest with moveable objects), A. Calder, Bruce Conner (mixed media collage), Joseph Cornell (box collage), Jim Dine (chair object), Jean Dubuffet (sculpture), Jean Follett (collage on a platform), Red Grooms (relief object including table), Jasper Johns (target, painted construction), Kaprow (collage), Oldenburg (MUG), Rauschenberg (box construction, Odalisque), Schwitters (collages from 1917-1947), Richard Stankiewicz (scrap iron sculpture).

his book and summarized his thoughts in an Art News article.³⁷ To Kaprow, Happenings were different from regular theater in several ways. First, instead of "the elevated picture-window view of most playhouses" or "the expectations of curtain-openings and tableau-vivants and curtain-closing," these events used nonart places in the city and nature itself. Secondly, with "no structured beginning, middle or end," a collage of events occurred in this "habitat" according to the artist's directions. Third, since the artist had these ideas for main events in his head or schematically written on paper, he used chance as a mode of operation. Thus, unlike plays, a happening was a unique and impermanent work. With directness of materials, a real place, and action, Kaprow stated that the Happenings belonged to the tradition of realism.³⁸

As Kaprow stated in his preface to his book, he revised it again after 1961. From reading a separate statement on environments and Happenings for a preface to his own happening A Service for the Dead in a 1963 issue of Art International, and from analyzing his pictorial

³⁷In his preface to Assemblage, Environments and Happenings, Kaprow stated that his book was begun in 1959 at the suggestion of the directors of the Reuben Gallery and completed in 1960 as stated above in previous footnote. He also stated he revised the book in 1961; see p. 150 for preface.

³⁸Summarized from Kaprow, "'Happenings' in the New York Scene," 36-39, 58-62.

anthology accompanying his major text of 1966, one can see how Kaprow began to change his views rapidly after 1962. In his 1963 preface to A Service for the Dead (1962), Kaprow made two points which are crucial to understanding Segal's two works Man at a Table (1961; fig. 17) and The Dinner Table (1962; fig. 18). As before, Kaprow defined his environment as the development of his collages and assemblages out into space, away from the wall, and into the whole gallery. But in this article, he stated that the "moving or moveable parts" could be conceived as "furniture or extensions of Self." Furthermore, in this short statement, Kaprow defined a happening as an ". . . extension of this kind of environment into compressed time, where the moments of experience became more pronounced. . . ." But he did admit that ". . . (an environment can be a slowed down, quieter happening), . . ."³³

Given these statements, several of Kaprow's ideas prior to 1963 seem to correspond with Segal's works. Although his Man at a Table (1961) does not fill the entire gallery, it does intrude on the surrounding space. The tableau is not elevated on a pedestal, implying a separation of stage and audience. The important aspect is that Segal, partaking of the tradition of realism, moved

³³For his statement introducing his happening, see Allan Kaprow, "A Service for the Dead," Art International 7 (25 January 1963): 46.

his own life cast among the pieces of furniture or ordinary objects. In his 1959 essay for the New Forms--New Media I catalogue, Kaprow had chosen to emphasize the roots of the environments and Happenings as action painting rather than the mixed media and questionable art sources of Dada. However, as a student of Cage, he was an advocate of the Dadaist principle of found and chosen objects, as in the work of Schwitters and Duchamp. Segal also recognized the potential means in these artists.⁴⁰ In his tableau Man at a Table, Segal established his ability to compose himself freely with found objects and to extend his own mannequin in space with similar plastic presences. Thus, his life with real objects as well as his interest in physically involving the spectator were carried over to The Dinner Table.

In The Dinner Table, Segal cast himself along with his wife and personal friends, Kaprow, Vaughan Kaprow, Jill Johnson, and Lucas Samaras. Although there is a difference in the two works between the intricate relationships of the people and furniture, the new 1962 work distinguishes itself by Segal's placement of the spectator in the work. By introducing the mirror on the wall, Segal allowed the spectator to place himself in various positions at the table. With his own set of

⁴⁰As mentioned in the introduction, most authors conclude that Kaprow initiated Segal's interest in Cage, Duchamp, and Schwitters.

controls, Segal established an environment for a slow procession of communicants at the table; perhaps it could be called a "quieter happening."

With these two early works Segal began to establish three main priorities similar to Kaprow's own concepts. While wishing to remove himself from the psychological intensity of Abstract Expressionism, Segal still wanted to project the vitality of his own experiences. He first took the step of reproducing himself in plaster. By duplicating himself, he put his cast mannequin in the category of ordinary objects. Another method he used was to choose his friends, people he intimately knew and trusted, as his models in familiar settings. While placing himself at a table in 1961, he went further in providing the spectator "a place to sit down" in The Dinner Table, and later in The Bus Riders (1962; fig. 24).

Segal's ideas about the ordinary object and its placement in space in relationship to the spectator seem to coincide with some of Kaprow's ideas in his anthology of photographs for his major book. Yet in order not to construe that Segal totally accepted Kaprow's ideas, it is imperative to look at both the anthology of photographs and to read the text of Assemblage, Environments and Happenings. Kaprow's anthology of photographs captures the essence of these types of works from the mid fifties until 1964; they primarily focus on Kaprow's ideas as outlined

above. In a published interview in 1965 with Michael Kirby, another author on Happenings, Kaprow related the development of his early work. However, he indicated that he had recently moved in a direction where his activities were scattered over wide, diverse spaces dispersed in time and where he no longer used his friends as performers. Moreover, there were no spectators.⁴¹ Kaprow's text itself clearly is an argument working towards these later developments. Although Kaprow's ideas and these later developments will be discussed in relation to Oldenburg, there are now firm conclusions about Segal's relationship to Kaprow's ideas to be made.

Kaprow had suggested that the idea of Pollock for the future was to abandon the standard idea of form--the idea of "a beginning, middle and end, or any variant or fragmentation."⁴² Contrary to this central position of Happenings, Segal wanted to posit a more definite stance in that endless continuum. As previously mentioned, in his praise of Pollock in 1967, he stated he had asked himself what was his position--his "beginning, middle, and end." In Man at a Table (fig. 17), he had positioned himself to capture the intensity of those ordinary actions or movements characteristic of Happenings. Segal's sense of

⁴¹Allan Kaprow, "A Statement," in Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, ed. Michael Kirby, 44-52.

⁴²Kaprow, "The Legacy of Jackson Pollock," 26.

place is defined by small shifts of focus on the human figure among the objects.

In Kaprow's pictorial anthology in Assemblage, Environments and Happenings, he chose several works by Segal to illustrate his own ideas via Schwitters to use nonart, common materials, and a multitude of events. One caption "Patchwork Memories" focused on Segal's collaborative piece with Ruth Schmidt. Kaprow chose the first cluttered version of Ruth in Her Kitchen (1964) over the more pared down version of 1966. Kaprow called this work a sculpture and an environment because Segal contributed the sculpture to Schmidt's environment. Also, Kaprow used the caption "Mirror the World" with Segal's Gas Station (1963; fig. 21) and labeled it as an "environmental sculpture." It followed Clarence Schmidt's environment containing a bureau mirror reflecting a tree. Finally, he placed the caption of "Debris" and label of "environmental sculpture" beside Segal's The Bus Driver (1962). In Kaprow's carefully constructed anthology this work by Segal followed an event in Oldenburg's happening Ironworks and stood opposite an event in Oldenburg's Foto-Death with the caption "And Madmen." Sandwiched between Oldenburg's happening, Segal's work incorporating refuse

narrowly escaped the connotation of "madmen."⁴³

In Segal's theater of self-experience his intimate friends were his legitimate performers. In order not to portray in detail his own emotions, he shrouded himself and his friends in the white casts. Since the life cast or shell was built up with rough plaster, he could mask the immediate emotions of the moment; in other words, the molds of their real feelings are on the interior of the casts. Kaprow and, later, Oldenburg also concealed their figures in boxes and stuffed bags; they went further in using the shadows themselves and as blends of the figures and objects.⁴⁴ In one other section of Kaprow's anthology he placed Segal's The Dinner Table (fig. 18) opposite his own environment Eat (1964), both with the caption "People Inside, Statues Inside."⁴⁵ The caption obviously refers to Segal's statues and Kaprow's real people in an interior space; but it also suggests that inside Segal's life cast

⁴³Segal's works with Kaprow's captions are illustrated in Assemblage, Environments and Happenings; see respectively figures 86-87, 66, 98. Kaprow titled Segal's Gas Station as Filling Station. For the later version of Ruth in Her Kitchen, see Beal, "Realism at a Distance," 13. Oldenburg's happening was in two parts and called Circus (Ironworks/Fotodeath).

⁴⁴For example, Kaprow used shadows effectively in A Spring Happening in 1961 at the Reuben Gallery; see Kirby, ed., Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, 94-103. Examples by Oldenburg will be discussed later in the text.

⁴⁵For illustration, see Kaprow, Assemblage, Environments and Happenings, figs. 27-28.

sculptures are real people and that Kaprow's people inside sit on pedestals as if statues. In Eat the people were like statues until the spectator turned on their switches; the so-called statues then became mechanized people with particular tasks repeated without variation. Furthermore, Kaprow was indicating the slight shift in boundaries between Segal's static sculptural figures and his own sculptural performers.

As early as 1960, the critic Sidney Tillim stated that Segal's work used "method acting."⁴⁶ Although he did not explain, he was referring to the Stanislavsky method where an actor used affective memory or tried to find in himself the source of the emotion he wished to portray. In this method individual actors and study groups focused on the specific control of a personality or aspects of that personality so that the performer was unseen within his character. Because the life of the real person is concealed within the sculptural cast, Segal's friend does fill the space in a scene. Yet, because the figure is distilled and is a shadow of himself, he is a plastic object. The thrust of Segal's figurative sculpture is this tenuous balance between a ghost of a figure and an object. This white cast and naturalism of the figures, except for their ordinary actions and props, reminded critics of

⁴⁶Sidney Tillim, exhibition review of Segal at Green Gallery, Art News 35 (December 1960): 54.

nineteenth century academic sculpture.⁴⁷ But it was this relationship of plastic presences in the figures and the objects which intrigued Kaprow; these presences were the furniture of the environmental space and set up an interchange of being abstract and concrete.

What is clear in Segal's work is his differentiation of his sense of time from the ongoing action of Happenings; his action is a frozen moment and its focus is on only one event. Even though his sculpture is in an environment, though not a total enclosure, his event is to be seen by everyone at the same time. He does not partake of the simultaneous events and alogical arrangement of units of events in Happenings. Yet, he chose to use the compartmental idea through his tightening of the lateral space and the depth around his sculptures. Reminiscent of the architectural framework of Hausmann or the Surrealists, the compartment was evident in Kaprow's early happenings. The spectator can enter The Dinner Table (fig. 18) and can walk around the environment to focus on the various relationships of the sitting figures to each other and to himself. This control of the spectator's relation to the work is similar to the placement of people in Kaprow's compartments in 18 Happenings in 6 Parts. The

⁴⁷For example, see Tuchman, George Segal, 38. Also, Segal himself helped select an exhibition of nineteenth century academic casts at The Metropolitan Museum of Art; see "Curtain Call for the Plaster Cast," Art News 71 (April 1972): 24-26.

use of the mirror is a minor variant of engaging and provoking the audience.

However, in the future Segal would construct more works as Gas Station (1963-64; fig. 21) where the spectator had a choice; he could enter the work or view the entire work by walking laterally and parallel to its back wall and short sides. In the second choice, Segal's frozen figures more often are glimpsed through the frame of a window or blocked by a large object. For example, both aspects occur in Gas Station where one garage man stands behind a double window and another attendant sits between the Coke machine and the empty crates. This change in view where the rectangularity of the work is predominant and where the position of the spectator is parallel to this planar view is one reason why the term sculptural tableau can eclipse Kaprow's term of "environmental sculpture." What will become clear as Oldenburg's and Kienholz's attitudes towards the tableau format are formulated here in this chapter is that Segal's development is probably the purest in its descent from the environmental aspects of Abstract Expressionism.

The Early Work of Claes Oldenburg

Similar to Segal, Claes Oldenburg greatly admired the Abstract Expressionist tradition of Jackson Pollock, yet he was not a part of the figurative work stemming from the New York School of Hofmann and de Kooning. Oldenburg's

work came from Chicago's own brand of figurative art based on highly personalized, often primitivistic, expression and surrealist fantasy. With an affinity towards theater, he became an early participant in the extension of action paintings--Happenings--in New York in the late fifties. However, dissimilar to Segal, Oldenburg produced his own happenings. His expressionist background coupled with his relationship to the acknowledged leader of Happenings, Allan Kaprow, stimulated Oldenburg's own attitudes towards environmental art. Crucial to Oldenburg's formation of sculptural tableau is the interrelationship of his happenings to his own environments and sculptural objects.

Born in Sweden in 1929, Claes Oldenburg spent his childhood in New York and Chicago. After attending Yale University from 1946 to 1950, he lived in Chicago for six years where he was a police reporter, advertising man, and illustrator, among other jobs. While in Chicago he made contact with the art scene around the Art Institute of Chicago. In 1956 Oldenburg moved to New York City. By 1959, he had his first one man exhibition at the Judson Gallery, where he exhibited drawings of the environment, wood and newspaper constructions, and poems. In 1960 at the Judson Gallery, and later at the Reuben Gallery, he created his own environment, The Street (fig. 25). In this environment he produced his first happening, Snapshots from the City (fig. 26). While involved in his

own happenings and group exhibitions at the Reuben Gallery during 1961, he created his second major environment, The Store, in his own studio at 107 East Second Street. During 1962 he presented ten different happenings called Ray Gun Theater at his store. In the fall of 1962, he had his first exhibition at the Green Gallery where he exhibited works from The Store (fig. 27) and his first soft sculptures. At the last part of 1962, he exhibited with Segal and other artists in the "New Realists" exhibition at the Sidney Janis Gallery, New York, and with Edward Kienholz, among others, in "My Country 'Tis of Thee" at the Dwan Gallery in Los Angeles.

A prolific writer since college days, Oldenburg kept notations on his thoughts, moods, and works throughout the sixties. A 1961 note clearly implies his knowledge of traditional types of theater on and off the proscenium stage and the factor of the audience's position to the scene.

. . . The mural, the environment, the pageant, the masque, the larger spatial, architectural forms are forms of art not without precedent. There comes a time when the artist wants to use these forms and directly involve his audience, directly influence and involve actual experience. . . .⁴⁰

A summary of a few biographical details exemplifies Oldenburg's predilection towards the theater at an early

⁴⁰Statement from Oldenburg's notebooks in Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 145.

poem The Elephant Chorus.⁸⁰

These incidents are important to reinforce Oldenburg's general interest in performance. The discussion of the relationship between Oldenburg's happenings and his objects first centers upon the influence of two men: Red Grooms with his Chicago background and Allan Kaprow with his theory of environmental art. In discussing such works as Oldenburg's environment The Street (1960; fig. 25) and his happenings, such as Snapshots from the City (1960; fig. 26), Circus (Ironworks/Fotodeath) (1961; fig. 28), and Injun (1960-62) in relation to several of Grooms's and Kaprow's happenings, this dissertation will demonstrate Oldenburg's development of his own type of happening. Because the development of his happenings, environments, and objects are interrelated, this first lengthy discussion will give important clues to this goal, that is, his attitudes towards sculptural tableau. The second phase of the discussion will focus on individual objects which weave a pattern with his happenings to create by 1965 Oldenburg's special type of sculptural tableau--the monument.

⁸⁰For his relationship to Tyler and for these two early works see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 25, 27-29. Oldenburg could have read about Ball's cabaret scene, including poem, in Motherwell's anthology; see Motherwell, ed., introduction to The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, xix. In Hugo Ball's Die Flucht aus der Zeit (Flight from Time) (Munich, 1927) he told about his sound poems at the Cabaret Voltaire where he read, among other things, The Elephant Chorus.

In 1960 Oldenburg created his first large-scale environment, The Street, at the Judson Gallery. The gallery was part of the activities of the Judson Memorial Church, a backdrop to many of Dick Tyler's own street events. In order to portray the less glamorous, but terribly real aspects of the city--the slums with human aberration, violence, and grit--he used found pieces of old cardboard, burlap, and rope from the Lower East Side. The images of figures, signs, and objects of city life covered all of the walls as if Oldenburg wanted a mural. However, they were actually cutouts of corrugated cardboard and burlap with heavy, blackish outlines. The edges of these figures and objects had the distinct look of having gone through a fire.⁵¹ When Oldenburg produced his first happening, Snapshots from the City (fig. 26), in this environment, real ragged people were added to this atmosphere of charred fragments and refuse.

During 1958 to 1959, Red Grooms had produced performances with titles referring to fire: Play Called Fire at the Sun Gallery, Provincetown, summer 1958; and The Burning Building at the Delancey Street Museum, New York, December 1959. Rather than citing a direct influence of Grooms's two performances on Oldenburg's environment, one can state that Oldenburg responded in general to his

⁵¹Rose made this analogy of a burnt look; see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 38.

Chicago experiences in the work of Grooms. No doubt the Lower East Side and the Bowery revived memories of similar sections of Chicago where Oldenburg had gone on his police beat.⁵² Oldenburg had made contacts also with the "Chicago bunch," such as artists George Cohen, Leon Golub, June Leaf, and H. C. Westermann. Grooms had studied at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1955, one year after Oldenburg had left, and must have known some of the work of these Chicago artists, particularly H. C. Westermann.⁵³

Although Westermann's art stemmed from his wartime experiences, these early themes of violence manifest similar actions on the home front. Another salient characteristic of Westermann's early work is the use of the architectural structure with actual or implied personages. These structures range from Giacometti type platforms to boxes with openings as windows and doors. Red Grooms's use of a stage set as a building with flappable windows out of which characters appear, the use of cutout flames, and the use of a boxlike figure for the girl in

⁵²Grooms exhibited Policewoman in the "New Forms--New Media I" exhibition at the Martha Jackson Gallery in 1960.

⁵³According to Rose's chronology in Claes Oldenburg, pp. 199-205, Oldenburg was at the Chicago Institute from 1950 to 1952 and in 1954. Westermann was at the Institute off and on from 1947 to 1954. Both Oldenburg and Westermann had the same instructor, Paul Weighardt, at the Institute and both exhibited in the "Momentum 1956" exhibition in Chicago. For Westermann's chronology, see Barbara Haskell, H. C. Westermann (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1978), 96-102.

The Burning Building appear very similar to some of Westermann's works: for example, The Soldier's Dream (1956; fig. 29), Old Eccentric's House (1956-57), Mad House (1958), and Burning House (1958).⁵⁴ Although Oldenburg saw Kaprow's 18 Happenings in 6 Parts before Grooms's play, he must have responded to Grooms's imagery and stage set. Oldenburg's environment The Street was a set for a series of posed or frozen scenes in the enlarged box of the gallery. Several of the cutouts, such as MUG and Street Head, hung from strings in the gallery. While Oldenburg had recently read Celine's Death on the Installment Plan and had drawn Celine as a hanging sculpture, his cutouts such as MUG (fig. 30) in his environment could reflect his growing knowledge of Westermann's art; for example, Oldenburg's MUG is similar to Westermann's soldier in The Soldier's Dream (fig. 29)

⁵⁴For Westermann's works and other early examples, see Haskell, H. C. Westermann, 12, 37, 40. For Grooms's happening, The Burning Building, see Kirby, ed., Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, 121-133. Also, for photographs with Kaprow's captions, see Kaprow, Assemblage. Environments and Happenings, fig. 6 ("Entrances and Enclosures"), fig. 18 ("Specters from Refuse"), and fig. 61 ("A Face in the Wall"). Both Westermann and Grooms had a great love for acrobats and circus acts; in Grooms's happening presented in December 1959, he dove through the window onto the stage. Westermann's late 1958 Chicago exhibition at the Allan Frumkin Gallery was reviewed; see Franz Schultz, "Art News from Chicago," Art News 57 (February 1959): 49.

who hung in a box with flames on its top.⁵⁵

Even if Oldenburg did not respond to or renew this familiarity with Westermann's art through the work of Grooms, there are other aspects of Chicago art in The Street. For example, George Cohen also had been at the Art Institute of Chicago at the same time as Oldenburg. In the mid fifties, Cohen was assembling found objects--doll parts, compact mirrors, anchovy cans, picture framed mirror--to create a subterranean figure, fetish or surrogate portrait, as in Anybody's Self-Portrait.⁵⁶ Although Oldenburg would not engage in assemblage in his sculpture, he would use this mode of operation in a different manner in his happenings. However, at this point he could look to Cohen's crude but direct approach to portraiture. This attitude towards portraiture stemmed both from Surrealism and from the art of Dubuffet. As Cohen related in 1970:

. . . We all seemed to know about Hans Prinzhorn's Bilderei der Geisteskranken, later in 1951 Maurice Culberg gave me a copy of Dubuffet's L'Art Brut Préféré aux Arts

⁵⁵On a notebook page, Oldenburg has a 1959 pencil drawing for "Celine in foil" which is a hanging sculpture; see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 37-38. Rose does not discuss H. C. Westermann's work.

⁵⁶Cohen's sculpture from the Richard Feigen Gallery in Chicago was included in "The Art of Assemblage" exhibition at The Museum of Modern Art, October-November, 1961; for illustration, see William Seitz, The Art of Assemblage (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1961), 112.

Culturels.⁸⁷

Like the Surrealists of the thirties, Dubuffet valued the art of the insane, children, and primitives, including the art of the street--graffiti--for its ability to challenge the western bourgeois sense of logic and beauty. Dubuffet's coarse studies of the features and surfaces of subculture, such as the subway, cow pastures, the Bowery, and street women, are similar to Oldenburg's interest in that "primitive site, the streets of the slums."⁸⁸ With his early experience of art in Chicago, including Dubuffet's influence, Oldenburg was able to find in New York similar qualities of instinctual behavior, passion, and violence; such examples were the scribblings of the Abstract Expressionists and the graffiti and soaked refuse of the city itself.

Finally, Oldenburg did not respond to his past Chicago experiences totally through Red Grooms. In 1957, at the Hansa Gallery, he saw Allan Kaprow's exhibition of large hangings soaked with paint and smells as well as his large, three-dimensional figures coated with tar; one was

⁸⁷Dore Ashton, "Dubuffet and Anticulture," Arts Magazine 44 (December 1969-January 1970): 37.

⁸⁸For Oldenburg's full quotation and acknowledgment of Dubuffet's influence, see *ibid.*, 38. In 1951 at the Arts Club of Chicago, while Oldenburg was still a resident of that city, Dubuffet made a speech, "Anticultural Positions." Oldenburg also did a notebook drawing for hanging plaques in 1959 called Homage to Celine and Dubuffet; see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 38.

called Woman Out of Fire (1956).⁵⁹ Perhaps, he recalled not only the encrusted figures of Dubuffet but also the scorched, brutal figures of Chicago artist Leon Golub.⁶⁰ However, Kaprow's work became more important to Oldenburg in 1959 when he saw Kaprow's 18 Happenings in 6 Parts at the Reuben Gallery.

Although there has been prior discussion on the importance of Kaprow in relation to Segal, it is now necessary to review his activities in relation to Oldenburg. This analysis is justified because Oldenburg refined his concept of sculpture in accordance with his own and Kaprow's happenings.⁶¹ Although there are many similarities in their work, Oldenburg did gradually depart from Kaprow's ideas. Furthermore, in contrast to Ellen Johnson's belief, the difference between Oldenburg's and Kaprow's happenings does not hinge totally on Oldenburg's

⁵⁹For a discussion of Kaprow's early sculpture, see Irving Sandler, The New York School. The Painters and Sculptors of the Fifties, 198-199. Phyllis Tuchman also connected this sculpture's importance to Segal and Oldenburg; see Tuchman, George Segal, 14.

⁶⁰For a discussion of Golub's role in Chicago and early work, see Wayne Anderson, American Sculpture in Process: 1930/1970 (Boston: New York Graphic Society and Little, Brown & Co., 1975), 136, 138-139. Both Golub and Westermann were in the "New Images of Man" exhibition organized by The Museum of Modern Art in 1959.

⁶¹In Rose's monograph on Oldenburg, she not only relegated his happenings to an appendix, but she also did not delineate the relationship of these two artists' happenings.

more "emotional, violent or poetic" nature.⁶² Rather, it was Kaprow's gradual insistence on the art-less and unstructured nature of the medium which Oldenburg was unable to accept.

No doubt Oldenburg did respond favorably to Kaprow's 1958 article on "The Legacy of Jackson Pollock." Kaprow had indicated that "Pollock . . . left us at the point where we must become preoccupied with and even dazzled by the space and objects of our everyday life, . . . if need be, the vastness of Forty-Second Street."⁶³ With a predilection towards the subject of the city, Oldenburg would have been encouraged by Kaprow's reference to it as well as to the use of ordinary objects.⁶⁴ Oldenburg made his own statement on Pollock in 1967; he agreed with Kaprow on the magical aspect of Pollock's art in the image's identity with the field, its all-over quality, and

⁶²For Rose's discussion, see "Appendix: The Theater of Action," in Claes Oldenburg, 183-188. For Ellen Johnson's opinion, see Ellen Johnson, ed., "Happenings and Other Pre-Pop Art," in American Artists on Art from 1940-1980, 59.

⁶³Kaprow, "The Legacy of Jackson Pollock"; excerpt in Johnson, American Artists on Art from 1940-1980, 58.

⁶⁴Ellen Johnson has stated that Oldenburg told her about the similarity of Kaprow's views in "The Legacy of Jackson Pollock" (1958) with his statement "I am for an art . . ." in the exhibition catalogue Environments, Situations, Spaces (New York: Martha Jackson Gallery, 1961); he exhibited at the gallery the first reliefs from The Store. See Johnson, "Pop Art," in American Artists on Art from 1940 to 1980, 97.

its potential of extension into real space. But he was more explicit in giving credit to Pollock's implication of concrete life. Since Pollock did return to some use of figuration after his totally abstract work of the late forties, it is not surprising to find Oldenburg generally referring to images:

3. Pollock's paint immediately suggested city subjects, the walls, the stores, the taxicabs. I don't know if he cared about that. In Happenings, which owe something to him, the world is smeared with paint or its substitutes. I used that kind of paint to entangle the objects in my surroundings. Later I used paint-like material . . . for dipping people in. . . .⁶⁶

In his statement Oldenburg went on to assert that, as an artist after the time of Pollock, his canvas included the walls, ceilings, floors, basements, etc. The last point he made seems to have reference not only to Pollock but also to his own first happening and to a later environment:

5. The big symbol energy that vibrates in Pollock's lightcords is painful now, but also unnecessary. Every simple thing is so engaged in its own vast symbol production that it seems better to switch off. . . .

6. New York scares the hell out of me. When I ran for death to Los Angeles, I made the Bedroom as a symbol of my necrophilia. . . . Whatever else this act suggests, I intended at the time to use Pollock as a symbol of Life, and his reproduction, removal by

⁶⁶Oldenburg in "Jackson Pollock: An Artists' Symposium, Part 2," 27, 66.

counterfeit and photography, as the symbol of Death.⁶⁶

Oldenburg's first happening, Snapshots from the City (fig. 26), took place in his environment The Street at the Judson Gallery. The audience watched from the doorway of the gallery.⁶⁷ Pollock's energetic "lightcords" or action painting was made more literal and encompassing by the gallery environment of the graffiti-like walls and characters of the street. The happening consisted of a series of scenes, really fragments of events, posed by Oldenburg and his wife Pat. Separating each frozen tableau was the switching on and off of lights. The literal movement of the action painting and the gestures of the performers--symbols of life--were immobilized by the flash of lights, as if a shot from a camera. The frozen poses framed by the "photographic" light focused on the derelicts, bums, and decaying life of the street. Al Hansen described the event as follows:

In the basement gallery were Oldenburg and his wife, Pat, covered in bandages and paint, charging about, dying. It was like a Shinbone Alley aftermath of Hiroshima in Manhattan. There were shreds of buildings--objects made of cardboard with blackened edges--and

⁶⁶Ibid., 66-67.

⁶⁷Michael Kirby stated the location of the audience; see Kirby, ed., introduction to Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, 24. For the film of the action, see Snapshots from the City (1960), filmed by Stan Vanderbeek (New York: Filmmaker's Cooperative).

Claes moved about like a modern mummy waving a bottle and being a cross between a Bowery bum and an accident victim. It was very hard to see because the space was so crammed. The lights blinked on and off (Lucas Samaras had been told simply to turn them on and off 32 times during the piece, at any intervals).⁶⁸

Two months after Oldenburg's happening at the Judson Gallery, he recreated The Street in a larger, more open space at the Reuben Gallery (fig. 25). The more sparse environment with greater emphasis on individual figures and elements of the city seems to coincide with the more objective, or less violent, nature of his second happening, Blackouts, in December, 1960. The events were still accented by a contrast of light, but they were spread out in "stations" across a long stage; they focused on four parts ranging from the old turbulence of "Chimneyfires" to the ordinary daily life in "Erasmus," "The Vitamin Man," and "Bread and Butter."⁶⁹

It is necessary to look at Kaprow's happenings from 1959 to 1960 to see his possible influence on Oldenburg. Although Oldenburg has stated that he saw Kaprow's 18 Happenings in 6 Parts in October, there is no proof that he read Kaprow's earlier script attached to the essay in _____

⁶⁸Hansen, A Primer of Happenings & Time/Space Art, 64.

⁶⁹For these sketchy descriptions of Blackouts, see Claes Oldenburg, "A Statement," in Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, ed. Michael Kirby, 201; and Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 184.

the Rutgers University magazine. This scenario, "The Demiurge," is important because the later 18 Happenings in 6 Parts took elements from it and this relationship implies a shift in Kaprow's thoughts. What seems to change is Kaprow's emphasis on less potent imagery, and a more obvious structure for scenes and audience participation.

In the beginning of the script for "The Demiurge," there was a range of people and actions characteristic of any city or section, such as the Lower East Side: sitting in, and occasionally rising from randomly placed chairs were those dressed in winter coats and "Everydayish" costumes, nudes, and bums; an old man with a tin can, a young boy on a pole, a girl with a ball, a cheerleader, and an orange juice vendor mixed with artists, a nude, a dancing couple, and various slides and a movie. When Kaprow produced 18 Happenings in 6 Parts, the "bum" and "old man" were left out or exchanged for people in "ordinary street clothes." The biggest difference was the constructed compartments for the events and the audience. While there were lines mapped on the floor and one small room for the artist in "The Demiurge," now there were mock-ups of three separate rooms with plastic walls. In the former production, the slides of the nude and the movie with dots gave way to a broader range of slides of different types of art, single objects, and words. Movements were more like tasks than emotion-laden

gestures.⁷⁰

In 1960, when Oldenburg produced Snapshots from the City in the Judson Gallery, his happening was a part of the program called "Ray Gun Spect." Among the series of happenings in the program at the Judson Memorial Church was Kaprow's Coca Cola, Shirley Cannonball? in which Oldenburg, along with Jim Dine and Lucas Samaras, participated. In the basement of the church, Kaprow had constructed a wall of stage flats with cutouts through which the audience, standing at one side, could see the motions of a cardboard hand and foot, a cartoonist hand, and a real head. In the vicinity of the stage flats was a hanging box with its sides painted as if it were a ball. The basic action focused on a nine foot high construction of a boot which stepped out from behind the flats and moved on the floor; it was moved inside by Dine. Soon, following the boot was a box covering Oldenburg; it was painted like a tin can and had actual cans hanging from its sides. After the call of "fat baby, fat baby," the boot danced in a swaying motion and hopped around the can. Both returned to the stage flats where the boot kicked the hanging ball. Kaprow's sketches for the scenario included

⁷⁰For Kaprow's scenario "The Demiurge," which is erroneously identified as script for 18 Happenings in 6 Parts, see Kaprow, "18 Happenings in 6 Parts/the script," in Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, ed. Kirby, 53-66; for production notes on 18 Happenings in 6 Parts, see Kirby, "18 Happenings in 6 Parts/the production," *ibid.*, 67-83.

a figure holding balloons and wearing a top hat; his torso was a box painted with a face. In a photograph, published in his major book, Kaprow appears in black tails in front of the stage flats and large boot. In terms of his costume and the main action, Kaprow might have had in mind van Doesburg's formal attire and later Dadaist modes: for example, the emphasis on the woman's leg and text "Pug Debs Make Society Bow" in the few pages of New York Dada.⁷¹

This comical act not only contrasted in length and in tone with his earlier 18 Happenings in 6 Parts, but also it seemed to partake of some of Grooms's elements: for example, stage flats with openings, costumes, including the box figure, and a short story line. In turn, Oldenburg's happening during the same evening had more serious imagery. But he did use some of Kaprow's earlier elements of 18 Happenings in 6 Parts: for example, the repetition of structure set up by the poses and lights and the reference to real movements contrasted with photographic stills. Kaprow in his works, "The Demiurge,"

⁷¹For script, see Kaprow, "Coca Cola, Shirley Cannonball?/the script," in *ibid.*, 84-86. For notes by Kirby, see "Coca Cola, Shirley Cannonball?/the production," *ibid.*, 87-91. For the photograph of Kaprow, see Assemblage, Environments and Happenings, fig. 1. For a description of van Doesburg's attire in his Dadaist act, see Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 275-276; for illustration of woman's leg with typography "Watch Your Step!" and the text in New York Dada, see 215, 217.

18 Happenings in 6 Parts, and Coca Cola, Shirley Cannonball?, seemed to be exploring the ramifications and boundaries of the happening. In contrast, Oldenburg in his works Snapshots from the City (fig. 26) and Blackouts seemed to be refining his urban imagery and strengthening his use of structure. However, in 1960, while their happenings were different in mood and imagery, there were common variables: a sense of structure through a repetition of rooms or blackouts alternating with scenes; a very limited use or reference to the audience; and a clear reference to everyday objects and events.

In 1961 both Oldenburg and Kaprow created new happenings: Oldenburg's Circus (Ironworks/Fotodeath) (fig. 28) and Kaprow's A Spring Happening were performed several months apart at the Reuben Gallery. In February, Oldenburg organized his two-part happening in a manner of a circus with events in overlapping rows under low watt, electric bulbs. Between the forty-five minute performance of Ironworks and Fotodeath, the intermission featured a slide show of magazine illustrations titled Pickpocket.⁷² In a discussion of the seven total scenes, the reviewer for Art News described the first scene of Fotodeath:

⁷²In Oldenburg's book Injun & Other Histories (1966), the title of his happening is listed only as Ironworks/Fotodeath. In her 1968 monograph on Oldenburg, Rose has the title as Circus (Ironworks/Fotodeath); see Claes Oldenburg, 184. Fotodeath was filmed by Al Kouzel at the Reuben Gallery; see Fotodeath (New York: Grove Press, 1961, 16 min., black and white).

. . . Thus in the first scene of Fotodeath a silhouette of a saluting female who keeps advancing and retreating is projected on a screen while a young well-dressed man never stops scrutinizing himself in a large mirror and in several smaller ones; a girl dressed as a girl-man enacts a ritual before another mirror of disrobing and dressing again; in dead center an earnest man of action growls and pants in a desperate struggle to choke a dummy; and a delightful caricature of a family plays at posing for a harassed photographer who cannot keep his subjects sitting upright, nor prevent them from collapsing completely--the only "ending" of the scene. . . .⁷³

As will be discussed later, Fotodeath dealt with the theme of immigration to America. The reviewer chose to concentrate on two important facts: first, the repetition of action, as in the girl walking, the man with mirrors, and the disrobing girl, all seeming to indicate the "extended exposure of a picture" of one character; secondly, the dramatic actions, such as the man choking the dummy and the family being shot by the photographer, were played against the repeating actions so that some sense of a "deliberate scheme" and a hint of narrative sequence occurred.⁷⁴

The reviewer's last remark was ". . . that

⁷³Jill Johnson, who was in Segal's tableau The Dinner Table, reviewed Oldenburg's two-part happening; see Johnson, "Art without Walls: Claes Oldenburg," Art News 60 (April 1961): 36, 57.

⁷⁴Ibid., 36, 57.

Oldenburg's two new happenings are in a no-man's land between the refinement of a more permanent art form and the primitive, cathartic, spontaneous outburst of some earlier 'Happenings.'"⁷⁸ Later, this dissertation will address this attitude on the part of Oldenburg towards a permanent art form. What is important here is that the reviewer may have had in mind not only an earlier happening, such as Snapshots from the City or Kaprow's picnic happening, but also she may have been thinking about Kaprow's March happening dealing with the rites of spring.

In the script for A Spring Happening, Kaprow noted images, actions, and sounds which conjured up associations with the death of winter and the awakening of spring: cotton clouds, thunder sounds, flashing lights, "tomb," figure with celery, "baptism," rising trees, lawn mower, etc. The description of the production related how the audience in a darkened tunnel watched these images and events through slits in the walls of the central area. Only in the description of the production are the facts that the happening ended with the lawn mower attempting to run over the audience and the plywood walls falling down, away from them. In the drawing out and freeing of the audience from the dark tunnel and rooms, there was a

⁷⁸Ibid., 57.

definite cathartic feeling to Kaprow's happening.⁷⁶

Between the first of the year and the spring of 1961, Kaprow clearly defined what his concept of a Happening would be and published this concept in the May issue of Art News. He began his article with exemplary highlights of Happenings. It is obvious that the description contains many of the events in A Spring Happening, but Kaprow seemed to have punctuated the interaction between the spectators and the performers more than in his earlier script. The performers inside cartons "lung[ed] into people"; and later, "A wall of trees . . . advances on the crowd, scattering everybody, . . ." Slides are projected on the walls and on the people themselves; mirrors are jammed at the spectators' faces among mumbling words and screeching lawn mower. He said, "You come in as a spectator . . . and you're caught in it after all, as you push things around like so much furniture."⁷⁷

As discussed briefly in relation to Segal, Kaprow went on in the essay to state the following qualities of Happenings as the most challenging issues. The "habitat"

⁷⁶For Kaprow's script, see "A Spring Happening/the script," in Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, 92-93; for notes by Kirby, see "A Spring Happening/the production," *ibid.*, 94-103. For photographs, see Kaprow, Assemblage, Environments and Happenings, figs. 93, 95.

⁷⁷Kaprow, "'Happenings' in the New York Art Scene," in American Artists on Art from 1940-1980, ed. Johnson, 59-60.

or nonart surroundings, the rawness of the materials, and the natural configuration of audience and artist should merge into one boundless space. Happenings had no plot, literary viewpoint or theory. Finally, the method of chance supercedes rehearsals and operates to give the final characteristic of impermanence. Although not enumerated with the other points, Kaprow also insinuated at the first and throughout the essay another characteristic. This was the idea that nonactors and the audience were substitutes for theatrical performers or a troop of regular participants.

From the inference in the title of "The Demiurge" (1959) to the last event in A Spring Happening (1961), Kaprow had been calling the audience to participate. From that time, he would insist on total audience participation in order to generate a sense of community and social relationships. For example, in A Service for the Dead (1962), he used the boiler room of a New York playhouse instead of fabricating his own walls. Musicians led the audience in a procession down through the basement halls into the boiler room where all the participants fused into one whole. Kaprow did not write a plot, but he used processions, archetypal imagery, and materials of the natural habitat to evoke a modern ritual: for example, figures concealed in mounds; a nude on a ladderlike bier; the natural sounds of barrels and water pipes in the

boiler room mixed with the nonverbal sounds from the mounds; flashing lights; and the climax of the baptism of the crowd by the nude on the bier.⁷⁸ In the actual theme of a ritual there was still an aggressive, primitive feeling to Kaprow's work.

After Kaprow's article in May 1961, he and Oldenburg argued about the definition of a happening.⁷⁹ In his book on the history of Assemblage, Environments and Happenings, he would include Oldenburg's work only through mid 1961 in contrast to his own work and Segal's examples through 1963-64. Under captions emphasizing the urban nature of the theme and the material and the work's primitivization through gestural movement, powerful energy, and ongoing action, Kaprow included the following photographs of Oldenburg's works with these captions: "Out of Gutters and Garbage Cans" with The Street and Snapshots from the City; "And Debris" with Ironworks; "And Madmen" with Fotodeath; "Shudder" with the first installation of reliefs from the environment The Store in a group exhibition at the Martha Jackson Gallery. Finally, to reemphasize the importance of Pollock, he sandwiched a photograph of Oldenburg working on the painterly store reliefs between a photograph of

⁷⁸Kaprow, "A Service for the Dead," 46-47. For photographs, see Kaprow, Assemblage, Environments and Happenings, figs. 57-60.

⁷⁹Rose has referred to the dispute only in the chronology, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 201.

himself in his environment of tires, Yard (1961), and a photograph of Pollock at work on his canvas on the floor.⁸⁰

Although Kaprow in his 1961 article called Happenings unconventional "theater pieces," he went on to negate any relation to the theater. No doubt Kaprow disagreed with Oldenburg on his use of the same performers and his elaborate system of symbols which together went back more in the direction of theater. Even in a statement published in 1965, Kaprow commented on Oldenburg's performers ". . . --who, like a Commedia dell' Arte troop, could do better and better as they went along-- . . ." In this same statement for Kirby's book Happenings, he also made explicit reference to his own use of imagery which suggested the universal, archetypal, and nonliterary. He ended with a description of his use of total audience participation, his circular type of structure based on the rhythms of nature--not on the classical arts--and his inclination towards a mail-order form of happenings.⁸¹ When he published his own Assemblage, Environments and Happenings in 1966, Kaprow highlighted seven points which

⁸⁰For Oldenburg's works with Kaprow's captions, see Kaprow, Assemblage, Environments and Happenings, figs. 25-26, 97, 99, 102, 110. Kaprow's caption for the analogy of himself, Oldenburg and Pollock was "Recalling the Act of Art."

⁸¹For Kaprow's quotation and full statement, see Kaprow, "A Statement," in Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, ed. Kirby, 44-52; quotation, 48.

demonstrate his intended direction since 1961-62 and his opposition to Oldenburg's retention of theatrical or pictorial art values: the merging of Happenings and life; nonart sources and compositions; the use of widely spaced locales and natural time; no category of audience; and the use of nonprofessionals in unrehearsed and singular performances.⁸² In an examination of a group of Oldenburg's happenings in 1962, the departure of Oldenburg from Kaprow in some of these points is evident. Thus, it is Oldenburg's own attitudes toward Happenings which generate his sculptural tableau.

In late 1961, Oldenburg merged his studio with his environment The Store. After he closed the environment in January 1962, he produced a series of happenings collectively called Ray Gun Theater. The fact of a different name for these events points to his conceptual disagreement with Kaprow. Oldenburg's earliest concept of The Store actually was a street where the individual "stores and plays would pursue history."⁸³ Although the environment itself actually became one main variety store,

⁸²In his preface Kaprow stated he revised the book again after 1961 according to stronger convictions. The seven basic points which show his current direction occur near the end of his essay; see 188-202. These points were also summarized from his book in the following article: Allan Kaprow, "The Happenings are Dead . . . Long Live Happenings!" Artforum 4 (March 1966): 37-39.

⁸³Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 84.

his ten happenings presented in his storefront seem to follow his original intention of an American pageant. From February to May 1962, he presented at least two different versions of each happening titled as the following: Store Days I, Store Days II, Nekropolis I, Nekropolis II, Injun I, Injun II, Voyages I, Voyages II, World's Fair I, and World's Fair II.

Three facts concerning Injun allow it to be a model for discussion: first, a script existed as early as 1960; second, there was the first production in Dallas away from the intimacy of his storefront; and, third, there were two subsequent productions as part of Ray Gun Theater. Thus, the script and the three productions will exemplify the constant qualities and directions of his happening at this time. The discussion will first center on the script and details of the production; next will be the structural characteristics of the production.

As early as 1960, Oldenburg had written "Injun" along with another scenario called "Crusoe" which will be commented on later. In the 1960 scripted version of "Injun," the scene opens with a derelict Indian at a tavern whose body attracts little birds. The Indian is beaten when the tavern burns down. After the tavern is rebuilt, the cycle of destitution and decay begins again when a beggar appears and bothers the tavern keeper's wife. The scene ends with the wife negligently filling the

tavern with black smoke.⁸⁴

Oldenburg did not produce Injun until 1962 when he was involved in Ray Gun Theater at his storefront. Invited to present a happening and to exhibit a section of The Store in a group exhibition at the Dallas Museum of Contemporary Art, he decided to focus on his interpretation of "the West." Inspired by an old house on the museum grounds and the memory of a scenario from a movie dealing with the return of a Civil War veteran to his butchered home, Oldenburg wrote a short sketch of what was to happen.⁸⁵ The spectators would take five trips through the house to observe six rooms and then they would move out into the yard with the shed. The players in each individual room would build a scene through repetition of tasks and the whole house would simultaneously exude an intensity.

Several rooms were labeled as a man's bedroom, a woman's room, a front room for "eaters and livers," a

⁸⁴Claes Oldenburg, "Injun" and "Crusoe" from "Two Scenarios from an Incomplete Pageant of America," in Injun & Other Histories (1960) (New York: A Great Bear Pamphlet, Something Else Press, 1966), 3-5.

⁸⁵It does not seem that Oldenburg really had in mind Vicente Huidobro's poem "Cowboy" published in Motherwell's anthology, originally published in Tzara's magazine Dada no. 3 (1918). The poem contrasts the "cakewalk" dances, rising skyscrapers, and Niagara Falls of New York state with the lonely, moonlit nights with his colt in Ohio; see Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 194.

kitchen for an argument, and a bath for murder. Leaving aside the structure for a moment, here are some of the scenes from the actual production. The man's bedroom contained a man in pajamas who was propped against a bale of hay and who alternated between sleeping and playing a broken violin; a second man with a paper cowl around his head and body emerged from a box construction where he sporadically picked up things or stood still in a corner. The woman's room featured one woman in long white underwear and a black dress who erotically rolled white stuffed dummies and cottonballs or threw them against the wall; a second woman in colorful pajamas sat at the window or hid in the closet. The man in the bathroom took mud from the tub and threw it all over the space. In the kitchen a girl rose from a pile of clothes on the bed/table, watched herself in mirrors, taped and untaped her mouth, danced with a board, squirted the walls with paint, lay down on the floor, and eventually was pulled out to the shed. Another room contained a baggy suited man with a megaphone blabbing an account of his life within the setting of a dresser with its mirror and a table with radio, fan, bowl, etc.; he fell over when a bar maid poured sawdust on him; adjacent to him was a hula skirted girl who danced in front of a plastic covered doorway, picked the pockets of a pair of men's trousers, and sprayed her hair; a second performer in a box construction

moved in front of the plastic covered windows through which car lights shown, and shadowed men with sticks beat at the window. In the front room workers lounged around and violently fought under a chicken wire and paper construction hanging from the ceiling while a girl sat against the wall or smashed glass.

Throughout the various scenes, an Injun in a lumpish, brownish green net costume and flowing white cloth strips had sporadically appeared. Eventually, he carried the girl in the kitchen to the top of the shed. While water poured from a garden hose, he threw stuffed dummies from the roof and disappeared. The girl reawakened, danced in a new costume, and cut loose a large construction "resembling a tree or a giant ice-cream cone" which fell to the ground.^{ee}

Oldenburg produced the happenings Injun I and Injun II shortly after he returned from the Dallas event. Injun I began with the man holding the megaphone while women erotically crawled around. Eventually, a large figure festooned in paper, similar to the Injun in the Dallas production, appeared to drag off the writhing women. Thus, it appears that the man telling his life story in the

^{ee}For Oldenburg's script, see "Injun/the script," in Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, ed. Kirby, 204-206; for production notes by Kirby, see *ibid.*, 207-218. For the filmed version of the happening, see Oldenburg, Injun, Dallas, 1962, filmed and edited by Roy Fridge, 1971, produced by the Dallas Museum for Contemporary Arts. For photographs from Injun I, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 68.

Dallas production is like the marauding Indian here in the shortened version. Throughout the Dallas version, Oldenburg as the Indian had appeared at different stages to watch the action or to activate the crowd before dragging the girl in the kitchen to the shed. In Injun II, Oldenburg, as an unsophisticated type wearing gag-store blinking glasses, wandered about gawking at the various performers who together made up a sideshow of some of the similar types in the Dallas production: for example, belly dancer, magician, man with flash cards, woman doing a snakesdance with a garden hose, and a woman teasing a man with a watermelon.⁸⁷

At the same time that Oldenburg wrote the first script "Injun" in 1960, he indicated in his notebooks a dream he had had about a happening at the Yale Art School, an event which focused on the failure to rub out traditional paintings; it was to be ". . . accomplished by trick of turning off light behind chrome of painting."⁸⁸

In 1962, this retention of a picture is evident in his productions of Injun. As in other earlier happenings, Injun I and II repeat two of Oldenburg's characteristics which give this sense of a picture or framed event. Injun

⁸⁷For these events see the film: Oldenburg, Store Days, 1962, filmed by Raymond Saroff, 1975.

⁸⁸For Oldenburg's notebook entry on July 18, 1960, Provincetown, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 198.

I used the feature of repeating action in the way the man with the megaphone and festooned figure both are centered in the continuing group of erotic women. Injun II used these stations of activity but the various sideshow characters were more diversified. The simultaneity of these events and their set positions were highlighted in the Dallas production when each scene was given a room. The spectators walked down the corridor of the house where they viewed each room as if a period room of a museum had come alive. Reiterating this framed view are two details of the shadow of the hula skirted girl on the door along the corridor walked by the spectators and the real cars' lights on the men beating against the plastic covered windows in the same room. What is evident is that Oldenburg maintained a sense of "pictures" or vignettes which either moved across or were passed by the spectators.

In the storefront versions, the audience remained intimate but had to stand. This unrestricted nature of the audience suggests Kaprow's growing feeling about its total participation and the abolition of its category. However, unlike Kaprow, Oldenburg never abolished his "players" or relinquished control between the performers and the audience.⁸⁹ In the Dallas production, Oldenburg had

⁸⁹For Oldenburg's control over the audience, see Ellen Johnson, "The Living Object," 44.

prompters, including himself as the Indian, who led the spectators first on a rope to the house and then in a group down the corridors. Oldenburg had obviously followed Kaprow's predilection towards the use of a natural habitat and the dispersal of events over a wide space in his "Country piece for a house, a yard, a shed and a lean-to."⁹⁰ But by not explicitly labeling the Dallas program a "happening," he indicated that the sequences of action involving figures and objects and the wide range of emotions could be linked.

Although Oldenburg might not have had a preconceived story in mind, he did allow the spectators to create connections between the events.⁹¹ Not only can the spectator indulge in a sketchy plot in Injun, but also he can do the same with the total of Oldenburg's happenings in 1962. As mentioned, at the same time Oldenburg had written "Injun" he had scripted "Crusoe," which joined

⁹⁰Oldenburg, "Injun/the script," in Happenings, ed. Kirby, 208. In 1963 Oldenburg also conceived a trilogy of happenings, Gavety, Stars, and Autobodys, which were set across the United States in Chicago, Washington, and Los Angeles. Yet he still concentrated on the structure; for example, in Autobodys the spectators sat in their cars with their cars' headlight beams illuminating the events; see Kirby, ed., Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, 235-288.

⁹¹The notes to Roy Fridge's filming of Injun, Dallas, 1962 state that he emphasized his own interpretation of a story line; see Peter Frank's synopsis of film in Castelli-Sonnabend Videotapes and Films 1, no. 2 (November 1975): 181.

"Two Scenarios from an Incomplete Pageant of America." Oldenburg clearly intended the two scenarios to go together. After a synopsis of "Crusoe," there will be a further discussion of the development of this pageant.

Compared with "Injun," the script "Crusoe" involves an extended period of history, bringing events into the present. The script begins with Crusoe in Union Square where a large bird lands on his head and shoulders. He returns home, where the bird dies. During the feast of the bird, the Injun "pops out" of the bird's stomach. While Crusoe plays with a little boy, the Injun "sinks a tomahawk in Crusoe's head" and is metamorphosed into a bird. The boy grows up to be Teddy Roosevelt and invites Crusoe to dinner, which turns into a "congressional orgy" and a civil war. Friday and Crusoe have their own fight. Friday turns into a bear and Crusoe climbs inside the big bird where he later plays dice with Walt Whitman. Eventually, Friday as an "ignorant savage" reunites with Crusoe fishing in the Adirondacks. They "make love" and all the fish follow them. At last, Crusoe awakens to find he has to give a speech on Memorial Day. After a slippery speech of garbled fish and "pissing on the stage," the police set him on fire. Having been embalmed "into an obelisk," the crowd "hammers him into the ground, all

singing."⁹²

The scenarios "Injun" and "Crusoe" set up a brief fantastic "pageant" of America upon which Oldenburg elaborated in his Ray Gun Theater. Although Barbara Rose has stated that Injun was a central character, she did not elaborate on this point.⁹³ To begin the series of Ray Gun Theater, Oldenburg presented two versions of Store Days; in terms of structure, the first version used the previous method of blackout of lights to focus on each of the three rooms whereas the second version used the simultaneous stations of three rooms.⁹⁴ In both versions, men and women in various stages of dress engaged in such activities of covering, smearing, and stuffing themselves and objects and of carrying around the freely formed, stuffed objects. For example, Oldenburg appeared covered with newspaper to represent the salesman and/or the newspaper itself.⁹⁵ One reviewer has noted that these people had the feeling of mannequins; as in Store I, the

⁹²For script, see Oldenburg, "Crusoe," in "Two Scenarios from an Incomplete Pageant of America," 4-5.

⁹³Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 184.

⁹⁴Jill Johnson, "Reviews and Previews: Claes Oldenburg," Art News 61 (May 1962): 55. Also see Saroff's film Store Days. For photographs from Store Days I and II, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 68, 69, 178; and Johnson, "The Living Object," 45.

⁹⁵See photograph in Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 178.

bride mannequin in the original environment appeared only to change positions up and down a stool and occasionally to shoot a gun.⁹⁶ Although some of these objects were the archetypal versions of the modern commercial objects which Oldenburg highlighted in The Store, they also referred back to their makers, the women who, here, give them birth. Also, there was a strong thread of metamorphosis in both scripts "Injun" and "Crusoe" as one thing changed into another: Injun into a bird, Friday into a bear, Crusoe into an obelisk.

Nekropolis I focused on two rooms; one was similar to Store Days with its stuffed terrain and, now, "field mice" activities. New were the people lumbering around in bags referring to their first form as well as to their form at death. The second room contained a ritualized murder of an underworld character. Nekropolis II featured a dining table around which Oldenburg fiddled while dinner was served; during this main event the bag people reappeared and fought among themselves.⁹⁷ In Oldenburg's original script of "Injun," there also was the dinner scene where the Injun "pop[ped] out" of the dead bird; and in "Crusoe" there was the "congressional orgy." Likewise, in the

⁹⁶Johnson, "Reviews and Previews: Claes Oldenburg," 55.

⁹⁷Ibid. For photograph from Nekropolis II, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 68.

Dallas production of Injun, the front room contained the "eaters and livers" where the once rich lived as recluses in rags and as hoarders of their goods.

Continuing with this analysis, Injun I and II presented various stages of primitive and civilized rape ranging from sex, fire, civil war, and gaming, to cutting of the forests; all these acts of violence occurred in both "Injun" and "Crusoe." Voyages I focused primarily on an erotic dance between a man and a woman, referring in general to secret desires. Just as Oldenburg acted as a voyeur in his blinking glasses in Injun II, he shifted the act of voyeurism here to the spectator. Instead of Kaprow's slits in the walls, he used the erotic act or darkened spaces. Voyages II contained many figures who came in and out of focus by darkened lights or disappearance. At one point, Oldenburg arrived with a briefcase out of which he took silverware and lemons--perhaps signs of the good and the bad. Since there were sleepwalkers, shavers, a man with baseball bat and flower pot, a table set on a mirror with silverware and lemons, a rain of beans, and dark figures, this version may refer to dreams and nightmares.⁹⁰

World's Fair I had water as a constant theme. The

⁹⁰For filmed version of Injun I and II and Voyages I and II, see Oldenburg, Store Days, 1962, filmed by Raymond Saroff. For photographs from Voyages I, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 68.

happening may have reference to Crusoe in general, his goals and voyages, and specifically his fishing trip near the end of his life. In World's Fair I a soft plastic table sagged under the weight of glass dishes, fish, and water. Stacks of bread were smeared and stabbed with jam. A little girl emerged from a bag and wet her feet; Oldenburg struggled with beams and boxes. Since Oldenburg had been intrigued with immigration, the table may be a ship weighted with cargo; the actions of the little girl and of Oldenburg may be their landing on shore.⁹⁹

The last of the ten performances, World's Fair II referred back to the first happening where objects were made and it climaxed with the building of a city. In the first of four parts, two men in modern shirts and gaudy ties carried in a third man with a white clownish face and baggy suit. After laying him on the table, they searched his pockets and found objects from the store. From the picked pockets and from a jammed suitcase a high pile of objects developed on the table. After the performers placed a white sheet over the littered table, a model of a city or a world's fair was clearly suggested. In the next part the action took place on the floor. Lights were lowered so that emphasis was placed on the performers stamping their feet in boxlike or stuffed bag shoes. In the third part, after the audience was pushed to the

⁹⁹For filmed version of World's Fair I, see *ibid.*

walls, an enclosure of white muslin cloth was made. Finally, in the last part the performers to the tune of "National Emblem March" carried in large stuffed cloth objects and hung them with clothespins down from the ceiling. What remained was a stalactite or inverted city dominated by one tall cloth object which reached the floor (fig. 31).¹⁰⁰

In Oldenburg's Ray Gun Theater, there is an overall theme of American civilization, including the natives and the immigrants, the poor and the wealthy, all with their dreams and their nightmares. From Store Days to World's Fair, there is also a theme of creation dealing with the proliferation of simple objects to the erection of a city. Oldenburg's first soft objects actually were his stuffed burlap and newspaper Street Head(s) in his environment The Street. Probably after his own concealed role in the boxlike tin can in Kaprow's Coca Cola, Shirley Cannonball?, he also began to use people in cardboard boxes. Particularly in Store Days and Nekropolis, there is an emphasis on the creation of stuffed people and the portage of archetypal, long stuffed props. In the Dallas production of Injun, he used people partially concealed in boxes and wrapped in cloth as well as stuffed dummies. In

¹⁰⁰See Oldenburg, "World's Fair II/the script," in Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, ed. Kirby, 220-22; also see Kirby, ed., "World's Fair II/the production," ibid., 223-233.

Injun the chicken wire and paper construction hanging low from the ceiling under and around which the workers fought became the draped table model of a city or the soft stalactite city in World's Fair II. Finally, in World's Fair II there is the scene where men with boxlike shoes stamped around the area soon to be enclosed as the city. The boxes on their feet act both as a base for their own forms as well as the cinder blocks of the future city.

In many of Oldenburg's happenings he referred to the creation and display of three-dimensional objects or used people as objects. These objects participated in real movement in time just as in the theater; they also linked together to form a dramatic event. Unlike Kaprow, who moved toward the fluidity of a happening with daily life and the use of natural timing, Oldenburg used repetition of movement, similarity of images, and artificial lighting as techniques to create more or less static time. In his happenings he worked towards building pictorial scenes in structural units as rooms.¹⁰¹

In his discussion of the seven tenets of Happenings in Assemblage, Environments and Happenings, Kaprow insisted that their themes, materials, actions, and associations should not come from the arts. He did not want to emphasize a total theater. Yet he was willing to

¹⁰¹For Oldenburg's own structural analysis of his happenings, see Oldenburg, "A Statement," in Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, ed. Kirby, 200-203.

admit that their "purposive action . . . suggests affinities with practices marginal to the fine arts, such as parades, carnivals, games, . . . religious ceremonies, and secular rituals."¹⁰² As stated in the beginning of this section, Oldenburg had written in 1960 that he was interested in using forms which involved the audience, such as a mural, environment, pageant, masque, and architecture. Yet he was not interested in just one type of form but rather in the interrelationship of the arts.¹⁰³ He worked with the relationship of objects in space and in time as well as with the single object to build a picture.

In her appendix on Oldenburg's happenings, Barbara Rose stated that his events were like vignettes passing by; in the main body of her text, she related the sources of Oldenburg's sculptural monuments to parades and architectural fantasies.¹⁰⁴ Only Ellen Johnson has been

¹⁰²Quotations are from Kaprow's condensed version of these points from his book as printed in Artforum; see Kaprow, "The Happenings are Dead . . . Long Live Happenings!" 39. For pages in his book with comparable statements, see Assemblage, Environments and Happenings, 196-198.

¹⁰³In a 1960 notebook entry he wrote against using one type of form; see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 35. In a 1963 interview with Robert Pincus-Witten, he stated that Happenings broke the barrier between the arts; see *ibid.*, 183.

¹⁰⁴See respectively for note on happenings and sources for monuments: Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 183, 103.

the most consistent in suggesting his happenings as a resource for his sculpture.¹⁰⁸ However, neither writer has been explicit in connecting Oldenburg's happenings to the development of his sculptural monuments. As discussed, Oldenburg gradually found that some of his attitudes towards Happenings were in contrast to Kaprow's ideas. His attitude towards tableau within Happenings were seminal for the development of his monuments. Moreover, it is his monuments which form his major contribution to sculptural tableau.

A monument may be a tablet, pillar, building, statue or another object marking a place and/or commemorating a person, event or idea. Two photographs showing Oldenburg himself in physical relationships with monuments give clues to his attitudes. As a person who identifies with history and his surroundings, Oldenburg himself is seen standing as an orator in a statuesque form on the top of a monumental base. The pose is identical to the monument Red Grooms painted on his scenic backdrop for a play in

¹⁰⁸Johnson's first article on Oldenburg in 1963, "The Living Object," actually was preceded in the same magazine by Kaprow's article/script on his happening Service for the Dead; in his preface he referred to moveable parts as furniture or extensions of the Self. For Johnson's remark on the interchange of Oldenburg's happenings and plastic art, see 43-44. Also see her later article: Ellen Johnson, "Oldenburg's Poetics: Analogues, Metamorphoses and Sources," Art International 14 (April 1970): 45.

Provincetown.¹⁰⁶ Both Grooms and Oldenburg were intrigued with monuments to American history. Just as in the real monument, Oldenburg had used frozen poses in his happening Snapshots from the City (fig. 26). In another photograph, Oldenburg is holding a measuring tape in the air and against the Nelson Monument in Trafalgar Square in London.¹⁰⁷ What is pertinent here is his emphasis on scale and his choice of monument. He surveys the type where a column or obelisk surmounts a base with full pictorial reliefs delineating the honored person in his memorable events. While not using pictorial reliefs, Oldenburg would design monuments summing up a place as well as staging events.

Probably Oldenburg's first verbal reference to a monument occurred in his "Two Scenarios from an Incomplete Pageant of America" of 1960. While future hints of the metamorphosis of a real person and of monumentality are in the growth of the Injun into a huge room-size bird, it is Crusoe who is actually changed into an obelisk in the town

¹⁰⁶Oldenburg has stated ". . . the logic of my self-development was to gradually find myself in my surroundings"; see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 30. For the photograph of Oldenburg, see Claes Oldenburg, Proposals for Monuments and Buildings 1965-69 (Chicago: Big Table Publishing Co., 1969), opposite title page. For Grooms's backdrop, see Red Grooms, "A Statement," in Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, ed. Kirby, 119.

¹⁰⁷For the second photograph, see Claes Oldenburg, "America: War & Sex, Etc.," Arts Magazine 41 (Summer 1967): 37.

square. It is obvious in the publication Injun & Other Histories (1966) that Oldenburg wanted to reinforce the making of monuments honoring people and events. The "Postscript" which he added in the book was "A Card from Doc," written in Provincetown in 1960. In the script, Doc, who has been on a long trip similar to Crusoe, asked the mayor what was scheduled to happen in town. The mayor replied:

Civic improvement, plazas, malls,
centers, ports, projects, projects,
projects! Got two heads full! Cut the
folks up, cut up the plain folks,
trim em like trees, saw em to size,
make bricks of em, beams, pile em up,
seal em to each other by their juices.
Build Build Bld.

Don't forget the statues, says
Doc. Oh yeah, bulls and greeks, and
lots of nekkid broads.¹⁰⁸

When Oldenburg produced Injun in Dallas in 1962, he was consistent in making reference again to the building of monuments. In the Dallas script a tornado was to lead the people and then be replaced by another leader. He made the following note on the final action:

. . . The apotheosis a body
thrown into the garden and the
confused motion of the Tornado
from Yard MH [main house] thru
to Garden . . . then subsidence

¹⁰⁸Oldenburg, "A Card from Doc. Postscript," in Injun & Other Histories, 13.

and audience led back. . . .¹⁰⁹

In the production itself, the prop for the tornado to lead the spectators became too heavy and was used as the treelike construction in the final scene. It is the lumpish Injun in brownish green netting and streamers who replaced the tornado at first and prodded the procession of masked leaders and spectators. In the end, after the Injun left the abducted woman on the roof, she danced wildly in the vicinity of the large-scale treelike construction. Finally, she cut it down and let the tree fall from the roof. Thus, the action may represent the apotheosis of the Injun into a tree as well as the death of his forest, his hiding place; and it is the future material with which civilization will build their cities and statues.

Also in the Dallas production, the procession from the museum to the vacant house first passed two statuesque forms: a girl tied to a post and a hunched, immobile woman on a roof against the skyline. During the summer of 1960 when Oldenburg was contemplating American history in Provincetown, was observing the town's monuments, and was thinking about his own contemporary forms, he had thought about the sculptural form of ship figureheads. Even though these immobile and plaquelike women in his happening were

¹⁰⁹For quotation, see Oldenburg, "Injun/the script," in Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, ed. Kirby, 206.

like the figureheads, he was less and less attracted to human figures as monuments.¹¹⁰ In his happenings he began to populate the space with more objects than people, mix their motions, and conceal performers in box shapes or costumes resembling the objects. Just as in his happenings, his designs for monuments became common objects.

In the late fifties, while sketching urban life in New York, Oldenburg had actually drawn his first monuments. On a notebook page there are simple geometric shapes and a building in a plant shape designed to fill the hole or site of the future Pan-Am building (fig. 32).¹¹¹ The drawings indicate his direction in thinking of architecture as a site marker or monument, architecture as a sculptural form to be shaped as a plant, and a plant as a monumental object.

While drawing the buildings and people of the city, Oldenburg had conceived his first installation of The Street as an architectural site. Particularly when the original environment was moved to the Reuben Gallery, the individual relief shapes of the city were not only braced or stiffened but also made more objectlike in the broader

¹¹⁰Rose quoted Oldenburg as saying that the figureheads were "too close to the real thing"; see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 60.

¹¹¹For drawing only, see *ibid.*, 105.

space. Whole figures, such as The Big Man of corrugated cardboard, or fragments of the city, such as the Street Head of casein soaked newspaper, grew in size and took the same scale of the architecture (fig. 33).¹¹² As all of the objects making up the environment represented a place, so too did small independent objects symbolize the city. Oldenburg's small painted cloth on wood object of the Apartment House (1959; fig. 34) is a stacked plaque of words or names. It is an overlay of different people or the city stuffed into one area.¹¹³

Just as Oldenburg conceived The Street as a large-scale environment, he also thought of the monument itself as a place. After his installation, he spent the summer in Provincetown where he worked on drawings for a "New Pilgrim Monument." What is important here is the fact that he worked to transform an actual American monument; he tried out different shapes which he had used in the environment of the city. He changed the figurative monument into a basic frame or scaffold with hanging linked shapes (fig. 35). While at first the linked form resembled The Big Man (fig. 36), it soon metamorphosed into a drawing of venetian blinds. He had labeled the

¹¹²For preliminary drawings of the environment, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 41, 46. For drawing of The Big Man in environment, see *ibid.*, 128.

¹¹³See also another soft object, Soft Manhattan I Postal Zones (1966), in *ibid.*, 10.

scaffoldlike drawing as the monument "upside down." While this reversal of image foretells the upside down stuffed city in World's Fair II (fig. 31), the other drawings of the window framed object and, then, just the venetian blinds reiterate his theme of house or the enlarged house--the city.¹¹⁴

The same historical monuments in Provincetown which Oldenburg reworked in his drawings had inspired Red Grooms. One of his backdrops for a play in Provincetown was the scene of the ocean; highlighted against the waves was the monument of a general giving a speech.¹¹⁵ The backdrop gave the flavor of the town in which Oldenburg was working. Besides drawings, Oldenburg also made sculpture and reliefs out of driftwood and debris found from the ocean; they are similar in construction to some

¹¹⁴Rose only noted his interest in the Pilgrim Monument in Provincetown. She illustrated this notebook drawing New Pilgrim Monument Upside Down--Venetian Blind, but did not discuss it.

¹¹⁵Grooms produced Play Called Fire (1958) and The Walking Man (1959) in Provincetown at the Sun Gallery. For illustration of backdrop, see Kirby, ed., Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, 119.

of Schwitters's wood reliefs of the mid twenties.¹¹⁶ One of the small wood pieces is The Cemetery Flag (1960; fig. 37), where a large rectangular base supports the pole with high flying flag. One relief is a landscape with a moon and another type of monument--a lighthouse.

Some reliefs actually took the shape of a flag and were supposed to be similar to "postcards" of historical sites. Oldenburg was trying to incorporate into a single object what Grooms depicted on his scenic backdrop. At that time, Oldenburg wrote notes titled "Introduction to some souvenirs in the form of flags (postcards)." The flag itself as a symbolic marker became a monument of the Provincetown landscape. These little objects or souvenirs were like the "postcards" Doc had written. As mentioned, Doc's card referred to monumental projects. Oldenburg's notes on each flag, such as The Cemetery Flag and the Kornville Flag, summed up the history and essence of the particular sites.

Introduction of some souvenirs in
the form of flags (postcards)

1. Cemetery Flag

¹¹⁶Rose mentioned these wood reliefs as being reminiscent of Arthur Dove; see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 51-52. For examples of Schwitters's reliefs, see Elderfield, Kurt Schwitters, illustration no. 206; see also Werner Schmalenbach, Kurt Schwitters (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1967), illustrations nos. 116-119. By 1960 Oldenburg was aware of Schwitters's work, because he designed the poster including Schwitters's name, among others, for the "New Forms--New Media I" exhibition; see illustration in Rose, *ibid.*, 14.

A form found in the flag which
flies illuminated night long at
the crest of the Catholic cemetery.

2. Kornville Flag

A rutted dusty road leads off the
highway into a thicket of squatters
and woodcollectors. A flag flies
in the clearing surrounded by their
decrepit huts. Colonel Korn is the
commander here and has given his
name to the place.

.....

Oldenburg concluded his notes by saying the following:

I might add the flags are made out
of what I take to be the basic
pictographic elements of the place,
not only on a grand scale but
surprisingly, in every observable
fragment. A place with extraordinary
unity of form. F.ex.: Half circle--
firmament/barrel bottoms.Stripes--
land/slats. Rectangle--Absolute
relation, horizontal & vertical
and infinity of space/shingles &
other flags. . . .¹¹⁷

Two items in Oldenburg's notes are important here.
First, he definitely reflected on his flags as
environmental forms. As mentioned, one of his drawings of
his reformulated Pilgrim Memorial was the monument as
venetian blinds. Just as he in his notes on the flags
equated the flag's stripes with house "slats," he also had
found the flag analogous to what was beyond the venetian
blinds or "slats"--the land. Although Oldenburg did not
label the one notebook drawing of a window framed object

¹¹⁷For Oldenburg's notes, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg,
191-192.

as a flag for the "New Pilgrim Monument," he might have had this shape in mind. Certainly, when he transformed the wood Provincetown flags into plaster objects for The Store, the undulating folds of the flag suggested the waves of the ocean.¹¹⁰ The second point is that Oldenburg's introduction still refers to human figures as Colonel Korn even though he did not use the human figure in the monument. Understood in the Kornville Flag are the commanding actions of Colonel Korn. Although Oldenburg made the flag as a landscape, he did not give up the idea of drawing figures who carry or bear flags. After he returned to New York, he made other drawings; in one, Ray Gun Poster: U.S. Death Heart (1960; fig. 38), he condensed the figure to a skeletal soldier's head superimposed on a shield shaped plaque with stripes.

So far, Oldenburg's concept of a monument is a picture of a place. The monument marks a site (plant; cemetery flag); it fills a space (plant; the city or street); and summarizes a place (framed view or venetian blinds; flag as landscape and souvenir postcard). Their shapes have been less human figures and more geometric architecture and organic architecture. With the introduction of drawings of figures carrying flags, he also began to think of the monument as just another common

¹¹⁰Rose only equated the flag's folds with the ocean; see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 73, 151.

object.

When Oldenburg returned from Provincetown, he began to make drawings of common goods for an idea of a new environment of The Store. Some drawings focused on street figures combined with flags. In one drawing (fig. 39), a figure at the left waves a flag inscribed "U.S.A. of America"; the part with the phrase "of America" falls off to form a headrest or headdress for a lounging female at the right. Oldenburg may have been thinking of the flag carrying figures earlier when he created Street Chick (1960; fig. 40) as her headdress or hair flies like a flag. Also, the plaquelike drawing of the Nude Figure with American Flag--"ABC Hooray" (fig. 41) is reminiscent of the flag-toting figure in Fotodeath (fig. 28) from his two-part happening Circus (Ironworks/Fotodeath). However, with this drawing and others of store windows, and with some reliefs of flags, clothing, and foodstuffs, the tone is more upbeat.

In going back to the notebook drawing New Pilgrim Monument Upside Down--Venetian Blind (1960; fig. 35), one must take note that Oldenburg had also labeled the stacked slats as bags. As described, throughout his happenings, especially Store Days and Nekropolis I, baggy shapes proliferated. The fact that he was thinking of conceiving these baggy shapes on a monumental scale is suggested in two of the notebook drawings of 1960. The first notebook

drawing, Houses--the metaphor and symbol (1960), shows stacked shapes in three forms: the slats of the New Pilgrim Monument separating rounded shapes like baked potatoes; the potato shapes stacked as architecture with a rounded doorway; and linked potatoes--foodstuffs or, as labeled, "shit in guts." In the second notebook drawing, Study for group of three sculptures (1960), with such items as Coke and french-fry potatoes in a bag, he gave them monumental scale by labeling the foodstuffs with words such as "tower," "chapel," "Pisa group," etc.¹¹⁹ No wonder that when Kirby reported on the 1962 Dallas production of Injun, he called the large-scale construction on the roof a tree and an ice-cream cone. In the future, Oldenburg was to draw monuments not just as bags, as in the New Pilgrim Monument, but also as a whole category of objects. In Oldenburg's happenings objects of every type are in motion; also performers are objects or move around objects. These objects always can be related to the human body itself as something to be worn, eaten or used. Finally, there are the objects in The Store which are used to build the monumental white city in the happening World's Fair II.

When Oldenburg began consistently to make his official proposals for monuments in the spring of 1965, he considered the city of New York as his "favorite

¹¹⁹For both drawings, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 171.

'room.'"¹²⁰ Just as his happenings used light as a technique to highlight or to freeze a scene, he, at one point, conceived of utilizing the same kind of lighting as a pictorial "night monument."

Aside from actual construction in concrete, steel or plastics, I've also thought about realizing or materializing objects by projection. One way might be to project a picture of the object on clouds. Take the teddy bear. Get a very strong light which could project the image in a three-dimensional effect. Such a night monument would look like a giant watercolor: . . .¹²¹

Oldenburg has related how the proposal for a Monument to Immigration (1961) was based on his happening Fotodeath.

Immigration has fascinated me for years—I did a Happening around 1961 called "Fotodeath" which explored the theme. What occurred for most of the immigrants was a disaster: America simply wasn't what they'd expected. Well, around the same time as the World's Fair, there'd been talk about a competition for a monument to Ellis Island-- . . . --and I thought I'd propose a "natural" monument in the sense it would create itself. The monument would begin as a reef placed in the bay; a ship would sail in, hit the reef, and sink; soon another would do the same; and after awhile, there'd be this big pile of wrecked, rusting ships which, as it grew, would be visible from quite a distance. The monument was inspired by a collection of World War II Liberty Ships you can see tied up on a spot up the Hudson. They're

¹²⁰Oldenburg, Proposals for Monuments and Buildings 1965-69, 16.

¹²¹Ibid., 27.

known as the "moth ball" fleet because the ships are covered by plastic cocoons. The fleet's very impressive especially when snow covers the ships; and, in fact, the State of New York officially acknowledged that the Liberty Fleet was a monument by placing a sign and an overlook at the site. . . .¹²²

In reference to this proposal, Oldenburg could have mentioned other performances of Ray Gun Theater of 1962, such as the theme of voyages and the water images in World's Fair I. What seems especially relevant is the morphological connection of his proposal for a Monument to Immigration with the "moth ball fleet" and with the city under white sheets in World's Fair II. Just as there is a constant play between life and death in the burial aspects of Nekropolis and the creation of a white city in World's Fair II, there is an ongoing living memorial in Oldenburg's proposal; this one is dedicated to the real World's Fair of 1964.

What is evident is the literary or textual nature of Oldenburg's proposals for monuments. Instead of using traditional pictorial reliefs on the base supporting the heroic person, he finds a scene, as in Monument to Immigration, which fits the whole site or population. Just as in his happenings, the action repeats itself so that the scene eventually is static. This scene is embodied in an object of the ship. In his other proposals he did

¹²²Ibid., 13.

select one object which summed up the conditions and character of the site. The clues on how to make a single object work as a monumental tableau came from the following: the drawing of the plant preceding the Pan-Am building enlarged within the perspective of the city (fig. 32); the window view or framing of an object with the implication of the scale of a landscape with skyline, as in the New Pilgrim Monument drawings (fig. 35); the flags as abstractions of the landscapes or scenic landscapes (fig. 37). There will be a discussion later of the actual content of several of these proposals for monuments, such as the Teddy Bear for Central Park (figs. 42-43). What is important to stress here is one other factor in connection with Oldenburg's proposals for monuments as sculptural tableaux.

One of the features of a tableau is the implied movement of characters in the architectural scene or landscape. In his proposals for monuments Oldenburg accomplishes this sense of movement in two ways. First, as in his proposal for a Monument to Immigration (1961) and his Proposed Monument for the Intersection of Canal Street and Broadway, New York: Block of Concrete Inscribed with Names of War Heroes (1965), Oldenburg sets up an obstacle (fig. 44). Although there are no humans, the scene is staged for future activities on the part of the spectators around the site. Secondly, as in the erected Lipstick

Monument (fig. 45) for Yale University, 1969, the real movement of the object--lipstick on the army tank body--takes on human associations as it is involved in the events of life and death. In staging these events, Oldenburg and Edward Kienholz have similar interests in theatrical stagecraft.

The Early Work of Edward Kienholz

Unlike Segal and Oldenburg, Edward Kienholz was a self-taught artist. He grew up on the West Coast unexposed to the art scene of New York or Chicago. Throughout the late forties and early fifties, he supported himself in a variety of jobs which provided him with important insights into the subjects and materials of his own art work. Although his first works in the early fifties were wood relief paintings, by the late fifties his relief constructions had evolved into three-dimensional assemblages. His own life experiences, his fast accumulation and knowledge about art in Los Angeles, and his sensitivity to the environment assisted him in forming his attitudes towards sculptural tableau.

Kienholz was born in Fairfield, Washington in 1927. His early years were spent on his family's farm in the northeastern part of the state. Although he occasionally built sets for high school plays, his work with different tools and materials centered upon his life on the farm. After brief study at two small colleges in eastern

Washington, Kienholz found more success in his jobs and entrepreneurial adventures in the late forties and early fifties; for example, used car salesman across the northwest, orderly in a psychiatric hospital, window display designer, and club manager in Nevada. By 1953 he was in Los Angeles and started to work full time on his art; this took the form of abstract reliefs until 1957. In 1957, he teamed up with Walter Hopps to open the Ferus Gallery, now known as one of the major forces in making Los Angeles the arts center of the West Coast. Soon operated by Hopps and Irving Blum, the Ferus Gallery gave Kienholz his first one man exhibition in 1960. In this exhibition he showed some of his first three-dimensional assemblages. Jane Doe and John Doe (1959; fig. 46) exemplified his predilection toward "companion pieces" or grouping of assemblages, while Odious to Rauschenberg (1960; fig. 47) referred to his knowledge of New York. In 1962 he presented his first large-scale tableau, Roxys (1961; fig. 48), at the Ferus Gallery. One year later Roxys was exhibited at the Alexander Iolas Gallery in New York. In 1963, Kienholz went to the Dwan Gallery in Los Angeles where he had a one man exhibition and was in the group exhibition "My Country 'Tis of Thee" with Oldenburg. In 1965 three of his tableaux were shown at the Dwan Gallery in New York: The Birthday (1964; fig. 49); Back Seat Dodge '38 (1964; fig. 50); and The Beanery (1965; fig.

51).

In 1962 when Kienholz exhibited Roxys at the Ferus Gallery, he specifically called the work a tableau.¹²³ In 1971, the time of his first major European exhibition, he told Pontus Hultén the source of this label. He remembered "the staged, costumed, stop-action presentation seen in his youth in rural churches and grange halls."¹²⁴ No doubt, he also could have mentioned his uncle's boxed, miniature versions of these scenes.¹²⁵

In his choice of the word "tableau," Kienholz differentiated his environmental assemblages from those of the New York artists Segal and Oldenburg. This attitude hinged on two factors. First, his term did involve reactions to the environmental art and Happenings in New

¹²³Kienholz's title was Roxys with no possessive indicated. In a 1982 catalogue with notes by Nancy Reddin Kienholz, the title has remained the same; see Edward Kienholz. Roxys and other works, with notes by Nancy Reddin Kienholz (Bremen, West Germany: Gesellschaft für Aktuelle Kunst, 1982).

¹²⁴K. G. P. Hultén, ed., Edward Kienholz. 11 + 11 Tableaux (Stockholm, Sweden: Moderna Museet, 1970), unpaginated. In this catalogue the explicit comments on each tableau came from an interview Hultén had with Kienholz in 1969.

¹²⁵The most extensive interview with Kienholz has been conducted by Lawrence Wechsler for the University of California at Los Angeles Oral History Program. For mention of Kienholz's uncle's tableau, see Lawrence Wechsler, interviewer and ed., Los Angeles Art Community Group Portrait. Edward Kienholz, 2 vols. (Los Angeles: University of California, 1977), 1:22.

York. Secondly, he definitely tried to make a more direct connection with theater. An important part of his attitude also was his strong commitment to the box format. Although there will be an occasional reference to his development from two-dimensional to three-dimensional box constructions, the implications of the use of the box will be discussed at the end of this section. This is because Kienholz's development from reliefs to three-dimensional constructions for both individual objects and environments was not that straightforward.

In order to understand Kienholz's negative feelings about the New York art scene in the early sixties, it is necessary to review his background and cultural milieu from the time he arrived in Los Angeles in 1953 to the year 1962 when he exhibited his first tableau. Clues to his attitude about art in the mid fifties come from his choice of Los Angeles as a residence and the type of artist or art he admired as well as his own production. Essentially a self-taught artist, Kienholz opted for a flexible, open art which would allow him to continue the strategies he had already used to support himself.¹²⁶ Although he had approached reputable galleries upon his arrival in Los Angeles, he soon opened his own gallery, the Now Gallery, to support himself and similar artists.

¹²⁶For Kienholz's view on the "virginity" of Los Angeles, see *ibid.*, 1:79, 86.

For example, one of the first artists he showed there was Lucile Brokaw who made pseudo Kachina objects in a very personal manner.¹²⁷ Although Kienholz was not involved in Indian art, he could appreciate the artist's adherence to personal beliefs and assimilation to the environment rather than to an established or fashionable artistic mode. In his own early work he constructed wood reliefs with attention to strong design and a rich play of materials. Yet, he also was attuned to the availability of certain materials, whether it was the dried fish, sticks, and twigs of eastern Washington, an old ornate frame in Los Angeles, the commonness of house paint, the quickness of watercolor or the ready-made quality of a sheet of plywood or metal.¹²⁸

In the first major catalogue on Kienholz's work in 1966, Maurice Tuchman described his wood relief paintings, such as Triptych (1956; fig. 52):

. . . With these he often set himself the problem of starting and finishing a painting a day. Bits and wedges of left-over wood were nailed and glued to a panel and aggressively painted with a broom. The wood fragments comprised an armature, like a preparatory drawing on canvas, but they also served as a vessel into which paint could be

¹²⁷Ibid., 1:110.

¹²⁸For these selection of materials, see *ibid.*, 1:72-80.

poured and then smeared. . . .¹²⁹

Although continuing to work in abstract reliefs, by 1957 Kienholz inclined to cluster the shapes into units resembling a personage, as in George Warshington in Drag (1957; fig. 53). By 1958 he had affirmed both his figurative instincts and his predilection towards assemblage. In The Little Eagle Rock Incident (1958; fig. 54) he attached a deer head to a relief painting.

Since 1953 Kienholz had become acquainted with some of the artists in Los Angeles. His own wood reliefs, similar to Triptych (fig. 52) were also exhibited late in 1956 at the Syndell Studios run by Walter Hopps. Through his first acquaintance with Hopps in 1955 and their later partnership in 1957, he became familiar with many artists from San Francisco and Los Angeles.¹³⁰

Although Tuchman stated that Kienholz's work was affected only in a general way by action painters, such as San Francisco artists Jay De Feo and Julius Wasserstein,

¹²⁹Maurice Tuchman, Edward Kienholz (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1966), 5.

¹³⁰Kienholz remembered the exhibition "Action II" organized by Hopps in 1956 with San Francisco artists. He specifically mentioned Sonia Gechtoff, James Kelly, Wally Hedrick, and Jay De Feo; see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:117-118. In 1957 the Dilexi Gallery opened in San Francisco, which involved James Newman, Robert Alexander, and Hopps and trading between the two galleries ensued; see *ibid.*, 1:85, 190-191.

he felt other influences were negligible.¹³¹ A reasonable assumption might be that Kienholz, as were many artists of the late forties and early fifties, was indirectly affected by the work of Jackson Pollock and other Abstract Expressionists. Kienholz's contact with the San Francisco group must have reaffirmed his direction towards Abstract Expressionism.

In a comprehensive interview conducted in 1977, Kienholz made a telling remark which reveals some of his early sources. He stated that he knew nothing about Abstract Expressionism in the late forties, but he was able to remember some articles on artists, such as Richard Lindner, John Marin, and Georgia O'Keeffe in Life magazine.¹³² Assuming that Kienholz did not read art magazines in the late forties and early fifties during the formation of his artistic intentions, he, then, might have perused popular pictorial magazines of the time, such as Life and Time. For someone who in the late forties thought that Rembrandt's thickly painted works looked better in reproduction than in a midwest museum, he must have empathized with the untutored approach of Pollock.¹³³ For

¹³¹Tuchman, Edward Kienholz, 5.

¹³²For mention of artists, see: Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:33, 73-74.

¹³³Kienholz saw the Rembrandt show in Minneapolis, c. 1947; see *ibid.*, 1:70-71, 74.

someone who was enamored with a movie on the success story of an artist, he must have been impressed with Life's article in the late summer of 1949, "Jackson Pollock: Is He the Greatest Living Painter in the United States?"¹³⁴ Also, in 1950 Life featured not only "What Americans Should Know About the Atom Bomb" but also articles on Hopper, Lippold, Marin, nineteen young American artists, and the business of art in the open air in a Los Angeles park. In 1952 not only did Life have articles on Marilyn Monroe and the poodle, but also it featured Hartley, Kiesler, David Smith, and "Dada's Daddy--Duchamp," who had a "one man show in a suitcase."¹³⁵

Tuchman, perhaps indirectly, summed up this education when he used two quotes by Kienholz on his early work. The first was that "Kienholz conceived of painting with the pouring process as a means of 'getting into' the painting, 'swimming around in it like a bathtub.'" While Kienholz

¹³⁴For mention of a late forties movie, see *ibid.*, 1:72. This was before Kirk Douglas starred in Van Gogh's life story, Lust for Life (1957). For article on Pollock, see "Jackson Pollock: Is He the Greatest Living Painter in the U.S.?", Life (8 August 1949), 42-45. Time had articles featuring Pollock as early as 1 December 1947 and they continued in 1949, 1950, 1955, and 1956.

¹³⁵For the 1950 articles, see respectively Life, 27 February on the bomb; 17 April on Hopper; 12 June on Lippold; 10 July on Marin; 20 March on the nineteen artists; 13 November on the art fair. For 1952 articles, see respectively Life, 7 April on M. Monroe; 16 June on Hartley; 26 May on Kiesler; 22 September on Smith; 28 April on Duchamp, 100-111.

obviously had changed the tone of the tune, he still referred to Pollock's attitude and method of being in the painting. Tuchman's second quote, ". . . to be able to laugh at the piece and thereby be shed of it," referred to Kienholz's titles which came after the fact of painting. Kienholz's 1957 title for a relief Church is reminiscent of Pollock's title Cathedral for a painting.¹³⁶ But the range of the reliefs of 1957, the abstract one titled Church (fig. 55) and the figurative one called George Warshington in Drag (fig. 53), both reflect his more persistent nature of deemphasizing any aesthetic qualities.

If Kienholz only became aware of the San Francisco art scene during 1956 and 1957, he quickly gravitated towards those artists with whom he had common ground. These first artists came from the Abstract Expressionist tradition. If Kienholz did not know who his fellow Washington state artist was before 1957, he did discover the name and influence of Clyfford Still through Walter Hopps. In 1949, two years after Still had shown his works with thickly painted surfaces, dark colors and attenuated shapes in the San Francisco Art Association's Annual,

¹³⁶Pollock's painting Cathedral (1947) was discussed in "A Life Round Table on Modern Art," Life (11 October 1948): 62. Church won an award at the "San Gabriel Valley Arts" exhibition at the Pasadena Art Museum in 1958; see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:199-200.

Abstract Expressionism was the predominant style.¹³⁷

After Still left in 1950, Abstract Expressionism remained the established manner, characterized by the work of Frank Lobdell and Hassel Smith. Lobdell's work was the closest to Still's painting in its moral purpose, its emphasis on rugged paint handling and dark Goyesque color, its interest in primitive art, and its use of metaphorical themes of struggle and commitment. Hassel Smith did not share the gravity of Lobdell's action painting. His earthy temperament and dynamic calligraphy allowed a more immediate presence of stinging cartoonlike pictographs, symbols or organic shapes. Hassel Smith was one of the first Abstract Expressionists shown at the Ferus Gallery and exhibited there from 1956 to 1962. He had a great influence on John Altoon, Kienholz's contemporary.¹³⁸ While Kienholz's watercolors and reliefs of 1956 have some of these general expressionist characteristics of organic shapes, dark colors, and dynamic movement of paint, he was closer to the next generation of Abstract Expressionists, such as Jay De Feo and Julius Wasserstein. In his Triptych

¹³⁷Clyfford Still was the first Ferus Gallery exhibition in 1957. Kienholz mentioned he did not know Still before that time; see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1: 84-85, 121, 142.

¹³⁸Kienholz mentioned exhibitions by Lobdell and Smith; see *ibid.*, 1:85, 137, 179, 183-184. For an analysis of these two artists' works, see Thomas Albright, Art in the San Francisco Bay Area 1945-1980 (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 42-49.

(1956; fig. 52) he shared their unorthodox use of materials, "dirty" look, and relief implications.¹³⁹

However, besides Abstract Expressionism, there was another sensibility growing in the mid fifties. There were those who championed the American dream and those who felt a heightened sense of the ironic and absurd in the midst of the new arms race, Joseph McCarthy's tactics on unAmerican activities, and the mushrooming of consumerism. Although Kienholz had initiated his own gallery in Los Angeles, artists in San Francisco had formed constellations of artists, writers, and musicians in bars, coffee houses, and co-op galleries. For example, there was a gathering spot called The Place on Grant Avenue which held "'open mike' Blabbermouth Nights" along with exhibitions of paintings and assemblages; in 1958 Kienholz sent a work to The Place. In 1957 there was an evening of "collective expressionism" at The Six Gallery (1955-57) where Allen Ginsburg and Jack Kerouac read poetry, where art was on display, and where participants destroyed a piano. Earlier Allen Ginsburg had read his poem Howl at

¹³⁹For an early 1957 watercolor by Kienholz reminiscent of Lobdell's late fifties work, see The Michael and Dorothy Blankfort Collection (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, n.d.), 55. For a similar dark oil painting of 1959 by Lobdell, see George Culler, "Exhibition Preview. California Artists," Art in America 50 (Fall 1962): 86. Wasserstein exhibited at the Ferus Gallery in 1957. De Feo had a one person show at the Dilexi Gallery in 1957 and at the Ferus Gallery in 1960.

the gallery and through 1956-57 endured an "obscenity trial" for his publication.

One of "the six" was the artist Wally Hedrick who was married to Jay De Feo. He was typical of the new spirit of inquisitiveness and rebelliousness and this free-wheeling attitude. Hedrick constructed long puns as titles for his paintings and created assembled junk sculpture and a type of light machine-musical instrument.¹⁴⁰ While Kienholz's painted reliefs such as Triptych (1956; fig.52) and Church (1957; fig. 55) belong to the abstract tradition, his George Warshington in Drag (1957; fig. 53) explores the prevalent spirit of witty, absurd comment as in the work of Hedrick.

Yet, there is a serious side to the relief of George Washington in its comment on institutions and authorities. Perhaps this is also due to the presence of Wallace Berman who did not believe that art was about solving formal problems. By the mid fifties, Berman had become associated with those Los Angeles artists around Kienholz's studio who formed the nucleus of the Ferus Gallery. In 1957 the Ferus Gallery gave Berman a one man exhibition featuring

¹⁴⁰Albright described these events; see Art in the San Francisco Bay Area 1945-1980, 83-84. For an excellent analysis of the poets and painters of the period, see the exhibition catalogue by Neil Chassman, and others, Poets of the Cities New York and San Francisco 1950-1965. For Kienholz's participation in the show at The Place, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:135. For a discussion of Hedrick's work, see: Albright, *ibid.*, 88-89.

his constructions. In the late forties, while working in a furniture factory, Berman had begun to assemble sculpture from furniture fragments combined with photography, drawings, and word images. Some of the paneled constructions with collaged and assembled images suggested shrines. At the time of his Ferus show, Kienholz must have felt an affinity with Berman's attitude towards materials and construction. One of the major works in the Ferus exhibition was Berman's large-scale box construction called Temple (fig. 56) housing a human shape. In that same year Kienholz worked on Church (fig. 55), a wood relief on plywood echoing in abstraction these same arches, panels, and notched containers. While not attracted to the religious overtones or mysterious messages of Berman's work, Kienholz must have found encouragement in Berman's use of strong content and his moralistic stance against the invasion of privacy and freedom of speech. The climax of Berman's show was his resisted arrest for inciting lewd behavior.¹⁴¹

One year after Berman's show, Kienholz constructed The Little Eagle Rock Incident (fig. 54) where he affixed a mounted deer head upside down on a panel painted with an eagle shaped flag and an arrow giving upright directions.

¹⁴¹For a discussion of Berman's art, see Merrill Greene, "Wallace Berman. Portrait of the Artist as an Underground Man," Artforum 16 (February 1978): 53-61. Also see Kienholz's mention of Berman in Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:100, 147-151.

While the content seems to refer to the current social political issue of school integration in Arkansas, it also may have personal reference to Kienholz's contemporaries Walter Hopps and the artist Craig Kaufman who went to Eagle Rock High School in Los Angeles.¹⁴²

What is important here is Kienholz's use of personal reference to artists. This was not a singular case, as Kienholz constructed three other works which have general reference to artists as well as to the art scene. Although Kienholz and Hopps would remain friends, Kienholz sold his interest in the Ferus Gallery during 1958. With Irving Blum as the new partner, the Ferus Gallery increasingly brought East Coast artists to the West Coast.¹⁴³ For example, in 1960 the Ferus Gallery presented an Abstract Expressionist exhibition "14 New York Artists," including such artists as Pollock, de Kooning, and Rothko. There also was a two man show of Schwitters and Jasper Johns. Kienholz had been aware of Schwitters's work since

¹⁴²Kienholz mentioned the high school in Los Angeles; see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:124-125, 226.

¹⁴³For Kienholz's comments on the personality of Hopps, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:120-125, 194, 197-202, 285-291; for the transition of the Ferus Gallery under Hopps and Blum, see *ibid.*, 2:297, 301.

1957.¹⁴⁴ However, in this climate, Kienholz became more aware of the East and West Coast art activities and the commercial aspects of the gallery. He also felt that the initial raw edge of the Ferus Gallery was beginning to disappear. During this time, he turned his attention to both world events as well as the current art scene in his own art. For example, he light-heartedly portrayed Walter as the eager, bookish salesman in Walter Hopps Hopps Hopps (1959; fig. 57).

Another example of Kienholz's art about art is in the assemblage Flow Sweet Gently Often (1960; fig. 58) where he attached a mannequin to a painted canvas. He not only

¹⁴⁴The Abstract Expressionist exhibition was held in January-February 1960. The Schwitters-Johns exhibition was held during September 1960. For Kienholz's reference to seeing a book on Schwitters at the gallery in 1957, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:31. Schwitters's retrospective organized by William Seitz for The Museum of Modern Art was shown at the Pasadena Art Museum in 1962. Kate Trauman Steinitz, Schwitters's American friend, had resided in Los Angeles since World War II and worked at the UCLA library when Hopps went to school. For her knowledge of Schwitters, see Kate Steinitz, "Fantastic Architecture," Artforum 1 (August 1962): 17-19. Hopps organized a Schwitters's retrospective for the UCLA Art Galleries in 1965.

referred to the corsetted women of Richard Lindner¹⁴⁵ and the plaster casts of Duchamp,¹⁴⁶ but he also probably made a subtle comment on the work of his Los Angeles contemporary Billy Al Bengston. Kienholz's mannequins are pressed face to face and wear hearts on their upper arms. Around 1960 Bengston had two types of work: a portfolio of small paintings made by the pressure of paint between two pieces of paper and its overflow out a hole in the top sheet; and a few works with heraldic images, such as chevrons and hearts. Kienholz at first admired the small paintings, but he soon recognized Bengston's foreign sources of Lucio Fontana and some initial Pop art motifs

¹⁴⁵Although Kienholz's sources on Lindner, other than his reference to the Life magazine article, are not known to this author, there are some interesting comparisons. See Kienholz's construction with Lindner's untitled watercolor of 1957 in Sotheby's Contemporary Art, sales catalogue for 27 February 1985, no. 118. Also Lindner's painting Marche Militaire (1950-51) bears a strong resemblance to Kienholz's George Washington in Drag; for Lindner's illustration, see Stephen Prokopoff, Richard Lindner Retrospective Exhibition (Chicago: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1977), 5.

¹⁴⁶Kienholz probably was aware of Duchamp's reference to mannequins in the Large Glass and Nine Malic Molds as reproduced in Duchamp's Box in a Valise (1941), which was featured in the 1952 Life article. Kienholz's knowledge of Duchamp was, no doubt, strengthened by the fact that Hopps was the curator of the first major Duchamp retrospective which opened in 1963 at the Pasadena Art Museum. The great Arensburg Collection housed in Los Angeles was given to The Philadelphia Museum in the early fifties, so this was not a source for Kienholz. Kienholz's box construction One and One-Half Tits (1960) is reminiscent of Duchamp's Female Fig Leaf (1950) from which Man Ray made an edition of 10 in 1951 in Paris.

in New York.¹⁴⁷ Similar to Bengston, Kienholz was searching for his own direction as he observed some of the artists Hopps and Blum began to introduce to him. Yet he knew he could not accept an art, whatever its source, oriented more to formal concerns.

Finally, when he made his third object Odious to Rauschenberg (1960; fig. 47), he, first, was clearly acknowledging his competition. Kienholz found he was similar to Rauschenberg in his forceful use of relief and dripping paint mixed with uncommon materials as taxidermy parts and urban refuse. In this work Kienholz paid homage to Rauschenberg by utilizing a deer's head, but he also protested New York's importance. He placed the deer's head in a container resembling an old satchel or suitcase and substituted a long wagging tongue for the deer's nose. When a cord was plugged in, the head revolved and a planted diathermy device proceeded to block all television service in the area. Clearly, Kienholz also was pointing to his view of the increased packaging of New York art and

¹⁴⁷For Kienholz's comments on Bengston's work, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:154-157. For Bengston's early work, see Susan C. Larsen, "Los Angeles Painting in the Sixties: A Tradition in Transition," in Art in Los Angeles. Seventeen Artists in the Sixties, 20-21, 58, 123. Also see Nancy Marmer, "Pop Art in California," in Pop Art, ed. Lucy Lippard (New York: Praeger, 1966), 148-149.

the resulting neutralization of Rauschenberg's art.¹⁴⁸

Given Kienholz's increased envy of New York art and its intrusion into the Los Angeles scene, it is not surprising to find him using tactics to call attention to the originality of West Coast artists. Ironically, his next show at the Ferus Gallery in 1962 opened the same month Rauschenberg was exhibiting at the Dwan Gallery in Los Angeles. Therefore, when he opened his own show at the Ferus Gallery, he chose to headline the event as "Edward Kienholz Presents a Tableau."

As mentioned, Kaprow had published in Art News a major article on Happenings in New York in May 1961. Assuming that Kienholz saw this article, he probably found himself in the same situation as when he had responded to San Francisco's own kind of early Happenings. He already was aware of the interaction of the Beat artists, the collective expressionism of The Six Gallery, and the Neo-Dada festivals at The Place. His own work had developed out of a type of action painting; and, he unintentionally had fulfilled the legacy of Pollock in moving from the suggestion of concrete substances to the use of specific

¹⁴⁸Primary examples of Rauschenberg's works incorporating taxidermy would be Untitled (1955); Odalisque (1955-58, shown in the "New Forms--New Media I" exhibition); and Monogram (1955-59). For the first article in reference to Kienholz's relationship to Rauschenberg, see Robert L. Pincus, "An Ode and An 'Odious' for Neo-Dada: Edward Kienholz' Assemblages and Tableau, 1959-1965," 55. For Kienholz's own discussion of Rauschenberg, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:169-174.

and ordinary objects. There was a directness and "unartiness" in his use of materials and in the reflection of the environment from which they came. Even if Kienholz did not see this particular article, he might have seen the feature on Jean Tinguely and his fanatic, explosive machines in Life in March, 1961.¹⁴⁹ Similar to Segal, Kienholz might not have been able to agree with Kaprow on his specifics of fast action, chance, and lack of a viewpoint or an ending. While Kienholz admired Tinguely's raw edge, he wanted a more permanent statement.

If Kienholz had read Kaprow's article in Art News, he would have responded to Kaprow's summation that environmental art and/or Happenings had a moral force similar to art of the forties; and that their vanguard nature circumvented the corrosive nature of patronage and commercialism.¹⁵⁰ More important, Kienholz would have seen another of Kaprow's crucial lines: ". . . gone . . . are the expectations of curtain--openings and tableau-vivants . . ."¹⁵¹ For someone who was opposed to a New York label, Kienholz might have chosen the term "tableau"

¹⁴⁹Tinguely was featured in Life (3 March 1961). He had his own show at the Everett Ellin Gallery, Los Angeles, in March 1962.

¹⁵⁰Kaprow, "'Happenings' in the New York Art Scene," 61-62.

¹⁵¹Ibid., 58.

simply because it was not what the New York artist Kaprow had in mind. The term used negatively would have evoked in him personal memories which he could use to his own advantage. Again, even if Kienholz did not read Kaprow's article, there was enough talk in the air about such current events.

Kienholz himself highlighted the opening of his show as if he were writing a script for an event: that is, he would "present a tableau," or a stop-action environment; the spectators would arrive in formal attire and the Brink's guard would intervene to enforce the dress code; and during the event while interacting "[n]o one should look down on the girls or feel superior to them."¹⁵² Furthermore, when Roxys (fig. 48) was reviewed in Artforum in 1962, the work was criticized both from the viewpoint of a "tableau" and a "happening."¹⁵³ Thus, Kienholz conscious of the art scene and the specific development of Happenings, first chose the term "tableau" as a reactionary term.

¹⁵²The quote on "the girls" is from Pincus, "An Ode and An 'Odious' for Neo-Dada: Edward Kienholz' Assemblages and Tableau 1959-1965," 54. Other information on the opening is from Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:309-310.

¹⁵³Arthur Secunda, "Edward Kienholz, A Tableau: 'Roxy's Bordello,' Ferus Gallery," Artforum 1 (June 1962): 8. Later, when Henry J. Seldis reviewed Kienholz's exhibition at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 1966, he also called his work "happenings frozen in time"; see Seldis, "Kienholz's Art. Anything Goes," Los Angeles Times (Sunday, 27 March 1966).

Interestingly, five months later after his show, Kienholz would actually state that he was not interested in making a happening but rather than an environment. In a discussion with another artist, they perceived Happenings as coming out of "environmental tableau" or "decorated galleries" as "still-lives." Even though recognizing that Happenings were a type of "play," Kienholz firmly stated that he did not want "instant theater" but rather permanence.¹⁵⁴

Earlier, the critic for Artforum found Roxys "theatrically effective" and as a tableau successful in its documentation of a whorehouse. Arthur Secunda continued to say, "As an artistic happening however only the few actual constructions managed to transcend their ordinary meanings in attaining an identification as sculpture."¹⁵⁵ Although in an abbreviated statement, one of Secunda's criteria for an happening was that the object resemble sculpture. He probably had a fixed idea of actions involving Kaprow's and Oldenburg's more abstract, arty or handmade settings as the cubicles in 18 Happenings in 6 Parts or props for The Store. What he could not resolve was Kienholz's objects in a realistic setting.

¹⁵⁴Secunda, "John Bernhardt, Charles Frazier, Edward Kienholz," 30.

¹⁵⁵Secunda, "Edward Kienholz, A Tableau: 'Roxy's Bordello,' Ferus Gallery," 8.

In a sense, Kienholz had combined the tableau effect of Oldenburg's Snapshots from the City with Kaprow's prerequisite of a natural habitat. Instead of the "dingy city quarters" or sub-basement Kienholz chose another type of underground scene. Yet Kienholz was not interested in the historical replication of the 1943 whorehouse. On the walls around the forties' furniture he placed five types of pictures: a sign, a painting by Maxfield Parrish, a pin-up calendar, a photograph of General MacArthur, and an embroidered sampler with scene and verse. Interspersed among these pictures he placed on low pedestals eight figurative assemblages: Five Dollar Billy, The Madame, A Lady Named Zoa, Ben Brown, Miss Cherry Delight, Fifi, A Lost Angel, Cockeyed Jenny, and Dianna Poole, Miss Universal (figs. 59-63). When he asked for respect for the ladies, he really was calling attention to his own art objects in two ways. First, Kienholz believed the drama was in those objects. He was less tentative than Segal who had placed Lot on a pedestal against the painting. Secondly, just as Kaprow and Oldenburg had done, Kienholz worked towards the mobilization of those ordinary objects.

While Kienholz was not involved in moving objects around in happenings, he had worked in his own way to mobilize individual objects. For example, even in his abstract reliefs, he had begun to think of moving the object out from the wall. In The Medicine Show (1959; fig.

64), he hinged the wood armature to the wall surface and cut certain sections so that the entire relief and individual areas could be open and/or closed to entice the spectator. In Walter Hopps Hopps Hopps (1959; fig. 57) the previous abstract movement was shifted to a figure. Besides pinning New York representatives of Abstract Expressionism on Hopps's chest, he applied a shelf and box framework to Hopps's silhouette shape so that the dealer's contents--phone messages, books, bones, candy--were more exposed; and movement was real because the figure was on a swivel chair base. These two early works take on the moving box or carton shapes similar to those found in Kaprow's 18 Happenings in 6 Parts and Coca Cola, Shirley Cannonball?.

Similar to Odious to Rauschenberg (1960; fig. 47), Kienholz also placed Ida Franger (1960; fig. 65) on wheels. This work consists of a hunchbacked mannequin on wheels with an empty radio case and broken guitar as a sounding box; a faint light bulb on a stick acts as an arm. In both Odious to Rauschenberg and Ida Franger, the human shapes are implied; the figures are hidden under boxes and topped with masks or other household objects as heads. In the whirling animal head with long tongue in the former work or in the broken cadence of the latter's music, these moveable objects evoke similar emotions of violence or suffering as some of Oldenburg's figures in

his early happenings.

It was natural for Kienholz to place John Doe (1959; fig. 46), his all American male with his status symbols, on wheels; here, a half-length dummy with a gaping hole in his breast outlined by a star-shaped medal sits armless inside a baby stroller. What was more important to his development of tableau was his conscious pairing of John Doe with Jane Doe (1959; fig. 46), who emerged from a dressing table skirted with bridal material.

Two years later, Kienholz took the idea of paired figures and assembled a group of individual objects under the shared theme of a whorehouse. To restate their individual status, he lined them all up in a row without the setting for an advertisement of the second showing of the tableau in New York.¹⁰⁶ His approach to the advertisement is important because it punctuates each personage's individual station in the whorehouse. In Kienholz's first tableau the spectator visited each lady at Roxys. Since each character was an assemblage of mannequin parts, furniture, and household objects, these fragments in many cases also acted as props: for example, Five Dollar Billy (fig. 59) on the sewing machine, Miss Cherry Delight (fig. 62) at the dresser, and Dianna Poole,

¹⁰⁶The ad only stated that it was paid for by the Dwan Gallery. The ad coincided with Kienholz's February show at the Iolas Gallery; see Art International 7 (25 January 1963), inside cover.

Miss Universal in the chair. Five Dollar Billy as an intimate part of the sewing machine is no different than Oldenburg's female in Injun who dressed like the dummies with whom she rolled on the floor. Thus, the spectator was involved in various perfumes, simultaneous actions by different players, and stations across the floor just as Oldenburg had characterized some of his happenings.

So far, Kienholz has used the historical term tableau for what really was an up-to-date environment. Similar to Segal's The Dinner Table (1962; fig. 18) or Gas Station (1963-64; fig. 21), he placed his handmade sculpture in a ready-made environment which could be observed at a distance as well as physically entered. While not using two-dimensional, relief shapes as in Oldenburg's environment The Street (1960; fig. 25), Kienholz's environment Roxys (fig. 48) does have a similar grouping of various individual characters all splattered with paint. Kienholz's idea of the literal mobilization of objects assisted him in thinking about paired figures and simultaneous action. While he only used the stop-action of tableau-vivant, Oldenburg used frozen tableau and simultaneous scenes as two of his many techniques in his happenings. It is clear, then, that Kienholz's term tableau was a reaction to the New York scene.

It is possible that Kienholz also wanted to make a more definite connection with traditional theater.

Although Kaprow had noted in his 1961 article that Happenings could be linked to theatrical forms such as carnivals, medieval mystery plays, and processions, he did not think that connection was one of the more important avant-garde issues. An interesting fact is that Kaprow came back to the point in 1966 and found that the deliberate actions in Happenings brought out the unconscious rituals of our modern life and, in that respect, Happenings did have affinities to carnivals, parades, and religious ceremonies, among other rituals.¹⁵⁷

Kienholz also originally chose the term tableau because he did want to stress from the beginning both the entertaining and didactic purposes of Roxys and his art. In his tableau Roxys, a sampler on the wall has the following verse:

There is so much good in the worst
of us, And so much bad in the best
of us, That it little behooves any
of us, To talk about the rest of us.¹⁵⁸

Rather than a flat statement of "thou shall not commit adultery," Kienholz has provided a situation where morality is relative. Accordingly, when he spoke of his

¹⁵⁷The first reference to rituals is in Kaprow, "'Happenings' in the New York Scene," 38. The 1966 reference is in Kaprow's book Assemblage, Environments and Happenings, 194-198, and condensed article, "Happenings are Dead . . . Long Live Happenings!," 39.

¹⁵⁸For sampler, see Hultén, Edward Kienholz. 11 + 11 Tableaux, plate 24.

childhood memories of tableau, he did not speak of the mystery plays of the church using the altar as a stage or the stations of the nave. He specifically remembered the stop-action performances at churches and at granges.¹⁵⁹ That is, he referred to the church and to the era when theater had been pushed out of the church by the fathers and toward the secular stage and English wagon stages of the guilds and the fraternities. As described by Sheldon Cheney, theater moved from the altar to the cathedral porch to the marketplace stage; guilds began to vie with each other in civic affairs. By the twentieth century, in the festival of the renewal of life on the earth, as in the Guild and Patrons of Husbandry, the religious aspects were no more emphasized than the legitimate pleasures.¹⁶⁰ Finally, it is not only Kienholz but also Oldenburg who used the medieval tradition of simultaneous scenes and stations.

This emphasis on the didactic and entertaining aspects of Kienholz's idea of tableau is stressed here, as too often writers stumble over his use of the word "tableau" as only referring to didactic purposes. To

¹⁵⁹See Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:247. Kienholz also mentioned his mother as the "entertainment chairman" at the grange; see *ibid.*, 1:27.

¹⁶⁰For a discussion of the move from the theater of the church to the marketplace stage, see Cheney, The Theater, 137-184.

further articulate his inclination toward the secular theater in general, it is necessary to point out that he himself engaged in or pointed in his art to several levels of tableau. Prior to a discussion of the related works, there will be an account of these aspects of his life.

By the nineteenth century tableaux vivants, known as still lifes with living actors, were in historical rooms in traditional museums and in waxwork museums. Although Kienholz was familiar with waxworks, it is necessary to stress his other connection with tableau vivant. That is, by the nineteenth century it was transferred into parlor games and cheap entertainment on variety stages and at fairgrounds. One of the first official jobs Kienholz had in Los Angeles in 1956 was the organization of an art fair with booths where paintings were sold.¹⁶¹ The art booth can be seen as a descendent of the stage with tableaux or changes of scenes through the diverse pictures. In 1959 Kienholz constructed two reliefs, The Medicine Show (fig. 64) and Conversation Piece (fig. 66), that refer to these types of booths or variety shows. Before a discussion of these two works, there is a more important facet in the connection of Kienholz's life, art, and use of the theatrical term of tableau: that is, his first gallery (The Now Gallery) and studio in Los Angeles were in a

¹⁶¹Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:91-95, 110-111. See also Klein and Stearns, Tableaux: Nine Contemporary Sculptors, 6.

theater. This particular building was unusual in that it contained a miniature capsule of the history of theater. When Kienholz found it in 1955, the theater had a double proscenium, an offshoot of the revolving turntable stage; it also had recently been used for puppet shows, a mannequin version of theater, and was being converted to a film theater, or moving picture show.¹⁶²

As a child in a small rural town, Kienholz was envied because his family had a movie projector on which they watched such reels as Betty Boop cartoons.¹⁶³ As he related, it was a movie on an artist that convinced him he could do it too. Living in a theater might have rekindled his memory of those early days and the general history of the movies and movie theaters. A forerunner of the modern film experience were the moving panorama shows of the nineteenth century where canvas scrolls were used to present moving images to paying customers. In a sense, the canvas scrolls were lengthened versions of those pictorial screens or curtains on the stage. Then, Thomas Edison and the Lumiere Brothers created in the late 1890s the most rudimentary film structure. Each film was exactly one shot long; a subject was chosen and framed and the camera was turned on and off. This one shot structure is similar to

¹⁶²Ibid., 1:89.

¹⁶³Ibid., 1:46-47.

those tableaux Kienholz remembered where "You were allowed fifteen seconds to look before the curtain fell."¹⁶⁴ Of course, the motion pictures were so popular that enormous theaters had to be found to house the crowds; the new movie palaces were an elaboration of the earlier vaudeville or variety houses and actually accommodated live acts and the movies.¹⁶⁵ While Kienholz was in the Turnabout Theater from 1955 to 1957, his landlord Raymond Rohauer showed his vintage films, including some Surrealist classics which Wallace Berman attended. Besides the films, Kienholz had his studio and his Now Gallery there. If Kienholz's living quarters seem mere fact, there is the additional fact that Walter Hopps in his Syndell Gallery at the same time was trying to find showcases for his artists. Hopps chose the merry-go-round at the Santa Monica Pier and the Turnabout Theater.¹⁶⁶

Oldenburg had spoken of himself as a Post-Pollock painter whose canvas was the literal environment of his

¹⁶⁴Suzi Gablik, "Crossing the Bar," Art News 64 (October 1965): 23.

¹⁶⁵For reference to vaudeville and movie palaces, see exhibition catalogue: John L. Scherer, Music Halls to Movie Palaces (Hamilton, New York: GANYS, 1985), 3-24.

¹⁶⁶For reference to Raymond Rohauer, see Greene, "Wallace Berman. Portrait of the Artist as an Underground Man," 55. For reference to Kienholz's and Hopps's use of entertainment places, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1: 95, 98, 117-120.

studio and the street. Kienholz's closest environment was the theater and all its variants. Just as Hopps sought entertainment places for exhibitions, Kienholz came to realize the uniqueness of his environment. Although stated later, he believed that certain types of entertaining environments assisted people in understanding the visual arts:

. . . I always felt that if I provided an environment for people that they could go into, and that environment was not that totally strange to them, and if they made the connection that that environment they were in was called art, then it might be easier for them to understand art.¹⁶⁷

As suggested, Kienholz referred to several historical descendants or variants of tableau in his work. The art-variety booth, moving pictures, and the stage itself all play a formal as well as a thematic part. More than Segal or Oldenburg, he consistently relied on the box format to develop his sculptural tableau. The box itself can take on many shapes as a container and it allows a miniature environment. Also, the ability to open and close the box suggests affinities with tableau's most general meaning of a scene or a change of scene in connection with the tableau curtain.

In returning to The Medicine Show (fig. 64), the original statement was that it alludes to those types of

¹⁶⁷Ibid., 2:362.

booths or variety shows which were a part of the development of secular theater. In 1959 when he constructed The Medicine Show, Kienholz had already been the director of the art fair with booths. More importantly, he had seen Berman's Panel (1955-56) at the Ferus Gallery; this was a work containing a complex game of opening doors and discovering cryptic messages.¹⁶⁰ Kienholz probably did not know about an earlier work by Kaprow called Penny Arcade. In 1956 Kaprow had transformed his exhibition of collages into a carnival sideshow. He suspended with brackets out from each collage on the wall irregular canvases with slashed peepholes; he also interspersed blinking light bulbs between each curtained scene.¹⁶¹ Kienholz made his own plywood panel into an abstract relief where the spectator is enticed simultaneously by opened and closed doors to a blank wall. One of his last abstract reliefs, The Medicine Show obviously refers to the traveling entertainers and their pet schemes for solving all problems.

Another work related to the idea of an art booth, a variety show, and a change of scene is the Conversation Piece (1959; fig. 66). In this work, Kienholz allowed the

¹⁶⁰For Berman's panel, see Greene, "Wallace Berman. Portrait of the Artist as an Underground Man," 56.

¹⁶¹For Kaprow's work, see Harriet Janis and Rudi Blesh, Collage: Personalities, Concepts, Techniques, 273.

mannequin in boots to burst feet first through the wood panel, a type of curtain and his symbolic screen of armor. Kienholz not only retained the sense of a panel with a framed enclosure, but he also suggested the dramatic thrust of the figure from behind the curtain on to the stage. The mannequin also breaks the traditional boundaries of the picture plane. At the same time Kienholz was working on these reliefs, he began to construct in full three-dimensions. John Doe (1959; fig. 46) is a three-dimensional version of the American male prowess in the Conversation Piece.

It is important to realize that from 1959 to 1962 Kienholz worked simultaneously on wall reliefs, boxes, and free standing sculpture. But after the Conversation Piece, the reliefs were really boxes on the wall. From about 1955 to 1958 he had lived in the theater and behind an art gallery; after he sold his half of the Ferus Gallery, he built an A-frame studio. The lack of wall space in his A-frame house may have been an important factor in his use of crate shapes in works after the Conversation Piece, such as God Tracking Station, # 1 (1959) and O'er the Ramparts We Watched. Fascinated, (1959; fig. 67).¹⁷⁰ But in his use of general portable boxes and suitcases, he

¹⁷⁰For reference to the A-frame, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:214-216. Kienholz's work of the late seventies also was affected by a new studio space; see Harvey West, Edward Kienholz Sculpture 1976-79 (Seattle: Henry Gallery, University of Washington, 1979), 3.

also had become more aware of Duchamp. Although Kienholz's knowledge of Duchamp could range from the 1952 issue of Life magazine to the Lebel publication in 1959, the important influence would have been Walter Hopps's interest in and organization of the Duchamp retrospective at the Pasadena Art Museum in 1963.¹⁷¹ Whereas one can emphasize the format, Kienholz was interested in both the variety of containers and the contained images. For example, the revolving deer head with tongue in his Odious to Rauschenberg (1960; fig. 47) is like a "Jack-in-the Box"; other suitcase works such as The Psycho-Vendetta Case (1960; fig. 68) and American Lady (1960) with male and female fragments carry general and topical sexual references.

At the same time, Kienholz also began to use furniture as a container, for example, the baby stroller, dressing table, and stove in such works as John Doe and Jane Doe (both 1959; fig. 46) and History as a Planter (1961; fig. 69). It is this strategy to use furniture as

¹⁷¹Hopps's 1963 catalogue of 104 works for the Pasadena Art Museum was based on Robert Lebel's inventory in Sur Marcel Duchamp, trans. by George H. Hamilton (Paris: Trianon, 1959). In February 1964 the Dwan Gallery had an exhibition, "Boxes," in which Duchamp's Boîte-en-Valise (Box in a Valise) was shown; also included were Schwitters (Lust Murder Box, ca. 1920), Joseph Cornell, H. C. Westermann, Rauschenberg, Oldenburg (Boxer Shorts in Box, 1962), and Kienholz, among others. For exhibition, see: "Boxes," Art in America 52 (June 1964): 98-102. Catalogue essay was by Hopps and he previewed the show; see Hopps, "Boxes," Art International 8 (20 March 1964): 38-42.

part of an assembled personage and as part prop which make Kienholz's individual constructions a condensed tableau. As previously mentioned in connection with Roxys (fig. 48), the majority of the individual objects such as Miss Cherry Delight (fig. 62) or Five Dollar Billy (fig. 59) are really mini-sets as well as actors. Miss Cherry Delight sits at her elaborate dresser and her whole being is her dresser. Five Dollar Billy lays across her sewing machine and she is a sex machine. In Roxys, Kienholz placed these condensed tableaux in the large container or stage set of a whorehouse. It is important to emphasize the majority of these works not as "proto-tableaux" but rather as smaller tableaux.¹⁷² This opinion is based on the fact that at the same time Kienholz worked on Roxys and The Nativity (1961; fig. 70), he also continued to work on the more compacted operatic assemblages. The action and environmental set is as fully implied in the boxed night table of The Four Bears (1962) as it is in the contained rag rug of The Illegal Operation (1962; fig.

¹⁷²Anne Ayres has called the companion pieces of Jane Doe and John Doe as "proto-tableaux"; to her, all other works are assemblages prior to the first tableau Roxys; see Ayres, "Berman and Kienholz: Progenitors of Los Angeles Assemblage," 14-15. In 1968 Walter Hopps divided his checklist into constructions, defined as free standing or wall hangings; tableaux, defined as having life-scale and functioning as complex environments; and concept tableaux; see Hopps, Work from the 1960's by Edward Kienholz (Washington, D.C.: Washington Gallery of Modern Art, 1968), 46-47. In Hopps's scheme, The Four Bears would be a construction and The Illegal Operation, a tableau.

71). In The Four Bears, a life jacket is thrown over the night table with real bear skin legs; inside the stuffed bear nuzzles into a broken gold fish bowl. In The Illegal Operation, the cozy setting of lamp, footstool and rug contrasts with the spewing bottom half of the torso acting as a pillow stuffed in a grocery cart as chair.

Also important is the fact that Kienholz was probably aware of the history of stage production. In the theater by the turn of the century, the scenic artists who painted large-scale easel pictures as stage decoration had given way to the naturalists who constructed architecturally honest sets. In the twentieth century, theatrical productions used both the box sets and the revolutionary space stages where the space was activated by a few props and dramatically lighted actors. On the one hand, the elaborate environment of Roxys is like a box set focusing on a slice of life. On the other hand, the compacted tableaux from Five Dollar Billy to The Four Bears partake of the presentative versus representative production of the space stage. Furthermore, one of the main features of the Turnabout Theater was that it had a double proscenium. Another facet of doubling in the theater was the use of the turntable stage. In most cases, instead of painted representations of places back to back, the set was plastically constructed; small portions of the construction were visible in each scene and change of

scene was made through the revolution of the stage.¹⁷³

These doubling effects were important for Kienholz's second tableau of 1961. First of all, The Nativity (fig. 70) immediately followed Roxys (fig. 48) and initially was conceived as its "companion piece" in terms of a sacred and profane theme.¹⁷⁴ Secondly, The Nativity was to be a tableau within a tableau. Kienholz wanted to place the nativity scene inside a church constructed out of iron tubing and complete it with preacher in the pulpit, organ, and congregation. In the following description of Kienholz's original intentions, there is the tableau within the tableau as well as an indication of another scene behind the larger congregational one. Perhaps Kienholz took the idea of a double proscenium and tried to join the two sets back to back plastically but without the turntable. In a later interview he related his intentions.

. . . It was going to be the

¹⁷³For a summary of some of the highlights in stage production from the late nineteenth through the early twentieth century; see: Cheney, The Theater, chapters 21-23, including pertinent facts on space stage design and turntable design, 515, 538..

¹⁷⁴Lawrence Wechsler, prologue to Edward and Nancy Reddin Kienholz: Human Scale, with introduction by Henry T. Hopkins (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1984), 13. For Kienholz's own description, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:246-250. See also Eva Ambos and Edward Kienholz, "Zur Präsentation der 'Nativity' von Edward Kienholz im Nordico," Kunst Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz (Nordico Stadtmuseum, Linz) (December-January 1979), 85-94.

nativity scene, onstage. Then there was going to be the minister and the altar [lectern].* Then there was going to be the minister's wife and a small organ, you know, pieces of an organ, and make this figure in front of it, or construct some sort of an organ so that she was going to be off to the side so that you would have the proscenium in front of you, the stage. The minister off to one side and the minister's wife off to the side of the organ. And I was going to put pews and relate the figures in the nativity to the audience in the pews, so that you got the feeling that it might be a kid onstage, a small figure onstage, which would relate to a family of very abstract objects in the pews. And at that time I got the windows. . . . I intended to cut them in half and make stained-glass windows for my church and build a complete, full-size house out of box metal (that means the metal that goes all the way around--not any angle iron, but box metal). So the box metal would be like lines in space and come up with the walls and then in for a roof. Then I'd put the steeple, and make some sort of a symbolic bell for the steeple, and these stained-glass windows--but everything open. So you'd have just strips of metal defining the room. Then I was going to have a doorway to the left side of the stage that would go back into a back room, and in that back room would be a table set up with a potluck supper, and there would be all of the old--two or three old fat ladies that had gotten their church supper or their Grange supper ready. So when the activity on the stage was finished, then everybody would file out, go in the back, and have the dinner. * I actually made the minister from a meat scales with pages from the Bible pasted on the scale roller so you could "push" your own sermon.¹⁷⁰

In the end Kienholz completed only the nativity scene

¹⁷⁰Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:247-248; note after asterisk was added later by Kienholz to the interview script.

(fig. 70), "the onstage part," as he discovered the idea of the iron tubing had already been used by another artist. However, between the original conception and the final product, he again used a variety of theatrical effects. The figures evoke the same combination of sacredness and profanity. For example, the figure of Christ has a road works warning beacon for a face; Joseph, the cuckold, is astride a kid's toy stick pony; and Mary has a radiator face and rear end compartment. Furthermore, with the linearity of the ironworks as the weathervane and coatrack, with the skeletal machine parts, and with the decorative car emblems and taxidermy, the figures are more abstract than those using mannequin parts in Roxys. Because of their greater metamorphosis between the junk parts, they come the closest Kienholz would ever get to the assembled, abstract personages of Richard Stankiewicz. What is important beyond the individual figures is that Kienholz placed them in another type of theatrical space stage. The overall tray filled with sand and backed by a triangular frame topped with a star is his tracks or parallel space boards. It is similar to a nonpictorial set used in the twenties where the stage is outlined for acting.¹⁷⁶ Although Kienholz's environment does not have the machine age decorativeness or engineering aspects of the Constructivist set, it has its diagrammatic,

¹⁷⁶Cheney, The Theater, 560.

architectural structure.

Kienholz in his general sense of the theater also used its new machine age variants--the radio, movie, and television in his work. Although there will be a discussion later on the larger implications of these themes involving the media, it is important here to point out his recognition of moving pictures and his use of script. In several of his tableaux, as in the letter to "Miss Cherry Delight" in Roxys, verbal material is presented as another detail in the larger scene. In the work The Big Eye (1961; fig. 72), Kienholz coupled a television console with a lengthy script. Instead of using moving pictures on the screen, he reduced the picture to the rudimentary one shot frame. The one shot scene, detailed in the script "The Last Laugh as a Hic-cup," is a disagreement in an art saloon among Ed Kienbusch, a carpenter person, two art bore[s], and Henry Smellish, a witty, arty person. Later in 1965, Kienholz constructed his art saloon, The Beanery (fig. 51); here the spectator, as if holding a movie camera, can move from exterior scene to interior scene and through the long, narrow cratelike area where he can observe a host of characters and can hear a group of records titled with artists' names. Kienholz's saloon in real life was Barney's in Los

Angeles; it was also known as "an actors' hangout."¹⁷⁷

In the happening the script generally was the stepping board for action and not always kept as an important document. As previously mentioned, Oldenburg was an exception in publishing some of his writings connected with his happenings. Perhaps the more valid parallel in terms of script between Kienholz and Oldenburg is their conceptual approach to tableaux. In 1963 Kienholz began to write and frame proposals for different tableaux to be bought by patrons and to be built later at their discretion. Oldenburg's proposals for dramatic enactments took the form of drawings with lengthy titles; in 1965 he began his large series of proposals for monuments.

An expressionist spirit, the current modes of Abstract Expressionism and assemblage in the fifties, the influence of Schwitters, Duchamp, Tony Smith, and Kaprow, and the art of the theater assisted Segal, Oldenburg, and Kienholz in varying degrees in formulating their sculptural tableaux. The thematic connections discussed in the next chapter will reinforce these formal alliances.

¹⁷⁷For Kienholz's description of Barney's, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:84.

SCULPTURAL TABLEAUX OF THE SIXTIES:
EDWARD KIENHOLZ, CLAES OLDENBURG, AND GEORGE SEGAL

by
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VOLUME II

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

1988

CHAPTER III

THE ARTIST AND HIS SOCIETY

In reviewing the early work of Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal there are parallels with and developments from the formal structures of Dadaist, Surrealist, and Abstract Expressionist works. What is new is their strategy to look outside previous examples of painting and sculpture and to see new sources in theater, film, and the environment itself. These formal alliances found in chapter two will become even clearer in this third chapter. However, the major issue now is to what extent the content of their work continues some of the Dadaist, Surrealist, and Abstract Expressionist thematic concerns and builds new themes. This chapter will focus on Kienholz's, Oldenburg's, and Segal's themes: the street of the urban environment; the new grotto; social and political events; and the artist in his studio. This discussion of their themes in the sixties will serve my interests in showing that these three artists chose sculptural tableau as the most direct means to engage society and to comment on

society.

The Theme of the Street of the Urban Environment

The art of the environment was an invitation to the spectator to become conscious of his everyday world and its objects. This emphasis on the object, the object in its environment, and self-observation with the object was part of Surrealism's legacy. The Surrealists had wanted to free man's imagination from the mechanisms of psychic and social repression. Their goal had been not only total emancipation for man's desires, but also poetic inspiration and exaltation as a common property. In rejecting a rigid rationalism, they also had cast aside the type of realism which ignored dreams and the subconscious. Thus, one aspect of this new consciousness was self-observation. The Surrealists had wanted an expanded awareness of reality where there was not only a continuity, but also a unity of interior and exterior life. In their new spirit of research, they had used the social forms of games and activities on the street. Most often as Breton showed in his novel Nadja, the interrelationship of interior and exterior reality manifested itself in chance experiences of daily lives. Whereas the Surrealists as Marxists did not want to reconcile their concerns with bourgeois culture, the American artists of the sixties were a part of that culture. However, in returning to the figure and to

objects in the late fifties and early sixties, they did speak of the poetic, if not charged, quality of the concrete objects. And like the Surrealists, they found the street their primary source for observation.

As discussed in the first chapter, one of the Surrealist games was to contemplate the hard and empty surfaces of de Chirico's painting Enigma of a Day in order to be able to discover the mysterious and enigmatic in the emptiness of the modern scene and to experiment with objects of the street. Although Breton had pointed to many precedents in art and literature, he especially named de Chirico as giving what he saw to be "the direction or mode of the dream" for a "veritable modern mythology."¹

In a passage explaining the modern feeling of Paris, de Chirico not only had mixed the contemporary with the legendary, but he also had compared the city to various aspects of the theater.

As you leave the station and enter
the heart of the city, the scenery
becomes increasingly magical; you
have the feeling of being inside
a huge jack-in-the-box, of finding
yourself before the open stage of
a wonderful theater: the backdrop
is soft grey mist that joins the sky
to the earth and to the constructions
of men, constructions that are also gray,
curious and hospitable sources
standing solemnly and unexpectedly

¹ For Breton's summation of de Chirico with quoted phrase, see Laura Rosenstock, "De Chirico's Influence on the Surrealists," in De Chirico (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982), 111-129; quotation, 112.

to right and left like enormous theater wings, from which spring forth, like figures of a magic lantern, hurrying throngs of men and vehicles, strange and variegated herds. . . . At night the mystery does not fade. The shops close their doors, but the windows, like theaters on gala evenings, stay lit. And whole scenes, dramas of modern life, are reconstructed in the small space of the shop window--theater. . . .

. . . in a window showing a group of ladies and gentlemen with their children on a Riviera beach, I thought of the Odyssey and of wandering Ulysses, . . .²

In the passage de Chirico blended reality and memory and vision and daydream. De Chirico wrote repeatedly of the dream and the metaphysical reality it implied. Although the above passage probably was not known to George Segal, as late as 1955 The Museum of Modern Art had featured de Chirico's work in a major exhibition. In the 1955 catalogue he explained that he believed that ". . . from certain points of view, the sight of someone in a dream is proof of his metaphysical reality--in certain accidental occurrences that sometimes happen to us; in the manner and arrangement in which things appear to us and awaken in us the unknown sensations of joy and surprise:

²For passage by de Chirico, see Maurizio Fagiolo dell' Arco, "De Chirico in Paris, 1911-1915," in De Chirico, 12-13.

the sensations of revelation."³

As early as 1910, de Chirico had evoked a mysterious world of silence, solitude, isolation, and suspended time through devices to become characteristic of some Surrealist painting: illusionistic space with multiple incoherent recessions; scenes of vast spaces with irrationally scaled figures and incongruously juxtaposed objects of everyday life; a world peopled with statues, mannequins, and unexplainable but emphatic shadows; mysterious and heavy contrasts of light; stark geometric forms lacking details.

As far as known, only one art historian has suggested that the works of George Segal are "the dreams of a philosopher"; furthermore, they manifest the "magic of the streets" found in the paintings of de Chirico.⁴ Other writers, such as Martin Friedman and Jan van der Marck, have found in Segal's solemn, timeless figures references

³Rosenstock, "De Chirico's Influence on the Surrealists," 111. The quotation is from James T. Soby, Giorgio de Chirico (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1955), 244.

⁴Phyllis Tuchman simply quoted art historian Charles Mitchell in Tuchman, George Segal, 24. There is no further elaboration of his comparison.

to mythological figures.² Segal's world is neither irrational nor removed from reality. He does not employ incoherent spatial recessions, strange juxtapositions of objects, or irrational scale. However, one of his primary themes is the street, which will be explained. Also, Segal's work is related to de Chirico's in its illusionism, its general sense of empty spaces and isolated objects, its stark geometries, and its evocation of silence, isolation, and distance. Segal's tableaux do involve the memory of his past mingled with the present. As de Chirico's paintings, Segal's tableaux suggest one in contact with his subconscious mind. Nowhere more potent is that thought than in his cast figures, his own type of disquieting muses. As in de Chirico's statues and their shadows, mannequins, and the motif of hollow and volumetric space in the paintings of 1914-15, the concept of hollow and solid in Segal's ghostly white casts may be compared to a theory of the relation of inner and outer consciousness. De Chirico had stated that "There are many more enigmas in the shadow of a man who walks in the sun than in all the religions of the past, present and

²Martin Friedman was the first to see archetypal figures as Charon and Aphrodite; see Friedman, "Mallery, Segal, Agostini: The Exaltation of the Prosaic," Art International 7 (October 1963): 70-71. Jan van der Marck is more cautious in references, but he generally acknowledges the possibility of this approach; see van der Marck, George Segal. 12 Human Situations, unpaginated.

future."⁶ Segal, in turn, has stated that he wanted to express equally the sense of his inner self and his sense of and encounter with the outside world. Segal was interested in "this play between interior-exterior" which really leads to questions of what is real, which is more real, and the constant flux between the two. As Segal has said: ". . . Most anything you decide is a legitimate clue to human behavior or a road to a valid perception."⁷

A major source of Segal's works in the sixties is the theme of the street and the enlarged street, the highway. In his case, it was the New Jersey Turnpike from the country into the New York City streets. His tableaux depict the necessary fuel station and parking garage and the means of transportation, such as private car or truck, bus, and subway; also included are sights seen through car windows or at rest stops. On the street, Segal does not shock the viewer by Breton's object of convulsive beauty or by the game of transposing one image in place of or on top of another. Rather in the spirit of de Chirico, Segal startles the viewer through direct placement and positioning of the figures to stark architecture and

⁶For quotation from de Chirico, see Ades, Dadaism and Surrealism Reviewed, 20., catalogue no. 1.7 for the painting Mystery and Melancholy of a Street (1914).

⁷For Segal's interest in the boundary between interior and exterior and this quotation, see Segal, "The Sense of 'Why not?': George Segal on his art," 146-149; quotation, 146.

expanses of space. In his own way, he abstracts the concept of the street to a place of transition.

One of Segal's first highway tableaux was Gas Station (1963-64; fig. 21). He wanted to express his sense of driving at night on the turnpike when the road becomes simply an unending black corridor. The gas station is an "oasis of light" in that black stretch.⁹ In the tableau itself, the twenty-two feet of black wall and pavement punctuate at each end the dutiful station attendant and his routines and the tired, seated helper or driver beside the Coca-Cola machine. In an interview in 1964, Segal was clear in his desire to have the spectator experience this space so that both a slow and quickened series of "shocks" would occur. As the spectator himself walks parallel to the black wall, he identifies with the loss of individual identity on the road and the boredom of driving and routine jobs. But as he moves down to the end of the station into the space of the attendant, he may feel a sudden sense of anxiety in seeing the rack of black automobile tires suspended just a few inches above the attendant's head. While the spectator may turn to other thoughts, Segal's private vision was that the gas station

⁹Jan van der Marck quoted Segal on the long black corridor and the oasis of light; see van der Marck, George Segal, plate 12 with description opposite p. 52. Although van der Marck is thorough in documenting Segal's work, he has not discussed this specific, continuing theme in Segal's work.

attendant reminded him of St. John the Baptist.*

De Chirico had spoken about the sensations of revelation stemming from accidental occurrences and dreams. It seems that in the Gas Station (1963-64; fig. 21) and in Cinema (1963; fig. 73) Segal felt the intensity of people in their environment, often against the garish light. In Cinema, Segal remembered the scene he saw along the side of the highway while driving home from New York City in the early hours of the morning. A man up high and alone in space was reaching up to change the marquee of a suburban drive-in theater. To him, the man's gesture and his body against the sign lighted by the spotlights seemed like "an epiphany." In recreating the scene, Segal chose to place the man on the ground and to have the light emanate from the sign itself. Ironically, the white figure against the blending light became a dark, phantom shadow. Although Connolly had used the image of the "private eye" in his discussion of Surrealism, Segal, perhaps unintentionally, evoked the Surrealist metaphor of piercing the eye; he spoke of wanting an image which would "sear into my own eye." He questioned the nature of the light and how it acted to reveal or to erase the

*Segal's statements that he wanted a sense of shocks and his description of the image of St. John the Baptist come from an early interview; see Henry Geldzahler, "An Interview with George Segal," Artforum 3 (November 1964): 20-21. Van der Marck also used this information.

figure.¹⁰

Segal was working on Cinema (fig. 73) and Gas Station (fig. 21) at approximately the same time. However, after a trip to Europe he changed Gas Station by removing the various colored advertising signs. Through the intimate, human scale of Europe he had discovered what was unique about American space, even if "ugly expanses of glass, chrome, brick of home."¹¹

Yet while on the highway, Segal has found at the same time exhilaration in the industrial landscape as well as its alienating character. As he said:

. . . For years I've been driving the turnpike to New York; the refineries at Elizabeth are magnificent. They're beautiful and vigorous. At night this industrial landscape looks like pieces of jewelry, and at a certain point when I'm driving the turnpike, the refineries look like the horizontal roots of a tree feeding the trunks of the New York skyline. So I find a lot of vigor and life in industrial scenes. It's the people. They're restless, they're gloomy, they're dissatisfied. But they can't quite put their finger on their discontent. They simply know that something's wrong.¹²

¹⁰See George Segal, "Commentaries on Six Sculptures: Cinema," in George Segal: Sculptures, 35-36. Jan van der Marck related the same information from the 1978 Walker Art Center catalogue in his 1979 revised edition of George Segal, plate 28 with description. For images of the eye by Dali and Buñuel and Kiesler, see Connolly, "Surrealism," 158-159.

¹¹Geldzahler, "An Interview with George Segal," 21.

¹²Hunter, George Segal, 47.

During the twenties and even into the thirties, some artists as Charles Demuth, Charles Sheeler, and John Storrs saw that the forms of modern technology not only possessed inherent qualities which led to a cool, reasoned abstraction, but they also functioned as symbols of American achievements. Segal's sensation of the highway brings to mind Ralston Crawford's paintings of the thirties. Crawford was particularly attracted to the industrial architecture and could distill a wide range of dramatic effects from his sites. While showing the structured, harmonious world of man-made, industrial forms, he could also evoke a stillness, an almost unreal emptiness of the site. Particularly in Whitestone Bridge (1939), he pushed the illusionistic effects until, as William Agee has observed, the spectator is carried "precipitously into a soaring limitless space of a boundless future."¹³

That boundless future is gone in Segal's tableau The Truck (1966; fig. 74). In this work Segal has substituted for himself a neighborhood chicken farmer in a red paneled truck which is identical to his own vehicle. The back of

¹³Sam Hunter suggested that works like Gas Station have been compared with American Social Realism; see *ibid.*, 47. He gave no actual comparisons. My brief comparison stems from my own work on the twenties and thirties; see Sarah Clark-Langager, Order and Enigma: American Art Between the Two Wars (Utica, New York: Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, 1984), 21-26. Quotation from Agee originally published in William C. Agee, Ralston Crawford (Pasadena: Twelve Trees Press, 1983), 8.

the cab is open to the spectator and, subsequently, he is placed in the position of the rider. The driver and the viewer are riveted to the windshield where Segal projected a 8-mm color movie of a night drive along Route 1. Jan van der Marck has described the view as a spectacle of urban lights directed towards the windshield.¹⁴

This barrage of lights on Route 1 contrasts with Segal's other more distant views of the highway at night where the marquee provides a revelation or a phantom, the gas station is an oasis, or the industrial refineries are jewels. His ability to evoke private experiences on the highway from the viewpoint of public transportation is equally varied. In general, he views the subway or the bus as situations which allow people to become introspective or numb as they are driven by a mechanical process or someone else from one place to another. Segal has made at least four works pertaining to bus transportation. Bus Riders (1962; fig. 24) was one of the earliest where Segal selectively placed three figures on a single row of bus seats with one figure standing behind the seats. In the second tier of seats the empty seat invites the spectator to sit down and to be momentarily transported to another place. Implied in the work from the front to the rear, or vice versa, is the transition of one's state of mind. The

¹⁴For description of movie, see van der Marck, George Segal, plate 63 with description, p. 124

vacant position in the middle is beside a woman totally lost in thought. In front of her there is a couple; the woman on the outside smiles and alertly gazes ahead while her companion with folded hands quietly rests beside her. Behind the meditative woman in the back is the standing figure with a determined look as to his destination. Whereas in Bus Riders there is a sense of change in both the figures and place, in The Bus Station (1965) the lone figure sitting on the suitcase is walled in by a cubicle and by his distant thoughts.

On the streets of the city the mood of endless pace and loneliness does not dissipate. In The Construction Tunnel (1968; fig. 75) a single figure walks under the sidewalk scaffolding and past wood doors, both of which are designed to protect pedestrians from the falling debris of the demolition crew. Although the image came from an early childhood dream of walking endlessly through a dark tunnel, Segal has portrayed himself as a grown man caught in a tunnel shielding him from demolition.¹⁵

The image is similar to Edward Hopper's print Night Shadows (1921; fig. 76) or his painting Manhattan Bridge Loop (1929). As Segal has noted, the predominant mood of the late twenties and thirties was oriented to the worker.

¹⁵For Jan van der Marck's reference to Segal's dream, see van der Marck, George Segal, plate 102 with description, p. 166. Van der Marck suggested the theme of loneliness but did not compare the work with Hopper.

Yet some artists such as Ralston Crawford and Edward Hopper still focused on architectural icons of man's achievements. While some artists such as Crawford continued the more optimistic opinion of the twenties, others such as Hopper had a more ambivalent feeling towards progress. It is pertinent to mention Hopper here because many authors have found a relationship of his paintings with Segal's work. Like Segal, he was attuned to the temporal conditions of the street or highway. He was fascinated with cities, both the charming beauty of Paris and what he called the rawness of New York.

Although some historians view the solitary figures in his architectural scenes as reflections of his own love of quiet and solitude, others have seen them as representations of loneliness and urban disorientation. For example, in Night Shadows Hopper focused on a single figure under the strident glare of the street light. In the print he subtly rendered the height of the city without any skyscrapers in the background; he placed our viewpoint of the lonely figure from an adjacent hotel or apartment building. This bird's eye view suggests an overpowering presence, and the haunting mood is heightened by Hopper's provocative light. As the man walks alone from the dark into the glaring, artificial light, we see from our elevated vantage point the cavernous quality of New York. Unaware of any viewer, the figure is left alone to

trudge forward from corner to corner. During the increased tempo of the 1928 to 1933 era, Hopper did not shift his subtle criticism of the breakdown of human community and the numbing impact of the city to a blatant attack. His Manhattan Bridge Loop 1929 simply repeats the theme of the earlier print where the lone figure trudges in the glaring lights of the industrial structures.

Hopper's treatment of town and city architecture--storefront, apartment building, row house or old mansion--conveys a somber general truth without topical reference: this was the spiritual emptiness of modern urban life. To portray this notion, Hopper generally focused more on the environment than on the human element itself, on the structures and objects man has built and on nature with its signs of man's activities. In his painting Approaching the City (1946), he expressed his fear and anxiety of coming into the city by allowing the spectator's eye to confront the wall beside the train tracks leading into the tunnel underneath the city which is barely glimpsed over the wall. In Segal's tableau The Truck, the spectator is tense with the bombardment of the lights. In Hopper's depiction of the gas station on a country road in the forties (Gas, 1940), the lighted red pumps stand out against the vacant road, dark woods, and cold evening sky. While it is an oasis for the traveller at nightfall, Segal's station becomes an oasis of boredom.

In many of Hopper's architectural scenes he focused on stately old houses which seem like relics of liveliness or where they find themselves neighbors with factories, gas stations, railroad tracks, highways, and empty lots. In his print The Lonely House (1922), he focused on that grey area of the city, perhaps the outskirts, just beginning to feel the effects of urbanization. In the print, children, submerged within the stark white side of the house, go about their quiet game. Instead of focusing on the picturesque qualities of the building, Hopper emphasized its singular, stranded condition. The picture's harsh light suggests an impending intrusion and makes the house a frozen image of an historical urban process. Segal's tableau The Construction Tunnel refers to the actualization of that urban process as well as to the decay of the inner city. But the real difference is Segal's focus on the human figure trapped in that process and in his own inner state.¹⁶

In Hopper's world there is a sense of loneliness, emptiness, and silence in the city itself and in the individual in the hotel room or man walking on the street.

¹⁶Authors tend not to make these specific comparisons between Hopper's and Segal's works. Another of Segal's works with a similar feeling of his and Hopper's urban decay is Parking Garage (1968). For my own work on Hopper, see Clark-Langager, Order and Enigma, 30-32. Works by Hopper are illustrated in Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst, Amerika: Traum und Depression, 1920/40 (Berlin: Akademie die Künste, 1980), 124, 162, 435. Gas (1940) is in the collection of The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

In Segal's world man is also anonymous in contemporary urban life. What is different is that Segal focuses more on the machinery set up to facilitate day to day living-- gas station, bus station, subway, parking garage, diner-- and how the individual exists in that machinery. While the tableaux focus on places of transition, they also exemplify people trapped in transition. For example, in The Bus Driver (1962), Segal remembered the experience of getting on a bus in the Port Authority Bus Terminal and being struck by the facts that he and the other riders were huddled in this bus; moreover, his life was in this "sullen but arrogant" driver's hands and the driver himself was surrounded by internal hostile forces. He said:

I really wanted to order air around him and give him the dignity of helplessness--a massive, strong man, surrounded by machinery, and yet basically a very unheroic man trapped by forces larger than himself that he couldn't control and least of all understand.¹⁷

Characteristic of Segal's process, he went beyond what he saw and selectively focused on the essentials. Martin Friedman's characterization of the driver as "Charon, the conveyor of souls" is apt not only in this work, but for all of the bus scenes; this is because the individuals are submerged in deep thought and move from one place to

¹⁷Van der Marck, George Segal, plate 9 with description, p. 34.

another with no explicit direction or future in sight.¹⁰

In Segal's world, the devices which evoke a sense of transition and a contrast between personal space and unbounded, public space are the open door, transparent window, and partitions. While these framing devices of constriction and void are evident in The Bus Station (1965) and Man Leaving a Bus (1967), the following discussion will focus on them in regard to the last aspect of Segal's theme of the street or the highway--the rest stop.

The gas station is a rest stop as well as the New Jersey diner. Rather than the latest new restaurant, Segal significantly chose the converted railroad car, another long corridor structure. In The Diner (1964-66; fig. 77), the fatigued driver, the psychological clone of Segal, sits behind the black-green linoleum counter partitioned off from the night shift waitress; she stands at the gleaming, stainless coffee machine against the red expanse of the wall. Conditioned by movies, soap operas, and daily news events on rape and robbery, the spectator expects the electricity or tension between the two figures to increase. This work has been compared to Hopper's painting Nighthawks (1942; fig. 78), a depression era cafe scene;

¹⁰Van der Marck quoted Martin Friedman who originally made the comparison. Both neither applied it to all the bus scenes nor explained explicitly what they meant by the comparison.

in that painting a couple sits apart from a single man at the counter where all are serviced by a talkative waiter. Segal's mood in his tableau is totally different just because he has focused on two silent figures, a man and a woman. While Segal's first version of the tableau had the two figures spread apart as in Gas Station (fig. 21), the second version clustered the figures together in the empty space; the result was that the electric mood reversed itself.¹⁹ This play between distance and its psychological boundaries intrigued Segal and he subsequently reiterated the theme in his tableau The Restaurant Window I (1967; fig. 79).

The summary of the above statements is that Segal's works on the theme of the street are meditative in the spirit of de Chirico's early plaza scenes. The explicit thoughts of Segal's statues are held within, but the calculated intervals between his muses, ordinary objects,

¹⁹For the different versions of this work and a suggestion of a comparison with Hopper, see van der Marck, George Segal, plates 55-56 with description on p. 117. This is also the only time van der Marck made a comparison with Segal and Kienholz (The Beanery). See also Segal's comments for the Walker Art Center catalogue, "Commentaries on Six Sculptures: The Diner," in George Segal: Sculptures, 37-38. Edward B. Henning is one of the few authors who made one other comparison with Hopper: Segal's The Bus Station with Hopper's City Sunlight (1954). Yet, as others, he made the comparison of Segal's diner with Hopper's cafe scene, but did not go further even to state that Hopper's scene is really more active than Segal's tableau; see Henning, "The Red Light by George Segal," Cleveland Museum Bulletin 63 (May 1976): 146-150.

and architecture reinforce the sense of silence and loneliness. In contrast, Oldenburg's works partake of the Surrealist strategy of demonstrating the surreal in everyday life. Oldenburg used the theme of the street in two ways similar to the Surrealists: one was a tactic for chance discovery of new and archaeological events; the other was for the transformation of society's architectural monuments.

In Oldenburg's environment The Street and its happening Snapshots from the City (1960; figs. 25-26), he portrayed a totally opposite mood from Segal. Rather than introspective, his Bowery figures in his drawings, his relief figures, and the real figures are directly involved in the crude and brutal city life. He stated that he saw The Street as "a set on American death."²⁰ The drawings preceding the reliefs were like graffiti sketches of humans and animals, often with balloons of speech resembling cartoons and comic books. The environment itself with its textures of used materials and its brownish black color of the jagged reliefs gave the architecture, figures, cars, and graffiti a burned-out appearance. The simulated violence of the real figures in the happening only heightened the ravaged appearance. While Oldenburg probably did not have in mind the

²⁰Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 37. Segal did a tableau The Bowery in 1970.

precedent of the Surrealist visits to the morgue, as well as to other places as train stations, his first environment and happening do show similar interests in places of death.

Documents (Paris 1929-30) was not one of the first official Surrealist magazines, but it did set the precedent for exploring the aggressive, repugnant, and sober side of life through its articles and photographs on archaeology, ethnography, and popular culture. For example, Georges Bataille in his "Dictionnaire critique" chose "abattoirs" as a word to explore in contemporary terms. Photographs of slaughterhouses at La Villette reinforced Bataille's belief that these places, originally oriented to offerings for temples, were now cursed places. The solution had been for society to banish all their ugliness to the abattoirs with the result that no one could distinguish the horrible anymore.²¹ Interested in the iconographic and sociological aspects of society, Documents also announced a series of pilgrimages to such places as Hollywood, Chicago, and Salt Lake City. In terms of Hollywood, the magazine featured film and music hall stars, pin-ups, and the Fox Follies. One of the magazine's characteristics was its shocking mix of serious archaeological studies with varieties from Hollywood and

²¹Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, 234. Bataille's essay appeared in Documents, no. 6 (November 1929).

popular culture, such as the comic book pages from L'OEil de la Police.²²

In a sense, Oldenburg did the same thing by conjoining his own ruined sites of the city with such characters as Street Chick (1960; fig. 40) and Big Man (1960; fig. 36). Oldenburg had worked in the library at the Cooper Union Museum from 1956 to 1961. Browsing among the periodicals there or at other libraries, he could have seen the Surrealist emphasis on films of fantasy, horror, and silent comedies and articles on ruins and popular culture. Although Oldenburg's Street Chick has a deathly head, her hair is also like a flag; with waving hair and elaborate shoestrings she is like some popular pin-up girl. Big Man is anyone's bully or superman. The same could be said for Oldenburg's mix of the violence of the city with words indicating dreams of glory written over some of the reliefs, for example, "Orpheum," "Tarzan," and "Empire." Likewise, in Snapshots from the City, the tall, rough bag figures leaning against the wall portray sociological types and levels to which the American dream

²²For articles in Documents, see Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, 231, 237-238, 240. The first article on pilgrimages was in no. 5 (October 1929) and the one on hollywood stills was in no. 7 (December 1929). Also La Révolution Surréaliste reproduced film stills from Buster Keaton's films, such as The Keystone Cops, no. 1 (1 December 1924) and a defense of Charlie Chaplin, nos. 9-10 (October 1927). Minotaure (1933-39) included stills from King Kong in no. 11 (Spring 1938) and Benjamin Peret wrote on ruins in nos. 12/13 (May 1939).

had been fulfilled, for example, the "All American Shoeshine Boy," "Sandwich Man," and "Bum."²³

On the street Oldenburg found the morgue and the slaughterhouse. His interest in violence on the street also stems from another Surrealist source. Although he had recently read Celine's Death on the Installment Plan, he also was aware of the Surrealist Antoin Artaud's use of physical and sexual violence in the theater. Barbara Rose cited that he had read the 1958 translation of Artaud's book The Theater and Its Double. He also had spoken earlier to Dick Tyler about plans for a "psychastenic spectacle."²⁴

Both Artaud and Oldenburg accepted extremes as primary facts of life and as tools for their art.²⁵ Both

²³Rose mentioned words on reliefs and quoted a reviewer from Time on American type of characters; see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 37, 40, 48.

²⁴For Oldenburg's remark to Tyler, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 27. Martin Duberman in Black Mountain, p. 360, stated that after John Cage's visit to Black Mountain in 1948 he had gone to Paris where he discovered Artaud through Pierre Boulez. David Tudor, Cage, and Mary Richards later read Artaud together. See Antoin Artaud, The Theater and Its Double, trans. by Mary Richards (New York: Grove Press, 1958). Rose did not discuss how Oldenburg might be related to Artaud's philosophy other than to say Oldenburg belongs to a group of writers and artists including Artaud who went beyond the tragic and accepted the absurd and banal side of life; see Rose, 55.

²⁵For Rose's description of Oldenburg's early thought processes on the acceptance of contradictions and extremes, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 30-31.

believed that this tool would push the spectator beyond the familiar. Artaud was interested in what lay beyond that confusion, violence, and chaos. He proposed a descent into evil as a first step towards reintegration. He sought a spiritual freedom akin to primitive power.²⁶

When he set up the environment The Street, Oldenburg also hung his "Ray Gun Notes" in the Judson Gallery; in them he referred to the fact that the hero now had to be a lunatic and had to play the role of evil.²⁷ In his own attack on the guardians of western rationalism, such as the Pope and rectors of universities, Artaud had stated that those in lunatic asylums were really those incarcerated for their individualism and sensibility.²⁸ To Artaud evil was historic, a time when the titanic forces of nature raged and when violence became a part of man's consciousness. For this reason, he liked to use great myths as examples of human psychic history. Not focusing on any one event, Oldenburg's environment The

²⁶For analysis of Artaud's theater with quotations from The Theater and Its Double, see Zinder, The Surrealist Connection, 86-92, 113-114. Zinder quoted major sections from Artaud's essays in his book, primarily from pp. 15-32, 82-93.

²⁷Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 61.

²⁸For Artaud's attacks on western society, see Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, 193-194. Artaud's attacks on the pope and universities was published in La Révolution Surréaliste, no. 3 (15 April 1925).

Street and his happening Snapshots from the City represented a pervasive sense of suffering. Later, in his notes he stated that city nature was history; "Someone has already been there. The vision is already distorted, but real." He went on to characterize the city: "It's a piece of man's mind. To live in the city is to live inside oneself."²⁹

It was only in the theater that Artaud felt man could stage his dreams and immerse himself in this primeval chaos; his sense of chaos and evil leading to the good was, of course, the eruption of the unconsciousness into man's consciousness. Then, after these staged dreams where chaos could be staged or reproduced, yet remain under control, he could return to the ordinary world which would be rid of some evil; and he would be aware of that evil still existing. In his "Ray Gun Notes" in the Judson Gallery, Oldenburg referred to the positive effects of coming to know the extreme or negative aspects of the city: dirt, grime, soot, scorching, banality, and the "disease of success."³⁰ In his essay on the theater, Artaud compared it to a plague, because it was like a revelation where all cruelties are brought forth. Also, it was like a "superior disease" which resulted in only cure

²⁹For excerpts from Oldenburg's notes "A City Venus" (1963), see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 191.

³⁰For statement in "Ray Gun Notes," see *ibid.*, 46.

or death. In the theater Artaud desired the separation of the audience and actors. He believed in a spectacle affecting the deepest sensors of the psyche. This spectacle would be achieved through dramatic, physical means, such as sudden changes of light, contrasts of unknown words and cries, apparitions, "new and surprising objects," masks, ancient costumes, all sorts of explosions, and extreme gestures and stances.³¹

In choosing the art of the environment and the happening Oldenburg set up his own "psychastenic spectacle." As previously mentioned, his happening Snapshots from the City inside The Street (fig. 26) has been described by Al Hansen as a "Shinbone Alley aftermath of Hiroshima in Manhattan." In his tattered rags and stuffed bag figures leaning against the wall with graffiti, Oldenburg referred to conditions of the city as well as to primitive and newer civilizations. To Artaud evil had a history; Oldenburg generally showed that sense of history through the used materials and refuse and through the scorched or torn appearance of the reliefs. Oldenburg had called Pollock's energetic drawing "lightcords."³² He simulated this energy in his own

³¹I have summarized from Zinder and his block quotations from Artaud; see Zinder, The Surrealist Connection, 89-90.

³²Oldenburg, "Jackson Pollock: An Artists' Symposium, Part 2," 66.

mixture of painting and graphic techniques in the reliefs on the wall. Thus, his own "lightcords" and the blackouts of the happening were an explosion; light was also a means for ordering the violence of the tableaux. Also, there was a certain sense of natural and man-made violence. One example is the earlier object Street Head I ("Big Head"; "Gong"); it had the feeling of early world forces, such as those from planets. The "Big Head" was made of newspaper over an armature, all painted with casein dripping down its sides. Barbara Rose has suggested a general analogy of the head with the street; the soaked newspaper and the shape of the head also evoked the following forces: global mass communications with reference to a bloody era, or the bloody head of a newborn child.³³

These associations seem more in keeping with Artaud's forces of nature than Hausmann's streetheads or "Gurks." In scale and transformation of original materials, Oldenburg went beyond those illustrations by Hausmann in Motherwell's anthology. Some of these included collages of pasted newspaper cuttings of typography and photographs expressing the general "frenzied cataract of life." In his three-dimensional assemblage L'esprit de notre temps (Spirit of Our Times) (fig. 9), Hausmann's "gurk" head representing the "burghers" is clearly a mechanized dummy;

³³Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 45. As mentioned, Rose did not relate Oldenburg's environment or happening with Artaud's specific views.

his brain power is the miscellaneous objects attached to his head, given to him only by chance.³⁴

The other specific object in keeping with the theme of violence was Oldenburg's Ray Gun. On the walls of the Judson Gallery in the exhibition of The Street there were battered guns similar to children's toys. Typical of Artaud's sense of man and nature intertwined, the original Ray Gun had taken its shape from Oldenburg's first sculpture, the mounted milkweed pod shown in 1959. This first gun, made of newspaper and wire painted with casein, was also a phallic shape and was called Empire "Papa" Ray Gun. Later, it would take on other metaphoric shapes. Since "Ray Gun Spex" was the name of the program in which Snapshots from the City appeared, these "snapshots" from the camera were also gun shots. The Empire city had connotations of physical and sexual violence. Like Artaud, Oldenburg wanted to bring man back to his instincts to show him as only one part of the natural processes of

³⁴For illustration, see: Motherwell, ed. The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 254. Also see illustration and quoted description of Hausmann's heads in Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, p. 96, figs. 4.38, 4.43; p. 98, fig. 4.45. The collage of pasted papers, Gurk, appeared in Der Dada, no. 2 (December 1919).

birth, change, and death.³⁵ The environment of The Street and the happening Snapshots from the City (figs. 25-26) were probably the closest Oldenburg came to the spirit of Artaud's The Theater and Its Double.

Before a discussion of Oldenburg's second major use of the street for the transformation of monuments, there are other parallels with the Surrealist depiction of the street. One parallel had to do with the use of graffiti in the city and the construction of maps. Although Oldenburg did not name his street, only stating it to be "a set on American death," we come to know it as New York through a graffiti word as "Empire" or from the revelation that Ray Gun is "Nug Yar"---New York---spelled backwards. When Breton had first suggested putting dream objects into circulation, he had proposed minutely detailed maps of immense cities incapable of being constructed or found.³⁶ One of Robert Desnos's trance drawings is The City of

³⁵For milkweed pod sculpture, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 28. Early Ray Gun drawings were in Oldenburg's exhibition with Jim Dine at the Judson Gallery in November 1959, and the first sculptural object Empire "Papa" Ray Gun was in the group exhibition "Below Zero" at the Reuben Gallery, New York, December 1959. For discussion of Ray Gun in the exhibition of The Street, see *ibid.*, 46, 56. Rose generally discussed Oldenburg's desire for instinctual behavioral forms in his art; see 51, 53. She related his acceptance of evil to Norman Brown rather than to Artaud; see 64. In her discussion of Ray Gun, she quoted from Morse Peckham's Man's Rage for Chaos, which was not published until 1965.

³⁶For reference to Breton's construction of maps, see *ibid.*, 260.

Nameless Street, 1922; in the ink drawing the end buildings of the longitudinal lines of the city grid show various graffiti signs: for example, a question mark; a sign of a heart and the word "fou," together meaning mad love; and a sign of a skull with the word "purchase," together meaning buy death.³⁷ Oldenburg's own studies for The Street are also reminiscent of Kiesler's views of the street in Peggy Guggenheim's Surrealist gallery Art of This Century where works were suspended in space. As if blending Breton's concept of imaginary places, Kiesler's suspended objects, and Duchamp's portrait of George Washington as a United States map draped with its flag, Oldenburg himself spoke of the analogy between the silhouettes of the drawn figures and outlines as "drawings of an imaginary country"; the outline of the land-figure was suspended in space.³⁸

Finally, in two of Oldenburg's happenings concerning The Store, the street or corridor image reappears with

³⁷For drawing, see Dawn Ades, "Between Dada and Surrealism: Painting in the Mouvement flou," in In the Mind's Eye: Dada and Surrealism, ed. Terry Ann R. Neff (Chicago: Museum of Contemporary Art and New York: Abbeville Press, 1985), 31. Desnos's drawing was first published in Littérature, no. 7 (December 1922).

³⁸For Oldenburg's notebook drawings of 1960, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 41, 46. For his own analogy of the figures' outlines with maps, see, *ibid.*, 38-39. For Kiesler's 1942 drawings of Art of This Century, see Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, p. 393, catalogue no. 15.23. For Duchamp's Allégorie de genre (1943) from VVV, no. 4 (1944), see *ibid.*, 379.

Surrealist precedents. In the Dallas production of Injun, the happening concerned acts of physical and sexual hunger and violence; it took place in a house organized by a hall linking six rooms. In Breton's dream object of the miniaturized hotel with a corridor connecting five rooms, the corridor held together the sexual images and sounds of a green tuft, ape, water and "O." In the end of Oldenburg's happening World's Fair II, the soft stalactite city (one version of the white city which is built of people and boxes throughout the entire happening) is reminiscent of Dali's pencil drawing of La Ville (The City) (1935); Dali's people take on the shape of skyscrapers and soft buildings folding down on the street.³⁹

Oldenburg's second major orientation to the street was his monuments. His inclination towards natural and urban environments and his object making resulted in proposals for monuments beginning in 1965. As already outlined, his happenings and his monuments are closely intertwined. What is important to discuss here is their Surrealist connections. Barbara Rose has found many sources for Oldenburg's monuments, specifically architectural fantasies of late eighteenth century architects as Boullée, Ledoux, and Lequeu, but she did not

³⁹For Dali's drawing, see Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, p. 300, catalogue no. 12:31.

feel that Oldenburg's monuments have affinities with the Surrealists.⁴⁰ While these are pertinent sources, there are strong parallels with the Surrealists.

Rose has stated that Oldenburg's monuments are not Surrealist fantasies because they refer to specific places, times, and realities of contemporary culture. Yet, according to Oldenburg himself, the monuments at first were "playful, personal fantasies" until critics and architects began to consider them as workable projects. He described these first proposals as if he were "throwing" his personal and favorite objects onto the real city.⁴¹ While the verbal action is more in the spirit of Happenings, the enlargement of a personal object and its placement in the city is in the Surrealist tradition.

Breton had also considered the incongruous juxtaposition of an object to a particular site. In a homage to de Chirico's mysterious blend and scale of object to building, he had made with Louis Aragon a

⁴⁰Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 103. Oldenburg has acknowledged these architects' drawings as well as photographs of the Statue of Liberty disassembled in Madison Square and buildings in the shape of animals in New Jersey; see Oldenburg, Proposals for Monuments and Buildings 1965-69, 14. Also see Duchamp's Surrealist collage of the Statue of Liberty on the cover of André Breton's book Young Cherry Trees Secured Against Hares (New York: View Editions, 1946), reproduced in Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, p. 403, catalogue no. 15.62.

⁴¹Oldenburg, Proposals for Monuments and Buildings 1965-69, 11, 24-25.

Surrealist object of a box containing a model of the Leaning Tower of Pisa next to a sewing machine.⁴² While Breton's object was intended as a means of exploring the irrational and of merging dreams and real life, it was not the actual construction or replacing of one monument for another. However, Breton went further in considering the intervention of dreams into practical affairs. In the questionnaire "Experimental Researches: . . . on the irrational embellishment of a city," issued in Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution (May 1933), he asked what one should do about real monuments existing at that specific time in Paris. The questionnaire went as follows:

Should one preserve, move, modify, change or suppress:

The Arc of Triomphe?

Blow it up after burying it in a mountain of manure.

The Obelisk?

Remove it to the entrance of the Abattoir where it will be held by a woman's immense gloved hand.

.

The Vendôme Column?

Replace it by a factory chimney being climbed by a nude woman.

The Palace of Justice?

Raze it. Let the site be covered by a magnificent graffiti to be seen

⁴²This work Ci-gît Giorgio de Chirico, already mentioned in chapter one, was published in La Révolution Surréaliste, no. 11 (15 March 1928).

from an airplane.

.

The Statue of Alfred de Musset?

The woman will put her hand in his mouth;
people will be invited to strike him in the
abdomen and his eyes will light up.⁴³

.

Oldenburg's proposed fantasies, first, took the form of texts, and, then, drawings accompanied with long descriptive titles. His literary approach is similar to the Surrealist's questionnaire. He was concerned with the matching of the scale of the objects to the scale of the environment just like the Surrealist who had answered the specific question on the obelisk. Likewise, some of his first monuments were to be obstacles just as the Surrealist had wanted to make the Arc de Triomphe into an earthy construction. As mentioned earlier, Oldenburg's proposal for a Monument to Immigration (1961) was to be formed naturally by ships; one after the other would hit a reef and each other in the New York harbor. He followed up with this idea of disruption in the city with his proposals for Park Avenue. On one of the busiest, longest streets lined with office buildings and posh establishments in Manhattan, Oldenburg fantasized huge

⁴³"Recherches expérimentales: . . ." contained five questions and the fifth was on the city. See translated excerpt from 1933 questionnaire in Franklin Rosemont, ed. André Breton. What is Surrealism? Selected Writings, Part II (New York: Anchor Foundation, Monad Press, 1978), 95-96.

bowling balls one after another rolling down the corridor. The sense of danger, fast pace, and aiming for a strike obviously referred to the mercantile conditions behind the facade of those buildings.

In a totally opposite mood, as if to provide a momentary cure, he also proposed a good humor bar in 1965 to be wedged among the avenue's buildings.⁴⁴ Although not on the same monumental scale, Robert Desnos in Documents had also proposed a Paris without pedestals and had imagined statues based on modern fetishes and advertisements, such as the Cadum Baby and the child on the Chocolat Meunier cover.⁴⁵ Oldenburg had also begun to think of a whole catalogue of objects which belonged to contemporary American life and which already had been invested with the status of icons, such as objects pertaining to sports, the household, food, and parts of cars. He was interested both in the magical quality of the objects that resulted from their rendition in advertisements and in his own brand of magic that combined together fantasy and the commonplace. Oldenburg was

⁴⁴For Oldenburg's proposals for Park Avenue, see Oldenburg, Proposals for Monuments and Buildings 1965-69, 25-26.

⁴⁵For reference to Desnos, see Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, 237. For illustration of Cadum Baby, see Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 122; Georges Hugnet mentions the baby in "The Dada Spirit in Painting," 125.

attuned to the fetish quality of modern objects because of their history, everyday convenience or presence, and the manner of handling them.

Imbedded in these objects were human body images and sexual emotions, just as the Surrealists projected on the obelisk, Vendôme Column, and the Statue of Alfred de Musset. For example, he proposed for the Lower East Side the monumental image of the ironing board, because it was the general shape of Manhattan; because it "shield[ed]" the disappearing ghetto; because it commemorated the miles of ironing in both the homes and garment industry; and because it stood for a form of touching the human body. While the sexual implications of "coupling," "plugging in," and masturbation may not be explicit in such objects as an ironing board for the Lower East Side and a vacuum cleaner for the Battery (1965), these implications are in the banana for Times Square (1965).⁴⁶ Not only in its phallic shape, but also in its edible condition, the banana is the most obvious symbol of wish fulfillment. In the area of New York most known for its stage sets and all types of street manifestations, Oldenburg's proposal for a colossal monument of a banana which unfolds in stages the

⁴⁶For reference to proposal of monumental ironing board, see Oldenburg, Proposals for Monuments and Buildings 1965-69, 15. His references to "coupling" etc., come from an article in note form written for Konstrevy (Stockholm), nos. 5-6 (November-December 1966); see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 195, 197-198. For illustrations of vacuum cleaner and banana, see *ibid.*, 118, 123, 169.

conscious and subconscious mind is one of his most dramatic. Oldenburg's proposals for monuments, as Rose suggested, do speak to contemporary conditions which will be discussed later, but his intentions for the street and their Surrealist connections can not be dismissed.

As mentioned in the 1952 Art News article on Surrealism, there was a photograph of an automobile paralleled by a bicycle, both containing several Surrealists. The photograph highlighted the modes of transportation to their amusement places as well as exemplified the type of photography found in an amusement park. In another way, the photograph of the automobile symbolized the Surrealist transposition of one level of consciousness to another where cultural restrictions could be relaxed. In many cases the automobile and its descendants of the wheel have erotic implications.⁴⁷ The most famous example of the Surrealist use of the automobile is Dali's Rainy Taxi (fig. 4) which led the way on the Surrealist street to the grotto in the 1938 international exhibition. Whereas Oldenburg's eroticism is imbedded in objects on and blocking the street, Kienholz's fantasies utilize the automobile. This choice may depend

⁴⁷A few Surrealist examples of physical and mental transportation are: Breton's Object of Symbolical Functioning (1931) with the bull's horns and a bicycle seat; Oscar Dominguez's untitled decalcomania of 1936 with a bull and bicycle, and his Armchair (1937) made from a satin lined wheelbarrow.

on the difference between the cities of New York and Los Angeles; in the grid system of the former the automobile is a nuisance and in the suburban sprawl of the latter it is a necessity.

Kienholz's Back Seat Dodge '38 (1964; fig. 50) is the clearest manifestation of the street theme. Although Gerald Silk has written an important article on the shock tactics of this work and its relationship to Dali's work, this dissertation will add to some of his thoughts on this tableau. Since Silk only listed a few automobile images, it is important to expand Kienholz's symbolic use of the automobile.⁴⁰ Clearly, to Kienholz one of the American symbols is the car. In two of his early works it was a male status symbol. In two works of the same time frame as Back Seat Dodge '38 it became more of a symbol of American culture at large.

One of the first works in which Kienholz used wheels was John Doe (1959; fig. 46). The fact that mannequin parts are in a baby stroller instead of a car may seem to disqualify the work. However, in viewing two other works, the baby stroller is clearly a variant of the automobile.

⁴⁰In this comprehensive article with extensive footnotes, Silk did not discuss other automobile images and only listed a few other images: [Boy] Son of John Doe; Five Car Stud; three concept tableaux of the mid sixties, After the Ball is Over, Mayor Sam Edsel, The American Trip; and three works from the seventies. See Silk, "Ed Kienholz's 'Back Seat Dodge 38,'" 112-118, and 116 for list of automobile images.

As described earlier, John Doe is a mannequin divided into the top and bottom halves of the body. In the front of the stroller the torso has a gaping hole outlined by a star-shaped medal. The head is smeared with paint, and beneath the torso a sign reads as follows: "Why is John Doe like a piano? Answer: Because he is square, upright and grand.-- Old Soothe Saying." The bottom half of the mannequin abuts the torso and faces to the back of the stroller. It contains the other sign of male heroics--the hidden phallus. Conditioned from childhood in the stroller, the male plays out his roles. One of the child's main toys is the car. The fact that it is an early sexual symbol is seen in Kienholz's construction Lollypop Goes the Weasel (1962), where a bottle-shaped phallus pops up out of the hybrid car with wagon handle. Kienholz's title referring to a child's food and to an English traditional song of a chase ending with a kiss, is joined with the image of a toy car and a phallic bottle.

Kienholz continued the theme of child and man in a car in Boy, Son of John Doe (1962; fig. 80). Son of his first "companion pieces" John and Jane Doe, this work features two male mannequins back to back; the top portions of their bodies are merged into one body which is partially covered by a car. The single top half of the male body faces the steering wheel and his arms hang way over the sides of the car. One of the bottom halves is

dressed in a regular dress suit and the other half wears bathing trunks and flippers. The son either has not outgrown his toy or is ready for the real machine. Either way, the son, no matter how different his dress, has followed in the footsteps of his father.

In 1963 Kienholz began to write scripts for a series of tableaux similar to Oldenburg's proposals for monuments. Instead of a text with a drawing, he simply framed the literary concept for the future tableau. One concept was called After the Ball is Over #1 (1964). The description of a house, driveway with parked cars, and a couple on the front steps reads as if beginning a book. It is pertinent here to comment on Kienholz's predilection towards the book or a literary quality before relating the concept tableau to Back Seat Dodge '38 (fig. 50).⁴⁹

Automatic writing, revelation of dreams, and induced trances had been some of the first Surrealist methods to uncover the subconscious. Although Breton revolted against the historical novel form, one of his first concrete objects discovered in a dream was a book. As mentioned in chapter one, he had dreamed that he found in the market a wool-infested book whose spine was shaped as a gnome with an Assyrian beard. The wool obviously refers to a beard as well as to private sexual zones. Breton's concept of what

⁴⁹No other author has discussed the image of the book in Kienholz's work.

the new form of transcription should be is similar to what is found in Max Ernst's painting, Two Children Are Threatened by a Nightingale. As described earlier, the work's title on the frame, the door knob, and the swinging gate act like a book cover which opens to a mysterious scene with layered images alluding to potential scenes.

Kienholz was not interested in automatic writing and depictions of dreams or trances, but he was interested in fantasies carried out in a descriptive manner and in the use of text. In several of his early works he even used the shape of the book. In Ode to Kathy Fiscus (1962; fig. 81), the top half of a doll is hinged to the side of a small box which has an elaborate cover as if a bejeweled book; the box shape has a sheet metal border and its top cover is stained glass. Sandwiched between the stained glass and the gleaming aluminum foil backing are doll parts and toys, all of which total a depth of about three and a half inches. Kathy Fiscus was a by-product of the highway, a child left by the side of the road and later found clenched to the side of the highway fence.⁸⁰

The book shape is more subtle in two works of 1961, but in their use of steel wool and appendages they echo Breton's dream book. In Queen for a Day (fig. 82) the sheet metal box is divided into two sections. In the

⁸⁰For reference to Kathy Fiscus, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 2:326.

bottom half, paper covers two identical sections which look as if they form a book standing in the shallow box with its back two sides to the viewer. In the top section, the book shape is a rectangle with its base in a slight arch. This top section is filled with steel wool pads. Hanging down the middle of the whole, two-sectioned box is a triangular shape filled with bones and covered with wire mesh. By simply taking these three sections together, they resemble several things: a book with a marker stuffed among household chores; the back of a book with its wiry, hairy stuffing and bony parts hanging out; a two-paneled door with its tympanum and its shadow of the central portal statue of the queen; or the head, evenly divided torso, and pubic cover of a queen.

With this emphasis on the shape and contents of an opened book or a door to an enclosed space, it is easier to recognize the even more abstract reference to a book in Kienholz's box construction Night of Nights (1961; fig. 83). Again, the mannequin head is hinged to the side of the box shape, as in Ode to Kathy Fiscus (fig. 81). This time there is no doll, but rather a banded or masked mannequin head. There is no bejeweled cover or open book shape, only the contents of the book. The entire shallow box is stuffed with steel wool pads; the only break in this surface is the outline of a vertical post topped with an abstract eye shape from which hangs a tubelike shape.

On the top of the box and directly over the top of the eye-tube shapes--perhaps, a bird with long beak--is a triangular marker. As if wanting to conjoin Breton's wool-infested, gnome-spined book and Ernst's doors, covers, and gates leading to the nightingale, Kienholz made a relief which sings of the soothing, polishing, and breeding found in the marketplace. Kienholz was very aware of the sexual nature of steel wool, because one work by himself and Hopps made for the California art booth festival had been censored for its eroticism due to this material.⁵¹

These references to a story book and to its potential sexual contents are found in Kienholz's concept for a tableau, After the Ball is Over #1 (1964). As in the previous box constructions Queen for a Day and Night of Nights, darkness pervades the scene. A few images gradually emerge under various lights. Kienholz has stated that all of the windows of the house and the parked family car are to be painted black or mirrored so that the interiors are dark. The second car has its side door open and dome light on, but it is empty. At the front door the first human images appear; the teenage couple is just home from the dance. Inside the house a soft light illuminates the sleeping brother of the teenage girl and the wakeful mother. The concept tableau ends with the father in the

⁵¹For reference to censorship of steel wool object, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:93-94.

kitchen under an unshaded light bulb. As Kienholz stated, "He doesn't know why, but right now he hates the young man."⁵²

When Kienholz constructed his Back Seat Dodge '38 (1964; fig. 50), he seemed to fill in all the erotic details lacking in previous works. He again used the image of the automobile found in the three earlier box constructions and concept tableau. This time one could say that the son of John Doe and the teenage daughter are fulfilling their roles. In Motherwell's anthology he had included a page from New York Dada which had the notice on "Ventilation" from the Dada Taxi, Ltd.⁵³

More important is the similarity of Kienholz's work to Dali's taxi; this is primarily in the use of the scaffolding of the object of the automobile to hold the tableau. Both artists use heroic prototypes to elude a specific time frame. Dali's shark chauffeur is Columbus, the world traveller and discoverer of natural riches. Kienholz's male is the new Mr. America. While the beer bottles with the label of Olympia refer to Washington state, the label "Olympia" conjures up the Olympic Games,

⁵²Full documentation of the concept tableaux are in Hultén, Edward Kienholz. 11 + 11 Tableaux, unpaginated. Eight concepts had been shown earlier in the Washington Gallery of Modern Art exhibition in 1968.

⁵³For illustration, see Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 217.

an ancient site of male prowess. Furthermore, the work surpasses its locale through the license plate marked "C692/Everywhere U.S.A." But, unlike Dali's Rainy Taxi (fig. 4) where the image of the shark headed chauffeur and the blond female are seen in the windows, Kienholz's Dodge is first either seen shut tight as a book or with its side door open. That is, from the exterior the doors can be closed, the outside windows are darkened, and all the action is below the windows or underneath the cover. The clues to the contents of the interior are in two labels--Olympia beer bottle and license plate--and in two objects--feminine underclothing and racoon tail. From the front, the only display is the chicken wire covered window with the underclothing over the wiper and the furry tail on the antenna. From the rear, the only display is the license plate. From the two sides, only the beer bottles on the grass are hard clues.

Once the car door is opened, one scene leads to another, just as in Ernst's Two Children Are Threatened by a Nightingale. In the car the male figure made in chicken wire lies on top of the plaster cast female on the back seat of the Dodge. Their bodies merge into one chicken wire head which has a snapshot displaying their real sexual wishes. On this second level of action with the photograph, the spectator also has discovered himself in the mirrored windows so that the scene is further

enlarged. It is on this third level that Gerald Silk has discussed Kienholz's shock tactic of "reverse voyeurism."⁵⁴ Through the front window display and open door, and, then, the snapshot and the mirrored windows, Kienholz has represented or enlarged the idea of Dali's handmade photography of dreams. While Dali brought nature--the rain, lettuce, and snails--inside the taxi for a play of natural elements versus technology, Kienholz has brought the spectator inside to come in contact with and then "dodge" his own secret desires.

Gerald Silk has commented on Kienholz's use of the chicken wire for the male figure. Although Silk saw Kienholz's use probably stemming from his building materials at hand, he did note a precedent in the chicken wire mannequin: the use of a chicken wire mannequin in the window display by Duchamp and Enrico Donati for Breton's publication of his book Surrealism and Painting.⁵⁵

While this example is pertinent for the male figure, a better precedent for the entire mood of Back Seat Dodge '38 is the chicken wire inserted in the back cover of the

⁵⁴Although Silk also made the analogy of Kienholz's tableau with Dali's tableau, the previous ideas on the scaffolding of the automobile, the open and closed versions of the book/tableau, family relationships, and heroic types are my own.

⁵⁵The analogy of Kienholz's chicken wire figure with Duchamp's and Donati's window display is in Silk, "Edward Kienholz's 'Back Seat Dodge '38,'" 118, footnote 34.

Surrealist-oriented magazine VVV (New York) (fig. 84).⁸⁶ For two issues of the magazine in 1943 Duchamp and Kiesler collaborated on a back cover; the cutout of a woman's torso has a chicken wire inserted in its opening. Kienholz's front window was covered with chicken wire and had the woman's undergarment. Also seen through Duchamp's and Kiesler's wire mesh and cutout cover is a photograph of a woman's raised hands touching the wire and the fragment of the typography "Five Prizes." The photograph and the typography come from the inside of the back cover of the magazine. Kienholz had placed in the couple's head a collage of an erotic photograph in the center of a target, another prize-winning game.

VVV's inside cover announced the "Twin-Touch-Test." The subscribers were to place their hands on the inserted wire mesh and run them down the mesh covered nude. In an analysis of no more than one hundred words they were to answer the question: "Is it an unusual feeling of touch?" They were to explain their feelings. If the subscriber had no results, he could run the test with another participant. As Kienholz's spectators lean into the Dodge, they see themselves in the mirrored windows as if

⁸⁶For Duchamp's and Kiesler's cover and inside back cover, see VVV, nos. 2-3 (March 1943); also illustrated in Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, 377. Although I doubt that Kienholz knew the Surrealist-oriented magazines published in New York, such as View (1940-1946) and VVV (1942-1944), his attention to Duchamp's cover could have come from Walter Hopps's research on Duchamp.

physically engaging with the chicken wire male, shapely plastered female, and photograph. Mentally they are in the same position as Kienholz's couple and VVV's subscribers. In the Surrealist tradition Kienholz used the theme of the street via the automobile to free the spectator's imagination and desires from social repression. But he also pointed to the larger question of how we are two-faced on morality or do not face the issues.

The Theme of the New Grotto

Sidney Tillim was one of the first critics to state that the content of the new realism or Pop Art was based on the American dream.⁵⁷ This art was based on the post-war consumer's paradise of gleaming products, new brand names, and television and film icons. The material affluence of the sixties gained ground on the nostalgic junk effects of the assemblage artists. The new superceded the evocative signs of age.

Despite the fact of a highly sophisticated, urban technological society, there are signs in the work of Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal of the Surrealist theme of the grotto. In the 1938 Surrealist exhibition in Paris, Dali's Rainy Taxi (fig. 4) had led the way to the street of mannequins (fig. 5) which dead-ended into the central hall of the grotto (fig. 6). As described earlier, the

⁵⁷Tillim, "New York Exhibitions. Month in Review," 34-37.

grotto was the merging of nature and man-made architecture. The ceiling of the room covered with sacks of coal and the central lake on the floor set up a cavelike atmosphere with a burning brazier. In each of the four corners, man had intervened to place beds and to hang paintings on the walls. The objects on the walls and around the room set up a storeroom of memories, dreams, desires, and fears. The grotto was an enclosed storeroom, but it allowed views of different realities of the world. Just like Breton's shop Gradiva, the storeroom was filled with personal objects, fetishistic and fantastic objects, and objects with symbolic functions. The display of objects from different parts of Breton's life made the gallery a shrine to him. The grotto in the 1938 exhibition did not have one man's personal selection of objects, but the spectator could have found in the individual objects some of his own secret desires. Although there was neither a labyrinthine design with shrines to mysterious beings nor rites of initiation as in the 1947 exhibition, the spectator could have fantasized on the bed, warmed himself at the grill, and discovered himself deep in the pool. Through his dreams and revelations in the grotto, he also could build a shrine to himself based on his own memories.

Besides a storeroom and a shrine to the self, the grotto could become a place with echoes of Schwitters's Cathedral of Erotic Misery. In Schwitters's Merzbau one

column or grotto--Cathedral of Erotic Misery--stood for the whole environment. He had originally made about ten columns and had gradually transformed them into a geometric and then organic environment from 1919 to 1932. Although some of the columns changed, such as the Merz-column with the child's head on it, it is the content which is important.

John Elderfield has described this 1923 column, its changes by 1930, and its more obvious content (fig. 85). The column, which once was a clutter of collage material topped by the child's head, became a memorial. The now bare child's head was a cast from Schwitters's son who died in infancy. A horn standing in front and below the child's head looked as if it were the headless neck of a torso. The older column's figurine of a female squirrel was fragmented and only the tail formed the headless figure's penis. Overhead was Schwitters's collage Der erste Tag (The First Day). This collage of the putti and angels combined with the other sexually and violently suggestive torsos created a disturbing scene. Just below this shrine other objects were in a glazed box and in the vicinity was the caricature of a woman's head on the wall.⁸⁸

Grotte der Liebe (Big Love Grotto) held similar

⁸⁸John Elderfield, Kurt Schwitters, 158-159 and illustration nos. 162, 176-180.

sexually suggestive references. Schwitters had described it as follows:

The love grotto alone takes up approximately 1/4 of the base of the column; a wide outside stair leads to it, underneath which stands the female lavatory attendant of life in a long narrow corridor with scattered camel dung. . . . Shiny and broken objects set the mood. In the middle a couple is embracing: he had no head, she no arms; between his legs he is holding a huge blank cartridge. The big twisted-around child's head with syphilitic eyes is warning the embracing couple to be careful. This is disturbing, but there is reassurance in the little bottle of my own urine in which immortelles are suspended.⁸⁹

There are some forty different grottoes and in Schwitters's own account of the "KdeE" (the Cathedral of Erotic Misery) one gets closer to the themes of sex, violence, decay, death, and incidents such as "the disabled war veteran" and music organ, "the Cave of Murderers," "the Brothel," and "the Sex-Crime Cavern." As Schwitters wrote:

Each grotto takes its character from some principal components. There is the Nibelungen Hoard with the glittering treasure; . . . the submerged personal-union city of Braunschweig-Lüneburg with houses from Weimar by Feininger, Persil adverts, and with my design of the official emblem of the city of Karlsruhe; the Sex-Crime Cavern with an abominably mutilated corpse of an unfortunate young girl, painted tomato-red, and splendid votive offerings; the Ruhr district with authentic brown coal and authentic gas

⁸⁹For Schwitters's description, see *ibid.*, 159.

coke; an art exhibition with paintings and sculptures by Michelangelo and myself being viewed by a dog on a leash; . . . the organ, which you turn anti-clockwise to play "Silent Night, Holy Night" and "Come Ye Little Children"; the 10% disabled war veteran with his daughter . . . ; the brothel with the 3-legged lady by Hannah Hoech; and the great Grotto of Love.⁶⁰

In the sixties the grotto no longer was a cave, but it was a shrine of glorious dreams and obsessions as well as a shrine of disenchantment and failed dreams.

In the work of George Segal, the windows on the real and inner world are not paintings on the walls as in the Surrealist grotto. In Segal's work that mechanism is the window frame itself. In contrast to the Surrealists, Segal does not allow his windows to reveal a landscape depicting the human's mental life. The window tends to divide the spectator from the plaster figure behind the frame absorbed in his own life.

Occasionally, as in The Restaurant Window I (1967; fig. 79), a sense of personal contact is imminent but lost on the street. In this work, a large, two-paneled window separates a young woman at a restaurant table and a man on the street walking past the window. From the spectator's viewpoint, the two figures appear to be in each other's field of vision, but they in reality are immersed in their own thoughts. Segal was concerned with expressing the

⁶⁰Ibid., 161.

tension and fate of the two unconnecting figures. He made two other versions, the first with a film projected behind the seated woman. The film reiterated the intimacy of the woman with her own thoughts; she was placed in a restaurant, on a crowded subway platform, and in a sea of city lights.⁶¹

Actually, the most explicit analysis of Segal's play between interior and exterior walls paralleling inner psychological space and outward physical appearance came in this same scene for a public commission in Buffalo in the mid seventies.⁶² There, he added a third figure of a woman leaning against the brick wall next to the large window. Therefore, the interior thoughts of the woman in the restaurant seem to be mirrored in the man walking past the window and towards the woman quietly leaning against the outer wall. Although stripped of the mannered hand gestures, Segal's woman at the restaurant window seems to be wistful and passive like Paul Delvaux's nudes in public

⁶¹Jan van der Marck has discussed the different versions of this work and stated that it was related psychologically to The Diner; see van der Marck, George Segal, plates 72-76 with description on pp. 136, 139. Phyllis Tuchman only mentioned the work from the viewpoint of a commission; see Tuchman, George Segal, 91-92.

⁶²In an interview on The Restaurant (1976) for the Federal Office Building in Buffalo, Segal acknowledged the "tender territory" of inner and outer space with physical and psychological states; see Christopher B. Crossman and Nancy C. Miller, "Conversation with George Segal," Gallery Studies 1 (Buffalo: Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, 1977), 15.

places.⁶³ Yet Segal does not provide illustrations of her sexual visions as Delvaux. If those visions are there, they are intuited on the part of the spectator because of Segal's careful choice and arrangement of figures.

Segal's tableau The Dry Cleaning Store (1964; fig. 86) again places the dream in a window. Segal knew of Grace Hartigan's painting Grand Street Brides (c. 1957; fig. 87), where she placed de Kooning-esque mannequins in a storefront window. Instead of several white plastered figures, Segal chose only one disembodied bridal dress in plaster. The dress, having undergone the one hour cleaning, is pure again and soon to be closeted; it is displayed in the window lighted by the flashing neon sign telling of the instant process and backed by a brilliant blue ground. In front of the window is a stout woman leaning over the counter and checking off the laundry list.⁶⁴ Her male counterpart is the figure who leans over the slot machine in Gottlieb's Wishing Well (1963; fig. 88). His window on the world is lighted by the garish

⁶³Connolly had illustrated the work of Delvaux and commented on the more academic but imaginative work of Dali, Magritte, and Delvaux; see "Surrealism," 160.

⁶⁴Although Tuchman mentioned Hartigan's painting in relationship to Segal's interest in a de Kooning-esque synthesis of realism and abstraction, she did not relate the subject of the painting to his 1964 tableau; see Tuchman, George Segal, 16, 47. Van der Marck stated that Segal saw the woman as a guardian of the new bride; see van der Marck, George Segal, plate 13 with description p. 57.

blinking lights of the pinball machine.⁶⁵ Rather than fantasies, Segal's dreams are real. They deal with life's rituals and games, the expectations of these patterns, and the loss of purity.

The window with the bridal dress and the cleaning facility set up an ambivalent feeling about the potential function of the store as the urban grotto of dreams and desires. In general, Segal's work does allow an analogy with the grotto as a shrine to the self. His intention is made clear in his early version of Ruth in her Kitchen (1964). He placed the woman at her table surrounded by her environment of minutiae, mementoes, and fresh changes of flowers. In the second version, he stripped down Ruth's environment because he could not deal with her "labyrinthine tracks."⁶⁶ The environment began as a shrine to Ruth and ended as Segal's own type of space. While in this work Segal's austere space is primarily an artistic choice, his personal space is more evident in his tableau The Butcher Shop (1965; fig. 89).

⁶⁵This is my own comparison between the male and female rituals. Both Tuchman and van der Marck discussed the tableau from a formal viewpoint. Tuchman noted the title made an ironic reference to the Abstract Expressionist paintings of Adolph Gottlieb; see Tuchman, George Segal, 31. In contrast, Kaprow stated that the title referred to the manufacturer's name for the pinball machine; see Kaprow, "Segal's vital mummies," 31.

⁶⁶Van der Marck discussed both versions, but he did not call it a shrine; see van der Marck, George Segal, plates 53-54 with description p. 114.

Whereas Breton had cherished his objects laden with associations in his gallery, Segal enshrined the idea of his family in the storefront window. Although only his mother is seen at the butcher block, she stands also for Segal's father, who had recently died. From the side view, the woman quietly goes about her daily activity of wielding the knife at the butcher block. From a frontal view, the starkness of the all black interior, the white forms of the woman and the dead chickens, and the ironwork set up a scene packed with ritual and personal confrontation. The racks with meat hooks set up a structure where a woman with raised knife is pitted against a hanging, dead chicken; the arrow-sharp ends of the racks frame the woman's head just as the meat hook holds the slaughtered chicken. The vertical post has a handsaw swinging over the heap of dead chickens below. Whereas a Jewish person would understand the ritual of killing, preparation, and cleaning as an act of obedience to God, another spectator might see the act in another way. The scene could symbolize the balance between life and death, between the functioning and nonfunctioning of the mind, or between the family and individual ego.⁶⁷

⁶⁷Tuchman is the most specific in relating the work to Jewish law; see Tuchman, George Segal, 11-12. Van der Marck mentioned that Segal wanted the work to be as disciplined as a Mondrian painting and also that Segal's father had to settle for his son being an art teacher; see van der Marck, George Segal, plate 49 with description p. 108.

Segal has spoken about the change from the extended family of the Depression and World War II era to the emphasis on individual ego in the fifties.⁶⁸ In the early sixties, he had stated that he found himself in an angry mood in which he felt the future was inflexible. On the surface, his anger evolved around conflicts he saw in his own art of human concern versus synthetic, commercial images; he also saw the conflict of the hedonism of rock music versus the development of major United States involvement in the Vietnam War. He wanted to express the "tension, confrontation, urgency with one's own feelings, no respect for models, competition, anger and no talk."⁶⁹

Segal chose to create a work where six figures are in various colored costumes at a party; however, their psychological states are made evident in their varying positions. William Seitz and José L. Barrio-Garay have identified the various figures in The Costume Party (1965; figs. 90-93).⁷⁰ Seitz suggested in 1972 that Segal had in mind certain Shakespearean and contemporary film

⁶⁸Tuchman, George Segal, 12.

⁶⁹Quotation from major catalogue essay on The Costume Party, among other works; see José L. Barrio-Garay, The Private World of George Segal (Milwaukee: Art History Galleries, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1973), n.p.

⁷⁰The analysis of this work with full illustrations of all versions is in this major four page essay; see *ibid.* See also Seitz, Segal, 18-19.

characters which he used to explore psychic states in a Surrealist vein. Barrio-Garay in 1973 further explored this analysis and added other literary references, such as Shaw's Man and Superran, Nietzsche, and a Sioux Indian's account called Black Elk Speaks. Between 1965 and 1972 Segal changed some of the masks and colors of the figures, but the greatest change was the varying positions of the characters. First, there will be a description of Seitz's and Barrio-Garay's analyses; then, there will be this writer's perceptions on the work. These new thoughts will include how this tableau fits the theme of the grotto as a shrine to the self.

Segal's work basically involves three males and three females. One of the central figures is Superman, the comic strip character dressed in red or blue with a medallion on his chest with his inserted photograph; he once wore a buckled penis. He is from the same extended family as Kienholz's John Doe (fig. 46) who wore a star-shaped medallion on his chest. Barrio-Garay has identified Segal with this double character--Clark Kent/Superman; both wield the order of matter and space and control their own environment and values. The second male is an authoritarian figure generally wearing an ass head whom Seitz compared to the weaver Bottom in Shakespeare's A

Midsummer Night's Dream.⁷¹ As a priest, the green, white or blue figure weaves his own webs and believes in the ultimate power of his own judgments or condemnations. The third male is Marc Anthony, Cleopatra's mate. He no longer wears his Roman helmet, but he still has a holster and cartridge belt. Cleopatra, once wearing an Egyptian necklace, has remained in contemporary clothing. Originally gilded in silver, now white, the male and female figures from Shakespeare's tragedy of Anthony and Cleopatra remain prostrate, lying apart but against one another on the floor. Together in their contemporary clothing, they represent the cyclical theme of pleasure and violence, dissolution and death. Pussy Galore is the second woman and is from Ian Fleming's novel Goldfinger. Dressed in black motorcycle garb, she represents the mannish, violent pilot of the villain Goldfinger. The third female is Segal's own character invention, Cat Woman, who has been red, white or yellow. Although once wearing a feather mask, she always remains like a cat in her graceful, tense, shy, and explosive moods.

Barrio-Garay has discussed Segal's acknowledgment of Shaw's Man and Superman. With Bottom and Superman standing opposite each other and over Anthony and Cleopatra on the

⁷¹A Dadaist who liked Shakespeare was Johannes Baader. Dawn Ades illustrated a photograph of Baader in a Shakespearean costume; see Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, 77.

floor and with the auxiliary figures of Pussy Galore and Cat Woman, Barrio-Garay saw the work as a statement on the battle of the sexes and on the nature of superior woman and man. In Shaw's play a dream sequence takes place in hell. Barrio-Garay saw Segal's hero as facing that "hellish situation in which the others feel at home and where everything is amateurism and historical role playing." On another level, he saw Segal's Superman like Nietzsche who lives above "slave morality" because of a "free and strong will, creative power and sublimation." Given the conditions of the Vietnam War, Segal's own developing work on the themes of love and death, and his reading of the Sioux holy man's allegory of man with the four corners and colors of the universe, Barrio-Garay believed that the meaning of The Costume Party changed. The open metaphor of direct opposition of characters and values changed to a statement of striving for human oneness.

Barrio-Garay's analysis, particularly Segal's concern with contemporary political events, is correct. However, Segal did touch on a possible connection with Surrealism which should be further explored. The Surrealists wanted to incorporate in their work the spirit of the pleasure principle. In the broadest sense this spirit was not oriented to just mad love, but also to attempts to reconcile the subjective nature of man and the objective nature of the world. Eroticism was used as a constructive

and destructive force. The Surrealists projected their desire on things and beings and used objects as vehicles of their sexual fantasies. For example, in the grotto of the 1938 exhibition, Marcel Jean chose an object which was a substitute for a living person. The mannequin was a new being and when dressed, as were the mannequins on the street into the grotto, it could reveal man's joys and fears. In Marcel Jean's Horoscope (1937), he painted a dressmaker's dummy as if it were a topographical contour map; he united the female body with the curves, slopes, and shapes of the earth. In the same grotto was Oscar Dominquez's object Jamais. In a more manipulative or perverse approach he combined a woman with a record player; here, the only body parts are two legs which stick out of the gramophone and the hand as the pickup arm of the turntable.

The Surrealists also had a love for legendary creatures who combined human and animal traits, as the unicorn, minotaur, siren, and vampire. They were fascinated with popular heroes such as Superman and Fantomas, opposites in character; both could achieve the marvelous at night or during the day. In the forties Breton also began to speak of new mythical beings who were

camouflaged and on a higher plane than ordinary man.⁷²

Segal never was a Surrealist, but he came from the Abstract Expressionist tradition which did build upon the mythical base of the Surrealists. In search for a new content the Abstract Expressionists, such as Rothko, first adopted mythological subject matter because of its tragic undercurrent. For others, the self-discovery came in the event of painting itself. As if to strike a balance between the extreme fantasy of the Surrealists and the later development of the Abstract Expressionists away from references to traditional myths, Segal chose to stage a real contemporary event, the costume party, involving the change of role and the exploration of the self.

Both Segal and the critics have commented on the nightmarish quality of The Costume Party. This mood is mostly due to his uncharacteristic addition of color to his sculpture at that time and to the mix of real and fictitious characters. Bottom, Superman, Cat Woman, and Pussy Galore obviously fulfill the Surrealist desire for extraordinary man, legendary animallike creatures or newly

⁷²In Documents Robert Desnos had written an article "Imagerie Moderne" on popular modern epics, such as Fantômas and Nick Carter; see Documents, no. 7 (December 1929). Covers of Fantômas were illustrated in that issue and in Documents, no. 1 (1930). The table of "The Classification Concerning the Present Day Relative Attractions of Various Characters in Mythology and Legend" appeared in VVV, no. 1 (June 1942), 62-63. Breton discussed the "Great Invisibles" in his "Prolegomena to a Third Manifesto of Surrealism or Else," VVV, no. 1 (June 1942), 18-26.

camouflaged beings. But Segal has provided not so much a frightening dream as an updated discourse on those Surrealist passions of the night.⁷⁹ The Surrealists had used the analogies of the sun trap, the cage of the moon, and murder at dawn--the sun pierced as if an eye--as momentary defenses against tragedy, as a critique of habitual thought, and as a desire for deeper illumination. The symbol of the androgyne as an hourglass exemplified the sexual catalysis of man and woman into ultimate union. The eclipse of the day was the culmination of the sexual dream where the id brought to a point love and death, Eros and Thanatos; one version was suicide.

In Segal's tableau the various groupings from 1965-72 (figs. 90-93) all center upon the lovers Marc Anthony and Cleopatra. No matter where the rest of the characters are positioned, this couple represents pleasure and violence within their own sexual beings and in the world at large. Yet, Segal did not show them coupling in a Surrealist fashion as an hourglass; rather he made them realistic and lethargic as they drift apart to ultimate dissolution and death, even suicide. The implication of their positions is echoed in the Surrealist grotto of 1938; there, Masson's painting The Death of Ophelia had hung over the elaborate but empty bed next to the reflective pond or black lake.

⁷⁹For André Masson's drawing La Passion pour La Nuit, see VVV, no. 1 (June 1942), 27.

Segal's "traps" are the characters' costumes. They take on roles which snare them into thought patterns, as cyclical as the shapes of the moon. Seeking for deeper illumination of his psychological fears, Segal pits Superman against a priestly type who lacks the creative powers of the seer.

As William Seitz only intimated, Segal's tableau is like a happening. What he meant was that there was no explicit plot. He also could have said that the five versions from 1965-72 were like self-contained, contiguous compartments connected only by the repeating characters. The version rarely noted is Segal's lining up of the characters in a straight row when the work was shown for the second time at Princeton University.⁷⁴ This second type of grouping obviously reminds one of Kienholz's advertisement for this tableau Roxys.

In the different versions, Segal did not seek so much an ultimate union of the sexes as an understanding of his own self, himself as a sexual, creative being. As Segal stated to Barrio-Garay, he came to realize that the three males were self-surrogates. By examining the four published versions, this new type of self-observation or shrine to the self can be substantiated.

In the first version of 1965 (fig. 90), Segal set up the classic opposition of super man and woman to ordinary

⁷⁴Jan van der Marck is the only one to point out this version; see George Segal, 113.

human-animal beings. The animal headed male in institutional or ancient dress faces off with Superman in his individual garb. To the right of Bottom is the ordinary woman in her feline costume. She diagonally opposes super woman Pussy Galore in her twentieth century motorcycle dress; Pussy Galore stands to the right of Superman. After the Princeton showing, the third version of 1967 (fig. 91) shows the ordinary priest opposing Superman, who is supported to his right and left by the most female Cat Woman and the mannish Pussy Galore. Yet the conflict is in both the opposition of ordinary man to Superman and in the internal division Superman sets up between the feminine and male types of woman. In the fourth version of 1970 (fig. 92), ordinary man without a headdress faces Superman without his buckled-on penis; off to the right side of Superman and outside the usual enclosing group are the two women side by side. Supported from the outside by the united female and male versions of womanhood, Bottom and Superman strip off their manifest sexuality. In the final version of 1972 (fig. 93), Bottom with his headdress back on faces the lineup of Superman internally supported by Pussy Galore and Cat Woman, side by side to his right.

Barrio-Garay believed that The Costume Party is an ongoing statement on art, pleasure and morality, comedy and tragedy, and the human condition. The tableau could be

read in more specific terms primarily in two ways. The first reading is the exploration of the artist for his creative powers. Creation is implied in the coupling of Marc Anthony and Cleopatra. The aspects of this tenuous search take place on the level above the couple. These are his mastery over institutions, his internal conflicts manifested by the division of the aggressive and passive women, his fear of the loss of the powers of creation evidenced by the lack of sexual oppositions, and his hope of the completion and renewal of force against institutions as seen in the last version.

Segal on another level comments on sexual being and its contemporary manifestations. He told one interviewer that the tableau concerned the many phases between man and woman.⁷⁵ In the sixties rock music with explicit gestures and lyrics reached new heights. Newly acknowledged in some circles were the birth control pill, open nonmarital habitation, and lesbian and homosexual tendencies. In The Costume Party, it is the women who mostly change their positions. Besides showing the opposition of feminine to masculine types of women, they individually support ordinary man or Superman, divide themselves showing either their aggressive or nonaggressive support, independently support each other and the men, or stand united by their Superman.

⁷⁵Tuchman, George Segal, 58.

There are other individual tableaux which support this second reading of The Costume Party. These works tend to fall under the category of lovers on a bed and introduce the grotto as a site of love and death. In the same year when Segal began The Costume Party (1965-72), he treated an earlier theme of the Couple on a Bed (1965). Whereas Marc Anthony had his head on Cleopatra's lap while she sat up gazing into space, here, the pensive man sits on the side of the bed with his back turned to the relaxed woman lying down. Segal has remarked that friends' marriages at that time were undergoing strain, because the men had their artistic professions on their minds and could not give the women the physical and mental support they desired. It is interesting to see that in 1976, after a decade of the activity of women's rights, Segal reversed the images of the man and the woman. In 1962 Segal had begun the theme with a nude couple on a bench; one of the man's arms touches the woman's shoulder and the woman slightly shifts forward to return the gesture with her hand on his knee. In that same year the couple on the bed posed in an embrace; again, the woman seems the more dominant in her sheltering position. As if taking the progression one step further as he had done with the variations of The Costume Party, Segal cast The Girl Friends (1969) showing the intimate friendship of two nude women sitting on a bed. In 1980 the couple on the bench

and the figures touching and facing each other were displayed in Gay Liberation.⁷⁶

Although Segal does not show violent, erotic scenes or misery as implied in Schwitters's title for one of his columns, Cathedral of Erotic Misery, he does demonstrate aspects of Eros which do not conform to the classic dream of the total union of male and female. As in The Costume Party, these figures have their own alliances and personal boundaries. Also, as mentioned in connection with The Diner (1964-66; fig. 77) and The Restaurant Window I (1967; fig. 79), there is a tension in these works as to the potential chance meeting or confrontation. In 1967 Segal set up the tableau The Motel Room (fig. 94) where the results of a chance meeting is intimated. Yet, it could be any bedroom scene of a man standing over the bed with the woman's head buried in the covers. Scorn, loss of self-respect and dignity, rejection and displacement are fears which are intimated or masked by the jockeying of positions of the individual characters in The Costume Party. They are openly displayed between a couple in this tableau of the late sixties.

⁷⁶For Segal's remarks about marriages in the sixties, see description of Couple on a Bed in van der Marck, George Segal, 106. The revised position of the male and female in the 1976 version Blue Girl on Black Bed is in the collection of Sidney and Francis Lewis, Richmond, Virginia. For the couple in Lovers on Bench and Lovers on a Bed (1962), see: *ibid.*, 75 and 68, respectively. For the suggestion of a lesbian friendship in The Girl Friends, see *ibid.*, plate 105 with description p. 168.

The image of the bedroom reappears in Oldenburg's work. Similar to Segal's use, Oldenburg's image belongs to the theme of the new grotto. As first described, the Surrealist grotto was the merging of nature and man-made architecture, for example, the four beds beside the lake. Although there will be a discussion of Oldenburg's Bedroom Ensemble (1963; figs. 95-96) in another phase of the grotto, it is important to place it in this first natural and man-made environment.

Oldenburg's tableau is based on a California motel of the late forties which had suites decorated in the skins of particular exotic animals.⁷⁷ Although Segal's furniture in his motel room (fig. 94) had a veneer of cherished wood glued to its structures, the furniture still resembled a thoroughly man-made environment. In contrast, Oldenburg chose the animal skins of tiger, zebra, and leopard and marbleized patterns for the bed's backboard, covers and pillars, chairs, lamp shades, and dresser. Rather than real animal skins or marble, he chose their fakes in contemporary, manufactured, synthetic materials as vinyl and formica. In the formica the texture and pattern of the marble is photographed texture; its black and white, blue and silver colors are repeated

⁷⁷Barbara Rose described the tableau; see Claes Oldenburg, 93-94. Bedroom Ensemble was shown at the Sidney Janis Gallery, New York, in 1964. Rose made no comparisons with other examples of art. Oldenburg was in California from September 1963 to March 1964.

throughout the room. Contrary to Segal's scene with a man and a woman, human presence is only implied through the leopard coat on the zebra sofa, a purse on the chair, the rearranged throw pillows on the bed, the half opened dresser drawers with men's shirts, the reflections of any spectator in the dresser mirror, and the general transformation from natural to manufactured materials.

The fact that Oldenburg made the naturally soft bed and sofa hard and covered them with the fake animal fur does not strongly ally this tableau to such Surrealist objects as Meret Oppenheim's Fur Covered Cup, Saucer and Spoon (1936). In that work, which was illustrated by Connolly, the change from a texture of one animal form placed on a totally different form as a utensil is much more drastic. In the 1952 Art News article on Surrealism, the editors also had shown the success of Surrealism in advertising. One of the illustrations (fig. 97) was a page from a furrier's catalogue of the late twenties; it showed a decorated room which matched the design of the fur clothed, fashionable woman.⁷⁰ In the dark room a strong pattern of light showed the woman against a wall covered with an animal pattern, a table with one animal-human leg, and a strange elliptical opening floating in the background which also had an exotic pattern. Now conditioned by such advertising and the safari look in the

⁷⁰Connolly, "Surrealism," 161.

decorator's oeuvre, the spectator of the sixties, perhaps, was not taken by surprise by Oldenburg's surfaces.

What is strange is that everything is hard and distorted. Based on furniture advertisements with extreme foreshortening in the Los Angeles Times, Oldenburg decided to build the furniture at an angle of single vanishing point.⁷⁹ Depending on the spectator's position, objects appear very long or very short. Although the mirror on the dresser might seem to be the stabilizing force for the spectator, it also distorts. What becomes extraordinary is this coupling of the geometric configurations with the organic patterns.

Just as the original Surrealist grotto had windows or pictures on the world, Oldenburg's new grotto had paintings on the walls, only this time they were in the manner of Jackson Pollock. As he has related in his 1967 homage to Pollock, ". . . I made The Bedroom as a demonstration of my necrophilia." California yardgoods simulating the automatic pouring technique of Pollock made the new pseudo-Pollocks. As in the Surrealist grotto with Masson's painting of the inner world, love is combined with death. For in his Bedroom Ensemble, Oldenburg wanted

⁷⁹When Barbara Rose originally reviewed "Four Environments" by Rosenquist, Dine, Segal (Cinema) and Oldenburg at the Janis Gallery, she found the content and angled furniture reminiscent of German films of the twenties and placed only in parentheses the note that Oldenburg's happenings have this same spirit; see Rose, "New York Letter," Art International, 8 (April 1964): 53.

to make this point: ". . . I intended at the time to use Pollock as a symbol of Life, and his reproduction, removal by counterfeit and photography, as the symbol of Death."⁸⁰

In 1960 in his notes Oldenburg had written: "The grotto form is my particular way. . . ."⁸¹ Since projection into deep space was important for him, he had begun to draw displays seen in store windows. The sheet of paper was essentially a window with the objects seen through the glass. While this focus on food, clothes, and household items of all types is part of Oldenburg's desire to show the American obsession with possession, he also had in mind the appropriate storeroom for these objects. Something like an image of a cave with its heavily encrusted surfaces and irregularly molded shapes and dripping walls would match the proliferation of the consumer objects hanging in the store windows or setting in the home. Inherent in the realization of commercial objects hanging on the crowded walls was perhaps the idea of investing the objects with a primitive mystery. After a decade of abstraction, Oldenburg wanted to revitalize the

⁸⁰Quotations are from Oldenburg's statement for "Jackson Pollock: An Artist's Symposium, Part 2," 67. Also see Oldenburg's statement for the IX Bienal, São Paulo (1967) where he described the bedroom as a "rational tomb"; reprinted in Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 193. Rose did not connect Oldenburg's statement about Pollock to the bedroom scene.

⁸¹Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 189.

object. The first version of his environment The Store was in a group exhibition, "Environments, Situations, Spaces," at the Martha Jackson Gallery in 1961. Rather than an enclosure, The Store (fig. 98) took the form of a three-part mural in the stairwell and in front of the gallery where the reliefs hung freely in space.⁸²

The Store as an natural and man-made grotto really took place when Oldenburg changed his studio on East Second Street into a semi-realistic storefront. Combined with the original hanging reliefs were over fifty new items, recreations of articles he saw everyday from the clothing stores on Orchard Street to the delicatessens on Second Avenue. Originally like giant watercolors of advertisements from newspapers, the reliefs were constructed of plaster on chicken wire and muslin and splattered and painted over with cheap enamel. The reliefs' organic quality particularly came not only from the paint and the molding of the forms over the armature but also from their fragmented nature. The reliefs were really shop signs showing parts of the objects, but they were also layered and spread in space. Although the reliefs from the environment are now dispersed in fragments, they never were total depictions. Numerical prices merged with the objects; children's dresses blew

⁸²For the first version as a three-part mural, see *ibid.*, 64.

against each other as if in the wind; arms and legs with their coverings were separate. The three-dimensional, splattered objects of food and clothing ranged from pie slices, roasts, and cans of anchovies to gym shoes and shirts with ties. Their placement on shelves, tables, the floor, and in windows allowed these organic duplicates of manufactured objects to merge with man-made architecture.

One of the free standing objects was the Bride Mannikin (fig. 99) based on those from bridal shops of the Lower East Side. Reminiscent of Segal's bride dress in The Dry Cleaning Store (1964; fig. 86), Oldenburg's bride was enshrined in the store because of her human scale. Her predecessors had been those figureheads from storefronts which Oldenburg had drawn in Provincetown in 1960. One drawing of the figureheads had the words "in my cave" written across it.⁶³ The fact that the bride is the only mannequin and derived from a window display which faces on the street should not be overlooked. One of the mannequins on the Surrealist street leading to the grotto was Kurt Seligmann's bridal veiled mannequin (fig. 5).⁶⁴ Although Oldenburg's environment The Store was filled with a

⁶³Rose connected the Bride Mannikin with the bridal shops. Although she illustrated the drawing of the figureheads with the script "in my cave," she did not further connect it to the Bride Mannikin; see *ibid.*, 60, 67.

⁶⁴Seligmann's bride was illustrated in the 1952 Art News article; see Connolly, "Surrealism," 154.

multitude of different objects of desire, he did not consciously use the Surrealist device of juxtaposition to create disturbing images. But he did place the only mannequin--a symbol of pure dream--among a grotto made up of her household objects. Barbara Rose has rightfully noted that Oldenburg's environment was ". . . the 'temple' of money, the appropriate shrine of a materialistic culture."⁸⁵

In order to understand Oldenburg's shrine to materialistic culture, it is first important to briefly review the social and economic situation of the United States in the fifties and early sixties. Marty Jezer has written a provocative analysis of life in the United States after World War II to the beginning of the sixties.⁸⁶ Jezer has stated that since the United States continent emerged from the war physically untouched, it had the opportunity to set itself up as the supreme economic power. The period of 1945 to 1960 began with the

⁸⁵ For Rose's quotation, see Claes Oldenburg, 64. She did not discuss the sociological and cultural background of her statement.

⁸⁶ In subsequent discussions, I have used this provocative sociological analysis; see Marty Jezer, The Dark Ages. Life in the United States 1945-1960 (Boston: South End Press, 1982). During the sixties, Jezer worked for Crowell-Collier Education Corporation and was the editor of the Merit Student Encyclopedia. He also contributed many articles to magazines ranging from The New Republic and The Saturday Review to Mother Earth. References to the works of Segal, Oldenburg, and Kienholz are my own.

conflict of two men's forecast for the next century. Henry Luce, publisher of Life, Fortune, and Time magazines had predicted in 1941 the coming of "The American Century." He foresaw the rise of American capitalism and the United States as the leader of world trade and investment potentials all over the world. In 1942, Henry Wallace responded with his idea of "The Century of Common Man" which promoted the United States indirectly through trade and public works. With the exception of the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, Jezer believed Luce's analysis of the United States' power and prosperity through direct influence was more accurate.⁸⁷ To reinforce Americanism and anti-Communist ideology, the newsreel at times can be seen as a propagandist tool. Publisher Henry Luce was instrumental with his newsreel "March of Time" (1931-51), but there were others which also used, in Luce's words, "fakery in allegiance to truth."⁸⁸

On the home front, what essentially happened was that corporate values were substituted for traditional patterns and values. Accelerated by the war and post-war ideology, the economy became controlled by corporations. The population began to spread itself just outside the city in indistinguishable suburban landscapes. The superhighway,

⁸⁷Ibid, 18-19, 21, 75.

⁸⁸Ibid., 91-92.

as evidenced in Segal's work, became the dominant symbol of streamlined America. Some cities as Los Angeles completely depended on the highway, as reflected in Kienholz's Boy, Son of John Doe (1962; fig. 80). By 1961 the Pacific Electric Railway of Los Angeles, serving the largest inter-urban area in the country, was liquidated by General Motors and Standard Oil of California. Also, rural America began to die and mom and pop neighborhood businesses gave way to supermarkets.⁸⁹

In 1946, Life magazine reported that it ". . . finds the United States on the threshold of marvels, ranging from runless stockings and shineless serge suits to jet-propelled airplanes that will flash across the country in just a little less than the speed of sound. . . ."⁹⁰ Besides military spending, industry beginning in the fifties began to pay more for advertising than the public across the nation invested on schools.⁹¹ Since Social Security and unemployment insurance were available and the post-war boom was in progress, businesses began their hard sell credit campaigns. For example, the Diners Club card was established in 1950, followed by American Express and

⁸⁹Ibid., 110, 141.

⁹⁰Ibid., 119.

⁹¹Ibid., 123.

Bank Americard by 1959.⁹²

Because of puritan ethics, people had to be told how to feel good about spending money. Sociological and psychoanalytic techniques came into the field of advertising. David Riesman, author of The Lonely Crowd which was one of the best selling books in 1950, had divided social character into three types. The goal of the tradition-directed person was communal harmony versus the inner-directed type who in John Wayne fashion persistently and confidently set his goals for self-fulfillment, no matter what the obstacles were. The other-directed person was influenced by his peers and obeyed authority in changing securely with the times. Some advertisers believed in the peer pressure approach while others thought the consumer was still inner-directed. In order to understand these basic human drives, a Viennese Freudian psychologist, Ernst Dichter, began his Motivational Research Institute in 1946. In 1957 subliminal advertising was successfully tried out in a New Jersey movie theater. This one particular conditioning technique was stopped, but subtle peer pressure and sexual symbolism in advertisements continued.⁹³ In television sales alone, approximately sixty-seven percent of Americans had at

⁹²Ibid., 125-126.

⁹³Ibid., 111, 125-129.

least one television set; by 1960 the figure rose to eighty-seven percent. Ironically, television not only entertained the people, but advertising on television reinforced their sense of community as consumers. As one writer stated, "Men who never saw or knew one another were held together by their common use of objects so similar that they could not be distinguished even by their owners. . . . Never before had so many people been united by so many things."⁹⁴

In the supermarkets some of these common items were snacks. Between 1955 and 1965 the USDA reported that milk and its products and fruits and vegetables traded places with soft drinks, potato chips, cookies, crackers, doughnuts, and candy. On the shelf, the managers cared how the product looked, not its nutritional value.⁹⁵ As suspected, management techniques, including chain stores, had not only standardized the marketplace but also had infiltrated farming. With the growth of agribusiness, small farms were no longer solvent. By 1960 there were more people in urban slums than living on farms. Between 1948 and 1960 more than one million owner-operated family farms disappeared.⁹⁶

⁹⁴Ibid., 129-133; quotation, 133.

⁹⁵Ibid., 171.

⁹⁶Ibid., 155-160.

The white professional class and corporate executives, and, then, the working classes, fled the city for the suburbs and private land. The black sharecropper from the South, Mexican-American farm laborers, new immigrants from Puerto-Rico, and depressed miners from Appalachia shifted to their places in the inner cities and white neighborhoods. In trying to answer the housing problems, the city planners decided to clear the slums and in doing so killed off neighborhood culture and street life.⁹⁷

In 1962, Lewis Mumford wrote his book, The Urban Prospect, which did not favor the steel and glass box architectural designs of such buildings as the Lever House (1952) in New York and the assembly line housing projects.

As he stated:

Whatever people made of their cities in the past, they expressed a viable unity that bound together, in ever more complex form, the cumulative life of the community. Today a rigid mechanical order takes the places of social diversity, and endless assembly-line urban units automatically expand the physical structure of the city while destroying the contents and meaning of city life. The paradox of this period of rapid "urbanization" is that the city is being effaced.⁹⁸

In 1946 Life magazine had announced that the ultimate

⁹⁷Ibid., 178-185.

⁹⁸Jezer quoted Mumford; see *ibid.*, 176.

"Dream House" lasting forever would cost \$75,000. At that time, a hamburger, a milk-shake, or a movie cost about a quarter and a soda pop was no more than seven cents. By 1955, at the height of the suburban building, a family could have a prefabricated home on private land. However, a major corporation for manufacturing building and insulation products advertised with the following message: "Will your home be obsolete . . . even before you move in?"⁹⁹

At the end of the war the suburbs were for the most part rural, with pasture and forests within the skyline of the city. In 1960 Bennett Berger studied the auto workers in suburbia and made this comment:

The myth of suburbia fosters an image of a homogenous and classless American without a trace of ethnicity but fully equipped for happiness by the marvelous productivity of American industry: the ranch house with the occupied two-car garage, the refrigerator and freezer, the washer and dryer, the garbage disposal and the built-in range and dishwasher, the color TV and the hi-fi stereo. Suburbia: its lawns trim, its driveways clean, its children happy on its curving streets and in its pastel schools. Suburbia, California-style, is America.¹⁰⁰

Even though over half of the suburban residents after the mid fifties came from the working class, the idea of

⁹⁹Ibid., 189, 192.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 176.

the suburbs was that it was the exclusive domain of the upwardly mobile organization man. Even though the rural towns and working class suburbs tried to maintain ties with their extended families on the weekends, the white collar administrator, wed to organizational values rather than to tradition, was the model for the life style.

As Jezer has written, this suburban myth was perpetuated in situation comedies during the fifties. First on radio and then transferred to television, the situation comedies of the forties and early fifties covered all ethnic types: blacks in "Amos and Andy," the Jewish segment in "The Goldbergs," the Italo-Americans in "Life with Luigi," the Irish in "The Life of Riley," and the Swedish-Americans in "I Remember Mama." The archetypal, suburban middle class, nuclear family on television was the Anglo-Saxon Anderson family of "Father Knows Best." In this family comedy life was centered around the home where Robert and Margaret were always smiling. Their son even asked one morning at the breakfast table, "Why don't you ever fight, bicker and quarrel?"¹⁰¹

As Barbara Rose has stated, Oldenburg's environment The Store was a shrine to the materialistic culture which has been just described. But if the new grotto was also a shrine to the self, as indicated in the work of Segal, how did Oldenburg construct this metaphor? The problem is that

¹⁰¹Ibid., 192-199; quotation, 197.

Oldenburg believed that the "self is generally denied in U.S. culture."¹⁰² Jezer had essentially explained the problem in another comparison of comedy routines between the Fred Allen radio show of the forties and the Steve Allen television show of the late fifties. On the Fred Allen show, a feature was the "stroll down Allen's alley" where neighborhood residents were asked topical questions. Although regional or ethnic stereotypes, they all humorously but firmly gave their own opinions of the subject. In the Steve Allen show, the similar feature was called "the man in the street," but the men were not the same self-possessed characters. One was an executive type who either had no opinion or made the pat, pleasing answer; others were panic-stricken at the thought they had to give an opinion.¹⁰³

What Oldenburg did was to hide or project himself into the minds of the people and their appetite for consumerism. By creating The Store in which he lived, worked, and operated, he could reinstate himself in the shrine to materialistic culture. Although a store represented corporate America, Oldenburg undermined the standard version. There was nothing wrong with this American dream of pleasure and wealth; it was the

¹⁰²Quoted in Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 51.

¹⁰³Jezer, The Dark Ages, 115.

repressed means of achieving that dream. Oldenburg placed himself as the owner-operator in the midst of pies and anchovies, battleships and automobile tires, red stockings and little girl's dresses, among other things. Prices tended to be only fragments and the whole environment was subliminal. For in this environment, he concentrated on the consumer's standard objects, but he accented the objects' vulgar, sensual qualities. Although speaking about his art, he easily could have been referring to the new organizational patterns.

It's the easiest thing in the world,
now, to do the right thing, the
slick thing, the thing everybody
will agree is 'good'. Finish and
commerce, that's what culture fights
in America. . . . It is quite right
to emphasize the vulgar if it has
been neglected, . . .¹⁰⁴

Oldenburg staged a series of happenings in his storefront after he closed the environment to the public. In his happenings the common people move common objects around the space and become common objects or props to be manipulated. But in their manipulation or repetitive use of the objects, they become immune to conventional use and discover the objects' magical or sensual properties. Oldenburg also found that he could force a consciousness of American life as a repression of individual instincts. He stated that his Ray Gun Theater was "A series of plays

¹⁰⁴ Rose quoted Oldenburg in relation to his idea of forming a popular art form; see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 53.

dealing with the US consciousness, . . . The content is the US mind or the US 'Store.' . . . It is a theater of real events (a newsreel)."¹⁰⁵ Yet, as in Luce's "March of Time," the film clips or what was seen in close range did not necessarily have to be part of the real event. The stock shots may have been fake, but they were chosen to evoke a charged response on the part of the audience. For example, in Oldenburg's two versions of his happening Store Days, the men and women who in the chaotic mess lie around smearing and stuffing themselves with archetypal objects may represent the experience of the slums. Although there is no realistic sense of habitation, shift in population or decay, the dining table in Nekropolis II or the kitchen in the Dallas production of Injun are part of the suburban kitchen dramas on television. However, Oldenburg has reversed the situation from an all smiling family to a life and death matter over the food.

In Oldenburg's notes titled "A City Venus," he outlined three types of nature: real nature, the asphalt nature of the city, and the billboard or fake nature of the store. In his comparison of stores to forests, vehicles to animals, streets to plains and rivers, and advertisements and goods to "creeping and crawling dreams," he was seeking to restore man in an unity with

¹⁰⁵Quoted in Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 69.

nature.¹⁰⁶ Likewise, in the Ray Gun happenings in the storefront, the primitivized and civilized rape (from sex to cutting of the forests), fire, civil war, and gaming in the versions of Injun balance with the dreams and nightmares of immigration in Voyages II and the rebuilding of the city in World's Fair II.

Ironically, in building this shrine to the self, Oldenburg used Artaud's notion of supra-personal theater. With an emphasis on an spectacle of extremes, Oldenburg viewed American history as a pageant. Although the audience was held back from any logical point, they were thrust into an authentic sense of nature. True to his sense of the American dream, Oldenburg did not pressure his audience to share in his personal emotions and goals, but rather he allowed them to use his work as a departure for their own perceptions.

Oldenburg also described "City Venus" as "All charged up and loaded to bursting with what man sees or rather wants to see in nature, . . ."¹⁰⁷ In his environment The Street, the character The Street Chick (fig. 40) had a girlish body but a deathly head. In The Store, the bride

¹⁰⁶"A City Venus," notes from 1963, are in *ibid.*, 191. They are also reprinted in Claes Oldenburg, "Extracts from the Studio Notes (1962-64)," Artforum 4 (January 1966): 32-33.

¹⁰⁷Quotation from Oldenburg's notes; see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 191.

herself (fig. 99) was made as if covered with cake icing. A consumer is a person who buys goods for his own needs. Depending on the zeal of his self-gratification, his acts can have erotic connotations. Oldenburg had made his objects as sensual as he could with their colors, dripping paint, and textures. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that in the store window Oldenburg also had displayed a pie segment of the bride (fig 100).¹⁰⁸ Since the Bride Mannikin (fig. 99) in The Store was both the only human figure and the only object of human scale, she was in her storefront, a garden of desires. Besides describing his environment as a forest, Oldenburg also had equated The Store on the street as "quick love" and the enclosed environment itself as a womb.¹⁰⁹ On the 1938 Surrealist street leading to the grotto (fig. 5), Max Ernst's mannequin stood next to Seligmann's bride mannequin which was veiled and dressed in a long white robe and had a rope around her wrists. Ernst's mannequin in a dark short dress and gartered stockings had a male mannequin peaking under

¹⁰⁸The caption for the illustration of the window in The Store states that it contains the pie segment of The Bride; see Jeanne Siegel, "Oldenburg's Places and Borrowings," Arts Magazine, 44 (November 1969): 48. Oldenburg's objects of food have some similarities with Dali's early objects; see Finkelstein, Surrealism and the Crisis of the Object, 56-58.

¹⁰⁹Oldenburg, "Equivalents," in "Extracts from the Studio Notes (1962-64)," 32-33.

her skirts.¹¹⁰ The proximity of the mannequins not only contrasts the passive and aggressive types of eroticism but lends credence to Oldenburg's interpretation of his environment of The Store as a front for sex or for erotic nature. He selected the theme of the bride, but he subverted her subdued, veiled nature through her cakelike surfaces. He transferred Ernst's erotic act onto food and other enticing objects. Another precedent was Duchamp's 1937 cutout of a couple as a glass door to Breton's shop Gradiva.¹¹¹

In the happening Store Days I, the bride herself is only seen on a ladder. Contrary to Segal's Couple at the Stairs (1964), where the poetry of the embracing lovers contrasts with the uncertainty or finality of the empty stairs, Oldenburg placed his bride on the steps of a ladder. With a shotgun in her hands, she embodies both the pleasure and finality of sex and, perhaps, life.

It is not difficult to see Oldenburg's tableau Bedroom Ensemble (1963-64) as a citified grotto of erotica. Given the hard sell and easy credit of America,

¹¹⁰For photograph, see Rubin, Dada, Surrealism and Their Heritage, 153.

¹¹¹Duchamp designed a glass doorway in the shape of a pair of lovers for Breton's gallery Gradiva in Paris in 1937; a drawing for a plexiglass replica and the 1968 replica exist. See Anne d'Harnoncourt and Kynaston McShine, eds., Marcel Duchamp (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1973), catalogue no. 157.

the Bedroom Ensemble (figs. 95-96) incorporates these qualities into a cool sell of a hot subject. As mentioned, Oldenburg had turned what was considered the softest room into a hard-angled environment. Also important to its conception was the context of the gallery where the furniture would be placed. While in Venice, California, he stated that he ". . . plotted the room on my floor in the stucco replicas of St. Mark's in our phony Venice." He also remembered the Sidney Janis Gallery as a "vault" made from the air conditioning, closed blinds, and door marked "private."¹¹² Oldenburg's own use of the word "vault" obviously connotes the bank vault, but the word also refers back to the vaults of cathedrals. Further comment on Oldenburg's cathedral of erotica will follow later with the discussion of Kienholz and Schwitters.

Along with the bed, the dresser in the Bedroom Ensemble is one of the largest pieces of furniture in the room. Oldenburg has stated that he had fantasies about his mother's dresser.¹¹³ Freud had seen a connection between wood and the idea of woman, the mother. He had given the example of the wooded island Madeira where the Latin words for mother and material are combined. Mary Mathews Gedo

¹¹²For Oldenburg's quotation on Venice and his own characterization of the Sidney Janis Gallery as a vault, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 93.

¹¹³Ibid.

has written that Magritte had recollected both a chest near his cradle and his mother's wooden and narcissistic emotions. Combining these childhood facts and dream images, Magritte had evoked these emotions in a depiction of a beautiful nude with wood grain patterning over her body and other scenes with chests containing figures and feminine articles.¹¹⁴ In Oldenburg's Bedroom Ensemble, he gave the dresser a beautiful organic surface like Magritte's nude. However, the dresser's surface is further removed from nature, because it is made of commercial formica with a photographed organic pattern.

In Oldenburg's veneer-covered dresser and its distorting mirror the display of emotions are removed from reality. In Kienholz's tableau Roxys, the dresser ensemble of Miss Cherry Delight (fig. 62) has an embodied female figure; she is present from her mannequin head in place of the glass mirror down to the skirt on the dresser table and the shoe under the seat. Her emotions are real but her world is in disarray. In Oldenburg's new grotto, architecture and nature merge, but, after all, it is commercial nature. In Kienholz's tableau Roxys, architecture and nature merge, but nature makes a more subtle invasion into the commercial scene of the

¹¹⁴Mary Mathews Gedo, "Meditations on Madness: The Art of René Magritte," in In the Mind's Eye. Dada and Surrealism, 75 and 83, footnote nos. 33-34. Rose has repeatedly mentioned that Oldenburg also read Freud; see, for example, Claes Oldenburg, 30.

whorehouse. In Miss Cherry Delight's bottom drawer there is a letter from her sister on the farm. Her sister is bored with her chores and such events as the neighbor's barn blowing down or the cow having twin calves; she wants a good job in the city.¹¹⁵ Miss Cherry Delight's own storm is on top of her messy dresser and her sex life is as instinctual and forced as the cow's; she yearns for the paradise in Maxfield Parrish's realistic painting reproduced on the wall.

In Five Dollar Billy (fig. 59), the mechanical thrust of her body on the sewing machine is counteracted by the nature of her body. Her torso, as if a tree trunk, has been carved with her solicitors' names and it has a squirrel's nest in its breast. Underneath the rose of innocence at her throat, the squirrel stashes nuts or money against the future of old age.¹¹⁶ Nowhere more evident is the brutality of age than in the The Madame (fig. 60) who has the boar's skull as her head. Just as in the Surrealists' use of the minotaur, Kienholz used the head of a beast on the human form to show that human

¹¹⁵The content of the letter is reprinted in Edward Kienholz. Roxys and other works, with notes by Nancy Reddin Kienholz, 34.

¹¹⁶These are details from Kienholz's and Nancy Reddin Kienholz's description; see *ibid.*, 42.

nature is not inseparable from nature at large.¹¹⁷

Within the theme of the whorehouse Kienholz placed a Surrealist sense of vision over the glamorous girls. One is reminded of the interest in the burlesque stars published in Documents. There also was an affinity in the taste of the editors of Minotaure for similar types of subjects. For example, they published Paul Eluard's collection of turn-of-century postcards where eroticism and fantasy merged; one card was the image of two nude women posed so that their bodies made a donkey's head.¹¹⁸

Kienholz's tableau had a pin-up as in the 1943 calendar on the wall. He repeated this fetishism in A Lady Named Zoa (fig. 61). In fact, she takes on the image on the calendar from the manufacturers of automobile parts; their pin-up girl is superimposed over the liberty bell with its distinct crack.¹¹⁹ Zoa's doll head and shoulders emerge from a similarly shaped urn. Instead of the

¹¹⁷See the covers by Salvador Dali and René Magritte for Minotaure, no. 8 (1936) and no. 10 (Winter 1937) respectively; reproduced in Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, 291.

¹¹⁸For Paul Eluard's Les plus belles cartes postales, see Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, 280-281; first published in Minotaure, no.3-4 (December 1933).

¹¹⁹In Pontus Hultén's catalogue Edward Kienholz. 11 + 11 Tableaux the pin-up calendar and A Lady Named Zoa were placed next to each other; however, no comment was made as to the comparison. In Edward Kienholz. Roxys and other works the placement of the photographs are the same, but Nancy Reddin Kienholz made no verbal comment on the comparison.

curvaceous body of the calendar girl, she has one leg which begins like a flower stem and pushes up through the urn. The urn rests on a letter dispensing machine from the twenties. Sex is acquired by inserting a nickel and opening the box just as is implied in the calendar pin-up who advertises "motor reborning" and "machine work." However, inside Zoa's box are doll parts, unborn children lining the walls. In Kienholz's pin-up he was not oriented to sexuality for its own sake. He was interested in a fabrication, a construction of fantasy and representation in the object of the woman, for the purpose of bypassing the normal. He continued the idea of the grotto as a storeroom of objects of desire, but he had a social purpose in mind.

In a sense, Kienholz carries one step further the poetry of Max Ernst's collage, Augustine Thomas and Otto Flake or Otto Flake synthesizes the art of the corset with a taste of the refinement of the material and of the metaphysical meat. Arp prefers the meat of the flowers of evil (1920; fig. 101). In the collage, a male dressed as a female stands in the room with a languishing female on a chair and with racks of meat hanging from the ceiling. There, the objects of desire--woman and food--can be artfully consumed with the result of love and ultimate union of male and female. In Kienholz's whorehouse, the girls are like stored racks of meat--food to be eaten. For

example, Dianna Poole, Miss Universal has a pumpkin's head; if deterred by her jack-o-lantern face, one can place a Idaho potato sack over her head as she manipulates men with her puppets. Kienholz believed that there was an analogy in the way man consumes and kills.¹²⁰ He saw this type of consumption or love as diffused responsibility.

Kienholz's use of forties decor dates his tableau Roxys (fig. 48) to the period of his adolescence in Washington state. He removed the tableau from that specific locale by calling it after a notorious whorehouse in Nevada of a later date. In initially selecting a specific era and in later changing the decor according to the city where it was to be installed, Kienholz maintains his interest in history. What Kienholz selects is from the junkyards of the particular city where the tableau is to be viewed. The junk is what has been thrown away or pushed out of the contemporary mainstream of social life. By concentrating on these materials, Kienholz focuses on the significance of history and the potential loss of historicism.¹²¹ In his grotto, the storeroom of desires, love and death come together in an erotic fashion. But

¹²⁰For Kienholz's viewpoint, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:2-14; 2:331.

¹²¹For Kienholz's initial selection of materials for Roxys and later installations of this tableau in other cities, see *ibid.*, 1:228-234, 238; 2:393. For his emphasis on history, see 2:345.

Kienholz's threat of death is a loss of distinctions between man and nature and the loss of the individual self and the understanding of one's place in time.

Kienholz's grotto is a shrine to the self. What the spectator sees in the two mirrors on Roxys walls is his self in its full narcissistic power; what the spectator sees in the individual objects in the environment are other hidden characteristics of the self. The spectator is saved by this invasion of some other thing only in the sense that Kienholz believes in a myth. In Roxys he takes for granted the story line that the whore also has a heart of gold as evidenced in the sampler on the wall. Also, for example, in The Madame (fig. 60) he counterbalanced the bestiality of the boar's head with the prominent necklace around her neck; it has the Lord's Prayer.¹²² As in Segal's The Butcher Shop (1965; fig. 89) or versions of The Legend of Lot (fig. 20), some of Kienholz's tableaux also refer to the self in regard to traditional religious beliefs. As mentioned, Kienholz's tableau The Nativity (1961; fig. 70) was constructed at the same time as Roxys and was considered its double in testing the conventions of the sacred and the profane.

One of the girls in Roxys is Fifi, A Lost Angel (fig.

¹²²Nancy Reddin Kienholz stated that Kienholz believed in the myth of "the whore with a golden heart" as in The Madame, but she did not point to the sampler as evidence; see Edward Kienholz. Roxys and other works, 30.

63). Like Magritte's 1937 cover for Minotaure and his later object Delusions of Grandeur (1961), Fifi increases in erotic scale and power from her small doll's head down to her feet.¹²³ The mechanical nature of her being is timed by a running clock in her stomach; her game of fortune is in her trick cards. Kienholz has noted that this lost angel's overall competence in her profession is to punish her father.¹²⁴ His coupling of religion through Fifi's name with eroticism is similar to several of Max Ernst's anti-clerical works. For example, in Ernst's painting The Blessed Virgin Chastises the Infant Jesus before Three Witnesses: A. B., P. E. and the Artist (1926; fig. 102), he not only proclaimed that the religious figures could be a part of the Oedipus myth, but he also set up three new magi from the Surrealist camp. Closer to the spirit of Kienholz's character Fifi is Ernst's untitled collage of 1929. In the background is a father holding his small daughter on his shoulder; in the foreground is a young woman with her sensual hand on her head which is encircled with a halo. In between the background and foreground images is a man wrestling with a

¹²³For illustration of Magritte's cover, see Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, 291; cover was for Minotaure, no. 10 (Winter 1937).

¹²⁴For Nancy Reddin Kienholz's comments, see Edward Kienholz. Roxys and other works, 22. She made no other comparison with his work.

huge snake. Both Kienholz's and Ernst's angelic women have come to dominate their father's mind.¹²⁵ Also, in terms of The Madame (fig. 60) with her Lord's Prayer necklace and open skirts, she is similar to Magritte's drawing of the nun displaying her black stockings and frilly underwear published in one of the Surrealist magazines.¹²⁶

In Kienholz's tableau The Nativity (fig. 70), Joseph and Mary are not immune to domestic banality. Joseph is the old cock on a child's stick horse; Mary has lost her virginity long ago since she has a secret compartment in her rear; and the baby Jesus with his flashing barricade light is probably a delinquent child of the street. No doubt the three magi are Mary's suitors. No matter what their particular gifts enclosed in their boxed chests--furry animal, gold cross with slots for vending machine--they all wear automobile crests of the battering ram. One is again reminded of another of Ernst's collages, The Swan is Very Peaceful (1920; fig. 103). There, the swan is overlooked by angels who do not peer through the stable window, but rather sit in the war machine of the grounded

¹²⁵For Ernst's two works, see Diane Waldman, Max Ernst: A Retrospective (New York: The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1975), fig. 111, p. 130 and fig. 133, p. 144.

¹²⁶For Magritte's drawing, see Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, 257; drawing first published in Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution, no. 5, 1930.

airplane.¹²⁷ Ernst's blasphemy on the myth of holy nationalism is equal to Kienholz's sacrilegious note on the myth of the Immaculate Conception. Similar to Ernst, Kienholz attacked the hypocrisy and beneficial ethics of the religious state. Rather than promoting atheism, Kienholz is more of a free thinker in rejecting the closed minds and lack of individual judgment on the part of religious fanatics.

In building the shrines of the self, Kienholz also believed that religion pretended to teach the answers to life which in truth one only knows at death. In his tableau The Wait (1964-65; fig. 104), the old woman fears death at her door, but all of her life she has feared living too. Behind her framed face of a young girl is a cow's skull. Kienholz has set up the tableau as if the old woman were a Madonna on her throne. Behind her the paneled wall is topped with a curving wallpapered pediment; inside is a photograph of her husband. She sits immobile gazing directly ahead and with one hand on the cat in her lap. To her right and to her left furnishings are equally balanced. The dim lamp with fringed shade is balanced by the side table full with cloudy photographs of her family and friends.

¹²⁷For an analysis of Ernst's relationship to Dada, see Charlotte Stokes, "Dadamax: Ernst in the Context of Cologne Dada," in Dada/Dimensions, ed. Stephen C. Foster, 111-130; for this collage, 122-126.

The old woman's unfinished sewing on the footstool is opposite the opened sewing basket on the rug. While sewing has been her major activity, the clue to its type is perhaps in the opposition of the wide-eyed cat on her right to the singing bird in the cage on her left. As if building a cat's cradle, she has carefully stitched back and forth from finger to finger to create different designs. But in her activity her disposition has been similar to the cat watching its cradle, the bird cage. Now, in its old age it can only snarl. Her fear of living is exemplified in the necklace around her neck. On the chain are approximately fifteen canning jars filled with gold colored statuettes of such activities as childhood, farm life, marriage, religion, and war. Her recollections are now preserved, but in a sense her life has been as air tight with its conventional ways institutionalized by religion; the cross is repeated three times in the jars. Behind her young face the cow's skull is also in a jar and forms the top of the necklace of life.¹²⁰

Self-absorbed in her immortality, the woman in The Wait uses religion as an escape hatch. Her soul will soon be preserved as her memories. But in Kienholz's tableau

¹²⁰For details, such as Kienholz seeing a certain discarded chair as a throne, his selection of a few materials, and his views on death, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 2:334-347. However, the comparison of the old woman as a madonna on a throne, the analysis of the cat, and the summary of the objects in the jars are my own views.

The State Hospital (1964-66; fig. 105) there is no sense of a future, even after death. Similar to Duchamp's Etant Donnés: . . . (1946-66), where the spectator can only see through the peep hole in the door, Kienholz's tableau has a small grill in the center of a padlocked door. Beyond the door their scenes are quite different, but the shock of encounter is central to both of their aims.¹²⁹ Inside Kienholz's hospital room the sick old man and his identical image of himself are on a seamy, double-decked bed. Before this work Kienholz had relied primarily on the mannequin to carry the message of the tableau. In The State Hospital, he cast some of his first plaster figures. Similar to Segal's figures, Kienholz's casts from the real figure set up a haunting relationship of the "double." But in this work, Kienholz went one step further in the doubling process. Whereas Segal's figure, in general, is a

¹²⁹In the "Postscript" to an essay on Duchamp's Etant Donnés: . . ., Anne d'Harnoncourt and Walter Hopps found that Kienholz's drawing for his tableau made a strong parallel with Duchamp's Green Box. What is more important are their notes that Duchamp expressed interest in both Kienholz and Segal and their summary of the history of large-scale tableau: Schwitters, Surrealist mannequins, and the 1938 Surrealist exhibition. They then noted that casts from living subjects began to appear in the fifties, several years after Duchamp's major tableau and just as he was making objects as Female Fig Leaf. Given Hopps's work on Duchamp and Schwitters and his friendship with Kienholz, the authors' history of tableau might be the very one Kienholz gleaned from Hopps, as suggested in chapter one. See Anne d'Harnoncourt and Walter Hopps, "Etant Donnés: . . . Reflections on a New Work by Marcel Duchamp," The Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin, 64, nos. 299-300 (April-September 1969): 50-53.

white ghost, it is a solid reflection of the self. In Kienholz's double he placed inside the man's head a fish bowl with live black fish. In this seat of reason the man has lost his own head.

In its double-decked compartments, prone figures, and dream objects, Kienholz's tableau might remind one of Magritte's painting The Reckless Sleeper (1927).¹³⁰ There, an androgynous figure rests in a bed resembling a heavily wood-grained coffin turned on its side. Below him is a irregularly cut plaque with various juxtaposed and isolated objects. He is entombed in his dreams. However, the man's thoughts in Kienholz's tableau are not private objects; his thoughts are simply himself repeated above on the second level. Instead of Magritte's plaque, Kienholz has encased the second level as if a "plastic bubble." The shape of that lucite and neon bubble is a fish, the primitive state of man's mind. While the mechanism of the plastic bubble connotes a secure position for one's body and thoughts, it actually is a cartoon for what is below on the first level of the bed.¹³¹ The man with his fish

¹³⁰For Magritte's work, see Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, p. 212, catalogue no. 9.31.

¹³¹The State Hospital is one of Kienholz's concept tableaux. In this concept of 1964 Kienholz described the plastic bubble as similar to a "cartoon bubble," but he did not mention the fish shape of the bubble. He only stated the bubble "represents the old man's thoughts"; see Hopps, Work from the 1960's by Edward Kienholz, 38.

bowl head is on public view and the fish continue to go around and around with no end in sight.

Since Kienholz had worked in a mental hospital, he knew about the decay of the self and the hospital's prison aspects, such as shock treatments and nurse brutality.¹³² However, given Kienholz's other attacks on complacent thought, he also intended the man's double to be society at large. In his 1968 catalogue essay on Kienholz's work, his friend Walter Hopps ended with a script from the Automatic Manufacturing Company, Pender, Nebraska; he noted that this was one of the artist's favorite companies. The major portion of the script dealt with hospital care. In a flow of misspelled words and slips of the tongue, Hopps ended his script on hospital care with these words: "Improved Hospital Memorial are not hospitals." While the first reading of the script is similar to that acquired from The State Hospital (fig. 105) and Hopps's last line, the second reading is exactly like one of Hopps's lines on the programs: "The hospital administrators of bitterness and difficulties often encouraged in cooperative health planning by bleeding local think for community involevment with an evolving framework

¹³²For Kienholz's views on mental hospitals, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:57-63.

ofr dead people."¹³³ In other words, there are many fish in the same sea who think too automatically in the same whirlpool. Unlike Artaud who demanded that lunatics, those men of sensibility, be liberated and dictator types be incarcerated, Kienholz called for society to look at the way it was dealing with its problem in a status quo mode.

Kienholz's new grotto is oriented to the erotic and to misery, because birth and sex are linked with death. He has said that the same fear of death is present both at birthing and at actual death. He also could have added sexual activity, for in his actual memory of his first whorehouse there were old women like The Madame (fig. 60) in Roxys.¹³⁴ Actual reality produced more fear than fantasy. Kienholz's tableaux The Wait (1964-65; fig. 104) and The State Hospital (1964-67; fig. 105) are concerned with death of the mind. In The State Hospital the old man's mind is fixed at the present moment. In The Wait the old woman looks back to her past but sees the futility. In another tableau to be discussed, While Visions of Sugar Plums Danced in Their Heads (1964; fig. 106), the minds of the couple are concentrating on their fantasies but time itself is repetitive.

¹³³For script with misspelled words and these quotations, see Hopps, Work from the 1960's by Edward Kienholz, 8-9.

¹³⁴Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:231-232, 240.

In all of these tableaux, Kienholz has manipulated the spatial effects in these vital situations. In Back Seat Dodge '38 (fig. 50), the automobile is shortened so that the spectator is thrust into the back seat where the activity centers on the taboos of pre-marital sex of teenagers and the double standard of adults. In Roxys (fig. 48), the buyer of sex has to move from station to station as if a consumer at a store. In The Wait (fig. 104), space is shallow for the amount of time left for the old woman and the spectator to examine her recollections spread out to the right and to the left of her. In The State Hospital (fig. 105), access through the door is limited as the old man's mind. However, the sharp smell of the Lysol sprayed door and the short-angled side walls force the bed closer to the locked door where the spectator stands. In contrast to The State Hospital, the spectator moves mentally and physically with the couple in their room in While Visions of Sugar Plums Danced in Their Heads (fig. 106).

Compared to the bare cell of the old man, the couple's bedroom in this tableau (1964; fig. 106) is cluttered with detail. For example, on the woman's dresser and bedside table are doilies, artificial flowers, perfume bottles, a statuette of the Virgin Mary, and a crucifix, among other items. On the other side of the room, the man's bedside table has Coors beer bottles, Pall Mall

cigarettes, Trojan condoms, a General Electric clock, a radio, and a new pocket Bible. The mirror at the dresser actually shows a photographed scene of the woman combing her hair while the man sits on the bed drinking a beer. In fact, the cast figures are intertwined in bed, but their bulbous heads tell the real story. The spectator already has a close up of the bed since its sides are shortened, but he has to move in close in order to peep into the lighted holes of the sugar plum heads. Within these inflated heads are miniature tableaux of their individual sexual fantasies necessary to accomplish the act. The blinking lights in their heads alternate so that the spectator moves forward in time as well as in a cyclical pattern.¹³⁵

In two other tableaux, The Illegal Operation (1962; fig. 71) and The Birthday (1964; fig. 49), Kienholz shows another side of sexual activity where the future consequences are agonizingly real. In The Illegal Operation, Kienholz forces the spewing of an aborted fetus upon the spectator in order to condemn the society which allows the underground method which occurs out of sheer necessity. As if beginning with one of George Brecht's events--scores of the early sixties dealing with chairs with objects--and by adding objects to the scaffold of his

¹³⁵These details have come from Jo Baer's excellent description; see Baer, "Edward Kienholz: A Sentimental Journeyman," Art International 12 (April 1968): 46-47.

grocery cart, Kienholz went on to produce a shockingly human tableau. Kienholz continued these chair events in 1963, but after a trip to New York he began to mask with tape the surface of the objects.

It is important to emphasize this seeming neutralization of his surfaces which occurred at this time. Although not a chair event, the neutral effect is evident in The Birthday (1964; fig. 49) where the entire work is under a silver grey, aluminum paint. The universal grey takes away any sense of individual character to the scene except for the woman's personal belongings on the coat rack and institutional floor. What is interesting is that Kienholz seems to use some of Pop Art's techniques, as in the work of Roy Lichtenstein. For the color is not only a reference to newspaper grey, but the bubble at the woman's mouth and flashing arrows out of her stomach are cartoon techniques for romantic talk and the "bang" of action. What is interesting is that Kienholz's expression of violent emotion and passion in a mechanically removed comic book style still forces the issue of the potential solitude and even death at birth. In the short text accompanying Lichtenstein's comic book images, as in his Eddie Diptych (1962), the reader learns that the heroine tried to follow her parents' advice and tried not to think of Eddie, but he kept coming back. However, Kienholz's young woman Jane has a card stating her husband Dick had

to work with the boss.¹³⁶ While this line from the card adds to the true romance comic strip, one detail does not fit that effect. The bubble in the woman's mouth contains a red inverted cock's head. While this may be a comic scream or a gag, it also connotes a possible rape.

In the tableau The Birthday (fig. 49), the card's "Dear Jane" note is as banal as the tatoos--"Mother45" and "USA"--on the man's arm in the tableau While Visions of Sugar Plums Danced in Their Heads (fig. 106). In the same work, the woman also has a faint message stitched on her head: "TELL ME you love me." Cliches like this as well as Kienholz's aggressive attacks on standards seem to ally him with Kurt Schwitters. Perhaps, Kienholz's Jane Doe (1959; fig. 46) is Schwitters's "Anna Blume [on] Wheels" or his other women, similar products of irony and idealism. In Schwitters's poem he is sentimental about his "red eve Blossom," but he mocks her name as "Eeasy, Vvictory, Eeasy"; while he extols Anna's name which runs the same from the front to the back, he also implies her sexuality.¹³⁷ Her name "drips" just as Kienholz's paint

¹³⁶For text on Roy Lichtenstein's Eddie Diptych, see John Russell and Suzi Gablik, Pop Art Redefined (New York: Praeger, 1969), fig. 80. For the text on the greeting card in The Birthday, see: Hultén, Edward Kienholz. 11 + 11 Tableaux, plate 39.

¹³⁷For Schwitters's poem, see Schwitters, "Anna Blossom Has Wheels," in introduction to The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, xxi-xxii.

drips down Jane Doe's face as she rolls forward and backwards on wheels under her bridal skirted table.

In his collages, Schwitters's Anna Blume is made from fashionable photographs and fashion drawings. In Kienholz's assemblages, his women are often made from dressmakers's dummies, store window mannequins, and doll parts. When cast, they still have the stereotyped look of a store mannequin. In Schwitters's collages sometimes the Anna Blume type replaces the Madonna of a religious scene, as in Mz 151. Wenzel Kind (Knave Child) (1921; fig. 12). In this reworking of Raphael's Sistine Madonna, Schwitters pasted the phrase "Amerika ist angenehm beruht (America is pleasantly affected)" over the Madonna's head. Also in this work, the putti at the Madonna's feet have become machine parts and the holy angel is associated with a race horse. Below the machined putti is the phrase "Gedankenvoll liess Victor das Blatt sinken (thoughtfully, Victor let the paper fall)."¹³⁰ It is difficult to speculate what the phrase means in relationship to the collage or to each other. However, it is Schwitters's use of the script over the Madonna's head

¹³⁰For Elderfield's discussion of Schwitters's collage, see Elderfield, Kurt Schwitters, 78. Perhaps, as Elderfield suggested in another collage on page 79, the phrases have to do with relating fashion cutting, the act of collage. I would further add that the reference to America might have to do with the success of his first American exhibition since he exhibited in the Société Anonyme 5th Exhibition in 1920 and their 14th exhibition in 1921. He also was friends with the American Kate Steinitz.

and the collage technique which is so close to Kienholz's woman's head with script in While Visions of Sugar Plums Danced in Their Heads (fig. 106). Also, in Kienholz's The Nativity (fig. 70), the Madonna herself is made of machine parts and the other religious figure of Joseph rides a child's stick horse.

However, it is another collage by Schwitters which seems to punctuate the similar attacks Kienholz made on the conventional bourgeois woman. In Schwitters's collage Mz 158. Das Kotsbild (The Kots picture) there are many Anna Blume types, some with men, repeated in a single collage. However, there are other important collage items such as a Polish Bank note, a dog, and the following typography: "Frauenberufe" (women's professions); "Bezugsschein" (goods order or ration card); "Die Preisangabe" (price quotation); "Sämischgares Rindleder" (chamois-dressed cowhide); "Kot" (filth); and "Hundehalsbänder" (dog collars). Thus, mixed with the fashionable Anna Blume types are references to her animality.¹³⁹ In Kienholz's tableaux, such as Roxys (fig. 48), The Nativity (fig. 70), Back Seat Dodge '38 (fig. 50), and While Visions of Sugar Plums Danced in Their Heads (fig. 106), he also combined old consumer articles and sex. However, he went further than Schwitters in

¹³⁹For reference to Schwitters's collage, see *ibid.*, 79-80 and illustration no. 95.

actually building a scene with more unified content. Werner Schmalenbach has stated that Schwitters's "petty-bourgeois sentimentality is made fun of—but in petty bourgeois language. . . ." John Elderfield stated further that Schwitters wanted to reduce romantic love to a bourgeois consumer product as well as to withdraw Anna Blume from that world. In his belief that Schwitters was satirical, but that he wanted to see the beautiful in the banal, Elderfield came close to suggesting the irony of Pop Art.¹⁴⁰

The greater connection of Kienholz, and even Oldenburg, to Schwitters is in Schwitters's grottoes of specific themes. There are several parallels in the work of Kienholz and Oldenburg with Schwitters's theme of the Cathedral of Erotic Misery. In terms of the concept of a cathedral, Kienholz most often chose to link the restrictive patterns of the institution of religion with sexual mores. This is certainly the case in tableaux which have been discussed, such as Roxys (1961; fig. 48), The Nativity (1961; fig. 70), The Wait (1964-65; fig. 104), While Visions of Sugar Plums Danced in Their Heads (1964; fig. 106), and The Illegal Operation (1962; fig. 71). Oldenburg's environment The Store (1962; figs. 98, 100) and its happenings packed with stuffed objects, some even

¹⁴⁰For Schmalenbach's quote and Elderfield's viewpoint, see *ibid.*, 39.

on the wall, are like those fetish-lined caves of the subterranean cathedral. Oldenburg's concern with the vault atmosphere of the hard, cold Bedroom Ensemble (1963-64; figs. 95-96) is more related to the geometric stage of the Merzbau where Schwitters's emotional content was gradually hidden under the Constructivist surface of the cathedral. In the sense of the uniform color, stylized gestures, and wealth of detail on the checkerboard floor, this geometric surface also covered the emotional nature of Kienholz's tableau The Birthday (1964; fig. 49).

Furthermore, the different grottoes themselves noted by Schwitters seem similar to the general themes of Kienholz's and Oldenburg's work. The general reference to the city, the hoard, and "the Sex-Crime Cavern" match Oldenburg's "set on American death" in The Street (1960; fig. 25), the wealth of consumer articles in The Store, and the general mix of violence and sex in the happenings from the store. For example, the one detail in the Big Love Grotto of the female, lavatory, and dung is reminiscent of Oldenburg's mud-slung bathroom in the Dallas production of Injun. Schwitters's subdued memento-mori in the 1930 version of the Merz-column (fig. 85) with the child's head may seem more erotic than Kienholz's tableau The Wait (fig. 104). But what Kienholz did was to reverse the emphasis so that the memorial has a subdued erotic effect. The death in Kienholz's tableau The Illegal

Operation (fig. 71) is just as blatant as the mutilated body in Schwitters's "the Sex-Crime Cavern."

While Kienholz's Ida Franger (1960; fig. 65) is not part of a tableau, her mannequin body combined with the boxed radio chassis and light bulb is very similar to Schwitters's Die heilige Bekümmernis (The Holy Affliction) (fig. 15); this work had its own light bulb head on the mannequin with its street organ type of theater box. As previously mentioned, in Schwitters's description of the Merzbau, this work seemed to have been enclosed in one of the caves and referred to in the area of "the 10% disabled War Veteran." This reference to Ida Franger is important because the work does seem to be similar in its use of machine parts to the use of the clock in Fifi, A Lost Angel (fig. 63) and the letter dispensing machine in A Lady Named Zoa (fig. 61), both part of a brothel. While Schwitters had described a syphilitic doll watching over the couple and a bottle of immortals in the Big Love Grotto, Kienholz also placed the spectator in the midst of a similar effect; Zoa's machine opens to the old doll parts or unborn babies.

Finally, in Schwitters's environment the grottoes actually formed small cavities in a larger architectural framework. In Kienholz's While Visions of Sugar Plums Danced in Their Heads (fig. 106), the peepholes in the couple's heads are similar to these small holes filled

with erotic misery. On a large scale are Oldenburg's frenetic rooms framed by doorways along a corridor in his house for the Dallas production of Injun. In their tableaux and happenings of erotic misery, Kienholz and Oldenburg parallel Schwitters's general use of firm structure and disruptive content in both his collages and environment.

Contemporary Social and Political Events

In the first two sections of the themes of the urban street and the new grotto, this dissertation has primarily emphasized the Surrealist themes in the work of the three artists. These artists of the sixties have attempted in the Surrealist spirit to construct another reality which is more the memory of an existence tied to the pleasure principle. However, they also have recognized themselves in a world which they have inherited and created. In this section, there will be a discussion of the real events of the sixties surrounding these artists and their art production. In the review of some of these aspects, stress will be placed on the conditions of consumerism, liberation movements, and foreign policy underlying their tableaux. In this emphasis, one should not deduct that Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal subscribe to Marxism where the function of art is to illuminate the masses. They chose the mode of tableaux involving the spectator in order to create a span of time between his instant

instant perception and habitual thought patterns.

In an enlightening history of the sixties titled Coming Apart, William O'Neill has written that the fifties, despite its critics, was an age of materialism and conformity and years of progress for ordinary Americans.¹⁴¹ In 1960 the editors of Fortune magazine in their own book America in the Sixties visualized that by 1969 poverty would be abolished, prosperity and mechanical inventions would astound the world, and that everything except public transportation would only get better. To the editors, the most interesting social factor was how Americans displayed their different status symbols. As O'Neill has analyzed, most Americans in 1960 did not wish to sacrifice their domestic pleasures, even though the liberals, particularly the Democrats, were uncertain about the course and purpose of the nations.¹⁴²

The novelist Norman Mailer wrote an article "Superman Comes to the Supermarket" just before the 1960 Kennedy election. Mailer essentially felt that Kennedy could wrestle "America's tortured psychotic search for security" from the old generals. As he later explained, he believed

¹⁴¹William L. O'Neill, Coming Apart. An Informal History of America in the 1960s (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971). I have used O'Neill, Professor of American History at Rutgers University, to summarize social-political events in the sixties, but the comparative references to Segal, Oldenburg, and Kienholz are my own.

¹⁴²Ibid., 4-5, 12-13.

that ". . . we as a nation would finally be loose again in the historic sense of a national psyche which was willy-nilly and at last, adventurous." Along with Kennedy's wit, charm, and glamour, he seemed to be the candidate who could still hold out promise and could create new situations for the American public.¹⁴³

William O'Neill has compared the 1961 Farewell Address of President Eisenhower with the Inaugural Address of President Kennedy. The former was ponderous and bland whereas the latter was polished and theatrical. President Eisenhower warned the people against the grave dangers of the military-industrial complex and the future domination of the nation's intellectuals by government employment, projects, and the power of money. President Kennedy reversed the situation by celebrating the New Frontier, by mixing "menace and promise," and by challenging the people to come to the aid of their government. Furthermore, Kennedy in his State of the Union Address promised much to many: for example, the government would watch the menacing threats of world domination by Russia and China and it would make new attempts to talk to the Russians on the arms race; new arms would go to the military and money to the liberals for their war on poverty; and the Peace Corps would attract the youth to pave the way for foreign

¹⁴³Ibid., 92-93. Mailer's essay first appeared in Esquire and was also published in The Presidential Papers of Norman Mailer (New York, 1961).

aid.¹⁴⁴

In 1962, Sidney Tillim in Arts Magazine wrote that President Kennedy's election climaxed the fifties' concern for America's past and rediscovery of America. To him, Kennedy's various attributes of intellect, player of touch-football, and home-made wealth were symbols that the ingredients of the American Dream were back together again. Mailer had said that if Kennedy were elected ". . . it would be an existential event: he would touch depths in American life which were uncharted." Likewise, Tillim believed that the new generation of artists, however slow in coming to the theme of the American Dream, were trying "to existentialize" the American experience. He stated, "It is in his search for (an) experience that this new artist has come via a long route back to America as a new kind of primitivism." Without returning to traditional figuration, the new American dreamer could find delight in common man and his artifacts, ranging from cigarettes and beer cans to signs, supermarkets, and drive-in motels. In his bohemian disguise the artist had discovered common man who had no taste; common man was just "a sort of Paul Bunyan made over by the Industrial Revolution." To Tillim, the new Dadaism at that time was an avant-garde form of the American Dream, because the artist had adjusted the old spirit of nonalliance with society in

¹⁴⁴O'Neill, Coming Apart, 29-30.

order to accelerate the process of reconciliation with and even reform of society.¹⁴⁵

Of course, President Kennedy's assassination in 1963 brought any nostalgic flavor of the American Dream to its abrupt halt. But in his carefully analyzed history of the sixties, William O'Neill has suggested that President Kennedy had already set the nation on one particular course. He had directed his concerns to foreign policy instead of focusing on conditions at home such as poverty and civil rights. On the one hand, Kennedy, by giving priority to the space race with Russia, could boast that the astronaut John Glenn had orbited the earth three times in 1962. On the other hand, in 1963 a "credibility gap" became apparent between the government reports and the truth about events in Cuba and Vietnam.¹⁴⁶ Although reversed here, this was the sort of tension building and relieving phenomenon that critics as Max Kozloff saw in Pop Art.

Max Kozloff has commented that the emotional tenor of the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 led some critics to believe that some type of political statement was underneath the "New Realists" exhibition at the Sidney

¹⁴⁵For Sidney Tillim's analysis of the American dream and quotations, see Tillim, "New York Exhibitions. Month in Review," 34.

¹⁴⁶Summary from O'Neill, Coming Apart, 23, 32-50.

Janis Gallery. It is his belief that the themes of sex, food, violence, and crime gave Pop Art its look of rebellion rather than any political alliance. But rather than rebellion in the true sense, he saw these artists objectively celebrating the most resistive yet consuming images in America. Kozloff's point was that a Pop artist such as Roy Lichtenstein took one of the most extreme experiences of America, such as those of World War II, and reversed its threatening violence through the simulation of the comics and commercial screening; thus, worship of force was substituted for fear of violence. In a sense, this worship of violence and the translation of history into folklore through the popular media are forms of primitivism. Lichtenstein's form of primitivism was the banal image. Made during the era of the Polaris submarine, Lichtenstein's comic submarine commander was to Kozloff an remembrance of the past as well as an image presenting, yet calming, the fears of the future.¹⁴⁷

Sidney Tillim had found Oldenburg's environment The Store (figs. 98, 100) in his studio a model for the best type of American variety store. Yet, he also saw Oldenburg setting up a situation which evoked the past as well as

¹⁴⁷Max Kozloff, "American Painting during the Cold War," Artforum 11 (May 1973): 52. O'Neill also stated that Marshall McLuhan's writings, such as his book Understanding Media (1964), focused on the mass media as a creation of a new kind of primitivism; see O'Neill, Coming Apart, 223.

the present. The unrealistically low prices accented the present prices and the vulgar mode made desirable all those items characteristic of the middle class's orientation to the common Sears and Roebuck store. Tillim lost interest in Oldenburg's environment The Store when part of it was moved to the Green Gallery in the fall of 1962. There (fig. 27), Oldenburg presented a random selection of objects, some enlarged in scale and without the obvious painterly expression. To Tillim, the projected humor and the innocence of total participation in the small business on the street and Oldenburg's aesthetic position were given over to the commercial look and sensationalism.¹⁴⁸

As already described, by 1960 the trend to shift from neighborhood owner-operated businesses to chain stores with packaged goods, from vernacular architecture to tract house suburbia, and from radio entertainment to television was evident. Culture was being shaped through advertising and media models. What should be stressed is that in the work of Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal from 1960 to 1965 there is in their images of the store a tension between the early dream and the hard reality of business is business. Segal's memorial to the mom and pop businesses of the past in his tableau The Butcher Shop (1965; fig.

¹⁴⁸Tillim, "New York Exhibitions. Month in Review," 35-37.

89) is the same dream of private, social participation as in Oldenburg's environment The Store (1962; fig. 98) at 107 East Second Street. Kienholz's version of the store is Roxys (fig. 48) set in the era of MacArthur when the brothel to some people was a haven, an anchor in any community just like the butcher shop. On the contrary, Segal's tableau Gottlieb's Wishing Well (1963; fig. 88), where the man stands over the pinball machine, is a sign of the times; it shows the marketplace of fantasy. Dazzled by the color patterns on its sides and seduced by the flashing lights of money up front, the man leans into the machine to work its course and to avoid its tilt; both are mutually engaged in exploitation. Similar to Segal, Oldenburg referred to the technique of the marketplace. In Oldenburg's Bedroom Ensemble (1963-64; figs. 95-96) he used a rational method on a timeless event; a tangible three-dimensional and corporeal situation was altered to appear visually and emotionally stimulating. Finally, Kienholz set up the clearest reference to these shifts in society. In 1963 he proposed to conceive two tableaux of two grocery stores each cemented over as a box; one would be for a town of five thousand and one for a city with over fifty thousand people. Depending on its context, the store either could be a cemetery vault for the small town or the bank vault for the city, just as Oldenburg's Bedroom Ensemble.

Since advertisements stressed all new items or the upgraded products, it is easy to see how youth became idealized. As already suggested, the new media messages in the fifties, whether on a board, television or in the movies, also prescribed sex as a commodity. Marty Jezer has reported that one study of movie advertisements only in newspapers found that the use of sex appeal changed from below fifty percent before World War II to seventy percent in 1971. However, during the fifties, whether in the movies or in real life, youth's expectations surpassed reality as seduction was really the game, not actual sexual intercourse.¹⁴⁹ The sixties would climax with nudity, sexual contact, and tribal love on the stage in such productions as Hair, Dionysus, On Calcutta, and Paradise Now. This sexual sensationalism began in 1960 when the federal courts ruled that D. H. Lawrence's novel of the late twenties, Lady Chatterley's Lover, was not obscene. In a literary work of this nature, the explicit sexual passages became obscene if they violated community standards or if no social or aesthetic importance could be found.¹⁵⁰

It was a different matter for films. It would not be

¹⁴⁹Jezer, The Dark Ages, 247.

¹⁵⁰For a discussion of the beginning of two different views in drama, literature, and film on sex and general mores, see O'Neill, Coming Apart, 200-227; for reference to D. H. Lawrence, see 204.

until 1965 that nudity was actually approved in the film The Pawnbroker. But, the sixties began by testing conventional codes on sex. In 1960 Jules Dassin produced the film Never on Sunday where a shy American tourist made good or improved a vivacious Greek prostitute.¹⁵¹ The following year Kienholz would begin Roxys (fig. 48) which also used the old "whore with a heart of gold" formula and likewise was an attack on American standards.

In 1964 Kienholz constructed his tableau Back Seat Dodge '38 (fig. 50), but its controversial subject of youthful sex did not cause explosions until it was presented in the public Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 1966. It was called obscene by one of the supervising officials who happened to be running for Governor of California. This was the year that the Supreme Court ruled that Ralph Ginzburg's Eros magazine might or might not be art, but it was obscene primarily in its promotion. Kienholz had the behind-the-scenes evidence on tape that the officials secretly enjoyed this work. While this double standard on sex prevalent in society was the point of the tableau, Kienholz also engaged the community on larger issues of censorship, government control of the

¹⁵¹Ibid., 213.

arts, and the definition of art itself.¹⁵²

Also in 1960, both Kienholz and Oldenburg would respond to the Caryl Chessman case where the alleged rapist was executed in California despite appeals from the community at large. Kienholz's box (fig. 68) covered with tin from commercial cans has the California seal on the front door. When the door is opened, the spectator sees Chessman in shackles with only his hands and lower torso with sex organs exposed. Chessman's hands hold a tank periscope which actually goes down into his torso. The periscope has the following text: "If you believe in an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, stick out your tongue. Limit: three times." On looking into the periscope, the spectator, because of his alignment, has essentially kissed the ass of Chessman; thus, he engages in the same sexual misbehavior for which Chessman was killed. Oldenburg's response was a drawing (fig. 107) for a plaque showing a drooping, degraded American eagle over another heraldic winged bird--the hood ornament of Chessman's hearse; it was called American Whiskey-Eagle and Chessman Hearse. While Kienholz in his title The Psycho-Vendetta Case alluded to the past government

¹⁵²For the ruling on Eros magazine, see *ibid*, 26. Kienholz's knowledge of the museum officials' secret delight in his tableau is revealed in Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 2:287-288. For a complete discussion of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art exhibition, see Silk, "Edward Kienholz's 'Back Seat Dodge '38'," 112-117.

misjudgment and swift execution of two Italian immigrants, Oldenburg accused the American nation of losing control over its faculties, as if drunk with whiskey.¹⁵³

During the fifties "togetherness" was the ideal, but it was oriented to the family, not to pre-marital or extra-marital sex. The editors of McCall's magazine had actually set the trend in 1954 in an article promoting the aura of the woman at home. The editors reported that women were marrying earlier, raising large families, belonging to their own clubs, and sharing in the affluence. Although she might be a "Queen for a Day" in her fur coats and other newly won prizes, as the television program or even Kienholz's box relief of 1961 suggested, she really shared these material comforts with her family at home. In fact, the editors reasoned that women did not belong in the work place and had no argument for not finding happiness at home. While the emphasis was on the family and its needs, the family in reality was already fragmented. This breakup happened when the young couple moved to the suburbs and left the larger family and its set of social patterns in the old neighborhood.¹⁵⁴ One part of the family left behind were the elderly as seen in Kienholz's tableau The

¹⁵³For text in Kienholz's work, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:223-224. For Oldenburg's pencil drawing, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 125, footnote 1.

¹⁵⁴For a discussion of the "myth of togetherness," see Jezer, The Dark Ages, 223-224.

Wait (1964-65; fig. 104). In their upward mobility pattern the male head of the household lived for his work; he either enjoyed his success or took his anxiety out on his family. Both Segal and Kienholz insinuated that the male fear of failure was the same in the sixties. In different situations, the male is restless on the side of the bed in Segal's tableau Couple on a Bed (1965) or the male is still at work while the woman gives birth by herself in Kienholz's tableau The Birthday (1964; fig. 48).

Although Simone de Beauvoir's book The Second Sex was widely read in the mid fifties, it did not receive good reviews because it was considered either a leftist or an inflated feminist tract. By 1960 Newsweek magazine acknowledged the confining problems of the housewife, but the editors reported that no one would give up her home if given the choice. In that same year, Redbook magazine ran a contest for the best account of "Why Young Mothers Feel Trapped." Predominant prior to the fifties and continuing into the fifties, Freudian psychologists had considered women neurotic in their ability or refusal to adjust to their cultural role. However, during the fifties and into the sixties, a new group of post-Freudian psychologists and humanists, such as Norman Brown, Erich Fromm, and Paul Goodman, believed that dissent, rebellion, and nonrepression of instincts were positive signs in a mass culture of conformed standards. Furthermore, they believed

society should be examined as well as the individual. In 1957, Betty Friedan began her study which found that Victorian culture's restrictions on women's gratification of sexual needs were equal to contemporary culture's dismissal of women's need to fulfill their own potentials in private life, career or general adventure.¹⁵⁵

In the forties, David Hare had made sculptures referring to women's own erotic dreams. Instead of Breton's "traps of grace," which referred to a critique of habitual thought, Hare had used the Surrealist cage or snaring device as a place for a dream or wish of sexual activity. Inside the woman's head he had placed a sharp toothed orifice or organic shapes suggestive of sexual organs.¹⁵⁶ In 1964 Kienholz gave explicit attention to the female's and male's self-gratifying, erotic fantasies in his tableau While Visions of Sugar Plums Danced in Their Heads (fig. 106). Likewise, Oldenburg in his early happenings, such as Store Days and Injun, allowed the women to be erotic in their writhing on the floor and made their objects as soft as their bodies. Although immersed in Freud during the fifties, Oldenburg came to disregard the total sublimation of instincts as the only answer to a

¹⁵⁵For this discussion of anti-feminism and feminism, see Jezer, The Dark Ages, 226-234.

¹⁵⁶For a discussion of Hare's work, see Sarah Clark-Langager, "The Early Work of David Hare," Arts Magazine 57 (October 1982): 104-109, especially 108.

healthy society. As Norman Brown, Oldenburg looked at the positive results of eroticism, intuition, and even polymorphous primitivism.¹⁵⁷

In 1961, President Kennedy appointed a committee to investigate the status of women, yet it was not until 1963 with Betty Friedan's publication of The Feminine Mystique that the fifties myth of "togetherness" was broken. By 1964 the Civil Rights Act had prohibited discrimination against minorities, including women, but women still felt the need to organize. In 1966 Friedan established the Foundation for the National Organization of Women (NOW) and by 1969 there were other splinter groups. The Gay Liberation Front also marched for the first time in New York City in 1969.¹⁵⁸

As mentioned before, Segal in his tableau The Costume Party (figs. 90-93) and in his series of lovers in the bed seems to have addressed the emergence of a new female and male psychology during the sixties. While seemingly derogatory towards women, Kienholz was actually sympathetic and protested the institutionalized view of women in Roxys (fig. 47) and The Birthday (fig. 49). He

¹⁵⁷Rose stated that Oldenburg's beliefs were coincidental with Norman Brown's and predate Brown's Love's Body (New York: Random House, 1966); see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 54 and 70, footnote 1.

¹⁵⁸For a summary of women's liberation movement, see O'Neill, Coming Apart, 195-199.

satirized both male and female in While Visions of Sugar Plums Danced in Their Heads (fig. 106); he featured mental decrepitude in both sexes in The Wait (fig. 104) and The State Hospital (fig. 105). In the seventies and early eighties both Kienholz and Oldenburg would adopt their wives as co-partners in their art production.

There was one other area of women's rights which came to the forefront in the sixties. In 1960 the FDA approved the public sale of birth control pills for women. However, state and federal governments, with the exception of Colorado, were slow in legalizing abortion.¹⁵⁹ Kienholz was the only artist who addressed that problem in his tableau The Illegal Operation (1962; fig. 71) and in one of his concept tableaux called The Commercial No. 2 (1965). The concept tableau featured an orange and black bumper sticker "Legalize Abortions" pasted on a color television set; the sticker was spaced so that the spectator could still see the television program.¹⁶⁰

Besides the move to liberate women, the civil rights struggle was predominant in the sixties. Although the 1954 Supreme Court decision for integration in the public

¹⁵⁹Ibid., 269.

¹⁶⁰The concept tableau was originally purchased by Virginia Dwan and later sold in concept form to a German collector Reinhard Onnasch; it is now in the form of sculptural tableau. See Edward Kienholz. Roxys and other works, with notes by Nancy Reddin Kienholz, 76-79.

schools called for fast application, by 1961 only seven percent of the South's public schools were integrated. Little Rock, Arkansas, became the focal point in 1957 when President Eisenhower had to send the 101st Airborne Division against the governor's use of the National Guard to ban black children from entering Central High School.¹⁶¹ One of Kienholz's first tentative moves from reliefs to assemblages with clear images was in his work The Little Eagle Rock Incident (1958; fig. 54). Contrary to Segal's Upside Down Man (1960; fig. 18) which addressed his emotional state concerning his own art, Kienholz's upside down deer trophy under the painted image of an eagle headed flag may state the conflict of individual state's rights versus the federal government.

Beginning in 1955, Martin Luther King, Jr. called for integration on buses by staging one of his first marches in Montgomery, Alabama. Bus boycotts continued in the late fifties. In the early sixties, civil rights activists announced lunch counter sit-ins and the arrival of Freedom Riders from northern cities who were to assist in the continuing struggle for integration in public transportation and its facilities. In 1961 the ICC banned segregation on all interstate buses and trains and in the terminals. As mentioned, Segal's personal use of the bus

¹⁶¹For O'Neill's discussion of the civil rights movement, see O'Neill, Coming Apart, 158-193. Also see Jezer, The Dark Ages, 296-303.

was instrumental to his connection with New York City. However, in his tableau The Bus Riders (1962; fig. 24), his introduction of the image itself and the availability of a vacant seat for the spectator in the middle of the bus seem particularly timely.

In his tableau Roxys (fig. 48) Kienholz also had included the traditional view or slave trade view of the young black child as rein holder for the Southern gentleman; this time he--Ben Brown--was the towel boy and errand boy for the brothel. This look of innocence, and, perhaps, the suggestion of a sexual toy, is also embodied in Oldenburg's drawing for a Proposal for a Colossal Monument for Central Park North, New York: Teddy Bear (1965; figs. 42-43). He originally had been thinking of the skyline of Manhattan as the image of erect rabbit ears and wanted to place the monument near Grand Army Plaza and the Plaza Hotel. He abandoned the image of the rabbit for the teddy bear to be placed at the opposite end of Central Park. There are several versions to the colossal teddy bear scenes, one of which is the bear on its side as if thrown way into the park. The action of throwing relates to some of the actions in Oldenburg's happenings. But he also had in mind the general attitude of whites against the black race as something which could be discarded.

Whether the bear was upright or on its side in the park, Oldenburg wanted to concentrate on its eyes. As he

stated, "I also imagined the staring Bear an incarnation of white conscience; as such, it fixes white New York with an accusing glance from Harlem but also one glassy-eyed from desperation." To Oldenburg, the eyes of the bear could see a far distance, the length of the park which was a free area in the midst of urban congestion. This idea of a large landscape around the bear not only is important to the tableau concept, but this park also was the barrier between white New York and black Harlem. Oldenburg also wanted to concentrate on the amputated effect of the teddy bear's paws. The paws signified to him the helplessness of a society without tools.¹⁶² This could be interpreted as applying to both the white lack of tools to correctly understand the situation of the black race as well as the blacks' lack of power to accomplish their goals.

By 1964 the Supreme Court had upheld the legality of peaceful civil rights marches; Martin Luther King, Jr. had delivered his "I have a dream" speech; and the Civil Rights Act had passed Congress. However, violence between the races continued with the result of the first major race riots erupting in Harlem, Chicago, and the Watts area of Los Angeles. By the late sixties there had been the assassinations of Malcom X and Martin Luther King, Jr.; and there were race riots with burning and looting in many

¹⁶²For Oldenburg's quotation and views on his proposal, see Oldenburg, Proposals for Monuments and Buildings 1965-69, 11-12, 15.

American cities, such as Brooklyn, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and Newark.

During this time, Kienholz worked on his tableau Five Car Stud (1968-72; fig. 108), which was shown in the international Documenta exhibition in Kassel, Germany, in 1972. In this work, Kienholz concentrated on the individual incident which could start a riot rather than the resulting riot of a crowd. Cars pulled up to the main action to light the scene, reminiscent of Oldenburg's happening Autobodies (1963, Los Angeles). Kienholz pitted five white men against a black man who supposedly had had intercourse (rape in the whites' minds) with a white woman. While the average American at that time would have interpreted the tableau in the context of its time, Kienholz considered the act of the mutilation of the black in two ways: it was a symbol of the minority problem as well as a sign of the hostility one can feel towards any different type of person.¹⁶³

Perhaps the rebellious juvenile delinquents and the teenage riots over rock and roll stars in the fifties prepared the sixties for the generational gap. In 1960 Paul Goodman published his book Growing Up Absurd wherein he argued for a more meaningful world for the young. To him, juvenile delinquency stemmed from conditions of

¹⁶³For Kienholz's views on his tableau, see Willy Rotzler, "Messages--Coded by Edward Kienholz," in Edward Kienholz. Volksempfänger, 8.

society, such as the youths' realization of the ludicrous balance of affluence with the threat of nuclear war, the bright employment opportunities only for college-oriented youth, the lack of neighborhood jobs in corporate society's chain stores, and the necessity of a union card in craft or skilled trades.¹⁶⁴ While this discrepancy between youth's outlook and maturity's goals continued in the sixties, there was in the mid sixties a greater break in society as a whole. The civil rights movement and the Vietnam War caused men and women of all ages to form a counter culture ranging from total dropout of society, colorful communal living, to peaceful marches and riots.

In 1965 Segal began his tableau The Costume Party (figs. 90-93) where he acknowledged the rock parties of his era and presented several characters in vogue at that time. For example, Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton had just made in 1962 the world's most expensive film on the story of the sultry Egyptian queen Cleopatra. The comic strip character Superman was being portrayed in Pop paintings and on stage in Shaw's revival; he may even have been seen as the new 'space age man. The new feminine version of Fantômas in the character of Pussy Galore came from the popular James Bond films introduced in the early

¹⁶⁴For Jezer's analysis of juvenile culture and reference to Goodman, see Jezer, The Dark Ages, 281-282, 237-242. For O'Neill's discussion of the counter-culture in society, see O'Neill, Coming Apart, 233-271.

sixties. Yet as critics and Segal himself have commented, the work also presented his state of mind in an era of tension between individuals and authority, in an age of individual questioning of morality in general, and in a period of self help through group therapy.¹⁶⁵

Placed in the context of the Vietnam War, one can see in Segal's tableau the potent thrust of the theme of the beast in man. But it is only with the assistance of Segal's other major theme of the legend of Lot that one can understand his statement about moral choices in society, particularly those dealing with life and death.

Barrio-Garay has written that Segal's tableau The Costume Party (1965-72) was influenced by the 1961 paperback version of Black Elk Speaks; this was a thirties book about the life and death of the Sioux Indian tribe through the visions of a Sioux medicine man. If one had read the book, he would grasp the similar concentration in Segal's tableau on the four corners of the universe with different colors and the cyclical pattern evolving towards an unity; in four of the versions the characters generally face off in axial directions. However, the biblical legend of Lot with its themes of the destruction of two cities, intercession on behalf of Lot, forbidden sex, and the

¹⁶⁵In his excellent study of this work, Barrio-Garay has made these references to contemporary culture; see Barrio-Garay, The Private World of George Segal, unpaginated. The references to the space age man and Fantomas are my own.

propagation of the race, no doubt, was more familiar to the average American. Perhaps, doubtful about the success of The Costume Party, which he would continue to change until 1972, Segal returned to the theme of the legend of Lot; it was one with which he had worked since the 1958 painting with sculptural model.

In a totally sculptural form he now combined the figures without props. Lot on a mattress is mounted by one daughter while the other watches; the mother with her back to the scene is turning into the pillar of salt. Although critics, such as Phyllis Tuchman, complained of the lack of metaphor in the 1966 version of The Legend of Lot (fig. 109), it is easy to see why Segal chose to make the spectator a voyeur. In an age of open sex and violence on television, literalism was the only course. In general, Segal had focused before on the moral choice of the two daughters to have sex with their father. Two years later in a 1968 series of pastels, The Daughters of Lot, he openly questioned the degree of Lot's awareness of his daughters' act to propagate the race; in the last pastel one of the daughter's head rests face down on Lot's lap. Thus, as in the ensuing changes in The Costume Party (figs. 90-93), Segal set up in his 1966 tableau The Legend of Lot a situation exemplifying the era of the sixties when the relativity factor of right or wrong and feminine

initiative was the strongest.¹⁶⁶

During the seventies Segal would not return to this particular theme of Lot, but he chose another biblical story of sacrifice for the memorial to the slain students who had protested the Vietnam War at Kent State University. However, the only tableau to have explicit connections with the war in the sixties was Segal's The Execution (1967). The tableau stemmed from a request to submit a work to the New School's exhibition first called "War and Peace," and then, "Protest and Hope."¹⁶⁷

In the case of Oldenburg, the early work also has general references to violence, poverty, and death. The environment The Street and the happening Snapshots from the City (1960; fig. 26) primarily dealt with the immigrants' hopes and loss of dreams in America and the general decay or destruction of urban neighborhoods. The fact that this destruction was real is in the example of the Greenwich Village community; in 1958 they had made

¹⁶⁶In his analysis of The Costume Party, Barrio-Garay also discussed the pastel series, but he did not mention Segal's sculptural tableaux on the theme of the legend of Lot; see Barrio-Garay, The Private World of George Segal, unpaginated. Tuchman did not make an explicit connection between The Costume Party and The Legend of Lot; see Tuchman, George Segal, 58-60. In his discussion of The Legend of Lot, van der Marck quoted Segal on this work as remembering both the active and passive roles of a matriarchal society on East Broadway and wanting to give a sign of life in an age of "willful destruction"; see van der Marck, George Segal, plate 59 with description p. 119.

¹⁶⁷Van der Marck, George Segal, 148.

news in their resistance to the city planners' desire to tear up Washington Park for a major traffic artery.¹⁶⁸ Oldenburg's two works can serve to remind spectators of human diversity and the destruction of values. However, his 1960 drawings with American flags and shields are more explicit in terms of identifying the United States with death. For example, the Ray Gun poster called U.S. Death Heart (1960; fig. 38) has a skeletal head with helmet attached to the shield striped with the American flag. But since he was both for and against aspects of society, there are also the 1960 drawings and reliefs of the waving flag itself.

At approximately the same time of Oldenburg's drawings for the plaque for Caryl Chessman and for the death shield and flag, Kienholz was also including the image of the American flag and shield in his reliefs and box constructions. For example, in the box construction O'er the Ramparts We Watched, Fascinated (1959; fig. 67) he placed electronic wires and parts in smaller boxes as if radios below the American shield looming on the horizon; doll parts also were present. While an earlier, more abstract relief of 1958 had the title They Tarred and Feathered the Angel of Peace, a 1960 box construction had a stuffed duck painted with American stripes sitting

¹⁶⁸For Greenwich Village event and destruction of urban neighborhoods, see Jezer, The Dark Ages, 186.

inside a striped, irregular polygon; it was called The U.S. Duck, or Home From the Summit.

Both Oldenburg's and Kienholz's images are impacted with the tenor of the period. The Korean War had ended, but the American troops still were involved in the DMZ. The Russians had interrupted the cold war by sending Sputnik aloft in 1957, thus placing the United States in a space race as well as an arms race. Furthermore, the Geneva talks on arms limitations, which President Eisenhower had begun in 1958 and were to be held again in 1962, were punctuated by the U-2 affair; this incident let out the secret of the United States's reconnaissance flights over Russia.¹⁶⁹ Kienholz would continue the theme of the arms race or the war buildup throughout 1964. Oldenburg would join him again in the late sixties in their concern over the Vietnam War.

By 1962 the United States had assisted in erecting the Berlin Wall and had engaged in the Cuban missile crisis with the Russians. During that time, Oldenburg and Kienholz had constructed their tableaux on the various phases of consumerism, such as in The Store and Roxys. Since some economists might argue that the health of the domestic economy and the ability to pay taxes is closely allied with military spending, they also might suggest

¹⁶⁹For review of the U.S. policy during the late fifties and early sixties, see O'Neill, Coming Apart, 1-24, 29-49, 61-94.

that consumerism was a form of patriotism. Particularly in the case of Kienholz's tableau, the Dadaist Mehring's cabaret act in Berlin seems an appropriate comparison. In portraying a strip show, "Miss Irene, the amazing tattooed lady," Mehring had combined elements to refer to both the type of burlesque entertainment and to the German nation. As Allen Greenberg has suggested, there is an intentional ambiguity as to whether he was referring to the innocence of the prostitute or the prostituting of innocence by Germany.¹⁷⁰

While there should be no doubt of Kienholz's love for America, he does protest against his country. Kienholz's work does lend itself to this type of interpretation or primitive patriotism. This interpretation is based on specific political events at that time, on the setting of the brothel with MacArthur's photograph, and on his proclivity to these themes which he steadily continued from 1958 to 1962.¹⁷¹ For example, in 1961 Kienholz made the box construction History as a Planter (fig. 69). Rather than Oldenburg's old-fashioned stove loaded with meats and pies executed in 1962, Kienholz used a small electric stove--a kiln--stuffed with mannequins' lower

¹⁷⁰Greenberg, "The Dadaists and the Cabaret as Form and Forum," in Dada/Dimensions, ed. Stephen C. Foster, 33.

¹⁷¹A few examples by Kienholz would include God Tracking Station # 1 (1959) and The Future as an Afterthought (1962).

legs. At the time of the Berlin crisis, Kienholz made reference to freedom and persecution, specifically the Jews in Germany. The white doors of the oven are painted with black swastikas and the top of the oven has a planter with a wandering Jew plant. Behind the planter is a framed newspaper with a headline and columns referring to Rommel's raiding army. Particularly appropriate is Kienholz's use of the fragment of the newspaper at a slight tilt in the frame. The Berlin Dadaists had used newspaper fragments in their photomontages. Like the Dadaists, Kienholz extended these materials to cover a timely and reoccurring subject of violence and injustice. It is interesting to note that one of Segal's first ideas for his tableau The Execution had been the corpses of concentration camp victims; as a Jew himself, he rejected the idea because it seemed too gruesome.¹⁷² However, in 1982 he did execute that scene in his tableau The Holocaust.

In 1963, one year after the Cuban missile crisis, Stanley Kubrick made the first nuclear comedy, Dr. Strangelove, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb. The film was full of black humor about what might happen if a madman pressed the nuclear button. While some critics found the film subversive and anti-American,

¹⁷²For Segal's comment, see van der Marck, George Segal, 148.

Lewis Mumford and the editors of Time and Life magazines believed that the film was a cultural and political triumph. To them the film was not sick; rather it showed that ". . . what is sick is our supposedly moral, democratic country which allowed this policy to be formulated and implemented without even the pretense of open public debate."¹⁷³

In 1964 Kienholz made a deep freestanding box construction containing a bomb-shaped headed personage with long claws hanging outside the box. The title, God Really Loves America the Best (fig. 110), is as black as Kubrick's film. This work is reminiscent of Max Ernst's collage Deadly Female Airplane (1920; fig. 111) which shows a boxed female flying with a bomb encased head and with the conventional flowing arms of nudes.¹⁷⁴ Although there is a deadly elegance in Kienholz's use of curves in the coat hook on the side of the box and in the antlers, his reference to Big Bertha or Enola Gay is decidedly more male. Yet, like Ernst, he turned sexuality into a metaphor for military destruction. Although Kienholz was beginning to cast his figures by 1964, this work was shown in the

¹⁷³For film and quote, see O'Neill, Coming Apart, 214-215. The analogy of the film with Kienholz's work is my own thought.

¹⁷⁴For a discussion of Ernst's work, see Stokes, "Dadamax: Ernst in the Context of Cologne Dada," in Dada/Dimensions, ed. Stephen C. Foster, 127.

1967 "Protest and Hope" exhibition at the New School in New York along with Segal's work The Execution.

In 1968 both Kienholz and Oldenburg returned to a series of tableaux on violence and war, specifically the Vietnam War. From 1961 to 1964 the United States had slowly scaled its efforts: at first, military advisors in 1961, then actual conflict in the Gulf of Tonkin affair of 1964 after the Viet Cong had won decisive battles in South Vietnam. While at first the American public had generally supported intervention in Vietnam, the tide turned in another direction from 1965 to 1969. In 1965, during the same time that President Johnson was signing bills for the war on poverty and building the Great Society, he increased the bombing of Vietnam. The intensity of the raids would not stop until after the surprising Tet offensive by the Viet Cong in 1968. But concurrent with the bombing were the protests and retribution at home; they began with the university anti-war teach-ins and the burning of draft dodgers' cards and were matched by the government's laws and convictions against draft dodgers. The International Days of Protest and peace marches in 1966 and 1967 were followed by the police violence in Chicago against the anti-Vietnam War marches and the Chicago Eight's trial in 1968-69.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸For a review of this period, see O'Neill, Coming Apart, 76, 104-146.

In August 1968, the entire nation watched on television the Democratic Party's National Convention and the two hundred thousand young people demonstrating against the Vietnam War, specifically the deceit, hypocrisy, and steamrolling of the politicians in power. When the protesters refused to leave the parks and the streets, a riot between the demonstrators and the Chicago police broke out.

Oldenburg was in his home city of Chicago at that time and a few weeks later cancelled his show at the Richard Feigen Gallery in Chicago. He stated to Feigen that he felt that ". . . in Chicago, I like so many others ran head-on into the model American police state. I was tossed to the ground by six swearing troopers who kicked and clubbed me and called me a Communist. . . . A gentle one-man show about pleasure seems at bit obscene in the present context. . . ." Later in the fall, the Feigen Gallery had a protest exhibition, "The Richard J. Daley Exhibition," in which over fifty artists, a majority from New York, lent their support. Oldenburg exhibited an ironical drawing of Daley's head on a platter (fig. 112) and a red hydrocal fireplug (fig. 113).¹⁷⁶ These two works amplify a more satirical interpretation in a series

¹⁷⁶For Oldenburg's quotation and Chicago work and for a discussion of artists' reactions to Chicago and other issues, see Therese Schwartz, "The Politicalization of the Avant-Garde, II," Art in America 60 (March-April 1972): 70-79; quotation, 70 and Oldenburg's work, 70-71, 74.

of proposals for colossal monuments for the city of Chicago which Oldenburg primarily worked on from 1968 to 1969.

Oldenburg already had begun to think about Chicago in 1967 when he proposed Bat Spinning at the Speed of Light. Reminiscent of his early concern for the slums in his environment The Street (fig. 25), the bat is a metaphor for urban decay and the wrecking ball as it was to be sited in a slum area. Since Oldenburg's old public school was in the area, he also saw the bat as an anti-masturbation fantasy.¹⁷⁷ The Batcolumn has stood in Chicago since 1977. Given the Chicago convention and other proposals in 1968 and 1969, there is a possibility that its image might also be a policeman's billy.

In his notes from 1968 to 1969, Oldenburg wrote that he had been absorbing the good and bad forces; he thought the cemetery was an image which seemed to state the city's condition. The city's art was its architecture, but other verticals, such as chimneys, trees, and fireplugs, made it a large cemetery. Reminiscent of his earlier observations on his New Pilgrim Monument in Provincetown and a reflection of the Surrealist orientation to existing monuments, one of Oldenburg's proposals was to move Lorado

¹⁷⁷For complete discussion of the Batcolumn, see Coosje van Bruggen, Claes Oldenburg: Large-Scale Projects, 1977-1980 (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1980), 8-20; for the early concepts, see 8-14. Also see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 105.

Taft's nineteenth century monument Death from Graceland Cemetery. He would propose it as a skyscraper for Michigan Avenue to link with the Playboy building with its beacon, the contemporary Hancock building, and the old watertower.¹⁷⁸ What is important about Oldenburg's proposal for this monument is its explicit siting. Thus, the scenic tableau made up of the monument and the buildings along Michigan Avenue force love and death to mix with the old and the new.

Oldenburg also had noticed the prevalent classical columns in the city and had begun to compare "these pretensions of an earlier period" with the popular version of a column in the form of a lighthouse; he specifically noted the Salvation Lighthouse Mission which was planned for demolition. Since another form of salvation is the fireplug, he began drawings of this type of column or obelisk. In 1969 he proposed a skyscraper in the form of an inverted fireplug (fig. 114). While no specific site was indicated in the 1969 drawing, he did locate the work in Lake Michigan off Grant Park in a 1976 drawing.¹⁷⁹ In his brilliant red, hydrocal fireplug for the "Richard J. Daley Exhibition," its color and overall lumpish shape had

¹⁷⁸For Oldenburg's reference to the cemetery, to the Taft sculpture, and to his proposal, see van Bruggen, Claes Oldenburg: Large-Scale Projects 1977-1980, 8.

¹⁷⁹For reference to classical columns, lighthouse, fireplug, and drawings, see *ibid.*, 12-13.

reflected the conditions of the fallen demonstrators in Grant Park. In contrast, the 1969 drawing (fig. 114) shows the inverted fireplug erect as Brancusi's sculpture Torso of a Young Man. As Ellen Johnson has related, Oldenburg had been interested in this work by Brancusi and in his Sleeping Muse.¹⁸⁰ Oldenburg had related this highly abstracted object of an oval head on its own simplified base to classical ruins, such as the fallen antique heads. One version of the proposal for the teddy bear in Central Park had been a fallen or prone object.

Following up these art historical associations and his own experiences, Oldenburg executed a drawing Study for a Colossal Monument to Mayor Daley #2 (fig. 112). Shown in the Daley protest exhibition, the drawing places the Mayor's head in a Brancusi mode falling into a platter as if chopped off in an execution. Earlier in 1966, Oldenburg actually had made an object, a jelly mold in the form of his face, as a symbol of himself as a healer of society. As if in a religious ritual, he was to be

¹⁸⁰Ellen Johnson, "Oldenburg's Giant 3-Way Plug," Arts Magazine 45 (December 1970-January 1971): 43.

consumed.¹⁰¹ This implied salvation in his own head is not connoted in the case of Mayor Daley. Yet, there is a slight hint of life in that the Mayor's head is not totally prone. Aware of the real conditions in the world, Oldenburg, perhaps, has hoped for a reawakening from the numb skull.

Certainly in his reworking of the object of the sluggish fireplug, he had indicated in his drawing that the inverted heads of the fireplug are now hard and on top of the ground. As stated earlier, in Oldenburg's formation of tableaux in the form of monuments he implies the movement of his objectified characters in the enlarged architectural scene or landscape. Like Brancusi's Torso of a Young Man, the fireplug monument now has life and is ready for the competition of the city. Although not an obstacle in the sense that paths are now blocked, future activity is implied in the subject itself.

Although many of Oldenburg's proposals for monuments have been transferred from page to three-dimensional form,

¹⁰¹Johnson noted a formal but not a thematic relation between Oldenburg's Proposed Colossal Monument for Mayor Daley, his life mask in jello, and the 3-Way Plug. She did not discuss the Daley proposal in relation to the jello mask and fireplugs of Chicago; see *ibid.* In another article of the same year Johnson repeated the formal connection between Brancusi's sculptures and Oldenburg's studies for a Mayor Daley monument; however, she did not discuss the Chicago context which I am stressing; see Johnson, "Oldenburg's Poetics: Analogues, Metamorphoses and Sources," 44-45. For reference to Jelly mold in form of artist's face (1966), see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 61, footnote 1.

Oldenburg did erect in 1969 his monument Lipstick (Ascending) on Caterpillar Tracks (fig. 45) for Yale University; in this monument he used real movement in the site as if to prove what had already been implied. A giant gold lipstick tube holding a carmine red stick formed the turret and gun of an armored tank on caterpillar tracks. While movement was implied in the giant tractor wheels, the vinyl stick itself actually was collapsible. Oldenburg's own Chicago experience had taken place on the street as earlier in his first environment. By accepting the student-sponsored commission, he did not abandon the public context, but rather he chose to shift to the location of radical activities.¹⁸² In 1969 over four hundred and eighty universities were closed by anti-war strikes. As he had suggested in his proposals for Chicago, such as the Loreda Taft proposal, he and the student sponsors--the Colossal Keepsake Corporation--found a site which made the monument even more active.

They chose the Hewitt Quadrangle which was bordered by the classical World War II Memorial building of Woolsey Hall, the administration building of Woodbridge Hall, Beinacke Rare Book Library, and the gothic architecture of

¹⁸²Ellen Johnson quoted Oldenburg as saying in 1969 that the university was the new battleground, no longer the street; see Johnson, "Oldenburg's Giant 3-Way Plug," 45. Oldenburg's relationship to the students is thoroughly discussed in the article on the Lipstick Monument; see David Shapiro, "Sculpture as Experience: The Monument that Suffered," Art in America 62 (May 1974): 55-58.

Berkeley College. In this atmosphere the monument did not blend in decoratively with its architectural surroundings, but rather it acted with and against its context. This context was the old glory of the American flag, old honor in the existing memorial, reliquaries in the library, the administration, and youth in the surrounding colleges of the university. One aspect of the site which no one has mentioned and which could not have escaped Oldenburg is Isamu Noguchi's garden in the courtyard of the Beinacke Library.¹⁸³ Since the forties, as in Night Land (1947), Noguchi had conceived the stage, board, and landscape as a place where theater, performance, and sculpture could come together. On these types of platforms he could project his imaginary totems in real space.¹⁸⁴ In his Yale garden (1960-64), the actual ground is a base for the gleaming marble circle as sun, the rising pyramid, and the cube dynamically set on one point to be encountered as if in a ritual. Oldenburg's theater was neither imaginary nor pure in shape, but he did address universal emotions of love

¹⁸³In his discussion of the details of Oldenburg's commission and subsequent sitings, Shapiro did not discuss the surroundings of the Hewitt Quadrangle. Rose only mentioned the war memorial and the Beinacke Rare Book Library, but not the Noguchi sculpture or the administration building and Berkeley College also in Hewitt Quadrangle; see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 111.

¹⁸⁴For a discussion of Noguchi's work in reference to Nightland, see Rosalind Krauss, "Decades of Transformation: 1930-1950," in 200 Years of American Sculpture, 177.

and war. His totemic shape was more threatening in its combined imagery and actual movement.

Oldenburg had combined a phallic image of the gun with the lipstick tube; the lipstick tube had a casing just as a bullet, bomb or missile.¹⁰⁵ Just as in his script Two Scenarios from an Incomplete Pageant of America (1960), Oldenburg in his Yale University monument referred to the ongoing violence from the frontier times to contemporary life and underlined its sexual drive. In its ceremonial actions of raising for the shot, the monument implied the potency of the American intellect. In the potential of the lipstick wearing or falling down, the monument's performance could be in question. In the contextual site the monument threw out the question whether America's intellect was being raped.

In the case of Oldenburg's Lipstick (Ascending) on Caterpillar Tracks (fig. 45) and several works by Kienholz, there are strong parallels with David Smith's Medals for Dishonor (1939-40; figs. 115-116). For example, in one medal concerning the bombing of civilians, a ravaged female with stumplike legs and claw feet stands on the top of what could be a classical column or a civilized bomb in front of a cityscape; beside her on the left is an upright bomb on a chair and to the right a

¹⁰⁵Rose made the analogy between the phallic image of the gun and the lipstick, but she did not refer back to Oldenburg's earlier works; see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 111.

young boy impaled on a bomb. In Smith's medal, Oldenburg's lipstick monument, and Kienholz's box construction God Really Loves America the Best (1964; fig. 110), there is a strong emphasis on the bomb shape and living creatures, whether clawed feet, caterpillar tracks or antler arms, set in a cityscape, a quadrangle or a box.

In one of Smith's drawings for a medal (fig. 116) on the propaganda of war, he combined many labeled images together with an accompanying text. Certain phrases and details give clues to the scene: "Rape of the mind symbolized by the rape of woman by war machine"; "Hand of God point[ing] to atrocities"; radio speakers and "walking speakers" dividing or hiding the noise and killing while handing out apples; and "the chorus girl helping by what she is most able," which is having sex appeal in the way that death can make profits.¹⁸⁶

Some of these propagandistic tools and sexual totems of war seem apparent here. One of the original ideas for Oldenburg's Yale monument was to have a telescoping lipstick on a speaker's platform with controls which allowed the phallic lipstick-gun to inflate or deflate

¹⁸⁶For Smith's own words on the medals and specific quoted text, see Cleve Gray, ed., David Smith by David Smith (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), 29-31. For a discussion of these medals in relation to Smith's other work, see Krauss, Passages in Modern Sculpture, 153-171.

according to each speaker.¹⁸⁷ Likewise, in Kienholz's box construction O'er the Ramparts We Watched, Fascinated (1959; fig. 67), the radio parts below the bulwark announce the American symbols rising above. Furthermore, both the girls in Roxys (fig. 48) and the commercial gloss of the lipstick tube (fig. 45) are attractive toys for sale in the time of General MacArthur or the sixties.

When the students assisted Oldenburg in putting up the monument Lipstick (Ascending) on Caterpillar Tracks (fig. 45), the reporter stated that it was raised "like the flag at Iwo Jima."¹⁸⁸ This was exactly the image used when Kienholz constructed his tableau The Portable War Memorial (1968; fig. 117). However, in Kienholz's tableau the group of realistically cast but headless soldiers raise the flag on top of cafe porch furniture instead of the mountain. As if collaging two photographs together, Kienholz actually cast the United States armed forces and its symbols against the ordinary American citizen in a cafe scene. Among the World War I Uncle Sam poster and rotund Kate Smith and her radio version of "God Bless

¹⁸⁷Shapiro, "Sculpture as Experience: The Monument that Suffered," 57. In the late sixties Oldenburg also proposed a monument for Los Angeles in the form of an H-Bomb explosion cloud which would house an auditorium and restaurant; see John Coplans, "The Artist Speaks: Claes Oldenburg," Art in America 57 (March-April 1969): 71.

¹⁸⁸Shapiro, "Sculpture as Experience: The Monument that Suffered," 55.

America," the marines and a large blackboard tabulation of dead countries and men contrast with the other side; on this side, there is a couple with its dog enjoying hot dogs and chili at a bar, a working Coca-Cola machine, an umbrella table, and a welcoming "open" sign. Kienholz's tableau initially sets up boundaries of powerful nation and individual freedom and wealth. But as the spectator moves from side to side, he is the agent for the splicing of the two sections into a "business as usual" situation. Reversing the reportorial role of the newspapers, Kienholz gave to the spectator the responsibility to decide the next text on the tablet.

In the pressure of the period Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal opened their work to the public through a theatrical format. They used the Dadaist technique of performance in a sculptural mode and involved their audience in a psychological revolution as the Surrealists. Yet rather than totally dwelling on ritualistic destruction, each gave insight. After riddling his backdrop with bullet holes and feeling a strange sense of elation, Segal chose to cast the living in his execution scene.¹⁸⁹ The potential performance of Oldenburg's Yale University monument brought out hostilities as to whether it concerned love as well as war. Kienholz's participatory portable memorial initiated the spectator into a role of

¹⁸⁹Van der Marck, George Segal, 148.

responsibility.

The Artist in His Studio

After he completed The Execution (1967), Segal remarked that protest was not a part of his philosophy. To him, there were different processes in making art and in controlling the world. Segal could have meant that the private manipulation and relativity in the former were not possible in the latter running of the world. As will be explained, he also was questioning the morality of private vision. In 1974, he commented on the sixties as a period when it was difficult to keep one's independence as most people were politically committed in their art and towards society. By protesting, Segal would be commenting on his own blood vessels at that moment.¹⁹⁰

As if to show the contrast between his attitude towards art and other artists at that time, he made two tableaux dealing with artists' studios. In Man in a Telephone Booth (1964), he showed how some people are always on the run from one place to another and dependent on public systems, including the yellow pages of a

¹⁹⁰For remark on protest, see *ibid.* In 1981 Segal stated that he admired Hopper even though there was always a danger of being called an illustrator if an artist "used" the real stuff of the world. He admired Hopper's "painful" ability to be a realist and to tell his own private feelings; see Tuchman, George Segal, 111. For another statement on independence in the sixties, see John Perreault, "George Segal: Plastered People," The Village Voice (24 October 1974): 42-43.

telephone book. Although the spectator does not know that the man is Allan Kaprow, Segal must have chosen his model to underline what he personally felt about Kaprow's art process. Kaprow did not have a studio in the traditional sense; he spent time on the telephone keeping in contact with his materials, which were the participants in his happenings. In order to bypass the closed nature of society and the accumulation of art only by the rich, Kaprow had chosen the ephemeral form of the happening with some scripted notations.¹⁹¹ Perhaps Segal ironically sealed Kaprow inside his surroundings; perhaps Kaprow's process was too free, and Segal needed a firm structure in order to see the world.

A year before, Segal had constructed The Artist's Studio (1963) where his or any artist's presence is only implied through the traditional accoutrements of the nude model and the table with palette and brushes. In a frontal but expansive gesture the plaster cast of the nude is situated between the real table and the painted studio window. While there is the sense of the artist as a free agent, there is also the feeling that the artist has set boundaries in the way he will pursue self-discovery.

Like the phenomenologists, Segal knew that man always

¹⁹¹Van der Marck identified the man in the booth as Kaprow; see van der Marck, George Segal, plate 32 with description p. 91. Kaprow voiced his opinion on the nonpurchasing of vanguard art in "'Happenings' in the New York Art Scene," 60-62.

existed in a situation; there was a complex, ever changing relation between man and objects. In his converted chicken coop as studio Segal chose his friends as his models. As seen in The Dinner Table (1962; fig. 18), Segal placed himself with artists, his neighbors, and his wife, all people with whom he shared common thoughts. In the mid sixties in The Costume Party (figs. 90-93), he found more differences of opinion with which he had to live. In the sense that the figures in both tableaux are around a table--the real one or around the couple on the ground--they seem to partake of the board game. The psyche in various degrees projects itself into space as in David Hare's gaming boards of the mid forties. However, instead of the self-destruction implied in Hare's The Eaters (Dinner Table) (1950; fig. 118), Segal adjusts in both tableaux more in accordance with Duchamp's game. As in the 1917 photograph of Duchamp around a table, the game of illusions and mirrorings is played within a limited field or room according to a fixed time.¹⁹² Although there are distances between man and man, object and object, there is a tension because of the doubling.

In 1968 Segal constructed a tableau without the environmental prop of a real mirror as in The Dinner Table (fig. 18). This new work, Self-Portrait with Head and

¹⁹²For photograph, see Anne d'Harnoncourt and Kynaston McShine, eds., Marcel Duchamp, 76.

Body (fig. 119), features Segal as artist in the process of putting together a headless female figure in a chair. As Jan van der Marck has noted, there is in this 1968 tableau the evocation of death because Segal holds a head in his hands. In a nineteenth century sculptural tableau by Daniel Chester French, The Angel of Death and the Sculptor (1891-92), the angel of death came to the sculptor and interceded by touching his hand.¹⁹³ Here, there is no angel of death, but only Segal the artist who seems to be contemplating death; the head in his hands connotes the decapitated torso. As van der Marck has suggested, this might represent the artist's own decapitation. If so, it refers to Segal's detached mode of contemplation and operation. Van der Marck also believed that there is a possible reference to Pygmalion, who brought life to his beloved sculpture. Thus, reversing the traditional role of the angel of death and interceding on his own behalf, Segal brings life to what looked to him like an archaeological relic.¹⁹⁴ Is it also possible that for the first time the artist has acknowledged the

¹⁹³A marble copy of French's bronze is in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. For illustration, see Craven, Sculpture in America, figs. 11-13.

¹⁹⁴Van der Marck specifically mentioned Segal's thought about seeing a historical relic and wanting a contemporary spirit, references to Pygmalion, and other historical references to decapitation. However, he did not mention Daniel Chester French's sculpture.

tension, even if a relaxed tension and more detached identity, with his nude female model?

In order to understand this question, it is necessary to go back to the theme of the legend of Lot. Sam Hunter has rightfully stated that Segal had taken a ". . . rather moralistic sense of the artistic vocation, which took an obsessive, mythic form in his early preoccupation with the legend of Lot theme, . . ."¹⁹⁵ As suggested earlier, Hunter and Martin Friedman saw Lot as the artist whether a "plaster golem," clone or self-portrait.¹⁹⁶ In the first exhibition of The Legend of Lot (1958; fig. 20), the plaster figures were hand-built expressionist figures. According to Jewish legends, the golem was an artificial man created through ritual. In these plaster figures on armature the hulking figure of Lot moved in a trance between conflicts of conformism and desire. With the new technique of plaster casts, Segal could see himself, but filtered through his double.

Before going back to the double and its role in Segal's tableau Self-Portrait with Head and Body (1968), it is important to understand the place where these

¹⁹⁵Hunter, George Segal, 62.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., 30. For Friedman's remark on Segal's golems, see Martin Friedman, "George Segal: Proletarian Mythmaker," in George Segal: Sculptures, 11; article reprinted in Art International 23 (January-February 1980): 14-27, quotation, 15.

legends or situations happened. Hunter has noted that Segal found that the large cinder-block chimney in his attic studio reappeared in several of his paintings, such as an untitled one of 1957 and in Lot and His Daughters of 1958. While it is pertinent to have the artist acknowledge this structural feature of his studio in his paintings, the more important evidence is in another untitled painting of 1957 (fig. 120); here, a window and paintings or colored drawings of nudes on the wall actually form the backdrop for the legend's figures, a male nude and two female nudes.¹⁹⁷ The unidentified figure of Lot and the women are in an artist's studio. Thus, the themes of the legend of Lot, such as the forbidden perspective on the destroyed cities, the taboo of sex, and the moral choices of all the individuals, are closely allied with the artist's studio.

In returning to the idea of the surrogate figure or double in Self-Portrait with Head and Body (fig. 119), there are earlier precedents. In a 1958 untitled painting, a headless neutral figure sits in a chair next to a table and window. In a style highly reminiscent of Rothko's paintings of the late forties, Segal shows a chimney

¹⁹⁷ Hunter made this general statement about the chimney in his studio, but I have supplied the specific paintings; see Hunter, George Segal, p. 30. Jan van der Marck illustrated all of these early paintings, but he did not discuss any of them; see van der Marck, George Segal, 20, figs. 1-6.

looming in the mist. But what is most apparent is that this headless figure became the plaster self-portrait in The Man at a Table (1961; fig. 17) and again the headless female in Self-Portrait with Head and Body (1968). Thus, an interchange between self and another figure is established early in Segal's career and reconfirmed in this 1968 tableau.

Segal's 1966 sculptural tableau of The Legend of Lot (fig. 109) is similar to Self-Portrait with Head and Body in its lack of full environmental setting. In the former tableau, the artist is only implied through his resulting work, or through the history of Segal to this theme. Depending on how one reads the role of the artist, it is Lot's wife, the voyeur, who is Segal's stand-in; or the standing daughter is both the artist and the spectator who directly perceives and acknowledges the act.¹⁹⁸ What is different about Segal's 1968 tableau is that Segal is not Lot; he is the artist, the autonomous manipulator and the spectator.

Earlier in The Dinner Table (1962; fig. 18) and The Costume Party (1965-72; figs. 90-93), Segal had his male surrogates and he juxtaposed the women between them. In Self-Portrait with Head and Body (fig. 119), Segal is in a

¹⁹⁸In a review of the "Erotic Art" exhibition at the Sidney Janis Gallery, Rosalind Krauss noted the acts of perceptual voyeurism in the sculpture; see Krauss, "New York: Erotic Art," Artforum 5 (December 1966): 59.

one-to-one relationship with the female nude. Although this eroticism between artist and model would be further developed in the seventies, Segal's sexual theme in the sixties is a part of the larger issue of morality and individual choices between man and woman in the world at large.

Segal's view of the world from the artist's studio can be summarized in the all-encompassing tableau The Artist in His Studio (1968; fig. 121). Here, the artist is seen drawing at his table; his models--himself and a couple--surround him in finished form--the drawings and sculpture. Jan van der Marck has discussed the work in terms of the ambiguity between the ready-made or manufactured and the handmade. To van der Marck, the key to the ambiguity is that Segal does not draw from his own sculpture and that he, as always, was cast by his wife.¹⁹⁹

As suggested, one can see the issue as involving the tension between passion and detachment. In the process of drawing the artist simulates touch through his eye to hand contact; the drawings on the wall are the most erotic. In the process of casting the figures, the sculptor captures the inner self and holds it there. A work of the sixties, the figures match the realistic environment except for their white casts. In a world of scientific control,

¹⁹⁹Van der Marck, George Segal, plate 89 with description p. 152.

technological mastery, and an infinite number of objects, there is a dubious feeling on the part of the individual concerning his personalism. In the artist's own studio the passion of the moment can be realized on a two-dimensional plane. In the drawings on the wall the figure or couple is cropped to focus on the erogenous zones. In the three-dimensional world, a real and public space, Segal acknowledges the physical presence of the figure. It is everywhere in many situations. But Segal's sculptural vision is a contemplative one. In the sculpture of the couple on the mattress in this studio scene, the figures are together but alone in their thoughts. Just as the spectator can see himself and beyond himself in the reflective surface of the wall holding the drawings, Segal acknowledges the idea of possibility or potential in our lives. He also seems to be saying that there is stress between our self-sacrifice and our self-sufficiency.

As a modernist, Segal has an awareness of the historical and artistic past and of the present conditions of a world dominated by technology and depersonalization. Unlike Kienholz, Segal has remained not indifferent, but rather more removed from an active critique of society. Both Segal and Kienholz came from an existential background which encompassed being in many situations in the world and being seen against the changing background of the world. But it is Kienholz who, in the Dadaist

spirit, consistently attacked authority and questioned all behavior, intellectual patterns, and formal art traditions. Although he was not an elitist like Alfred Stieglitz, he did have a similar spirit of independence and a strong, rebellious belief in individualism. Like Stieglitz, Kienholz was "looking for an intelligent American."²⁰⁰

In the late sixties and mid seventies, Kienholz spoke indirectly about his role as an artist in his studio. Early in his career he had felt, like all artists, protective of his work and uneasy about releasing it from his studio into the public sector. To overcome his reworking habits and anxiety, he had adopted the strategy of putting humorous titles on his work.²⁰¹ In other words, irreverence released his tension, but it also produced social contradictions for the audience. For example, some early titles are George Warshington in Drag (1957; fig. 53), They Tarred and Feathered the Angel of

²⁰⁰Quotation from Ileana B. Leavens, "No!," in No! Contemporary American Dada (Seattle: Henry Gallery, University of Washington, 1985), 12. In his statement on The Portable War Memorial, Kienholz stated that he thought that fighting was instinctual, but he wanted to see it handled by a "thinking, responsible leadership." He further believed that since our "moral/ethical position is not so shining" that we as Americans should try to educate ourselves so as to understand our influences in the world; see Edward Kienholz, "Letter to Editor," Artforum 7 (Summer 1969): 4-5; reprinted in Edward Kienholz. 11 + 11 Tableaux, unpaginated.

²⁰¹Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:216-217.

Peace (1958), and The Future is an Afterthought (1962).

Even with such titles, Kienholz remained apolitical. He essentially saw politicians as people who had problems. In fact, to Kienholz policemen and politicians were similar; both involved a certain type of personality who wanted to exercise power and correct the world. The problem was the idea of a politician. Oldenburg had said the same thing about policemen in 1967. He realized that men basically are alike, but it is the uniform or the absurd system which makes them as they are.²⁰² As Kienholz stated, "Politics . . . [are] really our own abdication of our own responsibility." He felt that citizens simply hired someone else to cover their acts and to make decisions for themselves. What Kienholz demanded was a leader who was more a responsible philosopher; he wanted a type, perhaps like himself, who would ask questions and could "give us some sense of ourselves."²⁰³

From his studio, Kienholz attacked the problems of society about which he felt people were either hypocritical or satisfied with the status quo. Stieglitz also had made this statement on hypocrisy.

Hypocrisy in the guise of progress
is a wonderful commodity in America
today. It is on the free list;

²⁰²Oldenburg, "America: War & Sex, Etc.," 34.

²⁰³For Kienholz's views and quotation, see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 1:217-218.

it needs no protection. It is the one real American product which seems to thrive everywhere in spite of tornadoes and floods, Roosevelts, Gaynors, not to forget all the ministers of the Gospel and all the teachers, and publishers and practically everybody else.²⁰⁴

Kienholz has attacked the unquestioning stance of religion, sexual mores, politics, racism, and even art. Even if Kienholz had not read Motherwell's anthology, he would have known some of the Berlin Dadaists' works by 1961. In that year, the work of Kienholz was included along with that of Johannes Baader, George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, and Hannah Hoch in "The Art of the Assemblage" exhibition at The Museum of Modern Art.²⁰⁵ Similar to the Berlin Dadaist George Grosz, Kienholz has used traditional artistic means, irony, and satire to criticize aspects of society. But, also like Raoul Hausmann, Johannes Baader, and Hannah Hoch, Kienholz forced issues on the basic concepts of culture. The Berlin Dadaists were particularly aware of the media's role in defining social realities. The Berlin Dadaists called themselves the "Dada Advertising Company" because they recognized the potential

²⁰⁴Quotation from a 1913 letter Stieglitz wrote to Benjamin de Casseres; see Leavens, "No!," 16.

²⁰⁵Kienholz exhibited John Doe and Jane Doe. Grosz was represented by a 1919 collage, Remember Uncle August, the unhappy inventor. Hausmann's 1918 sculpture of the mechanical head and Hoch's 1920 collage were also included. See Seitz, The Art of Assemblage, 33, 36 and 134.

influence of newspaper's typography and photographs. They could ironically attack industrialized culture and manufactured meaning with their own weapons.²⁰⁶

In his early work, Kienholz had already suggested the direction he would take in referring to the powerful role of the media. In the age of Sputnik and aerial reconnaissance, he used the apparatus of the moving camera, as in his box construction God Tracking Station # 1 (1959), to mock the hysterical attitude of the politicians in the space race as well as the fanatic literalism of religion. Besides the camera, he also was aware of the radio's part in propaganda. In 1960 he constructed The Mort Soul Searcher (fig. 122). Instead of mimicking society itself, he chose to pay homage to a comedian who was effectively using the radio and the newspaper to satirize societal conditions. Mort Sahl was a radio comedian and stand-up comedian who read the daily newspapers to his audience and poked fun at the establishment. As the Berlin cabaret artist Walter Mehring had said, "Only an efficient rat-catcher/Is of value in

²⁰⁶For a thorough discussion of the Berlin Dadaist campaign, see Timothy O. Benson, "Mysticism, Materialism, and the Machine in Berlin Dada," Art Journal 46 (Spring 1987): 46-55; for reference to Hoch and advertising campaign, 47-48.

this lousy world."²⁰⁷ In Kienholz's construction the figure with the American shield as his face, light bulbs as his robe, and furniture legs literally sneaks up on hidden issues and fears. In 1959 Time magazine had called Sahl and other comedians "sickniks" as if it were the highly personal comedian who was sick, not society, in bringing problems to the foreground.²⁰⁸

In Odious to Robert Rauschenberg (1960; fig. 47) Kienholz had already acknowledged the powerful role of the media to make or break an artist's reputation. He had inserted a diathermy device in the personage's head emerging from the satchel; this device would intercept all television reception in the area. While Kienholz was indirectly paying homage to Rauschenberg in this work, he would in 1961 take on the art establishment. During the sixties in the United States, such artists as Donald Judd and Robert Morris became critics of their own and other artists' works. However, Kienholz did not choose the art magazine as his format. He chose the form of television which he knew reached the widest audience.

Although Kienholz's art used the object of the television set, he actually did not use the pure

²⁰⁷For quotation from Mehring, see Greenberg, "The Dadaists and the Cabaret as Form and Forum," in Dada/Dimensions, ed. Stephen C. Foster, 31.

²⁰⁸For reference to Mort Sahl, see Jezer, The Dark Ages, 287.

electronic system or video to transfer his message. In The Big Eye (1961; fig. 72), Kienholz juxtaposed a popular art object, the art page of the newspaper, and art's display system with a text from the theater of the stage and with the new theater of television. The work itself was provoked by a review in the Los Angeles Times by the art critic Henry Seldis. The article had called Kienholz an old version of the "Smashed Toy School." Denying he was a Dadaist, Kienholz responded in a Dadaist fashion. He placed on top of the television set the Los Angeles Times review encased in a plastic art frame. Beside it was an ash tray and a popularized figurine of an eighteenth century wandering musician. On the screen itself was a revolving white star referring to one of the big corporation's sponsored productions, "Playhouse 90." Kienholz put in his own title Pantimes 90 Presents. The screen then switched to Pantimes 90 Presents the Last Laugh as a Hic-cup in which Kienholz presented only a script about himself, an artist, and an art critic in an art saloon; attending the conversation were a local decorative artist and a gallery owner. Using his knowledge of plays or film versions of plays, Kienholz adopted his

text from Cyrano de Bergerac's speech on how to insult.²⁰⁹

Kienholz's elegantly framed, theatrical box is strikingly close to a particular Surrealist object. In 1936 Oscar Dominguez had constructed an object Arrivée de la Belle Époque (fig. 123) which inserted a picture frame between the upper and lower part of an elegant female torso; in the frame were two opposing spikes or cones against a horizonless landscape. The frame bisected the torso, a traditional art object, and framed the new art; this new art or realm for creative retreat was the dream, the inner landscape. Contrary to the Surrealists, Kienholz placed on the screen a humorous text attacking the weak conforming artist and the uninformed critic. In a Dadaist fashion, as the photomontage artists, he allowed language to function in a pictorial way, but language in the text also referred to specific events in his life and to the visual art on top of the set. Kienholz recognized in his box format the new theatrical component of both entertainment and shock.

²⁰⁹The script was first published in Tuchman, Edward Kienholz, 47. See also Edward Kienholz. Roxys and other works, pp. 62-65, where Nancy Reddin Kienholz's comments focused on the identification of the characters: the producer Norman Channel as Norman Chandler, owner of the Los Angeles Times; the sponsor John Candy Co. as the New York critic John Canaday; Millard Threesheets as the Los Angeles decorative artist Millard Sheets; and Clod Cowie as a gallery owner. Edmond Rostand's nineteenth century play, about a mock-heroic cavalier--Cyrano de Bergerac--was filmed early in 1909 and 1922 in Italy, in 1946 in France, and in 1950 in the United States by Stanley Kramer; José Ferrer was the star.

In 1965 Kienholz actually constructed his art saloon, The Beanery (fig. 51). Although he continued to execute small tableaux based on the object of the television set, he also wanted to reinforce the public oriented means of confrontation through a life-scale tableau. Similar to other tableau artists, he bridged art and theater by engaging the spectator in the staged setting. In Kienholz's reconstruction of a famous actor's bar in Los Angeles, he used sound, smell, and visual effects to stimulate the spectator. As in Odious to Rauschenberg (1960; fig. 47) and The Big Eye (1961; fig. 72), he ironically made harmless certain aspects of the established art world. For example, on the juke box are the following labels: "Up a Larry Rivers"; "Duchamping on the Old Camp Ground"; "Shine on Larry Poons"; and "It's Delightful, It's Delovely, It's a De Kooning." But, there are also the labels referring to nonartistic groups functioning along side the artists: "I enjoy being gay by the New Bible Bangers" and "Racing to Our Doom by the Hell's Angels Chorus Group."²¹⁰

Just as Kienholz unified the whole grouping of the fourteen patrons, the waitress, and the cashier by giving

²¹⁰The best description of The Beanery with references to the jukebox and tunes is in a review of the Dwan Gallery exhibition, November-December, 1965 in New York; see: "Art: The Beanery," Newsweek (20 December 1965), 103-104. See also Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 2:362-365.

all their individual casts a coat of dripping resin, he also brought all types together--regular white and blue collar patrons and the counter culture groups, including artists--against one backdrop. Just as he mixed all personality types, he juxtaposed the text at the front door against the text inside. At the front door a newspaper stand holds the San Francisco Herald-Examiner with the headlines of October 28, 1964: "Children Kill Children In Vietnam." As the spectator walks through the door, he enters a long crate, a different type of coffin, and reads the sign "Don't Think-Drink" among other signs. All of the patrons have clock faces and will "kill time" at the bar. Unintentional or not, Kienholz critiqued Surrealism when he stated that the spectator goes from real time to "Surrealist time inside the bar, where people waste time, lose time, escape time, ignore time."²¹¹

What Kienholz had in mind was probably the stereotype dream aspect of Surrealism, as in Oscar Dominquez's forenamed object where there is a marvelous calm. As expressed in the text of The Big Eye, Kienholz was against any form of retreat. While the Surrealists used the object for self-interrogation in order to critique habitual thought, they also addressed society at large with their installations. Kienholz selected the tableau format for this purpose and systematically used the Surrealist shock

²¹¹"Art: The Beanery," 103.

tactics. However, his attacks on the absurdities of conventions begin at the surface level of Dadaism. Kienholz used the mass-media as any other object in his tableau. But, he also emphasized the ambiguity or contrasts of reality which the media presents on a daily basis. The information reduced in the newspaper headline or on the television screen is as limiting as the minds of the bar patrons stopped somewhere in the flow of time.

In Kienholz's oeuvre, there is no depiction of the artist in his studio as in Segal's work. This is because Kienholz consistently looked out from his studio on to the world. Although Segal used film in several of his tableaux, he never used the Berlin Dadaists' textually based works as a strategy. Kienholz treated the role of the artist much like Johannes Baader. By 1961 he had seen Baader's 1920 collage Der Verfasser des Buches vierzehn Briefe Christi in seinem Heim (The Author in His Home) (fig. 124) in "The Art of Assemblage Exhibition." Although Kienholz did not take on the wide range of mock roles of fool, Christ, or president as Baader, he did advertise himself as an "Expert" along with his telephone number on the side of his truck.²¹²

In Baader's collage, he showed himself looking out towards the spectator against a background of Hausmann's

²¹²For photograph of Kienholz and his truck, see exhibition catalogue: Tuchman, Art in Los Angeles. Seventeen Artists in the Sixties, 80.

poetry, newspaper sections, and his own photomontages on the wall; these works related to his life, his manifestations, and fictitious and real world events. Kienholz's career had begun in a studio adjacent to the Ferus Gallery. He did not use photomontage in his early work, but his junked parts represented fragments of lives, just as those seen in the newspaper clippings. His use of the photograph in the mirror of his tableau While Visions of Sugar Plums Danced in Their Heads (1964; fig. 106) and in The Portable War Memorial (1968; fig. 117) would become more prevalent in his work of the seventies and eighties. But I think his work is closely related to such Dadaists as Baader in his constant use of language works; for example, as early as History as a Planter (1961; fig. 69) and as late as The Eleventh Hour Final (1968), which is a full environmental setting for a tombstone shaped television with a photograph inside the frame and a text etched on the screen dealing with death in Vietnam. In general, Kienholz's studio became the public space. Nowhere more evident is this idea than in his tableau The Art Show.

In 1963 Kienholz authored a concept tableau The Art Show (fig. 125), which he exhibited along with eleven other concepts in New York in 1967. His framed idea was to have a tableau of a commercial art gallery either in Los Angeles or New York showing the "newest art fad." He

would invent the works, style, and name of the artist, Christian Carry. Among the art works would be different types of art personalities.²¹³

In 1967 Kienholz decided to construct the tableau while in residence in Germany. The crucial change was the idea to have the cast sculptures talk as if they were "twaddling" critics or critical followers from all over the world; their foreign tongues would be different but their language the same. Their mouths would be American air conditioning vents from automobiles and their chests would carry the actual tape recordings. In 1977 the work premiered in Europe. The invented artist on the wall was Edward Kienholz with his documentary photographs and drawings of the ten year project.²¹⁴ On a highly imaginary level, the concept was similar to Stieglitz's gallery and own internal critical publications Camera Work and 291. In his gallery Stieglitz exhibited avant-garde

²¹³The concept tableau for The Art Show (1963-77) was shown at the Dwan Gallery, New York, during January 1967; the show was reviewed in Artforum 5 (April 1967): 56-57.

²¹⁴The Art Show was shown for one night in 1976 at the Galerie Folker Skulima in Berlin before going to Paris. For complete documentation of The Art Show with notes by Kienholz, see Edward Kienholz. The Art Show, with introduction by Pontus Hultén (Paris: Centre National d'art et de Culture Georges Pompidou and Musée National d'art Moderne, 1977). Excerpts from the Paris catalogue are in the San Francisco catalogue; see Edward Kienholz and Nancy Reddin Kienholz, The Art Show (1963-1977) (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and Houston: Rice Museum, Rice University, 1984). Kienholz's drawings for tableaux are assemblages of the leftover parts.

works, caricatures made into art by their context as well as fake material. In Camera Work and 291 he published his own work, critics' responses to his gallery exhibitions, and attacks on everything from capitalism to motherhood. Motherwell had included one of those pages beginning with "Motherhood a Crime" in his anthology.²¹⁵

In his self-portrait, Baader as author and artist had actually shown himself as a mannequin as if to reinforce his dual condition of being manipulated and being a manipulator. When Kienholz's tableau The Art Show (fig. 125) opened to the public in 1977, the artist's presence and life was implied on the wall just as in Baader's collage of his studio (fig. 124). On one level, the nineteen cast figures or mannequins were the handlers of the artist's work. But on another level, the artist had regained his power because the tableau of the art gallery and spectators was to be operated as a real gallery; the

²¹⁵For example, in Camera Work, no. 47 (January 1915), Stieglitz had a questionnaire "What 291 means to me." The article "Motherhood a Crime" was published in 291, no. 2 (April 1915); see reproduction in Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 118. For a synopsis of the New York magazines, see Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, 33-43. For a description of Stieglitz's gallery and publications, see also Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia, "Some Memories of Pre-Dada: Picabia and Duchamp (1949)" in Motherwell's anthology, 262. Also see Ileana B. Leavens, From "291" to Zurich: The Birth of Dada (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1983), 84-85.

exhibitors would be chosen by Kienholz himself.²¹⁶ This symbiosis between the artist, his public, his studio, and the public space of the gallery had always been inherent in Kienholz's attitude. It now had manifested itself into this tableau.

Oldenburg considered New York as his room or his studio.²¹⁷ However, he was specific in creating the Ray Gun Manufacturing Company which acted as his studio, storefront, and gallery. Although Ray Gun is New York spelled backwards, the title also applied to the American economy's dependency on manufacturing armaments. What was crucial to Oldenburg was to engage in the business of America while withdrawing his art from commercialism or any force, even competition, which might offer a threat to his individualism.²¹⁸

Oldenburg's idea of sidestepping the museum or gallery process preceded Kienholz's concept for the

²¹⁶The entry for December 9, 1973 explains the change in the concept; see Edward Kienholz and Nancy Reddin Kienholz, The Art Show (1963-1977), unpaginated. The summer 1975 entry announced the American gallery connected to The Art Show (gallery); this was The Faith and Charity in Hope Gallery in Hope, Idaho. This gallery is "8 steps up" from Kienholz's studio and in 1977, during the time of Wechsler's interview with the artist, Kienholz was planning to have Allan Kaprow do a happening in this gallery; see Wechsler, Edward Kienholz, 2:354-362.

²¹⁷Oldenburg, Proposals for Monuments and Buildings 1965-69, 16.

²¹⁸Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 64.

materialist culture. Although Oldenburg did not use the actual photograph or found object in his sculpture as the Dadaists or Kienholz, he did refer to the photograph in his early happenings. As Barbara Rose has rightfully suggested, the stop action in Snapshots from the City (fig. 26) represented the still photograph; the overlapping compartments in Circus (Ironworks/Fotodeath) represent the intermediate stage between photography and film. Rose mentioned Muybridge's motion photographs as an example. She also saw a theme in Oldenburg's happenings of the invention of the movies from Snapshots from the City (1960) to Moviehouse (1965).²²¹

What needs to be proposed is Oldenburg's possible connection with the Dadaist's collage process. In this respect, Raoul Hausmann's collage Synthetisches Cino der Malerei, which was illustrated in Motherwell's anthology, is pertinent because it referred to the static and dynamic time of film. Another collage Dada Cino (1920) was dedicated to Kurt Schwitters, according to Timothy Benson. At the center of the 1920 collage is "theosophy" in typography to which Hausmann was objecting. But, he was also using the reference to cinema as a way of exploring and of changing static systems of thought. Hausmann and Schwitters had teamed up to present their grotesque evenings which combined static and active performance

²²¹Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 186-187.

highlighted by blackouts and lights. Hausmann had declared film was "At once, event, sculpture and image!" As Benson has suggested, the bond between the political Hausmann and the apolitical Schwitters was that both placed importance on materialistic things and were interested in the dynamic process of production itself.²²² This was because dynamism implied potential change of meaning. Oldenburg was like Schwitters who believed in "the equal rights of all materials" and in the primacy of "forming."²²³ It is when Oldenburg moved into his studio as store that he became Schwitters's counterpart in accepting the principle of wedding materials together and as the active voyeur of the city. At this time Oldenburg made his most famous statement:

I am for art that is political-eretical-mystical, that does something other than sit on its ass in a museum. . . . I am for an artist who vanishes, turning up in a white cap painting signs or

²²²For quotation by Hausmann and an analysis of Hausmann's work, see Benson, "The Functional and the Conventional in the Dada Philosophy of Raoul Hausmann," in Dada/Dimensions, ed. Stephen C. Foster, 154-155. Hausmann's statement originally published in "PREsentismus," in Am Anfang war Dada, ed. Karl Riha and Gunter Kamp, 2nd ed. (Giessen: Anabas-Verlag, 1980), 131. See also Benson, "Mysticism, Materialism, and the Machine in Berlin Dada," 49, 52. Six of Hausmann's works, including a 1918 photomontage with typography "synthetisches Cino der Malerei," was published in Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, 254.

²²³Schwitters, "Merz," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 59, 63.

hallways. . . . I am for the art of
 underwear and the art of taxicabs. . . .
 I am for the art of teddy-bears and guns
 and decapitated rabbits, . . . boxes
 with men sleeping in them. . . . I am
 for the art of abandoned boxes, tied
 like pharaohs. . . . I am for U.S.
 Government Inspected Art . . .
 Ready-to-eat art, . . .²²⁴

As an artist in his studio-store, Oldenburg had conceived himself as a sausage maker and his studio as a "lyrical sausage factory." In a study for an earlier street figure he had tried tying burlap around a coat rack which, perhaps, simulated a sausage figure. In his happenings at his store, there were many long, stuffed things as archetypal props on the walls and floor and carried by actors along with real identifiable objects. While Rose emphasized Freud's analysis of giving birth with art-making in connection with Oldenburg's store, this discussion will again propose Oldenburg's Dadaist precedents.²²⁵

It was Johannes Baader who had interrupted a sermon in the Berlin Cathedral. He had abruptly asked, "What is Christ to the common man?" He himself replied, "Christ is

²²⁴This lengthy statement of forty-eight articles on "I am for . . ." was written for the exhibition catalogue Environments, Situations, Spaces; also published in Claes Oldenburg, Store Days (New York: Something Else Press, 1967).

²²⁵For Oldenburg's drawing and quotation and Rose's Freudian analysis, see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 32-33.

a sausage."²²⁶ Although Oldenburg would not have known about Baader's explicit question, he could have read in Motherwell's anthology that Baader was the "Superdada" and a mysterious madman who appeared and reappeared to penetrate society with anarchic manifestations.²²⁷ Oldenburg would write in his "Ray Gun Notes" for his Judson Gallery exhibition that the hero would be a "loonie."²²⁸ While Baader's act at the cathedral was a Dadaist manifestation against the Expressionist's immaterial spirit and apocalyptic hope, he did recognize the purgative results traditionally associated with religion, mysticism, and expressionism. In Motherwell's anthology, Moholy-Nagy had written that Schwitters's art was one of "purgation" fused with external reality.²²⁹ As Timothy Benson has related, the Berlin Dadaists as Hausmann and Baader, influenced by a monist principle of organic pattern, wanted to secularize spiritual thought in order to drain materialistic culture of its old

²²⁶For Baader's quotation, see Foster, "Johannes Baader: The Complete Dada," in Dada\Dimensions, 254.

²²⁷As mentioned in connection with Kienholz, Oldenburg also could have seen Baader's collage The Author in His Home in "The Art of Assemblage" exhibition.

²²⁸Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 61.

²²⁹Motherwell, ed., introduction to The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, xxxv.

mechanisms. Accordingly, Oldenburg studio was the sausage factory. He, the maker, was like Christ. He had written that The Store was like a bowel movement in that his art would spew out into the street and would end the introspection of the Abstract Expressionists.²³⁰ Although the image of the sausage was a single cumulative form, he saw its archetypal form as allowing for secret patterns.

This image of the sausage, an organic form having the potential to make the pattern for other shapes and to unite with other forms, is strikingly evident in Oldenburg's script "Faustina."²³¹ Also, an important aspect of this script is Oldenburg's reference to photography against an expressionist mode. Published in Injun & Other Histories (1960), the script deals with a young girl who arrives on Ellis Island and ends up being an artist. The straight forward, tintype photographs taken by Doc on her arrival are mentioned throughout the script in opposition to the metamorphoses of characters and changes in the city. The making of art is compared to the metamorphosis of a family member into a loaf of bread which is changed into "crap" and rolled into a maplike or

²³⁰Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 33. See also his excerpts from his notes, *ibid.*, 192.

²³¹"Faustina" is a three-act script published in Oldenburg, Injun & Other Histories, 7-11. Since the script is so short, there will be no references to specific pages for summaries and quotations.

landscape art. In the last scene, "the Great Ghost G.W., Grand Obelisk, the Polar Beast, the great ravenous Ice" rapes the city and harbor. Faustina moving on, has a new map, not like the old tintype; but she does not have any pencil or paper. While Rose did connect Oldenburg with the abominable beast and made him a savior in this apocalyptic orgy, the script is important for two reasons.²³² It reveals Oldenburg's new attitude towards his work and his new intentions for three-dimensional form versus drawing.

For the first time, Oldenburg clearly identified himself by referring to Faustina as an artist; at one point in the script Faustina even changes into a boy. Typical of his new approach, he shows the double nature of his self. He is a transient in the world, but in a world where objects are on his same level. As he fabricates himself, he will use the same metamorphic system which he uses with the objects. A part of the new attitude is revealed in the ice flow. It exemplifies Oldenburg's change from an expressionist's ambivalence about the city, as in The Street (1960; fig. 25), to a more Dadaist accommodation of materialism--all those photographs and things. A clear example of this hyper-objective approach, including photographic surfaces and objects, is the Bedroom Ensemble (1963-64; figs. 95-96). In those new

²³²Rose only mentioned "Faustina" in connection with the "lumbering" bear image of Oldenburg; see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 144, footnote 3.

commercial objects Oldenburg could express his state of mind. But like the forceful, rational hand underlying the photomontage, Oldenburg would engage in a dynamic activity in exercising new structures. For example, his contextual placement of his monuments, versions of the Grand Obelisk, exemplify this transactual system of meaning. What is most important is that Faustina or Oldenburg without pen or paper would engage in a new map in three dimensions.

In 1966 Gene Baro wrote that "[Oldenburg's] objects are the maps of our own responses."²³³ What he meant was that his objects are surveys of psychological states. But as explained in Oldenburg's tableaux, Oldenburg's maps show relative positions rather than totally static representations. He said so in "Faustina." The artist Faustina rolls the crap into an outline of her lost family. With the passage of time, she in her "cave of dried crap" continues to retromp the portrait of her family and moves out over its mountains and seas. Even when the great Polar Beast slides over the city and leaves a sea of mud, Faustina tromps on.

In 1966 Robert Smithson and Mel Bochner wrote an

²³³Gene Baro, "Claes Oldenburg, or The Things of This World," Art International 10 (November 1966): 42.

article "The Domain of the Great Bear."²³⁴ In retrospect, this article, in my opinion, helps to clarify Oldenburg's studio position which is carefully laid out in "Faustina" (1960), in his teddy bear proposal for Central Park in 1965 (figs. 42-43), and in his 1967 earthwork in Central Park. In the article, Smithson and Bochner began with an outline of an illustrated lecture on "The Domain of the Bear-The Arctic" from the Museum of Natural History's Hayden Planetarium. They inserted their own comments to point out that in this scientific lecture there were several trends: the mapping of the constellations into a concave grid system; the organic metaphor of the bear and its seasons condensed into the grid system; the solidification of the space-time system; and in this domain of "a frozen whirlpool" the presence of an endless collection of ideas as objects. Yet, Smithson essentially felt that man was in an ice age undergoing the law of entropy. In the visual arts, he saw a compacting of time, the extreme past and future, in Minimal Art and in objects like Oldenburg's prehistoric ray guns. He saw the same idea in the Museum of Natural History with their displays

²³⁴Mel Bochner and Robert Smithson, "The Domain of the Great Bear," in The Writings of Robert Smithson, ed. Nancy Holt (New York: New York University Press, 1979), 24-31; the article was first published in Art Voices (Fall 1966). Oldenburg's script "Faustina" in Injun & Other Histories was published by the Something Else Press in 1966 and was called "A Great Bear Pamphlet."

of cave man and space man.²³⁵ Smithson would offer a solution of land reclamation as sculpture. Oldenburg already saw the future in his "Faustina." This was to trudge on through the mud.

Therefore, when Oldenburg dug his six by three feet hole in Central Park in the fall of 1967, he did imply the solidity of time. But more than stopping time, he suggested time as a place. He may have remembered his pleasurable events in the park, but, in my opinion, he was reinforcing the nature of his studio and of his art.²³⁶ The hole, an universal model, was in the domain of the Great Bear, his teddy bear, his toy for Central Park. In his choice of the site, Oldenburg could not have forgotten the important design of Central Park itself--its caves, rambles, and tunnels. As explained, Oldenburg appreciated the country of the Indian and Crusoe and the urban setting of the street and the store. Frederick Olmstead, the designer of Central Park, was able to relate directly to

²³⁵Smithson discussed these ideas on entropy and mentioned Oldenburg's Ray Guns in an article published just prior to "The Domain of the Great Bear"; see Smithson, "Entropy and the New Monuments," in The Writings of Robert Smithson, 9-18; first published in Artforum 4 (June 1966): 26-30.

²³⁶Rose mentioned the 1967 outdoor sculpture exhibition in New York for which Oldenburg dug a hole. She left open the question as to its meaning; in her opinion, it was a memorial to his pleasurable hours, a grave for dead art, especially public sculpture, or a revival of earth sculpture; see Rose, Claes Oldenburg, 107.

the diverse aspects of nature in Central Park rather to impose on it a static convention of beauty, a formal idea of the mind. Oldenburg must have appreciated Olmstead's recognition of the complex synthesis of the ongoing processes of the natural and the urban setting. By throwing the teddy bear into the park (figs. 42-43), Oldenburg was not proposing simply a scenic view of a lost Eden in parks. The bear was a physical object representing the obstruction between white and black New York. But like the hole, the bear had its negative and positive implications. The hole was an active cavity to be filled, thus, a symbol of the renewal of nature. Similarly the teddy bear, a magical object of affection, represented only a temporary stasis in the ego between the innocent child and the civilized adult.

Oldenburg's studio was the environment of New York. Both were full with situations. While his nostalgic toy of the teddy bear could represent his unconscious needs and was a manifestation of his self, it also at the same time was an common object out of scale and placed on the landscape. Both the bear and the hole were obstacles forcing a relationship between the viewer and the environment. Oldenburg's hole in the ground and his proposal for the nostalgic toy of the teddy bear for Central Park have in common their literalism and situational condition.

Literalism and a focus on and integration with the environment are characteristics of both Pop and Minimal Art. Shared by Oldenburg, Kienholz, and Segal, these two factors allow for a discussion of the issue of theatricality in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

A CONTEMPORARY VIEW OF TABLEAU

This chapter will briefly outline the critical problem of placing the tableaux of Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal in the two dominant trends of the sixties--Pop Art and Minimal Art. The fact that some critics saw common properties, such as literalism and a focus on the environment, between these two simultaneous movements assists to a certain degree in understanding these artists' placement in the art of the sixties. In 1967 Michael Fried called these lifelike experiences theatrical. It is primarily the issue of theatricality in Minimal Art set forth by Fried which seems to open up a major area shared by many diverse artists during this period. Because Fried in his essay relegated Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal to a footnote, this chapter will analyze certain works by these artists in relationship to aspects of Minimal Art. Fried's viewpoint is an useful tool through which one can begin to understand the complicated concept of tableau.

Common Property in Pop and Minimal Art

In 1967 in answering a questionnaire on the sixties, Segal described the period as one of a more open attitude. The fact that artists were using unusual materials, ordinary objects, and different methods and strategies represented to him a general condition. This was the artist's desire to question conventional values and to remain open to making any absolute decisions. Segal believed these same goals were behind the Pop artist who placed a real object in a room and the Minimal artist who set a geometric shape in a room.¹

Segal's statement reflects a different view on Pop art than the initial reactions outlined in the introduction. By the mid to the late sixties, several critics had acknowledged the fact that the simultaneous trends of Pop and abstract art in the early sixties had several common features. Pop Art probably received a higher profile because it was so radically different from Abstract Expressionism. Because Pop Art used such clear representational images, it was a threat to the formalist critics' argument that abstraction was the most radically intelligent strategy of Modernism. Yet, critics as Robert Rosenblum as early as 1964 had seen a sensibility shared by such diverse painters as the abstract artist Frank

¹Barbara Rose and Irving Sandler, "Sensibility of the Sixties," Art in America 55 (January-February 1967): 55.

Stella and Pop artist Roy Lichtenstein. For example, both artists used bold magnification, industrial media, and flat color. Rosenblum also had noted the similarity in images in Pop and abstract art, such as the fluorescent tubes of the New York subway and shop windows and the pure constructions of an artist as Dan Flavin.²

Although Irving Sandler repeated the general feeling that the Pop images were negative in contrast to the abstract images, he also found in both trends a hard edge clarity, blown up, single images against a single field, and an emphasis on calculation, impersonality, and even impassiveness.³ In 1965 Barbara Rose was one of the first critics to designate one area of the abstract art as Minimalism. Although at that time, she would only state Minimalism as an antidote to Pop Art's environmental subject, she later would link them together.⁴

Pop Art referred to works of art in which images were drawn from the artifacts of everyday life. Minimal Art

²Robert Rosenblum, "Pop Art and Non-Pop Art," in Pop Art Redefined, with introductions by Gablik and Russell, 53-56; article originally published in Art and Literature 5 (Summer 1964).

³Irving Sandler, "The New Cool-Art," Art in America 53 (February 1965): 96-101.

⁴Barbara Rose, "ABC Art," in Minimal Art. A Critical Anthology, ed. Battcock, 247-297, especially 296-297; originally published in Art in America 53 (October-November 1965).

referred to abstract, geometric works of art. Pop Art dealt with everyday objects and Minimal Art looked like nonart or the basic building blocks of man-made functional objects. To Barbara Rose, what Pop and Minimal Art had in common were their American traditions of the artistic style of Precisionism and the philosophical viewpoint of pragmatism. Precisionism was an artistic mode of the twenties dealing with American subject matter filtered through a cubist structure. It gave to Pop and Minimal Art a tradition of isolating an image and converting the plainness of the everyday world, including vernacular architecture and industrial structures, into monumental statements. Pragmatism rejected any idealist view and affirmed truth through physical facts.²

While Pop and Minimal Art have in common the use of ordinary icons, as buildings, and the technical effects of commerce or industry, this common sensibility does not totally assist in the understanding of the tableaux of Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal. However, in reviewing the attitudes of two authors of the publication Pop Art Redefined, one can see an approach which allows connections to be made between these three artists and these two movements. In their book associated with a 1968 exhibition of American and British Pop artists, Suzi

²Barbara Rose, "Problems of Criticism, V. The Politics of Art, Part II," Artforum 7 (January 1969): 44-49.

Gablik and John Russell each brought new insight to the problem.⁶

Similar to other authors, Suzi Gablik and John Russell designated earlier artists, as Rauschenberg, Johns, and Rivers, as hybrids of this new focus on the mass media. Yet, they acknowledged the problem of stylistic unity still remained. There definitely was a thematic unity in the artists' focus on the public world. Gablik believed that Pop Art evolved from this attention to the environment, including its random events. To her, Pop Art was an art of literalness due to the mechanical style and to the use of found or ready-made imagery of the mass media. Both Gablik and Russell stated the difference between the Pop movement in the United States and England depended on the degree of experience with a technological culture. To them, the American artist had lived literally in the mass produced culture whereas the British artist had chosen only recently that way of life. They saw the American artist as having a more impersonal style utilizing emblematic images and industrial techniques.⁷ The British artist allowed a more subjective synthesis and an overlay of conventional and industrial techniques. Given this range from frontal to discursive images and a

⁶Gablik and Russell, Pop Art Redefined, 9-40.

⁷Gablik, introduction to *ibid*, 9-20. Russell, introduction to *ibid*., 21-40.

wide use of impersonal images in an exaggerated impersonal manner, they could allow a grouping of artists as Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal.

What is unique about Gablik's approach is that she emphasized the Pop artists' extension into three-dimensional space. Although Lucy Lippard also had focused on painters and sculptors in her 1966 book on Pop Art,⁸ Gablik stressed the artists' interest in an "art situation" which included the conditions of contemporary society affected by mass communication. In other words, it was a world where everything is relative, simultaneous, and in process. Therefore, Gablik went further in stating that Pop Art emerged from the general interest in the environment which included the manifestation of Happenings and multi-media performances. It is this focus on and integration with the environment which Gablik saw as the connecting link between Pop and Minimal sculpture. While the Minimalists have used the structural language rather than the images of technology, these artists also are explicit in the way they want their structures to be experienced. Thus, in 1969 Gablik could even see a further link with those "situationalists" who act directly on the environment by digging a hole.⁹ For example, one could

⁸Lucy Lippard, ed., Pop Art (New York: Praeger, 1966).

⁹ Gablik, "Introduction," in Pop Art Redefined, 14-20; quotation, p. 20.

interject here Claes Oldenburg's act in Central Park.

The Issue of Theatricality in the Sixties: Examples

Kienholz's, Oldenburg's, and Segal's involvement with objects on the ground, an everyday reality, opens up the possibility for a clear world view rather than a strict idealist position. Their tableaux also allow a heightening of actual lifelike experiences through the medium of art. In 1967, the critic Michael Fried wrote an article, "Art and Objecthood," in which he felt that this theatricalization of experience associated with Minimal Art worked against the purism of modern art. However, in his discussion he brought Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal under this umbrella of theatrical effect in modern art.¹⁰ These artists are not usually associated with Minimalism, but Fried's characterization of this movement as theatrical allows a broader view of that movement and art of the sixties.

In his essay Fried did not discuss the work of Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal, although he saw their work tied to the theatrical quality of temporality as found in the Minimalists Judd and Morris. It is important to discuss briefly this Minimalist sense of theatricality particularly in the work of Robert Morris. The work of

¹⁰Fried, "Art and Objecthood," in Minimal Art. A Critical Anthology, ed. Battcock, 116-147; specific point, 130.

Morris is pertinent here for three reasons. First, he engaged in performance, as did Oldenburg, as a parallel means in the development of this sculpture. Second, as discussed, Dadaist performance had structural seeds for the sculptural tableaux of Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal. Morris's performances also have Dadaist precedents in terms of theme and structure. Third, Morris's sculptural work included box constructions, as in the work of Kienholz, and architectural models, as in the work of Segal. From a brief discussion of a few of Morris's works in comparison to works by Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal, Fried's issue of theatricality for all of these artists will be clearer.

As previously discussed, in the late fifties and early sixties, artists working in various mediums found that artistic statements could be made in a direct, unpedantic, and authentic way through the primacy of the human body. At this time, performing and visual artists were interacting directly with groups oriented towards Happenings and with activities primarily stemming from dance.

As early as 1961, Robert Morris collaborated with Yvonne Rainer and Simone Forti in the latter's work, See-Saw. Both Rainer and Forti had come from the Dancers' Workshop Company of San Francisco which had originated in the late fifties with Anne Halprin. In 1960 Rainer and

Forti began to share their ideas with New York performers acclimated towards Happenings. This resulted in public performances at the Reuben Gallery and the Judson Memorial Church, the same locations of Oldenburg's performances. Although these performers at the Judson Memorial Church emphasized the ephemeral nature of dance in one-time events, they soon led performance beyond the condition of earlier Happenings. The cohesion of the Judson Dance Group stemmed from a composition class given by Robert Dunn in 1961 in one of Merce Cunningham's studios. The group consisted of some of the original San Francisco workshop as Simone Forti, Yvonne Rainer, Steve Paxton, and Trisha Brown, and some of the New York students of Cunningham.

The San Francisco dancers had come to Dunn's class with the improvisational mode of Anne Halprin as their background. She had emphasized a type of dance freed from rules and technique. She stressed the sensing of anatomical and kinesthetic changes in the body and the process of performance itself through two means: the free flow of bodily impulses on both interior and exterior sites and the combination of movements from ordinary physical tasks. The Cunningham dancers also had freed dance movements from dramatic connotations and symbolic meaning through a highly disciplined, but open stance and through a collage technique of any combination of body parts and disparate movements. Dance was separated from

music and its indeterminate compositions equalized designs of space, time, and the human figure. In Dunn's class the new group renewed their familiarity with chance procedures through the study of scores by the composer John Cage. Like Kaprow, Dunn was interested in Cage's suggestion of bridging or connecting aspects of art and life; both had Duchamp as their intellectual model. The dancers also experimented with the erratic musical structures of Erik Satie. He was the legendary French master to whom Cage and Cunningham had dedicated their evening performances at Black Mountain in the summer of 1948. Also, Cage had mentioned Satie's "furniture-set music" structured by related lengths of time in Motherwell's anthology on Dadaism. The Judson Dance Group, including the artist Robert Morris, soon built a repertory involving written texts, game assignments, and task oriented movements; they also emphasized improvisation and levels of body energy itself. As in Rainer's performance of Satie Spoons (1962), they, too, occasionally paid homage to radicals of the past.¹¹

As discussed in chapter one, there are important Dadaist models in performances and assemblages which were

¹¹For this summary of performance in the late fifties and early sixties, see Goldberg, Performance, Live Art 1909 to the Present, 79-93. For Cage's reference to Satie's "furniture-set music," see Motherwell, ed., introduction to The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, xxiii.

crucial to the artists of the sixties. Rather than simply focusing on their performances as zany acts and as anti-formal stances, this dissertation has pointed out certain structural features which are important to the development of sculptural tableau. A review of a few Dadaist performances is necessary because the models apply to both the performances and sculptural tableaux of Oldenburg and Morris. What is evident in the first Parisian model is a strong predilection for structural framing of behavioral patterns. In the second Parisian model, there is a strong awareness of the body, but this knowledge is redirected to a contact with abstraction.

The first example is the 1924 collaboration of Francis Picabia and Satie in a balletic parody, Relâche; its title was the theatrical term for "no performance" or "closed for the season." The first act of Relâche contained some of the following simultaneous actions: Man Ray pacing on the stage and occasionally measuring the dimensions of the stage floor; a fireman chain-smoking and pouring water from one bucket to another; in a dark background dancers revolved with random spotlighting to make a tableau vivant (Duchamp and Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia as Cranach's Adam and Eve). These disparate actions were set against one structural field of metal discs with inserts of light bulbs.

During the intermission of Relâche, Picabia's and

Rene Clair's film Entr'acte was shown, starring Duchamp, Man Ray, and Satie. The film began with a frontal shot of a male dancer in a gauze skirt who was soon seen from below through a glass plate; this dancer was illustrated in Motherwell's anthology. Then, the action progressed to a chess game with Duchamp, Man Ray, and Satie on the roof of the Theatre des Champs-Elysees, which was filmed from above down to the plane of the roof. After this filming up to and down on a plane, the film moved to a slow funeral procession which ended with the coffin falling off the hearse; the box shape opened to reveal a grinning corpse. The actors in the film then broke through the paper with the inscription "End" and the second act of Relâche began.¹² In the film itself there was a strong play on framing devices in both two-and three-dimensions.

The second example, as discussed in chapter one in connection with Motherwell's anthology, also involves Picabia in his set for the major Dadaist manifestation at the Salle Gaveau in Paris in 1920 (fig. 10). He used a formal, geometricized version of green hedges to line the steps of the stage and large wrapped boxes labeled with performers' names across the stage. Among these geometric shapes and miscellaneous shapes of a barrel and striped

¹²For summary, see: Goldberg, Performance. Live Art 1909 to the Present, 59-62. A still photograph from Entr'acte was published in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 272.

stove pipe with attached umbrella, the first performance of the program was the rising and falling of a white cardboard cylinder on balloons.¹³

These tendencies in Dada between structural framing and human behavior are the link between such diverse movements as Dadaism and Constructivism in the twenties. The creation of International Constructivism in the twenties was actually catalyzed by the coming together of Dutch, German, and Russian artists, such as Theo van Doesburg, Moholy-Nagy, and El Lissitzky, and Dadaists, such as Raoul Hausmann, Hans Richter, and Kurt Schwitters.¹⁴ Called the "New Dada" by van Doesburg, they had in common machine aesthetics, object constructions, and the practice of collage and photomontage. While the Constructivists had an utopian view of the machine, the Dadaists had no faith in it. However, they did treat the machine with humor, integrated it into life or acknowledged the potential flexibility of machine-human

¹³Goldberg, Performance. Live Art 1909 to the Present, 54-56.

¹⁴For an excellent summary of Dada and Constructivism, see Elderfield, Kurt Schwitters, 120-143. For a more extensive discussion of aspects of Constructivism, see Christina Lodder, Russian Constructivism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983). Robert Motherwell was not oblivious to this alliance and even published a photograph of the Constructivist-Dadaist Congress in Weimar in 1922 which was placed opposite the first page of his introduction; see Motherwell, ed., The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, xviii.

relations. Both had an interest in using the new materials of the world. In his nihilistic Dada Manifesto of 1918, Tristan Tzara had even called for the new artist to work in real materials of stone, wood, iron, locomotive parts, etc., rather than painting symbolic or illusionistic representations.¹⁰ Some tentative parallels could be drawn in terms of the Dadaist and Constructivist interest in a culture of worldly materials and in projecting them into a functional space: for example, Schwitters's Dadaist construction of his Die Kultpumpe (The Cult Pump) (1919) and Merzbau columns (figs. 13, 14, 85) and Tatlin's tower or nonutilitarian constructions. Both the Dadaist and Constructivist liberation of new materials, the resulting processes towards form, the recognition of their sculptural potential, and even El Lissitzky's and Schwitters's synthesis of painting, sculpture, and architecture would be instrumental to the Minimal and tableau artists of the sixties.

A model of this Dadaist and Constructivist union is related in Schwitters's essay on the Dutch De Stijl artist Theo van Doesburg; the 1931 essay was published in Motherwell's anthology. Schwitters began his essay by describing van Doesburg as someone whose logical life had a Dadaist motto; this was the attitude that "[l]ife is a

¹⁰For Tzara's emphasis on materials, see: Tzara, "Dada Manifesto 1918," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 78.

wonderful invention." In his essay Schwitters described one of his and van Doesburg's performances. Van Doesburg in black tie dress and with a white face had delivered a formal lecture on Dada while Schwitters occasionally barked in the audience when van Doesburg reached for his drink of water.¹⁶ In other words, van Doesburg's elegance and formality on the platform and his mode of working the audience with his logical lecture patterns were provocative means to show the potential flexibility of results; one was Schwitters's bark related to van Doesburg's drinking of water. Van Doesburg's black elegance in his formal lecture and its result--a new form of behavior--could represent the paradoxical relationship of destruction and construction.

Interestingly, Schwitters's poem Sonata, in which language was reduced to the repetition of pure primitive sounds, and one of his collages were reproduced opposite his essay on Van Doesburg in Motherwell's anthology. The fact that Schwitters's poem and collage were transferred from a page in the magazine Mécano to a page in Motherwell's anthology is another reference to the

¹⁶For Schwitters's 1931 essay, see Kurt Schwitters, "Theo van Doesburg and Dada," in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 275-276; originally published in De Stijl (January 1932).

collaboration of the Dadaists and Constructivists.¹⁷ Also significant is the fact that van Doesburg edited Mécano from 1922-23. One other illustration from Mécano in Motherwell's anthology showed at the top of the page the magazine's own highly ordered typographical name and a human hand forming a box around a circular saw blade; neatly spaced at the bottom of the page, blocked quotes on Dada as protest and disinterest stand opposite a machine drawing.¹⁸ This mix of the typographical elegance and machine order and the technological behavior of cutting and human behavior of pointing is also evident in Schwitters's and Hausmann's performance of 1920.

In this event the pure sounds and structural repetition of Schwitters's poems were to intermingle with Hausmann's movements as a technological being. What was actually seen or what occurred structurally was that Hausmann's movements became static poses when he cut on the brilliant lights; then his grotesque poses alternated with Schwitters's monologue in the dark.¹⁹ Light was a

¹⁷For Schwitters's poem and collage, see The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 274. Schwitters's poem was originally published in Mécano, nos. 4-5 (1923). Mecano (Leiden, 1922-23) was edited by van Doesburg and contained four issues.

¹⁸Illustration from Mécano, nos. 4-5, is in The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology, ed. Motherwell, 337.

¹⁹For the best description of this performance, see Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, 206.

structural means and gave a picture of process between static and moving forms. This structured picture of process and primary forms would be important to a Minimalist as Morris.

In turning to Robert Morris, one could examine three of his performances in relation to those of Oldenburg. The first performance Site was held at Studio 73, Pocket Theater and Judson Memorial Church in 1964 and at the New York Theater Rally in 1965. Site (fig. 126) basically consisted of the following actions: Morris stepped into a space statically held by a triangular arrangement of white rectangular panels. He was dressed in a white construction worker's garb and wore a rubber mask designed by Jasper Johns; this mask reproduced exactly the features on Morris's face so to hide the emotional expression of any physical strain in his task. Similarly in his sculptural tableaux, Segal was shrouding himself and others in white casts to diminish the sense of internal feelings.²⁰ By shifting two of the panels, Morris then revealed the performance artist Carolee Schneeman in the pose of

²⁰Although preoccupied with a dramatic idea of art, Johns, himself, was primarily connected to performance through fund raising efforts and occasional design of costumes. Further research beyond this dissertation would be the relationship of Duchamp, Johns, and Segal, and Segal and Morris. The relationship of Duchamp, Johns, and Morris has been noted in early reviews by Barbara Rose and others. See, for example, Barbara Rose's review of Morris's work in Art International 7 (December 1963): 63-64.

Manet's Olympia, a nude reclining on a couch backed by the third panel. Accompanied from off stage by the sound of a saw and hammer, Morris continued the manipulation of the panels. This particular task emphasized the entire space and created a relation between the volume of the static figure of Schneeman and that implied by the moving panels.²¹

Before stating the significance of Morris's performance, it is important to reflect on Oldenburg's happening World's Fair II. It was one of the 1962 happenings of the Ray Gun Manufacturing Company in his store. Although longer than Morris's event, Oldenburg's happening has some strong parallels with it. Oldenburg's happening had four parts, each section concerned with the location of the action: table, floor, walls, and ceiling. World's Fair II began with a table stacked with magazines to be read by the spectators and progressed to a scene where a white faced figure was placed prone on the table. Instead of amplifying the reclining figure as Morris had in Site, Oldenburg's performers soon replaced the human figure with a pile of objects which came out of the prone figure's pockets. Similar to Morris's neutral colors, the littered table soon was neutralized by a white sheet; all the objects were spread into a miniature city.

²¹For Morris's performance, see Goldberg, Performance. Live Art 1909 to the Present, 92.

The next scene consisted of the performers in tennis shoes, boxed shoes, stuffed burlap, bag shoes, and high heels pacing the rectangular space. Instead of being accompanied by the sound of saw and hammer off stage as in Morris's work, these performers made their own stamping sounds and dropped nails to the floor as they outlined the floor. In the next scene, Oldenburg's performers built a rectangle with frames and covered it with white muslin. Instead of a nude as in Morris's box, Oldenburg's muslin walls illuminated a dancing couple. The spectators were distanced by the walls and by Oldenburg poking at them through the muslin walls. Finally, the performers took the walls down and hung Oldenburg's soft objects from the ceiling; these objects made a white stalactite city (fig. 31).²²

Oldenburg's performance points to the Dadaist attitude about making art; it is a behavioral process incorporating all media. This behavioral process was translated into the Minimalists' phenomenological direction; that is, the Minimalists wanted to keep the object off the pedestal, as it were, and to enlarge its relationship to the immediate environment. In Oldenburg's happening the room was filled with the place of the city;

²²In describing Oldenburg's performance, Michael Kirby did not compare Oldenburg's happening with the work of Morris; see Kirby, ed., Happenings. An Illustrated Anthology, 223-233.

the place became an object. The related objects set in motion--the man on the table, the city of objects on the table, the rise of the boxes on the floor, the walled city, and the soft hanging city--all are superimposed and gradually make the one static object of the city. Likewise, in Morris's performance Site, his steps were slow and deliberate in keeping constant, yet magnifying, the single sculptural value--the shape of the figures.

Site was a performance signifying Morris's doubt about the survival of sculpture seemingly unstable in an amorphous field. His attempt to distinguish sculpture from painting was substantiated in his publications, "Notes on Sculpture," in 1966. Morris's prop was Manet. According to Clement Greenberg, modernist painting had begun with Manet through his declaration of flatness; with the flat surface as its unique element, painting had evolved through a dialectical process approaching the object through structural concerns which gradually focused on the literal qualities of the support. But with the transcendence of color over drawn shape in large scale painting, Morris had found that the optical nature of color was incompatible with the physical nature of sculpture. He had a strong aversion to color engulfing and subverting the literal physical qualities of shape, mass, scale, and proportion. Therefore, Morris began in Site with Manet and his neutral hues; as he stated, they ". . . allow for the maximum

focus on these essential physical decisions which inform sculptural works."²³ In Site, Morris, blending with the panels, built a polyhedron in real space by moving out from the real nude statically placed against the flat panel. As Segal had done with his props, as in Man at a Table (1961; fig. 17), Morris chose a ready-made form--the geometric shape--from our common, industrial environment.

If Morris's Site suggested the process of construction of a holistic object in a holistic room, it also developed a temporal theme: that is, the response of the body in establishing spatial distance, the scale between the size of the object and the size of the monument, and the relation of mass and weight of the human figure and the object. Donald Judd, in discussing the Minimalist exhibition "Black, White and Gray" in 1964, had related Rauschenberg's White Painting(s) of 1951 to Morris's minimal shapes, such as Slab (1962; fig. 127), in their "unevaluating view."²⁴ One might think back to the Black Mountain "Untitled Event" of 1952 when

²³Quotation from Robert Morris, "Notes on Sculpture," Artforum 4 (February 1966): 43-45; quotation, 43. His second pertinent article was "Notes on Sculpture, Part II," Artforum 5 (October 1966): 21-23. Parts III and IV subsequently appeared in Summer 1967 and April 1969.

²⁴The exhibition "Black, White and Gray" was held at the Wadsworth Atheneum during January-February 1964 and was reviewed by Donald Judd; see Judd, "Nationwide Reports: Hartford. 'Black, White and Gray'," Arts Magazine 38 (March 1964): 36-38; quotation, 37.

Rauschenberg's White Painting was suspended from the ceiling. In their expanse and bare existence, Rauschenberg's painting and Morris's painted plywood Cloud (1962) are similar, but Morris was always to counter a nongravitational feeling. In fact, Morris's Cloud had its earthbound equivalent in Slab. Likewise, Morris set up Column (1961; fig. 128) as a performance work itself. In La Monte Young's Living Theater, the monolithic column stood vertical for three minutes and a half minutes as if a tableau vivant and horizontal for the remaining three and one half minutes of its sequence.²⁵ Weight and mass were emphasized through the literal contrast of vertical and horizontal directions.

In Morris's second performance work, the Column, there is an obvious similarity with the act of the rising and falling cylinder in the 1920 Dadaist manifestation in Paris. Furthermore, Morris's object performed just as any of the objects set in motion in Oldenburg's happenings. An appropriate example might be the treelike shape on the roof in the Dallas production of Injun which uprooted itself and fell to the ground. The primary difference, of course, is that Morris selectively focused on that one primary shape. The spectator is the single column's audience and he comes to realize that the ground plane is

²⁵Rosalind Krauss described Morris's performance, but she did not compare it to a tableau vivant; see Krauss, Passages in Modern Sculpture, 201, 203.

the location for the maximum awareness of the object. In sensing the gravitational force acting on the object in actual space, the spectator gradually understands his position.

Morris's third performance Waterman Switch was performed with Yvonne Rainer and Lucinda Childs at the Judson Memorial Church in 1965. The first sequence began with the real sound of rolling rocks, followed by its fake accompaniment on stage, and then, the laying down of real tracks. Similarly, the second sequence had its illusionistic and real life equivalents; a slide projection of one of Muybridge's photographic sequences of a man lifting a stone was followed by a real actor going through the same motions on stage; he also was illuminated by a beam from a slide projector. The main event focused on Rainer and Morris, both nude, pressed together as they moved along the tracks as if to dance to the music from Simone Boccanegra. Lucinda Childs beside the tracks paralleled the couple's movement in her pace and in her slow unwinding of a ball of twine. Again, in one of the other seven sections of the performance, Morris and Rainer repeated the duet on the opposite side of the stage; this

time they moved to the music of Verdi.²⁶

In Morris's performance one is reminded of the dance performance in Relâche (1924) and of the dancing couple in Oldenburg's white muslin box in World's Fair I (1962). But, there are differences in the use of these dancing images which will be explained.

In his discussion of Waterman Switch, the critic David Antin originally suggested that Rainer's and Morris's mechanical movement on the tracks—"dancing" and "not dancing" to prohibit a side step--and their duality of being "concealed" and "revealed," both "simulated and dissimulated being stripped bare."²⁷ Although Antin did not mention Duchamp by name, the main action on the tracks, paralleled by Child's pacing, has direct relations to Duchamp's performance in Relâche and his paintings of 1912. The poet and critic Nicholas Calas further elaborated on this performance. He stated:

In other words, nakedness is but
anticipated by spectators, for
while the two dance, they are in
that state of aesthetic grace called
"nudity." Thus, had they in fact
fallen from the tracks, spectators

²⁶For a description of Morris's performance, see the following: Goldberg, Performance. Live Art 1909 to the Present, 92; David Antin, "Art & Information, 1 Grey Paint, Robert Morris," Art News 65 (April 1966): 58; Nicolas Calas, "The Wit and Pedantry of Robert Morris," Arts Magazine 44 (March 1970): 45.

²⁷Antin, "Art & Information, 1, Grey Paint, Robert Morris," 57.

would in retrospect view them as naked all along since by falling they proved themselves incompetent performers incapable of transforming nakedness into nudity.²⁸

Restated, the performance could be seen in this way: if the spectators had anticipated "nakedness," they would have expected to view intimate relations and would have been put into the multiplicity of Cubism. If the state of "nudity" was maintained, they would have seen and had a one-to-one relation with the work as in Minimalism.

As in Site, Morris in Waterman Switch was concerned with delineating the conditions for his sculpture; in the former performance, shape was magnified in time, and, here, time was enlarged into shape. In the projections of Muybridge's photography sequences and in its live counterpart on stage, there was a contrast between the implied movement of the man and object in a static series of sequential shots and between the real movement of the man and object in his traversal of space through extension and elevation in a real time frame. Similarly, Morris wanted to establish sculpture beyond Cubist simultaneity; he wanted to remove the relationship of multi-facet shapes within a work. He also stressed the removal of other factors inside a work which set up intimacy, such as connections with binary mathematics, the artist's hand, color, and impressively high finishes. In his sculpture he

²⁸Calas, "The Wit and Pedantry of Robert Morris," 47.

substituted these internal elements for the functioning of the spectator around the minimal shapes and for the varying conditions of real space and light. In the extended field or real field, man and object would diminish in self-importance and gain in their new, public positions in relative space.

What is interesting is that no matter how hot the materials of the dancing bodies or the numerous detailed events employed, both Morris's and Oldenburg's performances have several commonalities. One is a consciousness of the photographic investigations of Muybridge. Although in Morris's performance the reference is literally in the photographic sequences, in Oldenburg's performances the clue is in the slow repetition of action and the sense of extension. Oldenburg's sense of still shots and single overlapping movements had begun with his illuminated poses in Snapshots from the City (1960; fig. 26). From this first happening, he shifted more to repetition within single rings of action, as in Fotodeath (1961) with the continuous advancing and receding girl with flag (fig. 28) or the dressing and unrobing of the other woman. In his Proposal for a Monument to Immigration (1961), it is the continuous repetition of the ships running against the sandbar and each other in the New York harbor which would make the final static object. What was most important to Morris and Oldenburg was Muybridge's

consistent approach of photographing his models--semi-nudes and animals--against a grid of vertical and horizontal lines and placing the finished photographs in a grid. Morris's and Oldenburg's grid is the stage, room, and gallery.

In both Waterman Switch (1965) and World's Fair II (1962) the performances dealt with extension, acts of duration, and tracing. In Waterman Switch, the sequences on and around the tracks are different in details but parallel each other. Rainer's and Morris's dance-walk along the tracks extended in one direction to be reversed at a distance in space and time. Also, the act was repeated on the opposite side of the stage in a later sequence; what was seen in one sequence was remembered in the other. In World's Fair II the same types of actions take place on the table, floor, walls, and ceiling. In the end, Morris's theatrical performance of duration and tracing selectively focused on the pure fact or idea of physical tension between the similar traced shapes and on the possibility of extension itself. In Oldenburg's performance the traced or interconnecting shapes--magazines on the table, man on the table, objects compiling city on the table, boxed city on the floor, white walls, and soft stalactite city--all extend to create a more poetic place.

In his performances and sculptural work, Morris has

concentrated on perception involving duration and passage through a field or ground plane. For the act of perception to hold its power, Morris has always depended on kinesthetic clues and memory traces. In his performances and sculpture, there was a gradual visualization or belief in a totality obtained through the energy of the pattern as the performers or spectators moved in and out of registration of the original pose or sculptural shape over periods of time and changes in place. Physical orientation and remembrances of the varying number of possible existences, not necessarily exact in their final descriptions or states, produced the meaning of the work.

Perhaps more clear in Morris's reliefs of the same period, there was a heightening of the stages of process and the contrast between open and closed passages and positive and negative pressures. For example, in one of his untitled reliefs of 1964, the mobility and perception available to the body in performance was translated through the literal object of the rulers and the casts of the footprints. In another untitled relief of 1963, Morris placed on top of a glass case a field of plaster; inside the case on the two shelves he placed a positive cast of his gloved hand and a negative impression of his hand.²⁹ Playing with what is inside and what is outside, Morris

²⁹For illustrations of reliefs, see Annette Michelson, Robert Morris (Washington, D.C.: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1969), 24, 31-33.

positively implied his real, but absent hand. Physical and temporal referents produce a memory of his hand, a static configuration, here made up of moments separated in time and space.

Segal's closest relationship to Morris in the issue of theatricality is in two areas. The first is a similar concentration on the idea of passage. The second is their mutual use of body casts or traces of the human figure. Both Morris and Segal were interested in Duchamp's proposal for a variety of states in the representation of the object. In Duchamp's work, he used the literal object or ready-made, depicted shape, the shadowed and reflected versions of an object, the suggestion of plaster body casts, and text. It was Jasper Johns who first followed up Duchamp's idea of reproduction and replication, as in his target series of paintings, and who probably influenced both Segal and Morris. Whereas Morris in his early work tended to extend these concepts of perception to seemingly diverse performances, reliefs, and primary shapes in a room, Segal consistently used the human figure with real, simple objects as tables, chairs, and counters. Obviously, these pieces of furniture have similar known shapes as Morris's cubes and polyhedrons. Also, Oldenburg has noted that when he saw an exhibition by Morris, he conceived the sculpture as objects which he could use in his own work.³⁰

³⁰Coplands, "The Artist Speaks: Claes Oldenburg," 74.

Furthermore, Segal consistently used architectural fragments as doorways, windows, and partitions. While Morris continued to be interested in the diverse modes of filling the space of representation, Segal tended to concentrate on the body casts and literal objects. He also used the mirrored state in his tableau The Dinner Table (1962; fig. 18).

In the end, if Morris's Untitled (portal box) (1961; fig. 129) is compared with Segal's Woman in a Doorway (1964 and 1965; fig. 130), the differences can be observed. In Morris's minimal object he provided the spectator with the physical and mental potential of looking through and passing through a primary object or structure reminiscent of a door frame. A second version had mirrors covering the inside frame; as the spectator passed through, he naturally would stop to look at himself and would be framed in his own stop-action.³¹ Segal also had two different versions of Woman in a Doorway. In the first version of the tableau, the woman confidently lingers in the ready-made, elegant doorway. In the second version, the woman tentatively stands in a tenement doorway as if cognizant of the potential dangers outside.

³¹The original Pine Portal, 1961 was destroyed; a reconstruction, c. 1969, measuring 96" x 48" x 12", is listed in the following catalogue: Annette Michelson, Robert Morris, 94, catalogue no. 3. The mirrored version is documented in Robert Morris, Robert Morris: Mirror Works 1961-78 (New York: Leo Castelli Gallery, 1979), 8.

Segal's play with what is real and what is remembered, and what is on the inside and what is on the outside is in both the image of the door and in his white plaster casts. However, in his tableaux Segal was primarily interested in making manifest both the physical and psychological nuances of the calculated spaces.

In a discussion of Kienholz's relationship with the Minimalist artist in the issue of theatricality, one should note Barbara Rose's characteristics of Minimalism in her 1965 essay. One of her headings read as follows: "Art as Fact, Document, or Catalogue." Under this heading she noted the literal nature of Segal's "plaster replicas of real people in familiar situations," the explicit nude image of Morris behind a door in I-Box (1962; fig. 131), and the sentimental and ice cold nature of his nude dance in Waterman Switch (1965).³² She could have mentioned in this category Oldenburg's "catalogue of affections" outlined in his 1961 notes and put forth in his sculpture.³³ Also, critics between 1965 and 1968 noted the catalogue of horrors, the catalogue of details, and

³²Rose, "ABC Art," in Minimal Art. A Critical Anthology, ed. Battcock, 292-293.

³³John Russell regarded Oldenburg's statement "I am for an Art . . ." as a "Whitmanesque catalogue of affections"; see Russell, introduction to Pop Art Redefined, 23.

the catalogue of time in Kienholz's work.³⁴ For example, Jo Baer discussed Kienholz's detailing of the concept of time in his tableau While Visions of Sugar Plums Danced in Their Heads (1964; fig. 106). In this tableau, Baer noted a general flow of time in the movement of the figures from the dresser and side of the bed to inside the bed; an overlap of time in the simultaneous presentations; and alternating time in their blinking heads. Thus, in this work Kienholz is involved in the idea of extended time as fact as the Minimalists.³⁵

Finally, Morris's early box construction I-Box (1962; fig. 131) is a good example where one can discuss his most theatrical relationship with Kienholz. I-Box is a box with a door in the shape of the letter and pronoun "I" which opens to a photograph of the artist's nude body. The work inflects Morris's literal acts of operating on the ground level wherein he both mentally and physically sees himself in relation to the rest of the world. Consistent with

³⁴For this emphasis on "catalogue," see Gablik, "Crossing the Bar," 23; Annette Michelson, "New York Letter," Art International 10 (February 1966): 60.

³⁵For Baer's discussion, see Baer, "Edward Kienholz: A Sentimental Journeyman," 47. Also, in a review of Kienholz's exhibition of Roxys at the Iolas Gallery, Donald Judd demonstrated his Minimalist viewpoint by using certain words to characterize Kienholz's work. He commented on the change of scale, the successive reduction in Fifi . . ., and the extension or decentralization of things in the West; see Donald Judd, "In the Galleries: Edward Kienholz," Arts Magazine 37 (March 1963): 63-64.

Morris's mirrored version of the pine portal, the I-Box presents a theme of the self presented to itself. This is done in the following ways: first, through the shift of the mental or written word of the pronoun "I" to the visual or physical referent of the nude, and secondly, both pronoun and body to the larger body of the box as art and the world.

It is interesting to think of Morris's box construction in relationship to Kienholz's box The Psycho-Vendetta Case (1960; fig. 68). While Morris's shifts from the pronoun "I" to his own nude body to the world are more direct, there are similar juxtapositions in Kienholz's act of looking. The outside of Kienholz's box has the seal or imprint of the state of California. The inside has the shackled nude in relation to the whole box as art and the world. In the act of looking inside the box at the shackled nude torso and in looking into the periscope with text, the spectator physically contacts the body and becomes identified with the actions of the state of California. Kienholz has not provided his own one-to-one relationship with the world as Morris; rather he has shifted the act of perception to the spectator. In his texts on sculpture and in his own Minimalist work, Morris has been concerned with the problems of perception with its physical and mental qualities in relation to the perceiving body; he is interested in what one sees and how

one sees it. Between the act of seeing and the act of thinking, most often a narrow space and instantaneous time, Morris believes one too frequently depends on reactions fixed by habit, resolute patterns of thought, and collective standards.³⁶ Kienholz relates to Morris's theatrical presentation in that both advocate in these two works, and elsewhere, the conscious body, both self and spectator, and a more individual experience, ongoing response, and evaluation of the complexity of the world.

For the most part, Kienholz's, Oldenburg's, and Segal's tableaux have to be traversed, passed through, and walked around just in the Minimalist ensemble. In some cases Kienholz's box constructions or even his tableau The State Hospital (1964-67; fig. 105) have impenetrable spaces. This is due to miniature scale or physical barriers as a door. Similarly, some spaces in Segal's tableaux are more frontal and shallow than others. On the contrary, Kienholz's tableaux The Beanery (1966; fig. 51) and The Art Show (fig. 125) or Oldenburg's works The Street (1960; fig. 25) and The Store (1962; figs. 98, 100)

³⁶Robert Morris has written extensively on sculpture. Although one of his major articles summarizing his views, "The Present Tense of Space" in Art in America 66 (January-February 1978), pp. 70-81, was written in the seventies, several articles in the sixties contain this same emphasis on levels of perception. In addition to articles mentioned in this dissertation, p. 469, footnote 23, see Morris, "Dance," The Village Voice (3 February 1966), 8, 24-25; "Dance," The Village Voice (10 February 1966), 15.

have been the most environmental in terms of enclosing space. In both cases, whether shallow or enclosing spaces, or miniature or large-scale, these sculptors have moved farther away from Diderot's pictorial concept of tableau. They not only have used abstraction and metaphor, but they also have involved the spectator in physical participation.

In general, the spectator has become another co-actor in the shallow or enclosing spaces as he takes time to mentally and physically interpret the space of the narrative. In the minimalist work there is a type of narrative space set up by the spectator and objects in extended time in the compartmental unit of the room. Yet the narrative is unlimited in time; it provides subtle changes in shapes, but it is not explicit. Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal fill in the space of the narrative.

What is unique about Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal is that their work either stems from or acknowledges the performance and theatrical effects. Their tableaux also strongly builds on formal qualities. While they stage an event, they have gone beyond Diderot's concept of pictorial tableau as the embodiment of a pregnant moment of an image. Kienholz, Oldenburg, and Segal have moved beyond the moment and beyond the sculptural object. They have created sculptural tableaux, an area, field or territory offering physical and psychological

relationships and forcing the issue of duration of experience.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Unless otherwise noted, references in the photo credits are from the bibliography.

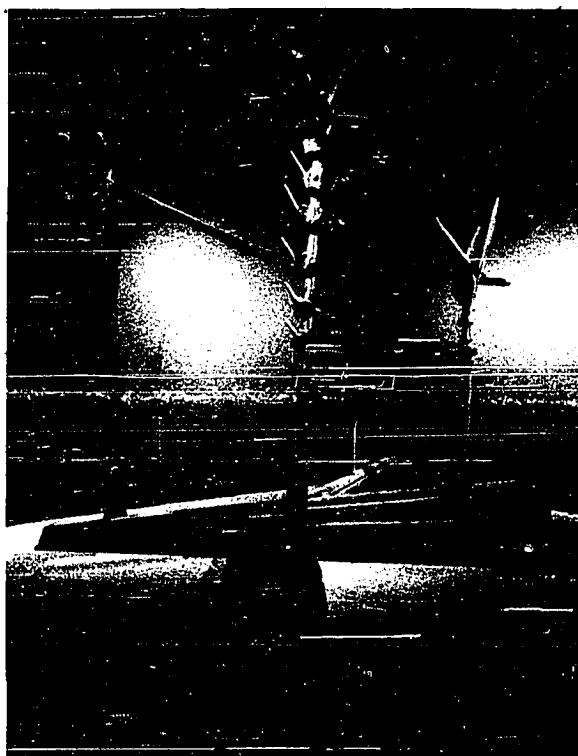


Figure 1. Frederick Kiesler. The Galaxy, 1948-51. Wood, metal and rope, 144 x 168 x 156". Coll. Mrs. Nelson A. Rockefeller. Photo credit: Grey Art Gallery Bulletin 4, no. 2 (Summer 1982).

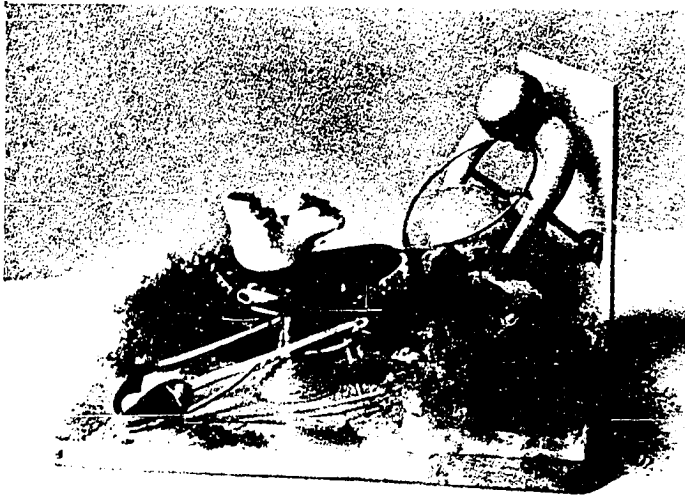


Figure 2. André Breton. Object with Symbolic Function, 1931. Location unknown. Photo credit: Breton, What is Surrealism? Selected Writings, n.p.

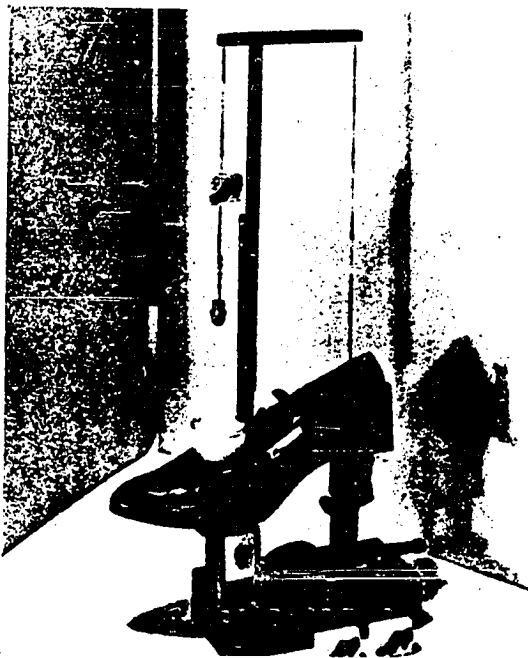


Figure 3. Salvador Dali. Scatological Object Symbolically Functioning, 1931. Mixed media, 48 x 24 x 14". Galerie du Dragon, Paris. Photo credit: Ades, 267.



Figure 4. Salvador Dalí. Rainy Taxi, 1938. Mixed media installation, International Surrealist Exhibition, Paris. Photo credit: Rubin, 155.



Figure 5. Rue Surréaliste, 1938. Mannequins by Andre Masson, Kurt Seligmann, and Max Ernst. Photo credit: Rubin, 153.



Figure 6. The Grotto, 1938, detail. Mixed media installation in the International Surrealist Exhibition, Paris. Photo credit: Rubin, 153.

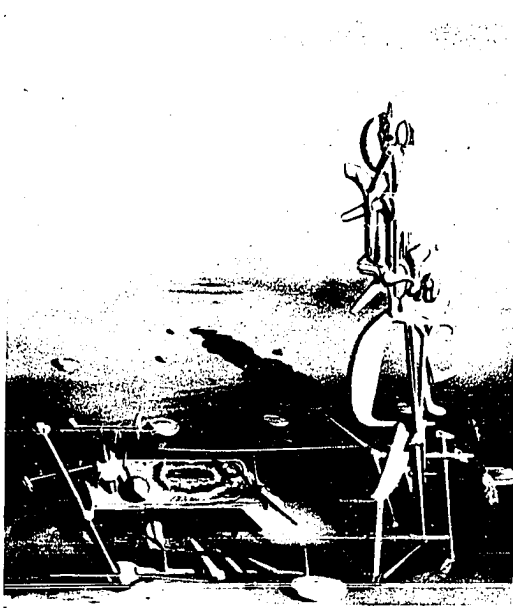


Figure 7. Yves Tanguy. Indefinite Divisibility, 1942. Oil on canvas, 40 1/8 x 35". Coll. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo. Photo credit: Rubin, 103.



Figure 8. Marcel Duchamp. Boîte-en-Valise, 1947. Mixed media, 16 x 15 x 14". Photo credit: Anne d'Harnoncourt and Kynaston McShine, eds., Marcel Duchamp (New York: The Museum of Modern Art and Philadelphia: The Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1973), fig. 158.

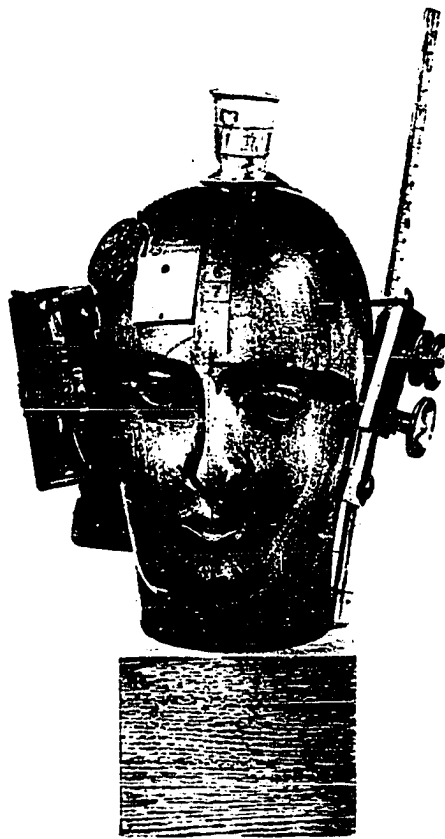


Figure 9. Raoul Hausmann.
Tête mécanique: L'esprit
de notre temps, 1920. Mixed
media, 32.5 cm. high. Coll.
Musée National d'art Moderne,
CNACGP, Paris. Photo credit:
Foster, ed., Dada/Dimensions,
139.

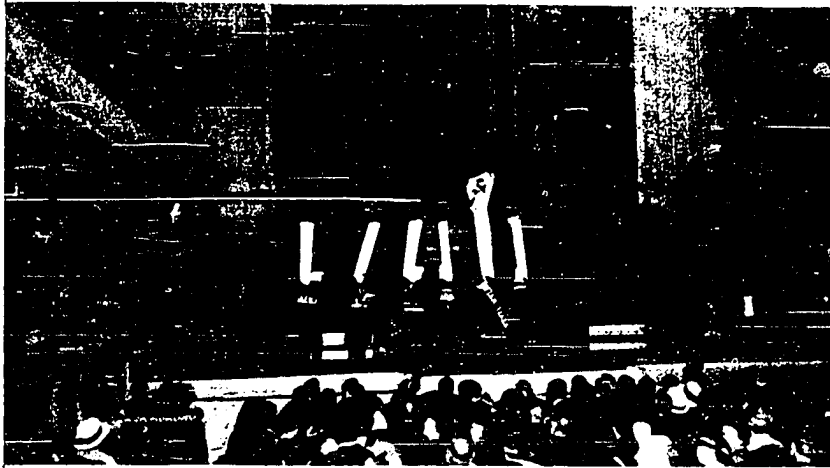


Figure 10. Set by Francis Picabia. Dada Festival in Gaveau Hall, Paris, 1920. Photo credit: Motherwell, ed., 112.



Figure 11. Kurt Schwitters. Construction, 1923. Mixed media. Photo credit: Motherwell, ed., 61.



Figure 12. Kurt Schwitters.
Mz 151. Wenzel Kind, 1921.
 Collage. Photo credit: Elderfield,
 fig. 88.

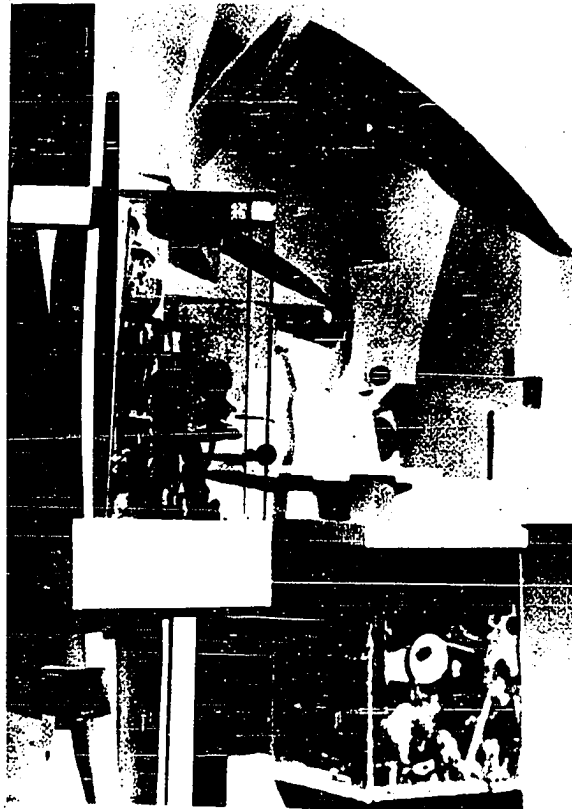


Figure 13. Kurt Schwitters. The Gold Grotto, Merzbau, Hanover, c. 1932 photograph. Photo credit: Elderfield, fig. 169.



Figure 14. Kurt Schwitters.
View of Blue Window, Merzbau,
Hanover, 1930 photograph.
Photo credit: Elderfield,
fig. 175



Figure 15. Kurt Schwitters. Die heilige Bekümmernis, 1920. Mixed media construction. Photo credit: Elderfield, fig 161.

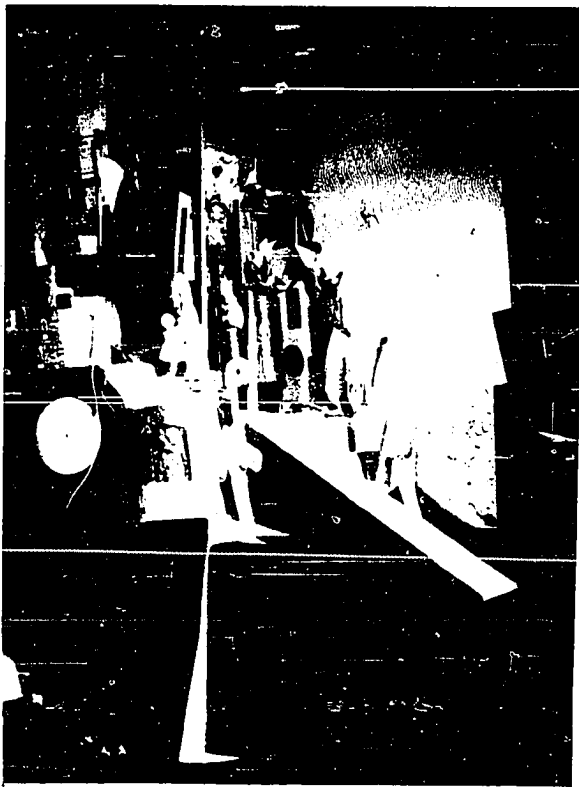


Figure 16. Kurt Schwitters. Kathedrale des erotischen Elends, Merzbau, Hanover, 1928 photograph. Photo credit: Elderfield, fig. 187.



Figure 17. George Segal. Man at a Table, 1961. Mixed media, 53 x 48 x 48". Städtisches Museum Abteiberg Monchengladbach, West Germany. Photo credit: Phyllis Tuchman, 22.

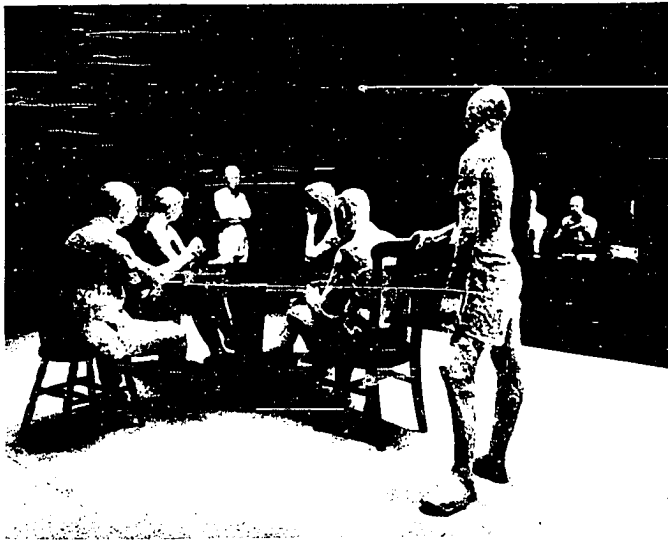


Figure 18. George Segal. The Dinner Table, 1962. Mixed media, 72 x 120 x 120". Coll. Schweber Electronics, Westbury, New York. Photo credit: Van der Marck, 74.



Figure 19. George Segal. Upside Down Man, 1960. Oil on canvas, 72 x 96". Courtesy Sidney Janis. Photo credit: George Segal: Sculptures (Walker Art Center catalogue), 61.



Figure 20. George Segal. The Legend of Lot, 1958. Mixed media, 72 x 96". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Phyllis Tuchman, 17.

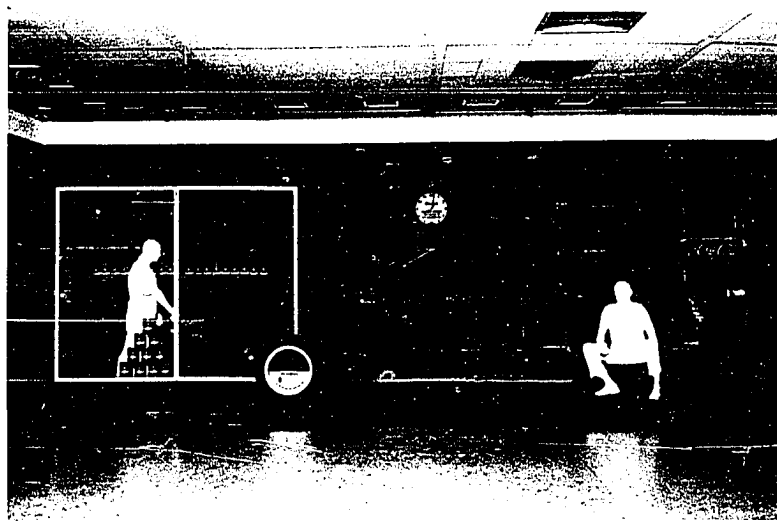


Figure 21. George Segal. Gas Station, 1964. Mixed media, 96 x 264 x 60". Coll. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Photo credit: Phyllis Tuchman, 44.



Figure 22. The "Sandwich Man," Wheeled Construction Showing Record Player, from 18 Happenings in 6 Parts, 1959. Reuben Gallery, New York. Photo credit: Kirby, 80.



Figure 23. George Segal. Seated Figure, 1958. Mixed media, 52 x 32 x 36". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Phyllis Tuchman, 18.



Figure 24. George Segal. Bus Riders, 1962. Mixed media, 69 x 40 x 76". Coll. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington, D.C. Photo credit: Phyllis Tuchman, 29.



Figure 25. Claes Oldenburg. The Street, 1960. Environment, Reuben Gallery, New York. Photo credit: Rose, 47.



Figure 26. Claes Oldenburg.
Snapshots from the City, 1960.
Happening inside the environment,
The Street. Photo credit: Rose, 50.



Figure 27. Claes Oldenburg. Green Gallery Installation, New York, Fall 1962. Photo credit: Rose, 90.



Figure 28. Claes Oldenburg. Flag figure from happening, Fotodeath. Reuben Gallery, New York, 1961. Photo credit: Jill Johnson, Art News (April 1961), 36.

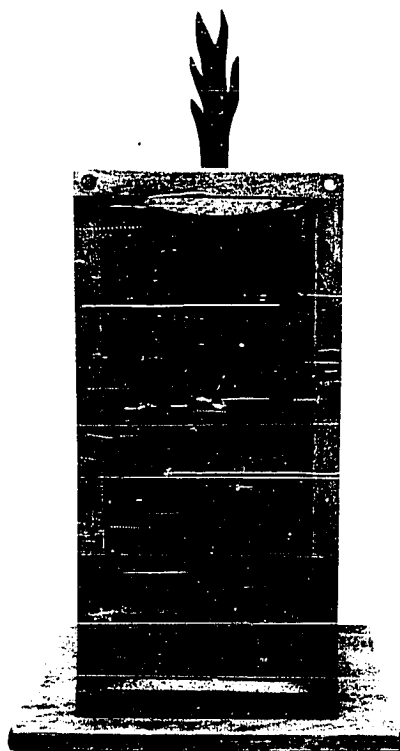


Figure 29. H. C. Westermann. The Soldier's Dream, 1955. Mixed media, 29" h. Coll. William Plummer, Chicago. Photo credit: Haskell, 12.

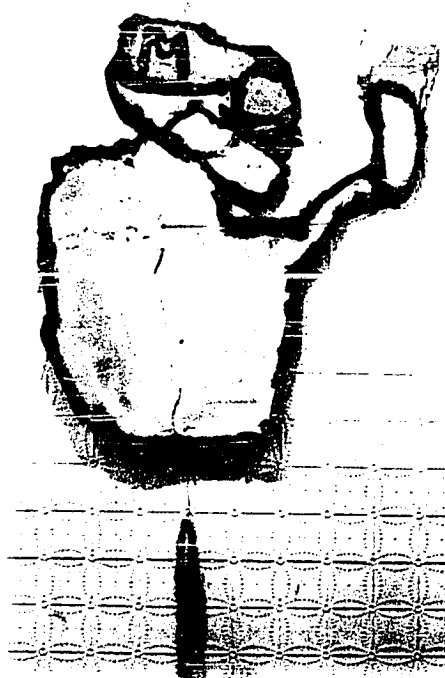


Figure 30. Claes Oldenburg. Mug, 1960. Mixed media, 76 x 50". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Rose, 31.

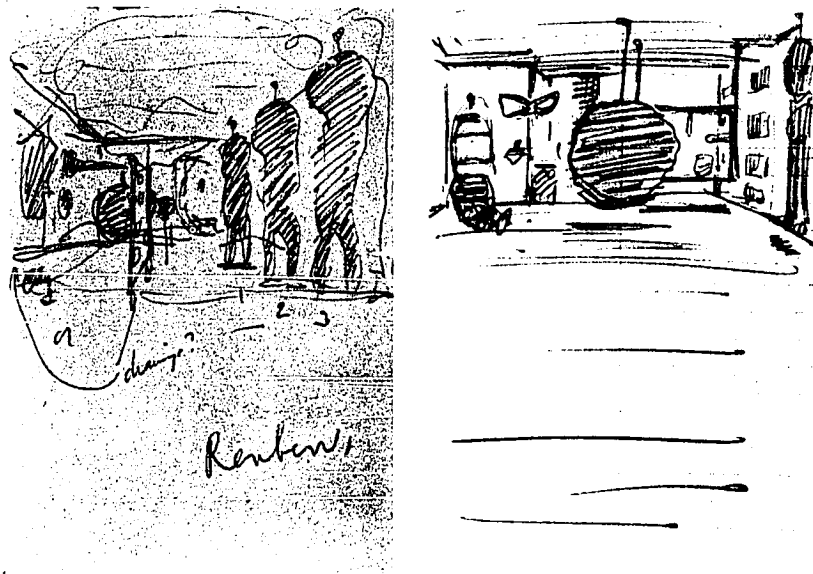


**Figure 33. Claes Oldenburg. Notebook Page:
Two studies for installation of The Street,
1960, Reuben Gallery. Pen and pencil, approx.
 10 x 7". Coll. the artist. Photo credit:
 Rose, 46.**

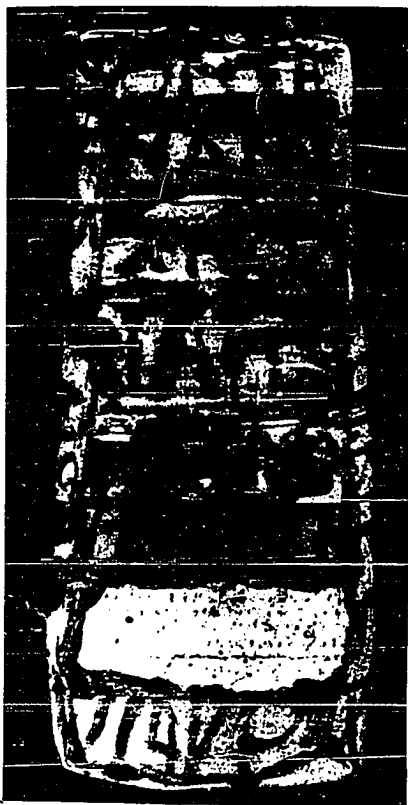


Figure 34. Claes Oldenburg.
Apartment House, 1959. Mixed
media, 18 x 8". Photo
credit: Zabriskie Gallery,
New York.

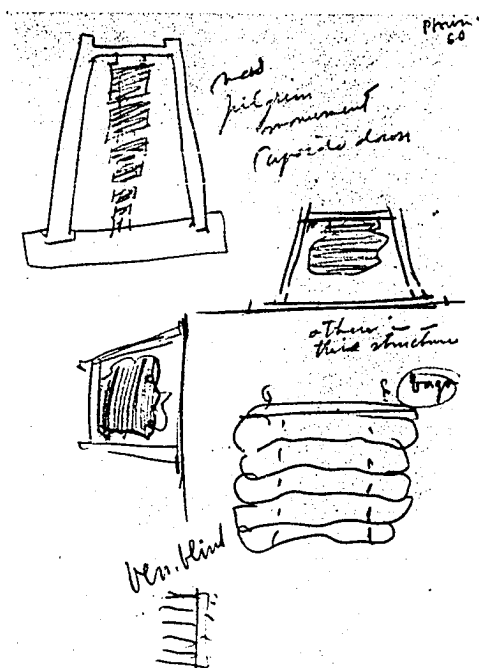


Figure 35. Claes Oldenburg.
New Pilgrim Monument Upside
Down--"Venetian Blind,"
Provincetown, 1950. Ink and
pencil, 11 x 8 3/8". Coll.
the artist. Photo credit:
Rose, 104.



Figure 36. Claes Oldenburg.
The Big Man, 1960. Mixed
media, 185" h. Coll. the
artist. Photo credit: Rose,
126.

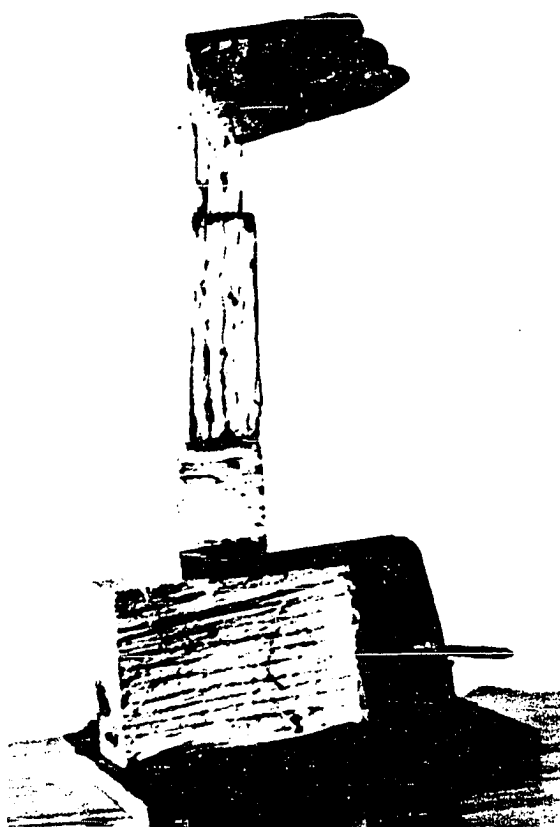


Figure 37. Claes Oldenburg. Cemetery Flag (Provincetown), 1960. Wood, 14 1/2 x 8". Coll. Raymond Saroff, New York. Photo credit: Rose, 52.



Figure 38. Claes Oldenburg. Ray Gun Poster: U.S. Death Heart, 1960. Monoprint, 17 3/4 x 11 7/8". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Rose, 44.



Figure 39. Claes Oldenburg. U.S.A. of America, 1960. Lithograph after drawing, 9 x 11 5/8". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Rose, 44.

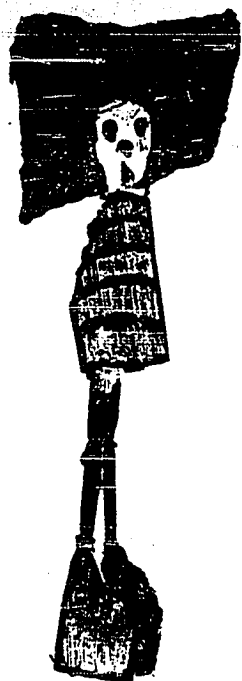


Figure 40. Claes Oldenburg. Street Chick, 1960. Mixed media, 120 x 38". Coll. Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr., Detroit. Photo credit: Rose, 44.

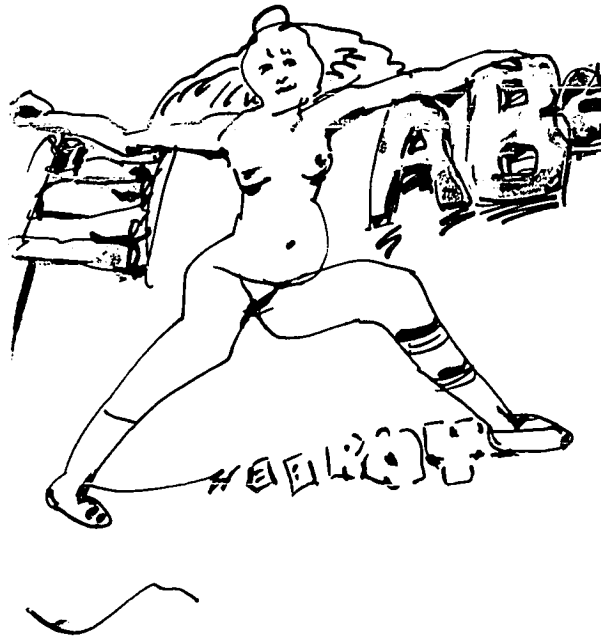


Figure 41. Claes Oldenburg. Nude Figure with American Flag--"ABC Hooray," 1960. Pen and ink with watercolor, 11 x 8 1/2". Coll. Mrs. Claes Oldenburg, New York. Photo credit: Rose, 177.



Figures 42 (above) and 43 (below).
 Claes Oldenburg. Proposed Colossal
 Monument for Central Park, North,
 New York: Teddy Bear, Upright Version
 (above) and Thrown Version (below), 1965.
 Crayon and watercolor, 24 x 19". Upright
 Version, Coll. Mr. and Mrs. Richard E.
 Oldenburg, New York. Photo credit: Claes
 Oldenburg, Drawings, Watercolors and Prints
 (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1977), 35.



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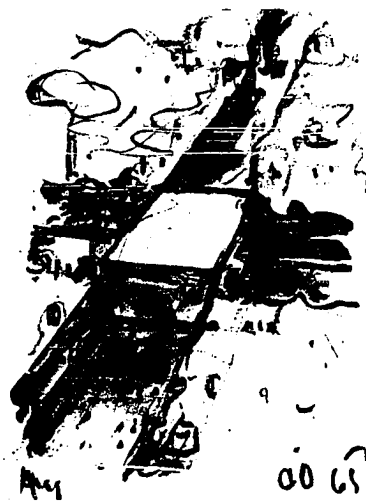


Figure 44. Claes Oldenburg. Proposed Monument for the Intersection of Canal Street and Broadway, New York: Block of Concrete Inscribed with Names of War Heroes, 1965. Crayon and watercolor, 16 x 12". Coll. Alicia Legg, New York. Photo credit: Rose, 108.



Figure 45. Claes Oldenburg. Lipstick Monument, Yale University, New Haven, 1969. Photo credit: Rose, 113.



Figure 46. Edward Kienholz. John Doe and Jane Doe, 1959. Mixed media, approx. 42" h. Photo credit: Maurice Tuchman, 21.

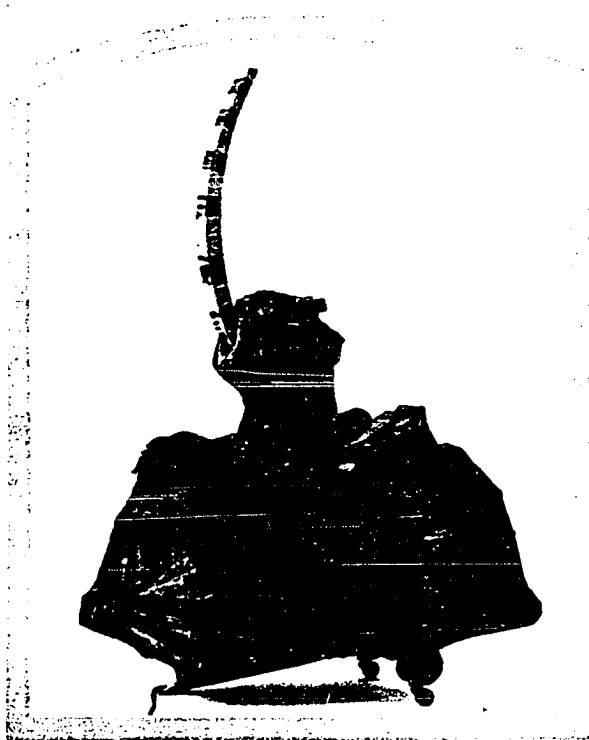


Figure 47. Edward Kienholz. Odious to Rauschenberg, 1960. Mixed media, 42 x 22 x 16 3/4". Coll. Mr. and Mrs. Melvin Hirsh, Beverly Hills. Photo credit: Maurice Tuchman, 22.



Figure 48. Edward Kienholz. Roxys, 1961, detail. Mixed media installation, Ferus Gallery, Los Angeles. Photo credit: Roxys and other works, 15.



Figure 49. Edward Kienholz.
The Birthday, 1964. Mixed media,
84 x 120 x 60". Coll. Mr. and
Mrs. Frederick R. Weisman, Los
Angeles. Photo credit: Scott, 4.

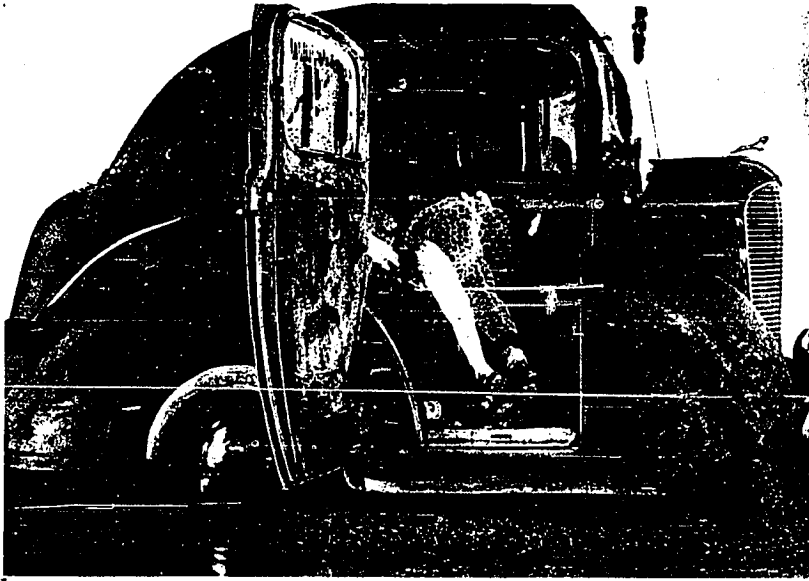


Figure 50. Edward Kienholz. Back Seat Dodge '38, 1964. Mixed media, 66 x 20 x 144". Photo credit: Art in America 53 (October 1965): 70.

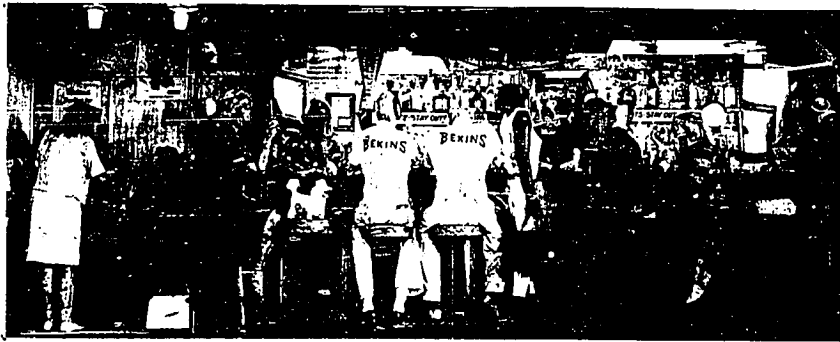


Figure 51. Edward Kienholz. The Beanery, 1965. Mixed media, 84 x 72 x 22". Coll. Kleiner Foundation, Los Angeles. Photo credit: Hultén, n.p.



Figure 52. Edward Kienholz. Triptych, 1956. Painted wood on plywood, 71 x 61". Coll. Mr. and Mrs. Robert Regehr, Los Angeles. Photo credit: Maurice Tuchman, 17.



Figure 53. Edward Kienholz. George Washington in Drag, 1957. Painted wood on plywood, 32 1/2 x 36". Coll. Walter Hopps. Photo credit: Maurice Tuchman, 18.



Figure 54. Edward Kienholz. The Little Eagle Rock Incident, 1958. Mixed media, 61 1/2 x 48 7/8 x 22". Photo credit: Maurice Tuchman, 19.



Figure 55. Edward Kienholz. Church, 1957. Painted wood on plywood, 74 x 36". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Maurice Tuchman, 18.



Figure 56. Wallace Berman.
Temple, 1957. Mixed media,
84" h. Photo credit: Greene,
55.

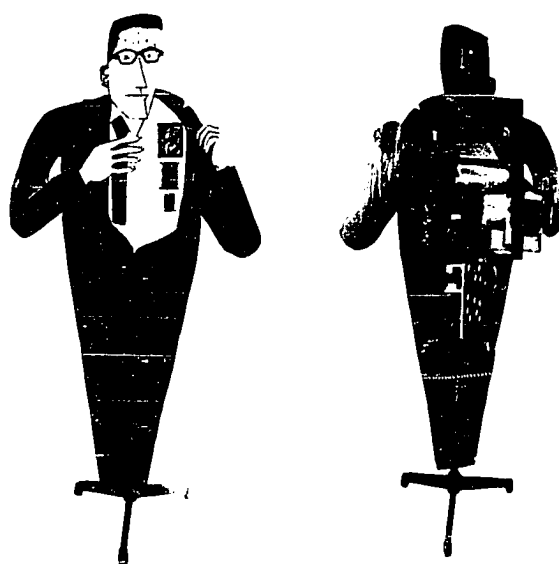


Figure 57. Edward Kienholz. Walter Hopps Hopps Hopps, 1959. Mixed media, 78 x 34". Photo credit: Gablik and Russell, fig. 76.



Figure 58. Edward Kienholz.
Flow Gently Sweet Often, 1960.
Mixed media. Photo credit:
Art in America (April 1963), 75.



Figure 59. Edward Kienholz.
Five Dollar Billy, from Roxys,
1961. Mixed media. Photo credit:
Roxys and other works, 43.



Figure 60. Edward Kienholz.
The Madame, from Roxys, 1961.
Mixed media. Photo credit:
Roxys and other works, 31.

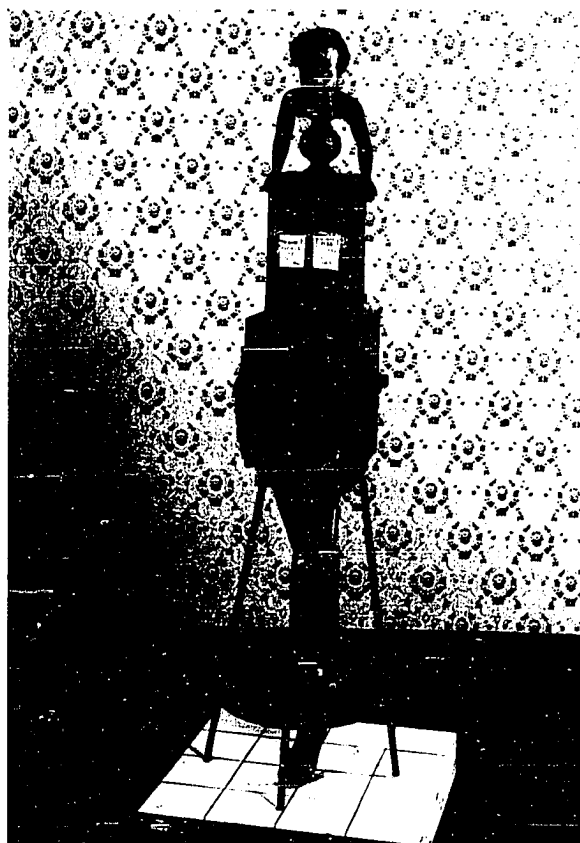


Figure 61. Edward Kienholz. A Lady Named Zoa, from Roxys, 1961. Mixed media. Photo credit: Roxys and other works, 19.

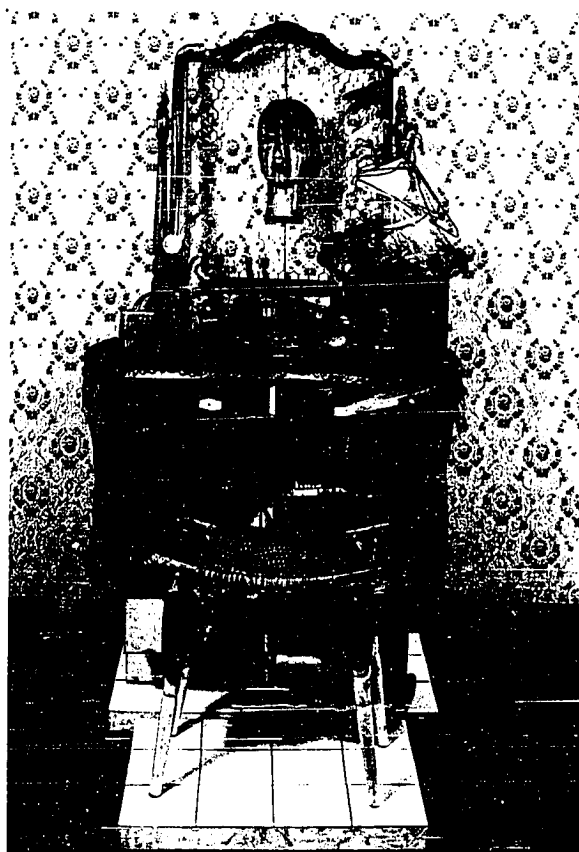


Figure 62. Edward Kienholz.
Miss Cherry Delight, from Roxys,
1961. Mixed media. Photo credit:
Roxys and other works, 35.

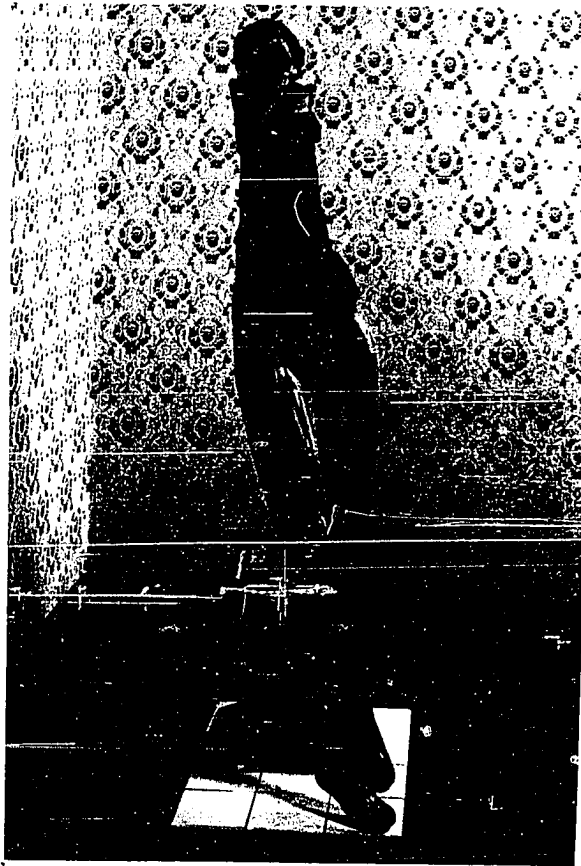


Figure 63. Edward Kienholz. Fifi, A Lost Angel, from Roxys, 1961. Mixed media. Photo credit: Roxys and other works, 23.



Figure 64. Edward Kienholz. The Medicine Show, 1959. Painted wood and hinges on plywood, 68 1/2 x 48 1/2 x 23". Coll. Mr. and Mrs. Monte Factor, Los Angeles. Photo credit: Maurice Tuchman, 20.

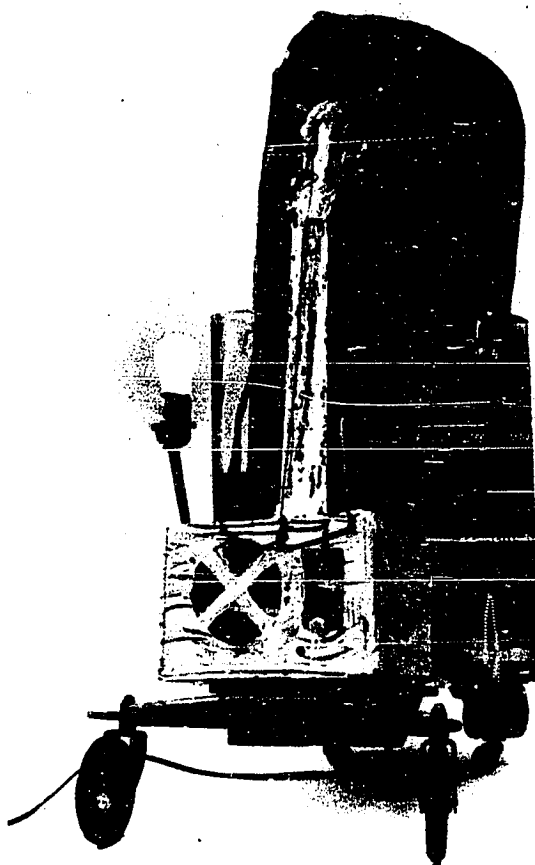


Figure 65. Edward Kienholz. Ida Franger, 1960. Mixed media, 34 x 17". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Rubin, 183.



Figure 66. Edward Kienholz. Conversation Piece, 1959. Mixed media, 44 x 30 x 37". Coll. Walter Hopps. Photo credit: Maurice Tuchman, 21.

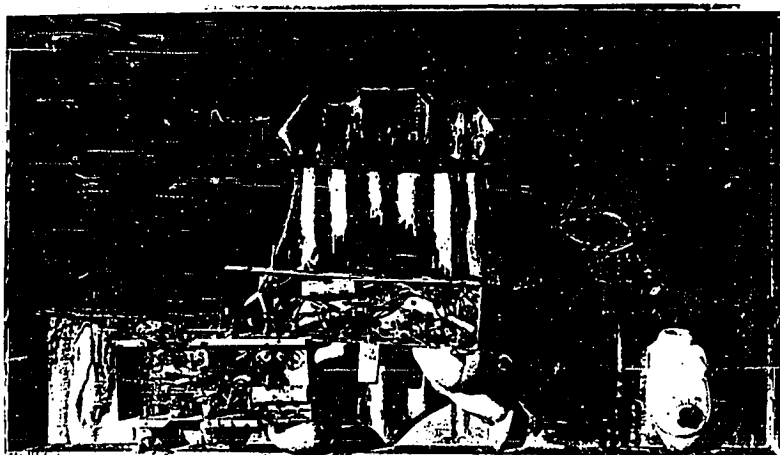


Figure 67. Edward Kienholz. O'er the Ramparts We Watched, Fascinated, 1959. Mixed media, 25 1/2 x 45 1/2 x 5". Photo credit: Maurice Tuchman, 23.

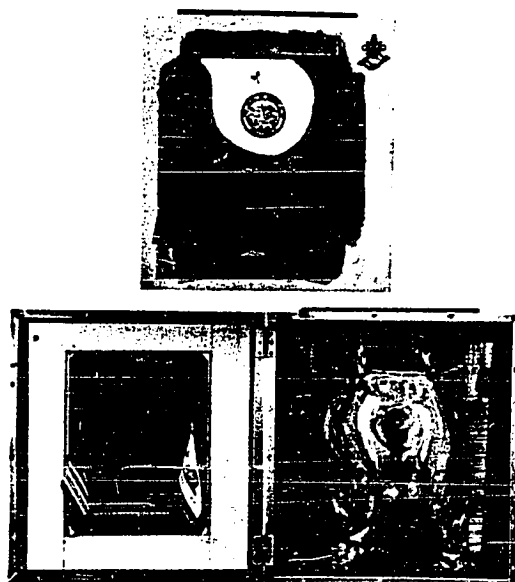


Figure 68. Edward Kienholz. The Psycho-Vendetta Case, 1960. Mixed media, 23 x 22 x 16". Photo credit: Maurice Tuchman, 23.

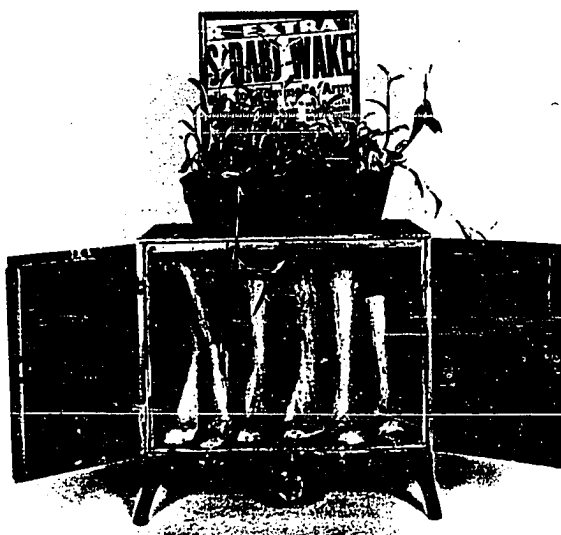


Figure 69. Edward Kienholz. History as a Planter, 1961. Mixed media, 33 x 18 5/8 x 12 3/8". Coll. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Photo credit: Maurice Tuchman, 24.

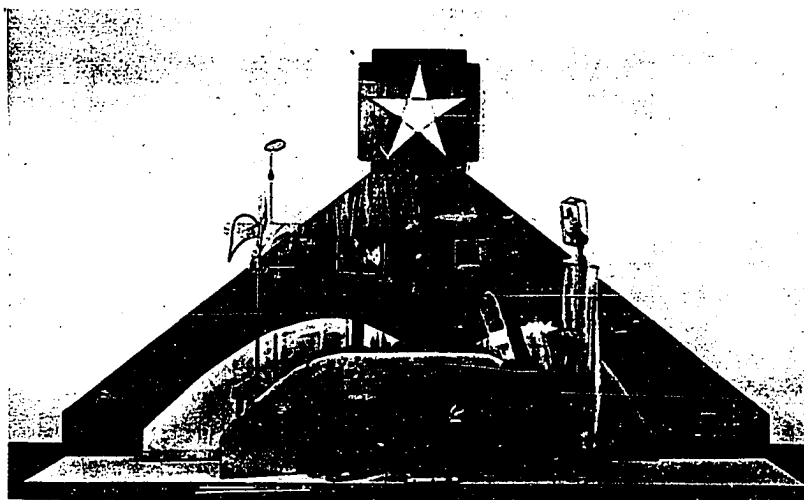


Figure 70. Edward Kienholz. The Nativity, 1961. Mixed media, 101 1/2 x 180 x 56 1/4". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Maurice Tuchman, 31.



Figure 71. Edward Kienholz.
The Illegal Operation, 1962.
Mixed media, 59 x 48 x 54".
Photo credit: Maurice Tuchman,
38.

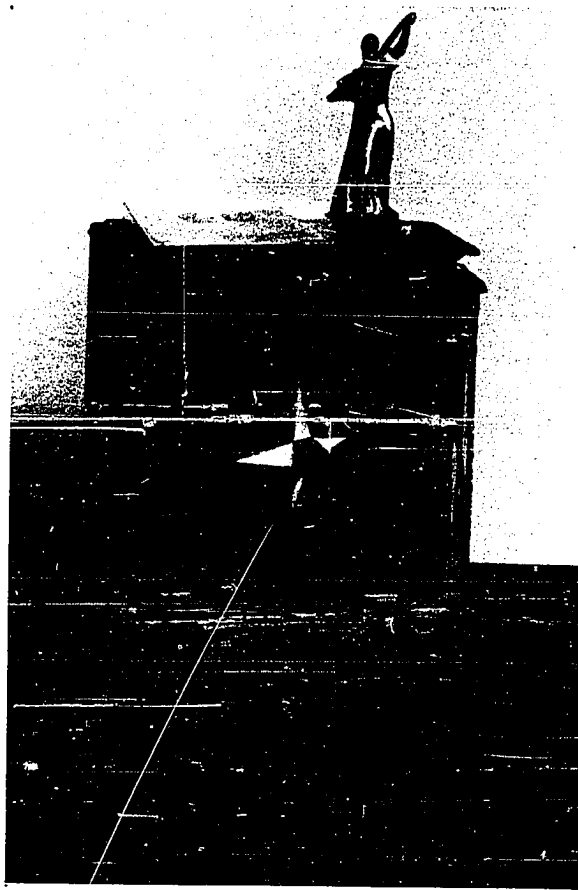


Figure 72. Edward Kienholz. The Big Eye, 1961. Mixed media, 56 x 24 x 30". Coll. Virginia Dwan. Photo credit: Roxys and other works, 63.

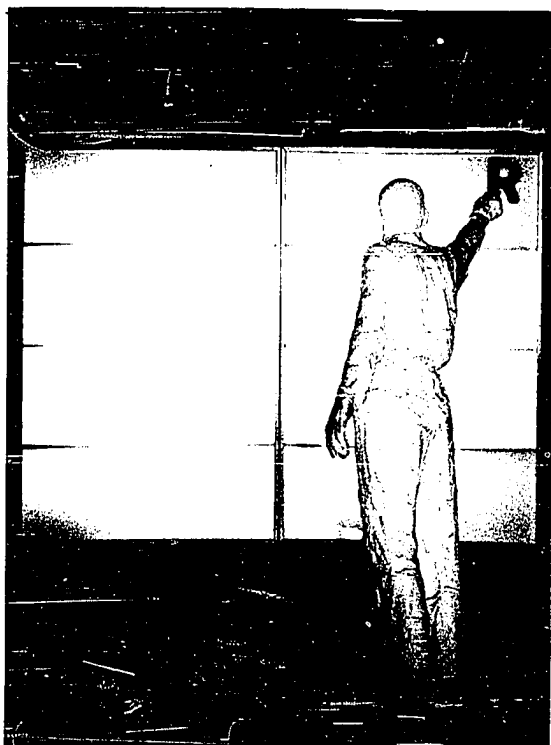


Figure 73. George Segal. Cinema, 1963. Mixed media, 118 x 96 x 39". Coll. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo. Photo credit: Phyllis Tuchman, 33.



Figure 74. George Segal. The Truck, 1966. Mixed media, 66 x 60 x 53". Coll. Art Institute of Chicago. Photo credit: Van der Marck, 125.



Figure 75. George Segal. The Construction Tunnel, 1968. Mixed media, 168 x 60 x 93". Coll. The Detroit Institute of Arts. Photo credit: Van der Marck, 166.

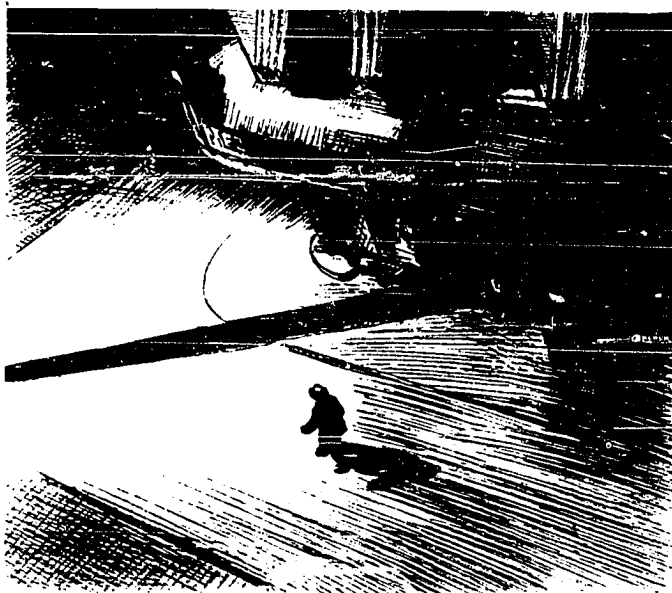


Figure 76. Edward Hopper. Night Shadows, 1921. Etching, 6 7/8 x 8 3/16". Photo credit: Order and Enigma: American Art Between the Two Wars, 33.



Figure 77. George Segal. The Diner, 1964-66. Mixed media, 102 x 108 x 87". Coll. Walker Art Center, Minneapolis. Photo credit: Phyllis Tuchman, 44.

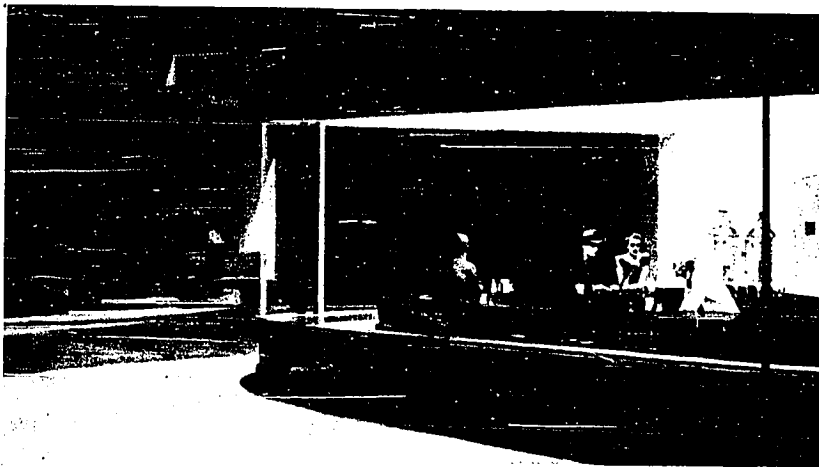


Figure 78. Edward Hopper. Nighthawks, 1942. Oil on canvas, 30 x 60". Coll. Art Institute of Chicago. Photo credit: Sam Hunter, American Art of the 20th Century (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1972), 134.

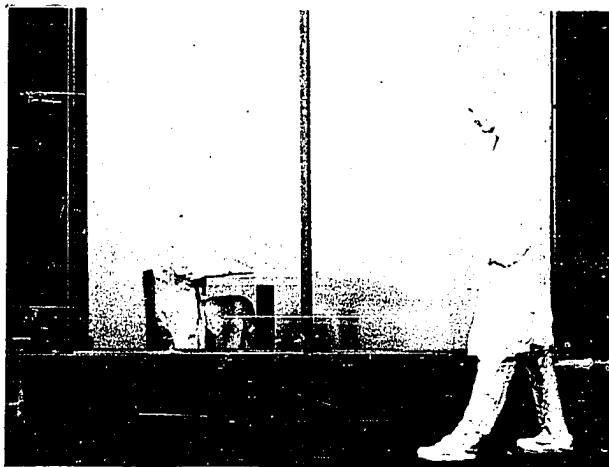


Figure 79. George Segal. The Restaurant Window I, 1969. Mixed media, 96 x 138 x 69". Coll. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne. Photo credit: Van der Marck, plate 75.

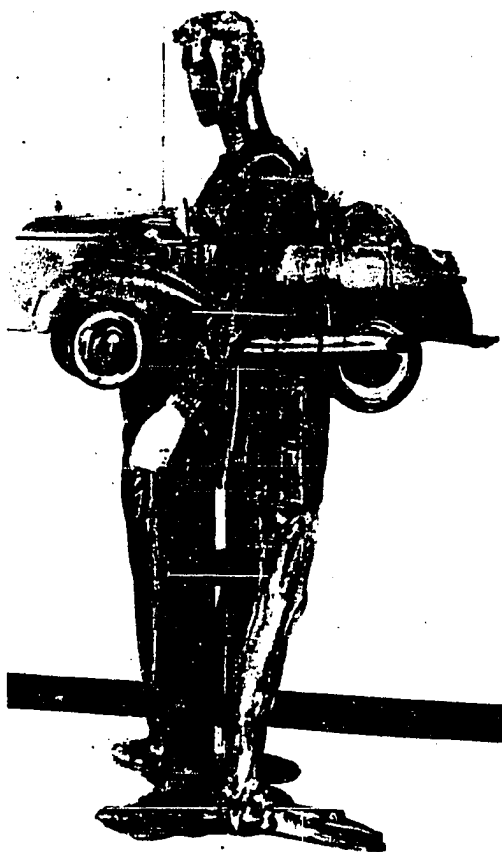


Figure 80. Edward Kienholz. Boy, Son of John Doe, 1962. Mixed media, 80" h. Metromedia, Inc., Los Angeles. Photo credit: Art News 74 (December 1975): 48.

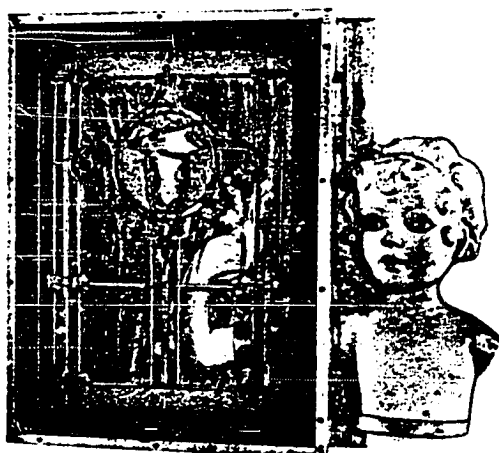


Figure 81. Edward Kienholz. Ode to Kathy Fiscus, 1962. Mixed media, 24 x 28 x 3 1/2". Coll. Sterling Holloway, Laguna Beach. Photo credit: Maurice Tuchman, 34.

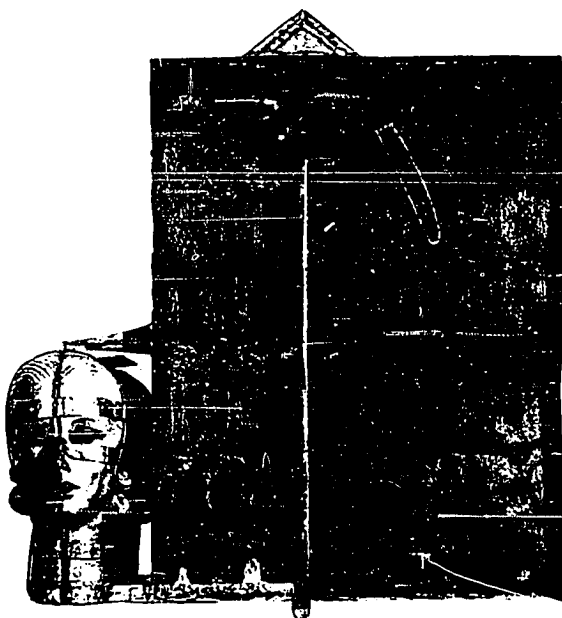


Figure 82. Edward Kienholz. Queen for A Day, 1961. Mixed media, 44 x 20 x 3 1/2". Coll. L. M. Asher Family, Los Angeles. Photo credit: Maurice Tuchman, 34.

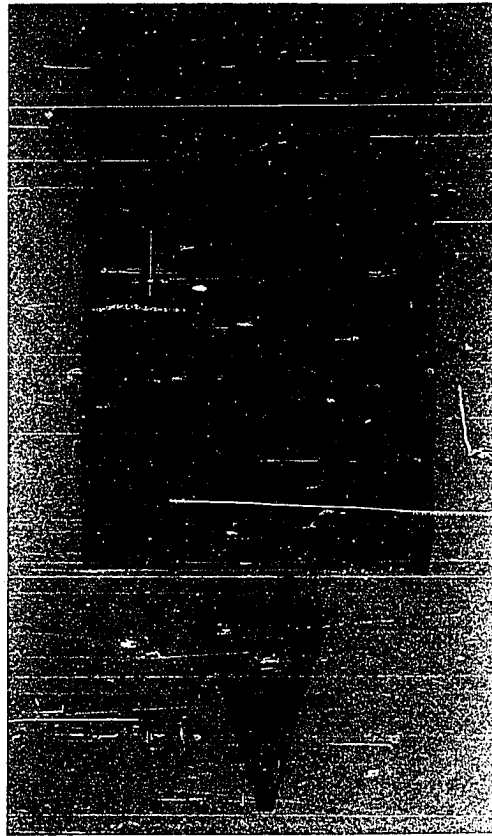


Figure 83. Edward Kienholz.
Night of Nights, 1961. Wall
hanging, mixed media, 30 x
28 x 8". Photo credit: Hopps,
18.

Figure 84. Marcel Duchamp. Cover for VVV, nos. 2-3, 1942. Photo credit: Anne d'Harnoncourt and Kynaston McShine, Marcel Duchamp (New York: The Museum of Modern Art and Philadelphia: The Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1973), 323.



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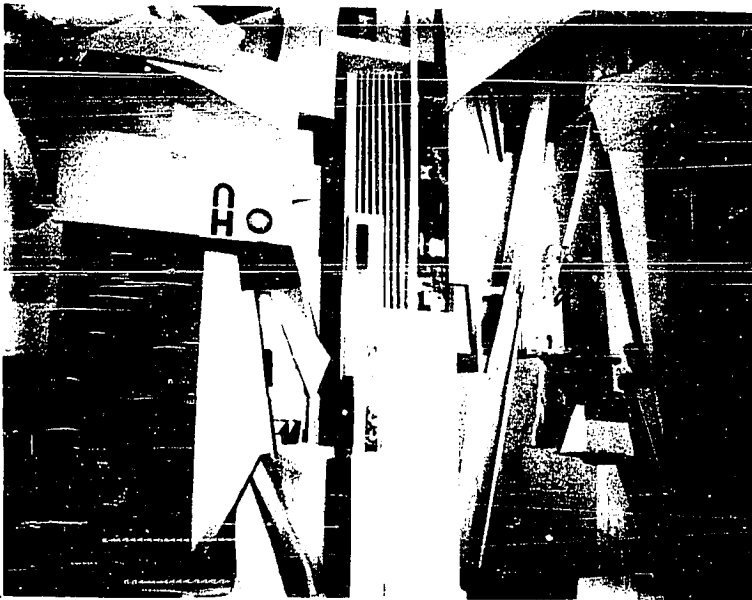


Figure 85. Kurt Schwitters. Merzbau with 1923 column photographed c. 1930. Photo credit: Elderfield, fig. 178.

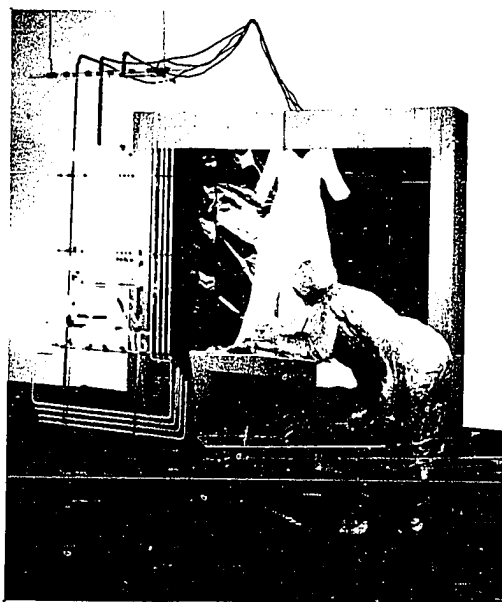


Figure 86. George Segal. The Dry Cleaning Store, 1964. Mixed media, 96 x 108 x 86". Coll. Moderna Museet, Stockholm. Photo credit: Phyllis Tuchman, 48.



Figure 87. Grace Hartigan. Grand Street Brides, 1954. Oil on canvas, 72 x 102 1/2". Coll. The Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. Photo credit: Phyllis Tuchman, 16.

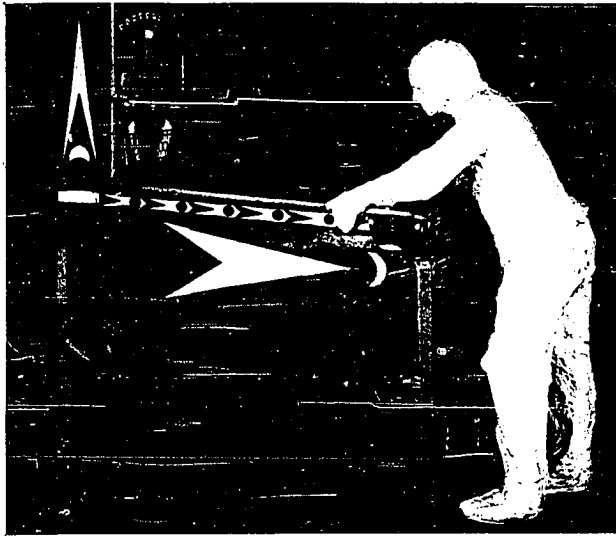


Figure 88. George Segal. Gottlieb's Wishing Well, 1963. Mixed media, 65 x 25 x 76". Private Collection, Brussels. Photo credit: Van der Marck, plate 25.



Figure 89. George Segal. The Butcher Shop, 1965. Mixed media, 94 x 99 x 49". Coll. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Photo credit: Phyllis Tuchman, 10.

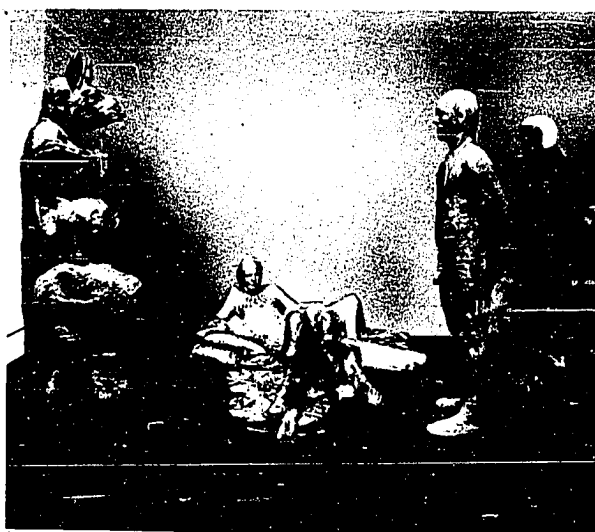


Figure 90. George Segal. The Costume Party, 1965 version. Mixed media, 72 x 144 x 108". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Barrio-Garay, n.p.



Figure 91. George Segal. The Costume Party, 1967 version. Mixed media, 72 x 144 x 108". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Barrio-Garay, n.p.



Figure 92. George Segal. The Costume Party, 1970 version. Mixed media, 72 x 144 x 108". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Barrio-Garay, n.p.



Figure 93. George Segal. The Costume Party, final version 1965-72. Mixed media, 72 x 144 x 108". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Phyllis Tuchman, 59.

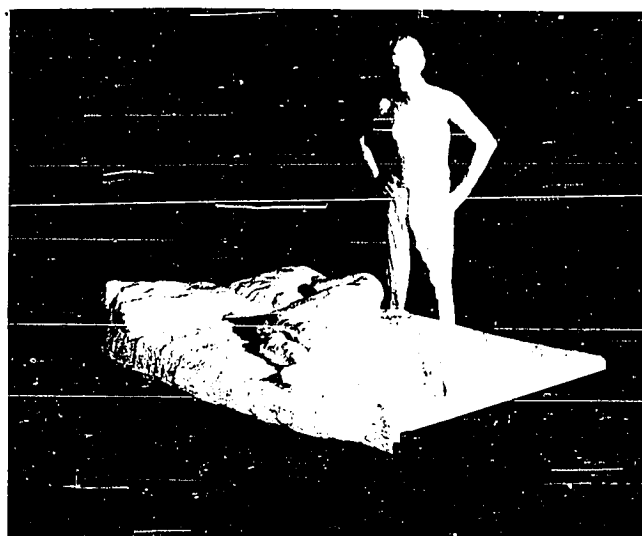


Figure 94. George Segal. The Motel Room, 1967. Mixed media, 72 x 78 x 72". Coll. P. Janlet, Brussels. Photo credit: Van der Marck, 155.

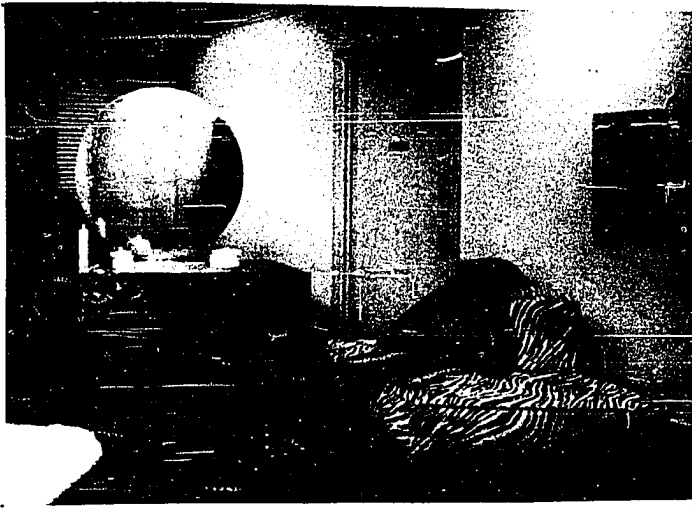


Figure 95. Claes Oldenburg. The Bedroom Ensemble, 1964. Detail of installation at Sidney Janis Gallery, New York. Mixed media, 204 x 252". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Rose, 94-95.

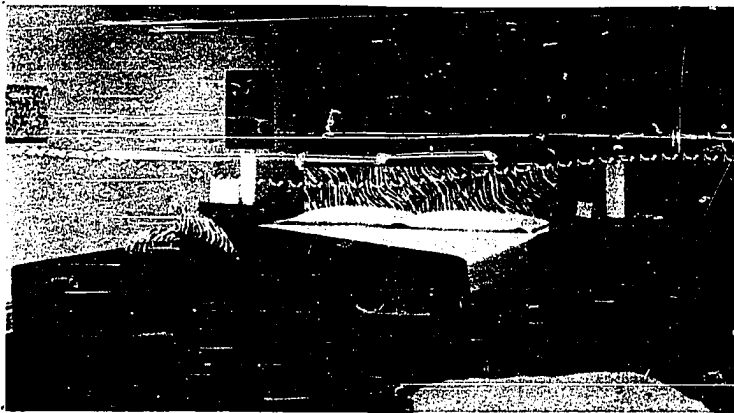


Figure 96. Claes Oldenburg. The Bedroom Ensemble, 1964. Detail of installation. Photo credit: Rose, 94-95.



Figure 97. Illustration from a furrier's catalogue, Brussels, 1928. Photo credit: Connolly, 161.



Figure 98. Claes Oldenburg. First reliefs for The Store, installed in "Environments, Situations, Spaces" exhibition, Martha Jackson Gallery, New York, 1961. Photo credit: Rose, 74.



Figure 99. Claes Oldenburg. Bride Mannekin, from The Store, 1961. Mixed media, 72" h. Coll. Dr. Panza di Biamo, Milan. Photo credit: Rose, 67.

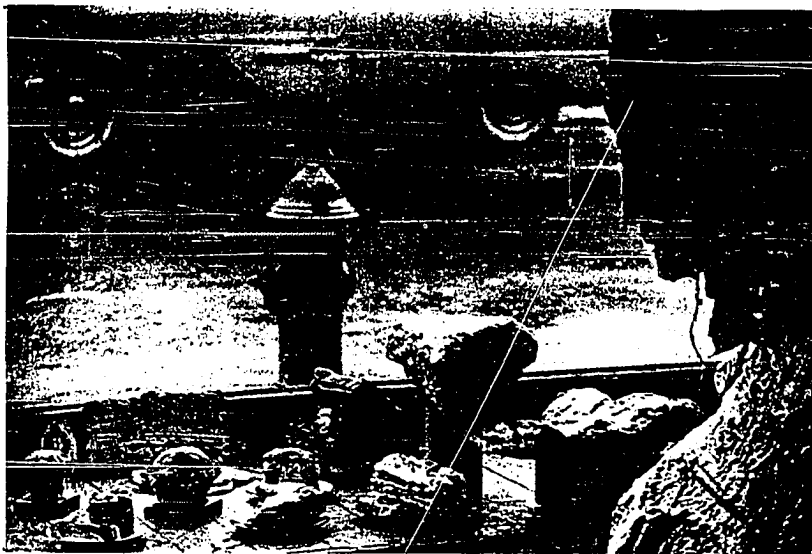


Figure 100. Claes Oldenburg. View of The Store, Pie Segment of The Bride. Photo credit: Tillim, Arts (February 1962), 35.



Figure 101. Max Ernst. Augustine Tomas and Otto Flake, 1920. Collage, 9 1/8 x 5 1/4". Coll. Kestner-Museum/Fritz-Behrens Stiftung, Hanover. Photo credit: Waldman, 91.



Figure 102. Max Ernst. The Blessed Virgin Chastises the Infant Jesus Before the Three Witnesses: A.B., P.E., and the Artist, 1926. Oil on canvas, 77 1/4 x 51 1/4". Coll. Mme. Jean Krebs, Brussels. Photo credit: Waldman, 130.

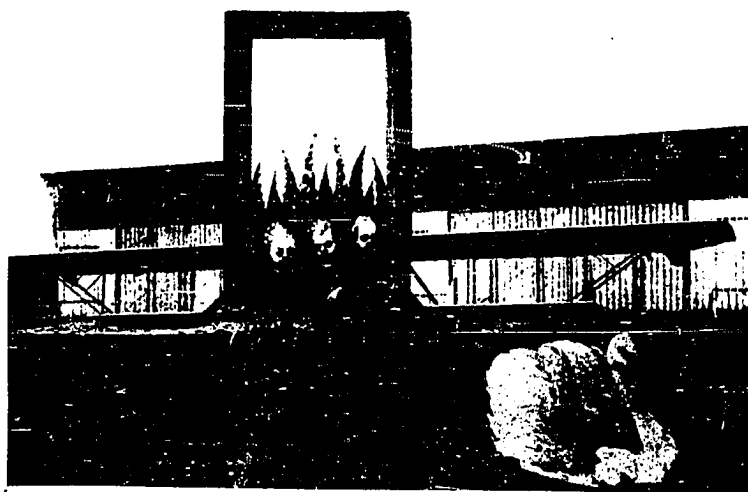


Figure 103. Max Ernst. The Swan is Very Peaceful; . . ., 1920. Collage, 7 1/4 x 5 1/8". Private Collection, New York. Photo credit: Waldman, 80.

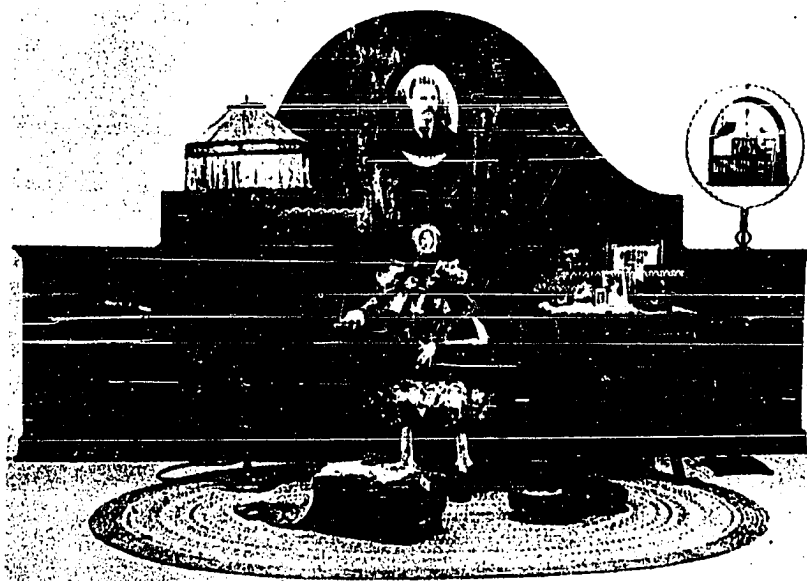


Figure 104. Edward Kienholz. The Wait, 1964-65. Mixed media, 80 x 248 x 78". Coll. The Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. Photo credit: Art International 14 (December 1970): 81.

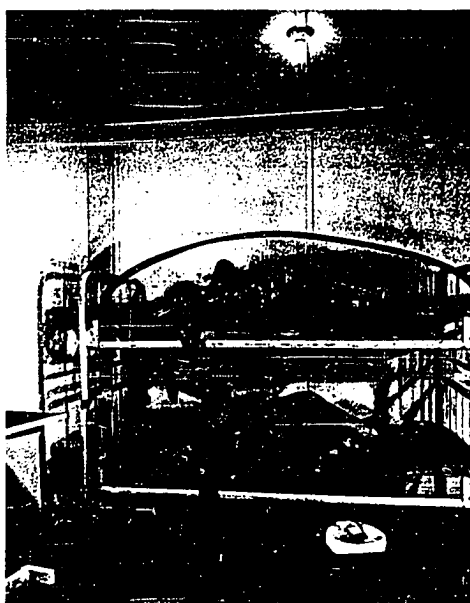


Figure 105. Edward Kienholz. The State Hospital, 1966, detail. Mixed media, 96 x 144 x 120". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Hopps, 40.

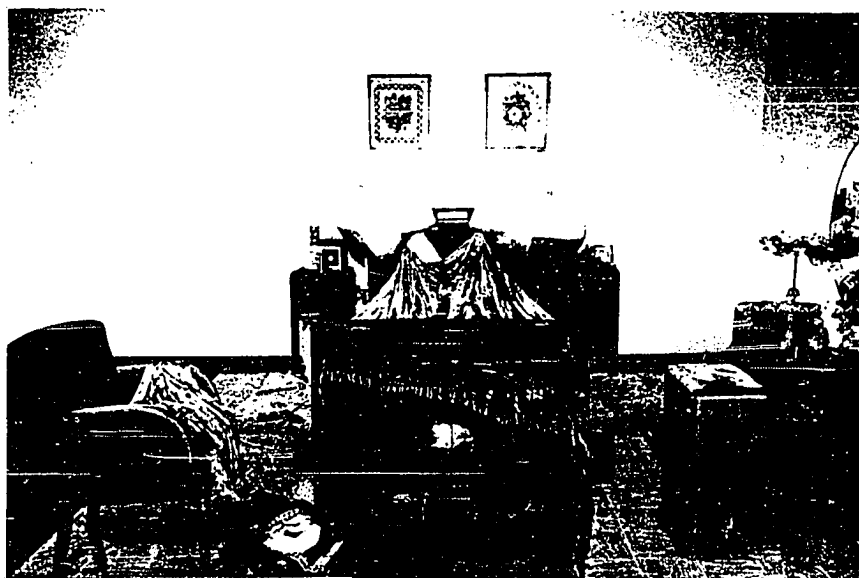


Figure 106. Edward Kienholz. While Visions of Sugar Plums Danced in Their Heads, 1964. Mixed media, 72 x 144 x 108". Photo credit: Baer, 45.

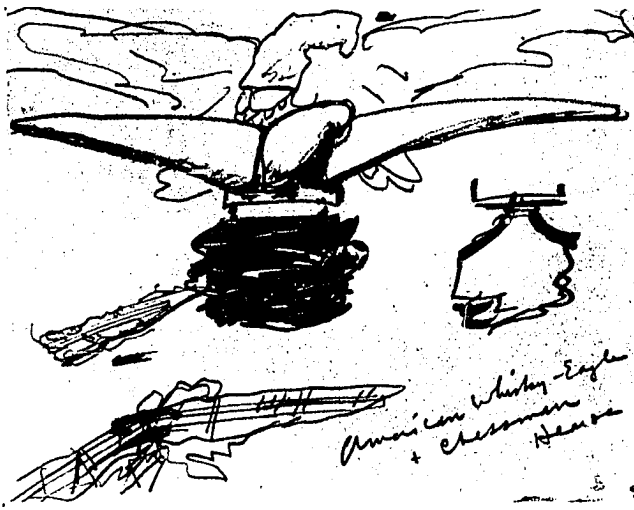


Figure 107. Claes Oldenburg. American Whiskey--Eagle and Chessman Hearse, 1960. Pencil, 8 1/2 x 11". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Rose, 114.



Figure 108. Edward Kienholz. Five Car Stud, 1968-72. Installation at "Documenta," Kassel. Photo credit: Rotzler, 8.



Figure 109. George Segal. The Legend of Lot, 1966. Plaster, 72 x 96 x 108". Coll. Kaiser Wilhelm Museum, Krefeld. Photo credit: Phyllis Tuchman, 60.

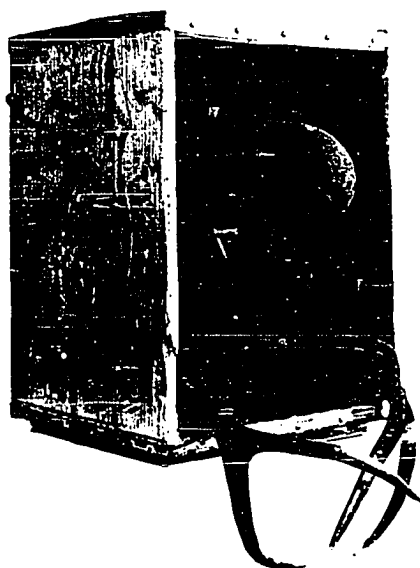


Figure 110. Edward Kienholz. God Really Loves America the Best, 1964. Mixed media, box construction, 20 3/4 x 15 1/2 x 12". Photo credit: Hopps, 28.

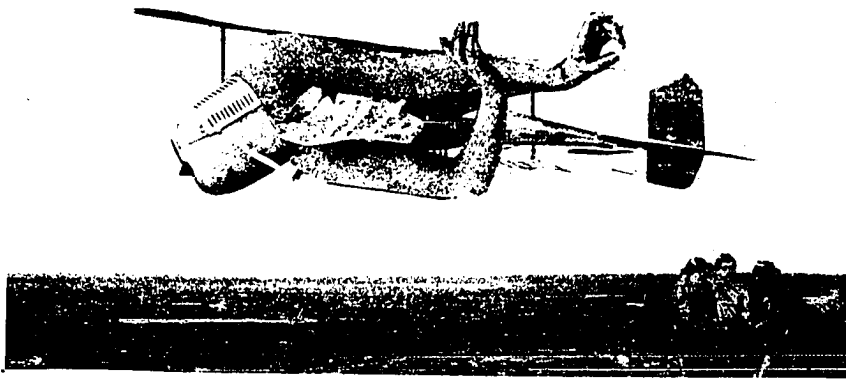


Figure 111. Max Ernst. Untitled or Deadly Female Airplane, 1920. Collage, 2 3/4 x 5 5/8". Menil Family Collection, Houston. Photo credit: Waldman, 78.

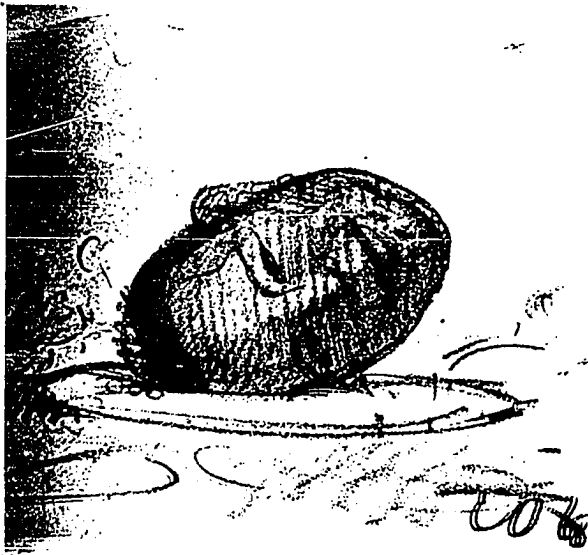


Figure 112. Claes Oldenburg. Study for a Colossal Monument to Mayor Daley #2, 1968. Crayon, 11 x 13 1/2". Coll. Thomas Benenson, New York. Photo credit: Ellen Johnson, Arts (Dec. 1970-Jan. 1971), 45.



Figure 113. Claes Oldenburg. Fire Plug, Chicago, 1968. Mixed media. Photo credit: Art in America 60 (March-April 1972): 74.

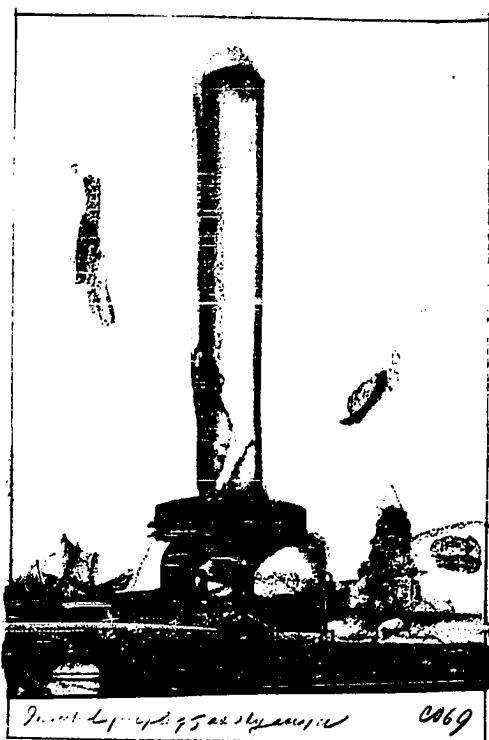


Figure 114. Claes Oldenburg. Proposal for a Skyscraper in the form of a Chicago Fireplug, inverted version, 1969. Crayon, watercolor and pencil, 44.5 x 30.5 cm. Photo credit: Claes Oldenburg. Drawings, Watercolors and Prints (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1977), 67.

Figure 115. David Smith. Medal for Dishonor: Bombing Civilian Populations, 1939. Bronze cast. Photo credit: Cleve Gray, ed., 29.



Figure 116. David Smith. Metal for Dishonor: Propaganda for War, 1939-40. Ink. Photo credit: Cleve Gray, ed., 30.

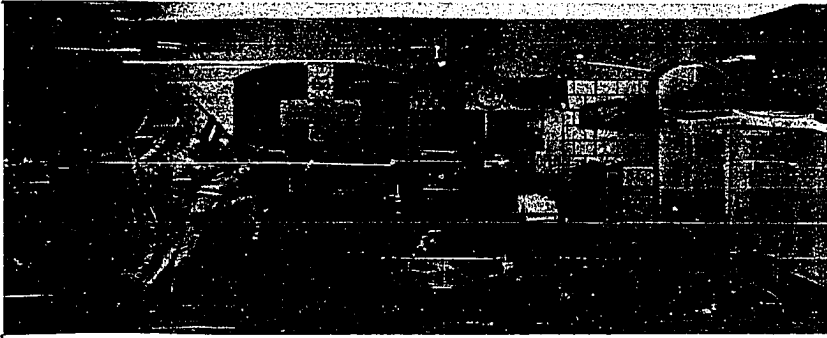


Figure 117. Edward Kienholz. The Portable War Memorial, 1968. Mixed media installation. Coll. Dr. Peter Ludwig, Aachen. Photo credit: Hultén, n.p.

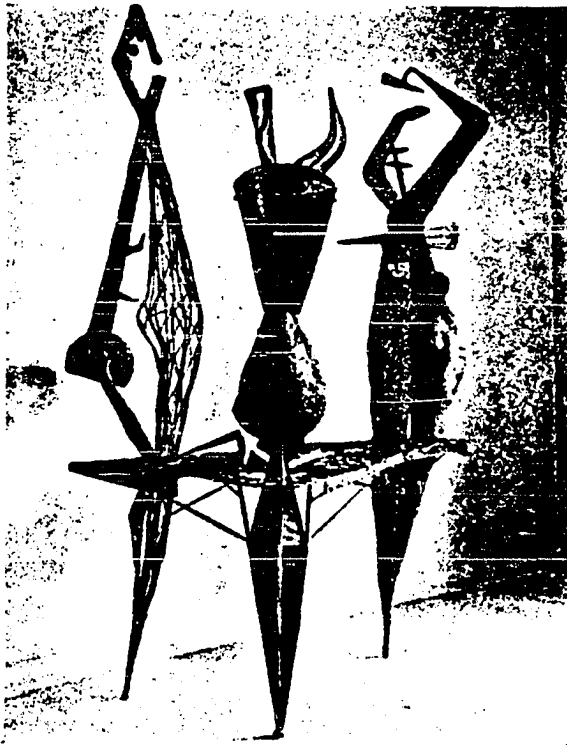


Figure 118. David Hare. The Eaters (Dinner Table), 1950. Welded steel, 90" h. University Art Collection, Grey Art Gallery, New York University. Photo credit: Pachner, 85.



Figure 119. George Segal.
Self-Portrait with Head and Body,
1968. Mixed media, 66 x 32 x 42".
Coll. Carter Burden, New York.
Photo credit: Van der Marck, 157.



Figure 120. George Segal. Untitled, 1957. Oil on canvas, 72 x 96". Coll. the artist. Photo credit: Van der Marck, 20.



Figure 121. George Segal. The Artist in His Studio, 1968. Mixed media, 96 x 129". Galerie Onnasch, Cologne. Photo credit: Phyllis Tuchman, 52.

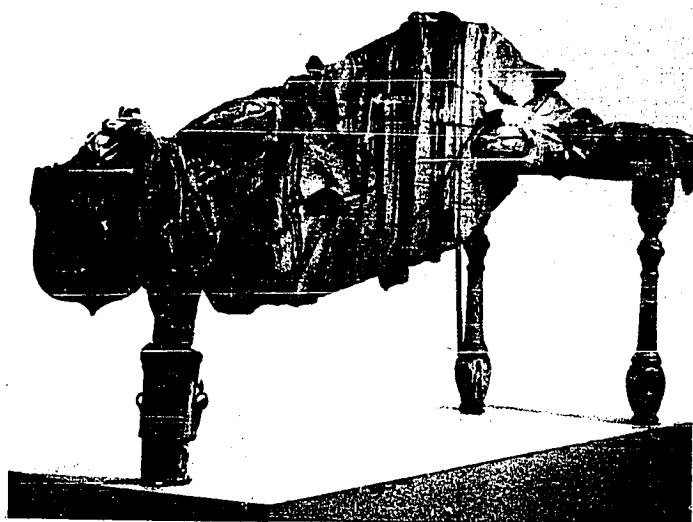


Figure 122. Edward Kienholz. The Mort Soul Searcher, 1960. Mixed media, 66 x 142 x 56 cm. Photo credit: Roxys and other works, 59.



Figure 123. Oscar Domínguez.
Arrivée de la Belle Époque,
1936. Mixed media object. Pri-
vate Collection, Paris. Photo
credit: Breton, Surrealism and
Painting, 80.



Figure 124. Johannes Baader.
The Author in His Home, 1920.
 Collage, 21.3 x 14.4 cm.
 Coll. The Museum of Modern Art,
 New York. Photo credit: Foster,
 ed., Dada/Dimensions, 263.



Figure 125. Edward Kienholz. The Art Show, 1963-1977. Mixed media. Coll. the artist. Photo credit: The Art Show (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and Houston: Rice University Museum, 1984), n.p.



Figure 126. Robert Morris. Site, 1964. Performance at New York Theater Rally, 1965. Photo credit: Gablik and Russell, 15.

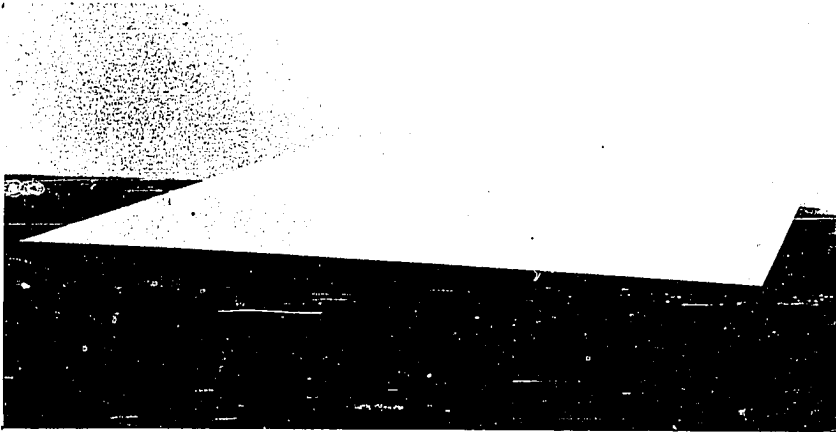


Figure 127. Robert Morris. Slab, 1962. Painted plywood, 96 x 96 x 8", reconstruction. Photo credit: Michelson, 14.



Figure 128. Robert Morris. Column, 1961. Painted plywood, 192 x 24 x 24", reconstruction. Photo credit: Michelson, 10.

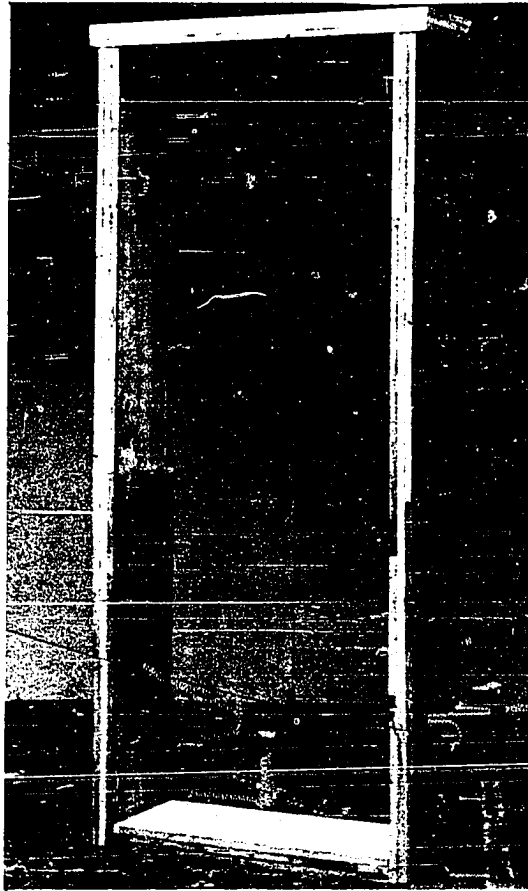


Figure 129. Robert Morris.
Pine Portal, 1961. Unpainted
pine, 96 x 48 x 12", recon-
struction. Photo credit:
Michelson, 11.



Figure 130. George Segal. Woman in a Doorway I, 1964. Mixed media, 113 x 63 x 18". Coll. The Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. Photo credit: Phyllis Tuchman, 80.

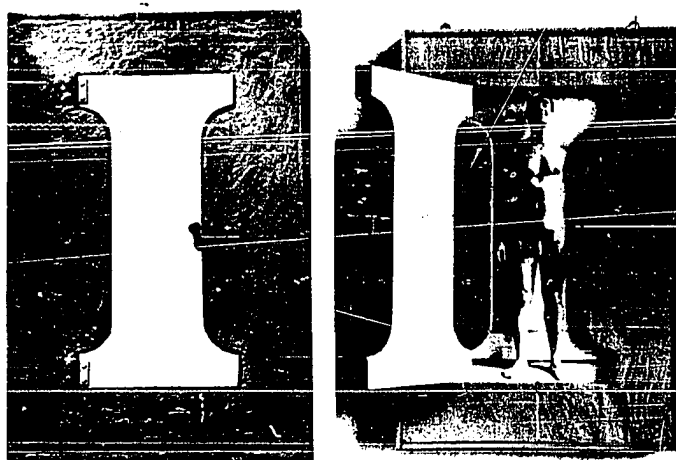


Figure 131. Robert Morris. I-Box, 1962. Mixed media, 12 x 18". Coll. Hanford Yang. Photo credit: Robert Morris (New York: The Whitney Museum of American Art, 1970), 12.

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